

**THE LINGUISTIC RESOURCES OF STANCE IN THE MEDIA
CONSTRUCTION OF ANTI-GRAFT CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA
(2015-2022)**

By

**Monday Afeakhare OKUGBE
Mat. No: PG/ART1715819**

**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LITERATURE
FACULTY OF ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN,
BENIN CITY, NIGERIA.**

FEBRUARY 2023

**THE LINGUISTIC RESOURCES OF STANCE IN THE MEDIA
CONSTRUCTION OF ANTI-GRAFT CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA
(2015-2022)**

By

**Monday Afeakhare OKUGBE
Mat. No: PG/ART1715819**

**BEING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT
OF ENGLISH AND LITERATURE, UNIVERSITY OF
BENIN, BENIN CITY, NIGERIA IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D.) DEGREE
IN ENGLISH AND LITERATURE.**

FEBRUARY 2023

CERTIFICATION

We certify that this Dissertation entitled: **The Linguistic Resources of Stance in the Media Construction of Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria (2015-2022)** was carried out by **Monday Afeakhare OKUGBE** with the Matriculation Number PG/ART1715819 in the Department of English and Literature, Faculty of Arts, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria, under our supervision.

Prof. F.N. Ogoanah**(Supervisor)**

Date

Prof. E.N. Ugwu**(Co-Supervisor)**

Date

DR. A.P. Mamudu**Ag. Head of Department**

Date

CERTIFICATION OF THESIS ON PLAGIARISM

We, the undersigned attest and declare that the Thesis of Monday Afeakhare OKUGBE entitled: **The Linguistic Resources of Stance in the Media Construction of Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria (2015-2022)**, has successfully passed the plagiarism test and does not violate any copyright regulations.

Prof. F.N. Ogoanah**(Supervisor)**

Date

Prof. E.N. Ugwu**(Co-Supervisor)**

Date

DR. A.P. Mamudu**Ag. Head of Department**

Date

ATTESTATION OF CORRECTED THESIS

We, the undersigned, attest that Monday Afeakhare OKUGBE has successfully carried out all the required corrections as recommended by the external and internal examiners in his thesis entitled “**The Linguistic Resources of Stance in the Media Construction of Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria (2015-2022).**”

Prof. F.N. Ogoanah
(Supervisor)

Date

Prof. E.N. Ugwu
(Co-Supervisor)

Date

Dr. (Mrs) Jacinta Benjamin-Owhodede
(Internal Examiner)

Date

Dr. A.P. Mamudu
Ag. Head of Department

Date

DEDICATION

To: My late father, Chief Gilbert Okugbe, who laboured, for so long a time to see me survive a life-threatening ailment, but relocated to the great beyond too soon;

And

To: Lady Elizabeth Okugbe, an ever loving mother that demonstrates her readiness to take a bullet for me (her lone son), because she is ever there to offer me motherly protection. May God give you more years to live!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I sincerely appreciate God, for His wisdom, grace and the gift of life during the course of my Ph.D programme. His special grace and faithfulness enabled me to have successful trips to and fro Benin all through, and kept me alive to witness the successful end of the programme.

My profound appreciation goes to my supervisor, Professor Felix N. Ogoanah, whose measure of selflessness and the attention he availed me all through the programme is unquantifiable. Indeed, he is my bridge of connections, my pillar of climbing, my light of brightness, the water that nurtures my growth and the pencil that writes smiles and celebration on my face. Professor Ogoanah represents the metaphor responsible for the success story of many people out there. The huge success of my adult post-graduate studies in the University of Benin, is owed to his immense support and encouragement.

I am also indebted to Prof. (Lady) E.N. Ugwu and Dr. A.P. Mamudu, my co-Supervisor and the Acting Head of the Department of English and Literature respectively, in the University of Benin. I cannot forget their show of love and inspirational force that made my Research Studies come through. They mentored me with a good sense of patience, tolerance and scholarly pieces of advice. Your love for me will forever remain evergreen in my memory.

Equally worthy of my gratitude, are my relatives, friends and well-wishers, for their prayers and wishes for me to succeed in the programme. On my appreciation list are: Miss Toyin Olatunji, who was not only my post graduate colleague, but a daughter who gave me the care and love offered a true father. Deby, as I fondly call you, it will be well with you! Dr. and Mrs. Steve Bode, I appreciate you for encouraging me to undergo the Ph.D. Programme. Revs. Akhidenor and Jatto, you are truly my spiritual fathers. Thank you for your prayers all the way. Mr. Kehinde Ehimiaghe, you are a true cousin of mine. I

also appreciate my brothers, sisters and my loved ones for your efforts and commitments towards my good course in life. Finally, I cannot appreciate the supportive roles of my beloved wife enough- Lady Philomena Okugbe, and my children: Mrs. Linda Wole, Mrs. Caroline Oliver, Master Darlington and Master Great. Your sacrifices and encouragement were wonderful and awesome. I could not have done anything without your prayers and support. To you, I remain grateful!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title	i
Title page	ii
Certification	iii
Certification of Thesis on Plagiarism	iv
Attestation of Corrected Thesis	v
Dedication	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents	ix
Abstract	xiii
 CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction	1
1.1. Purpose of the Study	1
1.2. Scope of Study	1
1.3. Research Methodology	3
1.3.1 Sampling Method	4
1.3.2 Method of Data Collection	4
1.3.3 Method of Data Analysis	7
1.4 Background to the Study	8
1.4.1 Media Discourse	8
1.4.2 Graft and Anti-graft Campaign in Nigeria	12
1.5. Theoretical Background	17
1.5.1. Stance Theory	17
1.5.2. Appraisal Theory	31

1.6. Review of Related Scholarship and Justification of Study	37
1.7 Thesis Statement	61
CHAPTER TWO	
Stance and Evaluation in the Media Construction of Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria	62
2.1. Introduction	62
2.2 Analysis and Discussion of Data	63
2.2.1 Representing Agencies in projects execution in Nigeria	63
2.2.2 Representing the Agencies for Service Delivery in Nigeria	66
2.2.3 Representing the public liability corporations in Nigeria	68
2.2.4. Representing the Press in Nigeria	75
2.2.5 Representing the Legal Institution in Nigeria	83
2.2.6 Representing the Federal Agencies and Departments	85
2.3 Conclusion	87
CHAPTER THREE	
Stance and Engagement in the Media Construction of Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria	89
3.1 Introduction	89
3.2 Analysis and Discussion of Data	89
3.2.1 Representing the National Assembly in Nigeria	90
3.2.2 Representing the Political Office Holders in Nigeria	93
3.2.3 Representing the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board	95
3.2.4 Representing the Anti-graft Agencies in Nigeria	96
3.3 Conclusion	100

CHAPTER FOUR

Stance and Metadiscourse in the Media Construction of Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria	101
4.1 Introduction	101
4.2 Analysis and Discussion of Data	101
4.2.1 Representing the National Social Investment Programme in Nigeria	101
4.2.2 Representing the Agency for Housing and Planning in Nigeria	103
4.2.3 Representing the Federal Government of Nigeria	106
4.2.4 Representing the Security Operatives in Nigeria	108
4.2.5 Representing the Public Health Services in Nigeria	121
4.2.6 Representing Agricultural Development in Nigeria	126
4.3 Conclusion	130

CHAPTER FIVE

Stance and Attitudes in the Media Construction of Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria	132
5.1 Introduction	132
5.2 Analysis and Discussion of Data	132
5.2.1 Representing the Nigerian Parliament	133
5.2.2 Representing the Federal Civil Service in Nigeria	134
5.2.3 Representing the Embassies and High Commissions	140
5.2.4 Representing the Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria	144
5.3 Conclusion	150

CHAPTER SIX

Summary, Findings and Conclusion	151
6.1 Summary	151
6.2 Findings	153
6.3 Contributions to Knowledge	153
Works Cited	155
Appendices	180

ABSTRACT

The major hindrance causing underdevelopment in African countries, including Nigeria is corruption, and the role of the media in combating the menace is crucial. Therefore, this study examined, not only the manner in which the media stance shapes public knowledge and perception of graft, but how the problem of graft and anti-graft campaign within the Nigerian context is presented by the media writer.

Data in the research work comprised headline news, top stories, news and opinion articles, which represent online version of the newspapers and news report journals. The publications represented the media presentation of graft and anti-graft campaign in Nigeria within the period of 2015 and 2022 the research covered. The publications which were retrieved through the Internet, provided accurate and unbiased information about corruption through grammatical expressions of their contents. They were collected and transcribed by using data analytic software – *AntCon*. Here, only the selected news relating to graft and anti-graft campaign were generated and translated into text for analysis, in terms of their relationship with the context. The three analytical procedures of description, interpretation and explanation of the data characteristic of language study were employed. And a blend of Peter R.R. White and Ken Hyland's Stance and Appraisal Theories was applied to explore the selected data.

Findings of the research revealed that through the resources of inscribed and invoked markers of stance and evaluation, the anti-graft campaign served as the instrument for motivating the public to be more receptive to critical and rational media reports; through the strategy of stance and engagement, the anti-graft campaign conveyed the writers' moods, feelings and values; elements of metadiscourse in the anti-graft campaign

influenced divergent feelings and positions among the readers, which was aimed at fighting the challenge of corruption from different perspectives; and finally, stance and attitudes roused the writers' beliefs and readers' orientations towards graft.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of Study

Graft is a major hindrance to the development of many African countries, including Nigeria. The challenge has not only caused the people to suffer economic hardship and emotional pains, it is also reported that corruption has led to poor infrastructural development in Nigeria. This has resulted in imbalances and disunity in the six geopolitical zones in the nation. This is an ugly trend attracting a wide range of media reactions. Therefore, combating the menace through the media is crucial.

This research is set to investigate the manner in which the media present the problem of graft and anti-graft campaign within the Nigerian context, with a view to arousing public awareness about corruption. Campaign in the context of this study, refers to newspapers reportage of graft as news headlines, stories, news reports and opinion article publications between 2015 and 2022. To achieve this, the study investigates how the media deploy linguistic resources of stance and their functions, in order to describe media portrayals of corruption for discursive purpose, aimed at sensitizing, motivating, influencing and mobilizing the people for good governance towards social change.

1.2 Scope of Study

This work examines sixteen (16) newspapers/journal publications whose analysis is anchored on the use of the resources of stance. As a geo-political entity with multi-ethnic groups, Nigeria has functional media outlets whose reportage covers both the local and national news. That implies that the news coverage of most of the selected newspapers/journals is nation-wide.

Given the fact that media reportage on the fight against corruption in Nigeria is a sensitive national issue, this study selects publications from the National Newspapers/News Report Journals known for their wide coverage of social-political activities in the six geo-political zones as microcosmic samples. These tabloids include publications from the *Tribune*, *Ripples*, *ThisDay*, *Guardian*, *Punch*, *Vanguard*, *Premium Times*, *Daily Post* and *Sahara Reporters*. Others are *Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, *BEDC Independent News*, *BBC News*, *Transparency International*, *Grinverlag*, *Academia Education*, and *ICPC*. These papers represent the media publications between 2015 and 2022, and their selection is based on the following factors:

1. They are reputable for their wide readership across the nation,
2. Their regular online presence is noted,
3. They maintain high standard of language use,
4. The news reportage is arguably objective, non-partisan, among other endearing qualities.
5. The selected newspapers also have maintained track records and uniqueness in terms of the reportage of sensitive and topical issues, especially in governance, thus endearing themselves to their numerous admirers, especially socio-economic critics, political analysts, researchers and opinion moulders in the society.

Therefore, the selected publications for the study, are not only reputable for carrying current news items and well informed articles on graft and several matters of general

public interest, they are also arguably independent and owe no allegiance to any political party, ethnic community, religion or other interest groups.

A total of forty-eight (48) news items, including news headlines, stories, news reports and opinion articles were purposively sampled. The period of coverage, which comprises 2015-2022 is characterised with the media graft/anti-graft reports in the selected papers which the work attempts to investigate through the deployment of stance features. Using the publications selected, the study aims at investigating how media reports are used to expose corrupt practices, with a view to fighting the menace. Therefore, the period the study covers, provides the researcher with enough and current data from the media for anti-graft campaign in Nigeria.

1.3. Methodology

Introduction

This work is situated within discourse studies with stance resources and appraisal theories as its conceptual framework. Obviously, discourse analysis aims at analyzing language habits used in mobilizing, integrating, instigating, entertaining, persuading, educating, among others for the main purpose of identifying foregrounded linguistic features. As an investigative survey, the study examines how the media columnists, editors, socio-analysts and critics utilize linguistic resources (stance) to express their opinions, beliefs and feelings through articles, news, and stories as encapsulated in their chosen diction that reflects stance on the subject of corruption.

The methodology employed in the research is qualitative. Qualitative research refers to attempt to give a clear and explicit detailed in order to understand the meanings of phenomena, such as decisions, beliefs and values in a given social context (Ritchie and Lewis 3). This methodological framework is language-based, enabling the researcher to

examine the writers' expression of their feelings, judgment and values through appropriate linguistic resources of stance (Martins and White, 145). The study examines how specific attitudinal meanings are generated in a discourse through a combination of linguistic choices, discourse types and contexts. From this perspective, the study adopts the qualitative methodological framework for the media description and analysis of editorial comments, social commentaries and critique of the reporters and columnists in their publications through stance.

Stance is the way and manner speakers/writers position themselves in relation to their own or other people's beliefs, opinions and statements about things or ideas in ongoing communicative interaction with other speakers (Vasiliki Simaki, et al n.p.). Du Bois notes that stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stance takers and to invoke systems of sociocultural value (139). Stance features are categorized according to their functions in social contexts. Robin et al are of the opinion that the resources of literature and language complement each other to underscore the analysis and description of texts (13). It is only by such blending that the overall socio-linguistic function of the media language would be fully appreciated.

1.3.1. Sampling Methods

Media publications examined in this work represent reports covering between 2015 and 2022. The data were purposively chosen because of their contextual similarity and social significance. The choice of the sources of our data is also attributed to the fact that, as printed material, they utilize the same language pattern and style, and employ the same rules and procedures of information presentation.

1.3.2 Data Collection

The method of data collection explains how this research was conducted. It describes the method employed to extract media reports chiefly from the online media publications on the subject of corruption in Nigeria, published between 2015 and 2022. This is a seven-year period within which the tenure of President Mohammed Buhari-led federal government administration lasts. During the period, corruption and government response to it was at its highest peak. Therefore, Government's emphasis on the need to eliminate corruption has occupied most media reports.

The data for the study, which comprise sixteen (16) newspapers/news report journals, with a total of forty-eight news, including headlines, stories, news reports and opinion articles, represent the media publications selected for this study. They were obtained from the online versions of Nigerian popular broadsheet daily newspapers and news report journal publications, and were purposively selected to represent the media presentation of graft and anti-graft campaign in Nigeria. They provide a more objective evidence of the lexical and grammatical contents of the reports on corruption. The news publications contained 202,164 words, retrieved through the Internet (ie. Search engines, newspapers' websites), and were collected and transcribed using data analytic software – *AntConc* (Anthony n.p), to reveal the frequency counts of all the words that appear in a text or corpus. However, it should be noted that the generated/collected data in HTML and PDF formats were converted into text form so as to enable the Anthony Concordance Software (*AntConc*) easy access to the information in the data. This made it possible to extract, and select news relating to graft and anti-graft campaign, which are translated into text that the researcher analysed according to the context of use.

Additionally, information sourced from some previous research papers, academic works, textbooks, journals, Internet services and other secondary material are used in the study to support the review of related literature.

Table 1 below represents the list of newspapers/news report publications, covering the period between 2015 and 2022. (See the Newspapers/News Reports' Headlines of the Publications used for Analysis in Appendix 111B).

Table 1: Newspapers /News Reports in the Study

NAME OF NEWSPAPER SITE/ORGANISATION	No. of articles	No. of words
Guardian	07	14450
Punch	05	12752
Vanguard	10	18608
Premium Times	03	13548
BBC News	04	17601
Daily Post	02	6161
Sahara Reporters	02	3382
Canegie Endowment for International Peace	06	15,164
<i>BEDC Independent Newspaper</i>	01	5221
Ripples Nigeria	01	4942
This Day	01	4704
Nigerian Tribune	03	3429
Transparenct International	01	1564
Grinverlag	01	6161
Academia Education	01	3382
ICPC	01	2281
TOTAL	16	204,128

It should be noted that more of the reports are drawn from recent media publications (2018 -2022), so as to mark the frequency of reported cases of graft within the period. The wordlist that occurs in the corpus is a reflection of the prevalence of graft reports in the Nigerian media. Therefore, the following expressions represent some of the selected wordlist in the graft news reports of the anti-graft campaign study. They are: *anti- graft in the National Assembly, jumbo pay, corruption, misappropriation, corruption in the*

Nigerian police, EFCC, extortion, among others. Some of the words occur more frequently to show their significance to the study.

1.3.3. Method of Data Analysis

The work employs a qualitative method of data analysis, which involves the three analytical procedures of describing, interpreting and explaining non-statistical data, characteristic of language study. By adopting this approach to data analysis, the researcher is exposed to the knowledge of how phenomena are interpreted through subjective response to social reality. This attempt results in a discourse that adopts a conceptual framework that is based on practical orientation with emphasis on different methods (Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, 2-7). The foregoing makes it possible for the researcher to interpret phenomena and assign meanings to them in terms of behaviour, in a particular context (John Mcleod n.p.). The research adopts concordance software and manual analysis to analyze features of stance in media reports in order to underscore the need for discovery, rather than facts.

Since the media publications of this study represent the anti-graft campaign in Nigeria, White's (2015) and Hyland's (2005) stance and appraisal theories are respectively adopted as the linguistic and extra-linguistic codes to describe and interpret the graft/anti-graft campaign in institutions and entities in Nigeria.

Meanwhile, selection of media publications in this work is inspired by the following considerations:

1. the media provide in-depth exploration of corruption within the period of coverage in the study.

2. the media publications which represent the data for the study are credible and reliable sources, and
3. the selection of the reports and news publications is guided by the thrust of this study.

The data are presented and analysed in four chapters of the entire work, and are entitled:

- stance and evaluation;
- stance and engagement;
- stance and metadiscourse; and
- stance and attitude.

Each of the chapters reflects the breakdown of stance resources to enable the researcher explain and analyse the functions associated with the respective component of stance. Each component is further sub-classified into categories for the purpose of subjecting the data to an in-depth analysis in relation to the anti-graft campaign. Therefore, through the adoption of stance and appraisal theories, the study carefully explores the features of stance in the selected media reports in order to educate, sensitize, motivate and mobilize the public to renew their minds towards social change in Nigeria. The new orientation can be achieved when institutions and relevant bodies consciously organize seminars and conferences to create the needed awareness.

1.4 Background to Study

1.4.1 Media Discourse

Norman Fairclough posits that language use underscores the communicative role of the media in the production and consumption of news outputs. This involves the presentation of socio-political speeches, documentaries, news reports, reviews and other forms of events, which reflect identities and relations (10-37). This shows, at least in the Nigerian

case, that the mediatory role the media plays is geared towards fighting against corruption. This study therefore examines how language is utilized in the media to perform the vital task of creating awareness about corruption in Nigeria. In addition, the study identifies the extent to which the media discourse (campaign) can influence people's negative attitudes that result in corruption, as well as the strategies employed in media discourse, which is aimed at reaching the domain of the general public.

Many scholars have investigated the language of the media. Mary Talbot notes that media in the modern world circulate information to create room for routine interactions among members of the public through various platforms, including the media, comprising electronics, such as radio and television, print and internet services (3-5). These are instruments of enlightenment and knowledge sharing knowledge (Mckay 572). It is noted that in the modern period, media services play significant reformatory roles in structuring and re-structuring the processes of social and cultural changes. Dare opines that the media are socio-cultural, politically motivated and disseminate information to the people to acquaint them with the culture and politics of the society through the communicative elements of language that result in the assumed objective reports which reflect the cultural, social, political, economic and religious orientations of the writer (300). Dennis and Merill, however argue that reporters' reports attempt to be unprejudiced, balanced, thorough and completely honest (104-105). Similarly, Roger Fowler's contributions to media discourse add that media reporting exhibits professional, commercial, institutional, ideological and political influences in conveying social happenings, which are expressed through the media news outputs, such as opinion articles, news items, media stories, among others.

Specifically, Gurevitch and Blumber see media in modern democracies as greatly sentimental to achieving objective reportage by pushing for a robust, uninhibited and creating an enabling environment of communication that allows for opposing ideas to

strive, which gives the writers opportunity to contend and evaluate pieces of information differently (268). Also contributing, Andrew Emwanta similarly points out that the role of the media is to help deepen democracy in Nigeria by creating awareness in order to give hope to the hopeless (n.p.). In this work, therefore, potentialities in the media are exposed through linguistic features of stance to generate the perception of readers with a view to achieving writers' goal of fighting against corruption.

The potency of the media, therefore, lies in their deployment of linguistic features of stance in order to illuminate information geared towards enlightening and sensitizing the public, with a view to achieving their goals. Thus, the role of the media brings about a unique method of communicative strategy, which positively impact the public and private lives of the people. These are achieved through the instrumentality of communicative ethos and communicative style.

Towards achieving the goal explained above, K.C. Schroder recommends the study of media discourse, including the processes of its production, reception, from the perspective of macro-social context (584). Maxwell McCombs observes that Media language, otherwise known as '*Journalese*' which began in the 19th century maintains a distinctive style to drive socio-political interests, by exploring certain stylistic features peculiar to the media, including the use of a series of pre-modification, noun in apposition to syntactic subjects, the use of short lexical items, and in some cases, the use of clichés, the use of putative, the use of subjunctive verbs and indicative verbs, among others (20-24). These devices constitute language resources of stance in news reportage.

For Samson Dare, media report is more than a faithful account of an incident of some significance, since it implicates the values of culture, morals, religions, politics and economy, which inherently influence the reporter. He notes that the values are unintentionally refined mainly through the linguistic code (310). Dare submits that since

media reports are socio-cultural and politically motivated, the reports are disseminated to the people to acquaint them with the culture and politics of the society through the communicative elements of lexemes, phrases and sentences that result in the assumed objective reports, in order to reflect the cultural, social, political, economic and religious orientations of the writer (300). He further observes that the linguistic and ideational choices in the media are deeply influenced by the reporter's place of origin/environment, culture, institution of training and discipline, which more often than not, results in subjective rather than objective information (312). Dennis and Merrill, however, argue that reporters are not only limited in their presentation of objectivity, through language use, but are also conditioned by experience, intelligence, physical state and educational background. They assert that writers often convey their personal opinions on issues of reality in attempting to be unprejudiced, balanced, thorough and completely honest in their reporting, which more often than not, is unattainable (104-105).

Similarly, Roger Fowler's contributions to media discourse, extend the frontiers of media reporting by stating that professional, commercial, institutional, ideological and political influences are common-place occurrences in news stories. He asserts that:

What is overwhelmingly important is the fact that newspaper publication is an industry and a business, with a definite place in the nation's and world's economic affairs. It is to be expected, then, that the activities and the output of the Press will be partially determined by considerations related to this fact; by the need to make a profit; by the economic organization of the industry; by its external relations with other industries, with financial institutions and with official agencies; by conventional journalistic practices; by production schedules; by relations with labour. All these

commercial and industrial structures and relationships are bound to have an effect on what is published as news and how it is presented. (20)

The media news outputs, such as opinion articles, news items, media stories, among others exhibit peculiar stylistic features. They generally maintain simplicity and clarity of language use, probably because they are “written and read by people in a hurry” (Brian Brook 104). This implies language that can be accessed easily by the public. Wildman Cherry describes the uniqueness of media language itself as a mirror of the dynamic human society, a dynamic element that reflects a good society (10). It follows that the changes and divergences experienced in the use of English in the media, account for the changes that occur in the society in order to meet the ever-changing nature of humanity. This can be exemplified by the constant media potential new coinages, borrowed and created in a peculiar manner, and in a context of use, through the processes of social adaptation of language use.

From the foregoing, the knowledge of media discourse is key to this study, because the grammatical features do not only serve as a means of allowing the writers to express their ideas, thoughts, feelings, emotions, beliefs and values, they also give opportunity to readers/researchers to decode and figure out complex problems through the motivation generated by the media discourse. This enables the writers/readers to view a challenge from different perspectives, based on their stances and perceptions.

1.4.2 Graft and Anti-Graft Campaign in Nigeria

Graft in Nigeria which implies corrupt practices among public officials, negates the spirits of the laws, and hinders good governance. In his attempt to relate bribery and corruption, Strombom posits that the terms are often used interchangeably in popular narratives, academic theories and legal texts to describe fraudulent practices (43). However, the

Criminal Code Act Laws of the Federation of Nigeria clearly states that the distinction between bribery and corruption implies two different ways of looking at and dealing with corrupt practices. In chapter 12 of the Laws under reference, it is stated that the offences associated with bribery and corruption include, abuse of public office, looting, violation of due process, among others - all of which represent bribery and corruption.

The outline below suggests the ways and patterns bribery and corruption in Nigeria manifest, as contained in the *Criminal Code Act Laws*:

1. the contractor or supplier colluding with the clients to inflate contract sum,
2. including a firm in a restricted list of bidders in order to write specifications in such a way that winning bidding is as a result of the collusion of the two parties involved because they to commit fraud by agreeing to terms of prices and how the profits will be shared in a competitive bids;
3. physical cash paid as kickback or deposited in a foreign account through electronic transfers, or offering outright sexual satisfaction to an officer by the person requiring favour;
4. showing partiality by a public officer in favour of his cronies;
5. diversion or misappropriation of funds approved for one item of expenditure to another item without appropriate approval, or fraudulent acquisition and/or receipt of property by using one's office or position to unduly influence official decision;
6. making false declarations about academic qualifications, age, marital status, place of origin among others by public office holders, in order to enjoy some privileges that are bestowed on people with the qualifications they fraudulently ascribe to themselves;
7. election rigging, and influencing peddling ...(See Appendix 1).

The foregoing represent acts of bribery and corruption that cut across many facets of Nigerian economy, which are being witnessed as a result of bad governance and corrupt political leaders. The description, therefore, gives us an insight into the relevance of the constitutional strategies put in place to check graft by successive governments, which though have yielded little or no satisfactory results. The challenge of graft has not only caused many people's sufferings and emotional pains, it is also reported that that corruption plunders the nation's resources, resulting in imbalances and disunity in Nigeria (Nnamdi Nwaodu, et al, 153). This situation accounts for the prevalence of high poverty among the citizenry, despite her rich deposits of human and material resources. Corruption is also identified as a strong destructive force hindering accelerated socio-economic transformation of developing or less developing countries of the world (Mohammed Salisu n.p.). The trend is suggestive of economic, social and political backwardness being experienced in the country. Experiences of fraud are common in issuance of passports or visas, acquiring permits and license to authorize the passage of goods at sea/airport, awarding contracts or enacting regulations designed to create artificial scarcity, among other illegal acts. Corruption has been described as a drain pipe to the nation's wealth, leaving little for its poorest citizens (Patrick Eric Okon Edemekong 11-12). Graft has therefore caused a major hindrance to the development of many African countries, including Nigeria. Hence, Nigeria, considered a highly corrupt country has continued to face particular challenges of underdevelopment and poverty, even with democratic leaders. Civilian administrations of 1979- to date have been characterized with several illegalities, including free-for-all looting of public funds, bribery and corruption, political violence and many other infractions (Ribadu, 207-210). This paints a situation right now that implies ineffective political activities and governance that negate ideal democratic

process. And this has assumed a dangerous dimension as players see their victory as the ticket to loot and amass wealth.

However, the government in collaboration with media has consciously fought against corruption through news publications which are aimed at opposing or reducing bribery and corruption to preserve public funds which are meant to meet public needs in Nigeria. Farida Waziri reveals that one government after another in Nigeria has made attempts to check cases of fraud among public officials through the bodies set up by the government to arrest, investigate and prosecute individuals suspected of financial crimes (n.p.). Nnamdi Nwaodu, et al. note that despite enforcement agencies, corrupt practices have not abated in Nigeria (63). Patrick Okon also observes that the much expected relief from corruption and good governance which Nigerians yearned for did not come with the anti corruption bodies (11). However, Patrick Okon remarks that the election of President Mohammadu Buhari in 2015 as one of the Nigerian democratic leaders was considered a solution to curb corrupt practices in governance, because his administration has declared total war against corruption, and makes some attempts to reform the anti-graft agencies in order to arrest and prosecute corrupt individuals (10).

In fact, Nwaodu, et al note that Buhari government came up with scheduled programme of action aimed at curbing corruption and to attain good governance (64). In keeping to his promise to fight against corruption, the President of Nigeria declares his determination not to compromise the human and material investments in the country (See President Mohammadu Buhari's speech presentation at the Anti-Corruption Summit in London – Appendix 111). Edmond and Frederick states that the president's avowed zero tolerance for graft is reflected in prioritizing signing bills to discourage fraud, and his approval of a coordinated treasury system to control government's expenditures and

income by public officers (4). Government's efforts in the direction to fight corruption are geared towards enhancing good governance and national development in Nigeria.

However, Nnamdi Nwaodu, et al. express the disappointment that fraudulent practices among civil servants are on the increase, thereby rendering anti-corruption attempt an effort in futility (65). Oluwadamilare and Anthony assert that the consistent increase of corruption cases inspite of charges of financial misappropriation levelled against several government officials, political leaders, judicial officers and financial officials in public corporations every now and then, are evidences of the futile efforts of the anti-graft bodies (1472). (See Appendix IV). Reports by EFCC between 2010 and 2015 reveal that the degree of corruption in Nigeria was alarming, and undermined the efforts of the anti-graft agencies, thereby hindering economic development. The report shows that the Agency had 103 convictions in 2015, which is an indication that the rate of corruption in the country's public sector was high (*Transparency International Corruption Index, 2016*). (See Appendix IV).

Based on the trend of the foregoing, Ngor Okpala notes that corruption status in Nigeria remains high and resisting anti-graft measures despite government's efforts, as this seems to render the anti-graft agencies incompetent (62). These reactions are occasioned by the acts of illegalities and high degree of fraud the country has been experiencing till date with no effective measures put in place to checkmate the rottenness.

By global and continental representations of corruption, the International Transparency (2016-2018) reports in Nigeriashow that the trend and level of corruption in Nigeria, among countries is highly ranked. Of the 54 countries on the African continent, Nigeria was rated the 19th most corrupt nation (*Transparency International Corruption Index, 2018*). (See Appendices V, VI and VII). In his statistic analysis, Stober observes that in the 2018 index records, there was 7 points reduction from that of 2016; scoring 27

out of 100 points, saying that the score indicates assumed level of corruption in public sector (2). Following the above reports, Tina Anatusi and Nnbuko argue that since corruption has had devastating impact on the nation's image and development, appropriate measures should be taken. They further advise that the measures taken against culprits should not be applied in a selective manner (1-15).

1.5. Theoretical Background

Introduction

This work adopts a blend of Ken Hyland's and Peter R.R. White's Stance and Appraisal theories respectively. The former focuses on interactional and interactive devices of metadiscourse, while the latter presents the theory on attitudes (affect, judgement and appreciation), engagement (monogloss and heterogloss) and gradation (force and focus). Stance is located within the interpersonal cycle of language use, and its theories guide writers to share and exchange ideas and views with readers in speeches or writings.

The systematic design of the model is set to aid possible introduction and explanation, in order to unfold why the research problem exists, by providing insights into the theory and concepts employed, which are relevant to the topic of the research interest (*Sacred Heart* n.p.).

1.5.1 Stance Theory

Modern stance theory was developed over the last two decades as offshoot of the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework. Stance is concerned with interpersonal meaning since it suggests the channels through which writers/speakers present their speeches or writings, including the ways in which listeners/readers are involved in such speeches or writings. Specifically, MAK Halliday and Jonathan J. Webster identify three meaning

modes – the textual, the ideational and the interpersonal, all of which play out at the same time in a speech event, and enabling meanings to be expressed (28-30).

Through the linguistic resources of stance, this study explores media reports, with a focus on the editorials, headlines and contents, news analysis and opinions, press statements, among others. Therefore, the use of stance theory in this work would help in the examination of “textual voice”. In other words, stance, in this work, is considered as a tool used to expose the three semantic dimensions of language use, which include epistemic, attitudinal and stylistic meaning, which are expressed in the media reportage of corruption. These devices represent the ways writers bring their personalities to bear on their arguments, through lexical and grammatical expressions (Biber and Finnegan 124).

The adoption of stance theory exposes how the writers’ views are conveyed through the linguistic tools of modal verbs, adverbials and complement clauses in relation to the corpus of news publications. As an interactional strategy in discourse, stance is described as writer-oriented thoughts, feelings, assessments and attitudes, conveyed through linguistic resources. The consideration of stance as an important aspect of language study is to give allowance to writers to share their personal subjective views, thoughts and feelings with participants in the discourse through the use of stance markers. The marker may be deployed to express certainty of their propositions, and what perspective they are taking to express the ideas in relation to the reader (Biber et al 966). Through stance theory, the degree of a writer’s assurance and commitment to a given proposition is exposed (Dubois, 139). Therefore, the examination of stance theory under the three dimensions of language earlier mentioned would project the writer/speaker by involving such devices as hedges, boosters, attitude and self mentions (Hyland 94-115).

Hedges are devices employed by writers to withhold complete commitment to a proposition. This implies how such claims are influenced by logical reasoning, but giving

room for readers to argue for or against such claims. **Boosters** employ explicit markers, such as *definitely, sure, prove*, among others. **Attitudinal** indicates the writer's affective, rather than epistemic attitude to propositions. It is used to convey expressions of surprises, agreement, importance, frustration and so on rather than commitment. Attitude is most explicitly indicated with verbs, adverbs and adjectives of attitude. All of these allow writers take a stand or positions. **Self mention** refers to the use of first person pronouns and possessive adjectives to present information. The device help project writers' impressions and how they stand in relation to participants' arguments (Hyland, 105-124).

However, the contemporary view of stance reveals that writers' personal attitudes and emotions as well as the assessment of the status of knowledge are expressed (Biber et al 966). Hunston and Thompson also observe that stance enables speakers to bring in their own thoughts into the written and verbal discourse in order effectively communicate with readers/listeners (6). Through stance, a speaker's level of certainty and commitment to a particular proposition is conveyed so as to emphasize the values attached to objects of interest (Du Bois 139). This portrays that in stance, some space is created by an author to enable the readers and listeners present their argument, either to agree or disagree.

Interests in stance as a theoretical concept have opened up different dimensions. For this reason, different analytical approaches have been favoured by scholars in the field of linguistics. Among them are Biber and Finnegan who are credited with being the first scholars to adopt the term '**stance**' in their early works on academic genres. It is in such works that stance is described as the expression of lexical and grammatical features of attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitment concerning the content of a message (Biber and Finnegan 93). They further identify some grammatical features that function as stance markers in English to include, stance adverbials (adverbs, prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses (25). These represent the key marker of stance that performs a variety of

functions. Attention is paid to those stance markers that indicate levels of *evidentially* (epistemic stance) which demonstrates certainty or doubt and commitment to a message propositional content and *affect* (attitudinal stance), the speaker's expression of personal feelings and attitudes towards a message content.

Twelve different categories of stance markers using grammatical and semantic categories also identified are: (1) affect markers, (2) hedges, (3) emphatics, (4) possibility modals, (5) necessity modals, (6) predictive modals, (7) certainty verbs, (8) doubt verbs (9) certainty adjectives, (10) doubt adjectives, (11) certainty adverbs, and (12) doubt adverbs (Biber and Finnegan 26-29). They demonstrate the usefulness of adverbials in making different degrees of stance meanings, with regard to expressing affect and evidentiality (36).

In their study too, semantic dimensions of stance are identified, to include *epistemic*, *attitudinal* and *style*. *Epistemicity* relates to the level of commitment writers, speakers are ready to invest in a proposition. It involves other layers of meaning such as "certainty or doubt, actuality, precision, or limitation and source of knowledge or the perspective from which the information is given (e.g. adverbials such as *definitely*; modal verbs such as *must*; and complement clauses (972). Attitudinal stance relates to expression of attitudes and personal feelings or emotions, as conveyed through the language features of adverbials such as "amazingly", modal verbs such as "ought to", adjective + complement clauses such as "curious". The *style of speaking* relates to the writers/speakers' manner of offering comments on the communication itself as exemplified in the use of *honestly*, *quite frankly*, *strictly speaking* (975).

It is pertinent to point out here that, as its corpus, this study is only interested in lexical and grammatical items used to express stance (covert marking of stance), which include evaluative adjectives, main verbs and nouns (value-laden words), stance

adverbials, modals, and stance complement clauses. What is obvious from the phenomenon of stance theorization in the works that have been cited here and other studies on stance, is that there is no all embracing stance theoretical framework upon which scholars in the field agree.

However, the methodological approach that guides this study is predicated on Hyland's approach whose methodological preference is anchored on a blend of corpus and discourse – analytical approach that depends on the idea of stance as an aspect of interpersonal function. This best suits the interest of this investigation. This implies that through stance, writers create space in their writing which the readers or listeners fill through the expression of their opinions, either to agree or disagree in a proposition (Wale Osisanwo, 96-97). In this sense, the descriptive manner of employing the stance devices of intensity, posture, disjuncts, hedges, modality, intersubjectivity, affect and evidentiality is interactional and interactive between the writer and the reader in this study, follows Hyland's strategies. In this regard, Bethany Gray and Douglas Biber's view that stance is the ways speakers and writers encode and decode opinions and assess language use respectively, is very insightful. They assert that stance conveys meanings which indicate the attitudinal (affect) and epistemic (evidentiality) markers deployed on a proposition or information (150). Biber et al note that attitudinal stance markers relate to expression of attitudes and personal feelings or emotions. (975). Thus, the elements or devices of attitudinal stance are realized by showing how the speaker feels towards the proposition he is making. This suggests that attitudinal markers express the speaker's attitude or value judgment about the proposition's content, so that the writer's purpose is to look at the message presented from the author's perspective (Adams 15-20). Most significantly, the devices in attitudinal stance are aimed at making appeals to readers' emotions (affective), inducing them to feel the same way the writer feels about the discourse, or accept the

proposition as wholly true in a manner the writer(s) sees/see it. Attitudinal stance tells us whether the meanings expressed in a text are neutral, positive or negative. This means that in attitudinal stance, evaluative markers are used to reveal the author's attitude, or how he feels towards the issue being addressed.

