

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Rhetorics has always formed part of political communication globally and it is more pronounced where democratic principles and structures are upheld (Kane & Patapan, 2010; Dryzek, 2010). This is because public discussion and debate are essential in democracy and leaders are obliged to rule the sovereign people by means of constant persuasion (Kane & Patapan, 2010). The outstanding '*I have a Dream*' speech by Martin Luther King that revolutionized racism in America is a typical example of leaders' use of rhetorics to sway public opinions. The use of rhetorics for political communication has also been gaining popularity in the emerging democracies in Africa and Nigeria is not an exemption. African leaders like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Alpha Oumar Konare of Mali, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania, Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Thomas Isidore Noel Sankara of Burkina Faso, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Samora Michale of Mozambique, and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia were able to turn the fortune of their people around for good in different ways through their positive rhetorics.

Presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches as forms of rhetorics have also been used by Nigerian Presidents, like other Presidents in other climes, in outlining their leadership roadmap and recounting their stewardship respectively on the prevailing societal needs and aspirations (see Lim, 2002; Agbogun, 2011). For instance, past Nigerian Presidents such as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe/Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi, General Yakubu Gowon, General Muritala Mohammad/General Olusegun Obasanjo (both his military and civilian administrations), Alhaji Shehu Shagari, General Muhammadu Buhari, General Ibrahim Badamasu Babangida, Chief Ernest Shonekan, General Sani Abacha, General Abdulsalami

Abubakar, Alhaji Umar Musa Yar'adua, Dr. Goodluck Ebelle Jonathan, and the sitting President Muhammadu Buhari used their inaugural and Handover speeches to encapsulate their policy roadmap and stewardships on national development. This is in line with some political communication scholars' argument that leaders use rhetorics (Inaugural speech specifically) as a political communication to convince people on the objectives they want to achieve during their tenure (Katula, 2001). Katula (2001) further explained that in such speeches, many Presidents would focus on the major and central subjects that are relevant to their times. The Inaugural speeches are equally designed not just to state the President's visions and missions, but also to win as much supports as possible from the audience (Wilson, 1994). People in countries like Nigeria where development is a challenge may therefore depend on presidential Inaugural speeches to fathom the kind of development to expect at the beginning of every political dispensation.

Looking at rhetorics however, scholars have often argued that the use of lofty speeches to sway and convince people may not at times match with supposed action (Nauri, 2002; Gneezy & Epley, 2014). Nevertheless, at the end of every administration, Nigerian Presidents, like their counterparts in other climes, would read out their Handover speeches detailing their achievements that may or may not be at variance with their stated development objectives and actual development within the period in question. But does anyone bother to ask?

Within the context of the constant challenges of development in Nigeria therefore, it becomes necessary to deconstruct and interrogate the contents of Nigerian Presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015 to appraise their rhetorics on national development and the extent to which they were translated into viable development plans and execution (performance).

1.1 Background to the Study

Rhetorics is a form of political communication that concerns the strategies used to construct persuasive arguments in formal public debates and in everyday political disputes. The study of political rhetorics therefore touches upon the fundamental activities of democratic politics which thrive purely on discussion, persuasion and deliberation (Kane & Patapan, 2010; Dryzek, 2010). Rhetorics could be seen as the life-wire of every sound democracy in any sane society. This may explain why the concept continues to resonate in global political communication studies (Babatunde and Odegbedan, 2009; Okpanachi 2009; Sarcaceni, 2003; Ruud, 2003; Ayeomoni, 2005; Yusuf, 2002; Van Dijk, 1997; 2004). Examining speeches specifically given by Presidents as forms of rhetorics has as well started gaining popularity among scholars, perhaps, owing to their importance in the political affair of a nation (Cheng, 2006). Such studies have also been growing in Nigerian political communication scholarship (Ayeomoni, 2005; Yusuf, 2002; Ayoola, 2005; Adetunji, 2009; Babatunde and Odegbedan, 2009; and Okpanachi 2009).

In an established democracy, leaders therefore depend on rhetorics like presidential speech to declare their intentions and strategies to address certain human needs and or to express their contributions to humanity while in office. Research has shown that considerable portion of presidential rhetorics, like the Inaugural and Handover speeches that this dissertation studied are usually laden with promises and claims of different magnitude pertaining to different burning national issues (Van Dijk, 1993; Humphrey, 2014; Adjei, & Ewusi-Mensah, 2016). Humphrey (2014) specifically avers that “most Presidents present their vision of America and make their goals for the nation known in their inaugural address” (p. 36). Similarly, since Handover speech ought to be the last formal speech the former President presents to the countrymen and women at the expiration of his or her tenure, he/she is expected to present a summary of his stewardship: “achievements and failures, challenges faced, and the way forward, some suggestions for the incoming government, and a thank you message to the entire citizenry” (Adjei, & Ewusi-Mensah,

2016, p. 36). This means presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches ought to reflect the general state of things in a given society per time. Given the backward nature of Africa and Nigeria in particular therefore, one will expect that their presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches should capture both the development yearnings and aspirations of the nation as well as their stewardship on same per time. It therefore became pertinent to explore the Nigerian Inaugural and Handover speeches to ascertain Nigerian Presidents' narratives on national development within the period in question.

Although opinion may differ on why and the extent to which Nigeria remains underdeveloped, there appears to be a general consensus that the country has not reached the point she ought to be as seen in most of her development scorecards in spite of her abundant human and natural resources (Dunu, Onoja, and Asogwa, 2017). Research has shown that several decades after the end of colonialism and huge earning from crude oil, the country continue to parade some of the poorest human development indicators across the globe (Suberu, 2007). Some of the underdevelopment features of the country are high poverty rate, lack of basic infrastructural facilities in all sectors of the economy, unemployment, high mortality rate, political instability and insecurity of lives and property, burgeoning domestic and foreign debt, abysmal health and educational services, and attendant social frustration and unrest (Ikenna, 2009; UNDP 2019; WHO, 2019; *The Vanguard*, 2019).

Interestingly, a cursory look at the past Nigerian Presidents' rhetorics upon assumption of office suggests that development remains one of the major reasons offered by the military leaders like Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi, General Yakubu Gowon, General Muritala Mohammad/General Olusegun Obasanjo, General Muhammadu Buhari, General Ibrahim Badamasu Babangida, General Sani Abacha, and General Abdulsalami Abubakar for their foray into Nigerian politics. It is also one of the catchphrases Nigerian civilian leaders like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe/Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Chief Ernest Shonekan, President Olusegun Obasanjo,

Alhaji Musa Yar'adua, Dr. Ebelle Goodluck Jonathan and the sitting President Muhammadu Buhari often greeted the nation with when taking their oath of office.

For instance, during his swearing-in in 1999, former President Olusegun Obasanjo said his administration would improve on agriculture, security, infrastructure, and education; fight corruption, and poverty; as well as create jobs for Nigerian youths among others. Similarly, during his swearing-in in 2007, Late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua promised among others to focus on Seven Point Development Agenda that would tackle the Niger Delta unrest, address poverty, improve public health, intensify war against corruption, and revive education. After taking the oath of office in 2011, former President Goodluck Ebelle Jonathan also promised a transformative government with focus on uniting the nation and improving the living standards of all the peoples, growing the economy, creating jobs, promoting made-in- Nigerian products, reforming the financial sector, rebuilding infrastructure, creating greater access to quality education and improved health care delivery, reforming agricultural sector, fighting corruption, and democratizing the nation's politics. The same applies to the current President Muhammadu Buhari's 2015 popular slogan of "...I belong to nobody, I belong to everybody". In the Inaugural speech and under his change mantra, President Buhari said his administration would attack the problem of unemployment frontally; fight corruption; revive major industries and accelerate the revival and development of the nation's railways, roads and general infrastructure among others things.

As peculiar with successful democratic regime across the world, traces of claims to national development or recount of stewardship also abound in their Handover speeches. For instance, in his 2007 handover speech, former President Olusegun Obasanjo claimed among others that his administration revived national image; deepened democracy; reformed the economy; strengthened the nation's financial independence; enhanced infrastructure; improved science and technology, agricultural production and food security; industrialized the country; and curbed

corruption. Also while handing over to President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015, former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan claimed that his administration among other things improved the security of lives and properties; strengthened democracy; improved the economy; improved the quality and quantum of infrastructure; reformed the financial sector; created jobs; promoted industrialization; and reformed the agricultural sector (Jonathan, 2015).

The above promises and claims may suggest that Nigerian Presidents were in tune with the country's development challenges and would have acknowledged same in both their inaugural and handover speeches. But do the rhetorics reflect the true state of national development in the country? This question became necessary in view of the worsening development situation in the country within the last two decades as seen in most of the available statistics and independent data (World Bank, 2006; 2013a; 2013b, 2014; UNDP Human Development Index Report, 2013; UNRISD Report, 2010; UNDP 2019; WHO, 2019; *The Vanguard*, 2019). The thrust of this dissertation therefore was to deconstruct Nigerian presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches with the view to ascertain their discourse and performance on national development as well as the truthfulness of their narratives looking at the national development reality within the period under investigation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Presidential speeches or rhetorics (both Inaugural and Handover) are forms of political communication that are laden with intentions and achievements. During the swearing-in ceremonies, Presidents in democratic system outline their goals and set the direction for the government in their Inaugural speeches. Also, at the end of every political dispensation, most Presidents sign off amidst cheers and would read out wonderful Handover speeches stating different achievements that may or may not be at variance with the set goals and the actual national development reality. But do people bother to explore the frequency at which national

development related issues appeared in the contents of Nigerian presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015?

Because people glean the national development efforts of leaders from their rhetorics, a misapplication of such political tool for selfish end equally becomes not only a possibility among political leaders but may also explain why Nigeria seems to present one of the worse examples of underdevelopment in recent global community as seen in most of the available statistics and independent data (UNDP 2019; WHO, 2019; *The Vanguard*, 2019) in spite of their many rhetorics on the subject matter over the years. A cursory look at Nigerian development reality therefore suggests some levels of disconnect between the presidential rhetorics and performance in the area of national development; and leaves a question mark on the truthfulness of Nigerian presidential rhetorics within the context of national development.

To this end, the need existed to determine how national development issues were constructed in presidential rhetorics (speeches) in Nigeria from 1999 to 2015. The inherent issues of interest here then were: whether presidential speeches (Inaugural and Handover) were other forms of propaganda tools in the hands of Nigerian Presidents to deceive and distract Nigerians from national development realities while the country continues to wallow in underdevelopment, or were they true reflections of development intents and efforts as they ought to be?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study was to evaluate selected presidential speeches in Nigerian democracy via the lens of national development; while the specific objectives are:

1. To find out the national development objectives emphasized in Nigerian presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015.
2. To ascertain the stated national development needs (achievements) said to have been met by Nigerian Presidents in their Handover speeches within the period under study.

3. To ascertain the disparity in the development objectives stated in presidential Inaugural speeches and development achievements stated in presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015.
4. To find out the extent to which national development needs in the presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015 compared with the independent data on national development.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was therefore guided by the following research questions:

1. What were the national development objectives emphasized in Nigerian presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015?
2. What were the stated national development needs said to have been met by the Nigerian Presidents in their Handover speeches within the period under study?
3. What was the extent of disparity in the development objectives stated in presidential Inaugural speeches and development achievements stated in presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015?
4. To what extent do national development issues in the presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015 compared with the independent data on national development?

1.5 Scope of the Study

This work was delimited to an exploration of presidential rhetorics (Inaugural and Handover speeches) in Nigeria. It was narrowed to longitudinal study of presidential speeches vis-à-vis development indices as documented in independent data from 1999 to 2015 to ascertain the truthfulness and otherwise of such rhetorics. As Dunwoody (2009) noted, a statement or proposition can be said to be true if it corresponds to the facts, external independent reality which in this dissertation, was taken to mean development data on different annual development proxies or indicators harvested from the data bank of the Central Bank of Nigeria, the National

Bureau of Statistics, the World Development Indicators Data Bank, and Transparency International, among others reflecting the level of development in the country.

One cannot deny the fact that speeches have been a common feature of Nigerian political system since 1960 after the independence of the country. However, this dissertation was delimited to cover only a period of 16 years of uninterrupted democracy in the country (1999 to 2015). This period was selected owing to the fact that democracy is a system of government that thrives purely on persuasion rather than the barrel of the gun as obtains in the military rules. As such, Presidents often rely on the spoken word to influence and mobilize their followers and convince people of the benefits that can arise from their leadership (Alo, 2012).

In the choice of data to analyse, the study depended on only the entry and exit year of each of the selected administrations. This was done to allow for comparison of what the Presidents met upon assumption of office when certain development commitment would be made, with what the President left behind at the end of the administration when certain development claims would be made. The a priori expectation and the rationale for selecting the entry and exit years was that the first year of every administration should provide the baseline upon which any future change in the development could be compared. In the same vein, the cumulative impact of every leader's efforts on any chosen areas of national development should be noticeable in the available development data at the end of the administration.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Although political communication is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria, few studies exist that approached political speeches from the national development perspective. This may be attributed to the fact that political rhetorics (Inaugural and Handover speeches) is just beginning to gather momentum and stability in Nigerian polity following the emergence of steady democracy in 1999. This research was therefore an attempt to deconstruct both Inaugural and Handover speeches of past Nigerian Presidents (1999-2015) to determine the extent to which national

development issues were raised in the speeches and compare the rhetorics on development with development reality in the country using independent development data. To this end, this study is significant as it:

- Helped to identify the aspects of national development that were of interest to Nigerian Presidents from 1999 to 2015;
- Assisted in highlighting the similarities and differences in the development objectives, efforts and achievements of Nigerian Presidents within the period in question;
- Pointed out the extent to which Nigerian Presidents actually contributed to the development of the country from 1999 to 2015 vis-a-vis their claims on same;
- Has helped in developing the models (the *Simple Percentage Difference Model*, the *Average Disparity Rate Model* and the *Weighted Average Development Analysis Model*) for assessing leaders' development intentions/claims and achievements through their rhetorics (speeches);
- Is timely as could enhance the capacity and knowledge level of political communication analysts as well as the media in deconstructing rhetorics into meaningful messages that would impact positively on development discourse and narratives;
- Has contributed to the growing body of global literature on political communication (rhetorics) and helped to establish the relationship between presidential rhetorics and national development; and
- Has established the possible shortcomings in the current use of rhetorics by Nigerian leaders in the quest for national development in Nigeria and had proffered a more viable model.

1.7 Definition of Terms

In order to put this dissertation in proper perspective, the following terms were defined as applied in this work.

Democracy: This is a system of government in which the people are allowed to freely choose their leaders through a regular free and fair election and as such, could hold their elected leaders accountable for the development of their society. In this system of government, power resides with the people and leaders woo them for the legitimacy of their government through different mechanisms like political rhetorics/speeches.

Development Claims: Generally, claim means to say that something is true when some people may say it is not true. In this dissertation therefore, development claims refers to any statement found in any Nigerian President's speech expressing their achievements on specific development needs of the country that can be proven to be false or true. As such, claims and achievements are used to express the same thing in this study.

Development Objectives: Dictionary definition of objective may mean something one sets out to do or achieve over a given period of time; a goal, aim or end of an action to which an individual is committed to. Development objectives as seen in this work therefore means the development promise, aim, goals, or end a President sets to achieve while in office. It is important to note that development objectives and development promises are used interchangeably in this study.

Disparity: This refers to the level of differences in presidential development objectives and achievements.

Handover Speech: This is the form of speech presented by the outgoing President at the Handover ceremony to mark the end of his/her administration. Such speeches usually echo the achievements of the President while in office and possibly outline areas of failures and reason for such. Here Presidents could lay claims to a good number of achievements touching on national development.

Inaugural Speech: This is the form of speech delivered by the incoming President at the Inaugural ceremony to mark the beginning of his or her administration. Such speech usually features a repeat of the President's campaign promises and manifestoes expressed in the form of development promises or objectives to be achieved within the four years term.

National Development: This means the total change in the collective wellbeing of Nigerians within a democratic dispensation or throughout the 16 years understudy (1999 to 2015). In this study, national development could be positive or negative depending on the direction of the change. National development is positive when the change results in an improvement in the collective wellbeing of Nigerian populace and negative when it results in deterioration in the collective wellbeing of Nigerian populace.

Political Communication: This is the form of communication undertaken to achieve set political goals. It usually occurs at formal political ceremonies like inauguration and Handover programmes.

Political Rhetorics: This is the form of political communication designed to inform, convince, and persuade the audience to believe certain proposition/idea/argument or act in a politically predetermined manner.

Political Speech: This simply means a form of political rhetorics delivered in any formal political setting to a predetermined audience. In this study, speeches delivered on the day of inauguration and Handover fall under what this study constructed as political speech.

Presidential Speech: This is the form of political speech that is delivered by an elected President of a country like Nigeria. Presidential speech in this dissertation could be specifically taken to mean official political speeches delivered by Presidents at their inauguration or Handover ceremonies.

Promises: Any statement committing the speaker to enhancing the general wellbeing of Nigerians or the country.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter concentrates on the discussion and analysis of studies and literature relevant to the understanding of rhetorics as a form of political communication and its interface with national development across the world. Among the multitude of theories that could explain the focus of this study, Agenda Setting Theory; Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato's correspondence theory of truth; and Blanshard and Rescher's Coherence Theory of Truth were considered appropriate for analyzing the research questions raised in chapter one. The Agenda Setting Theory basically explains the process whereby political leaders highlight certain issues or problems as the most salient that require the society's attention per time. The correspondence theory of truth opines that a development statement or proposition can be said to be true if it corresponds with independent facts (Dunwoody, 2009) while the Coherence Theory of Truth argues that a development proposition is true only if it maintains some level of consistency. While the Agenda Setting Theory explains the dominance of development contents of presidential rhetorics, Correspondence and Coherence Theories of Truth explain the quality of the content of presidential rhetorics on national development. Generally, the essence of this review is to contribute to the development of rhetorics model necessary for understanding national development discourse in a developing country like Nigeria. As such, the chapter contains the following major themes: review of related literature, theoretical framework and empirical review of related studies and chapter summary.

2.1 Political Rhetorics Studies and Development in Political Communication

The topic of political rhetorics concerns the strategies used to construct persuasive arguments in formal public debates and in everyday political disputes. The study of political rhetorics therefore touches upon the fundamental activities of democratic politics. As Kane and Patapan (2010, p. 372) observed, “because public discussion and debate are essential in a democracy, and because leaders are obliged to rule the sovereign people by means of constant persuasion, rhetorics is absolutely central”. Going further, Dryzek (2010) noted that rhetorics is also central to grass-roots political action: “Rhetorics facilitates the making and hearing of representation claims spanning subjects and audiences ... democracy requires a deliberative system with multiple components whose linkage often needs rhetorics” (p. 319-339).

In recent times, academic writing on political rhetorics has greatly increased in volume and diversified in perspective to cut across other areas like political narrative (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012), framing (Chong, 2013), communication (Valentino & Nardis, 2013), conversation (Remer, 1999), discourse (e.g. Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), strategic communication (Okigbo and Onoja, 2017), or deliberation (see Myers & Mendelberg, 2013). Despite the diversity of approaches adopted, and the overlap with other topics, Condor Tileaga and Billig (2013), opine that it is possible to identify some distinctive aspects to theory and research on political rhetorics. This can be observed at two levels: First, contemporary scholars of political rhetorics that tend to draw inspiration directly from classical writings on the subject. For instance, in the case of rhetorical psychology, this has involved the use of classical scholarship as a source of insights about human mentality as well as about the structure and function of persuasive argument. Second, authors who write on the subject of political rhetorics often adopt a critical perspective in relation to their academic discipline of origin. Like in political science, the study of rhetorics may be presented as an alternative to established perspectives on political beliefs and decision-making, whereas, in social and political psychology, interest in rhetorics

arose as part of the “turn to language”, a movement that involved a rejection of cognitivism, and a commitment to approaching talk and text as strategic communicative action rather than as expressions of inner psychological processes, states or traits (e.g. Burman & Parker, 1993; Edwards, 1997; Harré & Gillett, 1994; Potter, 2000; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Shotter, 1993).

Although the subject of rhetorics clearly pertains to spoken and written language, empirical research has generally proceeded independently of methodological advances in the analysis of communication. However, some linguists have recently begun to advocate closer dialogue between students of rhetorics and researchers concerned with the fine details of discourse and stylistics (Foxlee, 2012), and scholars in communication studies have begun to consider the application of field methods to the *in situ* study of the rhetorics of protest movements (Middleton, Senda- Cook, & Endres, 2011). Similarly, unlike many other perspectives that originated from the “turn to language”, rhetorical psychologists have not traditionally promoted any specific methodological technique. However, some advocated traditional scholarship as an alternative to methodology for the interpretation of ideological themes in political rhetorics (Condor, et al, 2013). More recently, psychological researchers have studied examples of political rhetorics using a variety of research techniques, including discourse analytic approaches to assist the identification of interpretative repertoires, and conversation analysis for the fine-grained analysis of the details of political speeches and arguments.

Political rhetorics has also received considerable attention in global political communication studies (Babatunde and Odegbedan, 2009; Okpanachi 2009; Sarcaceni, 2003; Ruud, 2003; Ayeomoni, 2005; Yusuf, 2002; Van Dijk, 1997; 2004). Examining speeches specifically given by Presidents has as well started gaining popularity among scholars, perhaps, owing to its importance in the political affair of a nation (Cheng, 2006) and Nigeria is not an exemption (Ayeomoni, 2005; Yusuf, 2002; Ayoola, 2005; Adetunji, 2009; Babatunde and Odegbedan, 2009; and Okpanachi 2009). However, most of such studies have focused on the stylistic,

pragmatic, discourse analysis, syntagmatic analysis, and or rhetorics analysis of political rhetorics. Application of content analysis to the study of political rhetorics like speeches is just beginning to gather momentum in communication literature (see Jones, 2012). This study therefore tries to explore this novel path with particular attention to specific contents of Nigerian presidential speeches.

2.2 Political Communication: Conceptual Clarifications

To do a detail conceptual clarification of political communication, it is important to begin with the word *communication*. Communication derives from the Latin word *communicatus*, which refers to the sharing and exchanging of information (Merian-Webster dictionary, 2019). This means ‘an interaction process through which persons or groups relate to each other and share information, experiences and culture’ (Jayawera, 1991) as cited in Chukwu, 2006, p. 107). When people communicate, they tend to establish commonness with others, or share information, idea or attitude. The complex process of sharing requires certain basic components like the sender of the message, the receiver or listener, the message itself, the channels through which the message is sent and feedback (Okunna, 1996; Abura, 1998). The success or failure of communication therefore is dependent on the dynamic utilization of the above components. This fact appears even more validated when communication is applied to political governance.

Politics without communication, and democratic politics for that matter, is like having blood without veins and arteries, it will certainly collapse. This may account for the considerable level of attention given to political communication among scholars from different disciplines and climes. The way in which people send, receive, and share the information that shapes their political discourse and decision making form the basis for political communication. However, like other concepts in social sciences, finding a generally accepted definition of political communication has been the bane of scholarship over the years. For instance, McNair (1995, p.3) observes that the term “political communication” has proven to be “notoriously difficult to

define with any precision, simply because both components of the phrase are themselves open to a variety of definitions, more or less broad". The author however proposes a definition that that is worth considering here. While stressing the intentionality of political communication, he describes it as "purposeful communication about politics" (p. 4). This intentional communication includes three elements: Communication used by political actors to achieve their own objectives; communication that is addressed to political actors by non-politicians (e.g. voters); and media discourse understood as communication about political actors. Political communication can be seen as a system of dynamic interactions between political actors, the media and audience members, each of whom is engaged in the process of producing, receiving and interpreting political messages (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995).

All most all political communication is aimed at winning political allies, getting others to act politically in a predetermined form or to take certain political stance as the case may be. When political communication is designed primarily to persuade the auditor into taking certain action as predetermined by the orator, such political communication falls within the purview of rhetorics which is the focus of this study.

2.3 Presidential Rhetorics

Observers of presidential politics have, for a long time now, lamented the declining standards of presidential discourse, which has been variously described as "a linguistic struggle," "rarely an occasion for original thought," like "dogs barking idiotically through endless nights," bordering on "demagogy" and "pontification cum anecdotalism" (Miller, 2001 as cited in Lim, 2002, p.328). These observations, while entertaining and widely shared, exemplify aspects of a significant scholarly debate. They parallel the concerns expressed by political scientists writing about a cluster of related developments in the modern presidency, variously referring to the "public presidency," the "personal presidency," the "rhetorical presidency," "the sound of leadership," and "going public" as a strategy of presidential leadership (Lim, 2002). With

moderate qualifications, all of these scholars acknowledged the ongoing transformation of the presidency from a traditional, administrative, and unrhetorical office into a modern, expansive, and stridently rhetorical one in which incumbents routinely speak over the head of parliament/congress and to the public to lead and to govern. If such an institutional transformation has indeed occurred- and the new institutional paradigm has after all been called the *rhetorical* presidency-then it should not be out of place to begin to study development content of such rhetorics in development bankrupt societies like Nigeria.

In an attempt to answer the question, ‘what is rhetorics?’ Booth, in his 2004 monograph, *The Rhetorics of Rhetorics*, noted a “threatening morass of rival definitions” (Booth, 2004, p. xiii). On the one hand, the term *rhetorics* can pertain to vacuous, insincere speech or political “spin” (Partington, 2003), as reflected in English expressions such as “mere rhetorics”, “empty rhetorics”, or “rhetorical question”. Negative connotation of rhetorics does not reside solely with recent scholars. As far back as 18th century, Bishop Whatley introduced one of his textbooks *Elements of Rhetorics* with the comment that the title was “apt to suggest to many minds an associated idea of empty declamation, or of dishonest artifice” (1828, p. xxxi). Many decades down the line, contemporary scholarship is still inclined to cast political rhetorics as the antithesis of action (e.g. Browne & Dickson, 2010; McCrisken, 2011), or reality (e.g. Easterly & Williamson, 2011; Hehir, 2011).

On the other hand, the term *rhetorics* may also be used in a more positive sense: to refer to the practical art of effective communication. In *Institutio Oratoria*, the Roman rhetorician Quintilian defined rhetorics as the science of “speaking well” (as cited in Condor et al, 2013). An alternative, related, use of the term pertains to the study of the art of effective communication. This is illustrated by Aristotle’s (1909) well-known assertion that the function of rhetorics is “not to persuade, but to discover the available means of persuasion in each case” (as cited in Berger, 2016). It is this more neutral, conception of rhetorics that currently predominates.

Classical accounts of rhetorics focused on formal, public speech (Condor et al, 2013). However, contemporary authors have extended the scope of rhetorical scholarship to include informal talk (e.g. Billig, 1991); texts (e.g. Spurr, 1993); photography and visual images (Hill & Helmers, 2004); maps (Wallach, 2011); cartoons (Morris, 1993); film (Morreale, 1991); digital communication (Zappen, 2005); architecture (Robin, 1992), graphic art (Scott, 2010), and even food (Frye & Bruner, 2012).

Classical work on rhetorics was not confined to the political sphere. Aristotle described *political* (deliberative) oratory as argument that is concerned with weighing up alternative future courses of action relating to finances, war and peace, national defense, trade, and legislation. He distinguished this kind of talk from *judicial* (or forensic) oratory, practised in the law courts, which focuses on questions of accusation, justice and truth concerning past events, and from *epideictic* (ceremonial) oratory, concerned the attribution of praise or censure in the present (Condor et al, 2016). Contemporary scholars have further extended the sphere of application of rhetorical studies, often believing like Booth (2004 p. xi) that “[r]hetoric is employed at every moment when one human being intends to produce, through the use of signs or symbols, some effect on another”. However, as Gill and Whedbee (1997) noted, it is still commonly supposed that, “the essential activities of rhetorics are located on a political stage” (p. 157).

2.4 Presidential Speeches as form of Rhetorics

As exalted as the office of the President of Nigeria is, there is a constant need to keep in touch with the people. This is because of the premium every democratic government places on the people. However, political rhetorics forms one of the many ways of establishing the link. Therefore, political speech (rhetorics) can be seen as a means of establishing and maintaining social relationships, expressing feelings, and selling ideas, policies and programmes in any society (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). To this end, political leaders make several speeches to address the people before election (such speeches could also be referred to as pre-election special

addresses especially at political rally and campaign); after the election (like victory and Inaugural speeches as well as those speeches that are made from time to time as the situation dictates); and the parting speech (those speeches made at the Handover ceremony when the sitting political leaders takes a bow for the newly elected one). Coming from this premise, Denton and Hahn (1986) as cited in Agbogun (2011) posit that the presidency or governorship office has been recognized as a rhetorical institution whose speeches are enlivened by power to persuade and convince the nation or society on the one hand; and provide avenues for familiarizing the audience with the organization and recognisability of the presidency or governorship office on the other hand, as they encapsulate the nation's or state's.

In view of the growing importance of political speeches in the world political system, considerable volume of literature has been devoted to studying the nature, extent and content of political speeches of especially prominent political leaders across the world (Awonuga, 1988; Awonuga, 2005; Adetunji, 2006; Ayoola, 2005; Ayeomoni, 2005a; Ayeomoni, 2005b; Adeyanju, 2009; Oha, 1994; Adegbija, 1995; Ayodabo, 2003). This dissertation shall however be concerned with the Inaugural and Handover speeches of past Nigerian Presidents. In this, the study shall contribute to the growing body of literature on presidential speeches using content analysis to ascertain the discourse on national development as encapsulated in the Inaugural and Handover speeches with the view to understanding how development promises and claims correspond with development reality in the country since Nigeria returned to full fledged uninterrupted democracy in 1999.

Privileging the claims of the scholars of rhetorics, this study looks at two genres of rhetorics in which significant change is not expected: the Inaugural address and the Handover speech since 1999. These stand out as principle genres of "obligatory" rhetorics (Smith 2000, 82) that are powerfully constrained by custom and ritual. Still, it might be argued that changes in rhetorical patterns should be expected even in these genres since rhetorics expresses politics, and politics is

deliquescent and vicissitudinous (Lim, 2002, p.330). The speeches in these two genres equally constitute, arguably, the most significant occasions of presidential rhetorics from which we can reliably infer presidential commitment to national development. The Inaugural address is the first speech the President gives to his country as President (Lim, 2002, p.331), and the Handover speech stands out as the parting speech of the President.

The decision to focus on Inaugural and Handover speeches of past Nigerian Presidents unlike earlier researchers is therefore premised on the eroding value of campaign promises which has been the hallmark of earlier studies. American political scientist, Schattschneider (1942) for instance, argued long ago that “party platforms are fatuities. They persuade no one, deceive no one, and enlighten no one.” More recently, British political scientist Anthony King asserted that party manifestos are “empty and meaningless” documents having “virtually random relationship” with what the party will do in office (cited in Rose 1984). Davis and Ferrantino (1996) have even developed a positive theory of political rhetorics which predicts that political candidates will lie because they are unable to transfer the value of their reputations as honest politicians. However, the same cannot be said of Inaugural and hand over speeches which are usually given under a more relaxed and partly controlled atmosphere that ordinarily do not call for such complexities. However, how past Presidents, especially Nigerian’s, conceptualized and implement national development issues from 1999 to 2015 has been shrouded in more or less mere non-empirical speculations.

2.4.1 Presidential rhetorics and national development

Development is one of the many English words that have been faced with definitional pluralism. This is because of the multifarious nature of contextual usage of the concept. It is used and applied in almost every facets of human life. Taken in its simplest form however, Marcellus (2009) describes development as the ‘improvement or to become more advanced, more mature, more complete, more organized, more transformed etc’ (p. 198). Rodney (1969), while relating

development to the individual, explains that, "... it implies increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being." This is also in line with Biddle and Biddle's definition of development as cited in Uji (2015, p. 9). According to them, development is a "social and personal change that moves towards consciously chosen goals'

From a broader perspective however, Todaro (1982) sees development as a multi-dimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social system. This involves in addition to improvement of income and output, radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes, customs and belief. Little wonder why Uji (2015) opines that it is a value word that is always normative especially that it is usually directed towards the objectives that people desired.

Available literature on development has tried to conceptualize the term as a process depicting an action or efforts made towards better living (Ohagwu, 2010; Gboyega, 2003; Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013; Chrisman, 1984; Joseph, 2014); and also as a product/state of humanity (Isiugo-Abanihe, Isamah and Adesina, 2002; Adekoya and Ajilore, 2012) as a result of deliberate human effort to better his/her lots in life; or as both process and state of humanity in relation to his/her environment. For instance, Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) assert that development could be seen as the process of empowering people to maximize their potentials and the ability to exploit nature to meet daily human needs. It can also be seen as a process by which quality of human lives and capacity to surmount daily needs are considerably improved. Chrisman (1984) echoes similar views, and defines development as a process of societal advancement, where improvement in the well-being of people is generated through strong partnerships between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. Still looking at development as a process, a move towards a better life, Ohagwu (2010) opines that development is not the same

thing as change, growth or modernization, but the nature, content and course of a society, it is the choice about goals for achieving the realization of human potential.

Conceptualizing development as both process and state of human existence, Gboyega (2003) describes development as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications, and that development implies improvement in material well-being of all citizens, not the most powerful and rich alone, in a sustainable way such that today's consumption does not imperil the future, it also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be removed or drastically reduced. Development therefore is a term that describes the output of human deliberate effort to improve his or her state of life, without neglecting the process of attaining such an outcome.

According to Adekoya and Ajilore (2012), development is the socio-cultural, political, economic and the spiritual well being of a society. In a truly developed state there is assurance of good quality of life, exercise of all human rights, and freedom to participate in the democratic process. From the foregoing, development implies enhanced quality of life, equity and justice, as it takes into consideration the wellbeing, growth and advancement of individuals within the society.

The objective of development according to Todaro and Smith (2003) as cited in Anaeto and Anaeto (2010) can be summed up into:

1. Increase availability and widen the distribution of basic life sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and protection.
2. Raise levels of living in addition to higher incomes, the provision of more jobs, better education, and greater attention to cultural and human values, all of which will serve not only to enhance material well-being but also to generate greater individual and national self esteem.

3. Expand the range of economic and social choices available to individuals and nation by freeing them from servitude and dependence, not only in relation to other people and nation states but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery.

Naomi (1995) believes that development is usually taken to involve not only economic growth, but also some notion of equitable distribution, provision of health care, education, housing and other essential services all with a view to improving the individual and collective quality of life. Little wonders why Joseph (2015) describes development as complex and multi-dimensional approach that entails qualitative and quantitative increase in the capacity, skills, creativity and general material well-being of individuals. Development is not just a matter of getting more money into the hands of the poor, but ensuring that increased production, and its resulting increased income, leads to an improved standard of living (Isiugo-Abanihe, Isamah and Adesina, 2002).

Contemporary studies/findings seem to be broadening the meaning of the concepts of growth and development or doing a total overhaul and redefinition of these concepts (Ibietan and Ekhosuehi, 2013). The definition of development tends to be moving away from economic indicators (of increase in GDP, GNP, per capita income and others) to non-economic indices such as the democratic imperatives of political governance and social indicators (Jhingan, 2007, p. 5-12). This also explains why Sen (1999) visualized development from the ends and means of freedoms. Because of the multi-dimensional nature of development therefore, the term is often attached with other adjectives to refer to the aspect of development being talked about. For instance, one could talk of economic development, political development, academic development, social development, technological development, and so on. However, when referring to a collective improvement in the state of things in a particular country, many prefer to call it national development.

National, according to Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2019), refers to an adjective that refers to something relating to an entire nation or country. National development therefore can be described as the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. The term national development is often applied in many contexts to mean a sustainable growth and development of a nation to a more desirable one. It is people oriented and its success is evaluated in terms of the impact it has had in improving the lot of the masses (Adekoya and Ajilore, 2012, p. 64). Similar argument was earlier advanced by the third national development plan of 1980 as cited in Adekoya and Ajilore (2012) when it says:

True development must mean the development of man, the unfolding and realization of his creative potentials, enabling him to improve his material conditions of living through the use of resources available to him. It is a process by which man's personality is enhanced, and it is that enhanced personality creative, organized and disciplined-which is the moving force behind the socioeconomic transformation of any society (p. 64).

In line with the above, Enahoro, cited in Onabajo and M'Bayo (2009) opines that national development should be man oriented and not institution oriented, that is, individually in collectiveness and not individual. To Elugbe, (1994), national development refers among other things, to the growth of the nation in terms of unity, education, economic well-being and mass participation in government. In another development, national development can be defined as the capacity of nation state to pull all its resources both human and material to achieve set objectives for the good of the state and the citizenry.

Most African countries, Nigeria inclusive, are still on the part of struggle to attain the desired level of national development and this is why they have been tagged third world, undeveloped, underdeveloped, or developing nations in most development literatures. Development therefore

remains one of the major challenges confronting Nigeria and indeed, other African countries in recent time. This is because the country has remained largely underdeveloped despite the presence of huge mineral and human resources. Several decades after the end of colonialism, Nigeria is still fighting with problems such as high poverty rate, lack of basic infrastructural facilities in all sectors of the economy, unemployment, high mortality rate, political instability and insecurity of lives and property (Ikenna, 2009). According to the United Nations human development report (2005), out of 177 countries, Nigeria ranked 158 in human development index, 165 in life expectancy at birth, 121 in combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment and 155 in GDP per capital. Recently, Suberu (2007, p. 96) also had reported that Nigeria ‘earned around US\$500 billion in oil revenues since the 1970s, yet remains mired in poverty, unemployment, a burgeoning domestic debt, infrastructural squalor, abysmal health and educational services, and attendant social frustration and unrest’.

In the view of Thirlwall (2003), developing countries are therefore characterized by their low level of capital accumulation, the dominance of agriculture and petty services, rapid population growth, exports dominated by primary commodities, unemployment, national income distribution, poverty weighted growth rate, lack of basic welfare needs, stages of development and structural change, industrialization and growth. In corroborating the above assertion, Diso cited in Adekoya and Ajilore (2012, p. 64), says ‘the structural and infrastructural problems, official corruption, unstable political and economic policies, growing insecurity, and unstable power supply are the major factors negating the course of development in third world countries.’

The spate of underdevelopment in Nigeria and by extension, other African countries has been a source of worry to many concerned citizens with bad governance and leadership fingered as some of the major challenges to national development. In the words of Lawal and Oluwatoyinm (2011, p. 240), ‘*Where there is no good governance, development becomes a mirage.*’ The pride

of any government therefore is the attainment of higher value level of development in such a way that its citizens would derive natural attachment to governance.

Expectedly, development remains one of the catch phrases for Nigerian past and current leaderships for winning electoral supports as well as one of the major reasons offered by military for their intervention in Nigerian politics. As such, Nigerian leaders from Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe/Alhaji Tafawa Balewa through the administration of General Yakubu Gowon, General Muritala Mohammad/General Obasanjo (both his military and democratic administrations), Alhaji Shehu Shagari, General Mohammadu Buhari, General Ibrahim Badamasu Babangida, Ernest Shonekan, General Sani Abacha, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, Alhaji Musa Yar'adua, Dr. Ebele Goodluck Jonathan, and to the sitting President Mohammad Buhari; have always articulated their thoughts and concerns on key national development issues in their various rhetorics.

In other climes where democracy has deepened, considerable portion of presidential rhetorics like the Inaugural and Handover speeches that this dissertation studied are usually respectively laden with promises and claims of different magnitude pertaining to different burning national issues. For instance, Humphrey (2014, p. 36) asserts that 'most Presidents present their vision of America and make their goals for the nation known in their inaugural address'. Similarly, since Handover speech ought to be the last formal speech the former President presents to the countrymen and women at the expiration of his or her tenure, he/she is expected to present a summary of his/her stewardship: 'achievements and failures, challenges faced, and the way forward, some suggestions for the in-coming government, and a thank you message to the entire citizenry'. It is often believed that in such political speeches, political leaders are able to influence the mental models, knowledge, attitudes and eventually the ideologies of the leaders (Van Dijk, 1993).

To this end, leaders across different democratic system depend on rhetorics to declare their intentions and strategies to address certain human needs and or to express their contributions to humanity while in office so as to win public supports and co-operation. In the same vein, people may depend on leaders' rhetorics to have a glimpse of their intentions and achievements before throwing in their supports or critiquing the administration. However, out of necessity and or desperation, leaders across the globe have had course to employ *rhetorics humanism*, demagoguery and irrational appeals to personal bias and self-interest usually to distract the people from reality and deceive them about the truth in the pursuit of narrow pleasures; *rhetorics idealism* that were meant to inspire people to pursue genuine virtue; and *rhetorics realism*, speeches meant to help sustain civic life by respecting the norms of the deliberative process; while pursuing their political end. How national development, being one of the major challenges of Nigeria and Africa at large is articulated in Nigerian presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015 remains the thrust of this study.

Considering the relevance of political speeches in advancing different concerns, scholarship have devoted time and resources to dissect political speeches (see Babatunde and Odegbedan, 2009; Okpanachi 2009; Sarcaceni, 2003; Ruud, 2003; Ayeomoni, 2005; Yusuf, 2002; Van Dijk, 1997; 2004), using different research approaches. Meanwhile, there appears to be relative dearth of scholarship on political leaders speeches pertaining to the development of the nation in relation to external reality using multi-variant approach as most earlier research efforts like Ayeomoni (2005); Yusuf (2002); Ayoola (2005); Adetunji (2009); Babatunde and Odegbedan (2009); and Okpanachi (2009); concentrated attention on discourse analysis or rhetorics strategies employed in the speeches studied, or pragmatic analysis, or semiotic analysis, to mention but a few, without any reference to how national development issues were raised and treated in relations to practice.

Generally also, scholarship has voiced concerns on the believability of political rhetorics (Thomson 2001; Naurin, 2011; Petry, 2014); however, where Nigerian Presidents stand on this strand remains shrouded in relative obscurity. To this end, this dissertation intends to comparatively evaluate presidential speeches in Nigerian democracy via the lens of national development, with the view to ascertain presidential commitment (promises and claims) to national development in words and in action since the nation returned to democratic rule in 1999.

2.4.2 Earlier studies on the evaluation of political promise-keeping performance

It is often said that promises are easier to make than to keep (Gneezy & Epley, 2014). For instance, even though Woodrow Wilson promised to stay out of World War I, Roosevelt promised the same for World War II, George Bush Sr. promised “no new taxes,” and President Goodluck Jonathan promised to attain full digitization of broadcast media in Nigeria by 2015; available records show that they were promises broken while still in office. However, across different climes, the claim that parties/politicians should carry out their election promises has been made repeatedly (Downs 1957, Friedrich 1963, Klingemann, Hofferbert and Budge 1994, Manin 1997, Schedler 1998), and scholarship has responded to this in many ways by looking at public opinion on parties/politicians’ promise keeping/breaking (Thomson, 2011), evaluation of political promises and political actions/inactions (Petry, 2014), whether citizens are sufficiently informed and engaged to assess their elected leaders on promise-keeping (Gidengil et al. 2004) and Why people think politicians and parties do not keep their promises (Nauri, 2002). In doing these, emphasis has always been on campaign promises generally.

Clearly, not all promises are broken. Promises can be kept, or even exceeded. Promise could be defined as a commitment to perform some specific action made by one person to another (Gneezy & Epley, 2014). Promises are different than having a belief or expectation about another’s behaviour because promises are inherently interpersonal, whereas a belief or expectation is intrapersonal. In political arena, promises could come at the point of political

campaign or upon taking oath of office when leaders project into the future and advance course of action for the newly constituted administration.

The drive for this study revolves around the fact that specific issues (including issues relating to national development) in most political commitments hardly receive specific attention not to talk of the fact that Inaugural speeches has received relatively little attention from similar studies even though such speeches by default, ought to contain the re-enactment of policy expectations of a particular party or politician upon assumption of office. Hence, the study evaluates the kind of commitments Nigerian Presidents make on national development in their Inaugural speeches and the extent to which they keep to such commitments since the dawn of uninterrupted democracy in the country in 1999.

Be that as it may, evidences from earlier studies on promise-keeping across the globe have revealed possible ways to ascertain the extent of promises keeping by parties/politicians which can be applied in a study of this nature. According to Naurin (2011), conclusion on whether a particular party or politician kept their promises can be measured by comparing their political campaign pledges and by extension, pledge rhetorics with subsequent government policies and actions (Petry, 2014).

Following Royed (1996, p. 79) as cited in Petry (2014) an election promise is a commitment made to carry out some actions, where an objective estimation can be made as to whether or not the action was indeed taken. Promises, in other words, must contain explicit testability criteria that are set up by the platform writers, not by the researcher (Thomson 2001, p.31). As with previous scholarly research, three rules are followed when comparing election (and any political commitment to action for that matter) promises with subsequent government actions.

1. First, to insure that the data analyzed are transparent and reliable, the focus is on promises contained in the officially sanctioned campaign platform of the party that wins the election.

2. Second, to prevent bias in the analysis of government actions, the focus is on official archival sources of government actions rather than mediated sources. Mediated sources are not always a reliable basis for validating whether a promise has been followed by a matching government action. Whether election promises have been fulfilled is assessed based on content analyses of laws and regulations, throne speeches and budget speeches, and annual reports from government ministries and agencies.
3. Third, the focus is on the decisions that policy makers make (outputs) rather than the effect of those policy decisions (outcomes). Promises on outputs are easier to identify and validate than promises on outcomes.

Going by the output analysis of promises keeping as recommended by Thomson (2001), Perty (2014) opines that promise could be rated as either “kept”, “kept in part”, “broken or stalled” or “too soon to tell”. To be classified as “kept”, a promise has to be followed by a subsequent government action (a law, a regulation, a treaty or an agreement) that has been passed or has reached second reading. For example, Trump’s promise to expedite ban on immigration can be declared kept because construction of border wall against unwanted nationals had long begun ever since he was sworn in January, 2017. A promise is rated ‘kept in part’ when the corresponding action is a compromise (the action is completed but it does not go as far as what was promised) or when it is ‘in the works’, that is, the promised action is not in force at the time of analysis, but is expected to be in force before the end of administration. A promise is classified as ‘broken’ when it is not followed by a government action, and there is little or no expectation that action will be taken any time soon.

However, in countries with long history of corruption as well as poor policy implementation and execution like Nigeria, output analysis may not present a true picture of leaders’ development achievements. This assertion is supported by the arguments of the protagonists of outcome analysis school of thought like Etzioni (1964), Senge (1990), and Walker (2015). This is

because, beyond development outputs, there is need to assess the actual changes in the areas penned down for improvement which the development outputs may only serve as means of achieving them. For instance, Walker (2015) argued that if the main goal was to impact poverty eradication, economic growth, and sustainable development, and capacity development was seen as a means to that end (output), then focusing exclusively on the latter might be seen as an instance of what Etzioni (1964) called “goal displacement,” the “mildest and most common form” of which “is the process by which an organization reverses the priority between its goals and means in a way that makes the means a goal” (p. 10). To further explain the indispensability of the outcome analysis in evaluating leaders’ development achievements, we leaned on Senge’s (1990) analogy. In the analogy, Senge lists “personal mastery” as one of the five disciplines which characterize a “learning organization,” and points out that people with high levels of personal mastery “focus on the desired result itself, not the ‘process’ or the means they assume necessary to achieve that result” (p. 164).

The outcome analysis seems to be consistent with the Correspondence Theory of Truth which postulates that a statement is said to be true if and only if it is consistent with available independent reality (see details under the theoretical framework section). Coming from this background therefore, this study proposed to undertake both output and outcome analysis in evaluating presidential commitment to national development within the period in question. In doing this, the study equally proposed comprehensive evaluation models in handling presidential rhetorics and performance in national development in developing countries like Nigeria.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study was primarily anchored on three theories: the Agenda Setting Theory, Coherence Theory of Truth and Correspondence Theory of Truth. The Agenda Setting Theory simply explains the capability of the President to set agenda on national development. However, as implied in the Normative Theory of Campaign, the President has the moral burden to pursue those national development areas he or she would have set as agenda in his rhetorics, including his Inaugural and Handover speeches. This means that the President can be assessed not only on whether he/she set considerable agenda on national development while in office but could also be judged whether he/she pursued and achieved the set national development goals and or whether his/her claims to have achieved such national development on which they set the agenda were false or true. This explains why this dissertation turned to the Coherence and Correspondence Theories of Truth to ascertain the truthfulness and otherwise of presidential rhetorics on national development from 1999 to 2015. The Coherence Theory of Truth specifically notes that the President could be considered to be truthful if he/she maintained high level of consistency in his rhetorics on national development, but false if he did not. The Correspondence Theory of Truth on the other hand opines that a President could be said to be truthful in his agenda on national development if and only if the development promise and claims correspond with independent development facts and reality. This means the understanding of presidential contribution to national development would be assessed in terms of the extent they to which they dominate presidential speeches, the level of presidential consistency in articulating those national development needs and the tangibility of the development claims.

2.5.1 The Agenda Setting Theory

The Agenda setting theory evolved from the works of scholars like Walter Lippman (1922), Cohen (1963) and Lang and Lang (1966). However, the theory became more popular following McCombs and Shaw (1972) studies. This is because they were the first to explore the theory empirically. They did this by examining the role of the media in the US 1968 presidential election. Since then, the theory has been a handy framework in the study of political communication (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006; Jennings & Miron, 2004).

The Agenda Setting Theory basically explains the process whereby the mass media highlight certain issues or problems as the most salient of the day (Murdock et al., 2003; Petts et al., 2001; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). It asserts that the media has the power to set agenda for the public and hold the media accountable for the pictures news audiences hold in their heads about certain issues or topics. It is the assumption of the theory that the level of attention the media gives to a topic or issues is directly relative to the level of importance the news audience attached to such issues or topic (McQuail, 2010, p.548). Through the agenda setting role of the media therefore, the media force attention to certain public issues (Ogbuoshi (2011, p.32). The media performs this function through the quantity or frequency of reportage; prominence given to the reports through headlines display, pictures and layout in newspapers, magazines, films, graphics or timing on radio and television; the degree of conflict generated in the reports; and cumulative media specific effects over time (Folarin, 1998).

This theory has however been extended to the study of political communication generally (Jones 2012; Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006; and Jennings & Miron, 2004) and three forms of agendas have often been studied and emphasized in most political communication in recent times. These include: the government agenda (which focused on the issues that were prioritized by the government), the news agenda (which focused on the issues that were

emphasized in the mass media), and the public agenda (which focused on the issues that were ranked as important by the public) (Manheim, 1994; Soroka, 2002; Jones, 2012). This study however focused on the government agenda. Although, there are three arms of government (the executive, legislature, and the Judiciary) that could set government agenda, this study specifically focus on presidential rhetorics as a measure of the broader Nigerian government agenda. Notably, the study chose to examine the presidential agenda instead of the parliamentary or judiciary agenda, because available scholarship demonstrated that the President is the 'principal instrument' for nationalizing policy debates (Schattschneider 1960, 14 as cited in Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2005, p. 127). Future research effort may shift focus to the parliamentary and judiciary agenda and or as well, combine them with the presidential agenda on national development, but in this study of presidential rhetorics on national development, the researcher focused on the presidential agenda only for manageability and clearer analysis.

This decision is premised on the level of power vested on the presidency in relation to the two other arms of the government in Nigeria. No other political actor has the same capability as the President to set the points of focus for other political actors in any given country (Jones, 2012, p.7). Past research like Kingdon (1995) equally shares similar view about the office and power of the President. According to the author, the President 'can single-handedly set the agendas, not only of people in the executive branch, but also of people in Congress and outside the government' (p.23). Also, scholars like Edwards & Barrett (2000); Neusdadt (1960); Baumgartner & Jones (1993), found that the presidential agenda have a significant influence on the congressional agenda; while Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw (2004); McCombs, Gilbert, & Eyal (1982); Wanta & Foote (1994) report that presidential agenda influence the news agenda; and Cohen (1997); Cohen (1995); Hill (1998) observe that presidential agenda equally influence the public agenda. Given such level of influence therefore, the presidential agenda is especially worthy of consideration in the realm of national development. In his dual role as commander-in-

chief and chief executive officer, the President has more power to affect Nigerian national development than any other political actor.

Although, research on presidential agenda-setting on specific issues like foreign policies (Jones, 2012; Coe & Neumann, 2011b; Horvit, Schiffer & Wright, 2008; Peake and Eshbaugh-Soha, 2008; Soroka, 2003; Peake, 2001; Wood and Peake, 1998; Andrade & Young, 1996; Wanta & Foote, 1994), and economy (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2005), abound, studies that has taken the visibility or invisibility of national development in presidential rhetorics into account appears to be lacking especially within Nigerian political climate. This is quite ironic because the country has always been regarded as underdeveloped nation since her independence in 1960 and had experimented with the military and civilian governments at different degree in the bid to drive the nation's development. That the current study aimed at interrogating this aspect of seemingly age-long neglected aspect of agenda setting studies in Nigeria is quite seminal.

The choice of the Agenda Setting Theory for the current study is premised on its ability to provide theoretical explanation to the national development agenda setting function of Nigerian Presidents from 1999 to 2015. Specifically, the current study relied on the Agenda Setting Theory for theoretical foundation and in searching for answers to research questions 1 and 2 as seen in chapter one. The two research questions basically were aimed at ascertaining the level of visibility given to national development related issues in both the presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches respectively. It is the assumption of this study therefore that the Presidents would be judged to have set national development as agenda in their Inaugural and Handover speeches if national development was frequently and or repeatedly mentioned; and not to have set national development as agenda if the issues were not frequently and or not repeatedly brought to the front burner in the sampled speeches.

However, beyond setting development agenda, Normative Theory of Campaign puts a moral burden on the President to implement the content of his rhetorics and anything to the contrary

could render the speech false (as seen in correspondence theory of truth). This means, the President has the obligation to follow the moral of “decency,” which requires him to: avoid setting agenda on national development which he knowingly cannot pursue (realism criterion); avoid setting agenda on national development which he does not intend to pursue (sincerity criterion); and avoid setting contradictory agenda on national development (consistency criterion). The only exceptions to these moral rules are the occurrence of unforeseen events (natural disaster, economic crisis, war, unanticipated shifts in public opinion) which allow a government to renege its moral obligation to drift away considerably from the earlier development agenda (Schedler 1998). And when such happens, it would be equally out of place for such President to claim to have pursued and or achieved such national development that he was forced by circumstance to jettison. To this end, this research put forward these questions: Did Nigerian Presidents from 1999 to 2015 avoid setting agenda on national development issues they knew they could not pursue or achieve? Did they avoid setting agenda on national development issues they did not intend to achieve and did not achieve from 1999 to 2015? Did they avoid setting contradictory agenda on national development issues within the period under review? To effectively answer the above questions and more, this dissertation further turned to the classical theories of truth (Consistency, Coherence and Pragmatic Theories of Truth). However, this study was limited to only two (Consistency and Correspondence) out of the three identified theories of Truth for insights as seen below. This is because they are the only ones that have direct bearing on the focus of this study.

2.5.2 The Correspondence Theory

It is one thing for the President to make national development an agenda within his/her political administration; it is another thing to be truthful in doing that. This falls within the purview of Correspondence and Coherence Theories of Truth.

The correspondence theory of truth is the oldest of the philosophical theories of truth that is built around intuitive appeal. The theory opines that a statement or proposition can be said to be true if it corresponds with the facts (Dunwoody, 2009). The correspondence theory of truth is often traced back to early works of ancient philosophers like Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato. For instance, scholars over the years have referenced Aristotle's well-known definition of truth which says: 'To say of what is that it is not, or of what is not that it is, is false, while to say of what is that it is, and of what is not that it is not, is true.' Virtually identical formulations can also be found in Plato (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2015).

The philosopher Bertrand Russell also advocates the correspondence approach stating that 'although truth and falsehood are properties of beliefs, they are properties dependent upon the relations of the beliefs to other things, not upon any internal quality of the beliefs. This leads us to the view that truth consists in some form of correspondence between belief and fact' (quoted in Velasquez, 2005, p. 446). According to Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, the traditional centrepiece of any correspondence theory is a definition of truth. Some simple forms of correspondence definitions of truth should therefore be distinguished ('iff' means 'if and only if'; the variable, 'x', ranges over whatever truth bearers are taken as primary; the notion of correspondence might be replaced by various related notions):

(1) x is true iff x corresponds to some fact

x is false iff x does not correspond to any fact

(2) x is true iff x corresponds to some state of affairs that obtain.

x is false iff x corresponds to some affairs that does not obtain.

The main positive argument given by advocates of the correspondence theory of truth is its obviousness. For instance, Descartes once explained that he has: ‘...never had any doubts about truth, because it seems a notion so transcendently clear that nobody can be ignorant of it...the word ‘truth’, in the strict sense, denotes the conformity of thought with its object’ (as cited in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2015). Even philosophers like Kant and William James whose overall views may well lead one to expect otherwise tend to agree. Kant: ‘The nominal definition of truth, that it is the agreement of [a cognition] with its object, is assumed as granted’. In the words of William James: ‘Truth, as any dictionary will tell you, is a property of certainty of our ideas. It means their ‘agreement’, as falsity means their disagreement, with ‘reality’ (Kant and William are as cited in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2015).

Owing to its acclaimed obviousness, correspondence theory of truth has assumed some level of popularity among scholars over the years with some empirical data to this effect like the *PhilPapers Survey* conducted in 2009; and Bourget and Chalmers (2014). Part of the *Philpapers’* survey targeting all regular faculty members in 99 leading departments of philosophy, reports the following responses to the question: ‘Truth: correspondence, deflationary, or epistemic?’ Accept or lean toward: correspondence 50.8%; deflationary 24.8%; other 17.5%; epistemic 6.9% (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2015).

The correspondence view of truth was dominant with no real opposition until the nineteenth century when it came under attack from pragmatists and idealists (Schmitt, 2004). Numerous critics therefore have observed that the trouble with the correspondence theory is that its key idea, correspondence, is just not made adequately clear. Even in the most favourable cases the required isomorphism between the structure of a proposition and that of the fact involves difficulties.