The foregoing reveal that affective stance is concerned with knowing speakers/writers' emotions (desire, anger, grief etc.) with respect to a given state of affairs, when contrasted with epistemic stance. According to Al-Saaidi, writers/speakers use attitudinal markers to assess their personal attitudes towards the proposition (96). This indicates the writer/speaker's positions in a discourse, as conveyed through emotive words that represent personal judgement. Hyland's perception of attitudinal stance is further stressed in his prescription and use of language features, in which he describes attitudinal stance as the manner of writers' presentating judgements, opinions and commitments in a proposition (176).

This shows that attitudinal stance encapsulates and sums up almost everything about stance, because it involves the exposition of the writer's inner mind. It also involves the language resources that enable the writer evaluate his subject, either positively or negatively. Drawing a comparison between attitudinal and epistemic stance, Elinor Ochs holds the opinion that affective stance has to do with expression of feelings, attitudes, moods or degree of emotional intensity, while epistemic stance relates to argument or claim based on facts and knowledge (15). This implies that, affect represents emotions shared with readers and or situations. It is used to indicate the notions of the intensity of an utterance, and in particular, the attitude or emotion of the writer, which could be expressed through surprise, anger, revolt, et cetera.

Therefore, attitudinal stance markers comprise elements writers explore to convey emotions, perceptions and beliefs. (Hyland 125). This implies that writers explore

attitudinal stance through linguistic and extra-linguistic strategies to convey their orientations and dispositions towards the content of a text. Peter Crostwhaite et al states that attitudinal stance can be explicitly or implicitly expressed in order to project the writer's presence and personality, and to convince the reader to share his/her point of view (109). The foregoing reveals that attitudinal stance is categorized into affect (emotional responses), judgmental (moral evaluation), and appreciation (aesthetic evaluation) (Bethany Gray and Douglas Biber 18).

Self-mention constitutes a very important feature of attitudinal stance in discourse. It refers to the use of personal pronoun and possessives in a proposition to reflect affective and interpersonal discourse (Hyland, 564). Personal pronoun refers to an individual's or individuals' expression in a speech exchange, comprising first person, second person and third person, such as **'I', 'we', 'you', 'she', 'he', 'it' and 'they'**; while the possessives composed of determiners that are used to introduce nouns by possessing them, such as **'his', 'their', 'my', 'our', 'its' and 'her'**. Each can change word-form to make it signal person, number and case (Monday Okugbe 47-54).

Table 6: Classification of Personal Pronouns / possessives

Person	Number	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
1 st	Singular	I	Me	My
1 st	Plural	We	Us	Our
2 nd	Singular	You	You	Your
2 nd	Plural	You	You	Your
3 rd	Singular	he/she/it	him/her/it	his/her/its
3 rd	Plural	They	Them	their

Culled from: Okugbe, 54

Roz Ivanic opines that self mention devices are relevant in presenting a *discoursal self* as key to the writing process because writers explore the strategy to project the points being made, and how a writer's positions relates to the arguments, discipline and the readers. Self-mention device is deliberately used by writers to give a claim the writer's personal touch (67).

First person pronoun is a common place language element to complement attitudinal stance, which often manifests through the features of noun, verb and adverbial. *Self mention* in discourse does not only reflect expressing personal identity, but to make the argument or claim to gain credibility. Personal reference clearly helps a writer to indicate his perspective in an attempt to interpret an utterance, enabling writers to emphasize their own contributions to the field, and to seek agreement for it. Furthermore, it clearly demarcates the writer's role in the discourse, by using 'I', which emphasizes what the writer/speaker has done. The personal pronoun 'I' as a very important element, not only credits a particular writer with a point of view, which is his/her unique and intellectual property, but also helps to assert the writer. It shows the audience the writer's stance in relation to the issues and in relation to other discourse partners. It marks out the uniqueness of the writer or speaker and his ideas.

Epistemic stance (evidentiality) relates to the level of commitment writers and speakers are ready to invest in a proposition. Biber et al. observe that "epistemic stance markers are used to present a speaker's comment on the status of information in a proposition" (973). The markers could also be used to mark certainty (or doubt), actuality, precisions, or limitations, or they can indicate the source of knowledge or the perspective from which the information is given (973). Biber et al. further posit that linguistic elements realizing epistemic marking or meaning reveal "the writer's judgement about the certainty, reliability, and limitations of the proposition, they could also be described as the

comments on the source of the information (54). This implies that Biber et al., in a subtle manner, consider epistemic stance in particular, and stance in general, from the speaker's perspective. Also in his view, Adams states that the deployment of epistemic stance involves certain linguistic devices that suggest different meanings, such as: (i) doubt and certainty, (ii) actuality and reality, (iii) source of knowledge or information, (iv) limitation, (v) viewpoint or perspective, and (vi) impression (16). Leo Hoyer also observes that epistemicity is focused on matters of knowledge or beliefs, which enable speakers to express their judgements about the state of affairs, events or actions (42). This shows that an account of epistemicity usually suggests the main function of the writer's choice of words, which is aimed at exposing the speaker's or writer's state of mind or knowledge, and to indicate that the speaker/writer is uncertain or tentative, and not committed to the truth value of the proposition, or otherwise.

Therefore, the features of evidentiality in stance are strongly linked with the evaluation of a phenomenon, whereby the factual knowledge and status of a proposition is described, interpreted and exposed. This is guided by the following indicators:

1. the reliability of knowledge
2. knowledge sources, such as evidences, formulated by hypotheses
3. methods of knowing or acquiring knowledge, such as through personal beliefs, induction, inferences or assumption, among others
4. the appropriateness of verbal resources for marking evidential meaning arising from the relations between linguistic markers, status of the knowledge and reader/hearer's expectations (Hyland and Guinda, 16).

From the above perspective, Frank Palmer maintains that, "language users use epistemic stance to make judgements about the possibility or necessity of an entire proposition, and to assess the writer's or speaker's factual status of the proposition (7-10).

Also emphasizing the attitudinal function of epistemic stance, Al-Saaidi claims that the device provides speaker's comment on the status of the information presented in the main clause (27). The foregoing are proofs that the direction of epistemic stance reflects the relation between the speaker/writer and the proposition in order to evaluate cases of possibility, certainty, or the evidence for the individual's belief, such that a given state of affairs is determined, whether true or false.

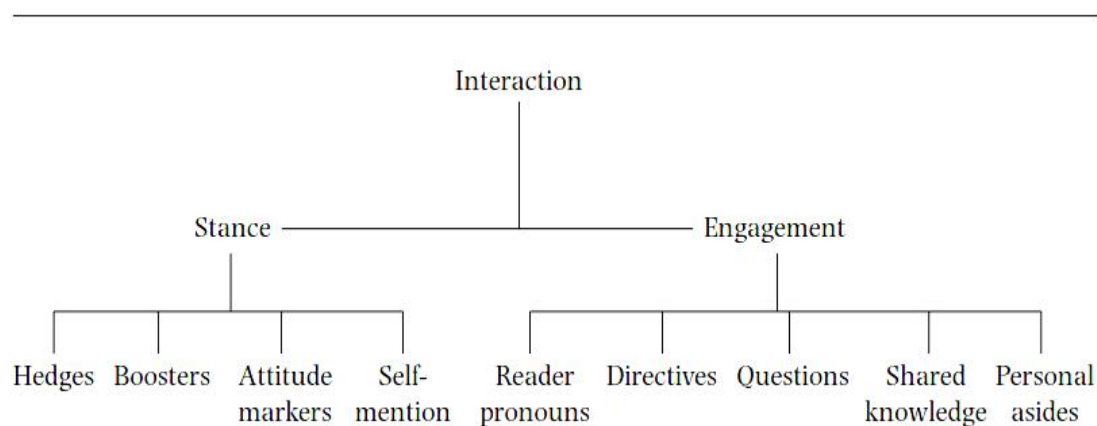
The two major features of stance explained above indicate the non-referential information, as well as referential information, which jointly conveys the writers' moods and feelings, and furnishes the hearers or readers with the clear intention of the speaker/writer, in order to evaluate the position of the propositional content of the message (Ihara, 180).

In summary, epistemic stance refers to the choice of linguistic resources to assess or evaluate the content of a proposition stated in an utterance in relation to the degree of utterances, concerning the speaker's certainty or possibility in revealing source(s) of information. Some of the elements often used to express evidentiality, include adverbials, such as: *definitely, almost, apparently, possibly, usually, virtually, perhaps, sometimes, somewhat, someways, to a certain extent, in some ways*; adjectivals, such as: *many, most, a certain number of, some*; verbals, such as: *can, could, appear, suggest, seem, indicate, must, may, might*; phrasal or clausal complement, such as: *as far as we know, to the best of my knowledge, it is obvious, I'm not sure if..., We may be making a mistake..., I guess, ..., et cetera*. These are some typical examples of epistemic stance markers, which allow writers to express a perspective on their statements or utterances.

Therefore, the description of stance above, succinctly reveals Hyland's stance theory that employs interactional and interactive devices of metadiscourse. This theoretical

framework is adopted to explicate this study through lexico-grammatical options. This dimension of stance is illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 1: Key resources of academic interaction



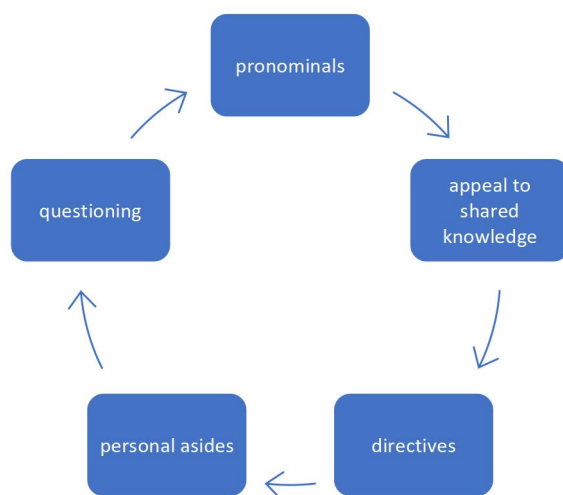
Source: Hyland, *Stance and Engagement*, 182.

From the above figure, the ways a writer puts him/herself onto a proposition, by getting involved in the discourse in a subtle manner is exposed (Hyland 136). Biber and Finnegan's submission also corroborates Hyland's position by saying that stance refers to the language of attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitment inherent in the propositional content of a message (124). Additionally, Hyland notes that the concept of stance and engagement mechanism takes into consideration the need for the writer to acknowledge and connect to readers, by "recognizing their presence, pulling them along with their arguments, focusing their attention, acknowledging their uncertainties, including them as discourse partners, and leading them to appropriate understanding" (176). This implies that stance and engagement overlap, being two sides of the same coin, as they help to strengthen the interpersonal aspect of discourse. Also identified in stance and engagement, are the lexical indices and labels that reflect positive or negative valence, such as those that express satisfaction at a society with a high moral disposition, and/or

anger and hate towards abnormalities.

Thus, Hyland proposes five main elements of engagement, and these include, *reader pronominals*, *personal asides*, *appeals to shared knowledge*, *directives* and *questions* (182). These are represented in the figure below.

Figure 2: Engagement Elements



Source: Hyland, *Stance and Engagement*, 172.

The above figure shows that participants in discourse deploy certain elements of stance and engagement for specific functions. This implies that in the media construction of anti-graft campaign, writers could deploy pronominal markers (first, second or third person, singular or plural pronoun), to achieve certain communicative purposes. For instance, *I* is used by the participant to present a discursal self to project his personalized beliefs, trusts, distrusts and disappointments in the representation of a phenomenon; *we* is used to show solidarity and oneness; *you* (the second person singular or plural), is used to acknowledge the reader's presence). It should be noted that in the context of this study, the second person directly refers to discourse partners; and the third person singular, *he/him* refers to the government and its representatives, or officials who are implicated in terms of corruption.

Specifically in this study, government agents and the officials are seen as third person singular (either individually or as a team). Meanwhile, the third person plural, '*they/them/their*', is used to dissociate the writer from the behaviour of the negative referent in the discourse. Secondly, *personal asides* is used to address readers directly by briefly interrupting the argument, in order to offer a view. *Appeals to shared knowledge* is also a device used to refer to participants' attempt to give their opinions and stances in order to invoke the notion of 'sharedness' with the readers and other participants. The use of *directives* is meant to direct readers to engage in any of the three main kinds of activity, including textual acts, physical acts and cognitive acts, at a particular time. In the *physical acts*, the writer could instruct the reader by using judgemental lexical verbs or modal auxiliaries of obligation in declaratives; the *textual acts* involve the device of metadiscourse, whereby the participant guides the reader through discussion of the topic; in the *cognitive acts*, the writer guides the reader through a line of reasoning. Finally, in the question device, the writer uses *questions* (direct and indirect interrogatives) to engage interlocutors and bring them into an arena where they can be led to their own view point by raising rhetoric questions to arouse the interest of the interlocutors (Hyland, 395 -415). These elements are explored in this study to account for the mechanism of stance and engagement which a speaker or writer adopts to interact with potential readers/hearers.

Hyland's interactional dimension of stance is also considered in this study. This represents the approach that applies stance and metadiscourse, reflecting writer-oriented language resources or features (including the ways writers annotate their texts in order to achieve outstanding accuracy or credibility of a claim in terms of degree of commitment and attitude to the phenomenon (179). In other words, Bruce Fraser posits that metadiscourse refers to discourse - pragmatic markers or lexical items indicating symbolic meaning, special message, and a procedural meaning, with a view to portraying that the

message is a comment on the basic message in an utterance (165). Hyland further asserts that the three components of metadiscourse include evidentiality, affect and presence. He explains that *evidentiality* refers to the writer's expressed commitment to the reliability of the propositions being present, and their potential impact on the reader; *affect* involves a broad range of personal and professional attitudes towards what is said, including emotions, perspectives and beliefs; while *presence* concerns the extent to which the writer chooses words to project him or herself into the text (*Stance and Engagement* 180).

Another significant element of Metadiscourse is boosters. They permit writers to express their certainty in what they say and to mark involvement with the topic, showing solidarity with their audience. Such words like 'clearly', 'obviously', 'surely' and 'demonstrate' which function to emphasize shared information, group membership and engagement with readers, are used in discourse as boosters ("*Disciplinary Discourses*" 99–121). This shows that unlike hedges, writers use boosters to press home their points in order to persuade readers to share common view. The marker is used to convey certainty in attempting to maintain common interest with the reader. However, boosters and hedges are often effectively juxtaposed to set caution for writers' view points. The device acts as acknowledgement of disciplinary norms of appropriate argument because they help to balance objective information, subjective evaluation and inter-personal negotiation, which are powerful factors in the acceptance of claims. Both strategies emphasize that statements do not only communicate ideas, but also the writer's attitude to them and to readers. Writers must also appraise the commitment they want to invest in their arguments based on its epistemic status and the effect this commitment might have on readers' responses. The table below represents Hyland's Taxonomy of Interactional Metadiscourse markers.

Table 7:

Interactional	Involve the reader in the text	Resources
Hedges and Boosters	Withhold commitment & open dialogue to emphasize certainty or close dialogue	Might, perhaps, possible, about, infact, definitely, it is clear that, etc.
Attitude markers	Express writer's attitude to proposition	I agree, surprisingly, unfortunately, etc.
Self-mentions	Explicit reference to authority(s)	I, we, my, me, our, etc.
Engagement markers	Explicitly built relationship with reader	Consider, note, you can see that, etc

Source: Hyland, *Metadiscourse*, 49.

The above table shows the elements of hedging and boosters in interactional discourse. Generally, these elements affirm Fairclough's argument that metadiscourse is a peculiar form of intertextuality that enables the text producer to distance himself from his text to a certain level (*Discourse and Social Change* 123). It also affirms van Dijk's assertion that responses to issues involve socio-political constructs that define the orientations, goals, interests and experiences of the group(s) concerned (*Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* 282). Therefore, through the elements of metadiscourse in this

study, the media express a participant's defined position in his writing, in order to enhance communication.

1.6.2. Appraisal theory

Peter R.R.White's Appraisal theory shares common grounds relations with Hyland's stance theory because it also presents writer/reader's participation in a discourse, in order to invoke readers' attitude (affect, judgement and appreciation), all of which are expressed as engagement (monogloss and heterogloss), and gradation (force and focus). Appraisal framework, also known as appraisal system or appraisal theory was developed as an elaborate system that allows linguistic analysis of a text from the perspective of the evaluative properties of text. Martin and White, alongside other scholars have played central roles in the evolvement of Appraisal theory.

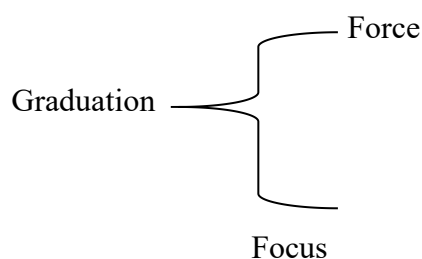
The theory has been developed in stages in their different publications, dating back to 1994. However, some of the publications on Appraisal include: ledema, Feez, and White 1994. Martin 1995a. Martin 1995b. Christie and Martin 1997. Martin 1997, Coffin 1997. Eggins and Slade 1997. White 1998, Martin 2000. Coffin 2000. White 2000, Körner 2001. Martin and White 2005, .mong others.

Appraisal theory involves the deployment of linguistic resources with which a speaker or writer comes to express, negotiate and naturalise particular inter-subjective positions, which ultimately may reveal their ideological position. More particularly, appraisal theory is concerned with the language of evaluation, attitude and emotion, and other resources which reveal the position of the speaker or writer. That is, it is concerned with those meanings which vary in terms of the speaker's engagement with their utterances, and they vary what is at stake interpersonally, both in individual utterances and as the texts unfold cumulatively.

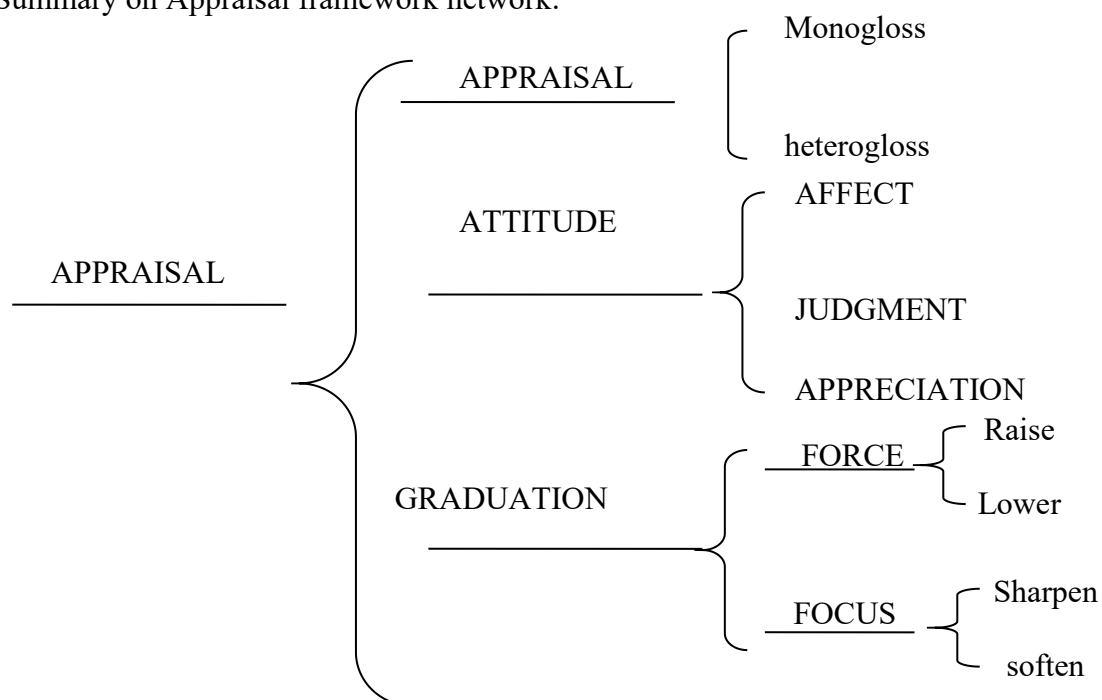
Appraisal theory explores the ways language is deployed to evaluate, judge and to build up textual persons by an author, so as to allow writers express agreement or disagreement on issues relating to occurrences, people's attitude or ideas (White, 27-30). This alludes to how language users build relations with their interlocutors by expressing certain positions. The theory is further defined as '...the semantic resources employed to negotiate emotions, judgment and evaluations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations (White 145).

The appraisal framework proposes three extended systems for its exemplification in textual analysis. The figure below presents the domains/resources of appraisal framework with its network:

Graduation involves two values 'force' and 'Focus.'



Summary on Appraisal framework network:



Other features of Appraisal network we can also consider

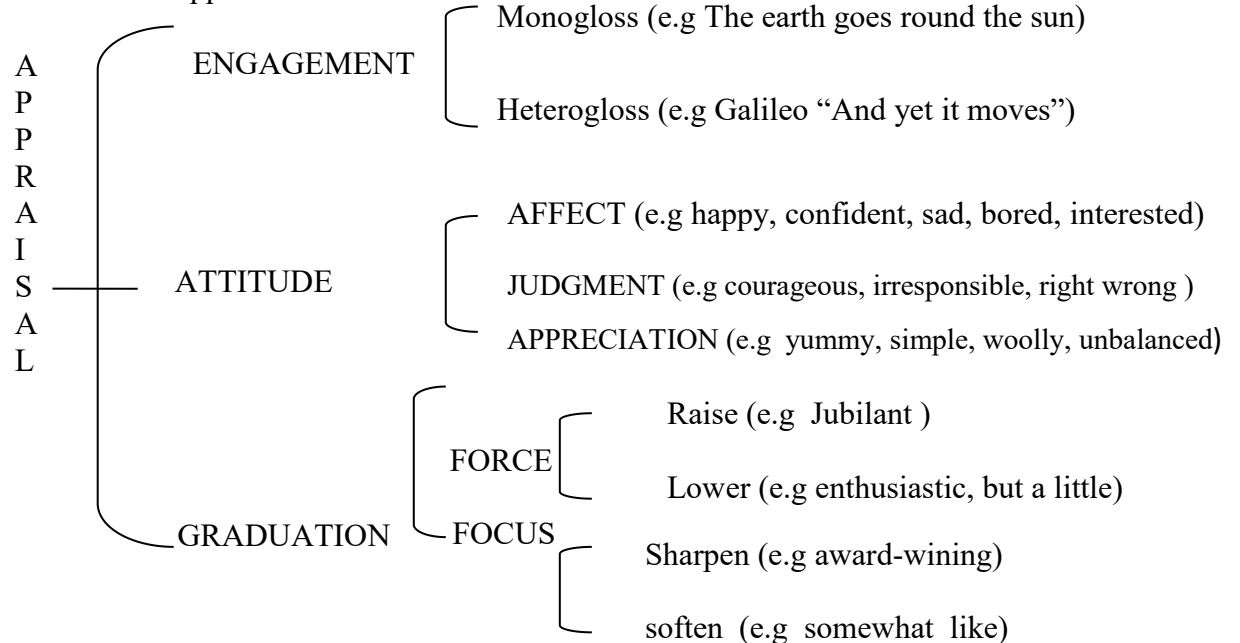


Figure 4: Figure content uploaded by Peter Robert Rupert White

From the network of Appraisal theory shown in the above figure, it is observed that the theory employs the following markers at its different domains of language use:

- i. attitude
- ii. engagement, and
- iii. graduation.

Attitude has to do with a text producer's feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things. Attitude refers to feelings, including

emotional reactions, judgments of behaviour and evaluation of things (Martin and White, 205). These elements are further divided into three categories, namely, *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation*: Affect is the language resource for expressing feelings; Judgment is the resource for assessing character; while Appreciation refers to devices for measuring the quality of things (Martin and Rose, 24). It should be noted that the terms used for expressing appraisal theory include: *inscribed* or *invoked* evaluations. Martin and White describe inscribed appraisal as evaluation which has been overtly inscribed in a discourse through the use of attitudinal lexis, while invoked appraisal is the exploration of ideational meanings which appropriately represent invoked evaluation, without being overtly expressed with lexical items or structures that explicitly reveal feelings (61-62). However, both invoked and inscribed attitudes are employed to express the writer's or a third party's evaluation of the phenomenon. The devices also provide opportunity to the wider audience share in the main argument being proposed.

Engagement is a category of appraisal in which the speaker/writer takes explicit position in relation with other opinions in discourse. According to Hyland, engagement has five elements in relation to academic writing:

- i. Reader pronouns.
- ii. Personal asides.
- iii. Appeals to shared knowledge
- iv. Directives
- v. Questions

Reader Pronoun: This involves the use of personal pronoun and possessives, such as first and second person - to invite the reader or the audience to the discourse arena, or to acknowledge their presence.

Directives: This involves elements used to issue instructions to readers to accomplish a proposed task or goal as determined by the writer. Writers often engage the reader through three main kinds of activity.

Personal Asides: This refers to a writer's comments or contributions which digress from the topic of discourse. The comment may not essentially relate to the subject matter, but used briefly to address readers directly by interrupting the argument, offered in a manner to respond to active participants so as to initiate a brief interpersonal dialogue to build writer-reader trust relationship.

Appeal to Shared Knowledge: This represents markers used by writers to acknowledge and accept readers' presence in the discourse, in order to demonstrate unity of action and familiarity with the reader or the audience. Such a construction requires participants to identify with particular views; roles are assigned to the reader-participants in creating the argument, while the focus shifts from the writer to the reader.

Questions: This constitutes the main strategy of dialogue, employed to invite, engage and to arouse readers' curiosity, used in bringing interlocutors into an arena where they can be led to the writer's viewpoint. Participants often use rhetoric questions, which could be direct and indirect interrogatives to engage interlocutors to bring them into the arena of discourse to share their own viewpoint and to arouse the interest of the interlocutors (Hyland, 89 - 119) (See details on “the Strategy of Engagement” on Hyland's Stance Theory as earlier discussed).

Graduation: This refers to the language strategy through which writers reflect the strength of the message, or otherwise, thereby modifying the force and focus of the proposition. **Force** is used to mark the strength or the reliability of the discourse, while **Focus** assesses the clarity of the discourse (Congcong Fan, n.p.). Martin and White explain that force is assessing the strength and quality of the message. They add that force

has the attributes of intensifications, quantifications and evaluation. They also state that **Isolation** indicates upgrading or downgrading, as conveyed through words like a bit, somehow, relatively, among other words. On the other hand, **Infusion** expresses function through the meanings of words, as in the use of happy, joyous, combated. **Repetition** is simple repeating lexical item which share same meaning, as in ‘cried and cried and cried (10-15). Fan notes that the process of the phenomena described helps to achieve evaluation of things whereby feelings are amplified and categorized, but clearly defined (n.p.). .

It is observed that Hyland’s stance theory and White’s appraisal theory adopted for the study, tend to move towards the same direction. They share most devices in common for the purpose of textual analysis. This is what justifies the choice and blending of the two different theories whose analytical approach guides this study.

1.6. Review of Related Scholarship and Justification of Study

Review in this study focuses on a critical exploration of existing literatures on language within the domain of discourse, graft and anti- graft campaign in Nigeria, which are aimed at establishing a link between the study and other similar scholarly research works. The review therefore constitutes the framework upon which the study is predicated.

The review begins with works on discourse-related studies that attempt to show how language, including stance resources is an interactional strategy that exposes meanings. Dereck M.A. Orji and Chinelo Obijiofor attempt to examine language as a form of social and cultural practices whose value lies in the use that can be made of it. They are of the view that correct usage of language gives linguistic appetite to the users of the language, and that the strength of linguistic resources is well structured on linguistic theoretical framework language in use adopts (n.p.). G. Brown and G. Yule argue that

“any analytic approach in linguistics that involves textual considerations should be based on the principles of pragmatics” (26). This position affirms the functional approach of discourse analysis which this study is set to apply in order to investigate phenomena. Teun Van Dijk observes that stylistic, rhetorical and discourse features account for communicative acts in socio-cultural context, which define the nature and relevance of discourse (24).

Considering the above claims, it could be argued that the analysis of discourses involves the examination of syntax and semantics, which fall within the domain of pragmatics. This portrays that discourse analysis and pragmatics jointly focus on what and how people make use of their language. In a similar argument, H.P. Grice employs the term “Implicative” to account for the intertwine relations between the theoretical structure of pragmatics and discourse analysis in accounting for how writer’s choices often differ from what they imply with language (6).

Frank R. Palmer identifies “grammar (the nucleus of a language) as a human activity”, noting that language should be of paramount interest to all mass communicators (both in printing and electronic media). He is of the opinion that the interest of the reading public should rely on how the resources of grammar are presented, or the failure to recognize their importance so as to achieve an effective communication in language use. He therefore opines that discourse makes language a vital human characteristics, by considering man as not only “homo loquen” (man the speaking animal), but also “homo Grammaticus”. In his method of language investigation, Palmer adopts the theoretical presentation of language concepts with emphasis on proficiency which underscores the need for writers to use the standard form of the language, including the Received Pronunciation (R/P)- model) (7-15).

Hassan Jalili's work attempts to illustrate the specific social use of language, by employing the resources of nominal clause-bundles to reflect the function of a particular structural group or bundles which enhance encoding and decoding of stance markers. A comparative analysis of the studies reveals variations between published and unpublished works (with particular reference to students' writings); that the employment of nominal word group is often associated with more language resources of hedging, attitude markers, emphatics, attribution markers and epistemic meanings (35-38). The study, therefore, reveals that the use of clausal-bundles is more dominant with research articles, and less with students' writings, because the authors of the former are acclaimed and credible writers when compared to the latter, whose works lack academic or scholarly competency, since they have no mastery of the language in use yet.

Jalali recommends that young writers should increase the consciousness to improve their writing skills, in order to achieve English for Academic Purpose (38). Hyland adopts a model to investigate how to use language effectively. He examines interactional discourse in eight (8) disciplines, including Marketing, Electrical Engineering, Philosophy, Sociology, Applied Linguistics, Mechanical Engineering, Physics, and Micro-Biology which aims at exploring the manners writers and readers deploy language resources to encode and decode academic arguments and discursal choices, respectively. The two hundred and forty (240) published articles and informant interviews which result from the analysis of the disciplines carried out through eclectic approach, reveals the use of stance markers. This shows that participation in discourse is a function stance and engagement markers which characterize the articles under review (*Stance and Engagement* 179-186).

Douglas Biber's research attempts a documentation of lexical features employed in stance. In his comparative analysis of the stance features, he observes variations.

Specifically, the study shows that a comparison between academic register with students' register, shows a difference and variation in the choices of lexical items to convey the same idea. In other words, while the former employs high density form of the word, the latter utilizes low density grammatical form (114-116). However, the study reveals that stance represents the linguistic resources peculiar in the university language registers, but with differences or variations in the observable registers, each of which manifests features decoding stance, and the stance resources rendered and understood.

Similarly, Tse undertakes a study of stance in autobiographical features. The study attempts to present a detailed and useful manners of projecting a regular and diverse studies. In the study, six hundred data are chosen. Based on the categories of data employed, publications reflection of the research helps to arouse the curiosity of the reader, to know the personality and the work. Tse argues that, inspite of the fact that some bios may not render a faithful account of their academic achievements, the bio is crucial in portraying the author (71-77). He therefore submits that writers should utilize stance to characterize academic research.

In their article, Vivian O. Olubakin and Abiola. S. Kalejaiye attempt propositions based on the interrogation of a manslaughter trial in a court in Nigeria. Their study involves the transcriptions of fifty (50) interrogation utterances on the manslaughter case, purposively selected for analysis. Therefore, the study confirms that the understanding of the English mood system in the language of Courtroom Interrogations enhances a mastery of an effective communication in context. The analysis has proven that the mood system is an effective tool in the understanding of the meaning- making processes during courtroom interrogation event. This shows that the clausal mood of courtroom interrogation utterances has established mood associations that portray the distant social roles and relations of language users in that context. This means that through the mood system, the

analysis holds that interactants involved in a court room interrogation engage in acts, such as indicating, demanding, challenging and evaluating responses. Also, the speech turns in the courtroom reveal the predominant mood of both lawyers and the persons standing trial. Towards that direction, the study identifies the linguistic mechanism through which speakers in a courtroom interrogation context construct their identities (245-258).

Ummual Ahmad and Mariam Mehrjoosaresht examine second language. They adopt thirty (30) data to identify and discuss the usefulness of three (3) stance markers, including epistemic, attitudinal, and style stance, and they note the attempt of the Engineering Doctoral Writers to deploy the language resources in their research, shows that the use of the devices does not only project the intended attitude of the writers, they also help to reemphasize certainty, possibility and authenticity of the information being presented (34). In their findings, they explain that the use of epistemic stance is predominantly frequent to underscore the discursive strategy (32-34).

Based on the exchange between clients and therapists, Peter Muntigl et al examine the clients' narratives and disagreements with the therapists. The aim of this study is to examine how these two sets of participants negotiate associations, through the clients' affective and attitudinal stance. A detailed analysis of the micro interactional process of both parties shows that the clients link some affective qualities to their personal experiences, and the therapists' verbal/nonverbal responses to these stances have helped to impact the relationship between both parties at different levels. Muntigl et al conclude that lexical-grammatical features are used to portray the attitudes of sorrow, sadness, happiness, surprises, and to convey judgements, when the language device is used in negotiating and sustaining interpersonal relations. Thus, this review considers whether affective stance in the participants' actions are affectual, judgmental or evaluative (118). The study also

shows that responses from the therapists to their clients' attitudinal stance help in promoting interaction in a therapeutical way (137-138).

Through the methods of contrastive language analysis, and a corpus based research, Peter Crosthwaite et al compare undergraduate dentistry students' writings with dentistry professional writings, in order to examine the rhetorical devices used by these scholars in the presentations of academic stance in their research reports. The study which employs five hundred thousand (500,000) word corpus, comprises scholarly writings, published in the *Journal of Community Dental Health*, between year 2010 and 2012, and contains a collection of the fifth-year dentistry students' small-group teaching reports (PBL), being the requirement for the Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MB ChB), in their institutions.

The results of the study show that there exists some salient differences in the use of hedges, boosters, self-mention, and attribution markers, in the learners' and professional reports' corpora. The learners' data contain an observable high degree of stance markers than professionally written reports. It is also revealed in the study that a high degree frequency of self-mention is obtained, while a low frequency of attitude, hedging and boosting markers is obtained in the students' research reports (113-114). These features are used to reflect the interactive presentation and participatory roles of the participants. The use of the stance markers afford the participants the opportunity to convey their attitude, and to enable them share their ideas with other interlocutors within and outside, with a view to promoting interaction, unity and agreement among the participants.

The work of Maryam Tafaraji Yeganeh et al also attempt a comparative study of the media reports of English and Persian articles to establish the comparison between the use of hedging and boosting markers in the presentation of Iran's eleventh presidential election in America and Iranian newspapers, Articles published seven days prior and after

the election, ranging between 7th and 21st June, are considered for the study, and subjected to both textual and quantitative analyses (681).

The results of the study show that before the election, the Iranian (*Keyhan*) newspaper adopts more boosters (26 hedges and 64 boosters), while the American (*Washington post*) newspaper uses 18 hedges and 13 boosters. In the attempt to show that there is a considerable difference in the news outputs before and after the election, the study signifies that the Iranians' news outputs express excessive certainty towards their presidential election results, through the use of stance. In the reports after the election, the Iranian newspaper employs five hedging devices and twenty-seven boosters, while the American newspaper employs twenty-nine hedging devices and eleven boosters. In this way, the study proves that the Americans express doubt as regards the outcome of the election, even after the exercise has been completed (*Media Construction of Socio-Political Crises* 682).

Innocent Chilwa's work attempts the study of language from a different perspective. In a historical account of Nigeria's socio-political crisis, he aims at investigating how social and political crises are constructed and presented in Nigerian newspaper headlines. To him, the use of "socio political crises" reflects a wide range of events that occurred in Nigeria, comprising social disorders and lawlessness, political assassinations, ethnic and religious violence, disasters, financial crimes and all forms of corrupt practices. But specifically, the study focuses on the comprehensive analysis of the Nigerian socio political crisis, from year 2000 to 2006 (93).

Fifteen (15) corpora are purposively selected from a corpus of 32 news headlines and overlines. These are grouped in two categories as follows: Category A, which presents overstated situations and misconstrued identities in their headlines, and Category B, which presents exaggerated headlines. Arising from the above classifications, Chilwa explains

that while category 'A' new headlines are used by the media in creating tensions and anxiety in the reader, category 'B' news headlines are used as a critical strategy in curbing crises that result in loss of lives and property (*Media Construction of Socio-Political Crises* 88-108).

In another study from linguistic perspective, Chilwa analyses the discourse of resistance in Biafra online Discourse. A corpus of 87 posts is sampled from 250 posts and they are numbered P1-P87. Chilwa's adoption of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Linguistics in the analysis of the selected corpora, reveals that there is semantic ideological bias in the media reports. He therefore attributes the social crises during the period under review, to the factors of inadequate conflict resolution mechanism, weak security institutions, the police force inefficiency, and corrupt practices among government officials (*Social Media Networks* 104). Thus, he claims that his study is aimed at correcting the wrong impressions created by the media, so that efforts can be made to foster peace and social development in Nigeria (104). The study shows that the discursive strategies of proposition, presupposition and implicature, are ideologically used to unfold the perceptions of two dominant social groups, namely the BOGC on one hand, and the Nigerians and the Nigerian Governments, on the other hand. The BOGC, which is portrayed as the positive-in-group representation, is so acknowledged through the use of personal pronouns 'we' and 'us', while the Nigerians and Nigerian Government, which are negatively represented, are acknowledged by the personal pronoun 'them' (*Social Media Networks* 230-231).

Flowing from these representations, Chilwa concludes that the discursive strategies are used to the advantage of the BOGC group, and he therefore stresses that the Biafra online campaigns are capable of generating greater ethnic sentiments and regional nationalism, which could incite mass actions in favour of the Biafra movement. He also

argues that the strategy could bring about direct or indirect future protest and violence, as a way of realizing the BOGC objectives (*Social Media Networks* 240-241).

Ayo Osisanwo examines how participants in *e-Punch* news readers' comments on former president Goodluck Jonathan's war against Boko-Haram terrorism in Nigeria employ the resources of stance and engagement. In the paper, he investigates the online responses from the readers towards the government's efforts to bringing the challenge to an end. The comments are based on each contributor's perception of the government's attitude in fighting against Boko-Haram terrorism. The deployment of the following techniques: *reader's pronoun*, such as "I hope fed. govt wake up...," ; *Personal asides*, such as "we indeed have a very foolish and thoughtless president"; *sharedness*, such as "we have displaced citizens"; *directives*, such as "can you imagine...!!!"; and *questions*, such as "winning which war?"/ "why do we parade all this fake PhD holder – turned imbeciles as leaders?", reveals that the comments are used to express divergent notions members of the public share about the attitude and performances of the government, the position of the media, and the Boko-Haram operations respectively (*e. punch Newspaper Reader's Comments* 150).

Using a total of twenty-one (21) readers' comments in the study, Osisanwo asserts that the stance markers deployed in the article are a reflection of the readers' participation in the newspaper's discourse, in order to elicit public opinions/scrutiny on the subject matter. Quite a number of the readers' comments on the online implicates and condemns the government of former president Goodluck Jonathan. According to Osisanwo, such comments are based on prejudice, and not objective assessment of former president Goodluk's administration, because the writers are motivated by the influence of religiosity, ethnicity and partisanship, while some other comments suggest remedies to

solving the challenge posed by Boko-Haram in Nigeria (*e. punch Newspaper Reader's Comments* 158).

In what seems a similar and further studies on Boko-Haram, Osisanwo investigates the strategies of stance and engagement in the discourse participants' response to the release of twenty-one (21) Chibok girls on 13th October, 2016. He states that the kidnap of some girls at Chibok, Borno state, northeastern part of Nigeria, including the ones later released, occurred on April 14, 2014 (*Facebook Discourse Participants' Response* 390). Situated within the field of discourse, the study attempts a linguistic analysis of online Facebook posts on the kidnap of the Chibok girls, out of whom only 21 are released. Therefore, the news of the release of some of them is accompanied by reactions from the *#Bring Back our Girls' (#BBOG)* Campaigners on their Facebook wall, as they use the social media platform to express their opinions and stances on the news of the girls' release (*Facebook Discourse Participants' Response* 391-399).

The participants employ stance resources and techniques, not only to convey their individual stances, but also to persuade other readers, and to invite the government to do the needful in order to release the girls from captivity (*Facebook Discourse Participants' Response* 400-408).

Further, the study shows that the frequency percentage of the engagement technique deployed is 56.4%, which is higher than the use of stance, which stands at 43% - to reflect the interactive presentation and participatory state of the Facebook participants. Through the stance markers, participants express their opinions on the release of the girls. The engagement markers, particularly directives, enables the facebook discussants to share their ideas with other interlocutors within and outside the *#Bring Back our Girls'* Campaigners with a view to promoting interaction, unity and agreement among the participants.

Osisanwo asserts that the comments, through the elements of stance and engagement techniques, are either used to praise the government and express optimism, that the girls, yet in captivity would be released shortly or that, the comments are used to rebuke and mock the government for unnecessarily prolonging the negotiation with terrorists, to rescue the remaining kidnap girls from their custody (*Facebook Discourse Participants' Response* 400-415).

In another study, Chilwa examines the online participatory discourse on women's movement for liberation on Women's online Advocacy Campaigns, through a voice-group representation that vigorously demands the rights and dignity of women, asking for gender equality in politics, and social activism. Chilwa notes that the campaigners' advocacy is geared towards defying "oppression, intimidation and traditional patriarchal stereotypes" in the online discourse of resistance, *by using* the discursive strategies of imperatives and direct acts to ask for attention (*women's online Advocacy Campaigns* n.p.). The study shows that the group is a strong voice acting on behalf of their colleagues to resist domestic and political oppression and slavery from the hands of men folks who they perceive as cheat and exploiters.

Let us now attempt a review of scholarship on graft and anti-graft in Nigeria. Graft has been identified as one of the many serious challenges confronting public organizations and corporate bodies in many countries today, especially in Nigeria where political and economic developments are hindered, despite several legislative and administrative efforts at combating the menace (Sofia Wickberg 10-13). Considering the unending state of corruption in Nigeria, the public has been reacting to the menace through the media reports/ research works from economic and socio-political perspectives. Studies have shown that fraud, squalor, immoral pervasion, greed, leadership failure and underdevelopment result from continued graft in Nigeria. Many scholars have identified

some challenging issues corruption causes. Tina Anatusi and Nnbuko argue that the major negative effect of corruption is that the national image of the country is dented, thereby resulting in the underdevelopment of infrastructure. Among other things, they recommend that the rules formulated to prevent corruption should be applied to the letter, and not in a selective manner so that the stake holders would be mindful of acts of corruption. They further argue that effective public relations campaign for re-orientation exercise of the public service in general with all sincerity of purpose should be organized, to disabuse the minds of the public servants (1-15). Obadiah Mailafia identifies some notable occurrences of financial crimes that are being perpetrated against the laws of Nigeria. He cites some of these to include human trafficking, cyber fraud, acquisition of ill-gotten wealth, or illegal receipt of property, among others (n.p.). These instances represent practices associated with bribery and corruption, which have not only hindered socio-economic growth, but are threatening national development in Nigeria. He therefore recommends various penalties, ranging from fines to imprisonment for the perpetrators (individuals, government officials, political office holders and corporate organizations), who are liable to the offences (n.p.).

The rising interest in the issue of graft in Nigeria among researchers, has inspired many scholars from different fields of studies to investigate the perpetrations of fraud, bribery and corruption in public sector and corporate bodies in the sub-region, especially Nigeria, from different perspectives, with a view to curbing the challenge. This is aimed at having good governance in the continent. In his work, Chiluya notes that fielding political positions with incompetent and corrupt leaders, is responsible for free-for-all corruption in Nigeria. He explains that Nigeria hardly conducts free and fair elections to produce credible leaders, and this situation often results in massive corruption in almost all sectors of the country because of bad and ineffective governance. According to him, the ugly

trend in Nigeria has inspired public reactions, including scholars who consider the problem as “institutional” (*Metaphors of corruption and power in media discourse* 95-98).

Fasakin Sowunmi notes that the account of regular financial charges against most Nigerians in positions of authorities does not deter acts of bribery and corruption. He opines that the challenge of bribery and corruption is not abating because it is not being addressed properly as a national problem, and blames agencies charged with the responsibilities for arresting and prosecuting offenders (n.p.). This implies that the weakness of the bodies is one of the factors limiting economic and political development in Nigeria. Emmanuel Stober opines that the unfortunate defeat of a sitting president in an election, for the first time in Nigerian history, in 2015 was as a result of perceived corruption in the government’s activities (2). So, corrupt practices have conveyed bad feelings of regret for electing unpopular leaders squandering, mismanaging and looting resources. Sowunmi, et al add that since the democratic process began in Nigeria from 1979, corruption has resulted in many illegalities, including violation of the rule of law, free for-all looting/misappropriation of public funds erection and selective prosecution and conviction of corrupt officials (8). Also, Okpala and Enwefa argue that the various independent anti-graft agencies had woefully failed to checkmate corruption indications in all tiers of government (5). Okogbule notes that deficiencies in the enforcement strategies of EFCC Act, the Money Laundering Act and Tribunal in the 1999 constitution, have resulted in poor monitoring mechanisms (52). Okpala and Enwefa further blame the ineffectiveness of the anti-graft war on government’s interference in the performances of their assignments (7). Edmond and Wilson claim that corruption is probably the strongest factor impeding accelerated socio-economic transformation of developing or less developing countries of the world, and they call for a more fruitful anti-graft war (1-10).

This view shows that acts of bribery and corruption can drain a nation's wealth, leaving little for its poorest citizens, as reflected in highly corrupt countries, like Nigeria.

Bertucci and Armstrong express disappointment, that Nigeria is one of the countries facing economic challenges even when it is being controlled by reformed-minded rulers. (Civilians and politicians), because the anti-graft war is in vain (21-23). Chilwa, therefore, condemns the negligence of the anti-graft agencies, and calls on the relevant agencies and institutions (EFCC, ICPC, DSS, and the Nigerian Police) to fight the menace. He expresses the hope that the anomaly would be halted (*Metaphors of corruption and power in media discourse* 100-110).

Also in his study, Samuel Mondays Atuabi's Investigation entitled, "Corruption and State Instability in West Africa: An Examination of Policy Option", reveals that corruption is the major cause of instability in the West African states. The study claims that since instability is the direct result of corruption in the African states, weak political and economic structures, including cases of crises, are solely orchestrated by corrupt practices, which according to him, promotes social vices in the sub-region (1-12). This implies that the common experiences of anti-social activities of the non-state actors, such as armed robbery, banditry, kidnapping, assassination among others, are examples of daily occurrences in the region.

Atuobi therefore notes that the situation described above is quite critical enough for the government to address, by deliberately enacting or reviewing its laws and policies so as to check-mate graft, both at the national and regional levels, and to strengthen political stability in African states to achieve socio- economic development in African states (13-24).

Yetunde Aluko's work, which X-rays corruption from social perspective, opines that graft is an anti-social behavior" that yields improper benefits that contradict the

dividends of democracy in Nigeria, and the legal and moral norms of the society. She further notes that corruption in Nigeria has undermined the authorities' capacity to secure the welfare of all citizens because perpetrators consider the act as a normal routine (1-10). The unwillingness of the Nigerian Government to curb or eradicate the menace of corruption is portrayed in the work, because the government is said to run short of effective governance in Nigeria, coupled with the attitude of the government, for paying lip service to corrupt practices. The study notes that the trend leads to the diversion of scarce public resources to private pockets. Aluko further exposes more of the havoc caused by corruption to Nigerians and the nation in general, including exploitation and the hardship imposed on Nigerians by the selfish political leaders who misrule the citizens because of their lust for power (14-16).

In conclusion, the researcher invites the readers and members of the public to secure their freedom from the hands of the greedy politicians, by means of collective and coordinated efforts in order to reclaim their common wealth which has been looted, squandered and misappropriated by those in the corridor of power. He also suggests that the success of the people's efforts to fight graft, is depended on their ability to maintain a "blunt refusal to compromise" (16-18).

Michael Ogbeidi's research work focuses on the socio-economic situation of Nigeria. He attributes corruption in Nigeria to poor political leadership which is robustly characterized with weak political and economic systems that produce a team of irresponsible leaders without integrity, vision and moral values at the helm of affairs. He declares that the political leaders' intellectual and political disposition is not credible (1-15). In his recommendations, Ogbeidi posits that the solution to the problem is depended on the ability of the Nigerian political leadership class to have a complete change of attitude, and that no matter how perfect or excellent the constitution or other instruments

for driving accountability and checking corruption in the country might be, all will be futile, unless the political leadership class has the moral and political consciousness to abide by and enforce the laws of the land (16-25). This implies that for Nigeria to experience a sustainable socio-economic development, responsible and credible leaders must emerge to implant the act of good and selfless governance in the country.

Jacob Fatile explores the factors militating against good governance in Nigeria. While explaining that underdevelopment is the effect of corruption, he stresses the need to consciously reform social values and the state institutions that act as instruments used to educate, enlighten and sensitize the perpetrators of corruption on its danger to Nigeria. He therefore calls on the country's leadership to be more committed in its efforts to curb corruption, in order to restore hope to the citizenry through good governance (47-65). Fatile's work suggests the need for transparency, accountability and a sustainable development in Nigeria. He equally expresses hope that positive steps taken would reverse the trend of corruption in the country.

In a similar study by David Imhonopi and Moses Ugochukwu, they are of the view that poor leadership is responsible for corruption in Nigeria. They posit that the entire public sector in Nigeria has been desecrated with fraud and mediocrity tribalism, lawlessness and insecurity, and that the leadership crisis that occurs during local, state and federal elections into political offices, is a reflection of decay and rottenness that characterize Nigerian brand of democracy (78-80). They further argue that bad governance in Nigeria is an attribute of a failed system, the reason for which most citizens now prefer "self-preservation, instead of a collective spirit of national interest" (81-87). This reveals that corruption is a threat to nation building, since Nigeria is said to have lost its bid to sustain its status as the "giant of Africa" because of the attitudes of our political leaders, including some public servants who embrace ethnicity, mediocrity, partisanship,

cronyism in the discharge of their official assignments, as they compromise standards in their dealings. In the light of the above situation, Nigeria is under the risk of political and economic under-development, which may linger.

Also in his survey, Olufemi Kayode attributes cases of corruption in Nigeria to the bad state of the economy, and the grave negative effects it has on the people of Nigeria. He identifies the causes of the problem to include, bad leadership and the cost of living which exist side by side. Olufemi opines that the trend has led to economic stagnancy, gross underdevelopment, high rate of criminality, terrorism, incessant ritual killings, assassinations, kidnapping, and even internet fraud, among other vices most Nigerans experience as a routine. He adds that there seems no solution in sight to minimize or bring the challenges to an end because the government is too weak to address them headlong (42-51). The researcher's position implies that everybody should contribute his/her own quota in addressing the challenge facing the organs of government and the legislatures, whose failure to eradicate corruption suggests malfunctioning. Olufemi's paper also wants complete re-orientation of our value system in the country.

Jide Ibieta, whose work centres on the internal and external structures/controls set up to achieve accountability in the Nigerian Public life, observes that there is lack of adherence to the internal mechanisms, because they are not being enforced to the letter. He also states that the lack of political will in redressing the corruption dilemma is the factor responsible for the anomaly in the system, without appropriate laws to penalize those found culpable, to serve as deterrent to actual and potential offenders (42-49). Ibieta recommends a system of total accountability, including creating awareness campaigns and a reinforcement of internal controls that guarantee merit in the recruitment system. Ibieta submits that this approach would instil financial discipline among public officers and strengthen the organs that checkmate corruption in the country.

According to Oladayo Awojobi's work, most of the corrupt practices witnessed in Nigeria are linked with greedy politicians who eventually emerge as leaders within government circle. Awojobi who describes the challenge as "political corruption", observes that corruption has destroyed the economy of Nigeria. He says that the striving corruption has adverse consequences on national development despite the creation of anti-graft agencies. This has resulted in increased poverty rate, and the image of Nigeria dented (120-157). In its submission, the paper suggests that the government should partner with members of the public to achieve steps being taken to curb corruption.

Tina C. Anatusi and J.O. Nnbuko, whose research work investigates how to halt corruption to promote Nigeria's genuine picture and enhance its tourism development, note that the major challenge facing the Nigerian nation over the years, has been fraud. They assert that bribery and corruption has had devastating impact on tourism, national image and development (1-3). Therefore, the findings of the researchers show that the prevalence of lawlessness and illegalities among the people, is plaguing the true image of the country, Nigeria.

As panacea, the researchers recommend among other things, that since there are enough laws on ground meant to prevent corruption, the government should endeavour to apply and enforce the laws without exemption, and not in a selective manner. This approach, they assert, will instil fear into all the law breakers. They further emphasize the need to initiate effective public relations, which will foster and promote proactive strategies in problem solving, and that campaigns for re-orientation programme for the public service should be organized to discourage the notion held by those without regard for the dignity of labour, that the common wealth of the country (the nation's resources) is/are meant to be shared equitably. And finally, Anatusi and Nnbuko encourage the government to consider periodic upward review of well-fare packages of public officers

against prevailing economic situations, so that public officers would not cut corners to survive. In doing that, the government would save the funds, energy and time spent in setting up “toothless” probe panels (which do not often yield fruitful results). In other words, panels are unnecessary because offenders may hardly be found to probe when the officers realize that improved conditions of service await them (4-15).

Alege Ola et al. share common views with other scholars concerning the causes and effects of corruption in Nigeria. While examining corruption from the perspective that there is a negative correlation between levels of corruption and economic growth, they note that the developmental stride of the country is determined by the degree of fraudulent practices (209-212).

In view of the foregoing, they recommend that Nigeria government must reverse the prevailing culture in which corruption is tolerated, and that Nigerians should be educated to shun excessive materialism and the culture of “get rich quick”. The need for more job creation with better remunerations should also be pursued (212-215).

In his attempt to deepen Alege Ola et al.’s position on corruption in Nigeria, John Ugoani is of the opinion that corruption has continued to jeopardize the efforts of governments in forging national unity, infrastructural development, and thereby leaving the majority of the nation’s citizens in abject poverty. He feels that since corruption involves the use of public office for private gains, successive governments should exercise the “bipartite political will” to curb corruption, and at the same time, pursue the business of good governance and national unity (72-75).

Accordingly, Ugoani asserts that the right political will, is not equivalent to political manifestoes, rhetoric or pressure group statements. Rather, “political will” should be considered as a purposeful plan of action by government geared towards a robust system of checks and balances, with strong political institutions for combating corruption

and promoting good governance, as well as restoring trust and confidence in a democratic practice (76-97).

While focusing on the need for collective action to curb graft, Leena Hoffmann and Patel Raj examines how corruption tends to foster more corrupt practices through the perpetuation and entrenchment of social injustice (1-10). As a remedy, the paper recommends that Nigeria's ongoing anti-corruption war should be sustained, and that government should do a systematic study to find out what makes people to engage in corrupt activity. The note sensitization programmes for the citizens so as to educate the people to comply with the measures put in place to refrain from graft. He also notes that proper attention can be paid to the societal factors that promote good behaviour that would re-position public institutions to partake in the anti-corruption campaign/war in Nigeria (12-41). Indeed, the implementation of this critical submission would be rewarding in the fight against graft in Nigeria.

From religious point of view, Enoch Patrick's work begins by giving a historical account of corruption in Nigeria. He asserts that graft is a spiritual issue, and a complex socio-political and economic phenomenon that affects all facets and the fabric of Nigerian society. The paper attributes the foundation of corrupt cases in Nigeria to Nigerian leaders, politicians, civil servants, academia and some some religious leaders, who have lost societal values that Jesus Christ Himself perfectly exhibited during His earthly ministry (116-120). The paper submits, among other things that, there should be total overhaul of the nation's psyche through ethical and moral orientation programmes, that the orientation programmes should be capable of providing a new template that would influence Nigerians' outlook to the things that matter in life, self-esteem, self-awareness, self-reliance, self-supporting and self-renewal, that there should be total restructuring of the present system of governance in Nigeria that would usher in a new ethical paradigm,

which will expose leadership as a role model, and that the various anti-graft and related bodies, such as EFCC, ICPC, Change begins with Me, Whistle blower policy, and **the** Nigerian Police, should be repositioned and revamped in structure and resources to be truly anti-corruption agencies that fight the malaise to the satisfaction of all and sundry (121 - 129).

Enoch calls on the relevant bodies to re-appraise the current arrangements that saddle each of the anti-graft agencies with too much responsibilities of investigating, prosecuting and recovering of looted assets. He suggests the renaming of the bodies when merged (130-131). On his part, Stober explores the economic implications of fraudulent practices in Nigeria, stating that there are robust evidences that suggest corruption is institutionalized in Nigeria. Citing some obvious manifestations of corruption in the public sector and cooperate organizations in Nigeria, he posits that culprits are not always sanctioned adequately. According to Stober, the situation has resulted in unimaginable adverse effects on the nascent democracy in Nigeria. He further argues that the anti corruption strategy has been mere media publicity and seizure of accused persons' assets without a corresponding punishment, to discourage future re-occurrence. Therefore, he states that the anti-corruption policies are not often felt by perpetrators (165 -182).

Kehinde Osakede et al's work attempts to acknowledge the incalculable damage corruption does to governance and socio-political development in Nigeria. They note that a sound nation is judged on the basis of its economic development and good governance, are identify the menace of corruption bedeviling the country as the greatest impediment to the development of Nigeria. They also observe that Nigeria is faced with myriad of dilemmas occasioned by corruption, prominent among which are poverty, insecurity, kidnapping, ethno-religious crisis, bad governance, and many more (67-75). They therefore suggest that government should urgently initiate moves to work with the

National Assembly in order to review Nigeria constitution and legal order, so as to empower the anti-corruption agencies to work assiduously without being molested or interfered with by the government. (76-87).

Focusing on corruption, Mala Mustapha's work examines the danger of corruption in Nigeria. He explores corruption in Nigeria from conceptual and empirical perspectives, describing corruption in different shades; that corruption in conceptual term, comprises acts of "419 and yahoo fraudster and other forms of exploitative tendencies in Nigeria (165-175). In practical terms, these acts are often exhibited when individuals extort their fellow men and women, boys and girls of their valuables, or are disposed of their belongings through crafty means or by means of electronic devices/ technology.

Nurudeen Abu and Marcin Staniewski observe that lack of proper management and development in the economy, politics, military and governance play contributory role in the rising cases of corruption in Nigeria. They further state that evidences of insecurity, economic hardship, unreliable elections in Nigeria are as a result of fraud and manipulations (3058-3067). The researchers recommend policies geared towards reforming our national system.

While adopting a theoretical approach in order to attempt a critical analysis of corruption in line with its forms, and the negative effects on the Nigerian economy, Marcus Ijewereme's research thesis deploys the configuration of corruption in order to identify the primary factors that cause the menace. According to him, the factors include, greed, poverty, lawlessness, incompetent government and ineffective legislatures. He examines corruption in the public service from the era of Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa to President Goodluck Jonathan's administration, and submits that corruption is a clog in the wheel of progress in Nigeria because it has incessantly frustrated the realization of noble national goals despite the enormous natural and human resources invested in public

organizations for the benefit of the people. The historical account of the work, clearly demonstrates the authentic claims of the researcher that corruption is responsible for the national backwardness the country has been experiencing since independence till date. He condemns the act, and the perpetrators in Nigeria (n.p.).

Olijo's work assesses the fight against corruption in Nigeria. Tracing the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria beyond the immediate past government to the present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, Olijo's examination reveals an explicit account of corruption publications in the *Punch* and *Daily Trust*, covering between June 1, 2015 and January 30, 2016. Using content analysis, it is revealed that sixty-seven percent of the newspapers' framing indicates neutral position on the fight against corruption, while thirty-nine percent shows essential information in a concise, objective and unbiased sense. However, only fourteen percent is investigative report (126-136). The research acknowledges the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria.

Similarly, Salaudeenet al. under taken newspaper investigative reports on the anti-graft war in selected Nigerian Newspapers. Based on content analysis of *Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers between June 2015 and May 2016, the investigation adopts systematic random sampling of information, comprising one hundred and eighty four items. The study reveals that even though there are numerous corruption-related stories in the selected news items, attention is not paid to anti-graft campaign strategies, and the newspapers do not carry out interpretative reporting on the issues (180-183). It is obvious from the above investigation, that the manner of research is suggestive, among others, that media reportage merely presents information on graft/anti-graft campaign, which is subjected to critical research method and investigation.

Onyebuchi and Obayi's study is an evaluation of the media anti-graft campaign rebranding in Nigeria. Using content analysis approach, the researchers analyse three

newspapers (*This Day*, *Daily Sun*, and *The Guardian*) editions, published within a year (January to December, 2009) (n.p.). Findings show that rebranding anti-graft campaign in Nigeria, is under-reported in the newspapers (n.p.). Tunde Olugboji's work applies quantitative content analysis to investigate how the UK newspapers report and frame the stories concerning the aids offered Ethiopia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, which were affected by corruption. He observes that, although the newspapers adopt some "positive coverage" of the foreign aid scandals, the approach contrasts with the history of general negative representation of Africa in the UK mainstream newspapers. Olugboji notes that the report of the scandal concerning the three African nations is presented constructively and objectively (n.p.). This angle of reportage is so adopted inspite of the prevalence of corrupt practices in African nations, including Nigeria to show the mature and advanced for of media presentations of issues without bias.

Rasaq M. Adisa et al., note that some Nigerian newspapers construct corruption in Nigeria in three basic patterns, namely economic consequence, attribution of responsibility, and treatment frames. Specifically, the study attributes corruption in Nigeria, not only to government officials, but also to big business owners (n.p.). The researcher's suggestion is that addressing corruption in Nigeria should be the sole responsibility of the federal government (n.p.).

We have attempted to review scholarly media works with graft/anti-graft orientations and backgrounds in this study. Apart from Chilwa, Osisanwo, and few others that examine the issues of "Boko-Haram" and "Women Liberation" through stance in their works respectively. From the perspectives, most of the studies reviewed are media-based research on corruption, carried out from the perspectives common in academic literatures of social and political sciences, which are outside language studies that apply linguistic approaches with evident patterns of vocabulary or syntactic/discourse structures in the

particular reports of corruption in Nigeria. Therefore, the media work reviewed, are remotely related to the present study because their manner of presenting corruption through the media contrasts with the media presentation of anti-graft campaign through the linguistic resources of stance, which this study represents. To the best of our knowledge, no specific work on the linguistic resources of stance in the media construction of anti-graft campaign in Nigeria, has been carried out. This is the vacuum which this study is aimed at filling, in order to explore media anti-graft campaign in Nigeria through the linguistic descriptions of stance.

1.7 Thesis Statement

Media reportage of graft and anti-graft campaign in Nigeria is marked by the linguistic resources of stance and evaluation, stance and engagement, stance and meta-discourse, and stance and attitudes, all of which shape public perception and emotional responses generated by the media.

CHAPTER TWO

STANCE AND EVALUATION IN THE MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF ANTI- GRAFT CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores media presentation of anti-graft campaign through stance and evaluation devices. This is aimed at fighting corruption in Nigeria in order to have good governance. Towards that end, the linguistic tools (vocabulary and discourse) of stance and evaluation markers are deployed to explain the manner used in presenting the media anti-graft campaign that influences social and ideological meanings in language events. The stance and evaluation devices in the study relate to the ways language is used to discuss with others to establish agreement and unity to enable writers express their thoughts and values (Sholikhah 56).

In this chapter, we shall pay attention to those stance markers that are predicated on stance and evaluation, relating to expressions that evaluate the writers' emotions. These refer to lexical and grammatical expression of attitude, feelings, judgements, or commitment concerning the propositional content of the message (Biber and Finegan in Myers, 254). This comprises word classes or grammatical structures which convey evaluative stance, including: adverbials, as in *incredibly*, *surprisingly*, *amazingly*; modal verbs, as in *ought to*, *shall/should*, *will/would*; and adjectival complement clause, as in *anxious to...*, *curious to...*, *important to...*, *it's necessary to....* . These examples justify Biber et al's claim that stance markers expose "personal attitudes or feelings" (975). Thus, it is proper to state that elements or devices of language that realize this component of stance show how the speaker feels towards the proposition he is making. In this sense, we shall rely on the elements of stance and evaluation which reflect the linguistic resources of "*inscribed*" and "*invoked*" stance markers (Martin and White, 61 - 62). The device of inscribed stance markers does not only direct the reader, but does invite him or her to evaluate the target, which may be the social actors, or perpetrators of corruption (in this study). They are negatively inclined expressions, invoked to draw the readers' attention towards the writer's position, which is explicitly expressed by means of the inscribed stance markers (Sano, 108).

2.2 Analysis and discussion of Data

The extracts below, which serve as instrument of anti-graft campaign, show how the anti-graft campaign in the agencies and public corporations in Nigeria is presented through the devices of stance and evaluation.

2.2.1. Representing the Agencies for Projects Execution in Nigeria

The governments at the three tiers, local, state and federal have agencies responsible for

monitoring and regulating building projects, especially shelter, whether private or public. However, there are recent reports that many houses collapsed, and many others are under the threat of collapsing, due to negligence and corruption by the parties involved in building. Page notes that research surveys and the media reports have revealed that the execution of capital projects in most institutions and organizations in Nigeria, especially in the education, judiciary, security and health sectors involves massive scope of bribery and corruption (338). The extract below represents the media anti- graft campaign, analysed through the features of stance and evaluation, with a view to creating awareness for good governance.

Extract 1. “A lot of people have a lot to lose: Nigeria launches website to combat corruption”. When Onumonu Nonye visited the new laboratory at Ubahuekwuem technical school, she hoped to see busy students surrounded by books and science equipment. Instead, the building stood empty, bereft of desks, doors and even windows. The renovation of the college, ...abandoned. In Nigeria – which Britain’s former Prime Minister David Cameron was once caught on camera describing as “fantastically corrupt” –bribes, inflated prices and abandoned projects, are *a* huge problem ... Budeshi, which has shed light on projects across Nigeria where work has been abandoned despite hefty payments to companies...“procurement in Nigeria has been *a* significant hotspot for corruption”, says Eva Anderson - Rebecca Ratcliffe (*Guardian News*, August 9, 2017).

The above extract exhibits various degrees of affective stance markers which White describes as emotional reactions to behaviour, process or phenomena. White notes

that the devices are used to portray either positive or negative emotion which could be expressed through adverbs, nouns, adjectives and verbs (62 -63).

Through the choices of the afore-mentioned elements, therefore, the above extract aptly explores the strategy of stance and evaluation to reveal the acts and effects of corruption. For instance, through the deployment of the following boldfaced grammatical structures in the extract, inscribed and invoke stance markers are represented: *'the building stood empty'*, *'bereft of desks, doors and even windows'*; *'college, ...abandoned'*; *"fantastically corrupt"*; *'huge problem, despite hefty payments to companies'*; and *'...procurement in a significant hotspot for corruption'*. The features are used to convey or describe the writers' feelings of disappointment at the fraud linked with the agencies responsible for the execution of public facilities. The markers explicitly represent the writer's frown at the unwholesome attitude of government officials and political leaders in Nigeria who are fond of awarding fake contracts that never see the light of the day, because they are either badly done, or abandoned after embezzling the huge sums of money approved for their execution, by those at the helm of affairs.

The grammatical items also reflect invoke stance markers in the extract, to illustrate and convey negative evaluations of corruption. They are instances of stance markers used, not only to express the explicit attitudes of the writers' judgment about graft in the execution of projects in our institutions, that brings about decay of public facilities, the writer's judgemental expressions also serve as instruments potentially meant to influence the readers' evaluation of the problem of corruption. Therefore, the words and phrases are negatively inclined anti-graft campaign, deployed to portray judgement, distaste, anger, disgust and frustration over the public officials' unethical behaviour and anti-social activities, for abandoning some public infrastructures to a state of decay, and

the other available facilities, inadequately funded and maintained, due to the moral decadence and corrupt practices of some public officials in-charge.

The above analysis is a confirmation of Abiola Adeyemo and Benedict Made's opinion, that corruption has drained billions of dollars from Nigeria's economy. According to them, the ugly trend of fraud in project construction has hindered development, and weakened the social contract between the government and its people (n.p). Their opinion is a confirmation of the general belief that this country is one of the world's most corrupt, struggling daily to cope with the effects of the challenge.

Adeyemo and Made further also identifies the various stages of project execution where corruption occurs, to include overbidding at the level of procurement, followed by the pre- tender stage when the project owner conceals his financial status/commencement date of the project from the contractors who are often mischievous, then the tendering stage, which is often characterised with cash inducement, gifts, favours among others, and finally, the handover, operations and maintenance stage, during which the supervising engineer is tempted to sign an agreement and accept poor quality work below specification (2-5). The above description exposes the critical processes involving corruption that often result in building collapses and decaying infrastructures. The factors responsible for the occurrences have also been identified. This account explains the attitude of some public officers, whose strategy is to divert funds meant for the construction and maintenance of public property into their private use.

In conclusion, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and evaluation has created the media anti-graft campaign awareness among the relevant agencies and stakeholders to be conscious of activities in the Housing and planning sector.

2.2.2. Representing Agencies for Service Delivery in Nigeria

Through the features of stance and evaluation, the extracts below represent the media construction in public service and agencies in Nigeria to fight against corruption.

Extract 2: Corruption in Governance: Since taking office last year, Mr Buhari has vowed to tackle the rampant official corruption, which has stunted economic growth across the country as part of campaign; a number of senior officials have been charged to court. But their cases have largely stalled in the courts. Widespread corruption within the legal system makes it extremely difficult to convict individuals ... – By Martin Patience (*BBC News*, October 9, 2016).

Extract 3: ICYMI: Rising rage of opposition against Buhari’s anti-corruption: ... the biggest demerit of the anti-corruption war has been the seeming inability of the anti-graft agencies to take action against those perceived to be close to the president thereby plunging the anti-corruption war into a moral dilemma ... Unfortunately, compared to recent years, this poor performance is nothing new – **Eniola Akinkuotu** (*Punch Newspaper*, February 26, 2018).

Extract 4: Nigeria is corrupt and nobody is trying to cover the fact: The president took the comment with a pinch of Salt. As far as I am concerned, his reaction was ungallantly, insensitive and cavalier - Emma Amaize. (*Vanguard News*, May 25, 2016).

The above extracts are used to explore the strategy of negative evaluation of some public officers’ corrupt practices and infractions in the discharge of their services/duties, for which they took oath of office to be accountable and faithful in their service delivery. Specifically, Extracts 2, 3 & 4 exhibit stance invoked elements to elicit readers’ reactions,

following the writers' choices of inscribed negative markers. The devices are a reflection of the evidences that there is the prevalence of corruption in the country for which government is not addressing. Therefore, the employment of the following boldfaced language features in the extracts exemplifies stance and evaluation markers to influence the readers' negative responses of condemning the practice of corruption in the public service. The language features are boldfaced below: '*stunted* economic growth'; '*Widespread corruption...*'; '*moral dilemma*'; '*Unfortunately...*'; '*with a pinch of Salt*'; '*reaction was ungallantly*'; and '*insensitive and cavalier*'

Typically, most of the above boldfaced expressions from the extracts, reflect the negative attribute of the president of Nigeria and his team of officials who are not only portrayed as corrupt by deeds, but also, for paying lip service to their avow war against corruption. The employment of the highlighted stance elements attests to the campaigners' negative evaluations and judgement of government's less attention to governance. The markers also reflect the general perception that the Nigerian government is negligent, and not doing enough to checkmate the ugly trend of bribery and corruption that characterise public service.

Further examination of the extracts reveals that the writers use the stance markers, not only to create the sense of awareness, but also to arouse readers' and stakeholders' negative feelings and disappointment at corruption. Additionally, the inscribed expressions represent the writers' feelings, and to convey the collective action motivated by the emotional responses generated by the media campaign. This implies Sholikhah's claim that stance is utilized to "articulate people's opinions, feelings or attitude, beliefs and judgements towards something or someone" (56).

In conclusion, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and evaluation has created the media anti-graft

campaign to sensitize the relevant agencies and stakeholders to be conscious of fraudulent practices in the performance of their official duties. It is noteworthy to state that the campaign has helped to demonstrate the need for global collective response to the acts of corruption in Nigeria.

2.2.3. Representing the public liability corporations

The major public liability corporations in Nigeria selected for this study include, *the Power Holding Company (PHC)* and *the Nigerian National Petroleum Company* (henceforth, PHC and NNPC respectively). These corporations are public-private owned liability companies, but are controlled, regulated and supervised by the appropriate government bodies. Therefore, the corporations maintain private and government partnership, and are established to render qualitative services to the general public. The following extracts represent the media graft/anti-graft campaign in the entities under reference.

Extract 5: Nigeria’s notoriously anaemic power sector has long been undermined by grand corruption... - Matthew T. Page. (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

Extract 6: “... 50% of power generated in Nigeria *is stolen* by customers ... through illegal connections and bypassing of meters by customers, especially in BEDC franchise areas” - Funke Osibodu. (*Bedc. Independent Newspapers Nig.*, May 26, 2019)

Extract 7: The *epicenter* of petro-corruption is the Nigerian National Corporation (NNPC). Petroleum revenues are *the life blood* of official corruption in Nigeria - Matthew T. Page. (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

Extract 8: Years after Buhari called petrol subsidy ‘fraud’, his government says fuel subsidy costs Nigeria #18.39Billion daily:....

Fast forward to 2022, and seven years into Buhari’s government, the National Assembly approved the request of the President to earmark N4 trillion for petrol subsidy in 2022. With fuel subsidy, a fraction of the price that consumers are supposed to pay for the product is paid by the government so as to ease the price burden. After hearing findings from the financial committees, the lower and upper legislative chambers supported the president's request. In 2021, petrol subsidy payments gulped N1.43 trillion (*Sahara Reporters*, August 19, 2022).

Extract 9: “Buhari *sabotages* his own programme by failing to stamp out such in-fighting, protecting Abdulrasheed Maina and the insubordinate Executive Secretary...” (*The Punch Newspaper*. July 30, 2018).

Extract 10: “Corruption in the Nigerian context is *endemic*, because it permeates all stratas of the society” (*BBC News*. October 21, 2015).

Extract 11: “It will actually be impossible for President Buhari to do this. Saying he will end corruption itself is a *mirage*” (*BBC News*. October 21, 2015).