The idealists particularly objected to the notion of fact citing an instance that, when one says that something corresponds to reality or fact, one might find oneself asking, ‘How do I know if I am

perceiving reality or fact accurately? And what is reality or fact anyway?’ To this end, they argued that the apprehension of a fact was itself an act of judgment and perception and consequently, a belief held by an individual. Because objects in the world are not directly knowable, but mediated by the knower’s’ senses, they are only representations of objects in the world. Correspondence of beliefs with facts, they argued, was impossible to assess since facts were also beliefs (Dunwoody, 2009). This argument is what led to the coherence theory of truth, the idea that truth is assessed via consistency of belief (Schmitt, 2004).

The critique notwithstanding, correspondence theory of truth offers valid argument as to the truthfulness or falsity of presidential narratives on national development based on independent reality and as such is considered very relevant to this dissertation especially in explaining research objective four which was aimed at ascertaining the extent to which national development issues in the presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015 compares with the independent data on national development. In view of the increasing claims and counter claims in Nigerian political system that sometimes leave the electorates in confusion as to what to believe from their political leaders, there is need to empirically examine political office holders’ assertions in relations to objective national development reality beyond their rhetorics.

Another theory that explains political promise keeping in line with the normative theory of promise keeping is the mandate theory of election. This theory which comes from the positivist school of thoughts posits that political parties make specific pledges in their election platforms and they try to fulfil as many pledges as possible once elected in power. The theory predicts that the winning party carries through the platform on which it has been elected since the issues advocated by the party in government are the winning issues that contributed in getting the party elected in the first place. It is therefore rational for a utility-maximizing party to carry out its election promises or face retaliation by disappointed voters at the next election.

When normative theory of promise is examined alongside the Correspondence Theory of Truth, it then implies that when Presidents make a development related commitment in their rhetorics (speeches), they are morally expected to ensure that such commitments are redeemed as pledged. In the same vein, any claim to the actualization of development commitments is true if and only if the claim actually corresponds to development reality obtained from independent objective documents available to the researcher. So, when a President says for instance, ‘my administration will create millions of jobs,’ normatively, the President is under obligation to create that number of jobs and any claim to have done that could be taken to be true under the Correspondence Theory if and only if, the President actually created the number of jobs in question during his/her administration.

However, some scholars have argued that the knowledge of whether a political leader is truthful or not cannot be ascertained simply by comparing the claims with independent facts which in themselves are often subjective. To them, the truthfulness on any narrative on national development could be found in the level of consistency maintained in such rhetorics. This forms the basis of Coherence Theory of Truth.

2.5.3 Coherence Theory of Truth

The Coherence Theory of Truth as advocated by scholars like Blanshard (1939) and Rescher (1973), simply states that the truth of a representation consists in its coherence with other representations. In that, it differs from other theories of truth like Correspondence (which says truth must correspond with independent reality) and Pragmatic (that truth is closely connected with human experience and practice). According to this theory, truth must consist of some sort of relation between the representations that occur in human minds or artifacts and the world (Thagard, 2006). This means a true statement is that which cohere with other statements made within a particular form of life (Fernandez, 2009). In the words of Horwich as cited in Fernandez (2009):

A system of beliefs is said to be coherent when its elements are consistent with one another and when it displays a certain overall simplicity. In that case... the whole system and each of its elements are true. Thus truth is the property of belonging to a harmonious system of beliefs (p. 61).

The Coherence Theory of Truth is a theory that measures truths by their 'fit' within a given system (Bankowski 1988 as cited in Fernandez, 2009, p. 61). The theory holds that the truth of a judgment consists in its being a member of a comprehensive system of beliefs which is consistent and harmonious. The basic core of the *coherence theory of truth* is the conception that beliefs, judgments or whatever truth-bearers are taken to be are 'true or false according to whether or not they fit in – *cohere*, with the body of other beliefs (or whatever) that are true' (Johnson, 1992).

Relying on the knowledge of probability, scholars like Olsson (2002) and Shogenji (1999) established connections between coherence and truth by means of an intermediary connection between coherence and probability. That is, if propositions with greater coherence have higher probability, then such propositions are more likely to be true (Thagard, 2006). In this case, the probability could be viewed in terms of frequency and degrees of belief. Using the probability as the connection between coherence and truth therefore presupposes that there are links between (1) coherence and probability (degree of belief interpretation) and (2) probability and truth (frequency interpretation) (Thagard, 2006). This when taken within the context of this current study means that the level of consistency in presidential narratives on national development in both Inaugural and Handover speeches possibly points to the direction of truth or otherwise of the narratives.

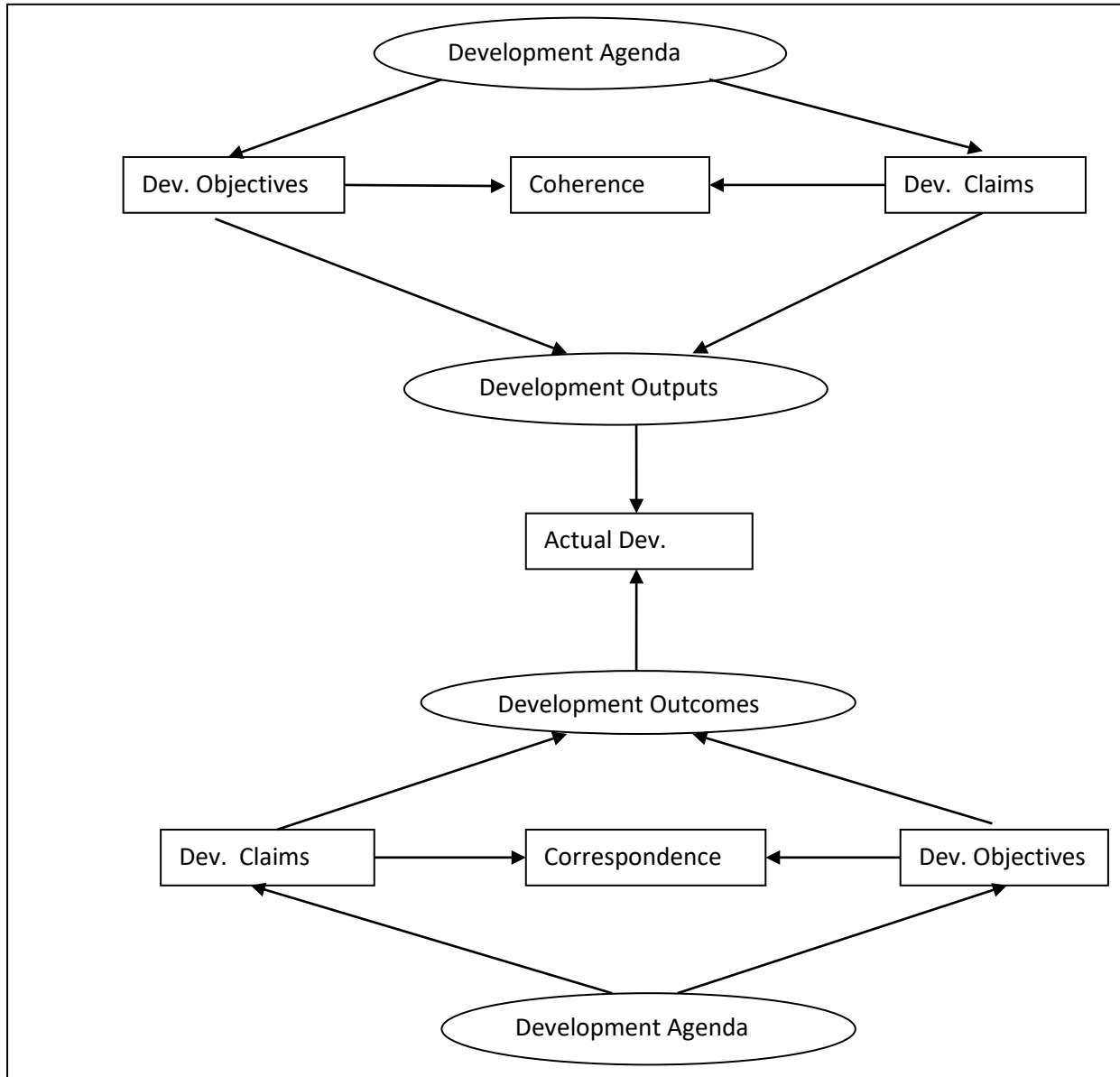
Coherence Theory has however been criticized for a number of reasons (Young, 2001), including internal contradiction. For instance, Fernandez (2009) opines that the *coherence* theory 'condemned itself to incoherence' by closing off any possibility of the commonsense response

that certain principles it holds are ‘not in fact our principles at all’. Other scholars point out that contrary to the some of the claims by some of the apostles of the Coherence Theory of Truth claims, there might be more than one coherent system, equally consistent, equally interconnected by mutual implication, and both of sufficiently wide scope (Johnson, 1992). It is equally argued that the coherence theory of truth ‘does not provide an adequate account of the nature of truth’ notwithstanding its redeeming features. A further criticism of the coherence theory of truth is ‘its refusal to endorse an apparently central feature of human conception of truth, namely the possibility of there being some discrepancy between what really is true and what people will (or should, given all possible evidence) *believe* to be true’ (Horwich, 1990).

The arguments against the Coherence Theory of Truth notwithstanding, the theory provides a clear insight into the understanding and analysis of research question three which aimed at ascertaining the level of disparity between national development objectives (as contained in the Inaugural speech) and the national development achievements claims (as seen in the Handover speeches) (see chapter one). A high level of consistency in the frequency of the number of sentences and national development themes found in presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches would suggest high possibility of truthfulness while a low level of consistency between presidential narratives on national development would suggest a low possibility of truthfulness.

The relationship between the objectives of the study and the agenda setting theory as well as the coherence and correspondence theories of truth can be represented diagrammatically as seen in the conceptual framework below:

Conceptual Framework



As seen in the conceptual framework, it was expected that the Presidents set agenda on national development by the frequency at which national development related sentences and themes appeared in the selected speeches; their promises on national development were expected to be consistent or cohere with their claims on national development; significant outputs would be put in place to drive the development objectives and generate the expected development outcomes.

2.6 Review of Empirical Literature

The extent to which government actions fulfil political commitments or promises as a theoretical issue has raised an important scholarly debate. It is also an empirical issue that raises methodological debates. Despite the relative pertinence of such a question in democratic society like Nigeria, from both normative and positive perspectives, there are surprisingly few studies addressing it. More scarce in the available literature as seen in this chapter are studies looking at the politicians/parties' commitment to pledges of any nature as contained in their Inaugural speeches as well as their claims to the achievement of same as it has been the norm with Handover speeches in most democracies.

As it relates to elections, research on the congruence between parties' pre-election policy commitments and subsequent government policies generally concludes that there is a higher level of congruence than citizens commonly believe. Election pledges are policy commitments made during election campaigns, the fulfilment of which can be tested by referring to the subsequent government's policy performance. Recent empirical research in general, found that between 50% and 80% of governing parties' pledges are fulfilled at least partly. Variation in pledge fulfilment can be explained by economic conditions and various power-sharing arrangements (Thomson, 2011).

For instance, in 2009, Sulkin looked at policy emphasis in campaigns. In this case, US Congressional candidates' emphases of different issues was the focus of the study, and found that this emphasis was correlated with relevant legislative activity once in office. These findings regarding thematic or issue emphases are certainly relevant to the program-to-policy linkage. However, one would argue that investigating the fulfilment of specific policy emphasis allows one a more fine-tuned analysis of such linkage. This therefore becomes the major point of departure between Sulkin's and the current study. Adopting pledge approach is quite straightforward: this study will identify development commitments and claims in presidential

rhetorics and evaluate the extent to which these pledges/claims are fulfilled using independent data. National development pledges/claims are commitments in presidential rhetorics to carry out or have carried out certain development policies or achieve certain development outcomes. These commitments are sufficiently detailed for researchers to test whether or not they were fulfilled after the election. With various adaptations, this approach has also been applied to other countries in published research: Canada (Pétry 2002), the Netherlands (Thomson 2001), Ireland (Mansergh 2004; Mansergh and Thomson, 2007; Costello and Thomson 2008), Spain (Artés 2013; Artés and Bustos 2008), Sweden (Naurin 2011; 2013), Italy (Moury 2011) and Bulgaria (Kostadinova 2013).

Generally, the question of whether parties keep their promises is also relevant to the widespread distrust of political parties. Citizens and experts generally hold negative views on the extent to which politicians keep their promises. The International Social Survey Programme conducted in 33 democracies in 2006 as reported by (Petry, 2014), contained an item that asked respondents whether they agree or disagree with the general statement that ‘People we elect as MPs try to keep the promises they have made during the election’. Respondents had five substantive answer categories from strongly agree to strongly disagree. In 31 of the 33 countries covered, more respondents disagreed with the statement than agreed with it. For instance, in the United States, 58.0 percent of respondents disagreed or disagreed strongly with the statement while only 21.9 percent agreed or agreed strongly. In the United Kingdom, 46.0 percent of respondents disagreed or disagreed strongly with the statement, while only 22.8 percent agreed or agreed strongly. Other comparative research also confirms that citizens hold negative views on pledge fulfilment (Naurin 2011; Thomson 2011).

In 2002, Naurin conducted a survey on why people think parties break their promises. The researcher specifically focused attention on importance of political involvement to peoples’ opinion about political promises. Like other earlier similar studies, Naurin (2002) was unable to

substantially and sufficiently explain why people think politicians and parties break their promises using political involvement. The inability to explain peoples' distrust in political actors is also shown in other quantitative research, and the same conclusion can be drawn from them. In the project 'Visions of Governance for the Twenty-first Century', where support for democratic values and actors are investigated, one of the impressions is that scholarship have not so far succeeded in finding the causes of peoples' distrust in political actors (Nye, Zelikow and King 1997, Norris 1999, see also Listhaug 1995). The project reports an impressive work on the diagnostics of the problem, as well as an important discussion on the causes and consequences of distrust. But when it comes to explaining the phenomenon more precisely, it is obvious that scholarship just scratch the surface. This is another area this current study partly tried to explore. Rather than focusing on the people to know why they distrust political leaders however, the study went beyond presidential outputs on any stated development theme to examine their actual impact (development outcome) on the society.

In a similar study in 2007, the Irish National Election Study (INES) asked respondents to rate the fulfilment of four pledges that had been made in the 2002 election campaign by one or both of the parties that went on to form the governing coalition in the period 2002–2007. The pledges they were asked about covered four of the policy areas that citizens generally report as being the most important: taxation, health care, education, and crime. The four pledges differed from each other in terms of the government's actual performance: one was fully fulfilled, two were partly fulfilled, and one was not fulfilled. These data allow one to examine the extent to which citizens' evaluations are congruent with actual policy performance.

Applying similar approach on citizens' evaluations of election promises in Ireland, Thomson (2011) shows that citizens are able to use information shortcuts to arrive at a correct diagnostic as to whether politicians keep their promises. For example, citizens who have more trust in political parties rate the fulfilment of election promises more positively than citizens who do not

trust political parties. Citizens identifying with the governing party rate the fulfilment of election promises differently from citizens with no party identification. Drawing on interviews in which Swedes were invited to explain what they mean when they say that politicians break their promises, Naurin (2011) argues that citizens form their perceptions of the promise-keeping performance of politicians based more on their daily experience and interactions with the broader political system than on an evaluation of what politicians actually say and do. Naurin's argument is reminiscent of other similar studies which highlight the fact that many citizens focus on their daily experiences, and not whether promises are fulfilled, in evaluating politicians' democratic performance.

This study shares commonality with Naurin's (2002, 2011), INES's (2007) and Thomson's (2011) studies in the area of promise keeping, but however differs in terms of focus and approach. The thrust of this study is not just to join these scholars in taking survey on what, when, where, how and or why people think politicians do (not) keep their campaign promises but to also content analyze presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches with the view to bringing out national development promises and claims within Nigerian context and testing same against historical data and statistics on national development performance in the country.

While carrying out a survey on *a tale of two perspectives: election promises and government actions in Canada* in 2014, Petry asked the Canadians to evaluate whether their political leaders keep their promises and reports that Canadians give them a bare passing grade and indicate that citizens' unfavourable evaluations of politicians as promise-keepers could be linked to their dissatisfaction with government responsiveness in their day-to-day contacts with government offices. This low rating is illustrative of the larger point made by other scholars that people (excluding political scientists and practitioners) have become fundamentally pessimistic about government responsiveness. On why political scientists and political practitioners give politicians a much more favourable score when asked the very same question, Petry's study

suggests that political practitioners and citizens use different criteria to evaluate whether politicians keep their promises- unlike citizens, political practitioners focus on a well-defined corpus of information related to specific promises, focus their attention on promise fulfillment as decisions (outputs), rather than outcomes (effect on the citizens); focus attention on those promises that can be reasonably achieved (Thomson 2001) rather than what citizens can gain personally from the politician.

In an online survey experiment of 13,000 Swedish in 2015, Naurin, Soroka and Markwat investigates whether pledge fulfilment was less important to individuals' evaluations of government performance than is pledge breakage, moderated by individuals' preferences regarding pledge contents. They find that broken pledges were more important to government evaluations than were fulfilled pledges and that treatment effects are moderated by 'partisan consistency' – the degree to which a pledge is in line with individuals' own partisan preferences. This is in line with existing work suggesting that governments suffer more for failures than they benefit from successes. Predictably, inconsistency leads individuals to punish fulfilment of the pledge; but consistency leads only to very marginal rewards. The end result is that government evaluations actually drop even when pledges are fulfilled. The study serves to highlight the fact that increasingly negative evaluations of governments over their time in office have to do not only with disapproval of policy failure, but also disapproval of the policies that have been successfully adopted. The study also shed light on why voters are so convinced that parties usually break their promises, while scholars repeatedly find the opposite (see for example Thomson 2001; Mansergh & Thomson 2007; Naurin 2014): voters appear to value breakage of a pledge more than fulfilment. Their findings point to the possibility that the 'pledge puzzle' (Naurin 2011) can be partly explained by the fact that broken pledges are seen as more important information than fulfilled pledges when individuals evaluate government. This makes good sense: if a party elected to do something, then doing it is part of the deal. It is not clear that governments should receive a bonus for doing what they said they would do.

Back home in Africa, specific studies on presidential speeches and national development have employed somewhat different research methods like critical discourse analysis, rhetorics analysis, pragmatic analysis, semiotic analysis, and linguistic appraisal analysis; towards answering set research questions.

Although Josiah and Johnson's (2012) comparative study; Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere's (2012) and Waya and Nneji (2013) studies focused on issues different from the direction of this study, the subject of study is invariably the same. While Ayeomoni et al employed pragmatics linguistic approach based on the Speech Acts theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) to identify the speech act features of selected Nigerian President Umar Musa Yar'Adua's victory and Inaugural speeches delivered in 2007, this current study employs content and historical analysis to examine the development contents of the speeches and others. Ayeomoni et al report that the President Umar Musa Yar'Adua relied more on sentences that performed assertive acts than other speech acts. This is because the President used sentences that were vindictive and directive to assert his authority and exercise his power as the President. The finding is re-enforced in similar study by Waya and Nneji in 2013 which focus on Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan 2011 Inaugural speech; and the Josiah and Johnson's (2012) comparative study of President Goodluck Jonathan's and President Barack Obama's Inaugural Addresses.

The Speech Act theory as a framework in the analysis of the speeches enables one to explore the language use of political leaders. This fact is confirmed by the speech acts that were manifested through the analysis (Josiah and Johnson, 2012; Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere, 2012 and Waya and Nneji, 2013). However, the inherent challenge in this methodology is the inability to say whether the action performed using speech act was actually carried out or not, hence the need for this current study which went beyond what leaders do with their words to what they actually did and how such deeds impacts on the actual development of the society in practicality.

Alo's (2012) analysis of political speeches of selected African leaders is significant and related to this study as well. In his study, he assessed political speeches of Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Thabo Mbeki (Southern Africa); Mwai Kibaki of Kenya (East Africa); John Evans Atta Mills of Ghana and Obasanjo of Nigeria (West Africa); as well as Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, North Africa; and Joseph Kabila of Democratic Republic of Congo and Paul Biya of Cameroon (Central Africa) with a view to ascertaining how African leaders persuade the African people on the expediency of various political and socio-economic policies and plans that are capable of enhancing African economic recovery and development using content analysis, critical-rhetorical analysis and socio-semiotic model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Alo's study suggests that African political leaders generally acknowledged the socio-economic problems of Africa and the need for change in their rhetorics.

This study focuses on the similar issue but differs from Alo's. While Alo evaluates African leaders' discourse on economic recovery and development in Africa, this study tries to find the nexus between presidential speeches and development by looking at presidential policy outputs and outcome on national development in Nigeria. This is in an attempt to bridge the identified research gap. There seems to be need to look beyond how development issues are framed/conceptualized in presidential speeches to finding out how much, African Presidents were committed to those areas of development they identified in their own speeches. It is only through this method one can say with some level of certainty whether African leaders, and indeed, Nigerian leaders, understand the urgency in the need for development in the continent and their level of commitment rather than mere promises or claims. This dissertation is therefore a break away from what Alo and other scholars of such likes have done as it strives to address the above concerns that had been left partly undone in the available literature.

2.7 Summary of Literature Review

It is clear from the literature reviewed that political leaders usually employ political speeches in the bid to make their political objectives and achievements known to their subjects, using different rhetorical mechanisms. These means, one can rely on presidential speeches for the collection of developmental promises and claims as this dissertation set out to achieve.

Despite the relevance of presidential speeches to the growth and development of democracy in Africa and Nigeria in particular, and in helping the populace to fathom out the policy thrust of every leader in a democratic system of government, available scholarship suggests relative limited studies in this emerging field of communication studies, a feat that seems to set this current study apart from the earlier ones so reviewed. Specifically:

- There appears to be relative dearth of scholarship that explores the national development contents of presidential speeches in Nigeria;
- There seems to be relative scarcity of local scholarship on promise-keeping by Nigerian or African leaders and claims verification. Even in other climes where scholarship tried to interrogate leaders promise-keeping and performance, emphasis are often on campaign related messages rather than Inaugural and Handover speeches as this study undertook;
- There seems to be lack of sufficient scholarship exploring the nexus between political communication and national development in Nigeria and Africa at large. Besides, it is relatively novel for a single study to combine both development output and outcome analysis on presidential commitment to national development as this current study appeared to have done. That is trying to ascertain whether leaders keep their promise by looking beyond the policy outputs (policies, legislation, budgetary provision, etc) to development outcome (actual impact on the nation's development).

- As also seen in the literature, earlier studies had predominantly employed critical discourse analysis, speech act analysis, rhetorical analysis, pragmatic analysis, semiotic analysis, historical analysis among others. However, the use of triangulation method (combination of content analysis in conjunction with historical analysis) in a single study of political speech as done in this dissertation appears very novel and relatively scarce.
- Even though many studies had applied Agenda Setting Theory in the study of presidential speeches, such research efforts as seen in this current study also appears novel within Nigerian political communication context;
- Going through the available literature also, it is glaring that studies that have subjected Coherence and Correspondence Theories of truth to empirical test especially within political communication parlance seem to be relatively few in number and limited in scope.

The final picture that emerges from the literature reviewed thus far shows that research into the nexus between political rhetorics and performance remains disjointed and inconclusive. And even when it was established that any link exists between political rhetorics and political performances, scholarship tends to differ on the nature of relationship. This study therefore was an effort to add to the growing body of knowledge on political communication and national development by taking a somewhat seemingly holistic approach capable of filling the identified research gaps.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This dissertation interrogated political rhetorics in Nigerian democracy in relation to the nation's development over a period of sixteen (16) years. It sought to ascertain the dominant national development needs raised in the Inaugural speeches; dominant national development needs claimed to have been met by the Presidents in their Handover speech; the disparity in the stated development objectives in presidential Inaugural speeches and stated development achievements in presidential Handover speeches, and the congruence between presidential speeches on national development and independent data on development from 1999 to 2015. The study therefore adopted quantitative and qualitative research designs. Jensen (1991, p.5) as cited in Dunu (2008), explains that “quantitative and qualitative approaches can be complementary and, taken together, can provide additional insights into particular cases”.

This chapter is therefore divided into subsections including research design, area of study, study population, sample and sampling procedure, data collection instrument, measureable variables, pre-test and validation of research instruments and data collection, as seen below.

3.1 Research Design

This dissertation combined two research methods- content analysis and historical method. Because the study addresses multiple qualitative and quantitative elements of political rhetorics and national development, the research methods were selected to complement one another, and to allow for triangulation, which ‘reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question... [It is] a strategy that adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 8).

The content analysis was designed to enable the researcher ascertain the preponderance or otherwise of specific national development issues in the selected speeches as well as differences in the attention given to development related issues by the selected administrations in Nigerian democratic presidencies. The method provided the researcher with a systematic element to data analysis and allowed the researcher to associate an analysis of the frequency of the themes with one of the whole content. The historical analysis was also considered appropriate in this study considering the fact that the study is a reflection on the Nigeria's development under the 16 years uninterrupted democratic rule (1999 to 2015). As such, the researcher relied on historical documents, incidents/happenings and facts for the understanding of national development outputs and outcomes in relation to presidential rhetorics within the study period.

3.2 Area of Study/Population of Study

The universe of this study consisted of all the three past Nigerian democratically elected Presidents from 1999 to 2015 (Olusegun Obasanjo, Umar Musa Yar'adua and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan) as well as their 35 political speeches (Inaugural, democracy day, independence day, and Handover, speeches) within the four democratic regimes under study. The study area consisted of the entire country (Nigeria). This is because the topic under investigation is of and covers Nigeria as a whole.

3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

The sampling frame consisted of all the 2 Handover and 5 Inaugural speeches delivered between May 1999 to May 2015. The seven speeches and the Presidents who made the speeches are as follows:

Table 1: Sample Frame of Presidential Speeches from 1999 to 2015

Year	President	Inaugural Speech	Handover Speech	Total
1999	Obasanjo	1	Nil	1
2003	Obasanjo	1	Nil	1
2007	Obasanjo	Nil	1	1
2007	Yar'adua	1	Nil	1
2010	Jonathan	1	Nil	1
2011	Jonathan	1	Nil	1
2015	Jonathan	Nil	1	1
Total		5	2	7

Because of the exploratory nature of this research, the researcher employed census sampling technique. As seen in the table 1 above, the researcher carried out a census of the 7 relevant presidential speeches in Nigeria within the study period (1999 to 2015). This includes all the 5 Inaugural speeches and the 2 Handover speeches. Ordinarily, there were supposed to be 4 Handover speeches within the study period. However, because of political exigencies, only 2 were available. Technically, only two Presidents (Obasanjo and Yar'Adua/Jonathan) ruled within the 16 years and did not present any formal Handover note at the end of their first tenures since both Presidents at those times handed over to themselves. To this end, there was no formal Handover note in 2003 when former President Olusegun Obasanjo was re-elected for the second term; no formal Handover speech in 2011 also when former President Goodluck Jonathan was re-elected at the expiration of his mandate with Late President Yar'Adua to continue for the second term. However, the Inaugural speeches of 2003 and 2011 also contained a reflection on the previous administration. The Inaugural and Handover speeches were selected because they are the only set of speeches that are primarily meant to outline the administration's goals, objectives, aspirations or focus for the four-year term (as in Inaugural speeches) or that primarily

contain the administration's recount of its achievements and challenges over the space of the four-year rule (as in the Handover speeches).

Other documents like World Development Indicator Databank, Nigerian Budget and Transparency International, etc formed part of the sample for this study. These documents were selected because of their relevance. They were selected using snowball sampling techniques. That is to say the content of the selected seven political speeches determined the next documents that were consulted at different stages of the study.

3.4 Research Design–Content Analysis

This study employed both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The quantitative content analysis was considered appropriate for this study because it is a systematic objective and quantitative procedure devised to examine the manifest content of recorded information including political speeches (Ajala, 1999). According to Neuendorf (2002) 'content analysis has been a fast-growing technique in the world of quantitative research... used in many fields as an effective instrument to achieve research goals' (p. 1). Besides, content analysis is a viable research design in that it conforms to the basic principle of research method of objectivity and generalization (Prasad, 2010, p. 134); and enables the researcher to describe communication contents among others (Adepoju, 2003, p. 140). The choice of content analysis was predicated on the belief that quantitative content analysis is the most appropriate method for establishing the general pattern of political communication content. This approach enabled the researcher to establish, among others, the preponderance of particular national development issue or theme, and also to ascertain the direction, how development related issues were raised in the selected presidential speeches. This research design also helped to determine areas of difference in the development content of different presidential rhetorics on national development by past Nigerian Presidents from 1999 to 2015.

The speeches analyzed in this study therefore include the Inaugural and Handover speeches of the selected Presidents from 1999 to 2015. Presidential speeches (both Inaugural and Handover) are forms of political communication that are laden with intentions and achievements. During swearing-in ceremony, Presidents in democratic system outline their goals and set direction for the government in their Inaugural speeches and at the end of every political dispensation, most Presidents sign off amidst cheers and would read out wonderful hand over notes stating different achievements that may or may be at variance with the set goals and the actual national development reality. Based on different criteria earlier outlined in this chapter, seven speeches (5 Inaugural and 2 Handover speeches) were selected for analysis.