Extract 12: “Corruption is totally *abhorrent* to me...” - Emma Amaize Aduba (*The Guardian News* May 25, 2016).

Extract 13: “The reality is that it is Nigeria being *ruined* by corruption, not the west”- Remi Adekoya (*The Guardian News*. May 11, 2016).

Extract 14: “Latest report shows that corruption is *worsening* in Nigeria” (*Transparency International’s (TI)*. March 5, 2018).

Extracts 5 through 14 above portray the elements of stance and evaluation in the media reports, which are expressed with words and grammatical devices that depict the writers’ moods and emotions (Biber and Finegan, 254). The extracts aptly demonstrate the writers’ attempt to influence readers’ perception of the proposition through the evaluative stance markers employed. In other words, the selected media publications reflect the general angry mood of the public.

An examination of the grammatical construction of the media reports reveals that there are expressions of emotional feelings of disappointment and disapproval against graft. For illustration, verbal, adverbial, adjectival and noun structures are deployed to indicate severe corrupt and sharp practices among clients and public officers in the public-private cooperations mentioned above, especially in the power and oil sectors. Markers, such as *stolen*, *swallowed*, *unerringly*, *the epicenter*, *the life blood of official corruption in Nigeria*, *notoriously*, *grand corruption*, *petrol subsidy payments* **gulped** *N1.43 trillion*, among others, which are variously embedded in the extracts, convey the government’s attributes of greed, exploitation of and looting for which the managements and officers of the companies are accused in the extracts. The deployment of the stance features is to expose the negative character of the perpetrators in the enterprises, and to sensitize the readers for their awareness, and the management and officials of the corporations, for their emotional re-orientation towards fighting corruption.

Extract 5 reflects an instance of evaluative stance marker: ***notoriously anaemic***, deployed to mark both inscribed and invoked stance so as to paint the unhealthy situation of corruption that characterizes the Nigerian power sector. The marker suggests the prevailing flaws in the organization’s management cadre, pointing accusing fingers at the

members of the management team for engaging in one sharp practice or the other, thereby denying the masses of Nigerians adequate power supply. Again, the use of '*stolen*', which depicts invoked stance marker, aptly refers to the abuse, fraud, mismanagement and the illegal distribution of power being generated in Nigeria by the PHCN. The verbal choice of 'stolen' has negative inclination of the mischievous activities of some power consumers who obtain public power supply illegally for their personal use, without settling their bills. Besides the fraudulent practices of the consumers, it can also be argued that the marker (stolen), is a description of the bad attitude of some unscrupulous individuals who engage in the illegal manipulation of power facilities, such as illegal connection, bypassing meter and meter tampering, for their own selfish benefits.

From the above analysis, it is obvious that through the devices of stance and evaluation, the media reports analysed have exposed graft in the activities of PHCN and NNPC, including the excesses of the officials. Though, long after the introduction of prepaid meter, there are still some challenges being experienced by consumers of power and the power operators themselves. It is noted that most Nigerians still rely on either the analogue meter or none at all in their homes, due to the failure of the relevant bodies to provide the necessary facilities, in spite of the financial commitment of successive governments to procure enough prepaid meters. Yet, just too few ones are available that cannot go round the consumers ("*BEDC n.p.*"). Arising from this situation, a recent study shows that between 1999 and 2017, Nigeria has lost \$64.7 billion to corruption in the power sector. It is noted that even with the huge percentage of the budget meant for the power sector, Nigerians get less power in the country ("*Human Rights Watch*" *n.p.*).

Also, Asu reveals that the failure of the 2013 unbundling and privatization of Nigeria's power generation and distribution networks, is blamed on poor execution and mismanagement challenges, graft, and severe administrative deficiencies, because

majority of the distribution of power contractors lack the pre-requisite experience and the capacity to cope with the dynamics of power generation (n.p.). In its views, *Energy mix Report* notes that many individuals managing the company have cases of corruption scandal, but are never prosecuted because of their relationship with political leaders (n.p.).

The NNPC is not exempted in this corruption scandal. Therefore, the employment of stance features in extracts 7 and 8 exposes the prevailing graft in that organization. The writers use the following devices of evaluation markers: '*epicenter*', '*life blood*' and *gulp* (adjectival and verbal structures), in order to symbolize corruption with the markers as a figure representing parasite or predator that oppresses the weak. This shows that it amounts to exploitation and injustice that the management of the NNPC indulges in frequent and arbitrary increases in the pump prices of petroleum products without any human face. Indeed, the writers' employment of the devices in general, and "*subsidy payments gulped N1.43 trillion*" in particular, is more to the cognitive thinking of how the writers' minds infer and perceive corruption in the NNPC. The inscribed marker of "gulped", therefore, is used to portray that the present administration's involvement in the payment of oil subsidy is unhealthy, controversial and questionable, since President Buhari had earlier dismissed it as a scam, prior to his election. It may also be argued that the employment of the devices: "*epicenter*", "*life blood*" and "*gulped*", represents evaluation markers used to portray looting, siphoning, and draining of the nation's resources. Through the writers's stance markers, the negative reactions of readers to graft in the private/public corporations are exposed.

In extracts 9-14, the writers deploy inscribed and invoked stance markers to expose the harmful consequences corruption has caused the nation as a result of government's failure to check the menace. The evaluative stance markers include, '*endemic*', '*mirage*', '*abhorrent*', '*ruined*', '*sabotage*', '*epicenter*', '*worsening*'. Their use collectively

represents the writers' attempt to judge the adverse effects of corruption. The devices portray corruption as a devastating force, considering the general knowledge shared, that the economic and social challenges facing the country are linked with corruption. The careful selection of the markers also implies that government lacks the will power, courage and integrity to resist corruption in its institutions. Specifically, the choice of 'sabotage' refers to the government's selective prosecution of corrupt individuals through the anti-graft agencies, thereby subjecting the integrity of members of the agencies to ridicule, question and doubts. Also, 'endemic', 'mirage', 'ruined' and 'worsening' in the extracts, jointly describes the worrisome rise and dangerous state of corruption in Nigeria. The markers imply that attempts made at curbing fraud and revamping the economy have been efforts in futility because perpetrators of corrupt practices connive with one another to frustrate the efforts of anti-graft agencies. In fact, the lexical items portray corrupt officials as enemies of good governance and progress in Nigeria as a cultured society, since they fail integrity test in handling the official responsibilities assigned to them. The devices also illustrate the degree of misappropriation of resources in the national treasury. Through the mechanism of stance and evaluation, the writers create awareness for the readers get familiar with the trends of corruption and rot prevalent in Nigeria that affect most Nigerians, physically and emotionally.

Through the stance devices, too, the prevailing controversial fuel subsidy in the NNPC is inferred in the writer's choice of lexical and grammatical structures. In this regard, reference can be made to the House ad hoc Committee's consideration of the regime of petroleum subsidies from 2017 to 2021, which recommends the approval of N1.774 trillion over a four-year period. The approval of such sums seems a connivance between the National Assembly and the independent oil marketers, and represents an attempt to defraud the nation (*SaharaReporters*, "Years after Buhari called petrol subsidy

‘fraud’ n.p.). This is in line with Aaron Alexandra and Christina’s view who blame the problems Nigerians are encountering on the inefficiency and mismanagement of NNPC, noting that the organization lavishes spendings on worthless projects which ought to be channelled to the needs of the people. Also, top officials in the corporation waste resources and take to fraudulent practices with reckless abandonment (n.p.). Therefore, the evaluation of the organizations through the stance markers does not only convey the writer’s negative judgment of the federal government’s lack of political will and determination to solve the challenge of corruption in the NNPC, but also to invoke the readers’ emotional responses of anger and disappointment at corrupt practices which is portrayed as the source and agent of economic under development in Nigeria.

In conclusion, the graft reports in the extracts, imply the anti-graft campaign for the private/public liability corporations – the NNPC and Power Holding Company. The media reports imply that three refineries in Nigeria - Kaduna, Warri and Port Harcourt should be functional and operational, so as to refine crude oil for local and international consumption, and for commercial purpose; the refineries should be well maintained; the government should investigate the cause(s) of the corporations’ perennial problems of NNPC’s fuel subsidy and Power Holding’s power supply issue, with a view to curbing the fraudulent practices relating to them. This will lead to the huge loss of national revenues and the incessant fuel scarcity being experienced in Nigeria.

2.2.4. Representing the Press

The extracts below show how the graft/anti-graft campaign in the media practice of journalism is presented through the devices of stance and evaluation.

Extract 15: “...Although Nigeria has *a* vibrant and (mostly) free press, brown envelope journalism is rife...”. “Over 75 percent of journalists

surveyed as part of a 2013 study admitted to accepting such financial gifts, euphemistically referred to as “transport money matter,” “load,” and “kola nut” - Matthew T. Page. (*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

Extract 16: Corruption and bad leadership, the bane of unethical and subjective journalism. The pervasive corruption and unceasing bad leadership in and among the Nigerian press have for long now ushered in various forms of professional compromise such as unethical and subjective journalism. The press, especially their leaders, having been influenced negatively by the macrocosmic institutionalised corruption and bad leadership of the political elite and their like, are becoming deeply immense in these nefarious misdeeds and unethical and subjective journalism. Consequently, the masses have lost confidence in them, and receive media contents with outright contempt and dissatisfaction – Odey Simon Robert and Eric Ndoma Besong (*Grin Verlag*, March 20, 2017). www.grin.com

The effective employment of the devices of stance and evaluation in the above extracts enables the writers communicate their feelings, to rouse emotions. Specifically, the deployment of ‘*vibrant free press*’ and ‘*Free press*’ represents distinctive stance markers used to reflect inscribed and invoked evaluative stance, suggestive of the press standardized qualities for absolute and independence reportage. The stance elements are adjectival, used to emphasize the need for the press to possess positive attributes of a powerful consciousness and a reliable information network, for the purpose of objective reportage of occurrences. The positive evaluation markers are also suggestive of the press freedom that would guarantee access to information in the public domain without inhibition. They also represent a universal human right declaration, which is fundamental

to a democratic society like Nigeria, since the provision allows the press to seek and circulate news, information, ideas, comments and opinions, and the right to hold those in authority accountable.

Also, the choice of the markers is to emphasize that the role of the press is to provide the platform to enable individuals and groups ventilate their opinions and views as a right to express their views at all levels. Therefore, the press is described as the “public’s watchdog, activist and guardian as well as educator, entertainer and contemporary chronicler” (*News media Association*, n.p.). This suggests the unique role of the press whose “true calling is to exercise vigilance over society, a journalism type that serves to expose misdeeds by governments, top political elites, individuals, CSOs, NGOs, small companies and huge corporate, among others” (Coronel n.p.).

However, the extracts equally exhibit the following distinctive lexical items: *brown envelope journalism; kola nut; transport money; unethical and subjective journalism; pervasive corruption and unceasing bad leadership; professional compromise; the macrocosmic institutionalised corruption; nefarious misdeeds; outright contempt and dissatisfaction*. The markers represent negatively inclined stance and evaluation devices which explicitly and implicitly acknowledge the prevalence of corruption. The markers reflect the description of the texts by the method derived through stance and evaluation. The selected markers in general, portray a high level of unethical and subjective journalism practise of the press, following the pervasive corruption and incompetent leadership in Nigeria. They are employed to portray the bad attitudes of some journalists in the profession, and those involved seem to remain unrepentant endlessly. The affective or emotive markers, which are negatively inclined to characterize the press in Nigeria, are deployed to expose how the press is induced with cash to compromise standards. The use of the lexical items, *brown envelope journalism; kola nut; transport money, professional*

and *compromise*, is a reflection of undue influences the media experts and the journalists are exposed to, as a matter of routine. The employment of the markers shows that the press is often lured to accept favour, or even solicit cash from corrupt officials and politicians as a prerequisite of their jobs. *Aljazeera* notes that bribe collection in the press could be attributed to poverty and lack, among journalists. It states that editors and publishers often “receive more fabulous bribes to manipulate their coverage and quash stories that might embarrass their political patrons” (n.p.).

The writers’ employment of the markers, shows that the Press are deeply involved in corrupt practices, like their political bosses, since they are influenced into the scourge, and thus throw away their professional ethics and rather resort to “*subjective and unethical journalism, and professional compromise*”, which portray that they tell lies and even incite, all just to make money out of media contents. The markers further show that most of the journalists are not honest, as such press dread doing what is right in order to be favoured by their dubious bosses who would reward them only when they do the unusual that favours them. That is why the extracts attribute the press with the attitude of collecting *brown envelope*, as a marker.

Brown envelope syndrome negates all the basics of ethical and objective journalism in Nigeria and the like nations, such as fairness, objectivity, equity and balanced reportage that are required for ethical and objective (empirical) journalism/broadcasting. *Brown envelope* hampers the practise of ethics and good leadership/governance. The absence of a standardized press in Nigeria is what the stance marker “*pervasive corruption*” attempts to suggest. The consequence of the use of the marker implies that a journalist must not accept bribe (brown envelope) as a reward for publishing or suppressing news or comments. This is because offering of “brown envelope, transport money and kola nuts”, promotes fake news aired, while genuine ones are

withheld. The offer and acceptance make news susceptible to abuse by interest groups, leading to distorted news coverage during national events, like elections, banditry, independence celebration, among others, and such reports may create tension and could raise worthless political aspirants, in order to make the media paint them good by singing their praises (Lai Mohammed n.p.). Mohammed argues that members of the audiences of most state-own media have lost confidence in them and no longer want them for any news because of their praise-singing for worthless politicians.

The employment of the following affective stance markers; *unceasing bad leadership; the macrocosmic institutionalised corruption; nefarious misdeeds; outright contempt and dissatisfaction*”, reveals that most of the press are not truthful, honest, competent, disciplined, virtuous, diligent, upright, just and politically neutral. Instead, they are the absolute opposite of what they actually represent. Therefore, the stance markers imply that the corruptconduct of the press easily get paid to publish mere political propaganda and false information, the practice that pushes them into extensive sycophancy rather than facing reality and calling a spade a spade. They are further portrayed as being remote-controlled by the government, who keep them under its whims and caprices, such that they eulogise non-performing administration or a failed (failing) government for their own selfish ends. Again, the deployment of “*the macrocosmic institutionalised corruption; nefarious misdeed*” shows thatcorruption has made it almost impossible for the press to do anything free, just for the interest of the poor voiceless masses, because the press is being manipulated with money and power that have taken charge of journalism in Nigeria and the like nations, thus resulting in the media ethics that are grossly compromised, abused and trampled on with impunity. Through the stance markers, it is also revealed that some Nigerians could have their businesses or programmes given wide media publicity, while others would have theirs not or poorly covered because of undue favouritism.

The choice of “a *vibrant and free press*”, as a stance and evaluative markers in the extracts, is to expose a truly virtuous or ethical press that would not agree to deceive the world about what obtains or not in Nigeria as being so or not. The stance markers of a *vibrant press* implies nor collection of bribe for any reason, not working for fear or favour, not accepting bribe to tell lies. Rather, they would insist on journalism (professional) ethics at the expense of their job/s and lives. However, it may be worthwhile to question the implementation and practice of press freedom in Nigeria. It would appear press freedom is not being observed because of the circumstances surrounding Nigeria, and one would) not blame the press much for being corrupt.

First, in Nigeria, press freedom is a mere paper thing. The press are at the mercy of the top government officials. They operate almost only on the wimps and caprices of the top government officials (the political elite), whose extreme control of and influence on the media have brought compromise of professional and moral ethics and pervasive corruption to the media, the constituency of the press. The use of “*nefarious misdeeds*” refersto the activities of the Nigerian press, especially states staff, which are remote-controlled by the state governments to practise journalism unethically and subjectively, in order to please their masters, contrary to the idealstandard practice. The new emerging Digital Media may be responsible for this trend. Stephen J.A. Ward lends credence to the above thus:

We are moving towards a mixed Journalism across many media platforms. This new mixed news media requires a new news media – a news media citizen and professional Journalism across many media platforms news media -mixed news ethics – guidelines that apply to amateur and professional....(n.p.)

From the above perspective, Ward describes press freedom as very erratic and possibly overstepping its bounds, which has resulted in corruption in the press. The broad

corruption and bad leadership in Nigeria that crept into the media have made most journalists to compromise the standards of playing “the watchdog duty/role” over the government and their general journalism ethics and societal established core conventions, norms and values. In most cases, the internal leadership of the press is corrupt and bad, in consonance with the political leadership under which they operate as a microcosm.

Although, the employment of the negative inclined markers: *the macrocosmic institutionalised* and *outright contempt* and *dissatisfaction*, are used to capture the operations of the press to paint the tempting situations facing the upright journalists, they can desist from or overcome all if willing and determined. Thus, this is where the ‘apostles journalists’ are blamed for corrupt practices in their news reportage. This is because they lack the will power to resist their corrupt bosses who restrain them from covering, writing and/or publishing certain ills-exposing information for the consumption of the public. The recalcitrant, ethical and objective journalists ought to defy their bosses’ ill-orders. But because of the threat of punishments, victimisation and indictment, most of the Nigerian journalists, rather take to the institutionalised corruption (Besong and Robert). And today, unethical journalism seems to be the order of the day. Such restraints on press freedom contradict the right to ‘freedom of expression’ enshrined in the Nigerian constitution. Press freedom thus becomes the opposite of what scholars and the press conceive it to be.

However, the point being implied in the above extracts through the devices of stance and evaluation, is that ethical considerations is very important in the practice of ideal Journalism, as it compels the journalist to commitment and thoughtful options when selecting the alternatives that could lead to the highest good of enhancing his credibility as a person and journalist. Basically, ethics enhances social responsibility and the protection of individuals against the vagrancies, the unguarded and the unmitigated power of the press, as exhibited by media professionals in performing their professional duties in

contemporary times (Mohammed n.p.). Ethical journalism, regarded by many as journalistic ethics, involves virtuous, judicious and moral religious practise of journalism by the press in accordance with stipulated rules and regulations, media laws, general decorum, norms and values and moral precepts, by which the actions, deeds, decisions and professional practices of the press are guided and judged (Okioya and Adedowole, as cited by Ward). This portays that every profession has its own ethics, which are the code of conduct, which set standards of behaviour for members of such profession to their actions. These professional codes have the advantages of fusing a code of morality into the performance of the profession to which they refer. They constitute a means of control and discipline among the members of the profession. Professional ethics, therefore, regulates the relationship between professionals and particular publics. The above extracts which imply the media anti-graft campaign in the press, reflect the need for ethics in the media practice to play the following roles, which brings to place ethical journalism when not compromised and/or breached:

1. To ensure objective journalism, grounded by truth, fairness, honesty, decorum, moral uprightness, sincerity and generally accepted standards, norms and values.
2. Prevailing on journalists to practise at all times their professional norms, rather than compromising them for the unusual, for the good interest of all.
3. Journalists to serve as a watchdog in their coverage of events for which they are expected to check their excesses.
4. To shape the worldview, perception, relationship and deeds of the journalists. Buried in their conscience, consciousness, mind and mental faculty, ethics prompts the journalists, like other professionals, to judge themselves, their actions, thoughts, words, deeds and those of others to ascertain whether good or bad, right or wrong, moral or immoral, stand or sub-standard and thereabout.

5. To spell out the core responsibilities of the journalists which represent their service and call to duty.

By this, both the journalist and the audience know when, where, why and how the journalists discharge their responsibilities (duties and obligations) or not. As such, when journalists fail, they are blamed; when they succeed, they are applauded by the masses, even though the ruling government often tends to usurp such praise from journalists. And, when the journalists' efforts to discharge their responsibilities are thwarted by the government, internal and/or external, the 'ethical selfless journalists' are exonerated by the morally upright members of the audience/masses, since both parties are conversant with and conscious of the established ethical requisites, precepts and conventions.

In summary, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and evaluation has created the media anti-graft campaign awareness among the relevant agencies and stakeholders to be corruption conscious in the media reportage of news.

2.2.5 Representing the Legal Institutions in Nigeria

Corruption in the judiciary can take two forms, including political interference in the judicial process, which is influenced by the legislative or executive branch, and bribery. The extracts below is the presentation of media graft reports in the judiciary, presented through the devices of stance and evaluation.

Extract 17: "Nigeria's Worsening Corruption: Since 2015 when the current government took the reins of power, very few high-profile corruption cases have been concluded. Convictions have been very scarce. The claim by the government is that the judiciary

has been largely compromised, thereby undermining the anti-graft war...” (*Nigerian Tribune*, March 5, 2018).

Extract 18: Nigeria seizes \$800,000 in anti-corruption raids on judges: We have been monitoring the expensive and luxurious lifestyle of some of the judges as well as complaints from the concerned public over judgment obtained fraudulently and on the basis (of) amounts of money paid”. (*BBC News*, October 9, 2016).

The above extracts deploy stance and evaluation markers to express the writers’ highly emotional disposition towards corruption in the judiciary in Nigeria. The consistent description of the judicial officers and their activities in the legal practice as, ‘*graft*’, ‘*expensive*’ and ‘*luxurious lifestyle*’, ‘*largely compromised*’ and ‘*judgment obtained fraudulently*’, conveys the impression that the legal institution is morally rotten, and characterized with looting and fraud which ravage the nation’s resources. The deployment of negative evaluation markers to describe the Nigerian legal institution, such as, ‘*largely compromised*’, ‘*judgment obtained fraudulently*’ and ‘*...undermining the anti-graft war*’ is a reflection of the writers’ expressions of emotional feelings to capture the judges’ acts of corruption and their unbridled desires to acquire ill-gotten wealth through fraudulent means, in order to live big. As negative attribute, the expressions do not only expose the decay in the judiciary, they also show that the writers hate the *act* of corruption in the institution. The extracts represent an affirmation of the writers’ mood and anger against fraud in the federal government controlled agencies and departments.

Through the stance devices of evaluation, the financial recklessness and unpatriotic behaviour of the legal officers are depicted. The writers’ feelings of disdain, distaste, anger and disgust over the fraudulent behaviour of the officials are revealed in the extracts through grammatical structures. Indeed, the writers’ stance and evaluation strategy

deployed in the extracts, describe the financial rottenness and mismanagement that characterize the judiciary. This attitude can be exemplified with pending cases that litter many courts of justice in Nigeria, which are suffering setbacks as a result of unnecessary adjournments and other challenges, all because a judge has been ‘settled’, collected bribe behind the scene. This act accounts for the abuse of power by the officers. It also amounts to a violation of social contract by those found culpable.

The writers probably believe that the use of emotive language would actually communicate their feelings and concern, and to persuade the officers to be prudent, reasonable and fair in the use of their legal resources in dispensing justice. As invoked stance markers, the highlighted lexical markers are also deployed to discredit and blackmail the corrupt judicial officers before the public, or to incite a mass action against them. The choice of the lexical items as tools of stance markers corresponds with Biber and Gales’ claim that some grammatical elements, including nouns, verbals, adjectivals and adverbials effectively aid the writer’s communication of affective stance (58-59). Following this assertion, the exploration of; ‘*scarce convictions*’ (nominal); and ‘*judgement largely compromised*’ (adverbial/adjectival), reflects the occurrences of injustice, fraud, abuse of power and massive corruption in the judiciary. The evaluative stance markers succinctly suggest discontentment and anger against the infractions and the uncivilized manner the judicial officers perform their responsibilities. Through the stance markers, the writer chooses expressions that are capable of generating the readers’ reactions to graft in the legal institution, with a view to making them receptive to rational argument that may perhaps bring positive change in society.

2.2.6 Representing the Federal Agencies and Departments

The extracts below which serve as instrument of anti-graft campaign, show how the anti-graft campaign in the federal agencies, departments, ministries and parastatals under the supervision of the presidency in Nigeria is presented through the devices of stance and evaluation.

Extract 19: “Nigeria’s Worsening Corruption: ...it seems that both the EFCC and the ICPC have become agencies for the recovery of stolen public money without detailed public accountability for such recovered funds. Indeed, some Nigerians fear that such funds would likely be re-stolen by government officials who are shielded by the government... ... that the huge funds recovered so far have not translated **to** anything meaningful as every individual in the value chain of repatriation seems to be interested intaking a deep bite from the loaf” (*Nigerian Tribune*, March 5, 2018).

The above extract is replete with negative affect with some emotional and inscribed stance markers, such as: ‘...*funds would likely be re-stolen by officials... shielded by the government*’/‘*every individual in the value chain ... taking a deep bite from the loaf.*’ The grammatical structure, with the strategy of stance and evaluation markers, is used to expose corruption in the anti- graft agencies, because of their ineffectiveness. Specifically, through the stance markers, the writer accuses the anti-graft agencies for partial enforcement of their operations which suggests their incredibility, incompetence and inability to deliver in their duties, perhaps, for government’s undue interference in the course of their work. That behaviour also suggests aiding and abetting corruption.

Therefore, the markers,, ‘*every individual in the value chain/taking a deep bite from the loaf*’, indicate that the anti-graft agencies adopt selective prosecution of corrupt individuals, which can best be described as lopsided in their fight against corruption. For instance, *Transparency IT* notes that there is no public information on how the government utilized the \$3.6 billion recovered funds from the Abacha loot (“Abacha loot”n.p.). Therefore, the expression: ‘*...funds would likely be re-stolen.. by officials*’ is suggestive of the stance feature that conveys the agencies’ collaborative moves in looting the country’s public funds recovered. The device is meant to invoke the readers’ emotional response, in order to arouse negative feelings and judgment concerning the ineffectiveness of the anti-graft agencies. Similarly, the extract below reveals that politicians, including officials in the presidency are also agents of graft.

Extract 20: ‘Finish line far out of sight in Nigeria's race to beat corruption’... Civil servants had been accused of padding the 2016 budget – a system open to abuse where the budget proposal is at variance with prevailing market rates...was signed a shameful five months into the year ...”- Oluseun Onigbinde (*Guardian News paper*, May 11, 2016).

In extract 19, the deployment of the markers of stance and evaluation are significantly used to expose the rot perpetrated by the officials in the presidency in-charge of the national budget. The choice of the grammatical structure: ‘*padding*’, ‘*at variance with prevailing market rates*’ and ‘*signed a shameful five months into the year*, which is replete inscribed and invoked stance markers, portrays the fraudulent and sharp practices of the officials in the presidency while preparing the national budget. The stance markers which represent the officers’ negative attribute, implies a breach of their ethical conduct in the service, in order to embezzle public funds.

The implications of the negative judgements are to construct the bad image corruption in the federal civil service has created for Nigeria and Nigerians. In summary, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and evaluation has created the media anti-graft campaign awareness among the relevant stakeholders to be conscious of graft.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter explores the discourse strategy of stance and evaluation, which the press consciously employs to communicate with the public. The elements analysed reveal that the anti-graft campaign exhibits a great deal of affective stance and evaluation at the level of vocabulary, reflecting moods, feelings and emotional language towards corrupt practices in public offices, corporate bodies, agencies and institutions.

The exploration of the media graft/anti-graft campaign with newspaper publications, such as opinion articles, news reports and official reports, through the strategy of stance and evaluation exposes the writers' moods, feelings, beliefs and values, which are meant to enlighten, sensitize and mobilize the public to fight corruption. Therefore, our findings show that the resources of inscribed and invoked markers were used to persuade public office holders to be more receptive to critical and rational anti-graft campaign arguments, aimed at fighting corruption in Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

STANCE AND ENGAGEMENT IN THE MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF ANTI- GRAFT CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the media construction of anti-graft campaign through the examination of Hyland's strategy of stance and engagement resources. The analysis of the media anti-graft campaign considers how the writer acknowledges, connects and recognizes the presence of the reader, and how the reader is carried along with the arguments, so as to direct his/her attention. The reflection of the writers' expressions of certainties or otherwise, possibility or otherwise are also noted to guide the interpretation and understanding of the discourse (*Stance and Engagement* 176).

Towards that direction, the analysis of stance and engagement in this chapter, focuses on the interactional and self-mentions markers in the extracts below. The markers

which indicate the ways writers use language to interact with others, are used to share opinions, feelings, perception and judgements among participants.

3.2 Analysis and discussion of Data

The extracts below, which is the anti-graft campaign in Nigerian national assembly, the political office holders, the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board, and the Anti-graft Agencies is presented through the devices of stance and engagement.

3.2.1 Representing the National Assembly

Eric Breit opines that the media's assessment of the socio-political background of the selective structure of the Nigerian legislators in the National Assembly is predicated on "criminalization frame or transgression discourse" (620). His reference to 'criminalization' implies the negative attribute of criminality or illegality or other forms of criminal activities of the legislators. Therefore, the extracts below exemplify the prevalence of fraud in the National Assembly.

Extract 21: "*Nigeria's legislature: A den of robbers?:*

In Metaphysics and Epistemology, solipsism is an interesting theory and position which views 'self' as all that exists... A solipsist in political power strips others naked to cover his own nakedness... Where is democracy, equity, fairness, and justice where there is untold suffering...?" - By Ola Ojo. (*Punch Newspaper*, March 16, 2018).

Through the interactive resources of stance and engagement, the above text reveals acts

of corruption and misuse of public funds. This is an attempt by the writer to expose the corrupt practices of the legislators. To start with, the resource of question device in: *'Nigeria's legislature: a den of robbers?'* reflects the legislators' unscrupulous activities, which do not only suggest misappropriation of public funds, but also describe the law makers as wild animals ('lions living in dens'). The choice 'den' in the text, is a metaphor for the politicians' display of wickedness, rascality and loss of human sense and sympathy, because they are merely concerned with their individual self-interests. The question device is employed here by the writer to bring the reader to where he/she can be led to share the writer's viewpoint, and to arouse their interest as discourse partners (Hyland, *Stance and Engagement*, 185).

Similarly, the following question marker as used in the above extract, *'Where is democracy, equity, fairness, and justice where there is untold suffering?'* serves as an open invitation to the public to assess the credibility of those who play politics in Nigerian. The expression implies that the political elites lack the attribute of *'equity, fairness, and justice'*, which portrays them as insincere, deceitful and greedy. The legislators are therefore challenged to take a critical look at their level of commitment and selflessness in the services they render to Nigerians. The question resource is also used to compel the legislators to change their attitudes towards the business of legislation. Used to challenge the legislators to examine their level of sincerity of purpose, selflessness and commitment to the tenets of democracy and public service, the media anti-graft campaign, through the question marker would ameliorate the condition of the suffering masses.

Further, the extract below expresses the properties of stance and engagement through some grammatical expressions.

Extract 22: "Prof. Sagay attacks National Assembly members over 13.5 million naira monthly salary. Prof. Itse Sagay, the

Chairman, Presidential Advisory Committee Against Corruption has joined other well-meaning Nigerians in condemning lofty monthly salaries collected by members of the National Assembly...Such towering pay was no longer realizable in the country. This is self-awarded salary, making *themselves* wealthy at the expense of the country... *I* was the first person to draw attention to these outrageous salaries and allowances...What *they* are earning are out of tune with the economic reality in the country. *These people* cannot continue to consume the resources of this country while millions of others are scratching and looking for tiny morsel to eat... *We* cannot allow it to continue. *They* are all “*come-and-chop characters*” - by John Owen Nwachukwu (*Daily Post*, March 18, 2018).

The extract manifests the use of interactional self mentions, which are realized as the grammatical features of pronominal device or markers in the extract. For instance, the use of: ‘we’, ‘others’ and ‘I’ does not only serve as interactional, they are also used as self-mentions and engagement markers to involve the reader in the text, in order to call for team spirit among the Nigerian populace in their fight against corruption. ‘*I*’ (first person singular pronominal), is used by the writer to present a discorsal self in order to project his personalized belief of distrusts and disappointments at the way and manners law makers represent Nigerians. However, the use of ‘*we*’ and ‘*others*’ textually constructs the writer and reader as participants that share common and similar experiences, understanding and perception about the havoc corruption causes. The use of ‘*they*’/‘*them*’/‘*themselves*’ in the extract presents explicit markers for the perpetrators of corruption (the law makers), who are portrayed as “*come-and-chop characters*’.

Regarding the profound use of *'these people'* in the text, it connotes negative evaluation of political leaders who take delight seeing their subjects starve and suffer. It is for emphasis that the citizens of Nigeria are portrayed as *'Nigerians'*, or *'millions of others'*, as both terms are used to symbolize the poor masses of Nigerians who are exploited, deprived and victimized by the privileged political leaders in Nigeria. From the writer's arguments, the legislatures' outrageous salaries and allowances are morally unjustifiable, condemnable, and should be resisted at all cost. This suggestion does not merely rest on the writer's offering of textual acts, but physical and cognitive acts which reflect the stance feature of calling and encouraging the readers and the public alike to resist the ugly trend of corruption. In conclusion, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and engagement is aimed at creating awareness about politicians, whose activities are portrayed as corrupt practices.

3.2.2 Representing the Political Office Holders

The extract below explores the politicians' illegal engagement in government services, through the discursive resources of stance and engagement.

Extract 23: "Slash legislators', ministers' pay by half:

...Sanusi tells Buhari that the salary of Military personnel, who are defending the country, was only #49,000 with some of them lacking accommodation... Where is the change? Change should start with the National Assembly. A senator receives #36 million monthly.... The question has been whether Nigeria's economy was strong enough to support jumbo salaries. 'In short, 200 Nigerians will be able to live a comfortable life on half a senator's monthly salary...' -By Muhammadu Sanusi (*Guardian News*, February 12, 2018).

According to Olayemi Awotayo, President Buhari's introduction of the "change slogan" during his presidential campaign was intended to present his government and APC as 'transparent' and 'credible' (n.p.). But the rhetorical question device in the above extract: *'Where is the change?'* is a reflection of the bitter feelings and disappointment of the people over the President Buhari's led government's failure to deliver on good governance in Nigeria. The device shows that the President's anti-graft war is spurious, in view of the fact that nothing has changed since the government came on board, in spite of the propaganda and promises to revamp the economy, fight insecurity, turn governance around, and affect the social lives of the people in Nigeria.

In an attempt to debunk the veracity of the president's claim of a change in governance, the writer employs interactional propositions of rhetorical question, characterized with "dialogue to reflect the textual voice of acknowledging, engaging, challenging or aligning with others and their utterances" (White 203). Similarly, the employment of the declarative in: *'Change should start from the National Assembly'*, is meant to challenge politicians to examine their work ethics with a view to improving their performances so as to justify their promises in the electioneering campaign. The use of the declarative technique implies that the government has now broken her promise to improve the lot of the people.

Further, the deployment of: *'The question has been whether Nigeria's economy was strong enough to support jumbo salaries'* exemplifies the writer's language resource of *direct question* to draw government's attention to the mismanagement of the nation's resources which are monopolized by a selected few Nigerians to the detriment of majority, who are left to suffer poverty and lack. The question device is used to query the ministers' and legislators' entitlements. The choice of: *'jumbo salaries'* suggests the legislators' and ministers' fabulous take-home pays, which are portrayed as acts of disservice to Nigeria

and Nigerians. Also, through the technique of the following personal asides, ‘200 Nigerians will be able to live a comfortable life on half a senator’s monthly salary’ in the extract, the writer reveals that political office holders perpetrate negative agenda of self-centredness which hinder the growth of Nigerian economy, and this has subjected the ruled to untold hardship and lack, an action devoid of leadership by example.

Therefore, with reference to the extracts, the writers have deliberately used the engagement devices to admonish the government against the legislators/ministers’ collection of huge salaries, to which the writers’ suggestions imply a downward review in order to create job opportunities for the unemployed youths, and to have a sensitive, transparent and a friendly government in Nigeria. In conclusion, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and engagement has created the media anti-graft campaign awareness among the political office holders, both at the state and federal levels, to be conscious of acts of fraud.

3.2.3 Representing the Joint Matriculation Board (JAMB)

The extract below represents media reports concerning operations of the JAMB. The report is characterized with the devices of stance and engagement, comprising the features of pronominal, *questioning*, *appeal to shared knowledge*, and *personal aides*.

Extract 24: Snake Allegedly Swallows #36 million from JAMB Office Vault, Nigerians React:

“About #36 million was allegedly swallowed by a mysterious snake which no one saw. ‘My question is *how could they leave such an amount of money in the office in this age of banking?* Last year, before the present JAMB administration, it was reported that the board had never remitted more than three

million naira to the nation's consolidated revenue coffers but then a new administration came in and remitted 8 billion naira, *so who is fooling who?*. The reasons they give for looting are always a joke and a big slap on the faces of Nigerians...'
(Caleb Onyenso, social media analyst reacts)

"If the issue is swept under the carpet, who knows another animal that will swallow money in the future? We are being taken for fools" (Tolulope Akinrinde, a student reacts)

-Interviewed & reported by Juliet Ebirim & Adetutu Adesoji.
(*Vanguard*, February 17, 2018).

Through the mechanism of stance and engagement, the above extract (responses) expose the massive looting of the JAMB's treasury. The question device is used to challenge the management of the organization to explain the manner under which the fraud of the huge sum of the missing money is perpetrated, and the rationale behind the strange occurrence. The writer's deployment of the engagement markers provides the readers a thought provoking and highly volatile background of the institution, which enables the writer to deploy the stance markers that strengthen negative representation of the act to invoke the readers's anger against corruption in the educational institution. Therefore, the question device: '*...so who is fooling who?*' is the writer's attempt to generate the readers' emotions, thoughts, and a feeling of mockery for the perpetration of the stolen money in the JAMB's treasury.

Again, through the direct question strategy, the discourse participant's reaction: *who knows, another animal that will swallow money in the future?* exemplifies the call for justice and fair play in bringing the perpetrators of the missing money fraud to book.

The strategy of the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and engagement has created the media anti-graft campaign awareness that does not only expose the threat the looting of the institution's treasury poses to Nigerians, it has also shown the concern of most Nigerians to the menace of corruption plaguing Nigeria for their responses and reactions.

3.2.4 Representing the Anti-graft Agencies

The extracts below represent the media anti-graft campaign in the anti-graft agencies, presented through the resources of stance and engagement.

Extract 25: “Buhari, retool the anti-corruption war. A forum for all stakeholders to forge a common strategy in the war against corruption recently ended with the admission that the crusade under the present administration is still far from achieving its goal.... *An anti-corruption crusade that works requires the synergy of all the relevant institutions of the state – the EFCC, the ICPC, state security services, the police, Judiciary and the office of the Attorney- General of the Federation.* Ironically, some of them work at cross –purposes...” by Taiwo Ojoye (*Punch*, May 28, 2019).

Through the instrumentality of the following stance and engagement markers, *physical, textual and cognitive acts*, the samples: ‘*An anti-corruption crusade that works requires the synergy of all the relevant institutions of the state – the EFCC, the ICPC, state security services, the police, Judiciary and the office of the Attorney- General of the Federation*’, the discourse participants make some suggestions, with a view to having a more effective anti-corruption agencies.

Typically, the writer's observation of division and disagreement among the anti-graft bodies is expressed in personal asides technique: *'some of them work at cross purposes...'* The writer explores the personal asides device to interrupt his argument to enable him address readers directly, and offer his opinion. Hence his judgemental comment: *'requires the synergy of all the relevant institutions'* reflects *personal asides*, which is suggestive of the writer's call for team spirit among the anti-graft agencies in order to overcome the challenges facing the bodies.

Specifically, the extract below exemplifies the media anti-graft campaign in the EFCC through the device of 'shared knowledge to deepen the interaction discourse.

Extract 26: "EFCC and its Fight against Corruption in Court:

Nigeria has witnessed a tremendous increase in the activities of EFCC, against alleged corrupt individuals in the past two years. ... Although the upbeat in the activities of the commission has been applauded by some,... some others tagged it a reaction to the body language of Mr. president, targeted at political enemies... 'they convict people on the pages of newspapers, in the TV and on the social media ... They first detain a person before they start investigation so as to wear out the person and make him to incriminate himself ... Why in a sane society, would you detain a person like former governor Gabriel Suswam of Benue State for nearly three months without granting him bail? ... they have made the war like us against you; you people against we people. Today, the

anti-corruption war does not belong to Nigerians, it belongs to few people in government’ (Mike Ozekhome, Senior Advocate of Nigeria, reacts)”. – Reported by Chinedu Onochie and Kanayo Umeh (*Guardian News*, May 30, 2017).

In the above extract, the writer shares his opinion and stance about the EFCC’s unfair, unjust and partial handling of alleged cases of corruption before it, by deploying *appeals to shared knowledge* in order to invoke the notion of ‘sharedness’ with the readers and other participants as follows: ‘*Although the upbeat in the activities of the commission has been applauded by some, ... some others tagged it a reaction to the body language of Mr. president, targeted at political enemies...*’. In the sample above, the writer appropriately demonstrates the efficacy of the interactional devices involving the reader in the text in order to reveal how Nigerians have witnessed the tremendous increase in the impartial activities of the EFCC in treating cases preferred against corrupt individuals. In the technique of ‘*appeal to shared knowledge*’, the writers/speakers attempt to ‘smuggle’ some contested ideas into their argument. In other words, the technique allows the writers’ personal ideas to constitute some common history and familiar events in the past part of the text, which are recalled to deepen the propositional argument (Hyland, *Meta Discourse*, 198).

Coupled with the engagement feature of ‘shared knowledge’, the extract also characterizes the interactional self mentions markers, which are used explicitly to refer to authorities and discourse participants, because the elements are considered vital in stance and engagement. For instance, in the boldfaced markers of the following samples from the extract, ‘...**some others** tagged it a reaction to the body language of Mr. president, and targeted as political enemies...’/ ‘**they** convict people on the pages of newspapers, in the TV and on the social media ... /**They** first detain a person before **they** start investigation...

they have made the war like us against you...’, we note the discourse participant’s use of various forms of self mentions. The self mentions item - (**‘they’**) relates to the EFCC, which anaphorically conveys the writer’s obvious frown at the agency’s selective prosecution of alleged corrupt individuals, and for paying lip service to the serious business of fighting corruption. The sample, *‘you people against we people’* portrays the notion of *‘otherness’*, suggestive of government’s discriminative and selective prosecution of corrupt officials. This situation is clearly expressed thus in the extract: *‘Today, the anti-corruption war does not belong to Nigerians, it belongs to few people in government’*

However, the inclusive boldfaced pronominal (we), represents membership of the Nigerian populace who are constructed as victims of EFCC’s unfair and fraudulent practices of selective arrest, while reference to **‘you’** (the 2nd person pronominal) relates to the government and its agent (EFCC) in the sample. However, the choice of **‘We’** (first person plural) conveys the anticipated sense of collectiveness, oneness and unity among the people to resist oppression and victimization by the government’s agents.

The aforementioned description of the self mention devices does not only portray the need for the much needed unity among the generality of Nigerians, but to emphasize the anti-graft campaign through the technique of stance and engagement, in order to achieve peace, economic growth, stability and corruption –free society. Finally, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through the devices of stance and engegement has created the media anti-graft campaign awareness among the relevant agencies and stakeholders to be conscious of corrupt practices in the operations of the anti-graft agencies.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have attempted to examine the writers' consistent construction of stance and engagement features in the media discourse of anti-graft campaign in some institutions, agencies and entities, which reveal the various negative responses to corruption in the country. Thus, the analysis of the anti-graft campaign shows the participants' negative opinions and views on corruption in Nigeria through the employment of engagement devices. Through the employment of engagement devices, our findings show that the samples analysed convey the writers' moods, feelings and values, in order to sensitize the public.

CHAPTER FOUR

STANCE AND METADISCOURSE IN MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF ANTI- GRAFT CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter applies Hyland's interactional mechanism of stance and metadiscourse from the perspective of writer-oriented language resources or features of hedges and boosters. The markers are used "to withhold commitment, and to open dialogue so as to emphasize certainty or close dialogue" (Hyland, *Metadiscourse*, 46). The study is also set to examine writers' various degrees of commitment and attitudes towards entities, propositions, or the reader. Therefore, the method of language analysis in the extracts is predicated on the resources of metadiscourse as presented in the media.

4.2 Analysis and Discussion of Data

This analysis explores the anti-graft campaign in some entities and group in Nigeria, including the Youth Empowerment programme, the Housing and Planning Agency, and the Masses as Victims, the security institutions, and the Agency for the management of epidemics/Pandemics, through the resources of stance and metadiscourse, including hedges and boosters.

4.2.1 Representing the National Social Investment Programme (NSIP)

The National Social Investment Programme (NSIP) is designed by the Federal Government of Nigeria to rehabilitate the youths. The N-Power is one of the schemes under the Programme, whose aim and objectives is to empower the youths with training, employment, and entrepreneurship. The extract below presents the anti-graft campaign in the entity through the language resources of metadiscourse for analysis.

Extract 27: “Corruption hampering Buhari’s multi-billion naira social empowerment programme: One of President Muhammadu Buhari’s social empowerment programmes, N-power, may soon be rested due to implementation setbacks, said to have been caused by alleged corruption. N-power is the job creation and empowerment programme of the National Social Investment Programme (NSIP) of the administration... Poor sustainability plan and gross mismanagement of resources by programme managers threaten its continued implementation ...” - by **Mathias Okwe and Terhemba Daka** (*Guardian, August 11, 2019*).

With the aid of hedges and boosters in the above extract, the writers' assumption, thoughts and orientation concerning the possible failure of the youth empowerment programme is shaped. Hyland describes the technique as "*presence*". It is used to indicate the extent to which the writer has chosen words to project himself into the text in order to influence meaning. ("*Stance and Engagement*" 180). In the extract, the writers use the boldfaced hedges: "**may soon**" in: "...N-power, **may soon** be rested due to implementation setbacks" to reserve their commitment to the proposition concerning the challenge of the scheme, which they claim is being threatened to fail. Similarly, the deployment of the boldfaced hedges in: "**said to have been caused by alleged corruption**" conveys the writers' effective use of the interactional resource to express their view or assumption that graft in the programme is responsible for its poor implementation, which is supposedly meant to benefit the youths.

However, through the employment of "*gross*" in the phrase: **gross mismanagement of resources**' reflects the writers' expression of booster to show their strong belief that fraudulent practices caused poor implementation of the scheme, resulting in its ineffectiveness. The writers also use the booster to imply that most of the challenges plaguing the programme include impersonation, whereby officials and political leaders feature fictitious names of their family members, spouses, friends and even ghost names in the scheme, without the required documentation, just to collect allowances meant for the youths. Therefore, as a result of the exploration of metadiscourse resources, the above extract manifests the following grammatical features: "*alleged corruption*", "*gross mismanagement of resources*"/"*threaten its continued implementation*", in order to portray the writers' inclined negative feelings and responses towards graft perpetration in the N-power scheme.

4.2.2 Representing the Planning and Housing Agency

Planning and Housing Agency is a government body responsible for setting standards for erecting buildings across the nation, by controlling and regulating the locations, the quality of materials and the processes of erecting the buildings. But there have been recent media reports of incessant building collapse, due to acts of collusion between government officials and contractors who compromise standards. Through the technique of stance and metadiscourse, which include hedges and boosters, the extract 27 below profoundly portrays the anti-graft campaign in that sector.

Extract 28: “Corruption, Greed behind Building Collapse in Nigeria: Building collapse has been so rampant in Nigeria, the most recent being that of Ikoyi 21-storey building collapse; ... It is really sad that building collapse is becoming a recurrent decimal in the country and this is mostly due to the selfishness, greed and lack of seriousness on the part of both the builders and government, the regulators of the industry. The builders and the government are most often not doing many things alright. Many Nigerians are too engrossed in cutting corners... we will continue to have issues of building collapse. ...There have been reported cases of building approval alone in the offices with the officials charged with such responsibility, merely relying on the information supplied by the builders. Additionally, reports abound that many potential home owners employ quacks who only adopt trial and error methods.... As long as standards are compromised and supervising authority is lackadaisical,

experiences of building collapse will continue” - by **Bayo**

Alade (*Nigerian Tribune*, January 11, 2022).

In an attempt to show the general moods, feelings and opinions of writers/speakers on the presentation of graft/anti-graft campaign in the media, the above extract deploys hedges and boosters to discursively present graft in the Planning and Housing sector. Through the metadiscourse devices, the sharp practices involved in processing documents for erecting buildings by the Housing and Planning officials are exposed. Through the metadiscourse markers, the extract x-rays how the parties involved in the processes of building, violate and abuse the set standards, which results in regular incidents of building collapse in Nigeria.

For instance, the repeated deployment of “**will**” (auxiliary verb) in the sample: “*we will continue to have issues of building collapse*”/ “*experiences of building collapse will continue*”, signifies boosters to convey certainty. The boosters are used in the proposition to stress the writer’s emphatic mood or feelings and conviction about the occurrence of fraud in the housing sector that results in incessant collapse of houses. Therefore, the markers employed, connote “*affect*” which involve a broad range of personal and professional attitudes towards what is said, including emotions, perceptions and beliefs (Hyland, *Stance and Engagement*, 180). Further examination of the device of boosters shows that the employment of **really** in the sample: “*It is really sad that building collapse is becoming a recurrent decimal in the country...*” illustrates the writer’s use of evidentiality to mark his feelings and attitudes towards the incessant and ugly occurrences of building collapse in Nigeria. The device is used in order to reflect the writer’s disappointment and bitterness over system failure in managing the housing sector in Nigeria, which has resulted in the loss of many innocent people, and unquantifiable property.

From the foregoing, we note that the writer has successfully employed hedging and boosters in the form of a variety of syntactic frames comprising, “auxiliary and lexical verbs, adverbials and adjectival” (Hyland, *Stance and Engagement*, 185). The idea is to use these features to convey the sense of certainty which the above extract has clearly exposed, and to also reveal that many houses are affected.

However, the engagement of epistemicity, the writer reveals the prevalence of the incidence of collapse, due to the fraudulent practices perpetrated by government officials and building contractors. Their acts are portrayed as very embarrassing and exploitative. The extract below employs stance markers to expose the attitudes of government agents towards the task they are employed to execute.

Extract 29: A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria.

Infrastructure Corruption:... catastrophic building collapses kill scores of Nigerians each year because contractors use substandard materials and bribe building inspectors to ignore their shoddy work or lack of permits ... Mathew T. Page (*Academia Education*, 2018).

In the above extract, the deployment of “catastrophic”/“scores” in ‘catastrophic building ...collapses kill scores...’represents epistemic marking to portray the writer’s evaluation, judgment and degree of commitment attached to the truth-value of his claim about building collapses, for whom he expresses feelings of sympathy for the victims. Negligence and corruption of officials are portrayed to be the cause of the unfortunate occurrences of collapsed houses in the country. Thus, the lexical marker “shoddy work” is a device of booster portraying badly and carelessly constructed buildings by the site engineers who bribe government officials for approval on completion of such construction, which brings about unsatisfactory and undesirable state of the buildings that results in their collapses.

4.2.3 Representing the Federal Government

Through the devices of metadiscourse, the extract below uses the media anti-graft campaign to expose the bad governance that the Federal government characterizes, thereby subjecting the vulnerable poor masses to untold suffering and hardship.

Extract 30: “To mend a broken nation: The Easter Metaphor (on Nigeria). Nigerians can no longer recognise their country which has been battered and buffeted by men and women from the dark womb of time... Our individual hearts are broken. Our family dreams are broken. Homes are broken. Our educational system is broken. Our children’s and future are broken. Our politics is broken. Our economy is broken. Our energy system is broken. Our security system is broken. Our roads and rails are broken. Only corruption is alive and well...” –**Mathew Hassan Kukah** (*Premium Times*, 17 April, 2022).

The writer of the above extract employs the device of hedges- negatively inclined word- “broken”, to convey the depth of his outrage, dissatisfaction, disappointment and pessimism over government’s failure to address Nigeria’s lingering social and economic challenges, coupled with its inability to provide quality governance. The writer’s approach reflects Hyland’s expression of metadiscourse, involving a broad range of emotional perception and beliefs (*Stance and Engagement*, 180). Therefore, reference to Nigeria as, “*battered/ buffeted / the dark womb of time*” in the extract, is to reflect the bad state of the nation, suggestive of plundering the nation of its social and economic resources. The deployment of the metadiscourse has helped to portray that graft orchestrated by government results in tension, stress, hunger, joblessness, loss of lives and property,

unaffordable cost of living, prolonged unresolved universities' industrial disputes, political thuggery, and the unfortunatelingering insecurity. All these affect the poor masses as they are subjected todaily experience of economic hardship caused by greed and squalor of the political class.

The identification of the aforementioned levels of corruption in Nigeria, corroborates Titi Omobude's opinion which is based on the Global Human *Development* index (GDI) reports that, from the two years - 2018 to date, the country has dropped three places from 158 to 161 (*United Nations Development programmes, UNDP, n.p.*). The report is said to represent credible assessment of long term progress in three basic dimensions of human development, whose result for the nation is poor as result of bad governance.

4.2.4 Representing the Security Operatives in Nigeria

Henry Ojelu notes that in some years back, the Nigerian Force, particularly the police, has always been considered the most corrupt public institution in Nigeria (n.p.). The extracts below reflect the graft/anti-graft campaign in the security agencies in Nigeria, through the strategy of stance and metadiscourse.

Extract 31: "Corruption: ... In Nigeria, militants from the Boko-Haram extremist group were conducting a series of attacks on school children and villagers, Acute, structured government corruption is a factor in all of them. Yet, despite the remarkable correlation, the role this phenomenon may play in exacerbating international insecurity is often over looked. Corruption is typically seen as a pathology a fraying at the edges of a system or, at worst,

a sign of system failure. Consequently, much of the work to devise remedies is entrusted to aid agencies and local civil society actors, whose hard-fought efforts strive for small-scale, concrete successes” (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace, 2014*).

Extract 32: “The police as bribe taker:Netherlands is reported as witnessing massive reduction in crime rates. Conversely, the situation of crime in Nigeria is said to be on a steady upswing and sadly, the number of detention facilities are grossly insufficient and substandard ...Another unfortunate statistical fact about the crime rate in Nigeria is the near –absence of skilled disciplined and professionally committed persons to engage in the arduous tasks of policing Nigeria ... The process of commercializing and politicising the entry points into the police has eroded the capacity of government to attract the best hands unlike in civilized climes ... Even as we bemoan the dearth of professional police operatives to sufficiently enforce the laws in Nigeria, another worrying dimension is the widespread cases of bribery and corruption amongst the ranks and file of the Nigeria police ...Corruption is the father of crime and if those who should maintain law and order are found wanting, it therefore means that anarchy would be triggered in the society (*Daily Post News, August 19, 2017*).

Extract 33: “Internet Fraud: Nigerian Scammer ‘Pulls off \$1m heist’ from Prison: Hope Olusegun

Aroke is serving a 24-year prison sentence; A convicted internet fraudster has been placed under investigation in Nigeria for

allegedly masterminding a ‘mega scam’ from a maximum security prison worth at least \$1m. EFCC’s investigation reveals that against standard practice, Aroke had been given access to the internet and his phone. He had also been admitted to the Nigerian police Hospital in Lagos for an undisclosed ailment”.

Nduka Orjinmo reacts, “*This is a case that has shocked **many Nigerians**; how a convict serving time at the country’s foremost maximum security prison was allegedly able to operate freely. **Many believe that Aroke could have pulled off his alleged exploits only with the help of corrupt prison officials. who are poorly paid**” (BBC News, November 19, 2019).*

Using the features of stance and metadiscourse in the above extracts, the writers’ thoughts, views and feelings are shaped to reflect the causes of insecurity and increasing crime trend in Nigeria. The rate of prevailing crime in Nigeria is blamed on corrupt practices among the security operatives. Specifically in extract 5, the deployment of the following boldfaced evidential markers of hedges: “**acute, structured corruption.../remarkable/ typically/ much/many/at worst**”, represent the writers’ emphatic claims, that corruption is responsible for the mismanagement of security challenges in Nigeria. The choice of: “**acute, structured**”, which precedes “corruption”, portrays the officials’ conscious and coordinated corrupt acts misappropriating public funds. This is very frustrating to security arrangements in Nigeria. Again, the boldfaced marker in: “**remarkable correlation,**” is a description of the outstanding state of insecurity Boko Haram group poses, going by global comparison. Also, the deployment of the boldfaced booster in: “*Corruption is **typically** seen as a pathology...*”, aptly reflects the writer’s claims and beliefs that corruption is the exclusive factor causing the incalculable

economic damage, and the poor security network of the country. The markers are generally employed to portray and stress the fact that poor governance, as well as the prevalence of fraud in Nigeria is responsible for the unquantifiable and nefarious activities of Boko-Haram/Herdsmen extremist groups, whose endless acts of killings, kidnapping, arson and land grabbing have caused incalculable damage to the country. The deployment of stance and metadiscourse in the extracts therefore reveals that the facilities at the disposal of security officers in Nigeria are decaying, insufficient and substandard, as a result of graft in the security sector.

Extract 32 further explores the media graft report security through the devices of hedges and boosters. The boldfaced lexical items in the following expressions are distinctive: “Aroke **could have** pulled off **his alleged** exploits only with the help of corrupt prison officials...” / “...**could** easily bribe”/ “... that anarchy **would be** triggered in the society”. Each of the markers is a representation and proof of evidentiality, which enables the writer express his attitude, confidence, conviction and to create some space in the proposition in order to accommodate the readers’ views in the text (Osisanwo, Wale 97).

Therefore, through the devices, the writer shares his personal claims and feelings with the readers in order to create awareness and understanding on the nation’s security system. Through this strategy, the reports of graft in the extracts are presented to sensitize readers and the public, that fraud facilitates the clandestine activities of criminals. The reports also bring to the fore that illegal activities of criminals do not cease, even while in prison custody because corrupt security agents aid and abet crimes. It is obvious that the writer uses the resources of metadiscourse to portray that the crime rate in the prison is caused by the corrupt practices of the government officials and the security agents which result in the decay and rot in the security sector. The stance markers do not only portray

that government lacks the political will to checkmate fraud, they are also used to expose the diversion of funds by the management in-charge of security. Meaning that the funds meant for the welfare of the security personnel go into private pockets, thereby frustrating the fight against the menace of crimes in Nigeria. It is implied that the senior security officers themselves are often caught divulging useful information to the criminals for a fee, in order to aid them perpetuate more deadly crimes.

The extract below further explores the resources of stance and metadiscourse to expose the financial crime/illicit activities of the Army officers that pose threats to the lives of the low-rank soldiers.

Extract 34: A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria ...

former national security adviser, Sambo Dasuki allegedly diverted \$2 billion in security spending into private hands ..., despite sharp increases in adhoc defence spending, operations in the northeast, remains hampered by equipment, material and pay shortage. Military sources have privately blamed the deaths of eight-three soldiers in a late 2016 Boko Haram ambush directly on equipment shortfalls and low morale resulting from an upstick in corruption among army leaders -Mathew T. Page (*Academia Education*, 2018).

The writer's employment of "**allegedly diverted**" and "**private hands**" in: "Sambo Dasuki allegedly diverted \$2 billion in security spending into private hands", represent the devices of hedges to portray government's officials' corrupt acts of diverting and misappropriating funds meant for the welfare of military officers, and to acquire weapons to combat insecurity in Nigeria. Through hedges and boosters, the writer conveys his feelings and belief that the ugly trend of corrupt practices is responsible for the loss of lives

of many state actors in the hands of gunmen, kidnappers, herdsmen, hoodlums and bandits, for dearth of sophisticated fighting equipment, arms and ammunition to challenge them. Similarly, the portrayal of the acts of fraud, bribery and corruption in the above extracts, through the devices of boosters and hedges, reveals that the ugly trend remains unabated, with some adverse effects on the lives and property of Nigerians, exposed.

Through the employment of grammatical and lexical items (stance markers), the writer vividly describe the security operatives' corrupt acts that hinder the successful protection of lives and property in Nigeria, whose failure results from corruption in the sector, and the government's inability to pay attention to the gradual decline of the working conditions of these security agents. Rather than focus on practical measures to achieve Police/Army reforms, successive governments have been engaged in a theoretical analysis of the reform.

The Nigeria Police Force, established in 1930, has a long history of engaging in unprofessional, corrupt, and criminal conduct. Over the years, this unwieldy force - Africa's largest, has proved difficult to effectively manage and control, and has become largely unaccountable to the citizens it is meant to serve. The Buhari- led administration's promise of a radical overhaul of the Nigeria Police has not been met either. So far, we have seen a tragic combination of limited reforms or no reforms, in making the Police relevant to the security needs of Nigerians. And so, we all wallow in the misery of our insecurity. Terrorist attacks on our major cities and villages, including rampaging herdsmen, kidnappers, violent armed robberies, have all become our daily experience (Page, *Canegie Endowment for International Peace* n.p.).

Again, through the devices of stance and metadiscourse the extract below is presented for further analysis and discussion of graft reports in the police Force/Army in order to portray the poor management of security in the Nigerian society.

Extract 35: “Police is endemically corrupt ... often predatory”...
 “Decades of unchecked corruption have hollowed out the Nigerian military and security services and rendered them unable to effectively combat Boko Haram...Perhaps the most egregious form of defence sector corruption is the continued use of “security votes”: opaque slush funds given to certain federal, state, and local officials” - Matthew T. Page (*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

Epistemic devices, according to Hyland, express the writer’s belief, judgment and truth –value in his proposition. In the above text, the writer employs metadiscourse to express his negative emotional position about corruption. The writer’s engagement of ‘*endemically corrupt*’, ‘*predatory*’ and ‘*hollowed out*’ reflects the attributes of the police officers and their activities. The epistemicity is used by the writer to convey the impression that the security institution in Nigeria is only out to exploit the people, rather than protect them. This is a breach of social contract, which is reflected in the deployment of ‘*predatory*’. The device implies that the security agents exhibit attributes of unfairness, injustice, coarseness, tyranny, oppression, intimidation, bullying and humiliation, in order to suppress suspects, and extort them. The epistemic negative stance reflects the writer’s emotional expression of feelings to describe the security agents’ unbridled fraudulent acts. As negative attribute, the expression, ‘*hollowed out*’ does not only expose the decay in the police and the Army, the use of ‘*opaque slush funds*’ reflects the attitude of the authorities in charge of security that involve in misappropriation of funds allocated to the sector, The is employed to rouse the readers’ hatred for looting and corruption in the institution.

The deployment of ‘*unchecked corruption /the most egregious form of defence sector corruption*’ also conveys the writers’ mood and anger against fraud in the federal

government controlled security agencies and departments. Through the metadiscourse devices, the financial recklessness, unpatriotic behaviour and non-challance of the bodies responsible for protecting lives and property are revealed. The markers also expose the writer's feelings of disdain, distaste, anger and disgust over the fraudulent behaviors of the security operatives. This is so because the extract unfolds the financial rottenness and mismanagement that characterize both the Army and the Police respectively. The abuse of power is evidenced in the manner the police officers are portrayed in the extract in terms of carrying out their duties.

Further exploration of the extract reveals that the deployment of '*endemic*' (adjectival), is a reflection of the fraud, bribes taking, exploitation and other unhealthy occurrences the security operatives practice to humiliate the masses. The stance marker succinctly suggests the writer's discontentment and anger against the security agents for their infractions in the performances of their official responsibilities. The stance markers are therefore used to not only to generate readers' reactions against graft in government's institutions, but also to make the reactions more receptive to rational argument that may perhaps, bring positive change to the society. On this note, Page argues that Nigeria has the most corrupt defence sector in the world, especially in terms of misappropriation and abuse of reserve funds and security votes. According to him, the inclusion of this provision in the federal government's annual budgetary system, increases the budget amount as a matter of routine (n.p.). Therefore, he is of the opinion that corruption in the defence sector signals a big risk to the socio-political state of Nigeria, because notwithstanding the huge increases in ad hoc defense expenditure since 2011, operations in the northeast against Boko Haram remain affected by poor equipment, material, and pay shortages (Anderson, Eva and Matthew T. Page n.p.).

The recent massacre of about 68 worshippers at a Catholic Church in the town of Owo, Ondo state on Sunday June 5, 2022, and a total of 2,079 Nigerians who died in mass killings around the country, between January 2020 and June of 2022, by Islamic militants, are proofs that Nigeria's insecurity situation has worsened. Giving an account of security updates in Nigeria, Titi Omobude states that the challenge of insecurity is:

“spreading from the traditional theatre in the northwest down to the previous peaceful part of the south, where killings and kidnappings have become rampant since 2015” (*Businessday n.p.*).

Also worthy of note are the episodes of recent train attacks whose victims were the innocent and vulnerable travelers. The victims of the Abuja –Kaduna train attack which happened on 28 March, 2022 faced bombing, mass shooting and kidnapping with no security with standard weapons on ground to challenge the terrorists who carried out the acts. The same story can be said of the recent Igueben, Edo state attack that occurred on Saturday, January 7, 2023, which a security expert blames on negligence and corruption in the security sector (*Igueben train attack, TVC News n.p.*). The situation of insecurity in Nigeria suggests that either the needed funds to fight insurgency are not being released to acquire standard weapons, or the funds find their way into private pockets, thereby denying the force men on the field access to superior weapons to face criminal elements. Therefore, citizens are portrayed as victims of a sad combination of rampaging criminal elements in the community, and a Police Force whose officers are largely ill motivated and ill-equipped.

The bad situation surrounding the working conditions of the police has been a subject of discourse. In fact, their poor conditions of service result in bribery and corruption in all its ramifications. This trend has become the culture of our Police. Perhaps, more worrisome is the effect of this state of affairs on our collective psyche. Public

perception of corruption, impunity, absence of accountability, incompetence, and failure to control the law and order plague the Police Force without government's determined efforts to acknowledge and develop a realistic approach to curbing endemic corruption in our Police. According to *Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index*, Nigeria is the second most corrupt country in West Africa and 34th most corrupt country in the world. *Transparency International* in a report also affirms that corruption is now the most challenging in Nigeria. It is a particular challenge in Nigeria with an ever-increasing misconduct that impacts on the development of Police institution in the country (n.p.). According to *Spector*, corruption, generally is an abuse of authority for private gain, which has been identified as the biggest challenge that confronts governance machinery in Nigeria (n.p.). Nigeria, as a nation, is ranked 154th out of 180 countries in *Transparency International's 2012 Corruption Perceptions Index*.

Corruption is prevalent in the police force which often than not is evident in the unofficial collection of bribes from suspects. Indeed, researchers have argued that large-scale corruption involving the Police, not only exist, but has become a daily routine, displaying the corrupt tendencies in criminal investigations and other sundry duties. So many crimes go un-investigated by the Police where influential persons, including those in government are involved as suspects. In many cases, Police will file criminal cases and leak information about such cases to the Press, as earlier shown in the analysis of the above extracts. When such cases would come up, the Police would ask for adjournments because they could not produce the required witnesses. Years after, the cases would be abandoned and that would be the end of such cases. In some instances, the investigation police officer (IPO) will deliberately destroy the case in the witness box by contradicting himself.

Corruption, therefore, wastes resources, undermines security, makes mockery of justice, and slows economic development. Innocent individuals are not spared of the abuse of the police, who are accosted on a daily basis by armed police officers demanding bribes and commit human rights abuses against them as a means of extorting money. Those who fail to pay are frequently threatened with arrest and physical harm. Far too often, these threats are carried out. Meanwhile, victims of crime are obliged to pay the police from the moment they enter a police station to file a complaint until the day their case is brought before a court. In the shadows, high-level police officials embezzle staggering sums of public funds meant to cover basic police operations. Senior police officers also enforce a perverse system of “returns” in which rank-and-file officers are compelled to pay up the chain of command a share of the money they extort from the public. Those charged with police oversight, discipline, and reform have for years failed to take effective action, thereby reinforcing impunity for police officers of all ranks who regularly perpetrate crimes against the citizens they are mandated to protect.

Indeed, analysis and discussion of the above extracts has revealed that the devices of stance resources imply that many years after its formation, the police force is viewed more as “predators” than protectors, and the Force has become an epitome of unfettered corruption, mismanagement, and abuse. The consequences of this state of police force are: extortion, embezzlement, and other corrupt practices by the Nigerian police which undermines the fundamental human rights of Nigerians in two key ways. First, the most direct effect of police corruption on ordinary citizens stems from the myriad human rights abuses committed by police officers in the process of extorting money. These abuses range from arbitrary arrest and unlawful detention to threats and acts of violence, including physical and sexual assault, torture, and even extrajudicial killings.

Also, the police frequently extort money from the public at taxi stands, in marketplaces, or while going about their daily lives. However, the most common venue for extortion occurs at police roadblocks, ostensibly put in place to combat crime. In practice, these checkpoints have become a lucrative criminal venture for the police who routinely demand bribes from drivers and passengers alike, in some places enforcing a de facto standardized “toll”. Motorists are frequently detained and endure harassment and threats until they or their family members negotiate payment for their release. Extortion-related confrontations between the police and motorists often escalate into more serious abuses. The police have on numerous occasions severely beaten, sexually assaulted, or shot to death ordinary citizens who failed to pay the bribes demanded.

The police commonly round up random citizens in public places, including mass arrests at restaurants, markets, and bus stops. In some cases of blatant deception, plain clothes police officers simply masquerade as commuter minibus drivers, pick up unsuspecting passengers at bus stops, and take them at gunpoint to nearby police stations where they demand money in return for their release. The police often make little effort to veil their demand for bribes, brazenly doing so in open corridors and rarely bothering to question those in detention about any alleged crime. Those who fail to pay are often threatened and unlawfully detained, and at times sexually assaulted, tortured, or even killed in police custody. Many of these abuses are perpetrated as a means to further extort money from ordinary citizens or from fearful family members trying to secure the freedom of those detained.

These criminal acts by the police, coupled with their failure to perform many of their most basic functions, severely undermine the rule of law in Nigeria. The police routinely extort money from victims to investigate a given criminal case, which leaves those who refuse or are unable to pay without access to justice. Meanwhile, criminal

suspects with money can simply bribe the police to avoid arrest, detention, or prosecution, to influence the outcome of a criminal investigation, or to turn the investigation against the victim. Again, ordinary Nigerians are further denied equal protection under the law due to a widespread practice whereby senior police officers sell for their own personal enrichment police protection to Nigeria's wealthy elite. The abject failure of the police to provide for the security of ordinary citizens has led some communities to turn for protection to armed vigilante groups who often operate outside the law and commit further abuses, as in the case of many towns and villages today in Nigeria.

Police corruption affects nearly every Nigerian, though it disproportionately impacts Nigeria's poor. Those in precarious economic situations, scraping out a living day to day, are more susceptible to police extortion because of the profound effects that unlawful detention, or the mere threat of arbitrary arrest, have on their livelihoods. The sums regularly demanded by the police also represent a larger portion of the poor's income. Moreover, many Nigerians are simply unable to pay the bribes required for basic police services.

The challenges described so far are well acknowledged and known by the government and the police leadership. Therefore, the presentation, analysis and discussions of the above graft reports on police and other security agents in Nigeria, are anti-graft campaign implied as follows:

1. The need for police reform initiatives, increased funding to the police force, and improved police wages, to hold accountable police officers who squander and steal police funds, much less the rank-and-file who commit abuses.
2. Public complaint mechanisms, internal police controls, and civilian oversight should be funded adequately, and largely ineffective.

3. The Nigerian government in general and the police leadership in particular, to demonstrate the political will to address these structural problems, through reform initiatives, and implement effective police oversight and accountability.
4. The Nigerian government to immediately and effectively address the dynamics that have given rise to and sustain endemic police corruption and its related abuses, and ensure that those who perpetrate these crimes are held accountable.
5. The Nigeria Police Force should streamline and prioritize internal controls by establishing a Public Complaints Unit at all police stations and restructuring its largely discredited internal anti-corruption unit, the X-Squad.
6. The Nigerian government should launch an independent inquiry into corruption within the police force, focusing on the embezzlement and misappropriation of police funds, the corrupt system of returns, and the sale of police services by high-level police officials.
7. The Nigerian government, including the National Assembly, and the anti-corruption commissions should improve transparency and accountability in the police force by reforming and ensuring better coordination of oversight mechanisms; and authorities should investigate and prosecute without delay police officers implicated in extortion, embezzlement, and human rights abuses.
8. Irrespective of citizens' tolerance for Police bribe-taking, there is an urgent need for firm steps to eliminate corruption in the Force. Chastity must begin with the Police. The process of cleansing has to start at the top echelons, which should not only be honest, but should ensure honesty at the lower levels. Police reform cannot solely start and stop with the Police leadership. To be fair, successive administrations should set and implement a realistic, achievable agenda for Police reform.

4.2.5 Representing the Public Health Services in Nigeria

The western or orthodox medical practice was introduced into Nigeria in 1860 when the Sacred Heart Hospital was established in Abeokuta, in the South-West zone by the Roman Catholic Missionaries. This was followed by the World Health Organization's declaration in 1978, resulting in the establishment of Primary Health Care (PHC) project, detailing the goals to be pursued in improving the health of both rural and urban dwellers, including the provision of the universal vaccination, covering both rural and urban areas (Ewan Alufohai, 27).

The extracts below represent the graft/anti-graft campaign in the health sector in Nigeria, as presented through the strategy of stance and metadiscourse.

Extract 36: “Covid-19 is a fertile ground for aggravated corruption ... trigger an escalation of power abuse... Amnesty international has repeatedly records ... “fantastically corrupt” country... Nigeria is acutely institutional deficient, with absolutely no credible transparency and accountability structures...., they have embarked on unprecedented fiscal activism, spending enormous amounts of money to support businesses, workers and families ... absolutely no credible evidence of where this money is going, ... Controversially, how many people actually received the purported #20,000 social palliative?... The poor who are the supposed targets are not the real beneficiaries,... no government in Nigeria can be

trusted with public funds or private donation for relief

measures , sadly, covid-19 ... aggravated corruption...

– by Olu Fasan (*Vanguard*, April 16, 2020).

Features of boosters in the above samples are used to reveal the writer’s complete commitment to his claims that corruption characterises the disbursement and distribution of funds and materials approved.

The boosters, including **repeatedly**, **fantastically**, **acutely**, **absolutely**, **will** and **can be**, are evidences of adverbial, adjectival and verbal expressions. The writer does not only explore the language markers to convince the readers that there is the prevalence of fraud in the public health institutions, the devices are also used to expose the fact that the political leaders in positions of authority are undoubtedly corrupt in handling the funds meant for distribution to Nigerians to mitigate their suffering during the covid 19 episode. Also represented in the above extract, are the devices of hedges to express the writer’s feelings of regret and emotions. An instance of the markers, so deployed include: “**sadly**”, in “*sadly, covid-19 will raise the risks of such aggravated corruption*”.

It should be noted that the stance and metadiscourse markers are applied in the above extract to create an “open dialogue”, in order to reveal the possible direct cause, and effects of corruption on the people and the economy of Nigeria. Therefore, the employment of the lexical hedges and boosters in the extract are obvious “stance features in academic registers, used by the writers as a means of expressing their total or partial commitment to the proposition” (Biber, 98).

Finally, through the stance features of boosters and hedges, the writer of the above extract attempts to convey his feelings that, though the outbreak of the pandemic - Covid-19 has been treated as national disaster in Nigeria, the distribution of palliatives, and the money transfer exercise by government to mitigate the effects of poverty occasioned by

the outbreak, were characterized with fraud and bad management by the schedule government officials. Again, in the extract below, through Metadiscourse, the media report covers covid -19 funds approval, and the manner of release of the funds, transfer of cash, and distribution of materials to ameliorate the suffering of Nigerians, particularly the indigent. This represents the post Covid-19 era, and the resultant corrupt practices.