This research method sought to establish among others the:

- Preponderance of national development issues in the selected speeches;
- National development issues most frequent in the speeches;
- Congruencies between national development issues raised in the Inaugural speeches and that of the Handover speeches; and
- Disparities between national development issues raised in the Inaugural speeches and that of the Handover speeches.

The time frame for the study was 16 years of continuous democratic governance in Nigeria which is 1999 to 2015.

While employing qualitative content analysis, the researcher relied on thematic analysis of development contents of the selected speeches. Qualitative (thematic) content analysis is a type of qualitative research method that is used to analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data. It illustrates the data in great detail and deals with diverse subjects through interpretations (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic Analysis was considered appropriate for this study since it also sought to discover using interpretivism. The approach provided the research with a systematic element to data analysis. It also allowed the researcher to associate an

analysis of the frequency of themes with one of the whole content. This invariably conferred accuracy and intricacy and enhanced the research's whole meaning (Alhojailan, 2012). Thematic Analysis gives an opportunity to understand the potential of any issue more widely (Marks and Yardley, 2004). Through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provided this study with a flexible and useful research tool, which provided a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data generated on national development (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Namey et al. (2008) say:

Thematic moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas. Codes developed for ideas or themes are then applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis, which may include comparing the relative frequencies of themes or topics within a data set, looking for code co-occurrence, or graphically displaying code relationships, (p.138).

In all, thematic Analysis allowed the researcher to determine precisely the relationships between concepts and compare them with the replicated data. By using thematic analysis in this study, it was possible to link the various national development issues identified in the speeches and compared them with the data that were drawn from independent development data sources. In a nutshell, qualitative (thematic) content analysis was employed in this study to ascertain the:

- The dominant national development themes raised in the selected Inaugural speeches;
and
- The dominant national development themes raised in the selected Handover speech.

3.4.1 Coding instrument

The instrument used for eliciting data in this dissertation is the coding sheet which was specifically designed for the purpose of this study. Numerical codes were assigned to each content category (as discussed in section 3.4.2)

3.4.2 Content category

The manifest contents of the selected speeches were coded and analyzed based on the following categories:

Category 1 Sentence ID: This referred to the serial numbers attached to each of the sentences to be coded starting from 1 and ending with the last sentence. However, this was automatically generated by default since the researcher used the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet.

Category 2: Speech Type: All the sentences were coded into either Inaugural or Handover speeches:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| i. Inaugural Speech | 1 |
| ii. Handover Speech. | 2 |

Category 3: President: All the sentences were coded according to the President that delivered the rhetorics starting from 1 to 3 as seen below:

- | | |
|---|---|
| i. President Olusegun Obasanjo | 1 |
| ii. President Umar Musa Yar'Adua/Goodluck Ebelle Jonathan | 2 |
| iii. President Goodluck Ebelle Jonathan | 3 |

Category 4: Year: The year in which the speech was made were coded under this category

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| i. Year 1999 | 1 |
| ii. Year 2003 | 2 |
| iii. Year 2007 | 3 |
| iv. Year 2010 | 4 |
| v. Year 2011 | 5 |
| vi. Year 2015 | 6 |

Category 5: Rhetorics Commitments: Sentences were coded based on their central theme or meaning as to whether the sentences is on national development or other issues

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|
| i. | National Development Sentence | 1 |
| ii. | Non-National Development Sentence | 2 |

Category 6: Rhetorics Theme: What was the President’s position on the development issue raised?

- | | | |
|-------|--|----|
| i. | National Development Promise | 1 |
| ii. | National Development Claim/Praise | 2 |
| iii. | National Development Blame | 3 |
| iv. | National Development Denial | 4 |
| v. | National Development Excuse/Complaints | 5 |
| vi. | National Development Confirmation | 6 |
| vii. | National Development Advice/Opinion/Suggestions | 7 |
| viii. | National Development Appreciation (felicitatation/salutation/thanks) | 8 |
| ix. | Mere National Development Rhetorics | 9 |
| x. | Can’t tell | 10 |

3.4.3 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis for content analysis design in this dissertation was sentence. The speeches were broken down into sentences for onward analysis. A sentence is a group of words that express a complete meaning which could be a statement, question, exclamation or command and it is often demarcated by a full-stop.

3.4.4 Inter-coder reliability

To ascertain the inter-coder reliability for this dissertation, coefficient of reliability was employed. Two coders (the researcher and one other trained research assistant) did the coding of the data needed for the completion of this study. Therefore, the inter-coders reliability was tested using the Coefficient of Reliability formula as proposed by Holsti, (1969), cited in Poindexter and McCombs, (2000) thus:

$$C.R = \frac{2m}{N_1+N_2}$$

C.R = Coefficient of reliability

m = Number of coding decisions agreed on

N = Total number of coding decision made by each coder

$$\begin{aligned} C.R &= \frac{2(41)}{46+49} \\ &= \frac{82}{95} = 0.86 \text{ or } 86\% \end{aligned}$$

Decision Rule: Accept C.R and continue coding if C.R is ≥ 0.8 or 80%

3.5 Qualitative Design- Historical Research Method

The last objective of this study, the correspondence between national development issues in the presidential speeches and independent data on national development calls for a reflection on the past development outputs and outcomes under each of the various administrations under study. In doing this, historical research method became a tool in hand.

Historical research, sometimes referred to as historiography, means investigation of elements from history (Berg, 2012). Kerlinger (1972, p. 673) defines historical research as critical investigation of events, development and experiences of the past, careful consideration of past testimonies from the perspective of information sources validity and subsequent interpretation of

the concerned testimonies. It differs from other scientific activities only by the subject matter which is hard to capture – the past – and especially by a difficult task of interpretation influenced by the nature of the unique subject matter (Špiláčková, 2012). The justification for the application of historical research method in this dissertation could be traced to the very objectives of the research method: to ascertain and describe history of Nigerian national development activities or events by means of scientific processes.

In specific terms, the application of historical research in this dissertation served in searching for development outputs (efforts like legislation, policy formulation, programme, budgeting, etc) in the development areas identified by past Presidents whose consequences reached up to present state of national development in the country. It also entails the determination of the development outcomes (the resultant effect of the said development output on the nation)

3.6 Data Collection Phases

Data collection for this dissertation was conducted in four phases. In the first phase, the researcher deconstructed the selected speeches to ascertain the stated development promises and claims using quantitative content analysis. The second phase was the application of qualitative (thematic) content analysis to ascertain specific national development themes raised in the speeches for thorough analysis. The third was the employment of the historical analysis to gather development outputs (laws, policies, programmes, budgeting, etc) designed to achieve stated national development goals. The fourth phase entailed the collection of development outcomes from specific independent documents like the World Development Indicator Databank and Transparency International (TI).

3.7 Method of Data Analysis/Model

The dissertation employed the descriptive statistics like the frequency and percentage table as well as charts and graphs in the analysis of the quantitative aspects of the data generated. This was done in order to obtain comparative frequencies and percentages in the initial analysis. The descriptive thematic method (thematic analysis of categories to extract meaning) and interpretivism were applied for the analysis of qualitative data. Interpretivism is a post-structuralist research paradigm in which social reality or the social world is understood by a researcher from the subjective experiences of individuals (the researched), and the task of the former (researcher) is to present a narrative that as much as possible represents the informed understanding of the collective subjective experiences, views, and perspectives of the researched (Walsham, 1995; Chowdhury, 2014; and Elster, 2007). In interpretivism, primary data collection is conducted using such qualitative methods as interviews, content analysis, historical analysis, FGD and observation methods.

The extent of disparity in the development objectives stated in presidential Inaugural speeches and development achievements stated in presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015 was analyzed using the *Simple Percentage Difference (SPD) Model* and the *Average Disparity Rate (ADR) Model* that were designed by the researcher specifically for this study. In the same vein, the correspondence between the presidential rhetorics and performance on national development were analyzed using the *Weighted Average Development Model (WADAM)* also designed by the researcher for the purpose of the said analysis.

3.7.1 Simple Percentage Difference Model (SPDM):

The following Simple Percentage Difference Model (SPDM) was used for the calculation of the disparity rate between the number of sentences (as seen in the quantitative data) used by Nigerian past Presidents in their expression of national development objectives/promises and national development achievements/claims. The model says:

$$SPD = \frac{X-Y}{\frac{X+Y}{2}} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

Where SPD= Simple Percentage Difference

X= Number of sentences on national development promises/objectives

Y= Number of Sentences on national development achievements

Decision Rule: The case of disparity is established if the simple percentage difference between the number of sentences the President used to express his national development objectives and achievements is equal to or greater than 50%. This means, the lower the SPD, the higher the level of consistency and coherence; and the higher the SPD, the lower the level of consistency and coherence.

3.7.2 Average Disparity Rate Model (ADRM)

On the other hand, the disparity rate for the qualitative data was calculated using the average disparity rate (ADR) model. ADRM is the mean score of the individual disparity rate of the four administrations under study. Disparity rate is the percentage of the difference between the total national development themes (all development objectives and development achievement themes put together without repetition) and the total development themes that are common to both national development objectives and national development achievements.

$$ADR = \frac{\sum DR}{\sum AD}$$

Where ADR= Average disparity rate

DR= Disparity rate

AD= Administration

$$DR = \frac{X-Y}{X} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

Where DR= Disparity rate

X= total national development themes (both objectives and achievements without repetition)

Y= total development themes that are common to both national development objectives and national development achievements

Decision Rule: A high disparity rate expressed in percentage is an indication of high inconsistency or lack of focus on the part of Nigerian Presidents while a lower disparity rate is a positive sign that Nigerian President stuck to their development objectives/promises while in office.

3.7.3 Weighted Average Development Analysis Model (WADAM)

In the same vein, the extent to which national development issues in the presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015 corresponded with the independent data on national development was ascertained using the *Weighted Average Development Analysis Model (WADAM)* that was designed by the researcher specifically for this purpose. WADAM is a form of analysis that takes into consideration the overall development efforts and performance of specific presidential administration. The Weighted Average Development Analysis was applied as follows:

$$cWADA = \frac{\sum TCD}{\sum VL}$$

Where:

cWADA= Cumulative Weighted Average Development

TCD= Total Contribution to Development

VL= Promise/Claim Viral Load (this is equal to 20 or 10).

Note that: Promise/claim viral load is equal to 20 or 10. This is because the expected normal development is equal to 5 (i.e $100 \div 20 = 5$). The viral load is equal to 20 if the development

theme appears as both promise and claim but equals to 10 when it appeared as either promise or claim only. This is because, when the President makes a promise to address an area of the nation's development needs and also go ahead to make claims to have actualize such promise, he/she expresses a higher level of optimism and imply 100% assurance. However, when it appears as either promise or claim, it is a weaker statement that implies some level of uncertainty and we expect a weak performance of 50%.

Total Contribution to Development (TCD) is calculated thus:

$$\text{TCD} = \frac{\sum \text{CD}}{\text{TNI}}$$

Where: CD = Contribution to Development in each of the selected indicators

TNI = Total Number of Indicators

Contribution to Development (CD) is the percentage of the difference between the development level of the base (Inaugural) year and the last (the Handover) year

=

$$\frac{\frac{X-Y}{X+Y}}{2} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

Where X= development level of the base (Inaugural) year.

Y= development level of the last (Handover) year.

Also note that:

$$\text{iWADA} = \frac{\text{TCD}}{\text{VL}}$$

Where:

iWADA= Individual Weighted Average Development

TCD= Total Contribution to Development

VL= Viral Load

$$gWADA = \frac{\sum iWADA}{\sum P}$$

Where:

gWADA= General Weighted Average Development

iWADA= Individual Weighted Average Development per
development theme

P= Total number of President who made commitment to
the specific development theme

Decision Rule: The WADA model measures the extent to which the promise or claim was compatible with the independent reality as espoused in the Correspondence Theory of Truth. The benchmark to ascertain whether the President kept their national development promises or were truthful in their claims to have contributed to national development is ≥ 2.5 . This simply means that for every development promise or claim made, we expected that at the end of the administration, the President should have made not less than 50% contribution to what was existing in the specific development area(s) (as indicated by the selected independent data) at the expiration of his tenure. This was because we live in an imperfect world where things may not ordinarily go according to our plan or expectations.

To this end, the following decisions were made

1. The Presidents were said to have collectively kept their cumulative promises or truthful in their cumulative national development claims iff (if and only if) the cWADA test result was ≥ 2.5 (equal to or greater than 2.5).
2. The Presidents were said to have collectively kept their specific promises or truthful in their specific national development claims iff (if and only if) the gWADA test result was ≥ 2.5 (equal to or greater 2.5).

3. The President was said to have kept his overall national development promises or truthful in his overall national development claims iff (if and only if) the iWADA test result was ≥ 2.5 (equal to or greater than 2.5).

Based on the calculation, the development performance of each of the past Presidents were rated as follow:

Less than -1	is very low contribution to underdevelopment
-1 to -2.4	is low contribution to underdevelopment
-2.5 to -3.4	is moderate contribution to underdevelopment
-3.5 to -5	is high contribution to underdevelopment
Above -5	is very high contribution to underdevelopment
0	is no contribution to development
Less than 1	is very low contribution to development
1 to 2.4	is low contribution to development
2.5 to 3.4	is moderate contribution to development
3.5 to 5	is high contribution to development
Above 5	is very high contribution to development

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The study utilized two research methods-content analysis and historical analysis. Therefore, the presentation of the data was in two parts: starting with the presentation of data resulting from the content analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) and then followed by the data from the Historical Analysis (both output and outcome analysis). As stated in Chapter One, this study sought to ascertain the development objectives and claims made in Nigerian presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015 as well as the extent to which those objectives and claims cohered with one another and as well corresponded with available independent national development indicators.

4.1 Presentation and Analysis of Quantitative Content Analysis Data

A total of seven (7) (5 Inaugural and 2 Handover) speeches were coded in all (see table 1, chapter three). Recall that there was no formal Handover note in 2003 when former President Olusegun Obasanjo was re-elected for the second term; no formal Handover speech in 2011 also when former President Goodluck Jonathan was re-elected at the expiration of his mandate with Late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua to continue for the second term. However, the Inaugural speeches of 2003 and 2011 performed dual function- a reflection on the preceding administration and an expression of future expectations. This section therefore presents an analysis of the quantitative data generated from the selected presidential speeches.

The quantitative content analysis was designed to identify the manifest national development contents of the selected speeches and to ascertain the frequency of occurrence of such contents.

The unit of analysis for this work is a sentence as contained in all the speeches. A sentence as previously defined is a group of words that express a complete meaning which could be a statement, question, exclamation or command and it is often demarcated by a full-stop or exclamation mark or question mark. In analyzing the data, we first started with the presentation of the frequency and length of the samples speeches to ascertain the dominant form of speech (Inaugural or Handover) and the variations in their length.

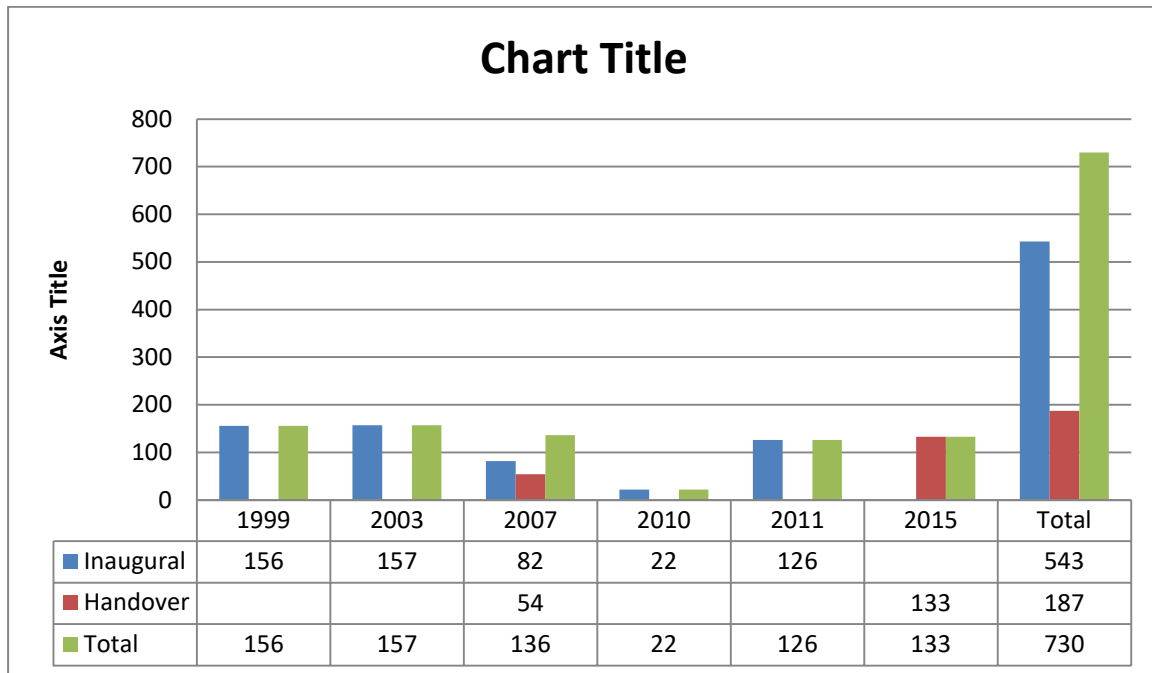


Figure 1: Distribution of Frequency and Length of the Speeches

The data in figure 1 show an uneven distribution in the frequency of the speeches. According to the figure, there were more Inaugural speeches (71.4%, 5 out of 7) than Handover speeches (28.6%, 2 out of 7). Majority, 545 (74.4%), of the 730 sentences used were found in the Inaugural speeches with an average of 108.6 sentences per speech; while only 187 (25.6%) of the 730 sentences were found in the Handover speeches with an average of 93.5 sentences per speech. The variation in the frequency of Inaugural and Handover speeches resulted from the fact that there were more Inaugural speeches (5) than Handover speeches (2) sampled. This is because there was no Handover speech by any elected President in 1999 when the military government of General Abdulsalami Abubakar handed over power to the elected President

Olusegun Obasanjo. Similarly, there were no formal Handover speeches in 2003, 2010, and 2011 when the incumbent Presidents were re-sworn-in to either complete their second terms, or to complete Late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua's 2007 mandate as was the case in 2010. That more sentences were used in the Inaugural speeches than the Handover speeches on the average could be understood within the context that Inaugural speeches contained the Presidents' intentions and roadmap for their administrations while that of the Handover were more of the summary of the Presidents' stewardship within the four or eight years in office as the case may be.

Among the five Inaugural speeches sampled, President Obasanjo's 2003 was the longest with 157 sentences (28.7% of the 543 sentences), while President Jonathan's 2010 was the shortest with 22 sentences (4.1% of the 543 sentences). The brevity of President Jonathan's 2010 Inaugural speech could be understood within the context of the state of the nation at that period. It was delivered while the nation was mourning the death of his predecessor (late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua) and such occasion often calls for a brief rhetorics.

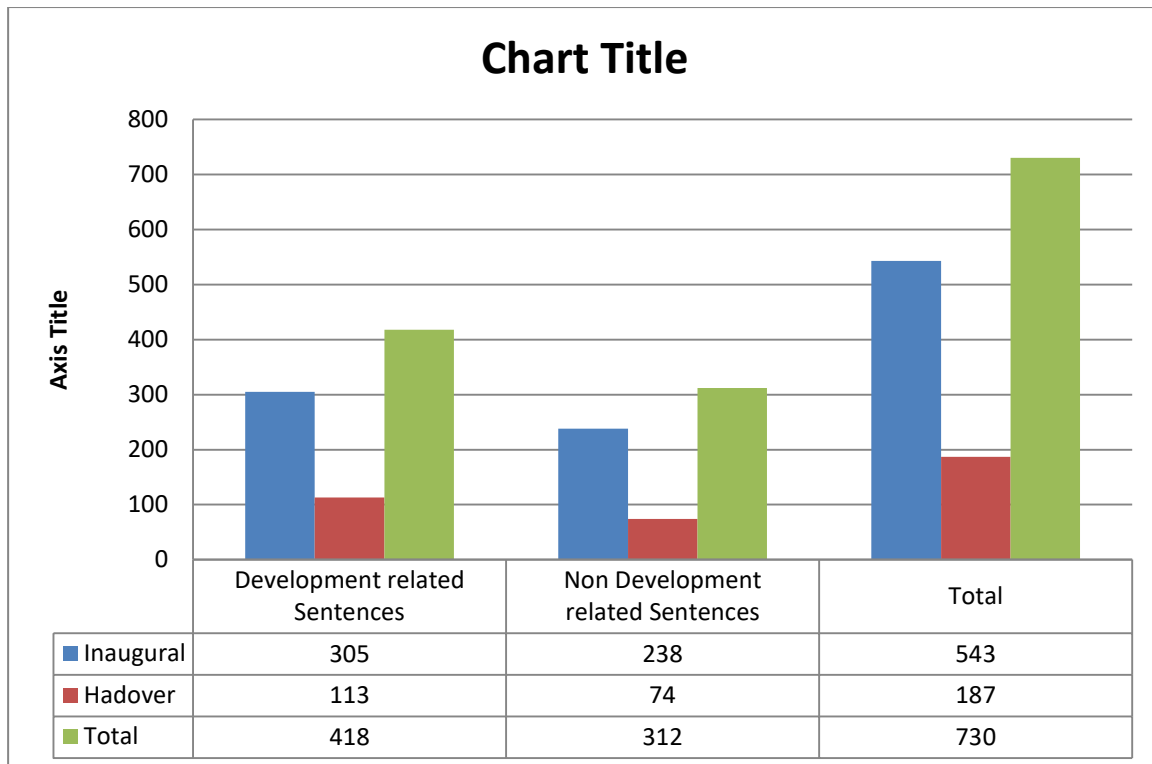


Figure 2: Frequency of National Development related Sentences Used in both Inaugural and Handover Speeches

Figure 2 illustrates the frequency of national development related sentences in both the Inaugural and Handover speeches. As earlier noted in chapter three, a sentence was coded under national development if it talked about change (positive or negative) in the wellbeing of the public or the nation in general; and classified non-development issue when it contained anything other than the aforementioned. According to the data in figure 2, majority of the 730 sentences in both the Inaugural and Handover speeches, 418 (57.35%) were related to national development while only 312 (42.7%) were non development related. In the same vein, national development related sentences dominated the 5 Inaugural speeches with 305 (56.2% of the 543) sentences as against only 238 (43.8%) non development related sentences. Also, national development related sentences dominated the 2 Handover speeches with 113 (60.4% of the 187 sentences) as against 74 (39.6%) non development related sentences.

Generally and expectedly, one can infer from the data in figure 2 that national development related issues were dominant content of both Inaugural and Handover speeches. This supports the existing literature which asserts that Presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches were forms of rhetorics used by leaders in outlining their leadership roadmap and recounting their stewardship respectively on the prevailing societal needs and aspirations per time (Lim, 2002; Agbogun, 2011). The finding also suggests a strong awareness of the national development needs among Nigerian Presidents between 1999 and 2015 and supports Alo's (2012) assertion that African political leaders generally acknowledged the socio-economic problems of Africa and the need for change in their rhetorics.

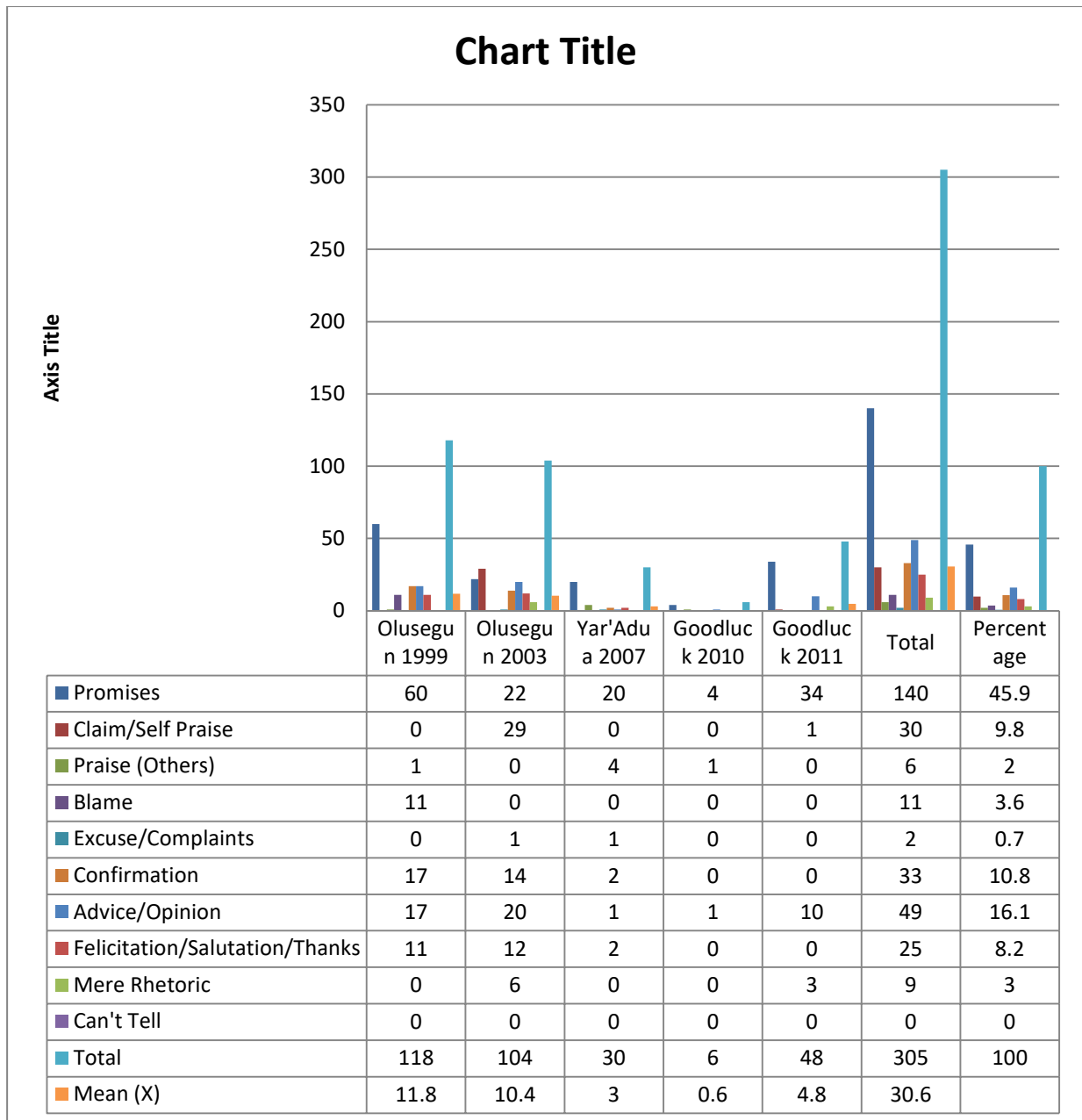


Figure 3: Frequency of National Development Themes in Presidential Inaugural Speeches

Figure 3 sought to know the frequency of national development themes in presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015. According to the figure, there were 8 national development themes in the Inaugural speeches. As seen in the figure, sentences expressing national development promise theme (45.9% of the 305 sentences) dominated the presidential narratives on national development in the Inaugural speeches. This was distantly followed by the sentences that predominantly offered development advice or expressed development opinions (16.1%, 49 out of 305 sentences); and the ones that expressed development confirmation (10.8%, 33 out of the 305

sentences). However, excuse/complaint was expressed with the least number of sentences (0.7% meaning 2 out of the 305 sentences) among the 8 themes. President Obasanjo's 1999 Inaugural speech has the highest number (60) of sentences, while President Jonathan's 2010 has the least (4 sentences) expressing development objectives/promises. This could be understood looking at the fact that the President Jonathan's speech was the shortest among the 5 Inaugural speeches so studied.

The dominance of development objectives or promise related sentences and the attendant lack of sentences expressing other national development themes in the Inaugural speeches is understandable looking at the fact that Inaugural speeches were primarily meant to outline future actions (promises) of the Presidents. This is in also in line with earlier findings from other climes with developed democracy like the USA where Humphrey (2014, p. 36) asserts that 'most Presidents present their vision of America and make their goals for the nation known in their inaugural address'. The finding equally supports the position of some political communication scholars like Van Dijk (1993), Wilson (1994) and Katula (2001) that leaders use Inaugural speech as a political communication to convince people on the objectives they want to achieve during their tenure by focusing on the major and central subjects that are relevant to their times like the national development goals that were found to dominate the Inaugural speeches evaluated in this study.