Extract 37: Coronavirus (covid-19) pandemic

palliatives: ... governments try to mitigate the economic consequences of the coronavirus..., embarked on unprecedented fiscal activism, spending enormous amounts of money to support businesses, workers and families... households in the so-called national social register be increased from 2.6 million to 3.6 million ... business people and philanthropists worldwide are spending massively on covid 19..., bizarrely, giving money to government to spend! (- by **Olu Fasan** *Vanguard News, April 16, 2020*).

The above extract is replete with different rhetorics, involving the deployment of discourse techniques of stance and attitude to influence readers' perception and viewpoints by acquainting them with relevant information. The stance markers express the incalculable pains the outbreak of pandemic has caused the masses because government officials corruptly mismanaged the distribution of relief materials approved to mitigate the unfortunate experience. Through the stance devices, it is also revealed that the pandemic has done some damage to the Nigerian economy, leaving the citizens in extreme poverty and hardship. In the extract, the writer exemplifies the resources of negative strategy of hedges as interactional and interactive language tool to engage the

audience.

Specifically, the markers do not only describe government's total commitment to the needs of the masses, they also expose unaccountability spending in governance which implies that governmental agents take advantage of such loopholes to perpetrate corruption that runs into unquantifiable sums of money. Through the resources of stance and metadiscourse, the extract below further portrays the negligence and poor public health care services rendered to the masses in Nigeria.

Extract 38: “How corruption impedes access to health, water, education”. A recent report has revealed that a silent pandemic is going on in the health... as more people now lack access to these basic necessities due to corruption. The new report... by the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project, SERAP, revealed how systemic and endemic corruption ...especially in the health sector, has plunged millions of Nigerians further into poverty – Henry Ojelu (*Vanguard News*, November 28, 2021).

The writer of the above extract utilizes the interactional resources of boosters and hedges in order to reveal the bad and intolerable conditions of public health care in Nigeria because of ineffective governance and corrupt practices. Reference to corruption in the health sector as “**silent pandemic**” reflects hedging to convey the writer's unhappy mood and feelings about government's abandonment of the poor mass needs for health care. Obviously, the choice of “**systemic/endemic**”/and “**plunged millions**” reflects markers of Metadiscourse used to convey the writer's perception of the pattern of corruption affecting public health in Nigeria. The markers imply a coordinated,

calculated and purposeful acts of fraud, geared towards destroying the lives of the people. Also, the employment of “**especially**” in “... especially in the health sector” represents the writer’s expression of certainty as far as his claim in the proposition is concerned, accusing the government of negligence and corrupt practices. The writer’s perception reflects the idea that the government has shown “high level of distrust in the maintenance of the welfare conditions of the poor, the health workers and health users, including a lack of proper equipment in the health service centres. The report blames this situation on the government for making the poor victims of the negligence in health sector, who cannot access health, because of their inability to pay hospital bills or because most health centres lack adequate facilities for treatment (“Coronavirus: corruption in health care”, n.p.).

4.2.6 Representing Agricultural Development in Nigeria

Nigeria has been operating a mono economy, with reliance on oil. But the recent threats of crashes affecting oil prices in the global market has resulted in the decision by the government to diversify its economy by prioritizing Agriculture, which it now considers the core of the government’s economic policy. Towards that end, the government has organized many programmes aimed at finding solutions to the problems facing farmers, among the solutions, is the setting up of the Anchor Borrowers’ Programme (ABP), and the Nigeria Incentive-Based Risk Sharing System for Agricultural Lending (NIRSAL), which are respectively set to find answer to Nigeria’s quest for self-sufficiency in food production. The NIRSAL, which was launched in 2011 and incorporated in 2013 by the Central Bank of Nigeria, is a public-private initiative that is aimed at engendering the deployment of funds and investments into fixed Agricultural ventures (CBN n.p.).

Through epistemic and deontic stance markers, the writer of the extract below expresses his propositions (Biber et al 124).

Extract 35: Special Report- Fraud Allegation, Unremitted Loans, Crop Failure, and other Anomalies Dog Nigeria Govt's "Rice Revolution".

The Anchor Borrowers' Programme (ABP) has given rise to a multitude of angry farmers who claim the programme has been hijacked by local politicians who disburse funds to fake farmers and has become a means of rewarding political patronage. ... An effort by the Rice Farmers Association of Nigeria (RIFAN) to salvage the programme is merely sloggingby as complaints of the supply of expired herbicide, bad seeds and other funding, are threatening to derail it.... But contrary to Mr Buhari's optimism, less than three years after, the programme, which has been described as "revolutionary" has run into trouble waters in several states, leaving a trail of bad loans running into several billions of naira, disappointments, accusation of diversion of funds. **By Nicholas Ibekwe** (*Premium Times Nigeria*, June 4, 2018).

Extract 39: Reps Probe NIRSAL's N205bn Agricultural Loan, N105bn Scam

Reps probe NIRSAL's N205bn agricultural loan, N105bn scam; The House of Representatives on Wednesday unveiled plans to investigate the disbursement of all agricultural loans and credit facilities disbursed to farmers from 2009 to date.

The resolution was passed sequel to the adoption of a motion sponsored by Hon Chike Okafor, who frowned at the level of impunity and grave corruption allegation leveled against the NIRSAL management, which poses a great threat to food security in the country **By Nicholas Ibekwe** (*Premium Times Nigeria*, June 4, 2018).

In the above extract, the writer attempt to expose the media construction of graft in the agricultural sector of Nigeria, through epistemic stance markers. *Fraud Allegation, Unremitted Loans, Crop Failure, multitude of angry farmers, hijacked by local politicians, revolutionary, run into trouble waters, disappointments, diversion of funds, agricultural loan scam*, among others are lexical and grammatical elements through which the writer expresses the factors that hinder government's efforts to achieve its desired boost in agriculture in Nigeria. The experience portrays lack of coordination and fraudulent practices among government officials who are saddled with the task of managing farmers' loans. Deploying the devices of boosters, such as, *run into trouble waters, disappointments, and threat to food security in the country*, the writer portrays graft in trying to manage agricultural facilities in Nigeria, and even to recoup the billions worth of funds given out as loan. Also in the presentation of graft in the extracts through the stance marks, it is revealed that at harvest, farmers are expected to sell their produce to anchor, which will then pay the cash equivalent of the produce into the farmers' bank accounts, but through the use of stance markers, the writer expresses his negative feelings about the failure of the programme to keep faith with the laid down guidelines in order to achieve the desired increase in banks' financing to the agriculture sector and to create new generation of farmers as well as to boost employment. It is efforts in futility, as portrayed by the grammatical features.

Indeed, the choice of the markers reveals how disappointed the writer feels about the constraints that face government in the execution of the agricultural scheme due to the negligence and fraudulent practices of the schedule officials. However, the writer's employment of hedges to mark his feelings of disappointment is not far-fetched. They include: *Fraud Allegation, Unremitted Loans, Crop Failure, multitude of angry farmers, hijacked by local politicians, diversion of funds, agricultural loan scam, impunity and grave corruption allegation*. All this suggests that the implementation of the agric loan scheme is characterized with flaws that frustrate it on arrival. The markers are testimonies of to show that the programme is started on a wrong footing, because long after its inauguration, and well after the planting season, farmers are still kept in anxiety, waiting in vain for takeoff. The writer attempts to share the experience of suspense and anxiety, which the farmers are subjected to through the use of "*Unremitted Loans, multitude of angry farmers, loans hijacked by local politicians*". This situation results in the promised inputs and funds that are nowhere to be seen.

Again, the following stance markers: *diversion of funds, agricultural loan scam, impunity and grave corruption allegation*, summarise the forces that hinder the scheme from its successful prosecution. The markers indicate that many of the guidelines in the programme are not followed because of corruption and fraud, and instead of crediting the beneficiary's (the farmer) bank accounts with the loan, after they must have made a five per cent equity contribution, the money is discriminatively shared in cash to politicians' favourites. As a result, beneficiaries expend the loan outside the purpose it is meant for, because they feel it is a national cake being distributed to them. This may be the wrong notion or orientation given the beneficiaries by some government officials, that they shouldn't bother themselves to repay the loans.

The use of the stance marker, “*impunity and grave corruption*”, is a reflection of the many abnormalities involved in giving loans to the unqualified beneficiaries who are not genuine farmers, but people with political affiliations. The employment of *grave corruption/agriculture scam* therefore refers to the indiscriminate disbursement of the loan, since it is given to those who don’t own farm.

However, the media presentation of anti-graft campaign through the employment of hedges marker: “*revolutionary*”, shows that government is determined to invest in agriculture, with a view to changing the narratives. The lexical item is employed to portray the writer’s strong belief that the government has good intention, and is making efforts to boost Agriculture, as the answer to Nigeria’s quest for self-sufficiency in food production. The mark therefore portrays the government’s position to employ several millions of Nigerians in agriculture, and to invest heavily in agriculture as a means of creating jobs in the hinterlands, provide enough food locally and for all of the urban areas, with expected tremendous success. The writer’s choice of “*to salvage*” exemplifies hedges. It implies the ABP’s programme thrust in the provision of farm inputs in kind and cash (for farm labour) to small holder farmers, in order to boost production of these commodities, stabilise inputs supply to agro-processors and address the country’s negative balance of payments on food.

Again, through the stance device as depicted by “*revolution*”, the expected increase in banks’ financing to the agriculture sector in order to create new generation of farmers as well as to boost employment, with each farmer given a reasonable loan “per hectare of rice for land cultivation, including inputs, such as herbicide, fertilisers and water pumps, are all exposed.

The presentation of the media reports of agricultural events in the extracts implies the anti-graft campaign which this study presents. The situation calls for farmers’ bio-

metric, and mapping of farms should be organized to checkmate fraud and monitor loan seekers, the farmers should also register for the programme as instructed. Prospective and practising farmers should be helped to access the Credit Scheme to enable enhanced agricultural produce and guaranteed food supply in Nigeria.

4.3 Conclusion

The study reveals that through the effective deployment of hedges and boosters which reflect the elements of stance and metadiscourse in the interpretation of the media reports, the writers portray the varied degrees of attitudes they have towards the challenge of corruption in Nigeria. Thus, the study reveals that the media utilize a combination of hedging and boosting devices in the discourse, to allow individuals and interest groups their diverse views and opinions on the subject of corruption. Ideologically, the explicit metadiscourse interactive strategy is used to represent the diverse views and opinions of the media writers in expressing their beliefs, patriotic stance or arguments and values. Finding shows that the strategy is used to present the position of each contributor in the media, with a view to solving the problem of corruption from different perspectives.

CHAPTER FIVE

STANCE AND ATTITUDE IN MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF ANTI-GRAFT CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines Hyland's discourse resources of stance and attitude from the perspective of **affective** devices. The devices are characterized with writers' expressions of attitudes in their propositions, such as: I agree, surprisingly, unfortunately. These markers are used to convey the speaker/writer's emotions, perspectives, beliefs, dispositions, feelings, positions, judgments and orientations towards the content of a text,

and they constitute Hyland's concept of stance use, to mark out the uniqueness of the writer or speaker and his/her expression of ideas, feelings, by employing emotional structural and lexical markers.

5.2 Analysis and Discussion of Data

The analysis and discussion of the extracts below are examined through the features of stance and attitude markers, which are realized through structural and lexical items to signal positive meanings, negative meanings, triggered attitudes, assumed attitudes, asserted attitudes, and evaluative or judgemental attitudes (Deborah Olatunji, 97-100). Therefore, the extracts below represent the anti-graft campaign in the parliament, the Nigerian Embassies and High Commissions, and tertiary institutions in Nigeria.

5.2.1 Representing the Parliament

The present 7th National Assembly, comprising Senate President, Ahmed Lawan and the Speaker, Femi Gbajabiamila engages in legislation as its primary business to address issues affecting the nation. The members are also involved in certain oversized functions. The extract below is a representation of media report on the National Assembly through attitudinal stance, to portray anti-graft campaign.

Extract 40: "Press Release: ...The Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) has urged the senate president... and speaker of House of Representatives... to probe promptly, and refer to appropriate anti-corruption agencies fresh allegations that 10bn of public money budgeted for the National Assembly is missing,

misappropriated or diverted. SERAP said: ... “Addressing the allegations would improve public confidence and trust in the ability of the National Assembly to exercise its constitutional and oversight responsibilities, and to adhere to the highest standards of integrity in the management of public funds.” ... the National Assembly can only effectively perform its anti-corruption role if it can demonstrate exemplary leadership to probe the allegations of corruption... The Auditor- General is concerned that the money may have been diverted” (*Premium Times*. 12 Dec. 2021).

The above extract reflects the graft/anti-graft campaign in the National Assembly through the deployment of attitudinal markers. The report attempts to reveal the prevalence of graft at the Nigerian parliament. Attitudinal markers, such as “**missing, misappropriated or diverted**” are used in the extract to heighten readers’ tension and anxiety, and attempts to stir the masses’ negative responses, in order to demand financial discipline, justice, equity, accountability, probity and fair play from the leadership of parliament in handling public funds. The writer’s choice of the emotive lexical markers, reflects Jalali’s argument, that attitudinal markers are used to convey the writer’s feelings and evaluations towards the content of a text (32-33). This position is also corroborated by Gray and Biber who posit that attitudinal stance comprises attitude, evaluations, personal feelings and emotions of a writer or speaker (20).

Also, the writer’s deployment of the following boldfaced attitudinal markers, in: “...**has urged** the senate president/speaker to **probe promptly** ... and **refer** to **appropriate** anti-corruption agencies...,” conveys the emotions and passion of the writer towards corruption in the House. The markers also serves as a call on the leaderships of the Assembly to take far reaching steps towards checkmating corrupt tendencies.

Finally, the following attitudinal markers are judgemental: “...**the highest standards of integrity**”/“...**exemplary leadership**”. The **markers** are used to underscore the need for credible and transparent leadership in the parliament.

5.2.2 Representing the Federal Civil Service in Nigeria

The Civil Service is the nerve- centre for all Ministries and Parastatals both at the state and federal levels, each of which is headed by a minister/commissioner and or director respectively. There are also Units and Entities which are headed by Co-ordinators, all of which provide services to meet the day to day needs of the people and governance. Section 206 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) provides for the establishment of Civil Service, to provide the machinery and acts as a springboard for the development, consolidation of programmes and policies of the government of the day. However, these realities are far from being achieved at both levels of government, due to widespread corruption. The extracts below represent the graft/anti-graft media reports on these divisions through the features of stance and attitude.

Extract 41: Lack of Transparency Breeds Corruption in

Civil Service – Minister: The minister of Science, Technology and Innovation, Sen. Adeleke Mamora says lack of transparency and accountability in operations in public service promotes corruption and retards economic growth and good governance.... According to her, corruption in civil service encompasses government official’s behaviours and actions that involve lack of accountability and unethical behaviours, insisting that corruption practice includes falsification of age, bribery, nepotism, embezzlement, influencing peddling, abuse

of one's public office among others. ... - By Emmanuel Elebeke (*Vanguard News*, December 20, 2022).

Extract 42: Civil Service Perpetrating Biggest Cases of Corruption: The Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) has blamed civil servants for endemic corruption in the nation's public service, noting that biggest cases of corruption are perpetrated by civil servants in active service and not politicians as erroneously believed. ...crimes such as budget padding and project duplication are some of the ways corruption is proliferated in the civil service and resources misappropriated....He identified corruption as the root of every problem facing the country, from insecurity to poor infrastructural development. ... - Tunde Adedeji (*ICPCP* September 22, 2022).

The grammatical features of the above extracts are stance attitudinal nouns, adjectives and adverbials to enable the writers express the negativity of graft in the civil service of Nigeria. The headlines of the extracts, "**Civil Service Perpetrating Biggest Cases of Corruption**" and "**Lack of Transparency Breeds Corruption**" set the tone of the discourse with the distinctive features of attitudinal stance markers - 'biggest' and 'breeds'. The markers represent attitudinal adjective and verb respectively employed, to present the negativity of graft in the civil service. Therefore, the writers employ dominant lexical attitudinal items, such as *falsification of age*, *peddling*, *budget padding* and *resources misappropriated*, to enable them express both their peculiar positions, and to pull readers into a conspiracy of judgment that is difficult to debunk (Hyland 180). This represents a

persuasive strategy to indicate their evaluation and attitude towards the reports in their discourse, in order to seek readers' agreement.

Specifically, the deployment of '*falsification of age, peddling, budget padding*' portrays the writers' observation that some unscrupulous civil servants feature names of non-existing workers (ghost-names) in the pay roll of government for pecuniary gains. This has over the years accounted for loss of billions of naira due to over bloated recurrent expenditure at the expense of capital expenditure and significantly weakened the state and federal governments' capacities to function optimally. The reports have indications that the practice affects all the three tiers of government in the nation. The mention of '*insecurity*' and '*poor infrastructural development*' also relates to attitudinal nouns so as to persuade the readers to agree with the writers that corrupt practices are responsible for the breakdown of the national security arrangements in Nigeria. The contemporary Nigerian society appears to have been plague-ridden with divergent problems varying from fraud, corruption, failed contracts, failed banks, insurgency and high level of insecurity, and underdevelopment of basic necessities. The stance markers, therefore are used to reveal that at each of the levels of government, embezzlement of funds, misappropriation and diversion of funds are the order of the day, while qualified youths roam the streets in desperate search for white-collar jobs.

The use of the interactional resources of stance is the writers' attempt to engage the audience in their arguments, by expressing their point of view and position that civil service needs '*transparency and accountability*'. The use of these stance devices account for the writers' expressions of happiness over government's curiosity to ascertain the actual workforce through various exercises such as biometric capturing, personnel verification and the use of table payment, because evidence from these devices could show fictitious and fraudulent act and constitutes a criminal offence going by the law. The

writers' positively inclined attitude is employed to underscore the importance of a corruption-free nation through a reform system that would get rid of corrupt practices. The writers' call for a clean-up and sanity in the civil service through the employment of '*transparency and accountability*' implies that corruption poses serious concern to stakeholders, knowing full well that if the problem is allowed to continue, the socio-economic conditions of the country would not improve and the citizens will continue to wallow in poverty while a few feed fat on the financial resources of the country.

The use of '*bribery, nepotism, embezzlement and abuse of public office*' is a reflection of affective and judgemental resources of the writers to share their regret that the culprits of corrupt practices are not being prosecuted to the satisfaction of the general public after the verification exercises might have exposed them. The consistent use of the negative markers also suggests that the government is closing eyes on this issue. Alternatively, perhaps the perpetrators of this act are those within the corridor of power. It is not even clear whether the anti-graft agencies are not aware of this fraud and if they are, why are they not prosecuting the offenders? What is actually clear is that various verification panels to investigate different forms of fraud are set up as a matter of routine in the civil service with little or no results to show for the exercise. Hence, the affective stance, '*abuse of power*' represents the writers' bitterness and anger that fraud still flourishes because of the inordinate desire of the syndicates who siphon public funds (that could have been used to provide infrastructure), into their own private accounts.

The extracts portray that the acts of corruption and fraud are the shortest means by which perpetrators measure up with social demands of materialism. Obsession with materialism, compulsion for a shortcut to affluence, glorification and approbation of ill-gotten wealth among others account for the high rate of corruption in Nigeria. So, the

insatiable quest for wealth by whatever possible means contributes to fraud in government establishments. The extract below is therefore, an affirmation of graft in the civil service.

Extract 43: Transparency Int'l Corruption index: An indictment on all Nigerians, not Buhari's government. The presidency has reacted to the damning indictment of transparency international which published its annual corruption index on Tuesday with Nigeria scoring 24 out of 100 available points, to drop in ranking... Nonetheless, he stated that the index doesn't reflect the federal government stance and fight against corruption in all facets of the public sector... Corruption is being tackled by this administration..." - **by Femi Adesina** (*Ripples Nigeria*. Jan. 26, 2022).

The above extracts utilize attitudinal stance markers to acknowledge and portray the prevalence of corruption in the civil service, and its destructive effects on Nigerian economy. "As you are all aware, lack of transparency and accountability in our daily operations, promotes corruption which retards economic growth and good governance. The deployment of the epistemic, but attitudinal marker in Extract 35: "... *corruption being tackled*" is not only suggestive of the perpetration of fraud in the Nigeria civil service, it is also used to express the speaker's deep regret and feelings of conviction about the ravaging corruption in the civil service in Nigeria. The stance device is used to subtly portray the federal government's negative feelings towards the acts of corruption in the federal civil service of Nigeria, and to condemn the continued practice. In conclusion, we can infer that the presentation of the above media reports on graft through attitudinal stance, is a reflection of the following strategies of anti-graft campaign in the civil service:

1. The public service should encourage workers with pay rise incentive, because poor welfare leads to lack of openness and transparency, which in turn causes fraud and unwholesome acts’
2. The problem of inequality in the distribution of wealth where only a few privileged members of society amass the wealth, leaving a greater percentage to scramble for the crumbs should be addressed;
3. The governments at all levels have have genuine willingness and courage to arrest and prosecute the syndicates involved in corrupt practices;
4. The law enforcement agencies should be supported and encouraged to fight corruption by ensuring that disciplinary measures in the Public Service Rules are applied to erring Officers;
5. We need to promote and sponsor programmes and activities that empower our institutions to achieve their mandates. Achieving integrity and zero tolerance to corruption is aimed at creating the necessary awareness through sensitization of staff on the ills and consequences of corrupt practices in the ministries. This is because the fight against corruption is a collective responsibility by all and demand sincere commitment.

5.2.3 Representing the Nigerian Embassies and High Commissions

The Nigerian Embassies and High Commissions are located in the capital cities of the host states or nations as a rule. The embassies assist foreign citizens who travel to or live in the host country. Foreign Service officers also interview citizens of the host country who wish to travel abroad for business, education, or tourism purposes. The extracts below are the media discourse of graft/anti-graft campaign in the Nigerian Embassies and High Commissions, through attitudinal stance features.

**Extract 44: Nigeria: Embassies, High Commissions
Reel Corruption allegations**

“Nigeria’s embassies and high Commissions across the world are reeling under the burden of corruption, extortion and passport racketeering Rafsajanjani alleged that... “Too much corruption and extortion is going on in our foreign missions, especially with respect to services that Nigerians are supposed to get. “I am here in the U.S. Everywhere **you** go – be it Washington D.C. or New York – **Nigerians** are complaining about the officials in our Embassy”. Nigerians living not only in the U.S., but also other countries globally will pay and they will not get the services, especially in terms of passport renewal or even getting certification for some of their relations that died” – by Gboyega Akinsanmi and Michael Olugbode (*This Day*, January 10, 2021).

Extract 45: How Top Officials At Nigerian Consulate In Atlanta, US, Perpetrate Corruption, Work Against Consular- General, Smaila:“...applicants have appealed to the president Muhammad Buhari- led Nigeria Government to investigate the corruption office that had crippled the consulate. “This place is really stinking of corruption” “In all my time as a staff and even throughout my working career, i had never seen a working environment that was so toxic and plentiful

with corruption and disregards for work, between 2018 and June 2021” (*SaharaReporters*, December 23 2021).

Extract 46: Bitter experience at U.S. embassy in Lagos:

“I want to express the harrowing experience i passed through at the United State Embassy in Lagos. On Monday, June 8, 2015, i had appointment for 10.30am, and being the president of Lion’s Club International Convention in Honolulu Hawaii, USA, on June 26; i had no doubt that i would spend no time at the embassy. There were so many touting activities at the entrance, but that did not bother me ... As i walked down some metres before reaching the first immigrant/visitor queue centre, i began to feel like an alien in my own country, wondering if the immigrant system is a means of generating funds for the US or exploitation on the part of immigrants. ... We had a roll call of over 1,000 people per day who applied ...However, i passed through the first entrance to the second and third entrances. ... Only for a security man to direct me... On getting there, i met a slim lady who askedme why i wanted to go to America, etcetera. She said: “sorry, you did not meet the requirement this embassy demands from immigrants, go and read the information on the letter, if you wish to apply again” – by Adesola Jimoh (*Guardian*, July 7, 2015).

The above extracts expose corrupt practices and gross misconducts at the Nigerian Embassies and High Commissions through the employment of attitudinal stance markers, some of which include: adjectival (**reeling, toxic, racketeering, stinking, toxic, plentiful,**

harrowing, touting); verbal (**had crippled, feel like an alien, wondering**); and adverbial (**really**). These features serve as a tool for emotional description of the intense and hurting experiences of Nigerians, who are molested, cheated, oppressed, extorted and mocked unjustly, as a matter of routine, in the hands of officials-in charge at the embassies. Specifically, the writers deploy the set of adjectival attitude markers to evoke feelings of extreme surprise and upset because of what Nigerians experience, when they visit the embassies to process their papers for foreign trips. As a matter of fact, the emotive words used, convey the sufferings applicants for visas and passports go through in the hands of the unfriendly and fraudulent officials. After going through all the bitter experiences with no pleasant results to show for it, applicants are often dismissed hopelessly. Therefore, the emboldened affective sample in: “**sorry**, you did not meet the requirement this embassy demands from immigrants...” communicates the officials’ ridiculous manner of rejecting the applicants’ request for visa or passport for very flimsy reasons.

The writers also adopt *self mention device*, such as first person pronoun to project their personal identity into the discourse. The writers’ exploration of self mention device in the extracts, does not only communicate the idea in the proposition, but also attempts to personalize it in a credible manner, with underlying contributions that appeal to “scholarly solidarity in the field of discourse, in order to enhance understanding ((Ivanic 50; Hyland, *Bringing the Reader* 550). In the following boldfaced elements of self mentions:

“**I** am here in the U.S. Everywhere **you** go... Nigerians are complaining about the officials in our Embassy”, the use of the personal pronoun personalizes the victim’s experience of poor attention given to him at the embassies. By extension, the writer’s use of first person singular pronoun, ‘i’ implies all the victims who share in the disturbing experience of exploitation and impropriety by the officials at the embassies.

Similarly, the presentation of the following boldfaced sampled markers, through the instrument of *self-mention*, profoundly communicates and serves as the speakers/writers' responses, to expose their bitter experiences of being cheated and humiliated at the embassies:

“In all **my** time as a staff and even throughout my working career, i had never seen a working environment that was so **toxic and plentiful** with corruption...”/I want to express the harrowing experience **i** passed through at the United State Embassy in Lagos...”/We had a roll call of over 1,000 people per day who applied, .../i passed through the first entrance to the second and third entrances. .../ i met a slim lady who asked **me** why **i** wanted to go to America...”

The emboldened elements represent first person pronoun form with its three grammatical cases of subjective, objective and genitive forms. In each of the samples, the subjective, objective and genitive forms (such as **i**, **me**, **my**), are respectively and repeatedly used by the victim-writers, in order to share their personal encounters, and to expose the embassies' fraudulent acts. The items help to personalize the maltreatment the speakers receive as “third-class citizens”, even in their own country. Also, the employment of personal pronouns in the discourse offers the writers an opportunity to testify to the prevalence of corruption in the embassies.

5.2.4 Representing the Tertiary institutions in Nigeria

Tertiary institutions in this discussion refer to higher schools beyond post secondary schools, whose focus include teaching, learning, research, and community service. Some of the educational institutions concerned are universities, polytechnics, colleges of Education, Agriculture and Technology, among other similar institutions. Through the

features of attitudinal stance, the extracts below which focus on the media discourse of graft/anti-graft reports in the tertiary institutions in Nigerian are presented.

Extract 47: How federal universities are covering up corruption, sexual harassment – SERAP. A new report by Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) has revealed how “most allegations of corruption in federal universities such as unfair allocation of grades; contract inflation, truncation of staff’s salary on the pay roll; employment of unqualified staff; Senator Dino Melaye’s certificate scandal saga; examination malpractices; sexual harassment; issuance of results for expelled student to graduate; and sales of university certificates for undeserving persons have neither been thoroughly investigated nor punished.”... “impunity for corruption in the university system has negatively affected the governance of federal universities and the quality of education received by the students.”...

“We also found several unresolved cases of diversion of university funds for personal use; embezzlement, mismanagement, unmerited allocation of hostel accommodation, discrimination in the allocation of staff quarters; certificate/transcript racketeering; improper use of university assets; inflation of cost of contracts, award of contracts to friends or relatives; and admission racketeering by non-staff.”... (Vanguard posted News, February 8, 2018).

Extract 48: End corruption, sexual harassment in tertiary institutions, Buhari tells stakeholders: ... demand accountability in the administration of academic institutions to address corrupt practices in the institutions... “I am aware that students in our universities for example, use different terminologies to describe different forms of corruption ...“sorting or cash for marks/grades, sex for marks, sex for grade alterations, examination malpractice.... “Sexual harassment has assumed an alarming proportion. “Other forms of corruption include pay-roll padding or ghost workers,.. lecturers writing seminar papers, projects and dissertations for students for a fee, and admission racketeering... bloated personnel and recurrent expenditure of their institutions,... ... In his remarks, Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Boss Mustapha, said the education sector had steadily assumed a pariah status because of corruption that erodes values and resources..... Prof. Attahiru Jega, said perception of corruption corrodes the nation’s image among nations. ... corruption stymies development, drains resources and weakens social contract with the people ...

(Vanguard posted News, October 4, 2022).

Extracts 47 and 48 are replete with attitudinal stance markers. Extract 47 is presented to reflect the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project’s (SERAP) report, while Extract 48 is President Buhari/stakeholders’ reports on the occasion of the Fourth National Summit on on the subject of corruption in the public sector. The speakers in the extracts express a perception of discourse with resources of stance and attitude from

the perspective of **affective**, whereby the speakers convey their emotions, perspectives, beliefs, dispositions, feelings, positions, judgments and orientations towards the content of the texts (Hyland 89).

Thus, SERAP and Education stakeholders' speeches in the above extracts deploy stance attitudes and emotional markers in their respective reports on corruption in the tertiary institutions in Nigeria. The stance markers in the extracts are realized through structural and lexical items.

Specifically, the markers employed through lexical items portray the prevalence of corruption among academic staff and students, including Management teams in tertiary institutions. Employment of **"I am aware..." "...there is sorting or cash for marks/grades, sex for marks, sex for grade alterations/unfair allocation of grades"**, reflects the president's use of personal pronoun **"I"** to assert his personal attitude, interest, commitment and passion to fighting against corruption and all forms of illegalities in the tertiary institutions.

The deployment of the markings, **"impunity for corruption in the university system; unfair allocation of grades, examination malpractices, sexual harassment cash for marks/grades, sex for marks, sex for grade alterations, sorting or cash for marks/grades, sex for marks, sex for grade alteration,** are all affective features in Extract 48 to reflect dominance of corruption and illegalities in higher institutions. The markers portray "negative meanings, triggered attitudes, assumed attitudes, asserted attitudes, and evaluative or judgemental attitudes" (Olatunji 97-100). The devices show that higher institutions are characterized with immorality and squalor among lecturers, students and even management staff. The deployment of the stance markers is to expose various forms of misconducts on campuses. The affective stance devices deduce that the

lecturers and the students are equally liable to fraudulent acts on campuses because both parties are accomplices in the acts of bribery and corruption in schools.

The lecturers' acts of writing students' research projects and extorting fees from them, and students' fronting for lecturers to extort from other students, expose the lecturers' bad habit of becoming merchants that offer their services for sale to the students who they are supposed to mould in the school. This is corruption, and a violation of the ethics of public service, which is an act that attempts to commercialise education, and to push it out of the reach of many Nigerians who cannot even afford three square meal a day. The nefarious activities of the corrupt lecturers are further described as "impunity" and "unfair", portraying the negative attributes of corrupt lecturers who do not only miss their classes without getting punished for the offence, but also get the students disoriented by asking the female out, and taxing the males in exchange for marks after examinations. Therefore, the careful selection of the stance markers, has generated the readers' negative feelings and responses geared towards a good administration in tertiary institution.

Again, the management team in the tertiary institution in Nigeria is portrayed corrupt in many areas of its operations on campus in the above extracts, through the employment of stance and attitudes features. The choice of "**connection**" in Extract 40 represents the affective stance marker, in order to expose the prevalence of infractions in the process of staff recruitment by management. The marker denotes staff employment through undue influence without following laid down staff rules and regulations that guide services rendered in the school system. As a result of this abnormality, staff who benefit through "connection" are portrayed as mediocre, incompetent and unqualified to perform their duties creditably and effectively in the university system. Similarly, through the deployment of affective stance markers, the questionable manner of recruiting staff into the university system is shown. It is revealed that some staff connive with management

staff to have their names on the pay-roll of the university, but are nowhere to be found physically. Thus, the deployment of “**Ghost workers syndrome**” reflects emotive stance marking to connote the negative attribute of non-existent staff in the university pay roll, for whom payments of salaries and allowances are paid monthly with no service to show for it. Through the stance marker “**bloated personnel and recurrent expenditure**”, the speaker in the extract reflects his response/reaction against unwarranted increased wage bills incurred in the institutions, for which he conveys his personal feelings and disappointment at happenings in the system.

From the foregoing, through the speakers’ selection of lexical items which represent stance markers, it is revealed that more of the fraud practised in the tertiary institution, is linked to the management for its unfair dispensation of justice in the day to day administration of the institution. Through the stance markers deployed, the extracts are used to portray the tools of dialogue to negotiate for the media anti-graft campaign in Nigeria.

Finally, the speakers deploy some affective markers to decry the unpleasant results of corruption ravaging tertiary institution. Thus, the following lexical items: “**a pariah status; corruption erodes values and resources; corruption corrodes the nation’s image among nations; stymies development, drains resources and weakens social contract**” are deployed to portray the negative effects of corruption in Nigerian tertiary institutions. The markers imply that corruption has undermined the government’s investments in the country’s ivory tower, such that scholarship and social growth in the institutions of learning are facing challenges of setback and lowering standards. The samples also show that the International World has lost respect and confidence in the degrees presented by most of the tertiary institutions in Nigeria, because it is perceived that the certificates are fake and falsified. Some possible instances of corrupt practices that

can be deduced from the extracts include, irregular admission of students and staff appointment; pre-graduation NYSC mobilisation; processing fake transcripts; auctioning university assets without due process followed; politicised disciplinary action; inflated contracts, issuance of fake results, and falsification; nepotism; sexual harassment; examination question leakages, among other vices.

The presentation of the media reports of corruption in the tertiary institution in the extracts implies anti-graft campaign which this study presents. The analysis and discussions of the extracts show that the writers share the opinions that good and productive policies, aimed at achieving best practices should be implemented to sanitize tertiary institutions in Nigeria, in order to make it extremely difficult for corruption to breed; the culture of transparency should be promoted; ethical administration should be institutionalized by organizing orientation for staff and students; University Administration should admit only qualified candidates, and not to give any bribe to be admitted or hired, because it is their basic human right. Finally, qualified and competent staff should fill vacant positions in the tertiary institutions in Nigeria, where honesty, fairness and the rule of law is practised.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter analyses the media reports through attitudinal stance with devices, which enabled the researcher to examine the reports from varied perspectives. Findings have shown that the varied asserted, assumed or triggered attitudinal stances brought about the manipulation of the writer/reader's constructed evaluation/assessment of corruption, with a view to curbing it. The attitudinal devices are employed to present and influence the different feelings, positions, evaluations and orientations of readers or the audience in

relation to the phenomenon of corruption. Thus, the media campaign influences the reader/listener positively.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This study has examined the media anti-graft campaign in Nigeria through the linguistic resources of stance, and demonstrated their ideological significance to the study. The

study, which adopts qualitative approach undertook the linguistic description and interpretation of the media anti-graft campaign. Samples of the anti-graft publications were selected from the online Newspaper/News report publications, published between 2015 and 2022 in relation to the subject matter. This implies that most of the news outputs relating to this subject matter are reports coming in the form of opinions, media news and government statements.

The study, which analyses the media reports from the perspective of discourse, adopts a blend of stance and appraisal theories as the research framework, in order to expose and strengthen the differences and inter-relationship between the two approaches of stances of evaluation, engagement, metadiscourse and attitudes. The analysis and discussion of the selected data for the study through the aforementioned approaches afforded the researcher the opportunity to explain the writers' responses to the anti-graft campaign, as presented from chapter to chapter.

Specifically, the study on the language resource of stance and evaluation focused on the use of inscribed and invoked markers to present the media anti-graft campaign that exhibits a great deal of affective stance and evaluation at the level of vocabulary, reflecting moods, feelings and emotions towards public officials who are corrupt in corporate bodies, agencies and institutions. Also, the media discourse of anti-graft campaign, as representation of some entities in Nigeria were examined through the language resource of stance and engagement. The approach exposed the potency of anti-graft campaign through the writers' employment of interactional and interactive devices which would eventually awake the readers/listeners' personal feelings, attitudes, judgements, and to influence their beliefs, values, thoughts, and opinions. The study further examined the effective deployment of metadiscourse, with hedges and boosters as devices, through which the anti-graft campaign was analysed. The analysis revealed that

metadiscourse implies varied attitudes which are reflected in the devices of hedges and boosters as a combination the media writers have utilized in the discourse for the purpose of allowing diverse views and opinions among individuals and interest groups in the discussion of the subject of corruption. The approach was used to present the position of each contributor, with a view to solving the problem of corruption from different perspectives. Finally, the analysis of attitudinal stance in the study portrayed the varied meanings of attitudinal markers which was applied to the media reports selected, and suggestive of anti-graft campaign. The attitudinal devices were employed to influence the different feelings, positions, evaluations and orientations of readers or the audience in relation to the phenomenon of corruption.

The various approaches through stance, offered us tremendous contributions to foster anti-graft campaign studies. They were used to portray the promotion of good governance, which will invariably contribute to establishing a viable and developed nation. The study has shown that campaign creates awareness and encourages the people to shun corruption. Propagation of good leadership is one of the goals of the media campaign which writers articulate in their reports. The writers believe that if the leaders can be committed and honest, there will be social change. This is what the campaign suggests in order to attain a better Nigeria society. It also implies that inculcating good leadership qualities would bring about leaders that will make Nigeria great, again.

6.2. Findings

The findings from this study are as follows:

1. Through the deployment of the resources of inscribed and invoked markers of stance and evaluation, the study revealed that the anti-graft campaign was used as a means to motivate the public.

2. The strategy of stance and engagement in the study showed that the anti-graft campaign conveyed the writers' moods, feelings and values, aimed at sensitizing the public against the practice of corruption.
3. The media anti-graft campaign in the study was designed to influence the divergent feelings, positions, evaluations and orientations of discourse participants, through the metadiscourse elements, with a view to addressing the challenge of corruption from different perspectives
4. The linguistic resources of stance and attitudes in the study portrayed the writers' beliefs, and readers' orientations towards graft.

6.3 Contributions to Knowledge

The study has contributed to knowledge in the following ways:

1. It has provided more insights and innovation into the news outputs presentation of opinion, as carriers and embodiment of campaign which presents the beliefs and position of the media, aimed at challenging institutions and social groups.
2. The linguistic study of graft and anti-graft campaign in Nigeria is current and topical, and thus provides researchers the platform to further investigate the phenomenon and its debilitating effects on the development of the country.
3. Spontaneous adoption of the linguistic resources of stance to positively influence the reading public in the press, has provided a new insight for scholars on the subject of graft and anti-graft campaign in Nigeria.
4. The news outputs, through the linguistic resources of stance, are explicitly and implicitly used to invoke different systems of beliefs into the Nigerian populace. This system of beliefs influences the constructed beliefs, perception, reaction and assessment of the public towards graft.

5. The study has provided a new way of looking at the problem of graft in Nigeria.

Works Cited

- Aaron, Sayne, et al. "Inside NNPC Oil Sales: A Case for Reform in Nigeria." *Natural Resource Governance Institute*, 2015, www.resourcegovernance.org/analysis-tools/publications/inside-nnpc-oil-sales-case-reform-nigeria.
- Abimbola, Adedokun "Nigeria is fantastically corrupt: what is new?" *The Punch Newspaper*, 12 May, 2016.
- Abu, Nurudeen and Marcin Staniewski. "Determinants of Corruption in Nigeria: Evidence from various Estimation Techniques". *Economic Research- Ekonomska Istrazivanja*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2019, pp. 3058-3082, doi.org/10.1080/1331677x.2019.1655467.

- Abubakar, Mohammadu, and A. Balarabe. "Abacha Loot: After Reps indicted Malami, Sultan asks FG to explain where Abacha loot is." *Daily Post*, May 26, 2021.
- Adams, Heather. "Adverbial Stance Marking in the Introduction and Conclusion Section of Legal and Research articles." *Revista De Lingistica y Lenrias Aplicadas*, vol. 8, 2013, pp. 13-22.
- Adedeji, Tunde. "Civil service perpetrating biggest cases of corruption". *ICPC*, September 22, 2022.
- Adekoya, Remi. "There is Corruption in Nigeria. But don't call us a Corrupt Country: The Reality is that 'Graft' Remains a Problem at all Levels of Society." *Guardian News*, May 11, 2016, www.corruption-nigeria-david-cameron-dont-call-corrupt-country.pdf.
- Adesina, Femi. "Transparency Int'l Corruption index; An Indictment on all Nigerians, not Buhari's Government". *Ripples Nigeria*, January 26, 2022, www.ripplesnigeria.com.
- Adeyemo, Abiola A., and Made Benedict. "Construction and Construction Projects in Nigeria." *PM World Journal*, vol.v, issue x, October 2016, np, www.pmworldjournal.net.
- Adisa, Rasaq M. et al. "Comparative Analysis of Public Officers' Corruption Framing in Newspapers." *Journal of Human Development and Communication*, vol. 7, 2018, pp. 71–86.
- African Directory*, 2009-2023.
- Agence, France-Presse. "Diezani Battles Slew of Graft Cases." *Punch*, July 23, 2017, www.punchng.com/nigerias-ex-oil-minister-diezani-alison-madueke-battles-slew-of-graft-cases

- Ahmad, Ummul, and Maryam Mehrjooseresht. "Stance Adverbials in Engineering Thesis Abstracts." *Procedia – Sosial and Behavioural Sciences*, no. 66, 2012, pp. 20-36.
- Akhaine, Saxone. "Slash Legislators,' Ministers' Pay by Half, Sanusi tells Buhari". *Guardian*, February 12, 2018.
- Akinkuotu, Eniola. "Rising Rage of Opposition against Buhari's Anti-corruption." *Punch Newspaper*, February 26, 2018.
- . "Nigeria's Position worsens on its Corruption Index." *The Punch Newspaper*, February 22, 2018,
- Akinsanmi, Gboyega, and Michael Olugbode. "Nigeria: Embassies, High Commissions Reel Corruption Allegations." *This Day*, January 10 2021.
- Alade, Bayo Akintunde. "Corruption, Greed Behind Building Collapse in Nigeria". *Nigerian Tribune*, January 11, 2022.
- Aliyu, Abdullateef. "10 Ex- Governors linked with #30 billion Choice Properties in UK." *Daily Trust*, April 14, 2021, www.tori.ng.
- Al-Saaidi, Sawsan. "A Semantic Study of Stance Adverbs with Reference to the Language of Emotion in Katherine Mansfield's Short Fiction Bliss." *Journal of Al-Qadisiya University*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2010, pp. 25 – 42.
- Alufohai, Ewan. *Surgery in Primary Health Care: A Boost to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Developing Countries*. Inaugural lecture, AAU Ekpoma, 2011, pp. 1-56.
- Aluko, Yetunde. "Corruption in Nigeria: Concept and Dimensions in Anti-Corruption Reforms in Nigeria since 1999: Issues, Challenges and the Way Forward." *IFRA Special Research Issue*, vol. 3, 2009, pp.1 – 18.

- Amaize, Emma “Corruption in Nigeria originated from Britain.” *Vanguard News*, May 25, 2016,
www.corruption%20in%20Nigeria%20originated%20from%20Britain'%20-%20Vanguard%20News.pdf
- . “Nigeria is Corrupt and Nobody is Trying to Cover the Fact”. *Vanguard News*, May 25, 2016.
- . “Corruption is totally Abhorrent to Me.” *Guardian News*, May 25, 2016.
- Anaekokwu, Raphael. “Media Discourse of Politics: A Case Study of the 2017 Nigeria Electioneering Process.” A Ph.D. Thesis, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, 2014.
- Anatusi, Tina, and J.O. Nnbuko. “Corruption and Tourism: Restructuring Nigeria’s Image for Development Using Public Relations Strategies.” *Arabian Journal of Business Management Review (OMAN Chapter)*, vol. 3, no. 7, 2014, pp. 1-15.
- Anderson, Eva, and Matthew T. Page. *Weaponising Transparency: Defence Procurement Reform as a Counterterrorism Strategy in Nigeria* Transparency International, May 13, 2017.
- Anthony, L. *Antconc*. Version 3.5.8, 2018.
- Asu, Femi. “Flood: Shiroro Power Plant Shuts Down.” *Punch*, March 5, 2018,
www.punchng.com/flood-shiroro-power-plant-shuts-down.
- Atuobi, Samuel. “Corruption and State Instability in West Africa: An Examination of Policy Options.” *KAIPTC Occasional Paper*, 2007, pp. 1 – 24.
- Austin, J.L. *How to do Things with Words*. Oxford U.P., 1962.
- Awotayo, Olayemi. *Contextualizing “Change.”: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the “Change” Slogan in Nigerian Political Discourse (2014 to present)*. *ResearchGate*, 2018, n.p.

- Awojobi, Oladayo. "Political Corruption and Underdevelopment in Nigerian." *Fourth Republic International Journal of Innovation and Scientific Research*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2014, pp. 120 – 57.
- Baker, Paul. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. Continuum, 2006.
- BBCNews. "It will actually be impossible for President Buhari to do this." *BBCNews*, October 12, 2015.
- . "Nigeria seizes \$800,000 in 'anti-corruption raids' on Judges." *BBCNews*, October 9, 2016. www.world-africa-37603857.pdf
- . "Corruption in Nigeria Context is Endemic." *BBC News*, October 21, 2015.
- . "Can Nigeria's president defeat oil industry corruption?" *BBC News*, October 21, 2015. www.world-africa-34580862.pdf
- BEDC. *Bypassing Meter by Customer*. April 3, 2018, www.mondaq.com
- Bertucci, G., and E.Y. Armstrong. "Why Anti-corruption Crusades often fail to win lasting Victories." *A Paper Presented at the Anti-corruption Summit in Virginia, US*, 2000, pp. 21-23.
- Biber, Douglas. "Stance in Spoken and Written University Registers." *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, vol.5, 2006. pp. 97-116.
- . *University language: A Corpus-Based Study of Spoken and Written Registers*. John Benjamins, 2006.
- Biber, Douglas, and Edward Finnegan. "Styles of Stance in English: Lexical and Grammatical Marking of Evidentiality and Affect." *Text-Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1989, pp. 93-124.
- Biber, Douglas, et al. *Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Longman, 1999.
- Boadi, Lawrence Addai, et al. *Grammatical Structure and its Teaching*. AUP, 1968.
- Breit, Eric. "On the (re)construction of Corruption in the Media: A Critical Discursive

- Approach”. *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 4, no. 92, 2010, pp. 619–35.
- . “On the Discursive Construction of Corruption: A Critical Analysis of Media Texts.”
 Doctoral Thesis, Hanken School of Economics, Helsinki, 2011.
- Brook, David. *Varieties of English*. Macmillan, 1973.
- Buhari, Mohammodu. “President Buhari’s speech at the Corruption Summit in London”.
Open Government Partnership, 11 May, 2016, www.opengovpartnership.org.
- CBN. *The NIRSAL*. CBN, 2013.
- Channels TV*. “Lawyer Gives Instances of Corruption in Nigeria’s Judiciary”. *Channels TV*, October 24, 2016, www.channelstv.com/2016/10/24/lawyer-gives-instances-corruption-nigerias-judiciary/
- Cherry, E. *Psychology*. Harcourt Bruise Jeranerich, 1957.
- Chiluwa, Innocent. “Metaphors of corruption and power in media discourse: A challenge to national unity and development”. *Benson Idahosa University Discour Journal of Arts and Education*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2007, pp. 95–110.
- . *Labeling and Ideology in the Press: A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Study of Niger Delta Crisis*. Peter Lang, 2011.
- . “Resisting Corruption in the Nigeria Legislature: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News and Opinion Articles on Legislators Salaries.” *Discourse and Communication*, 2021, pp. 1-23.
- . “Media Construction of Socio-Political Crisis of Nigeria.” *Johns Benjamin*, 2011, pp. 88-108.
- . “Social Media Networks and the Discourse of Resistance.” *Discourse and Society*, May 2012.

---. "Women's Online Advocacy Campaigns for Political Participation in Nigeria and Ghana". *Critical Discourse Studies*, Routledge, Nov., 10, 2021, www.tandfonline.com/loi/reds20

Chiluwa, Innocent, and Isioma M. Chiluwa. "Deadlier than Boko Haram: Representations of the Herder- Farmer Conflict in the Local and Foreign Press." *Media, War & Conflict*, 2020, np.

Chiluwa, Innocent, and Akin Odebunmi. "On Terrorist Attacks in Nigeria: Stance and Engagement in Conversation on Nairaland". *Communication and the Public*, vol. 1, 2016, pp. 91-109.

Chiluwa, Innocent, and Presley Ifukor. 'War Against Our Children': Stance and Evaluation in #Bring Back Our Girls Campaign Discourse on Twitter and Facebook." *Discourse and Society*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2015, pp. 267-296.

Christopher, R., and O. Michael. *Language and Communication*. Batesford Academic and Educational, 1990.

"Corruption." *Oxford Learners Dictionary*, 2020, www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com

"Coronavirus: Corruption in Health Care could get in the way of Nigeria's response." *ACE Anti-corruption Evidence: SOAS Consortium, Making Anti-corruption Real*, May 4, 2020

Coronel, S. "Corruption and the Watchdog Role of the News Media". *ResearchGate*, January 2010, www.researchgate.net

Criminal Code Act. "Bribery and Corruption." 2004, www.lawsofnigeria.placng.org/law-code-art-nigeria/pdf.

Crosthwaite, Peter. "Writing with Attitude: Stance Expressions in Learner and Professional Dentistry Research Reports." *English for Specific Purposes*, vol. 46, 2017, pp. 107-123.

- Daniel, Soni. "Corruption War: Is Buhari Giving With One Hand and Taking With the Other?" *Vanguard Newspaper*, February 10, 2018, www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/corruption-war-buhari-giving-one-hand-taking.
- Daily Post*. "The Police as Bribe Taker." *Daily Post*, August 19, 2017.
- . "Prof. Sagay Attacks National Assembly Members over N13.5 million Monthly Salary." *Daily Post*, March 18, 2018.
- Dare, Samson. "Moral and Feminine Issues in News Reports: A Linguistic Discussion of Reports of a Five Disaster in Nigeria." *Grammar Applied Linguistics and Society*, edited by Akin Odebunmi, et al., O.A.U Press, 2016, pp.310-328.
- Dennis, E.E, and J.C. Merrill. *Basic Issues in Mass Communication: A Debate*. Macmillan, 1984.
- Denzin, Norman, and Yvonna Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications Inc., 1994.
- Du Bios, John. "The Stance Triangle." *Stance Taking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interactive*, edited by Robert Englebretson and John Benjamin, 2017, pp. 140-82
- Ebirim, Juliet, and Adetutu Adesoji. "Snake allegedly swallows #36 million from JAMB office vault, Nigerians react". *Vanguard*, February 17, 2018.
- Eboh, Nnenna Joy. "Judicial Corruption as a Clog on Economic Development in Niger" *Conference*, 2017, www.afribar.org/portHarcourt2017/papers/NNENNAEbohfinalpaper.pdf
- Edmond, Lemdi, and Wilson Fredrick. "An Assessment of Media Coverage of Anti-corruption Campaigns by the Buhari Administration in 2016: A Study of the National and Daily Trust Newspaper." *Journal of Mass communication Journalism*, vol. 8, no. 376, n.d., pp. 1-16.

- EFCC. "Secures 103 convictions in three years- Magu published on the EFCC official website." 2018, www.effccnigeria.org/efcc/news/34/24/-efcc-secures-703-conviction-in-3-yes-magu
- . *Annual Report*. EFCC, 2013.
- . *Annual Report*. EFCC, 2015.
- Egbunike, Nwachukwu. "Framing the #Occupy Nigeria Protests in Newspapers and Social Media." *Open Access Library Journal* 2(e1486), 2015, pp. 1-13. doi.org/10.4236/oalib.1101486
- Elebeke, Emmanuel. "Lack of Transparency Breeds Corruption in Civil Service". *Vanguard News*, December 20, 2022.
- Energy Mix Report*. "Privatized Power Assets: Who Are the New Owners?" *Energy Mix Report*, December 21, 2013, www.energymixreport.com/privatized-power-assets-who-are-the-new-owners/
- Enoch, Patrick. "Corruption in Nigeria: A Culture or Retrogressive Factor?" *A New Journal of African Studies*, vol.13, 2017, pp. 116-31
- Emwanta, Andrew. "Edo set to abolish sedition, criminal defamation laws". *Premium Times*, March 3, 2022, www.premiumtimesng.com.
- Fadairo, Olushola, et al. "Coverage of Corruption News by Major Newspapers in Nigeria." *News Media and Mass Communication*, vol. 24, 2014, pp. 53-59.
- Fairclough, Norman. *Discourse and Social Change*. Polity, 1993.
- . *Media Discourse*. Redwood Books, 1995.
- Fan, Congcong. "An Analysis of English News Reports from the Perspective of Graduation." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 10, no. 12, 2020, pp. 1634-1639.

- Fasan, Olu. "Covid-19 is a fertile ground for aggravated corruption". *Vanguard*, April 16, 2020.
- . "Covid-19 Pandemic Palliatives". *Vanguard News*, April 16, 2020.
- Fatile, Jacob. "Corruption and the Challenges of Good Governance in the Nigerian Public Sector." *Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review*, 2014, pp.46-65.
- Fowler, Roger. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. Routledge, 1991.
- Fraser, Bruce. "Pragmatic Markers." *Pragmatics*, vol.6, 1996, pp. 167 -190.
- Gabrielatos, C. "Keyness Analysis: Nature, Metrics and Techniques". *Corpus Approaches to Discourse: A Critical Review*, edited by Taylor C and Marchi A., Routledge, 2018, pp. 225–55.
- Gray, Bethany, and Douglas Biber. "Current conceptions of Stance". *Stance and Voice in Written Academic Genres*, edited by Ken Hyland and Carmen Sancho Guinda, Palgrave Macmillian, 2012, pp. 15-33.
- Grice, Paul. "Presupposition and Conversational Implicature." *Radical Pragmatics*, edited by P. Cole, Academic Press, 1981, pp. 183-97.
- Guardian News*. "The Fight against Corruption begins with Political Will". *Guardian News*, May 11, 2016, www.fight-against-corruption-begins-with-political-will.pdf
- . "The reality is that Nigeria being ruined." *GuardianNews*, May 11, 2016.
- . "EFCC and its Fight against Corruption in Court". *GuardianNews*, May 30, 2017.
- . "Bitter experience at US Embassy in Lagos." *GuardianNews*, July 7, 2015.
- . "Slash Legislators, Ministers' Pay by Half; Sanusi Tells Buhari". *GuardianNews*, Feb. 12, 2018.

- Gurevitch, Michael, and J. Blumber. "Political communication systems and democratic values." *Democracy and the Mass Media*, edited by Lichtenberg, Cambridge U.P., 1990, pp. 105-20.
- Halliday, Michael. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Edward Arnold, 1985.
- Halliday, Michael, and Jonathan J. Webster. *Computational and Quantitative Studies: The Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday*. Continuum, 2005.
- Hoffmann, Leena, and Patel Raj. "Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria: A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions." *The Royal Institute of International Affairs*, Chatham House, 2017, pp. 1- 41.
- Hoye, Leo. *Adverbs and Modality in English*. Longman, 1997.
- Human Rights Watch*. "Nigeria: Corruption Fueling Police Abuses." *Human Rights Watch*, August 17, 2010, www.hrw.org/news/2010/08/17/nigeria-corruption-fueling-police-abuses.
- . "Introduction: Corruption and Human Rights in Nigeria." 2019, www.hrw.org/report
- Hunston, Susan. "Using a Corpus to investigate Stance qualitatively and quantitatively." *Stance Taking in Discourse: Subjectively, Evaluation, Interaction*, edited by R. Englebrestson John Benjamin, 2007, pp. 27-48.
- Hunston, Susan, and G. Thompson, (eds). *Evaluation in Texts: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford U.P., 2000.
- Hyland, Ken. *Hedging in Scientific Research Articles*. John Benjamins, 1998.
- . "Bringing in the Reader: Addressing Features in Academic Writing." *Written Communication*, vol. 18, no.4, 2001, pp. 549-74.
- . "Disciplinary Discourses: Writer Stance in Research Articles." *Writing: Texts: Processes and Practices*, edited by C. Candlin and K. Hyland, Longman, 1999, pp. 99–121.

- . *Disciplinary Discourse: Social Interactions in Academic Writing*. London Press, 2000.
- . *Metadiscourse: Exploring Interaction in Writings*. Continuum, 2005.
- . "Stance and Engagement: A Model of interaction in Academic Discourse." *Discourse Studies*, Sage Publications, vol. 7, no. 2, 2005, pp.173–192.
- Hyland, Ken, and Carmen Sancho Guinda (eds). *Stance and Voice in Written Academic Genres*. Palgrave Macmillian, 2012.
- Ibekwe, Nicholas. "Special Report- Fraud Allegation, Unremitted Loans, Crop Failure, Other Anomalies Dog Nigeria Govt's "Rice Revolution". *Premium Times Nigeria*, June 4, 2018.
- . "Reps. Probe NIRSL'S #205 Billion Agricultural loan, #105Billion Scam." *PremiumTimes*, June 4, 2018.
- Ibietan, Jide. "Corruption and Public Accountability in the Nigerian Public Sector: Interrogating the Omission." *European Journal of Business and Management*, vol. 5, no. 15, 2013, pp. 42 – 49.
- ICPC. "Corruption", 2019. Retrieved April 22, 2019, www.icpc.gov.ng/about:icpc/
- ICPC. "Civil Service Perpetrating Biggest Cases of Corruption." *ICPC*, September 22, 2022.
- Imhonopi, David, and Ugochukwu Moses. "Leadership Crisis and Corruption in the Nigerian Public Sector: An Albatross of National Development: The African Symposium." *An Online Journal of the African Educational Research Network*, vol. 13, no.1, 2013, pp. 78-87.
- Ihara, N. "Expression of Affect in English and Japanese Novels." *Intercultural Communication Studies*, vol. xv, no.1, 2006, pp. 174-186.
- Ivanic, Roz. *Writing and Identity: The Discursial Construction of Identity in Academic Writing*. John Benjamins, 1998.

- Jalali, Hassan. "Reflection of Stance through it – bundles in Applied Linguistics." *Amperstand*, amper, 2017. 06.001, 2017, pp. 30-39.
- Jeffries, Lesley. *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English*. Palgrave. 2010.
- Jimoh, Adesola. "Bitter experience at U.S. embassy in Lagos". *Guardian*, July 7, 2015.
- Jorgensen, M., and L.J. Phillips. *Discourse as Theory and Method*. Sage, 2002.
- Jowitt, David. *The Mass Media Language*. Essex Longman, 1990.
- Kayode, Olufemi. "Corruption in Nigeria: An Appraisal." *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, vol. 19, 2019, pp. 42-51.
- Komolafe, A, et al. Corruption reporting in the Media in the 2015 Nigerian Elections: Setting the Agenda or Toeing the Line? *ACE Working Paper 011*, 2019, ace.soas.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/ACE-WorkingPaper011-Media-Corruption-Reporting-in-Nigeria-190708.pdf
- Koveceses, Z. "Language and Culture: The Interplay of Conceptualization with Physiology and Culture." *Metaphor and Metonym in Comparison and Contrast*, edited by R. Dirven and R. Potings, Mouton de Gruyter, 2002, pp. 133-160.
- Kukah, Mathew Hassan. "To mend a broken nation: The Easter Metaphor on Nigeria." *Premium Times*, 17 April, 2022.
- Lehoucq, Fabrice. "Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences." *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 6, 2003, pp. 233-256.
- Magu, Ibrahim. *EFCC Recovers N871bn looted funds, 407 mansions in 3 years*. 2018, vanguardngr.com/2018/11/efcc-recovers-n871bn-looted-funds-407-mansions-in-3-years-magu/.
- Mailafia, Obadiah. *On the Conceptualization of Economic Crime (II)*. 2017, www.blueprint.ng/on-the-conceptualisation-of-economic-crime-ii/
- Martin, J. "Introduction". *Text*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2003, pp. 171–182.

- Martin, J, and Rose D. *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond the Clause*. Continuum, 2003.
- Martin, J, and White P. *Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Martin, Patience. "Corruption". *BBC News*, October 9, 2018.
- . "Corruption in Buhari's Government" *BBC News*, October 9, 2016.
- Martin, R. "Beyond Exchange: Appraisal System in English." *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*, edited by S. Hunston and G. Thompson. Oxford U.P., 2000, pp.142-75.
- Myers, Greg. "Stance in Blog." *Discourse Studies Readers: Essential Excerpt*, edited by Ken Hyland, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013, pp. 254-271.
- McAdams, Dan. P., et al. *Modern Grammar and Usage*. Oxford UP, 1990.
- McCombs, Maxwell. *Using Mass Communication Theory*. Prentice Hall Inc., 1979.
- McKay, Susan. "Media and Language: Overview". Elsevier, 2006, pp. 572-577.
- McLeod, John. "What is the difference between qualitative and quantitative research?" *Simply Psychological*, 1919, n.p., www.simplypsychology.org
- Mohammed, Lai. "Social Media Can Set Nigeria on Fire, No Going Back on Regulation". *Sahara Reporters*, October 29, 2019.
- Muirhead, Nic. "Bribes and Brown Envelopes: Nigeria's 'Journalists'". *Al Jazeera*, 27 December, 2015, www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2015/12/bribes-brown-envelopes-nigeria-journalists-151227175941010.html.
- Muntigl, Peter, et al. "Client Attitudinal Stance and Therapist-Client Affiliation: A View from Grammar and Social Interaction." *Research Gate*, 2012, pp. 116-130.
- Mustapha, Mala. "Corruption in Nigeria: Conceptual and Empirical Notes". *Information, Society and Justice*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2010, pp. 165-175

- NCDC. "First Case of Coronavirus Disease Confirmed in Nigeria." February 28, 2020, www.ncdc.gov.ng/news
- News Media Association. "Press Freedom – Journalists and Freedom of Speech." *News media Association*, 2014, www.newsmediauk.org.
- Ngwu, C., et al. "Nigerian newspapers framing of the Chibok School Girls abduction (A study of *Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *The Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers)". *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol. 3, no. 8, 2015, pp. 78-93.
- Ngwubi, Arinze and Okoli. "The Role of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission in the Fight against Corruption in Nigeria." *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2013, pp 92-107.
- Nigerian Tribune*. "Nigeria's Worsening Corruption". *Nigerian Tribune*. March 5, 2018, www.Nigeria%E2%80%99s%20worsening%20corruption%20%C2%BB%20Editorial%20%C2%BB%20Tribune%20Online-1.pdf
- Nigerian Tribune*. "Nigeria's worsening corruption." *Nigerian Tribune*, March 5, 2018.
- Nigerian Tribune*. "Corruption in EFCC." *Nigerian Tribune*, March 5, 2018.
- NNPC. "Petroleum." www.nnpcgroup.com
- Nurudeen, Abu, and Marcin Waldemar Staniewski. "Determinants of corruption in Nigeria: Evidence from various Estimation Techniques." *Economic Research-Ekonomska Istraživanja*, 2019, pp. 3058 -3082.
- Nwaodu, Nnamdi, et al. "A Review of Anti-Corruption Wars in Nigeria." *Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance*, Review 2, 2014, pp. 153.
- Nwachukwu, John Owen. "Prof. Sagay attacks National Assembly members over 13.5 million monthly salary." *Daily Post*, March 18, 2018, www//dailypost.ng.
- . "Buhari has killed Nigeria – Mike Ozekhome laments." *Daily Post*, October 3, 2021.

- Obasanjo, Olusegun. "Some Presidential Aspirants should be in jail if EFCC did its job." *Punch Newspaper*, March 5, 2022.
- Ochs, Elinor. "Cultural universals in the acquisition of language." *Papers and Reports on Child Language and Development*, no. 29, 1990, pp. 1-19.
<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/anthro/faculty/ochs/articles/90culturaluniversals.pdf>
- Ogbeidi, Michael. "Political leadership and corruption in Nigeria since 1960: A Socio Economic Analysis." *Journal of Nigerian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2012, pp. 1-25.
- Ojelu, Henry. "How Corruption impedes Health, Water, Education." *Vanguard News*, November, 28, 2021.
- Ojo, F. "Nigeria's legislature: A den of robbers?" *Punch Newspaper*, 16 March, 2018,
www.punchng.com/nigerias-legislature-a-den-of-robbers/
- Okeoma, Chidiebube. "ICPC Demands Stiffer Penalties for Corruption". *Punch Newspaper*, July 13, 2019.
- Okon, Patrick, and Ekpe Edemekong. "Media Reportage of Buhari's Anti-corruption war in Nigeria by Sun and Chronicle Newspapers." *Public Policy and Administration Research*, vol. 7, 2018, pp. 1-19.
- Okpala, Kenneth E., and Enwefa Christopher. "War against Corruption in Nigerian Public Sector: An analysis of stake holders' Role." *Funal Journal of Accounting, Business and Finance (FUJABF)*, vol.1, no.1, 2017, pp. 204-218.
- . "Strategic Budget System and Management of Public Resources: A Nigeria Review." *European Journal of Business and Management*, vol. 4, no. 21, n.d., pp. 71-82.
- Okoro, N. and C. Odoemelam. "Print media framing of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: A Content Analytical study of the Guardian, Daily Sun, Vanguard and Thisday Newspapers." *International Institute for Science, Technology and*

- Education*, vol. 3, no. 11, 2013, pp. 86-95.
- Okogbule, Nlerum S. "Official Corruption and the Dynamics of Money Laundering in Nigeria." *Journal of Financial Crime*, vol. 14, no. 1, n.d, pp. 49-63.
- Okugbe, Monday. *Basic Elements of English Grammar*. United Concept, 2014.
- Okwe, Mathias, and Terhemba Daka. "Corruption hampering Buhari's multi-billion naira social empowerment programme." *Guardian*, August 11, 2019.
- Ola, Alege, et al. "Effects of Corruption on Economic Development in Nigeria." *Global Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp 209-215.
- Olatunji, Deborah Toyin. "Stance and Ideology in the Media Portrayal of Herders and Farmers' Conflicts in Nigeria." M.A. Thesis, University of Benin, 2019.
- Olijo, I. "An Assessment of newspaper framing of anti-corruption war of President Muhammadu Buhari." *Plasu Journal of Communication Studies*, 2017, vol.1, no.1, pp. 117-136.
- Olubakin, Vivian O, and Abiola. S. Kalejaiye. The English Mood system in the Language of Courtroom Interrogations. *Discourse – Stylistic, Social Linguistic and Society. A Festschrift for Ayo Ogunsiji*, Stirling-Hordem Ltd, 2018, pp. 245-270.
- Olugboji, Tunde. *Framing corruption: A Study of UK Media Coverage of Three aid recipient African nations (2000-2009 and 2010-2017)*. Doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2020, [www.leicester.figshare.com/articles/thesis/Framing_Corruption_\(2000-2009_And_2010_2017\)](http://www.leicester.figshare.com/articles/thesis/Framing_Corruption_(2000-2009_And_2010_2017).).
- Oluwadamilare, I., and A. Ekwueme. "Newspaper Framing of the Activities of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission under President Muhammadu Buhari's Administration." *Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2020, pp. 1472-1480.

Olusegun, Hope. "Internet Fraud: Nigerian Scammer Pulls off \$1m heist' from Prison".

Daily Post Staff, August 19, 2017.

Omobude, Titi. "Buhari gets the rebuke for saying Nigerians are better off today than

2015." *Businessday*, 22 June, 2022.

Ojoye, Taiwo. "Buhari, retool the anti-corruption war". *Punch*, May 28, 2019.

www.punchng.com

Onochie, Chinedu and Kanayo Umeh. "EFCC and its Fight against Corruption in Courts".

Guardian, May 30, 2017 www.guardian.ng.

---. "Buhari approves Magu's suspension as EFCC boss, names Umar as replacement".

Guardian, July 11, 2020, www.guardian.ng.

Onwubiko, Emmanuel. "The police as bribe taker". *Daily Post Staff*, August 19, 2017.

Ononye, Chuka, and OsobaGabriel. "Humans or animals? Herdsmen attack as game

hunting in media report of herder-farmer conflict in Nigeria." *The Official Biannual Journal of the Pragmatics Association of Nigeria (PrAN)*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2020, pp. 11-35.

Onyebuchi, A., and Obayi, P. *Analysis of Newspaper framing of the 2009 Rebranding*

Nigeria Campaign, 2009, eprints.gouni.edu.ng/1030/1/ANALYSIS%20OF%20NEWSPAPER%20FRAMING%20OF%20THE%202009%20REBRANDING%20NIGERIA%20CAMPAIGNS%20six.pdf

Onyema, Emilia, et al., "The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the Politics

of (in) effective implementation of Nigeria anti-corruption policy." *Anti-corruptionEvidence: Research Consortium (SOAS)*, working paper 007, 2018, pp. 1-40, www.Ace.soas.ac.uk.

- Osakede, Kehinde et al. "Corruption in the Nigeria Public Sector: An Impediment to Good Governance and Sustainable Development." *Review of Public Administration and Management* vol. 4, no. 8, 2015, pp. 76-87.
- Osisanwo, Ayo. "Virtual Lecture Series on Pragmatics Association Telegram Platform." *Pragmatics Association of Nigeria (PrAN)*, 2020.
- . "Language and Ideology in News Magazine representation of Nigerian 2003 and 2007 General Elections." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 2011.
- . "Stance and Engagement in e. Punch Newspaper Reader's Comments on former President Goodluck Jonathan Administration's war against Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria". *Journal of English Studies Association of Nigeria*. vol. 19, no. 1, 2017, pp. 143-160.
- . "Stance and Engagement in Facebook Discourse Participants' Response to the News of Chibok Girls' Release". *Polity Debacle Burden of being in Africa*, edited by Adebola Ekanola, et al., Proceedings of the Third Biennial Conference of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 2017, pp. 390-415.
- Osisanwo, Wale. *Introduction to Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics*. Femolus-Fetop Publishers, 2008.
- Osundare, T.A. *Language of Media Report*. Onibonoje Printing Press, 1998.
- Osibodu, Funke. "50 per cent of power generated in Nigeria is stolen by consumers across the country". *Independent Newspapers Nigeria*, 2019.
- Oyebamiji, Mojirayo Patricia. "A Critical Study of Advocacy Discourse and Visuals on Human Trafficking and Terrorism in Nigeria." *Discourse – Stylistic, Social Linguistic and Society. A Festschrift for Ayo Ogunsiji*, Stirling-Hordem Ltd, 2018, pp. 327-345.

- Oyeleye, Lekan, and M.O. Oduola. "Discourse of Intertextuality in Nigerian Pentecostal Sermons: Evidence of the World as a Global Village". *Grammar Applied Linguistics and Society*, edited by Akin Odebunmi et al, OAU Press, 2016, pp. 427-439.
- Page, Matthew T. "A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria". *Guardian News paper*, May 11, 2016.
- . "The *epicenter* of petro-corruption is the Nigerian National Corporation". *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018.
- . "Police is *endemically corrupt, often predatory*". *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018.
- . "Camouflaged Cash: How 'Security Votes' Fuel Corruption in Nigeria." *Transparency International*, May 2018, pp. 64-76
- . "A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria." *Carnegie Endowment for Internationalpeace*, July 17, 2018,
www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_338_Page_Nigeria_FINAL.pdf
- ."A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria.Carnegie Endowment for International Peace." Washington, DC, 2018.
- . "Nigeria's notoriously anemic power sector in Nigeria". *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018.
- ."The Nigerian Police is *endemically corrupt*." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*." July 17, 2018.
- . "Corruption: Former National Security Adviser- Sambo Dansuke" *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*". April 10, 2014.
- . "A new Taxonomy for corruption in Nigeria: Infrastructure Corruption". *Academia Education*, 2018.

- . "Corruption in the security agencies". *Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2014.
- . "Free Press in Nigeria." *Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2001.
- Park, J. S. "Framing, Stance and Affect in Korean Metalinguistic Discourse". *Pragmatics*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2011, pp.265–282.
- Patrick, Enoch. Corruption in Nigeria: A Culture or Retrogressive Factor? .*Ogirisi: A new Journal of African studies*, vol. 13, 2017, pp 116 -131.
- Palmer, Frank. *Modality and the English Modals*. Longman, 1979.
- Premium Times*. "\$1billion Arms Deal: Attahiru meets Reps behind closed doors".*Premium Times Nigeria*, April 12, 2021, www.premiumtimesng.com.
- . "Press Release: SERAP Writes Lawan, Gbajabiamila over missing 10 billion NASS Funds in 2019". *Premium Times Nigeria*, December 12, 2021.
- Punch Newspaper*. "Sadly, corruption is winning." *Punch Newspaper*, July 30, 2018, www.Sadly%20%20corruption%20is%20winning%20%E2%80%93%20Punch%20Ne
- . "Buhari sabotage his own programme". *Punch Newspaper*, June 30, 2018.
- . "Buhari, retool the anti- corruption war'- Ozekhome".*Punch Newspaper*, May 28, 2019.
- Quirk, Randolph.*The Use of English*. Longman, 1962.
- Reisigl, M, and R. Wodak. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Sage, 2009.
- Ratcliffe, Rebecca. "A lot of people have a lot to lose: Nigeria lunches website to combat corruption". *Guardian*, August 9, 2017.
- Robert, Odey Simon and Eric Ndoma Besong. "Corruption and Bad Leadership, the Bane of Unethical and Subjective Journalism". *Grin Verlag*, March 20, 2017, www.grin.com.

- Ruiz, J.H. "Understating Tropes. At the cross Roads between pragmatics and cognition." *Epic Series in Language and linguistics*, vol. 2, 2017, pp. 191-198.
- Sacred Heart*. "Organizing Academic Research Papers: Theoretical Framework". *Sacred Heart University Library*, 2020, www.library.sacredheart.edu.
- SaharaReporters*. "How top officials at Nigerian consulate in Atlanta, US perpetrate corruption". *SaharaReporters*, December 23, 2021.
- . "Years after Buhari called petrol subsidy fraud; his government says fuel subsidy costs Nigeria #18.39 Billion daily". *SaharaReporters*, August 19, 2022.
- Sano, M. "The rhetoric of editorials: A Japanese case study". *Communicating Conflict: Multilingual Case Studies of the New Media*, edited by Thompson E and White PRR, Continuum, 2008, pp. 97-118.
- Salaudeen, K., et al. "Framing of the anti-graft war in selected Nigerian Newspapers." *NOVENA Journal of Communication*, vol. 6, 2018, pp. 172-183.
- Scherer, Klaus. "Appraisal Theory." *Handbook of Cognition and Emotion*, edited by T. Dalglish and M.J. Power, John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1999, pp. 637-663.
- Schroder, K C. "Media Pragmatics". *Elsevier*, 2006, pp. 584-592.
- SERAP. "How federal universities are covering up corruption, sexual harassment". *Vanguard News* February 8, 2018.
- Sholikhah, Ika Maratus. "Linguistic Study of Stance-Taking in Online Media". *International Seminar on Language, Education and Culture, KnE Social Sciences*, 2019, pp. 55-61.
- Shruti, J. Shua. *The 2012 corruption perceptions index*. Retrieved on March 15th, 2013, www.fecpablog.com/blog/2012/12/5/the-2012-corruption-perception-index.Htm, 2012.