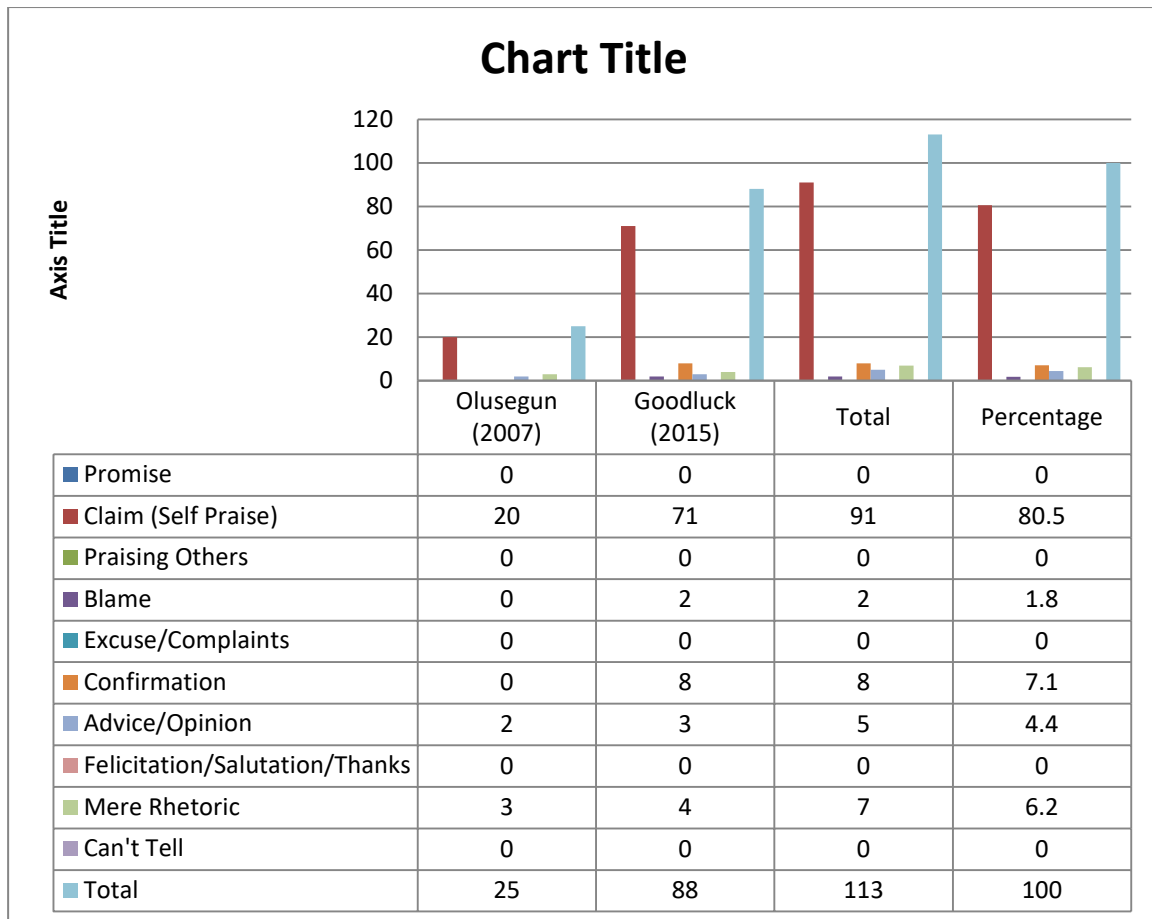


Figure 4: Frequency of National Development Themes in Presidential Handover Speeches

Figure 4 shows the frequency of national development themes in the 2 presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. The figure revealed that sentences expressing development achievement/claims (self-praise) comprising 91 sentences (that is 80.5% of the 113 sentences) dominated the two presidential Handover speeches. This was distantly followed by the 7 (6.2%) sentences that expressed mere rhetorics. Meanwhile, there were no sentence expressing development promises/objectives, thanks and praise for others, as well as excuse/complaints in the Handover speeches evaluated. That no sentence contained praise/thanksgiving to other persons or institution for the level of development claimed to have been achieved under the various administration explained the leadership and rhetorics style of Nigerian leaders who could sometimes share blames but always personalize praise or glory for any level of success recorded within the rhetorics period.

Comparatively, President Jonathan's 2015 Handover speech has more development achievements claims 71 (that is 78% of the 91) sentences as against President Obasanjo's 2007 20 (that is 22% of the 91) sentences. This may be as a result of the fact that President Jonathan handed over power to his political opponents from a different political party (APC) after losing his second term bid in the 2015 general election. As such, he has more explanation to offer to correct some negative impressions about his government like corruption, insecurity, underdevelopment, and unemployment among others that would have cost him the victory at the poll. As such, the Handover speech was not only lengthy but was more or less an expository on his achievements.

That national development claims or self praise theme related sentences dominated the Handover speeches partly upholds Adjei, & Ewusi-Mensah's (2016) assertion that (p. 36) in every Handover speech, the President was expected to present a summary of his stewardship: 'achievements and failures, challenges faced, and the way forward, some suggestions for the incoming government, and a thank you message to the entire citizenry'. This is because presidential Handover speeches in Nigeria placed little emphasis on explaining their failure, challenges faced, the way forward, suggestions for the incoming government, and a thank you message to the citizenry; but rather concentrated on their achievements and self praise.

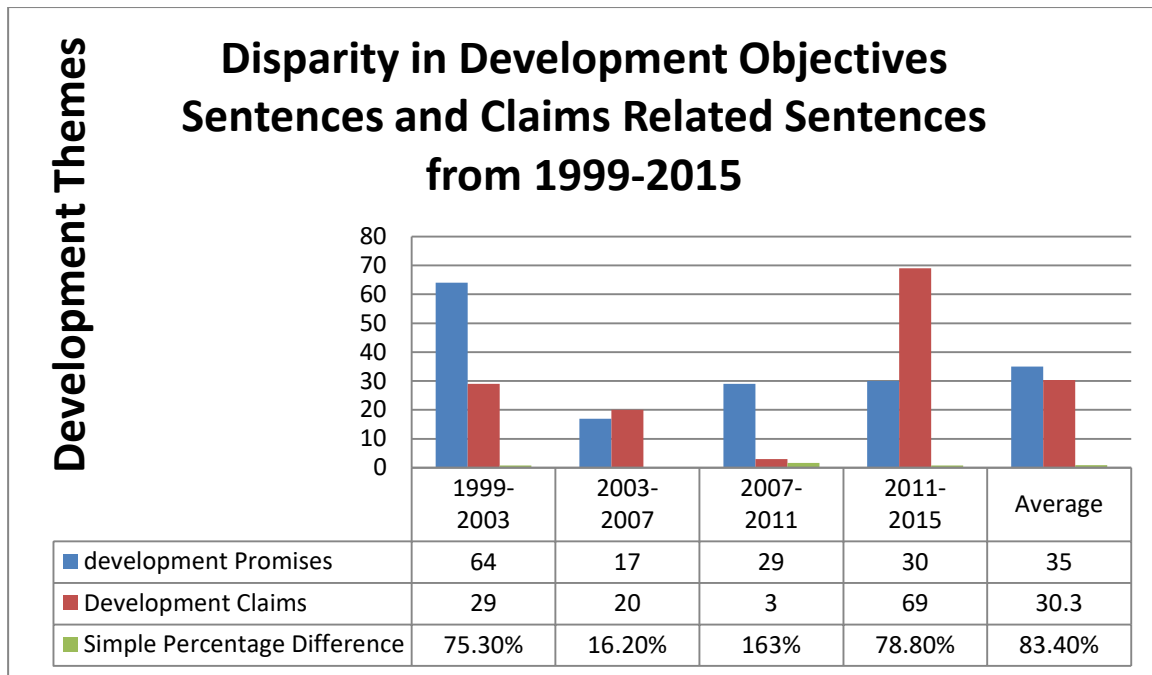


Figure 5: Level of Disparity in the Number of Sentences Used to Express National Development Needs and Claims in Presidential Inaugural and Handover Speeches from 1999-2015

Figure 5 indicates the level of disparity in the number of sentences used to express national development needs (objectives) in the Presidential Inaugural speeches and the national development claims (achievements) in presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. This was done to know how consistent Nigerian past Presidents were in their narratives on national development. As earlier stated in chapter three, the level of disparity between the number of sentences used in the expression of development objectives and achievements under the quantitative data was ascertained using the *Simple Percentage Difference Model* (SPDM) which states that the lower the SPD, the lower the level of disparity (meaning high level of consistency and coherence); and the higher the SPD, the higher the level of disparity (meaning high level of inconsistency and incoherence) (see chapter three).

As seen in figure 5 above and following the SPDM decision rule (see chapter three), there was very low level of consistency and coherence in presidential rhetorics on national development. This is because the SPD of 83.4% recorded in the number of sentences used by Nigerian past

Presidents to express their development objectives and achievements was far above the 50% maximum allowed benchmark. However, only President Obasanjo's 2003 to 2007 rhetorics maintained a high level (16.20% SPD) of coherence and consistence in his choice of number of sentences to express national development promises and achievement claims. On the other hand, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007 to 2011 rhetorics recorded the highest level of inconsistency and incoherence with 163% SPD in their choice of the number of sentences to express their development objectives and achievement claims. Specifically, the figure shows that Presidents Yar'Adua/Jonathan 2007-2011 regime and Obasanjo's first tenure used more sentences to express their development promises than claims; while President Jonathan's 2011-2015 and President Obasanjo's 2003-2007 administrations used more sentences to express their development claims than promises.

The exceptionally low level of consistency and coherence observed in President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007 to 2011 administration is perhaps, due to the peculiar challenge associated with the administration. The administration was the only one where two different Presidents presided over a single presidential mandate at different intervals following the unpleasant circumstance of the death of President Yar'Adua in 2010. As such, there was no continuity such that the administration's achievements could not be recounted in the succeeding Inaugural speech as in the case of Obasanjo's 1999 to 2003 administration; neither were there formal Handover note at the end of the administration to highlight its achievement. To this end, there was no sufficient number of sentences expressing development achievements of the administration to match up the number of sentences used in the expression of development objectives stated in the two Inaugural speeches. That majority of the Nigerian past Presidents recorded low level of consistency and coherence however, is indicative of lack of focus on development matters among Nigerian Presidents.

4.2 Presentation and Analysis of Qualitative Content Analysis Data

The data under this section were generated using thematic analysis and interpretivism. While the descriptive thematic analysis was used to categorize and extract meaning from the manifest contents of the selected speeches; the interpretivism method was used to understand the contextual reality of the research subject from the subjective experiences of the speakers of the selected speeches (the Presidents), and present a narrative that as much as possible represents the informed understanding of the collective subjective experiences, views, and perspectives of the Presidents expressed in the selected speeches. The researcher however started with the Inaugural speeches and ended with the Handover speeches.

Table 2: National Development (Sub)Themes Emphasized in Presidential Inaugural Speeches from 1999 to 2015

Development Themes	Dev. Objectives				Dev. Achievements				Dev. Challenges				Underdev. Blames			
	'9	'3	'7/'10	'11	'9	'3	'7	'11	'9	'3	'7/'11	'11	'9	'3	'7	'11
Political dev.	6	4	6	0	3	10	4	2	1	4	0	1	1	0	0	0
Agric. Dev	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education dev	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economic dev.	5	3	7	6	0	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Infrastructure dev.	2	2	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Health dev.	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social dev.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women/youth empowerment	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corruption control	4	1	4	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
Security	4	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Niger Delta/Pet. Dev.	5	1	5	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public confidence in governance	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Foreign/int'l relations	4	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Resource mgt	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
National unity	1	0	0	5	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
National values	1	0	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
General dev. Issues	4	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	9	10	13	1	9	6	3	5	4	0	1	5	0	0	0

The data in table 2 above show the major and sub national development themes found in the selected Nigerian presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015. Although, there were five Inaugural speeches analyzed in this study, as seen in this table, Presidents Yar'Adua's 2007 and Jonathan's 2010 Inaugural speeches were often considered as one as they both refer to the same administration. Nevertheless, references were often made to each of the two Inaugural speeches separately in the analysis when the occasion called for such.

According to the data, the four major national development themes in the selected presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015 are development objectives (in all the speeches), development achievements or praising others for their contribution to national development (in all the speeches), development challenges/threats (only in President Obasanjo's 1999 and 2003 Inaugural speeches), and underdevelopment/blame (only in President Obasanjo's 1999 Inaugural speech) in that order of prevalence and spread.

The Development Objectives Subtheme Emphasized in Presidential Inaugural Speeches from 1999 to 2015

The development objectives/promises theme has the highest appearance and spread as it appeared in all the selected Inaugural speeches. This is not surprising considering the fact that Inaugural speech is primarily meant to outline the Presidents leadership roadmap for the duration of the administration. As seen in table 2 above, the 17 subthemes identified under this major theme at different degrees include: Political, agricultural, educational, economic, infrastructural, health, and social developments; corruption control; public confidence in governance; security of lives and properties; development of Niger Delta/Petroleum sector; promotion of good foreign policies/international relations; women/youth empowerment; promotion of national unity and values; effective resource management; and other general issues.

Out of these, only six subthemes: corruption control; economic, infrastructural, education, and health developments; and development of Niger Delta/petroleum were common development objectives in all the Inaugural speeches studied. These were followed by five other development objectives/promises subthemes: political developments, agricultural development, promotion of positive foreign and international relations, promotion of national values, and general development issues were not featured in Jonathan's 2011, Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007/2010, Obasanjo's 2003, Obasanjo's 2003 and Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007/2010 respectively. Security and social development objective could only be found in Obasanjo's 1999 and

Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007/2010 Inaugural speeches; and Obasanjo's 1999 and Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speeches respectively. Building public confidence in governance and women/youth empowerment, as well as effective resources management were contained in only Obasanjo's 1999, and Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speeches respectively.

Suffice to note at this point that President Obasanjo's 1999 Inaugural speech has the highest number of development objectives/promises subthemes (16 out of 17) while President Goodluck's 2010 Inaugural speech has the least (7 out of 17). Nevertheless, the data in the above table is an indication that Nigerian Presidents set national development objectives as agenda during their inauguration into offices at different degrees from 1999 to 2015. The finding also supports the data generated under the quantitative content analysis as seen earlier which suggest that national development objective was a cardinal content of presidential Inaugural speeches in Nigeria within the period under study.

Development Achievements Subthemes Emphasized in Presidential Inaugural Speeches from 1999 to 2015

While it is safe to assert that development objectives/promises theme was the major national development theme in Nigerian Presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015; development achievements/praise theme was neither an aberration in the Inaugural speeches as seen in table 2 above. However, out of the 10 development achievements subthemes, political development is the only one that appeared in all the selected Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015; whereas only three Inaugural speeches featured economic development (Obasanjo's 2003, Yar'Adua's 2007 and Jonathan's 2011) and promotion of national unity (Yar'Adua's 2007, Jonathan's 2010 and 2011). Again, only two Inaugural speeches (Obasanjo's 2003 and Yar'Adua's 2007) carried corruption control and development of Niger Delta/petroleum sector as subthemes; while general issues subthemes appeared in two different speeches (Obasanjo's 2003 and Yar'Adua's 2007). Only President Obasanjo's 2003 Inaugural speech carried educational, infrastructural, and

agricultural developments as well as promotion of good foreign policies/international relations as national development achievement subthemes.

It is safe to infer from the data that political development achievement/praise subtheme attracted the attention of the highest number (all) of the Nigerian past Presidents, while infrastructural, agricultural, and educational development and promotion of good foreign policies/international relations subthemes attracted the least attention of Nigerian past Presidents within the period under study as they only appeared in one out of the five Inaugural speeches.

It is not surprising however that development achievements/praise theme which ordinarily ought to be an exclusive content of Handover speech was found in the Inaugural speeches considering the political circumstances surrounding the selected speeches. For instance, development achievement/praise theme found its way into President Obasanjo's 1999 Inaugural speech by way of praising the immediate past Military President Abdulsalami Abubakar for his contribution to national development; the said theme again appeared in President Obasanjo's 2003 Inaugural speech as a recount of his development achievements during his first tenure since there was no other former Handover speech in that year. Similarly, development achievement theme appeared in President Yar'Adua's 2007 and President Jonathan's 2010 Inaugural speeches in the form of praising the immediate past administrations for their contributions to national development. In 2011, the theme again appeared in President Jonathan's Inaugural speech as a recount of his development achievements from 2010 to 2011 since there was no other official Handover speech as he handed over power to himself after winning the 2011 presidential election.

Traces of development achievement claims related themes in the Inaugural speeches as seen above reinforced the findings of the quantitative content analysis which revealed that national development achievement related sentences were also significant content of presidential Inaugural speeches in Nigeria.

Underdevelopment/Blame Sub-Themes Emphasized in Presidential Inaugural Speeches from 1999 to 2015

Another subtheme emphasized in Nigerian presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015 as seen in table 2 above was underdevelopment/blame. This subtheme tried to x-ray the possible factors that past Nigerian leaders identified as the bane of the nation's level of development as well as those blamed for the nation's level of development. As seen in the table, only President Obasanjo's 1999 Inaugural speech contained underdevelopment/blame subtheme. In the speech, the President not only identified five major areas of underdevelopment in the country (political underdevelopment, corruption, infrastructural decay, lack of public confidence in governance, and poor foreign policies/international relations), but also blamed them on his predecessors especially the military led administrations (with the exemption of President Abdulsalami Abubakar's administration).

It can be inferred that Nigerian past Presidents who always praised themselves and others for national development efforts and achievements, hardly take responsibility but blame others for the underdevelopment situation of the country in their Inaugural speeches.

Development Challenge Sub- Themes Emphasized in Presidential Inaugural Speeches from 1999 to 2015

Table 2 also contained data generated on the national development challenges/threats subtheme. The essence of the theme is to understand the possible challenges or threat identified by the Nigerian past leaders that hindered national development from 1999 to 2015. As seen in the table, six challenges/threats were identified in three (Obasanjo's 1999 and 2003, and Jonathan's 2011) out of five Inaugural speeches while the remaining two (Yar'Adua's 2007 and Jonathan's 2010) Inaugural speeches did not contain any identifiable threat or challenge to national development within the period under study. The identified threats/challenges include: political, economic, corruption, security, erosion of national values and other general issues.

Considering the fact that the nation was just emerging out of the dark years of military control of power in the country in 1999, it was not surprising that President Obasanjo devoted a considerable portion of his Inaugural speech to highlighting five (political, economic, corruption, security, and other general issues) out of the six identified challenges/threats to national development subthemes found in the Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015. Again, four (political, economic, corruption, and erosion of national values) were found in his 2003 Inaugural speech; and only one (political challenge) was seen in President Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speech.

However, only corruption appeared in the three Inaugural speeches (Obasanjo's 1999, 2003, and Jonathan's 2011) that carried challenges/threats to national development; whereas economic challenge and corruption appeared in two out of the three Inaugural speeches (Obasanjo's 1999 and 2003); security challenge and other general challenges appeared only in Obasanjo's 1999 Inaugural speech; and erosion of national values also appeared only in President Obasanjo's 2003 Inaugural speech. That few challenges were identified in the Inaugural speeches despite the seemingly low level of national development in the country within the period under study is understandable considering the fact that Inaugural speeches were delivered at the point of assumption of office as such the President would not have been acquainted with the possible challenges that would confront the administration's ability to execute his/her national development objectives.

Table 3: National Development (Sub)Themes Emphasized in Presidential Handover Speeches from 1999 to 2015

National Dev. Sub-Themes	Dev. Achievements			Dev. Challenges			Dev. Recommendations		
	2007	2015	Total	2007	2015	Total	2007	2015	Total
Handover Speech									
Political dev.	2	3	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Agric. Dev	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
Education dev	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economic dev.	2	8	2	0	2	1	1	0	1
Infrastructure dev.	1	7	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
Health dev.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social dev.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Human dev.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport dev.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women/youth empowerment	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corruption control	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Security	0	3	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
Niger Delta/Pet. Dev.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public confidence in governance	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign/int'l relations	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resource mgt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
National unity	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
National values	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Nation Building	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
General dev. Issues	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	9	16	18	0	4	4	4	3	6

Table 3 presents data generated on the major and sub national development themes raised in the selected Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. According to the data, there were only three major national development themes in the two selected Handover speeches in Nigeria which include: national development achievements, national development challenges/threats, and national development recommendations. However, it is important to note that national development achievements theme has the highest appearance in the two speeches, followed by national development recommendations, while national development challenges has the least appearance. In addition, while national development achievements and national development

recommendations themes appeared in all the two Handover speeches; national development challenges appeared only in one (President Jonathan's 2015) out of the two Handover speeches. This means that President Obasanjo's 2007 Handover speech contained no single national development challenge.

It is not surprising that no national development objectives theme was found in the Handover speeches considering the fact that the affected speeches were delivered when the speakers were signing off from office. That national development achievements dominated the speeches however, is a pointer to the fact that Handover speech is a document that contains a recount of an outgoing President's development efforts and achievements. This data therefore reinforced the ones generated on the quantitative content analysis on the number of sentences used for the expression of national development claims in presidential Handover speeches.

National Development Achievement (Claims/Praise) Sub- Themes Emphasized in Presidential Handover Speech from 1999 to 2015

As seen in table 3, 18 subthemes were identified under development achievement theme but occurred at different degree though; an indication that Nigerian Presidents often set national development achievement as agenda in their Handover speeches. The subthemes include: Political, economic, infrastructural, agricultural, health, human, educational, and sports developments; promotion of national values and unity; nation building; corruption control; security of lives and properties; women/youth empowerment; development of Niger Delta/petroleum; promotion of foreign policies/international relations; public confidence in governance; and general development issues.

While seven (political, economic, infrastructural, and agricultural developments; promotion of national unity; promotion of foreign policies/international relations; and general development issues) out of the 18 national development achievements subthemes appeared in both Handover speeches; two (public confidence in governance and promotion of national values) were featured

in only President Obasanjo's 2007 Handover speech; and nine (health, human, educational, and sports developments; nation building; corruption control; security of lives and properties; women/youth empowerment; and development of Niger Delta/petroleum) appeared in only President Jonathan's 2015 Handover speech. This means President Jonathan's 2015 Handover speech had more national development achievements subthemes (16 out of 18) than President Obasanjo's 2007 (9 out of 18).

That national development achievement subthemes dominated the presidential Handover speeches within the period in question reinforced the findings of the qualitative content analysis earlier reported that national development achievements related sentences dominated the presidential Handover speeches.

National Development Challenges Sub- Themes Emphasized in Presidential Handover Speech from 1999 to 2015

Also found in table 3 are the data on the possible challenges to national development as identified by the Presidents in their Handover speeches. As seen in the table, only President Jonathan identified four challenges (security, economic, agricultural and infrastructural challenges) that limited his development performances while in office. For instance, while lamenting on the security challenge of the nation, President Jonathan described the Boko Haram 'with their mindless terror, mass killings, utter ruthlessness, kidnapping of innocent children and other unspeakable acts of brutality' as the greatest security challenge in Nigeria which has resulted in '*... the cost in blood of citizens and heroes; and the diversion of national treasure from urgent needs for development...*'

The economic challenges noted in President Jonathan's handover speech centred on job creation and the manufacturing sector in general. President Jonathan observed that '*over the years, job creation did not keep pace with economic growth. Thus unemployment, especially amongst the youth was assuming alarming dimensions,*' while the '*Manufacturing in Nigeria faces many*

challenges, including poor power supply, high cost of input, high cost of doing business, multiple taxation, poor infrastructure and lack of synergy with the labour market’.

President Jonathan equally lamented that even though ‘agriculture is critical to national survival... the sector was besieged with many problems’ like wastage of national revenue in trillions for the importation of food items like fish, rice and sugar. In the same vein, President Jonathan believed that the major challenges confronting the nation’s infrastructural development like road are ‘*the high cost of building roads and it continues to rise...and... the fact that because of regular use, roads are one of the fastest depreciating assets in developing countries’*

That President Obasanjo did not identify any challenge to national development in his 2007 Handover speech is quite worrisome especially that he was silent on whether he successfully implemented some of his national development objectives as seen in the list of his development achievements and for the simple reason that Nigeria continued to be ranked as an underdeveloped nation throughout his tenure. However, the import of this finding is that the identified challenges put together, would have limited the extent to which President Jonathan would have made good his development promises or objectives. As such, one would expect few claims to national development than that of Presidents Obasanjo and Yar’Adua.

National Development Recommendation Sub- Themes Emphasized in Presidential Handover Speech from 1999 to 2015

Also identified in table 3 are the national development recommendation subthemes. This subtheme simply brought to bear, suggestions made by past President for the speedy development of the country. While signing off from power, Presidents Obasanjo and Jonathan, in their 2007 and 2015 Handover speeches respectively, offered the incoming governments six helpful suggestions including political and economic suggestions; the need to promote national unity and values; corruption control; and the need to improve the general state of the nation. Specifically, four of these development recommendation subthemes (political and economic

recommendations; and promotion of national unity and values) featured in President Obasanjo's 2007 Handover speech; while only three (political recommendation, the need to control corruption and the need to also work on the general state of the country) appeared in President Jonathan's 2015 Handover speech.

It is important to note that only one (political recommendation) out of the six development recommendations subthemes was common to both Handover speeches; three out of the six development recommendations (economic recommendation, and the need to promote national unity and value) were peculiar to only President Obasanjo's 2007 Handover speech; and only two (corruption control and the need to enhance the general state of the nation) were exclusive contents of President Jonathan's 2015 Handover speech. Looking at the prevailing state and development mood of the nation as the time the speeches were delivered, one could say the recommendations were quite timely and instructive.

For instance, considering the fact that the country was still experimenting with democracy as a system of government, President Obasanjo noted in his 2007 Handover speech that democracy was not a 'destination' but a 'journey' that still requires that we 'remain firmly, committedly and undivertedly' to the journey so as to leverage on the success so far recorded. On the other hand, President Jonathan, in his 2015 Handover speech, advised the incoming All Progressives Congress (APC)'s government to properly and fully implement the electoral reforms which his administration has pursued to a large extent 'so that Nigerians will be even more assured of the integrity of the electoral system and the legitimacy of any government that it produces'.

On the economy, President Obasanjo acknowledged that even though the vision 20,2020 was an ambitious one, '*It is attainable and achievable*' but only if President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's administration did not '*divert from the path of economic prudence, reform and realities*'.

The fight against corruption also received mention in the handover speech of President Jonathan who recommended continuous commitment to the fight if the country must move forward.

According to him, if the war against corruption must be won, the incoming President Buhari's administration '*must encourage them [EFCC, ICPC, etc] to abide by the rule of law and due process instead of resorting to dramatic or illegal actions orchestrated for cheap applause*'

On the general state of the nation, President Jonathan says his administration oversaw the deliberations of the National Conference which culminated into many resolutions and recommendations that have been forwarded to the national assembly '*for serious constitutional, political and governance reforms*' and expressed hope that '*...that the incoming Government will accord the Report of the National Conference the very high priority that it deserves, as a genuine expression of the will of our people*'.

Closely related to the general state of the country are issues bothering on promotion of national unity and values. These recommendations appeared in only President Obasanjo's 2007 handover speech. While recounting that his administration was able to unite the different ethnic, tribal, religious, and geographical groups in the country, he called on the President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's administration to consolidate on the gains by respecting '*this spirit of oneness and unity in all that we do from now on*'. President Obasanjo equally emphasized the need for Nigerians to '*continue in the same spirit of what is best for our country motivated by patriotism and fear of God*' if the country must make progress.

Suffice to say at this point on a general note that the findings from the quantitative data generated on Presidential rhetorics on national development as seen in their Inaugural and Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015 were adequately reinforced by the findings from the qualitative content analysis data as seen above. This means both research methods performed complimentary role to each other in this study. That the findings from both (quantitative and qualitative content analysis) research methods agreed with each other also suggest that Nigerian past Presidents often set agenda on national development in their Inaugural and Handover speeches within the period in question. This therefore further lends credence to the use of

Agenda Setting Theory in the study of political communication in general and presidential rhetorics in particular within Nigerian democracy.

Table 4: Disparity in the Development Objectives and Achievement Claims Subthemes (Qualitative Data) in Nigerian Presidential Speeches from 1999 to 2015

National Development Themes	1999-2003		2003-2007		2007-2011		2011-2015		Total	
	Obj	Ach	Obj	Ach	Obj	Ach	Obj	Ach	Obj	Ach
Political Development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	3	4
Economic Development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4	4
Agricultural Development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	3	3
Educational Development	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4	2
Health Development	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4	1
Social Development	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	2	0
Infrastructural Development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4	3
Security	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	2	1
Corruption Control	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4	2
Human Development	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	0	1
Women/Youth Empowerment	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1	1
Niger Delta/Petroleum	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4	2
Public Confidence in Governance	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1	1
National Unity	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	2	3
National Values	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	3	1
Nation Building	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	0	1
Foreign Policy/Int'l Relations	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	3	3
Sport	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	0	1
Resources Management	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1	0
Total	15	8	8	9	10	3	12	15	6	3
ADR		46.7 %		66.7 %		81.8 %		50%		61.3 %

To answer research question three (see chapter one), the data in table 4 above were generated.

The table explains the level of disparity between the development objectives subthemes found in the Inaugural speeches and the development achievements subthemes seen in the Handover speeches within the period under study. The level of disparity between the development objectives and achievements subthemes raised under the qualitative data was ascertained using the *Average Disparity Rate Model (ADRM)* which states that high disparity rate that is up to 50%

is an indication of low consistency and coherence or lack of focus on the part of Nigerian Presidents while a lower disparity rate below 50% indicates high consistency and coherence between the development objectives and achievement sub-themes. This equally means a positive sign that Nigerian President stuck to their development objectives/promises while in office (see chapter three for details).

However, the data in table 4 show a very low level of consistency and coherence between the development objectives and achievements themes raised in Nigerian Presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. This is because the average disparity rate in the development objectives and achievements subthemes raised by all the Presidents within the period under study was 61.3%, far above the 50% benchmark. This is explainable considering the fact that only 6 (37%) out of the 16 national development objective/promises subthemes were common development goals among the four political dispensations under study. Those areas of commonalities include: economic, health, educational, and infrastructural developments; corruption control; and development of the Niger Delta and petroleum resources. In the same vein, only two national development achievements subthemes (political and economic developments) were common to all the administration; and economic development is the only one that appeared as both objective and achievements in all the Inaugural and Handover speeches studied. Meaning every Nigerian President has always set economic development as a goal upon assumption office and also always claimed to have contributed to the sector while signing off from office.

Meanwhile, there exists some level of differences at the individual levels. While President Obasanjo's 1999 to 2003 recorded the highest level of consistency and coherence (46.7% ADR), President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007 to 2011 recorded the lowest level of consistency and coherence (81.8% ADR). This means while President Obasanjo who never claimed glory for national development issues he did not set as objective in his Inaugural speech in 1999 and was not specific as to whether all his development objectives were achieved at the end of the

administration in 2003 or not, he affirmed that majority of the development promises or pledges he made in 1999 were met from May 1999 to May 2003. On the contrary, Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan who assumed office in 2007 and 2010 respectively with the promise to address 10 underdevelopment problems of the country claimed to have achieved only 3 including the promotion of national unity which was not part of their original development objectives.

It is important to point out at this point that the results of the qualitative data on the disparity between the national development objective subthemes and national development achievement subthemes were consistent with those quantitative data generated on the disparity between the number of sentences used in expressing national development objectives and national development achievements/claims in the Inaugural and handover speeches respectively. The findings from both quantitative content analysis using the SPDM and qualitative content analysis using ADRM agreed with each other and simply imply that Nigerian Presidents went contrary to the postulations of the Coherence Theory of Truth because they neither strictly stayed on the national development agenda they set for their administrations while taking oath of offices nor did they limit their claims to only those areas they would have affected positively while in office. This no doubt has negative implication on the reliability of political rhetorics in the country. The populace may develop cold feet towards believing the message contents of presidential rhetorics should the leaders continue to say one thing and do another thing or do another thing and say something else. The findings also suggest that the basic tenets of the Coherence Theory of Truth did not apply to presidential rhetorics on national development in developing democracies like Nigeria.

4.3 Presentation and Analysis of Historical (Output and Outcome) Data

The researcher employed historical method to ascertain the national development outputs and outcomes of the past Nigerian Presidents to clearly understand their actual efforts and achievements in the areas they specifically identified to pursue or claimed to have pursued national development as contained in their Inaugural or Handover rhetorics respectively. The study therefore looked at how the development outputs would have impacted positively or negatively on the actual development of the nation in the identified areas of development (development indicators). The intention was to establish the degree of correspondence between presidential rhetorics on national development and the actual national development outcome within the period under study. Both development output and outcome analysis were done simultaneously.

The Output Analysis

Under the historical output analysis, the study examined the key national development subthemes identified by the Presidents and treated them separately by bringing out the relevant development outputs like law/legislation, policies/programmes, and budgetary provisions, etc initiated by the affected Presidents with the view to directly or indirectly bringing the development goal to fruition. Available literature suggests that conclusion on whether a particular party or politician kept their promises can be measured by comparing their political campaign pledges and by extension, pledge rhetorics (which in this case means national development objectives) with subsequent government policies and actions (outputs) (Thomson, 2001; Naurin, 2011; Petry, 2014). Going by the output analysis of promises keeping as recommended by Thomson (2001) and Perty (2014) therefore, national development objectives would be rated as either “achieved”, “achieved in part”, “broken or stalled” or “too soon to tell”. However, in countries with long history of corruption as well as poor policy implementation and execution like Nigeria, output analysis may not present a true picture of leaders’ development

achievements. This therefore calls for an inclusion of outcome analysis as advocated by Etzioni (1964), Senge (1990), and Walker (2015).

The Outcome Analysis

The outcome analysis compares the Presidential Rhetorics on national development with the available proxies to the identified area of national development as seen in independent secondary data or statistics. It measures the extent to which the President in question would have impacted on the development of the country in the identified area of national development on the short and medium run. To calculate the general development outcome of the Presidents in the nation's political history therefore, the study employed the Weighted Average Development Analysis Model (WADAM) designed specifically for this purpose. The model as clearly explained in chapter three measures the extent to which the promise or claims correspond with the independent reality as espoused in the Correspondence Theory of Truth.

The President is said to have truly contributed positively to national development in the identified area of national development iff (if and only if) he obtains a WADA score that is equal to or greater than 2.5 (≥ 2.5) out of the 5.0 optimal WADA score. This simply means that for every development promise or claim made, we expected that at the end of the four-year-administration, the President should have, at the expiration of his tenure, made not less than 50% contribution to what was existing in the specific development area(s) (as indicated by the selected independent data from the WBDI Data Bank and or TI) he/she met while assuming office. This is done in line with the provision of the Correspondence Theory of Truth which states that a statement is true iff (if and only if) it corresponds with available independent reality. For detail information on the selected indicators, see Appendixes B.

Table 5: Correspondence between National Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and National Development Outcome (Reality)

National Development Themes	1999-2003 DCS	2003-2007 DCS	2007-2011 DCS	2011-2015 DCS	G DCS	General Remark Remarks
Political Development	0	0.55	0	-0.71	-0.053	Not Kept/False
Economic Development	0.31	0.67	0.23	-0.49	0.18	Not Kept/False
Agricultural Development	-0.95	1.86	Nil	0.53	0.48	Not Kept/False
Educational Development	0.78	0.93	-0.55	0.16	0.33	Not Kept/False
Health Development	0.6	0.58	0.87	0.25	0.58	Not Kept/False
Social Development	2.37	Nil	Nil	1.85	2.11	Not Kept/False
Infrastructural Development	0.034	-0.034	1.25	-0.72	0.13	Not Kept/False
Corruption Control	-0.54	-0.25	-0.32	0.21	-0.23	Not Kept/False
Human Development	Nil	Nil	Nil	1.17	1.17	Not Kept/False
Women/Youth Empowerment	-0.79	Nil	Nil	2.63	0.92	Not Kept/False
Public Confidence in Governance	-0.005	0.69	Nil	Nil	0.34	Not Kept/False
Foreign Policy/Int'l Relations	10.8	4.56	-3.88	2.71	3.55	Kept/True
CWADA	1.15	1.06	-0.34	0.69	0.64	Not Kept/False

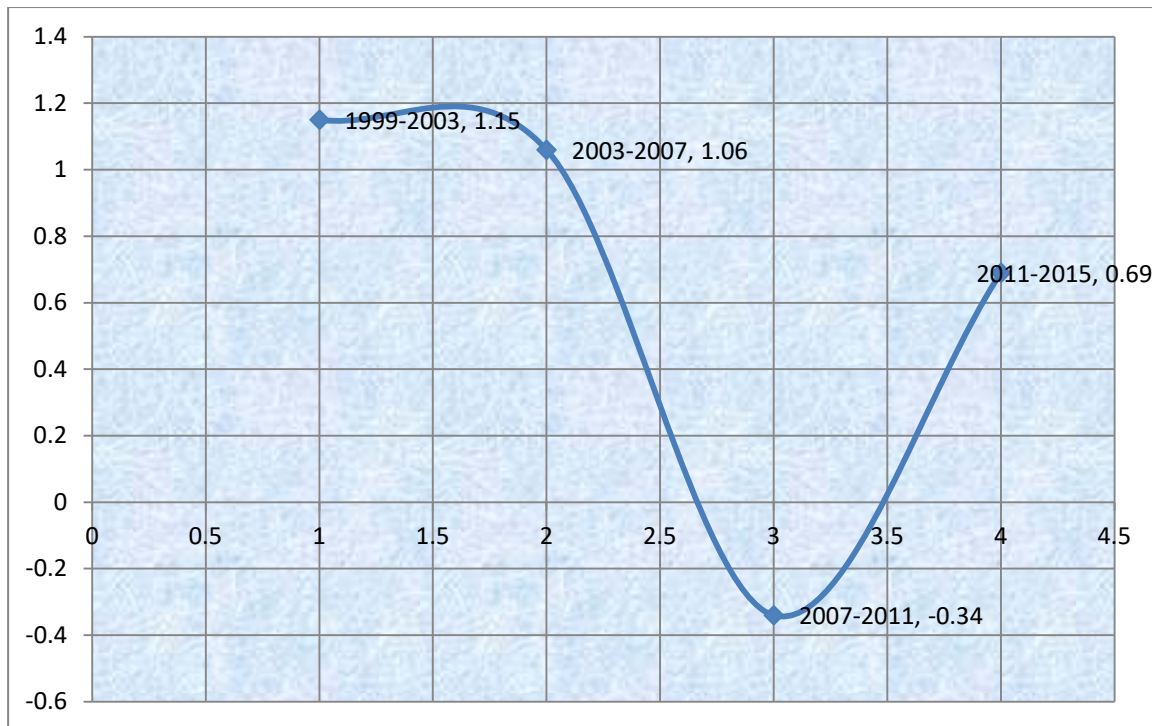


Figure 6: Weighted Average National Development curve

Table 5 and figure 6 above show the cumulative correspondence between national development promises/claims by past Nigerian Presidents and the available national development reality from 1999 to 2015. The data revealed that generally, Nigerian past Presidents had a very low contribution to national development (0.64 cWADA) within the period under study. This means, none of them met their national development objectives as contained in their Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015 and neither were they truthful in their claims to have contributed to national development as documented in their Handover speeches within the period in question. This is because none of them hit the minimum cumulative Weighted Average Development Analysis (cWADA) score of 2.5 as specified by the model. Comparatively however, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007-2011 regime has the worst result as he recorded *very low contribution to underdevelopment* (-0.34 cWADA), followed by President Jonathan's 2011-2015 administration that recorded *very low contribution to national development*; and Obasanjo's both tenures (1999-2003 and 2003-2007) which recorded *low contribution to national development* (1.15 and 1.06 cWADA respectively).

This is surprising considering the number of policies, programmes, budgetary provisions and legislations among others each of the Presidents introduced at one time or the other to drive their development agenda. This however calls for specific examination of each of the national development subthemes raised by the Presidents so as to ascertain their performances on each of the subthemes collectively and perhaps, individually over the space of 16 years under study. However, explanation to the observed general high level of failure among the various administrations in spite of the many development outputs deployed towards the set target may not be far from their inability to completely wrestle corruption coupled with lack of creativity and ingenuity in the management of the nation's natural and human resources.

Historical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Economic Rhetorics and Development Performance (1999-2015)

Under this subheading, the researcher examined the historical progression of presidential economic development objectives/promise/claims, outputs, and outcomes within the period under study.

National Economic Development Objectives: Recall that economic development is one of the national development objective/promise that featured in all the five selected Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015. The general Nigerian presidential rhetorics on national economic development objectives within the period however centred around better exchange and interest rate management, national debt management/cancellation, manufacturing industries revival, jobs creation, provision of enabling environment for investments, privatization, revitalization of small and medium scale enterprise, economic reforms, poverty reduction, reduction in inflation, improved workers' welfare, provision of support for the real sector of the economy, banking and financial sectors reforms, and strengthening of the fiscal framework.

National Economic Development Outputs: Available historical evidence revealed that past Nigerian Presidents not only tried to achieve the set goals through budgetary provisions and

legislations, but also claimed to have experimented with different national economic development outputs (policies, legislations and budgetary provisions) within the period in question in a bid to achieve the set economic development objectives. Notable among the claimed economic development outputs are the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) of President Olusegun Obasanjo (2003-2007); 7 Points Agenda of President Umar Musa Yar'Adua (2007-2010), Transformation Agenda of President Goodluck Jonathan between (2011 to 2015); and the Vision 20:2020 aimed at transforming the Nigerian economy into one of the top 20 global economies by 2020 (Umezulike, 2016). Under the above policy statements, the Presidents specifically claimed to have attracted both local and foreign investments, promoted Small and Medium Scale industries, created many jobs, seriously pushed towards the actualization of vision 20,2020, and enhanced returns on investments. Others claimed economic development outputs are economic reforms; debt relief; good industrial take-off; improved revenue mobilization; and establishment of sovereign wealth fund 'to provide stabilization from external shocks, provide funding for critical infrastructure and savings for future generations'. In addition, the Presidents claimed to have contributed to financial sector reforms that 'addressed the issues of inefficiencies in the coordination and monitoring of the financial system'; establishment of the Assets Management Corporation of Nigeria as a resolution mechanism for toxic banking assets; and innovative reforms for job creation and repositioning of the manufacturing, agriculture and housing sectors. That the Presidents contributed to the launching of several programmes and initiatives including the National Industrial Revolution Plan and a new National Automobile Policy designed to boost domestic car production and expand existing capacity; and increased engagement with Nigerians in the diasporas who contributed so much in remittances to their fatherland in the form of investments and returning home to join in the task of nation-building; were equally well documented in the selected speeches.

National Economic Development Outcome: Going by the aforementioned national development promises/claims and outputs, the study interrogated independent data on national economic development so as to clearly ascertain the national economic development outcomes as well as the level of correspondence between Nigerian presidential rhetorics on economic development and the actual economic development recorded within the study period. This is as contained in Figure 7. The level of correspondence was ascertained based on the evaluation of nine economic development indicators used as proxies for national economic development. These indicators derived from the World Development Indicators Data Bank (2017) were carefully selected bearing in mind the national economic development promises and claims as seen in their Inaugural and Handover speeches. Those economic indicators include: economic management cluster average rating; efficiency of revenue mobilization rating (which assesses the overall pattern of revenue mobilization-not only the de facto tax structure, but also revenue from all sources as actually collected); employment in industry; net inflows of foreign direct investment; total listed domestic companies; number of new businesses registered; net outflows of foreign direct investment; and official exchange rate (see appendix B, Table ii).

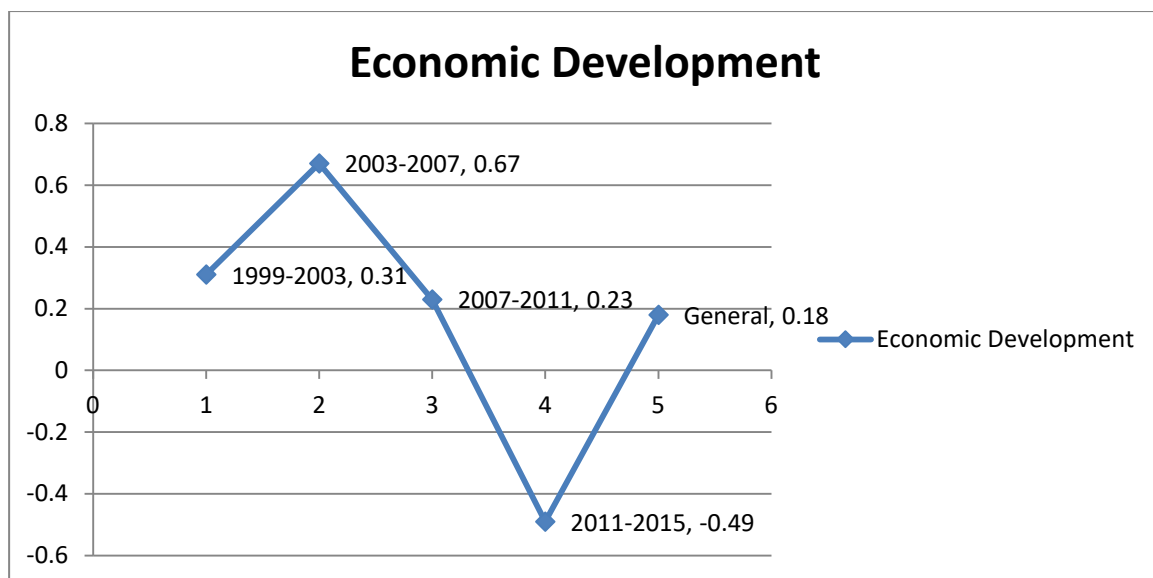


Figure 7: Correspondence between National Economic Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

Figure 7 sought to know the actual level of contributions made by the Nigerian past Presidents to economic development from 1999 to 2015 as well as the level of correspondence between economic development rhetorics and economic development performance. The figure shows that there was generally *very low contribution to national economic development* (0.18) and that there was no correspondence between the national economic development promises/claims and the actual economic development reality within the study period as none of the President came close to the economic development benchmark that was ≥ 2.5 . While President Obasanjo's 2003-2007 and 1999-2003 administrations as well as President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007-2011 administration recorded (0.67, 0.31 and 0.23 WADA scores respectively) *very low contribution to national economic development*, President Jonathan's 2011-2015 administration recorded *very low contribution to national economic underdevelopment* (-0.49 WADA).

Although, the cumulative effects of all the development outputs before and within the period under study as earlier stated helped Nigeria to attain the status of the largest economy in Africa with GDP (Nominal) of \$492,986 billion as at 2015 (International Monetary Fund, 2015); and ranked as the 21st largest economy in the world in terms of real GDP, and the 20th largest in terms of GDP (Purchasing Power Parity) in the same year (Umezulike, 2016, p. 46); the accomplishment could be described as far below her realisable potentials given her abundant human and material resources endowment. As such, the observed lack of significant contribution to actual economic development in the country by her past Presidents from 1999 to 2015 is worrisome because, not only did economic development objective was featured prominently in all the Inaugural speeches studied and also appeared as achievement in all the Handover speeches, but that before and during the period, every successive government launched different economic development plans, policies, and legislation etc, with the view to sail the nation's economy into safety.

However, the poor economic development outcome according to President Jonathan as contained in his 2015 Handover speech could be blamed on lack of existing economic structure that supported job creation, poor power supply, high cost of input, high cost of doing business, multiple taxation, poor infrastructure and lack of synergy with the labour market. Besides, other historical facts existed to explain the possible reason for such level of disconnection between national economic development rhetorics (Presidential objectives/claims), outputs (policies, programmes and legislations) and outcomes (real development indicators). For instance, Umezulike (2016) observes that such unpleasant situation could be blamed on the overambitious nature and poor articulation of some of the economic plans; incoherent policies and policy inconsistency; roadside declarations; mismanagement; corruption; weak institutions; nepotism; poor governance; cheap political commitments; and ultimately, the nationalist economic principles that were championed for more than 2 decades until SAP introduction. Scholars like Okigbo (1989); Ogwumike (1995); Onyenwigwe (2009); Lawal & Oluwatoyin (2011); and Oyeniya & Falola, (2015) were also of the view that the actualization of most economic development goals in Nigeria has always been hampered by coup, poor governance, financial mismanagement, corruption, weak institutions and insufficient political will. For instance, Ikeanyibe (2009) observed that even though the NEEDS (2003 - 2007) was laudable, it could not do much on its main targets of stable power supply, poverty reduction and job creation because of similar factors identified earlier. In the same vein, Vision 2010 could not record measurable successes as almost all of its targets were never met (Adubi, 2002). The Transformation Agenda of the immediate past President Goodluck Jonathan was marred by corruption and sabotage with few successes (Umezulike, 2016). Vision 20:2020 might also fail considering the recent economic recession that set the nation backward economically and the fact that most of the factors that led to the failure of earlier national economic development plans were still very active in the country as at the time of this study.

Historical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Agricultural Rhetorics and Development Performance (1999-2015)

The role of agriculture in the life of any nation cannot be overemphasized. According to Uche (2011, p.12) ‘Agriculture is fundamental to the sustenance of life and it is the bedrock of economic development, especially in the provision of adequate and nutritious food so vital for human development and industrial raw materials’. Before Nigeria attained independence, agriculture was the most important sector of the economy, and accounted for more than 50% of her GDP and more than 75% of export earnings. Years after independence, agriculture continued to contribute immensely to the Nigerian economy especially in the provision of food for the increasing population, supply of adequate raw materials (and labour input) to a growing industrial sector, a major source of employment; generation of foreign exchange earnings, and, provision of market for the products of the agrarian sector (Okumadewa, 1997). However, with the discovery of oil in commercial quantity, the nation’s agricultural sector has suffered considerable negligence from Nigerian leaders over the years. This situation is also reflected in most political rhetorics, the Nigerian presidential speeches not an exemption.

National Agricultural Development Objectives: Even though the country has greatly suffered severe food insecurity and extreme hunger in the past and the nation over depended on imported food staples (Uche, 2011), Agricultural Development Objective subtheme featured in only three (Presidents Obasanjo’s 1999 and 2003 as well as Jonathan’s 2011) out of the five Inaugural speeches. Specifically, President Obasanjo promised in his 1999 Inaugural speech to develop the agricultural sector to enhance agricultural production, food supply and security in the country. He also, in his 2003 Inaugural speech, pledged his readiness to ‘pursue the various strands of agricultural policies to the level of food security when we can begin to claim that the average Nigerian is eating enough of balanced diet from food that is available and affordable’. In the same vein, President Jonathan, in his 2011 Inaugural speech, pledged his administration’s

resolve to 'pay special attention to the agricultural sector, to enable it play its role of ensuring food security and massive job creation for our people'

National Agricultural Development Outputs: The zeal to stem the tide of underdevelopment in agricultural sector in Nigeria therefore pushed successive governments into pursuing different agricultural policies and programmes since the nation returned to democracy in 1999. For instance, President Obasanjo has, within 1999 to 2007 thrived to address some of the perennial problems facing agriculture through the introduction of the National Agricultural Policy with the broad objectives of promoting self-sufficiency in food and raw materials for industries; placing agriculture business in the hands of private individual while the government regulate the sector; promoting reliance on local resources; and diversifying the sources of foreign exchange earnings through increased agricultural exports (Awa and Rufus, 2017, p. 30). President Obasanjo also initiated the National Special Programme on Food Security (NSPFS) which was launched in 2002 in all the 36 states with the objectives of increasing food production and elimination of rural poverty; and the Root and Tuber Expansion Programme (RTEP) to drive home his agricultural development agenda.

Under President Yar'Adua's administration, food security and agriculture formed one of his cardinal development objectives as seen in his *7 Points Agenda*. According to Awa and Rufus (2017, p. 30), the major thrust of his administration's policy direction for agriculture and food security within the seven-point agenda include the creation of conducive macro-environment to stimulate greater private sector investment in agriculture; rationalization of the roles of the tiers of government in their promotional and supportive activities to stimulate growth; reorganizing the institutional framework for government intervention in the sector to facilitate smooth and integrated development of agricultural potentials; articulating and implementing integrated rural development as a priority national programme to raise the quality of life of the people; increasing agricultural production through increased budgetary allocation and promotion of the necessary

developmental, supportive and service-oriented activities to enhance production and productivity and marketing opportunities; increasing fiscal incentives to agriculture, among other sector, and reviewing import waiver anomalies with appropriate tariffication of agricultural imports; and promoting increased use of agricultural machinery and inputs through favourable tariff policy. Under this arrangement, the Federal government was to obviate the technical and structural problems of agriculture in the development activities by providing animal vaccine, veterinary drug, and agrochemicals; involve in water management, input supply and distribution as well as provision of credit (Awa & Rufus, 2017).

Upon assumption of office in 2010 following the death of President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan introduced the Agricultural Transformation Agenda with specific focus on effective fertilizer supply by removing middlemen and reaching the rural farmers directly; provision of seeds with high yield directly to the small holder farmers; provision of telephones to the rural farmers for easy communication; and encouraging value chain in such a way that agricultural produce were being processed locally to finished produce and export. The administration also pursued the provision of storage facilities and exportation of perishable goods such as tomatoes, through the provision of infrastructure such as perishable sheds at major airports in Nigeria. President Jonathan also introduced The Youth Empowerment in Agriculture Programme to encouraged youths to take up agriculture.

National Agricultural Development Claims: Following the above development outputs, the Presidents claimed to have achieved different strands of agricultural development as seen in their various speeches from 1999 to 2015. This include the claim to have made Nigeria to become a food sufficient nation, increased in food exportation, increased in local production of staple food, increased savings from the sector, increased crop production, improved livestock husbandry as well as introduction of new marketing strategies for better returns for farmers, and so on.

National Agricultural Development Outcomes: To understand the veracity of the various claims to national agricultural development and the extent to which the Presidents actually made good their agricultural development promises or objectives as seen in their Inaugural speeches, there was need for outcome analysis to ascertain the extent to which their agricultural development rhetorics correspond with known agricultural development indicators from 1999 to 2015. This was done through the examination of nine selected agricultural development indicators such as agricultural raw materials exports; agricultural value added; crop production index; food production index; employment in agriculture; food exports; agricultural raw materials imports; food imports; and depth of the food deficit (kilocalories per person per day) used as proxies for agricultural development (also see Appendix B, Table iii). It is the assumption of this study that any tangible agricultural development should impact positively on the aforementioned indices.

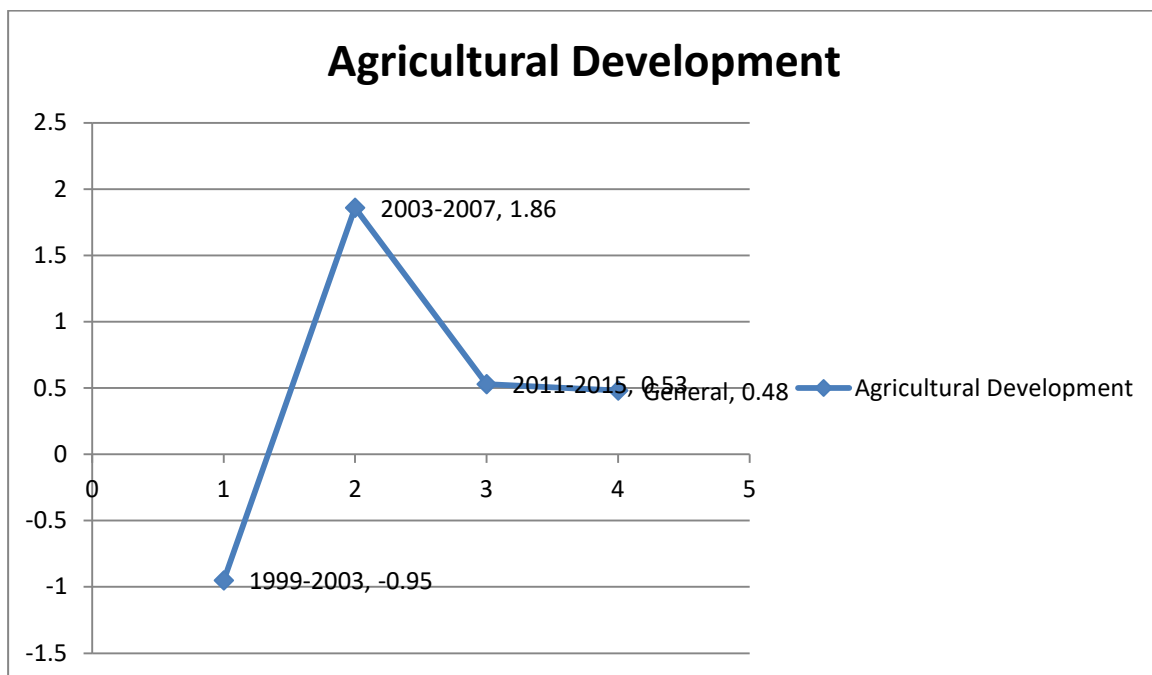


Figure 8: Correspondence between National Agricultural Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

However, as seen in figure 8 above, there is a *very low contribution* (0.48 WADA) to agricultural development in the country from 1999 to 2015 by her past Presidents as well as lack of

correspondence between their rhetorics on agricultural development and the actual agricultural development in Nigeria. The figure also showcased a very fluctuating result at the level of individual Presidents. For instance, while President Obasanjo recorded a *very low contributions to agricultural underdevelopment* (-0.95) from 1999 to 2003, he and President Jonathan were able to make *low* (1.86) and *very low* (0.53) *contributions to agricultural development* during their 2003-2007 and 2011-2015 administrations respectively. However, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan neither promised to develop the agricultural sector nor claimed to do so. As such, the administration was not included in the analysis.

By implication, the Presidents did not keep their promise to contribute to the development of the agricultural sector and neither were they truthful in their claims to have done so since none of them came close to the ≥ 2.5 agricultural development benchmark. This finding shows that the nation's past leaders have not contributed significantly to make the agricultural sector viable enough to provide sufficient support to absorb shock should anything goes bad with the oil sector that has been the mainstay of the nation's growth and development. The nation's experience during the 2015-2017 national economic recession that was caused by the global oil price crash is a pointer to this assertion. As a result of the numerous challenges bedevilling the sector therefore, the intended goals and objectives of agricultural policies such as generating massive employment through agriculture and agro-based businesses, reduction of high poverty rate, ensuring sufficiency in the supply of food for the Nigeria's teeming population, improving per capital income of Nigerians who engage in agriculture, taking comparative advantage on the Nigerian agricultural products in the international markets among other have remained partially unachievable (Uche, 2011).