- Socio-Economic Rights*. “From Darkness to Darkness: How Nigerians Are Paying the Price for Corruption in the Electricity Sector”. *Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project*. August 2017, www.serap-nigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/CORRUPTION-IN-ELECTRICITY-REPORT-A4.pdf
- Sowunmi, Fasakin A., et al. “The role of media in curbing corruption in Nigeria.” *Research Journal of Information Technology*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2010, pp. 7 – 23.
- Stober, Emmanuel. “Nigeria’s Corruption Score Card.” *Faculty of Management Dynamics in the Knowledge Economy*, vol., no. 2, 2019, 2019, pp. 165 -182.
- Strombom, D. “Corruption in Procurement”. *Economic Perspective*, edited by Schaffer, J., US Information Service, 1998, pp. 20-24.
- Talbot, Mary. *Media Discourse, Representation and Interaction*. University Press, 2007.
- Toakodi, Adongoi. *Corruption in the Civil Service: A Study of Salary Fraud in Bayelsa Salary, Nigeria*. A PostGraduateResearch Paper, 2014.
- ThisDay News*. “Nigeria: Embassies, High Commissions reel Corruption Allegations”. *ThisDay News*, January 10, 2021.
- Transparency International. “Government Defence of Anti-Corruption Index, 2015: Nigeria”. Transparency International, www.government.defenceindex.org/countries/nigeria/
- . “Corruption (2001-2016 Editions)”. Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, September 23, 2017, www.transparency.org
- . “Latest Report shows that corruption is worsening in Nigeria”. Transparency International, March 5, 2018.
- Tse, Polly. “Stance in Academic Bios”. *Stance and Voice in Written Academic Genres*, edited by Ken Hyland and Carmen Sancho Guinda, Palgrave Macmillian, 2012, pp. 69-84.

- Turner, M., and Fauconnier G. "Metonymy and Conceptual Integration." *Metonymy in Language and thought*, edited by K. Panther and G. Radden, John Benjamins, 1999, pp. 99-120.
- Udofot, Inyang. *English Semantics*. Scholars printing (Nig.) Ltd., 2004.
- Ugoani, John. "Political will and Anti-Corruption Crusade Management in Nigeria." *Independent Journal of Management & Production (IJM&P)*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2016, pp. 72-97.
- Uhunmwangho, Amen. *English for the Tertiary Levels: An Introduction Text*. Imprint Services, 2000.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). "Corruption in Nigeria: patterns and trends Second survey on corruption as experienced by the population." *Research*, 2019, pp.1-92.
- Unuabonah, Foluke, and Ulrike Gut. "Commentary pragmatic markers in Nigerian English." *English World-Wide*, vol. 39, no.2, 2018, pp. 190-213.
- Uwakwe, Onyeka H. *Media writing and Rreport*. Africa-line Books, 2005.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Sage, 1998.
- . "Discourse and manipulation." *Discourse and society*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2006, pp. 369-383.
- . *Text and Context Exploration in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. Longman Groups, 2003.
- . "Ideology and Discourse Analysis". *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 11, no. 2, June 2006, pp. 115-140.
- Vanguard News*. "How federal universities are covering up corruption, sexual harassment – SERAP". *Vanguard News*, February 8, 2018.

---. “End corruption, sexual harassment in tertiary institutions – Buhari tells stakeholders.”

Vanguard News, October 4, 2022.

---. “Covid-19 is a fertile ground for aggravated corruption”. *Vanguard News*, April 16,

2020.

---. “Buhari signs 3 anti-money laundering bills into law”. *Vanguard News*, May 12,

2022. Web.

---. “Finish line far out of sight in Nigeria’s race to beat corruption”. *Vanguard News*, May

11, 2016.

Wales, B.N. *Grammar and Usage*. Academy Press, 2001.

Ward, Stephen J.A. “Digital Media Ethics”. *Center for Journalism Ethics: School of Journalism and Mass Communication*, 2019, np.

Waziri, Farida. *The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission’s (EFCC) critical role in growing the Economy*, 2011, [www.proshareng.com/news/Nigeria-Economy/The-Economic-and-Financial-Crimes-Commission’s-\(Efcc’s\)-Critical-Role-in-Growing-the-Economy-/14392](http://www.proshareng.com/news/Nigeria-Economy/The-Economic-and-Financial-Crimes-Commission’s-(Efcc’s)-Critical-Role-in-Growing-the-Economy-/14392)

Wenden, A. “The politics of representation: A Critical Discourse Analysis of an ALJAZEERA Special Report”. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2005, pp. 89-110.

White, Peter Robert. “Appraisal”. *Handbook of Pragmatics*, edited by Zienkowski J, et al., vol. 8, John Benjamins, 2011, pp. 14–36.

Wickberg, Sofia. “Media framing of corruption in Western Europe”. *Paper presented at the ECPR Graduate Student Conference*, University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia, 2016, pp. 10-13.

Yegameh, Maryam, et al. "Hedge and Booster in Newspaper Articles on Iran's Presidential Election: A Comparative Study of English and Persian Articles". *Procedia- Social and Behavioural Sciences*, vol. 15, 2015, pp. 679-683.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CRIMINAL CODE ACT

CHAPTER C39

LAWS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA 2004

CHAPTER 12

CORRUPTION AND ABUSE OF OFFICE

- 98.** (1) Any public official (as defined in section 98D) who-
- (a) corruptly asks for, receives or obtains any property or benefit of any kind for himself or any other person; or bribes, etc.,
 - (b) corruptly agrees or attempts to receive or obtain any property or benefit of any kind for himself or any other person, on account of-
 - (i) anything already, done or omitted, or any favour or disfavour already shown to any person, by himself in the discharge of his official duties or in relation to any

matter

connected with the functions, affairs or business of a Government department, public body or other organisation or institution in which he is serving as a public official, or

- (ii) anything to be afterwards done or omitted, or any favour or disfavour to be afterwards shown to any person, by himself in the discharge of his official duties or in relation to any such matter as aforesaid, is guilty of the felony of official corruption and is liable to imprisonment for seven years.

- (2) If in any proceedings for an offence under this section it is proved that any property or benefit of any kind, or any promise thereof, was received by a public official, or by some other person at the instance of a public official, from a person-

- (i) holding, or seeking to obtain, a contract, licence or permit from a Government department, public body or other organisation or institution in which that public official is serving as such, or

- (ii) concerned, or likely to be concerned, in any proceeding or business transacted, pending or likely to be transacted before or by that public official or a government department, public body or other organisation or institution in which that public official is serving as such, or by or from any person acting on behalf of or related to such a person, the property, benefit or promise shall, unless the contrary is proved, be deemed to have been received corruptly on account of such a past or future act, omission, favour or disfavour as is mentioned in subsection (1)(i) or (ii).

- (3) In any proceedings for an offence under this section to which subsection (1)(ii) is relevant it

shall not be a defence to show that the accused-

- (a) did not subsequently do, make or show the act, omission, favour or disfavour in question; or
(b) never intended to do, make or show it.

- (4) Without prejudice to subsection (3), where a police officer or other public official whose official duties include the prosecution, detention or punishment of offenders is charged with an offence under this section in connection with-

- (a) the arrest, detention or prosecution of any person for an alleged offence; or
(b) an omission to arrest, detain or prosecute any person for an alleged offence; or

- (c) the investigation of an alleged offence,

it shall not be necessary to prove that the accused believed that the offence mentioned in paragraph (a), (b), or (c), or any other offence, had been committed.

98A. (1) Any person who- Official corruption: person giving bribes, etc., on account of actions of public Official.

- (a) corruptly gives, confers or procures any property or benefit of any kind to, on or for a public official (as defined in section 98D) or to, on or for any other person; or 1966 No. 84.

- (b) corruptly promises or offers to give or confer or to procure or attempt to procure any property or benefit of any kind to, on or for a public official or to, on or for any other person, on account of any such act, omission, favour or disfavour on the part of the public official as is mentioned in section 98(1)(i) or (ii), is guilty of the felony of official

corruption and is liable to imprisonment for seven years.

- (2) If in any proceedings for an offence under this section it is proved that any property or benefit of any kind, or any promise thereof, was given to a public official, or to some other

person at the instance of a public official, by a person-

(i) holding, or seeking to obtain, a contract, licence or permit from a Government department, public body or other organisation or institution in which that public official is serving as such, or

(ii) concerned, or likely to be concerned, in any proceeding or business transacted, pending or likely to be transacted before or by that public official or a government

department, public body or other organisation or institution in which that public official is serving as such,

or by or from any person acting on behalf of or related to such a person, the

property, benefit or promise shall unless the contrary is proved be deemed to have

been given corruptly on account of such a past or future act, omission, favour or

disfavour as is mentioned in section 98(1)(i) or (ii).

98B. (1) Any person who--

(a) corruptly asks for, receives or obtains 'any property or benefit of any kind for himself or any other person; or

(b) corruptly agrees or attempts to receive or obtain any property or benefit of any kind for himself or any other person, on account of-

(i) anything already done or omitted, or any favour or disfavour already shown to any person, by a public official (as defined in section 98D) in the discharge of his official duties or in relation to any matter connected with the functions, affairs or business of a

Government department, public body or other organisation or institution in which the

public official is serving as such; or

(ii) anything to be afterwards done or omitted, or any favour or disfavour to be afterwards shown to any person, by a public official in the discharge of his official duties or in relation to any such matter as aforesaid, is guilty of the felony of official corruption and is liable to imprisonment for seven years.

(2) In any proceedings for an offence under this section it shall not be necessary to prove-

(a) that any public official counselled the commission of the offence; or

(b) that in the course of committing the offence the accused mentioned any particular public official; or

(c) that (in a case to which subsection (1)(ii) is relevant) the accused believed that any public official would do, make or show the act, omission, favour or disfavor in

question; or

(d) that the accused intended to give the property or benefit in question, or any part thereof, to a public official.

98C. (1) A judicial officer cannot be arrested without warrant for an offence under section 98, 98A Or 98B.

(2) No proceedings for an offence under section 98, 98A Or 98B shall be instituted against a judicial officer except on a complaint or information Signed by or on behalf of the Attorney-

General of the Federation or by or on behalf of the Attorney-General of the State in which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

(3) In this section, "judicial officer" means, in addition to the officers mentioned in the definition of that expression contained in section 1(1)-

(a) a member of a customary court;

(b) a member of a juvenile court;

(c) an arbitrator, umpire or referee;

(d) a person called upon to serve as an assessor in any civil or criminal proceedings;

- (e) a member of a jury;
- (f) a member of a tribunal of inquiry constituted under the Tribunals of Inquiry Act; and
- (g) any person before whom, under any law in force in Nigeria or any part thereof, there may be held proceedings in which evidence may be taken on oath.

98D. In sections 98 to 98B, "public official" means any person employed in the public service (within the meaning of that expression as defined in section 1(1)) or any judicial officer within the meaning of section 98c.

99. Any person who, being employed in the public service, takes, Or accepts from any person, for the performance of his duty as such officer, any reward beyond his proper pay and emoluments, or any promise of such reward, is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for three

years.

100. (Deleted by 1966 No. 84.)

101. Any person who, being employed in the public service, knowingly acquires or holds, directly or

indirectly, otherwise than as a member of a registered joint stock company consisting of more than twenty persons, a private interest in any contract or agreement which is made on account of the public service with respect to any matter concerning the department of the service in which he is employed, is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for three years, and to be fined at the discretion of the court.

The offender cannot be arrested without warrant.

102. Any person who, being employed in the public service, and being charged by virtue of his employment with any judicial or administrative duties respecting property of a special character,

respecting the carrying on of any manufacture, trade, or business of a special character, and having acquired or holding, directly or indirectly, a private interest in any such property, manufacture,

trade, or business, discharges any such duties with respect to the property, manufacture, trade, or

business in which he has such interest, or with respect to the conduct of any person in relation

thereto, is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is liable to imprisonment for one year.

103. Any person who, being employed in the public service in such a capacity as to require him or to enable him to furnish returns or statements touching any sum payable or claimed to be payable to himself or to any other person, or touching any other matter required to be certified for the purpose

of any payment of money or delivery of goods to be made to any person, makes a return or statement touching any such matter which is to his knowledge, false in any material particular, is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for three years.

104. Any person who, being employed in the public service, does or directs to be done, in abuse of the authority of his office, any arbitrary act prejudicial to the rights of another is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

If the act is done or directed to be done for purposes of gain he is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for three years.

The offender cannot be arrested without warrant.

A prosecution for any offence under this or any of the last three preceding sections shall not be instituted except by or with the consent of a law officer.

105. Any person who, being authorised or required by law to give any certificate touching any matter

by virtue whereof the rights of any person may be prejudicially affected, gives a certificate

which is, to his knowledge, false in any material particular, is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment of three years. The offender cannot be arrested without warrant.

- 106.** Any person who administers an oath, or takes a solemn declaration or affirmation or affidavit, touching any matter with respect to which he has not by law any authority to do so, is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is liable to imprisonment for one year. This section does not apply to an oath, declaration, affirmation, or affidavit, administered or taken before a peace officer in any matter relating to the preservation of the peace or the punishment of offences, or relating to inquiries respecting sudden death; nor to an oath, declaration, affirmation, or affidavit, administered or taken for some purpose which is lawful under the laws of another country, or for the purpose of giving validity to an instrument in writing which is intended to be used in another country.
- 107.** Any person who- (1) not being a judicial officer, assumes to act as a judicial officer; or (2) without authority assumes to act as a person having authority by law to administer an oath or take a solemn declaration or affirmation or affidavit, or to do any other act of a public nature which can only be done by persons authorised by law to do so; or (3) represents himself to be a person authorised by law to sign a document testifying to the contents of any register or record kept by lawful authority, or testifying to any fact or event, and signs such document as being so authorised, when he is not, and knows that he is not, in fact, so authorised; is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for three years. The offender cannot be arrested without warrant.

- 108.** Any person who-
- (1) impersonates any person employed in the public service on an occasion when the latter is required to do any act or attend in any place by virtue of his employment; or
 - (2) falsely represents himself to be a person employed in the public service, and assumes to do any act or to attend in any place for the purpose of doing any act by virtue of such employment; is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for three years.
- 109.** Any person who, not being a person serving in the armed forces of Nigeria nor a member of the police forces, and with intent that he may be taken to be such a person or member as aforesaid-
- (a) wears any part of the uniform of, or
 - (b) wears any garb resembling any part of the uniform of, a person serving in the armed forces of Nigeria, or a member of the police forces,
- is guilty of a misdemeanour and is liable to imprisonment for one year.
- 110.** Any person who- Unlawfully wearing the uniform of forces, etc. L.N. 112 of 1964. 1967 No.

27.

- (1) not being a person serving in any of the armed forces of Nigeria, wears the uniform or any part of the uniform of such forces, or any the armed dress having the appearance or bearing any of the regimental or other distinctive marks of such uniforms; or
- (2) not being a person holding any office or authority under the Government of Nigeria or of any part thereof, wears any uniform or distinctive badge or mark or carries any token calculated to convey the impression that such person holds any office or authority

under the government;

is guilty of an offence and is liable to imprisonment for one month, or to a fine of ten naira, unless he proves that he had the permission of the President or of the Governor of a State or wear such uniform or dress, badge or mark or to carry such token:

Provided that this section shall not apply to the wearing of any uniform or dress in the course of a stage play or in any bona fide public entertainment.

111. Any person who sells or gives any uniform, or part of a or any dress, badge or mark, as in the last receding section mentioned, to any person who is not authorised to wear the same, is guilty of an offence and is liable to the penalties prescribed in the said section.

APPENDIX II

AN EXCERPT FROM PRESIDENT BUHARI'S SPEECH AT THE ANTI-CORRUPTION SUMMIT IN LONDON

. ...Corruption is a hydra-headed monster and a cankerworm that undermines the fabric of all societies. It does not differentiate between developed and developing countries. It constitutes a serious threat to good governance, rule of law, peace and security, as well as development programmes aimed at tackling poverty and economic backwardness... Permit me to share with you our national experience in combating corruption. I intend to do this by placing the fight against corruption in Nigeria within the context of the three

priority programmes of our Administration. On assumption of office on 29th May 2015, we identified as our main focus three key priority programmes. They are, combating insecurity, tackling corruption and job creation through re-structuring the declining national economy. Our starting point as an Administration was to amply demonstrate zero tolerance for corrupt practices as this vice is largely responsible for the social and economic problems our country faces today. The endemic and systemic nature of corruption in our country demanded our strong resolve to fight it. We are demonstrating our commitment to this effort by bringing integrity to governance and showing leadership by example... Tackling the menace of corruption is not an easy task, but it is possible even if many feathers have to be ruffled. Our Government's dogged commitment to tackling corruption is also evident in the freedom and support granted to national anti-corruption agencies to enable them to carry out their respective mandates without interference or hindrance from any quarter including the government. Today, our frontline anti-corruption agencies, namely, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC), the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) and the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT), have become revitalised and more proactive in the pursuit of perpetrators of corrupt practices, irrespective of their social status and political persuasion.

This is a radical departure from the past. We have implemented the Treasury Single Account (TSA) whereby all Federal government revenue goes into one account. This measure would make it impossible for public officers to divert public funds to private accounts as was the practice before. Through the effective application of TSA and the Bank Verification Number (BVN), we have been able to remove 23,000 ghost workers from our pay roll, thereby saving billions that would have been stolen. We are also reviewing our anti-corruption laws and have developed a national anti-corruption strategy

document that will guide our policies in the next three years, and possibly beyond. I am not unaware of the challenges of fighting corruption in a manner consistent with respect for human rights and the rule of law. As a country that came out of prolonged military rule only sixteen years ago, it will clearly take time to change the mentality and psychology of law enforcement officers. I am committed to applying the rule of law and to respecting human rights. I also require our security agencies to do the same. I admit that there are a few cases where apparently stringent rules have been applied as a result of threats to national security and the likelihood that certain persons may escape from the country or seek to undermine the stability of Nigeria. It is for this reason that we are seeking the support of many countries for the prosecution of certain individuals residing in their jurisdictions. Of course we will provide the necessary legal documents and whatever mutual assistance is required to secure conviction of such individuals, as well as facilitate the repatriation of our stolen assets. Unfortunately, our experience has been that repatriation of corrupt proceeds is very tedious, time consuming, costly and entails more than just the signing of bilateral or multilateral agreements. This should not be the case as there are provisions in the appropriate United Nations Convention that require countries to return assets to countries from where it is proven that they were illegitimately acquired. Further, we are favourably disposed to forging strategic partnerships with governments, civil society organizations, organized private sector and international organizations to combat corruption. Our sad national experience had been that domestic perpetrators of corrupt practices do often work hand-in-hand with international criminal cartels. This evil practice is manifested in the plundering and stealing of public funds, which are then transferred abroad into secret accounts. I therefore, call for the establishment of an international anti-corruption infrastructure that will monitor, trace and facilitate the return of such assets to their countries of origin. It is important to stress that the repatriation of

identified stolen funds should be done without delay or preconditions. In addition to the looting of public funds, Nigeria is also confronted with illegal activities in the oil sector, the mainstay of our export economy. That this industry has been enmeshed in corruption with the participation of the staff of some of the oil companies is well established. Their participation enabled oil theft to take place on a massive scale. Some of us in this hall may be familiar with the Report released by Chatham House, here in London, in 2013, titled “Nigeria’s Criminal Crude: International Options to Combat the Export of Stolen Oil.” The important findings of the Chatham House document are illuminating and troubling. Part of the Report concluded that: a) Nigerian crude oil is being stolen on an industrial scale and exported, with the proceeds laundered through world financial centres by transnational organized criminals. b) Oil theft is a species of organized crime that is almost totally off the international community’s radar, as Nigeria’s trade and diplomatic partners have taken no real action. c) Nigeria could not stop the trade single-handedly, and there is limited value in countries going it alone. It is clear therefore, that the menace of oil theft, put at over 150,000 barrels per day, is a criminal enterprise involving internal and external perpetrators. Illicit oil cargoes and their proceeds move across international borders. Opaque and murky as these illegal transactions may be, they are certainly traceable and can be acted upon, if all governments show the required political will.

This will has been the missing link in the international efforts hitherto. Now in London, we can turn a new page by creating a multi-state and multi-stakeholder partnership to address this menace. We, therefore, call on the international community to designate oil theft as an international crime similar to the trade in “blood diamonds”, as it constitutes an imminent and credible threat to the economy and stability of oil-producing countries like Nigeria. The critical stakeholders here present can lead the charge in this regard... we should be able to agree on a rules-based architecture to combat corruption in all its forms and manifestations. I agree fully with the Commonwealth Secretary-General that anti-corruption is a shared agenda for civil society, business and government, requiring commitment from

companies, creating a space for civil society and governments providing support for whistle-blowers. A main component of this anti-corruption partnership is that governments must demonstrate unquestionable political will and commitment to the fight. The private sector must come clean and be transparent, and civil society, while keeping a watch on all stakeholders, must act and report with a sense of responsibility and objectivity.. For our part, Nigeria is committed to signing the Open Government Partnership initiatives alongside Prime Minister Cameron...

APPENDIX IIIA

Table 1: Newspapers /News Reports in the Study Representing the Lists of Newspapers/News Report Publications, and Newspapers/News Reports' Headlines Respectively (2015-2022).

NAME OF NEWSPAPER SITE/ORGANISATION	No. of articles	No. of words
Guardian	07	14450
Punch	05	12752
Vanguard	10	18608
Premium Times	03	13548

BBC News	04	17601
Daily Post	02	6161
Sahara Reporters	02	3382
Canegie Endowment for International Peace	06	15,164
<i>BEDC Independent Newspaper</i>	01	5221
Ripples Nigeria	01	4942
This Day	01	4704
Nigerian Tribune	03	3429
Transparenct International	01	1564
Grinverlag	01	6161
Academia Education	01	3382
ICPC	01	2281
TOTAL	16	204,128

APPENDIX III B

Table 2: The Newspapers/News Reports' Headlines.*

*Slash Legislators, Ministers' Pay by Half; Sanusi Tells Buhari (*Guardian*, February 12, 2018).

*Prof. Sagay Attacks National Assembly Members over N13.5 million Monthly Salary (*DailyPost*, March 18, 2018).

*Nigeria's notoriously anaemic power sector in Nigeria (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

*Finish line far out of sight in Nigeria's race to beat corruption (Vanguard, May 11, 2016).

*Snake allegedly swallows #36 million from JAMB office vault, Nigerians react (Vanguard, February 17, 2018).

*'Buhari, retool the anti- corruption war' (*Punch*, May 28, 2019).

*'Nigeria's legislature: A den of robbers?'- By Ola Ojo. (*Punch News Paper*, March 16, 2018).

*'The epicenter of petro-corruption is the Nigeria National Corporation (NNPC)'- (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

*'Buhari sabotage his own programme'-*Punch*, June 30, 2018).

*"A lot of people have a lot to lose": Nigeria launches website to combat corruption. - Rebecca Ratcliffe. (*Guardian*, August 9, 2017).

*"Corruption in Buhari's government" – By Martin Patience (*BBCNews*, October 9, 2016)

*ICYMI: Rising rage of opposition against Buhari's anti-corruption – Eniola Akinkuotu (*Punch Newspaper*, February 26, 2018).

*"Nigeria is Corrupt and Nobody is Trying to Cover the Fact." by Emma Amaize. (*Vanguard News*, May 25, 2016).

*"Corruption hampering Buhari's multi-billion naira social empowerment programme" - by Mathias Okwe and Terhemba Daka (*Guardian*, August 11, 2019).

*"Corruption, Greed Behind Building Collapse in Nigeria" - by Bayo Alade (*Nigerian Tribune*, January 11, 2022).

*To mend a broken nation: The Easter Metaphor (on Nigeria) by Mathew Hassan Kukah (*Premium Times*, 17 April, 2022).

*Press Release: SERAP Writes Lawan, Gbajabiamila over missing 10 billion NASS Funds in 2019” (*Premium Times*. 12 Dec. 2021).

*Transparency Int’l Corruption index; An indictment on all Nigerians, not Buhari’s government - by Adesina (*Ripples Nigeria*. 26 Jan. 2022).

*50% of power generated in Nigeria is stolen (*BEDC Independent Newspaper*, 26th May 2019).

*Corruption in Nigeria Context is Endemic (*BBC News*, October 21, 2015).

*“Corruption is totally adhorrent to me” (*Guardian*, May 25, 2016).

*“The reality is that Nigeria is being ruined” (*Guardian*, May 11, 2016).

*Free Press in Nigeria (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

*Nigeria’s worsening corruption (*Nigerian Tribune*, March 5, 2018).

*Nigeria seizes \$800,000 in anti-corruption raids on judges (*BBC News*, October 9, 2016).

*The Nigerian Police is endemically corrupt (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 17, 2018).

*Corruption in EFCC (*Nigerian Tribune*, March 5, 2018).

*EFCC and its fight against corruption in court (*Guardian*, May 30, 2017).

*Corruption: Former National Security Adviser- Sambo Dansuke (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, April 10, 2014).

*The Police as Bribe Taker (*Daily post*, August 19, 2017).

*Covid-19 is a fertile ground for aggravated corruption (*Vanguard*, April 16, 2020).

*Nigeria: Embassies, High Commissions reel corruption allegations (*ThisDay*, January 10, 2021).

*How top officials at Nigerian consulate in Atlanta, US perpetrate corruption. (*SaharaReporters*, December 23, 2021).

*Bitter experience at US Embassy in Lagos. (*Guardian*, July 7, 2015).

*Years after Buhari called petrol subsidy fraud, his government says fuel subsidy costs Nigeria #18.39 Billion daily. (*SaharaReporters News*, August 19, 2022).

* “It will actually be impossible for president Buhari to do this. ...” (*BBCnews*, October, 2015).

*Latest Report shows that corruption is worsening in Nigeria – *Transparency International*, March 5, 2018).

*Corruption and bad leadership, the bane of unethical and subjective Journalism. Odey Simon Robert and Eric Ndoma Besong (*Grinverlag*, March 20, 2017).

*A new taxonomy for corruption in Nigeria: Infrastructure Corruption. Mathew Page (*Academia Education*, 2018).

*Corruption in the security agencies. (*Canegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2014).

*Covid-19 pandemic palliatives. Olu Fasan (*Vangaurd News*, April 16, 2020).

*How corruption impedes access to health, water, education. Henry Ojelu (*Vangaurd News*, November 28, 2021).

*Reps. Probe NIRSL’S #205 Billion Agricultural loan, #105Billion scam. Nicholas Ibekwe (*PremiumTimes*, June 4, 2018).

*Lack of transparency breeds corruption in civil service. Emmanuel Elebeke (*Vanguard News*, December 20, 2022).

*Civil service perpetrating biggest cases of corruption. Tunde Adedeji (*ICPC*, September 22, 2022).

*How federal universities are covering up corruption, sexual harassment – SERAP (*Vangaurd posted News*, February 8, 2018).

* “End corruption, sexual harassment in tertiary institutions”, Buhari tells stakeholders. (*Vanguard News*, October 4, 2022).

APPENDIX IV: EFCC'S REPORTS

Operational activities of the EFCC (2010-2015)

Year	Petitions received	Petitions transferred to sister agencies	Petitions rejected	Petitions investigated	Cases prosecuted	Convictions
2015	5,979	1,178	1,401	2,662	462	103
2014	4,941	1,082	631	2,512	388	126
2013	6,089	1,027	609	2,883	485	117
2012	4,914	707	245	2,062	502	87
2011	7,737	2,385	2,746	2,606	417	67
2010	6,782	2,477	1,767	2,399	206	68
TOTAL	36,442	8,856	7,399	15,124	2,460	568

Source: EFCC (2013; 2015).

APPENDIX V

Transparency International the global coalition against corruption

RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE
1	Denmark	90	24	Bahamas	66	47	Cyprus	55
1	New Zealand	90	24	Chile	66	47	Czech Republic	55
3	Finland	89	24	United Arab Emirates	66	47	Malta	55
4	Sweden	88	27	Bhutan	65	50	Mauritius	54
5	Switzerland	86	28	Israel	64	50	Rwanda	54
6	Norway	85	29	Poland	62	52	Korea (South)	53
7	Singapore	84	29	Portugal	62	53	Namibia	52
8	Netherlands	83	31	Barbados	61	54	Slovakia	51
9	Canada	82	31	Qatar	61	55	Croatia	49
10	Germany	81	31	Slovenia	61	55	Malaysia	49
10	Luxembourg	81	31	Taiwan	61	57	Hungary	48
10	United Kingdom	81	35	Botswana	60	57	Jordan	48
13	Australia	79	35	Saint Lucia	60	57	Romania	48
14	Iceland	78	35	Saint Vincent and The Grenadines	60	60	Cuba	47
15	Belgium	77	38	Cape Verde	59	60	Italy	47
15	Hong Kong	77	38	Dominica	59	62	Sao Tome and Principe	46
17	Austria	75	38	Lithuania	59	62	Saudi Arabia	46
18	United States	74	41	Brunei	58	64	Montenegro	45
19	Ireland	73	41	Costa Rica	58	64	Oman	45
20	Japan	72	41	Spain	58	64	Senegal	45
21	Uruguay	71	44	Georgia	57	64	South Africa	45
22	Estonia	70	44	Latvia	57	64	Suriname	45
23	France	69	46	Grenada	56	69	Greece	44
						70	Bahrain	43
						70	Ghana	43
						72	Burkina Faso	42
						72	Serbia	42
						72	Solomon Islands	42
						75	Bulgaria	41
						75	Kuwait	41
						75	Tunisia	41
						75	Turkey	41
						79	Belarus	40
						79	Brazil	40
						79	China	40
						79	India	40
						83	Albania	39
						83	Bosnia and Herzegovina	39
						83	Jamaica	39
						83	Lesotho	39
						87	Mongolia	38
						87	Panama	38
						87	Zambia	38
						90	Colombia	37
						90	Indonesia	37

Source: Transparency International Corruption Index, 2016.

RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE
91	Bosnia and Herzegovina	38	112	El Salvador	33	135	Kyrgyzstan	29
91	Guyana	38	112	Maldives	33	135	Laos	29
91	Sri Lanka	38	112	Niger	33	135	Mexico	29
91	Timor-Leste	38	117	Ecuador	32	135	Papua New Guinea	29
96	Brazil	37	117	Egypt	32	135	Paraguay	29
96	Colombia	37	117	Gabon	32	135	Russia	29
96	Indonesia	37	117	Pakistan	32	143	Bangladesh	28
96	Panama	37	117	Togo	32	143	Guatemala	28
96	Peru	37	122	Azerbaijan	31	143	Kenya	28
96	Thailand	37	122	Djibouti	31	143	Lebanon	28
96	Zambia	37	122	Kazakhstan	31	143	Mauritania	28
103	Bahrain	36	122	Liberia	31	148	Comoros	27
103	Côte D'Ivoire	36	122	Malawi	31	148	Guinea	27
103	Mongolia	36	122	Mali	31	148	Nigeria	27
103	Tanzania	36	122	Nepal	31	151	Nicaragua	26
107	Armenia	35	122	Moldova	31	151	Uganda	26
107	Ethiopia	35	130	Gambia	30	153	Cameroon	25
107	Macedonia	35	130	Iran	30	153	Mozambique	25
107	Vietnam	35	130	Myanmar	30	155	Madagascar	24
111	Philippines	34	130	Sierra Leone	30	156	Central African Republic	23
112	Algeria	33	130	Ukraine	30	157	Burundi	22
112	Bolivia	33	135	Dominican Republic	29			
			135	Honduras	29			
						157	Haiti	22
						157	Uzbekistan	22
						157	Zimbabwe	22
						161	Cambodia	21
						161	Congo	21
						161	Democratic Republic of Congo	21
						161	Tajikistan	21
						165	Chad	20
						165	Eritrea	20
						167	Angola	19
						167	Turkmenistan	19
						169	Iraq	18
						169	Venezuela	18
						171	Korea (North)	17
						171	Equatorial Guinea	17
						171	Guinea Bissau	17
						171	Libya	17
						175	Sudan	16
						175	Yemen	16
						177	Afghanistan	15
						178	Syria	14
						179	South Sudan	12
						180	Somalia	9

Source: Transparency International Corruption Index, 2017

Source: Transparency International Corruption Index, 2018.

APPENDIX V

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

32/100

AVERAGE SCORE

Sub-Saharan Africa is the lowest scoring region on the index, and has failed to translate its anti-corruption commitments into any real progress. A region with stark political and socio-economic contrasts and longstanding challenges, many of its countries struggle with **ineffective institutions and weak democratic values**, which threaten anti-corruption efforts.

SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK	SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK	SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK
66	Seychelles	28	40	Benin	85	30	Togo	129
61	Botswana	34	38	Swaziland	89	28	Guinea	138
57	Cabo Verde	45	37	Gambia	93	27	Comoros	144
56	Rwanda	48	36	Tanzania	99	27	Kenya	144
53	Namibia	52	35	Côte d'Ivoire	105	27	Mauritania	144
51	Mauritius	56	35	Zambia	105	27	Nigeria	144
46	Sao Tome and Principe	64	34	Ethiopia	114	26	Central African Republic	149
45	Senegal	67	34	Niger	114	26	Uganda	149
43	South Africa	73	32	Liberia	120	25	Cameroon	152
41	Burkina Faso	78	32	Malawi	120	25	Madagascar	152
41	Ghana	78	32	Mali	120	24	Eritrea	157
41	Lesotho	78	31	Djibouti	124	23	Mozambique	158
			31	Gabon	124	22	Zimbabwe	160
			30	Sierra Leone	129	20	Democratic Republic of the Congo	161
						19	Angola	165
						19	Chad	165
						19	Congo	165
						17	Burundi	170
						16	Equatorial Guinea	172
						16	Guinea Bissau	172
						16	Sudan	172
						13	South Sudan	178
						10	Somalia	180

APPENDIX IV

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

32/100

AVERAGE SCORE

Sub-Saharan Africa is the lowest scoring region on the index, and has failed to translate its anti-corruption commitments into any real progress. A region with stark political and socio-economic contrasts and longstanding challenges, many of its countries struggle with **ineffective institutions and weak democratic values**, which threaten anti-corruption efforts.

SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK	SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK	SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK
66	Seychelles	28	40	Benin	85	30	Togo	129
61	Botswana	34	38	Swaziland	89	28	Guinea	138
57	Cabo Verde	45	37	Gambia	93	27	Comoros	144
56	Rwanda	48	36	Tanzania	99	27	Kenya	144
53	Namibia	52	35	Côte d'Ivoire	105	27	Mauritania	144
51	Mauritius	56	35	Zambia	105	27	Nigeria	144
46	Sao Tome and Principe	64	34	Ethiopia	114	26	Central African Republic	149
45	Senegal	67	34	Niger	114	26	Uganda	149
43	South Africa	73	32	Liberia	120	25	Cameroon	152
41	Burkina Faso	78	32	Malawi	120	25	Madagascar	152
41	Ghana	78	32	Mali	120	24	Eritrea	157
41	Lesotho	78	31	Djibouti	124	23	Mozambique	158
			30	Sierra Leone	129	22	Zimbabwe	160
						20	Democratic Republic of the Congo	161
						19	Angola	165
						19	Chad	165
						19	Congo	165
						17	Burundi	170
						16	Equatorial Guinea	172
						16	Guinea Bissau	172
						16	Sudan	172
						13	South Sudan	178
						10	Somalia	180

Subscribe →

The Guardian
For 200 years

News Opinion Sport Culture Lifestyle

Opinion
There is corruption in Nigeria.
But don't call us a corrupt
country
Remi Adekoya

The reality is that 'graft' remains a problem at all levels of society. But there are many hard-working, honest Nigerians who suffer from such negative perceptions

@RemiAdekoya1
Wed 11 May 2016 07:32 EDT

f t e

5 years old

POLITICS

vanguardngr.com

Vanguard Menu

HOME LATEST NEWS METRO SPORTS ENTERTAINMENT VIDEO

← Ads by Google

Stop seeing this ad Why this ad? ⓘ

By Juliet Ebirim & Adetutu Adesoji

This is a huge slap on the faces of Nigerians –
Caleb Onyenso, Social Media Analyst

← Ads by Google



Bitter experience at U.S. embassy in Lagos

By • **Adesola Jimoh, Lagos.**

07 July 2015 | 12:31 am



 letter

SIR: I want to express the harrowing experience I passed through at the United States Embassy in Lagos. On Monday, June 8, 2015, I had appointment for 10.30 am, and being the president of Lions Club International, organizers of the 98th International Convention in Honolulu Hawaii, USA, on June 26; I had no doubt that I would spend no time at the embassy.

There were so many touting activities at the entrance, but that did not bother me as I had

x





COVID-19 is a fertile ground for aggravated corruption in Nigeria

April 16, 2020



By Olu Fasan

LAST week, I wrote about how the coronavirus emergency could trigger an escalation of power abuse in Nigeria, with increased violation of human rights and the rule of law. This week, my focus is on another potential fallout from the pandemic: corruption through the misappropriation of the COVID-19 funds.

3:18 PM  3G 25.8 K/s 58

  premiumtimesng.com/ir  

 **PREMIUM Times** 



PREMIUM TIMES - Nicholas Ibekwe

Traditional method of threshing harvested paddy

SPECIAL REPORT: Fraud allegations, unremitted loans, crop failure, other anomalies dog Nigerian govt's "rice revolution"

By **Nicholas Ibekwe** — June 4, 2018
Reading Time: 15 mins read