This level of failure could be attributed to poor funding for agriculture which has been part and parcel of the historical evolution of the nation's agricultural development. For instance, budgetary provision for recurrent expenditure in agriculture from 1999 to 2015 as seen in

Appendix C tables i and ii fluctuated between N30.93 billion and N157.26 billion as against what was obtainable in 1999 (N59.32 billion) at the start of democratic dispensation. On the average, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's annual appropriation for recurrent expenditure in agriculture during their 2007 to 2011 administration is only N157.26 billion (39.32% of the total N416.88 billion budgeted for recurrent expenditure for agriculture from 2000-2015). This is followed by President Jonathan's 2011 to 2015 administration's N37.58 billion (37.68%); President Obasanjo's 2003 to 2007 tenure, N19.50 billion (18.7%); and President Obasanjo first tenure (1999 to 2003) which is only N7.73 billion (or 7.4% of the total N416.88 billion budgeted for recurrent expenditure for agriculture from 2000-2015). This implies that President Yar'Adua has the highest budgetary provision for recurrent expenditure in agriculture while President Obasanjo's first tenure has the least. In all, it can be inferred that there was lower budgetary provision for agriculture during the democratic regimes (2000 to 2015) in Nigeria than the last year (1999) of the military in government. This finding supports the findings from the study carried out by Nigeria Agriculture Public Expenditure Review (NAGPER) in collaboration with a research team from the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the World Bank on Nigeria agricultural expenditures on agriculture, which reports that expenditures on Nigeria agricultural policies and programmes are still low to ensure effectiveness (Tewodaj et. al, 2005 as cited in Uche, 2011).

Other factors that could be responsible for the agricultural underdevelopment in Nigeria include low income from farming activities, and poor policy formulation and implementation in the sector (Anyanwu, 1997; Onah, 2006; Umoh, 2001; Ayatse and Akuva, 2009; and Uche, 2011). While writing on the *Impact of agriculture policies on Nigerian economy*, Uche (2011) further provides another angle to the situation when he observed that the beneficiaries of government agricultural policies in Nigeria are not the actual targeted population group in the agricultural dominated activities which often leads to frequent failures of agricultural policies in the country.

Again, improving agricultural extension services as well as providing adequate agricultural infrastructures have remained poor. Over 85% (percent) of the Nigerian farmers have no access to agricultural extension services and lack of necessary agricultural infrastructures that increase productivity.

For a developing nation with a mono-item oil economy like Nigeria, Government's apathetic indifference to agriculture predicts awesome risk to the economy for some reasons. For example, fluctuating costs of food are a precursor of inflation. Also, from the expenditure approach to national income accounting, it is likely that Engel's Law that an expansive lump of expenditure in developing economics goes to food- holds meaning that shocks to the domestic agricultural production and supply could be damaging to price stability. There is likewise the viewpoint of food security, in a period when food has been utilized as a weapon of War (United Nations Oil for Food Deal in Iraq) and as bargaining tool (North Korea-United States Food Deal), even inside Nigeria, the Federal military government amid Nigerian-Biafran War utilized food blockage as a weapon of war (Uche, 2011). He therefore opines that government should take into consideration, the environmental Impact Analysis (EIA), the economic impact analysis (EIA) and the social impact analysis (SIA) when conceiving any functional agricultural policy to give the problems of agriculture in Nigeria a holistic attention.

Historical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Rhetorics on Education and Development Performance (1999-2015)

Existing scholarships have demonstrated a strong and powerful link between education and development especially when viewed from the social, economic, technological and political perspectives (Ukeje, 1986). For instance, Yesufu (1970) opines that education is a source of investment and development. This may explain why Britain government's policies on education and training have increasingly focused on education's role in human capital development (Cooper, 2002, and Beckmann and Cooper, 2004). In addition to offering an opportunity for

profitable investment, Akindutire, Ayodele & Osiki, (2011, p. 19) observed that ‘education is significant as it also opens people's mind for freedom’. By implication, education is more than a means of fostering accelerated economic growth and modernization, it has a powerful link with liberation and real political independence. Perhaps this is why Fashina (2002) believed that: “...Education has or ought to have as its goals the liberation of the people, the construction of a free and non-exploitative society where human beings can realise their potentials”. Little wonder why education development has been a common feature in most Nigerian presidential rhetorics.

National Education Development Objectives: Education received considerable attentions in four out of the five Inaugural speeches selected for this study, but at different degrees. For instance, President Obasanjo in his 2003 Inaugural speech placed considerable emphasis on his resolve to develop the educational sector. According to him, efforts will be stepped up to complete ‘the refurbishment of our educational institutions at all levels in order to make them fully operational, qualitatively and quantitatively, so as to meet the educational needs and skill development of our society’. In line with President Obasanjo’s vision for the educational sector of the country, President Yar’Adua, in his 2007 Inaugural speech, also promised to revamp the education sector to develop human capital that can support modern economy. Even though educational development did not feature in Jonathan’s 2010 Inaugural speech, President Jonathan said in his 2011 Inaugural speech that his administration ‘will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education’.

National Education Development Outputs: Under the civilian government and between 1999 and 2015, successive Nigerian governments have, initiated series of policies and programmes aimed at achieving the set education development objectives in the country. For instance, the National Policy on Education (NPE, 2004), Universal Basic Education (UBE) Law (2004), National Policy on Gender in Basic Education (2007) and the National Policy for the Integrated Early Childhood Development (2007) were all geared towards ensuring that Nigeria meets its

commitments on the globally agreed aim to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015 (Adediran, 2015, p. 1). The policies were championed by the collaboration between the Federal Ministry of Education (FME) and other line ministries, International Development Partners (IDPs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in response to global educational reforms including those of the Education for All (EFA) Movement.

To this end, budgetary provision for education in Nigeria was on a steady increase throughout the period in question (1999 to 2015). For instance, as seen in Appendix C Table i, N243.15 billion was appropriated for recurrent expenditure in education during President Obasanjo's first tenure (2000 to 2003) (meaning N60.67 billion on the average annually and 8.4% of the total N2.888 trillion appropriated for recurrent expenditure in education throughout the 16 years under study). This rose to almost double (N429.13 billion, N107.23 billion annually or 14.9% of the total provision for recurrent expenditure in education) during President Obasanjo's 2003 to 2007 administration; N807.7 billion (N201.93 annual average provision for recurrent expenditure in education or 28% of the total sum) under President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007 to 2011 tenure; and to N1.408 trillion (meaning N351.94 billion on the average annually or 48.7% of the total sum appropriated for recurrent expenditure in education from 2000 to 2015).

National Education Development Claims: In his 2015 Handover speech, President Jonathan specifically said he was proud to *'have widened access [to education] by establishing 18 more Federal Universities and other specialized polytechnics... strengthened TETFUND and used it to boldly address the problems of inadequate infrastructure in the existing institutions'*. The President also proudly announced that his efforts with regards to Early Childhood Education and Out-of-School Children yielded good fruits with the provision of modern hybrid Almajiri Education Programme in the North; have attended to the schooling needs of boys in the South-East; constructed special girls' schools in 13 States of the Federation to improve girl-child

education; expanded opportunities for open and distance learning; and provided scholarships at all levels to help improve access to quality education for bright and promising Nigerians.

National Education Development Outcomes: To understand the actual presidential contribution to national education development in the country from 1999-2015 therefore, five indicators: children out of school, school enrolment into primary, school enrolment into secondary, and school enrolment into tertiary institutions in Nigeria within the selected years, were used as proxies (see Appendix B, Table iv).

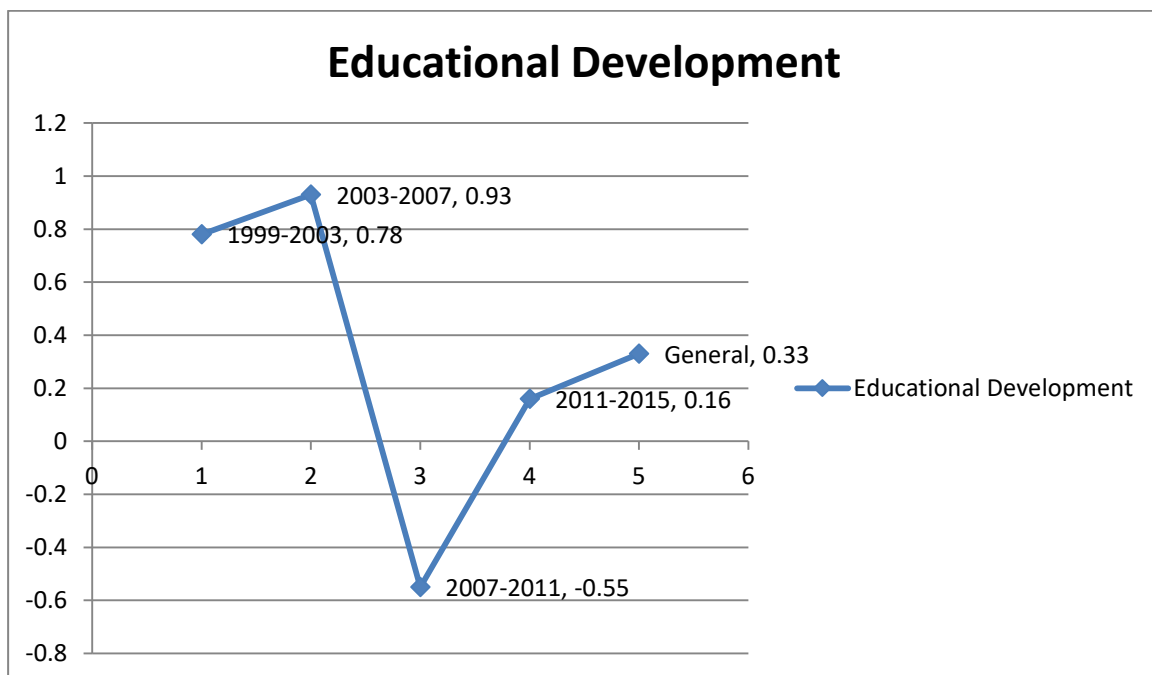


Figure 9: Correspondence between National Educational Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

Figure 9 shows the extent to which Nigerian Presidents contributed to education development in the country from 1999 to 2015 as well as the extent to which presidential rhetorics on education development corresponds with the available education development indicators. The figure reveals that on a general note, past Nigerian Presidents recorded *very low* (0.16) *contributions to national education development* and as well revealed lack of correspondence between the presidential rhetorics (promises and claims) on education and the actual education development

within the period under study. For instance, none of the past Presidents came close to the development benchmark of ≥ 2.5 even though there seems to be an improved enrolment at the pre-primary and primary education levels (Adediran, 2015, p. 1). Comparatively, while President Obasanjo's 2003-2007 (0.93 WADA score), and his 1999-2003 (0.78 WADA score) administrations as well as President Jonathan's 2011-2015 administration (0.16 WADA score) recorded *very low contribution to national educational development*, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007-2011 recorded *very low contribution to national educational underdevelopment* (-0.55 WADA score) within the study period.

This implies that all of the Nigerian past Presidents from 1999-2015 made false promises and claims to educational development, and perhaps, would have misappropriated the fund made available for the development of education as seen in the recurrent expenditure in education within the period in question. This is disappointing considering the disheartening state of the nation's education sector that ought to drive every other aspects of the nation's development and also considering the weight of the promises and claims by the past Nigerian Presidents in their Inaugural and Handover speeches to make/to have made the education sector viable within the period.

The consistent denigration and depressed quality of education in Nigeria in the last two or three decades has been explained in part by the inadequate funding of the system (Okebukola, 2008; Kazeem & Ige, 2010). In the National Budget, social services (under which Education falls) have consistently received poor budgetary allocations when compared with other sectors. A look at Nigeria's annual general budgetary allocation and expenditure shows that the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) has not been committing a considerable proportion of her financial resources to the growth of economic, social and community services. NBS/UNICEF's (2014) time series data on Federal Government's budgetary allocation to the educational sector between 2000 and 2014 shows that less than fifteen percent of funds was expended on education

by the government during this period and it is doubtful if the situation has improved today. According to Ogungbenle & Edogiawerie (2016, p. 387), the growth rate of Nigeria's annual budgetary allocation to education shows fluctuating trends as the rate of budgetary provision for education increased and decreased at different intervals.

Historical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Rhetorics on Health and Development Performance (1999-2015)

National Health Development Objectives: National Health Development received some level of attention in four out of five Inaugural speeches studied. These include President Obasanjo's 1999 and 2003, President Yar'Adua's 2007, and President Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speeches. The central message of the presidential rhetorics on health development in their Inaugural speeches include the promise to improve on health service delivery in the country; greater investments in health facilities, and to 'make advances in public health, to control the scourge of HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases that hold back our population and limit our progress' (Yar'Adua, 2007); as well as enhancing citizens' access to improved medical care.

National Health Development Outputs: Successive Governments have strived to improve the health status of Nigerians through their rhetorics and policy actions especially since the dawn of democracy in 1999. The following are some of the national health policy framework aimed at improving the health status of the nation within the period under study:

1. The Revised National Health Policy in 2004 which was an upgrade of the National Health Policy and Strategy promulgated in 1988 in response to the country's poor health system performance. The aim of the Revised Health Policy are to strengthen the national health system for effective, efficient, quality, accessible and affordable health services that will improve the health status of Nigerians through the achievement of the health-related Millennium Development Goals (Federal Ministry of Health, 2006, p. 6).

2. The National Health Insurance Scheme was established under the National Health Insurance Scheme Act, Cap N42, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004, with the aim of providing easy access to healthcare for all Nigerians at an affordable cost through various prepayment systems. Specifically, the scheme was designed to: ensure that every Nigerian has access to good health care services; protect families from the financial hardship of huge medical bills; limit the rise in the cost of health care services; ensure equitable distribution of health care costs among different income groups; and maintain high standards of health care delivery services within the Scheme. Others are to ensure efficiency in health care services; improve and harness private sector participation in the provision of health care services; ensure equitable distribution of health facilities within the Federation; ensure appropriate patronage of all levels of health care; and ensure the availability of funds to the health sector for improved services.
3. The 2005 National Policy on Private-Partnership for Health as part of the reforms in the health sector embarked upon by President Obasanjo's administration with a view to attaining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other National Health Policy targets (Federal Ministry of Health, 2005). Basically, the key primary objectives of the National Public-Private Partnership Policy in Health amongst others include: to build confidence and trust in the public and private health sectors; to harness confidence and trust in the public and private sectors for the attainment of Millennium Development Goals, and other National Health Policy Targets; to promote and sustain equity, efficiency, accessibility and quality in healthcare provisioning through the collaborative relationships between the public and private sectors (Federal Ministry of Health, 2005, p. 6).
4. The 2006 National Health Financing Policy which focuses on the provision of adequate and sustainable financing for effective, efficient and equitable health system performance

in the country (Okafor, 2016). Uzochukwu, Ughasoro, Etiaba, Okwuosa, Envulade and Onwujekwe (2015, p. 442) write that the policy focus is on promoting equity and access to quality and affordable healthcare, and to ensure a high level of efficiency and accountability in the system through developing a fair and sustainable financing system. The National Health Financing Policy was also formulated within the same framework as the National Health Policy. The overall goal was to ensure that adequate funds were available and allocated for accessible, affordable, efficient and equitable healthcare provision and consumption (Federal Ministry of Health, 2006, p 13).

5. The 2009 National Strategic Health Development Plan that aimed at offering a roadmap for improving the country's poor healthcare system. This was geared towards addressing issues plaguing the sector such as lack of effective stewardship by government, fragmented health service delivery, inadequate and inefficient financing, weak health infrastructure, poor distribution of health work force and poor co-ordination amongst key players (Federal Ministry of Health, 2009, p. 2).
6. National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP) (2010-2015) was launched in November, 2010. This was a fall out of the commitments made in Abuja, Nigeria on 10th of November 2009 by the President and Vice President as well as the 36 state governors. The vision of the plan was to 'reduce the morbidity and mortality rates due to communicable diseases to the barest minimum; reverse the increasing prevalence of non-communicable diseases; meet global targets on the elimination and eradication of diseases; and significantly increase the life expectancy and quality of life of Nigerians' (Federal Ministry of Health, 2010, p. 18).

However, the budgetary provisions for the health sector in the country remain far below the World Health Organization (WHO) and African Union (AU) recommendation of 11% and 15% respectively, of a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As such, health spending as a

proportion of the federal government expenditures was at the lowest and shrank from an average of 3.5% in the 1970's to less than 2% in the 1980's and the early 1990's (Federal Ministry of Health, 2004: 6). By the mid 1990's, the percentage of public health expenditure to total government expenditure stood at 7.05%; 4.22% in 2000; 6.41% in 2005; 4.3% in 2009 and 4.4% in 2010 (Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin, 2010). This shows that average of 5% was allocated to the health sector between 1995 and 2010, indicating a slight increase of about 2% from the previous 1980's and early 1990's. The percentage of public expenditure on health stood at 5.4% in 2011; 5.8% in 2012; 5.7% in 2013; 6.0% in 2014 and 5.5% in 2015 (Budget office, Federal Ministry of Finance, 2015). This shows that less than 6% of the total budget was allocated to the Health sector between 2011 and 2015 (Okafor, 2016). Nevertheless, at the end of every political dispensation, Nigerian President often cited different levels of health development achievement within the period of their administrations.

National Health Development Claims: in their Handover speeches, past Nigerian Presidents claimed to have achieved some level of national health development within the period under review. Key among such claims include the widening of access and improving of the quality of healthcare delivery that lowered infant mortality rates and enhanced higher life expectancy for the populace; effective curtailment of the Ebola epidemic; eradication of guinea-worm; and the near wiping out of polio from the country.

National Health Development Outcomes: To actually understand Nigerian Presidents' level of contributions to national development however, ten indicators including fertility rate, life expectancy at birth, death rate, maternal mortality ratio, infant mortality rate, neonatal mortality rate, under-5 mortality rate, number of infant deaths, number of maternal deaths, and number of neonatal deaths were considered and analyzed (see Appendix B, Table v).

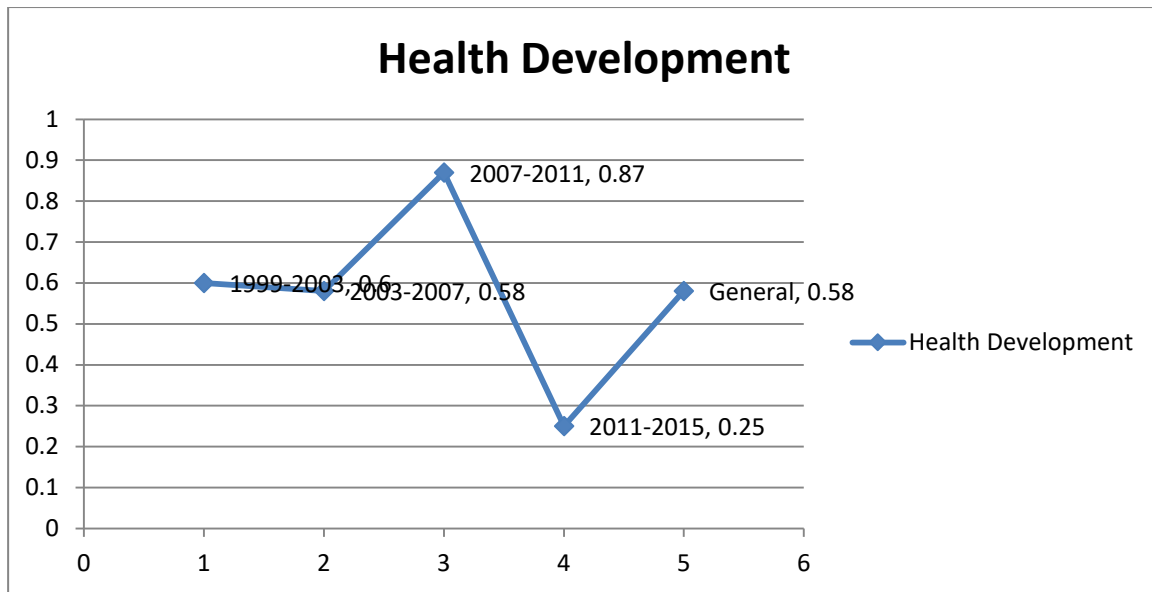


Figure 10: Correspondence between National Health Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

Figure 10 sought to know the extent to which Nigerian past Presidents contributed to national health development as well as the extent to which the presidential rhetorics (promises and claims) on national health development correspond with the actual health development reality within the period under study. According to the data as seen in table 3 and figure 24 above, President Yar'Adu/Jonathan's 2007-2011 has the highest contribution, 0.87, to health development; followed by President Obasanjo's first tenure (1999-2003), 0.6; President Obasanjo's second tenure (2003-2007), 0.58; and that of President Jonathan's 2011-2015, 0.25. The result of the analysis shows that in sharp contrast to past Nigerian Presidents' rhetorics on health, all of them recorded a *very low contribution to national health development*. This means, none of them reached the development contribution benchmark of ≥ 2.5 . It can therefore be inferred that they were false in their promises and claims to health development.

Historical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Rhetorics on Corruption Control and Actual Corruption Management (1999-2015)

Available research evidence showed that between 1960 to 2016, about US\$400 billion has been siphoned by corrupt Nigerian government officials (Okoye, 2016). This gave credence to Uji's (2015) submission that corruption has a crowding effect on the growth and development of the country. According to Adewale (2011) as cited in Nagari et al. (2013), 'its contributing effects on poverty and poor infrastructural development is more worrying'. Fabayo et al. (2011) as cited in Awojobi (2014, p. 142) took a critical look at the impact of corruption on investment in Nigeria using the Ordinary Least Square modus operandi and the Transparency International (TI) corruption index between 1996 to 2010. In their analysis, they revealed that Nigeria is always at the bottom of (IT) rankings which indicated that the increased high-level of corruption in Nigeria leads to lower investment drive and slippery economic growth. In a similar study, Akindele (2005) evaluates the interface between corruption and development. The empirical results of the study after using some economic variables denote that corruption hinder economic development. He concluded that there is a strong negative relation between corruption and development nexus and corruption remains the core barrier to the development of any society. Further to this, Adewale (2011) examines the crowding-out effect of corruption in the Nigeria fourth republic. Using the simulation approach to evaluate the effects of financial corruption in Nigeria. He pinpoints from his empirical findings that corruption retards economic growth in Nigeria which implies that corruption has a crowding-out impact on economic growth. In addition, new African scholars in the horizon such as (Nageri et al. 2013; Agbiboa, 2012; Maunro, 2007; Obayelu, 2007; Sachs, 2005; Smith 2007; PWC, 2016) are of the view that corruption is the bane to African development. According to PWC (2016), which is a member firm of PricewaterhouseCoopers International Limited, Nigeria's GDP could have been 22%, 18% and 36% higher in 2014 if it had reduced corruption to Ghana's, Colombia's and Malaysia's levels respectively. In the same way, Nigeria's 2030 GDP can be 22%, 19% and 37% higher if it

reduces corruption to Ghana's, Colombia's, and Malaysia's levels (p. 14-16). Little wonder why corruption control has been a reoccurring phrase in Nigerian presidential rhetorics since 1999.

National Corruption Control Objectives: As a result of the glaring impact of corruption on the development of the country, there is no Nigerian President that did not identify corruption as a bane to the nation's development and stressed the desire to stem the tide in their Inaugural speeches. For instance, in his Inaugural speech in 1999, President Obasanjo observed that 'No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria' and promised to tackle it 'head-on at all levels'. He equally made similar commitment in his Inaugural speech in 2003 when he pointed out that 'Our leadership regards corruption as the antithesis of development and I would like to assure you that we are determined to fight this evil to a standstill.' Other Presidents like Yar'Adua, Jonathan and Buhari equally made similar remarks about corruption and promised to address it. For instance, President Yar'Adua stated in his Inaugural speech in 2007 that: 'We are determined to intensify the war against corruption, more so because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty. Its corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life' President Jonathan in his 2010 Inaugural speech was of the view that his 'total commitment to... the fight against Corruption would be pursued with greater vigour'. Also, the theme of corruption in his 2011 Inaugural speech reads: 'The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination... The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth'.

National Corruption Control Outputs: Fully aware of the devastating effects of corruption on the project Nigeria over the years, President Obasanjo in 1999 swung into action against the menace by strengthening the existing anti-corruption laws and established two important anti-corruption institutions: the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) (inaugurated in September, 2000) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) (established by the Corrupt

Practices and other Related Offences Act, 2004) as well as the Money Laundering (Prohibition) act 2004; to tackle the phenomenon of corruption in public and private life squarely.

The administration of late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua also initiated policies, and laws to forestall corruption in Nigeria. Prominent among them is the Asset Declaration. Upon assumption of office as President in 2007, President Yar'Adua declared his asset and urged his cabinet and other elected officers to do likewise.

In the same vein, President Yar'Adua was the first and perhaps the last President to returned unspent money back into the nation's treasury at the end of the budgetary year. Still in the bid to tame corruption, President Jonathan introduced the Treasury Single Account [TSA]; Government Integrated Financial Management Information System [GIFMIS]; and the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System [IPPIS] to manage corrupt tendencies and actions.

National Corruption Control Claims: in view of the above corruption control outputs, past Nigerian President claimed to have recorded considerable achievement in corruption control within the period under study. For instance, President Obasanjo noted in his Inaugural speech in 2003 that his administration has 'been able to put in place an anti-corruption commission which,.. has brought 39 cases of corruption to court for prosecution; this is in stark contrast with none at all in the preceding 20 years'. He further explained that his fight against corruption has yielded results as 'Due Process has made its impact on costs of contracts, supplies and purchases'. In the same vein, President Jonathan claimed in his 2015 Handover speech that: his introduction of TSA was able to unify the structure of government accounts for all MDAs and brought order to cash flow management; the introduction of GIFMIS helped in plugging leakages and waste of resources; and that the IPPIS which he introduced also weeded out 60,450 ghost workers in 359 out of 425 MDAs, yielding N185.4 billion in savings to the Federal government, and was able to save the nation from the perennial decay orchestrated by

corruption. But how such claimed achievements in the fight against corruption contribute to the Nigerian corruption perception index within the period in question?

National Corruption Control Outcomes: To ascertain the actual contribution of the past Presidents to corruption control, the researcher had to rely on the following indicators as seen in the Transparency International (2016). They are: quality of budgetary and financial management rating; transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public sector rating; corruption perception index; and corruption perception country-ranking (see Appendix B, Table viii).

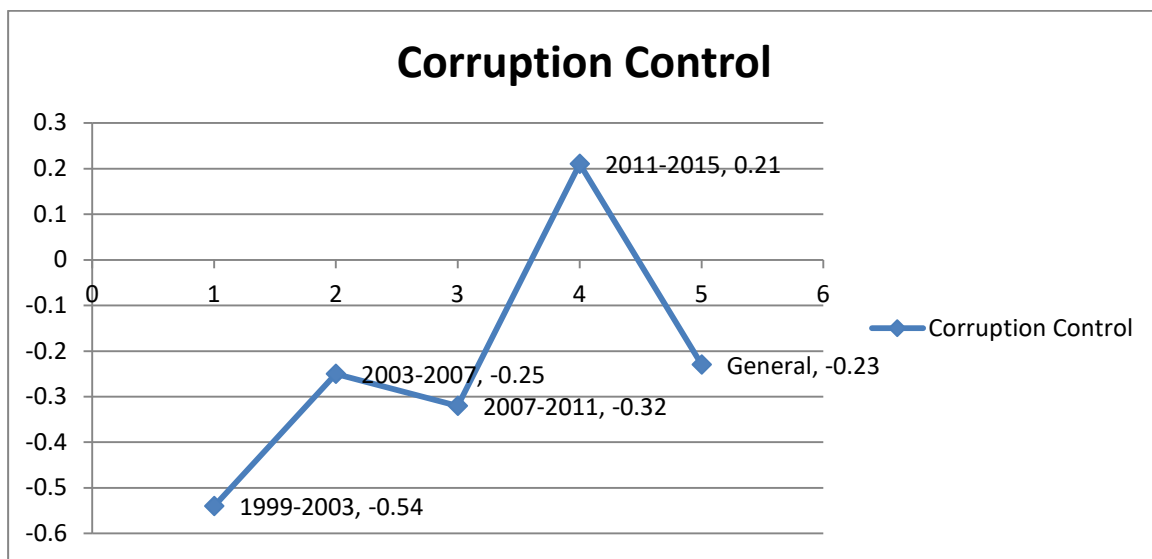


Figure 11: Correspondence between National Corruption Control Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

The data in figure 14 explains the extent to which Nigerian past Presidents contributed to the reduction or otherwise of corruption in Nigeria and the extent to which their rhetorics on corruption control matched with the available independent data on corruption control in Nigeria within the period in question. Going by the above indicators, it is clear from the data in table 3 and figure 27 that Nigerian Past Presidents contributed very low to the growth of corruption in the country within the period in question. According to the data, only President Jonathan (2011-2015) has a very low contribution to corruption control (0.21 WADA score); while Presidents Obasanjo's 2003-2007, Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007-2011, and Obasanjo's 1999-2003

administrations recorded a *very low contribution to the growth of corruption* (-0.25, -0.32, and -0.54 WADA scores respectively) in the country. In a nutshell, none of the Presidents reached the development contribution benchmark of 2.5 in corruption control, as such, it is safe to conclude that none of them kept to his promises of controlling corruption and neither were they truthful in their claims to have contributed significantly to corruption control within the period under study.

Relating this finding with Nigeria's experience, it is surprising that President Jonathan should have the highest development contribution score in terms of corruption control looking at the huge sum of money that Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and other financial crime commissions had so far recovered and are still recovering from a few individuals who served under President Jonathan's 2011-2015 administration and the fact that he was the first and only sitting President to be voted out of office for his perceived inability to tame the rising tide of corruption in his government among other political factors. Meanwhile, others who had records of open confrontation and fight against corruption were on the negative spiral. For instance, with all the campaign by President Obasanjo against corruption throughout his two tenure and the establishment of the EFCC among other agencies and legislations to fight corruption, he only contribute to the growth of corruption (-0.54 and -0.25 WADA scores for the 1999-2003 and 2003-2007 administrations respectively). Again, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan who put up similar fight against corruption from 2007-2011 also recorded a low contribution to the growth of corruption (-0.32 WADA score) in Nigeria.

These contradictions may not be far from the public attention that is usually drawn to corruption when there is an open war declared against it as against when the sitting President appears to be silent on corruption related cases that goes undercover like President Jonathan's administration. It means corruption perception and ranking goes negative as the idea receives more attention and is assumed to be minimal when people in authority talk little about it even when it is glaring that corruption is highly prevalent.

Historical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Rhetorics on Infrastructure and Development (1999-2015)

National Infrastructural Development Objectives: Infrastructural development also commanded some level of attentions in all the five Inaugural speeches studied. For instance, President Obasanjo who vowed in his Inaugural speech in 1999 to improve on water supply, energy, telecommunication, ports, roads, housing, airways, national shipping, Nigerian railways, etc.; also said in his 2003 Inaugural speech that he ‘intend to construct more roads and maintain old ones, to improve transportation and ease movement of goods throughout the country’; ‘improve the quality of power supply and to expand output to at least 10,000 Megawatts’ to enhance the industrialization vision. Not satisfied with the level of infrastructural achievements of his predecessors, President Yar’Adua pledged in his 2007 Inaugural speech to concentrate on rebuilding the nation’s physical infrastructure like railroad to enhance mass transportation, and energy (power generation, transmission and distribution) in order to take the country forward. President Jonathan also promised in his 2010 Inaugural speech to improve Nigerians’ access to electricity, water, education, health facilities and other social amenities. He further made similar pledge in his 2011 Inaugural speech to be committed to improving power generation, transmission and distribution to drive the industrialization vision; and creation of ‘efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people’. Suffice to say that the infrastructural development objectives enumerated above cut across most of the infrastructural needs of the country at the time.

National Infrastructural Development Outputs: In view of the above infrastructure development objectives, successive Nigerian President introduced different policies and programmes with the view to achieve their infrastructural development target. Key among them is the telecommunication reform of President Obasanjo’s first tenure; the 7 Points Agenda of President

Yar'Adua and the dredging of River Niger and Benue programme, different energy reforms; President Jonathan's Transformation Agenda, to mention but a few.

Financial provision for recurrent expenditure in infrastructure from 1999 to 2015 stood at N1439.5 billion only. However, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007 to 2011 administration made more money (N641.01 billion, meaning 44.5%) available for recurrent expenditure in infrastructure (construction, transportation and communication), while President Obasanjo's 1999 to 2003 tenure had the least (N125.62 billion, that is 8.7%) (see Appendix C i and ii). Nevertheless, successive Presidents claimed to have recorded considerable results in national infrastructure development.

National Infrastructural Development Claims: To start with, President Obasanjo explained in his 2007 Handover speech that under his administration, 'infrastructural facilities, like telephones, which were once regarded as the preserve of a privileged few, are now commonly accessible to all', adding that Nigeria has prospered in Science and Technology within the period of his governance. 'To address the glaring inadequacy of critical national infrastructure' however, President Jonathan said in his 2015 Handover speech that his administration focused on 'the Power Sector, Roads, Railways, Aviation, Ports and Harbours as well as on Water and Sanitation, Information and Communication Technology.'

National Infrastructural Development Outcomes: To ascertain the authenticity of the above claims however, the researcher relied on the following four indicators as proxies for infrastructure development. These are: Access to electricity, quality of port infrastructure, number of passengers carried by railways, and electric power transmission and distribution losses (see Appendix B, Table vii)

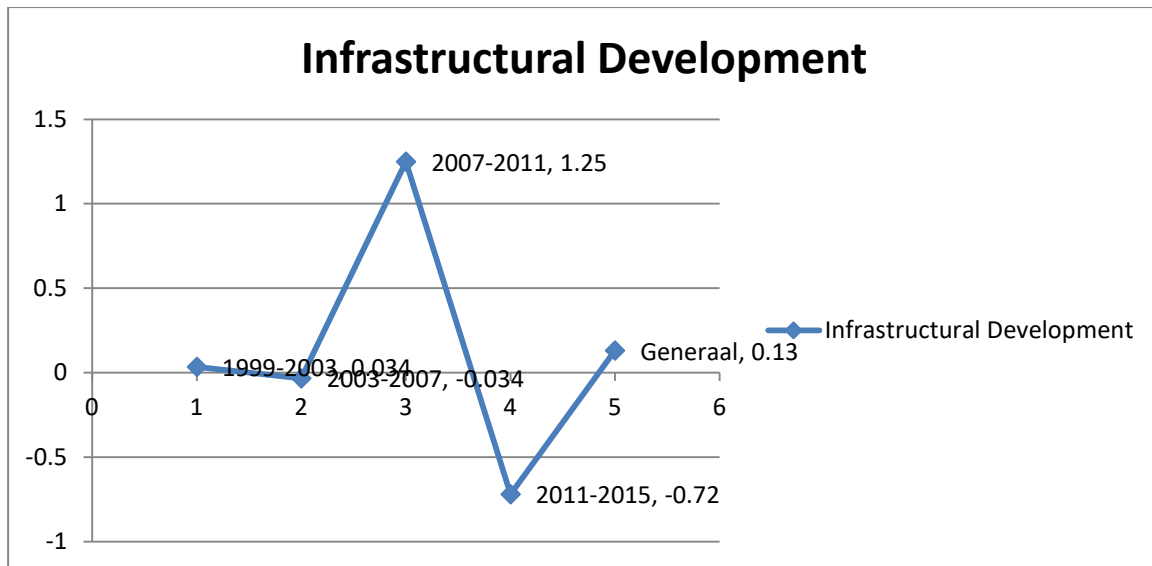


Figure 12: Correspondence between National Infrastructural Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

Figure 12 contains data generated on the Presidents' contributions to national infrastructural development and the extent to which their rhetorics on infrastructure development correspond with available independent data. The data show a somewhat very low contribution (0.13) from the four administrations within the period under review as none of them reached the 2.5 development contribution benchmark. While President Yar'Adua/Jonathan only promised to enhance the infrastructural state of the country and never claimed to have achieved the said objective in their Handover speech's 2007-2011, the administration recorded low contribution to of 1.25 to national infrastructural development followed by President Obasanjo's 1999-2003 *very low contribution* of 0.034 to national infrastructural development. Ironically, other Presidents like Jonathan (2011-2015) and President Obasanjo (2003-2007) who promised same in their Inaugural speeches and claimed to have done so in their Handover speeches recorded very low contributions of -0.72 and -0.034 to national infrastructural underdevelopment respectively. This means, the four administrations under study did not keep their promises towards national infrastructural development and also were not truthful on their claims to have contributed to the development of the nation's infrastructures.

This finding is not surprising considering the level of infrastructural decay that is prevalent in almost all parts of the country. Over 16 years after the military handed power over to civilian elected government, Nigeria continue to suffer poor transportation network, inadequate power supply, and inadequate social facilities among others.

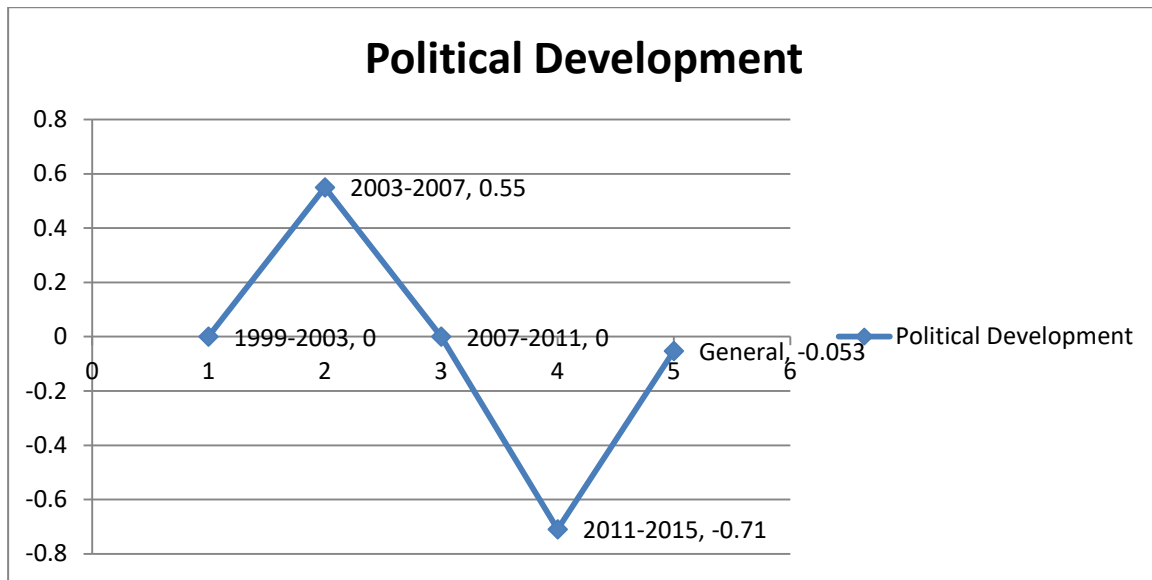


Figure 13: Correspondence between National Political Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

The data in table 5 and figure 13 above shows the graph of the past Nigerian Presidents' national political development performance within the study period and revealed that the Nigerian Presidents generally recorded a *very low contribution* to national political underdevelopment (-0.053). According to the data, none of the Presidents contributed significantly to political development between 1999 and 2015 as even the highest performance (President Obasanjo's 2003-2007 administration, 0.55) was far below the established benchmark of 2.5. However, rather than contributing to political development as claimed in his 2015 Handover speech, President Jonathan actually recorded a *very low contribution* to the nation's political underdevelopment between 2011 and 2015 as the administration recorded the worst political development performance (-0.71).

The above conclusion is a fall out of the WAD analysis of three selected political development indicators extracted from the World Development Indicators Data Bank. These include quality of public administration rating; transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public sector rating; and public sector management and institutions cluster average rating were used as proxies for national political development (see appendix B, Table i). The quality of public administration rating assesses the extent to which civilian central government staff is structured to design and implement government policy and deliver services effectively. Transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public sector assess the extent to which the executive can be held accountable for its use of funds and for the results of its actions by the electorate and by the legislature and judiciary, and the extent to which public employees within the executive are required to account for administrative decisions, use of resources, and results obtained. The three main dimensions assessed here are the accountability of the executive to oversight institutions and of public employees for their performance, access of civil society to information on public affairs, and state capture by narrow vested interests. The public sector management and institutions cluster includes property rights and rule-based governance, quality of budgetary and financial management, efficiency of revenue mobilization, quality of public administration, and transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public sector.

It is however surprising that all the Presidents, especially Presidents Obasanjo (both tenures) and Yar'Adua/Jonathan who indentified political development as both objectives in their Inaugural speeches and achievements in their Handover speeches, should rank this low in political development. More surprising is the idea that each of the administrations pursued different political reforms and constitutional amendment with the view to better the political fortune of the country. This high level of disparity in the Presidential discourse on national political development and independent data from other sources could be blamed on the lack of consensus on what constituted political development to both parties.

While emphasis on political development in the Presidential rhetorics revolved around the conduct of free and fair elections and transfer of power from military to civilian, or from one elected civilian administration to another; standard political development indicators generated from the independent bodies went beyond such elementary to assess other key factors upon which formidable political foundations of successful nations of the world were built. In short, election and other related issues were not among the three proxies used to assess political development in this study. However, a truly successful electoral process should be able to produce leaders that would deliver every other forms of political development.

That Nigerian past Presidents ranked abysmally low on possible international political development indices is worrisome. This is because political sector produces the leadership that steers the ship of other national development.

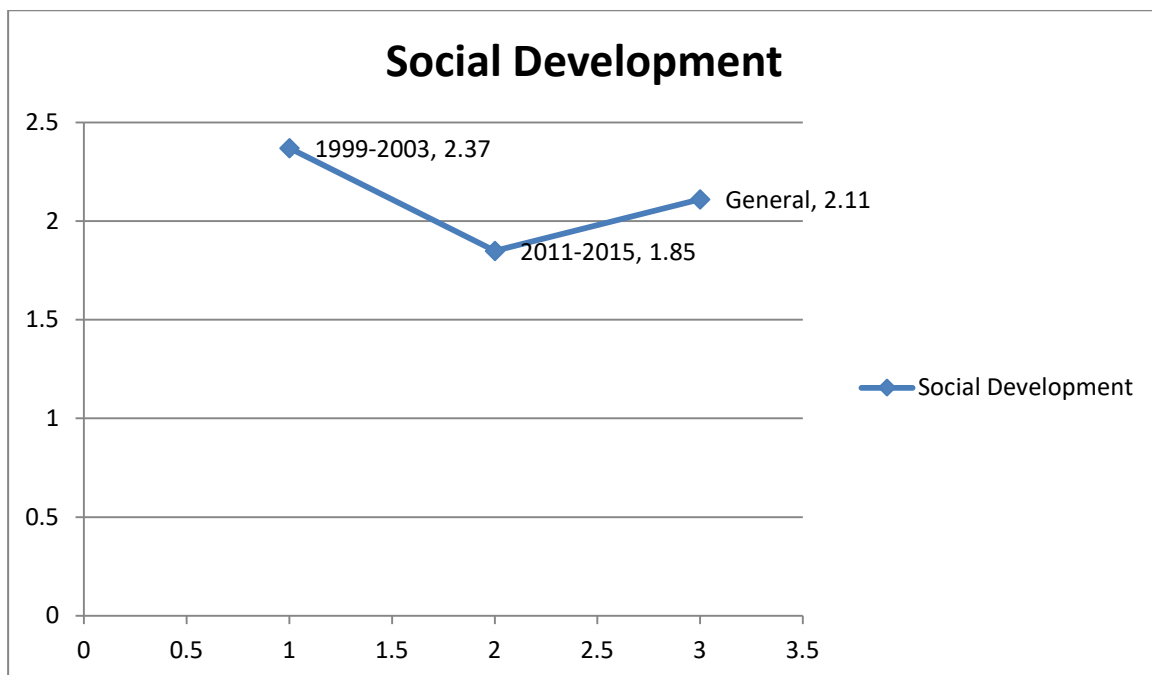


Figure 14: Correspondence between National Social Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

Figure 11 reveals that Nigerian past Presidents recorded low contribution (2.11) to social development. The figure also shows lack of correspondence between presidential rhetorics on

national social development (promises and claims) and the available independent facts on social development. Although, the two Presidents/administrations under investigation that promised to contribute positively to national social development did not claim to have done that in their Handover speeches, results from the World Development indicator show that they both contributed positively but at low and different degrees. For instance, while President Obasanjo’s 1999-2003 has a higher development contribution of 2.37, President Jonathan’s 2011-2015 administration has a development contribution of 1.85. Following the decision rule that Presidents’ contribution should be ≥ 2.5 , Nigerian past Presidents did not keep their social development promise and neither were they truthful in their claims to that effect.

This assertion is based on the WAD analysis of the seven selected indicators: policies for social inclusion/equity cluster average; social protection rating; employment to population ratio; access to improved water source; Individuals using the Internet, People using safely managed drinking water services; and total Unemployment rate were the indicators selected to serve as proxies for social development in this study (see Appendix B, Table vi).

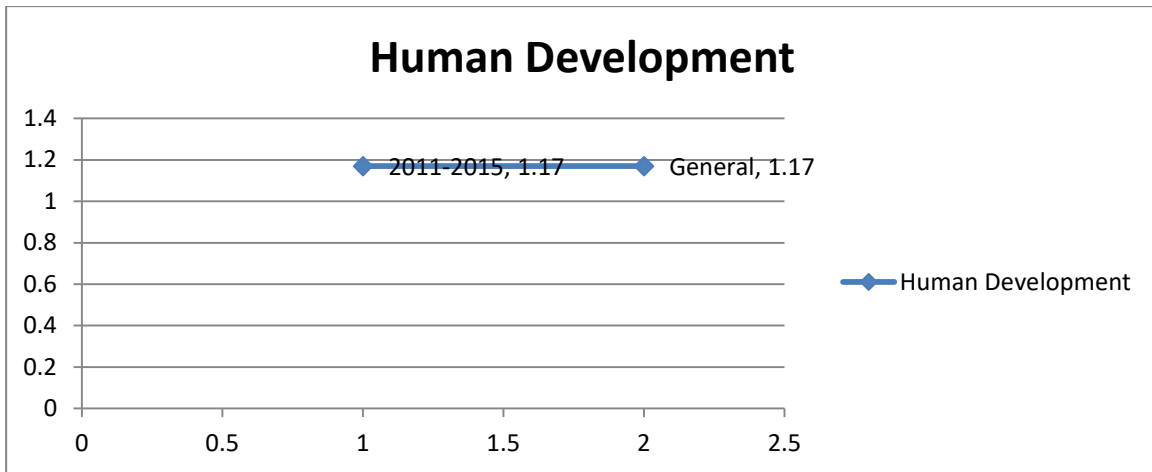


Figure 15: Correspondence between National Human Development Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and National Development Outcome (Reality)

Knowledge on the past Nigerian Presidents’ contribution to national human development was based on two indicators: Country Policy and Institutional Assessment on building human

resources rating and that of employment in services (see Appendix B, Table ix). As seen in table 3 and figure 28, only President Jonathan made commitment to human development through the claim identified in his Handover speech in 2015 and had a low development contribution score of 1.7. This implies that President Jonathan was not truthful in his claims to human development in his 2015 Handover speech.

However, the finding generally shows that national human development has not been considered as a serious development need by past Nigerian Presidents even though the negative signs of social underdevelopment is highly visible in the lives of many Nigerians.

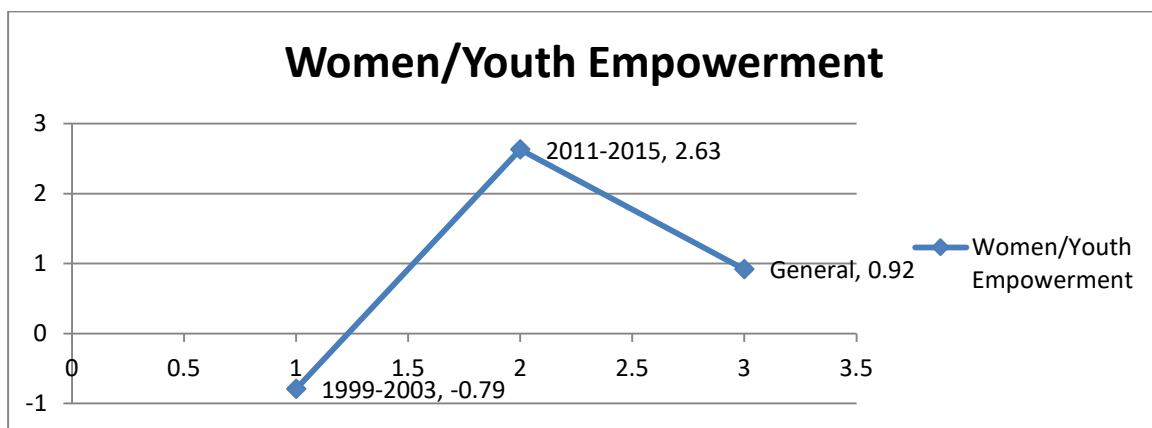


Figure 16: Correspondence between National Women/Youth Empowerment Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

Indicators like gender equality rating and youth unemployment were used as proxies to assess Nigerian past Presidents' contributions to national women/youth empowerment (see Appendix B, Table x). As indicated in table 3 and figure 29, only President Obasanjo (1999-2003) and Jonathan (2011-2015) made commitment to contribute and claimed to have contributed to women/youth empowerment respectively. While President Obasanjo who made the promise during his first tenure recorded a *very low contribution* of -0.79 to national women/youth de-empowerment, President Jonathan who claimed to have contributed to women/youth empowerment actually put up a *moderate contribution* of 2.63 to women/youth empowerment.

This means while President Obasanjo did not fulfil his promise to empower women and youth from 1999-2003, President Jonathan was truthful in his claim to have empowered women/youths from 2011-2015.

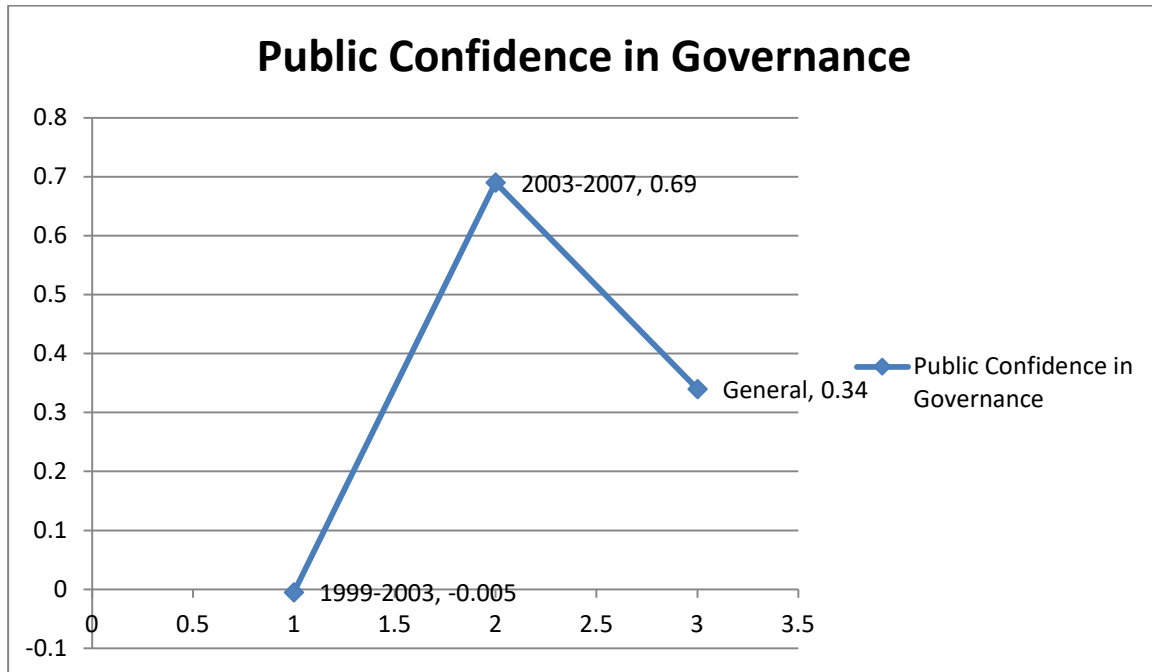


Figure 17: Correspondence between Public Confidence in Governance Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

Eleven indicators were used as proxies for public confidence in governance. These are: public sector management and institutions cluster average; quality of budgetary and financial management rating; quality of public administration rating; building human resources rating; business regulatory environment rating; debt policy rating; economic management cluster average rating; efficiency of revenue mobilization rating; equity of public resource use rating; fiscal policy rating; and property rights and rule-based governance rating (see Appendix B, Table xi). All the above indicators rate the government on the various issues and as such could serve as adequate measurements for public confidence in governance.

According to the data in table 3 and figure 30, only President Obasanjo promised to contribute to public confidence in governance while taking the oath of office in 1999 and claimed to have

contributed positively to public confidence in governance in his Handover speech in 2007. This could be as a result of the long military rule and other prevailing circumstance that characterized the administration (1999-2003) compared to other period since power returned to civilian government. However, at the end of his 1999-2003 tenure, he only made a *very low contribution* of -0.005 to lack of public confidence in governance; while at end of 2003-2007 administration, he recorded a *very low contribution* of 0.69 to the growth of public confidence in governance. This means the President made impact in building public confidence in governance in his last tenure than the first tenure. However, following the decision rule of ≥ 2.5 development contribution benchmark, President Obasanjo did not fulfil his promise to build public confidence in governance neither was he truthful in his claim to have done so.

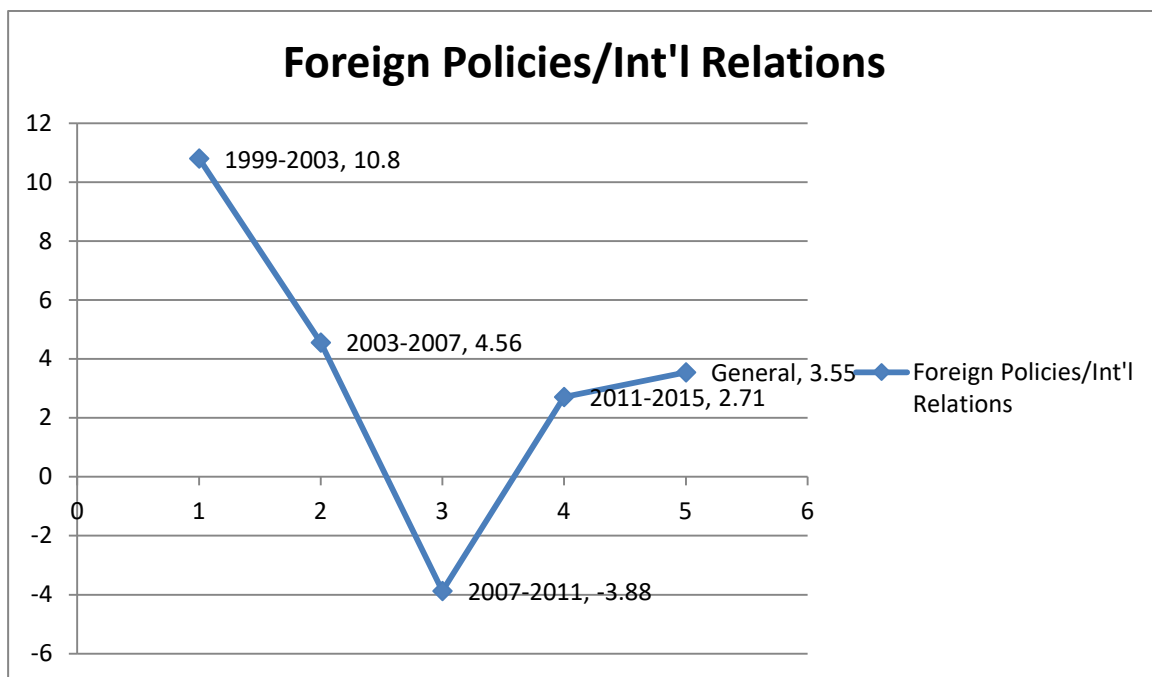


Figure 18: Correspondence between Effective Foreign Policies/International Relations Rhetorics (Promises/Claims) and Outcome (Reality)

On foreign policies/international relations, two indicators were assessed. These are Net income from abroad and net official development assistance received (see Appendix B, Table xii). It is assumed that if Nigeria has better foreign policies/international relations, it should reflect in the

volume of monies that flows into the country in form of business and aids. This is the only development theme where majority (75%, 3 out of 4) of Nigerian past leaders had done greatly well. As seen in table 3 and figure 31 above, President Obasanjo's 1999-2003 administration made a *very high contribution* of 10.8 to foreign policies/international relations; followed by his second tenure (2003-2007) and President Jonathan's (2011-2015) that recorded a *high contribution* of 4.56 and *moderate contribution* of 2.71 to foreign policies/international relations respectively. However, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007-2015 administration recorded a *moderate contribution* of -3.88 the underdevelopment of foreign policies/international relations.

Using the development contribution benchmark of ≥ 2.5 , it means while Presidents Obasanjo (1999-2003) and Jonathan (2011-2015) exceptionally and adequately kept their promises, respectively, to promote beneficial foreign policies and international relations (as stated in their Inaugural speeches) and were both truthful in their claims to have done so (as stated in their Handover speeches); Presidents Obasanjo (2003-2007) was truthful in his claims to have contributed positively to the promotion of beneficial foreign policies/international relations (as contained in his Handover speech). Nevertheless, President Yar'Adua/Jonathan (2007-2011) did not fulfil his promise to promote beneficial foreign policies/international relations.

4.4 Answering of Research Questions and Discussion of Findings

The main focus of this study was to determine the level of attention Nigerian Presidents paid to national development in their rhetorics (Inaugural and Handover speeches) and how that and their subsequent actions translate into a better wellbeing of the citizenry and the country as a whole. The following research questions were formulated from the four objectives to address the research problem raised in the study:

1. What are the dominant national development needs emphasized in Nigerian presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015?
2. What are the stated national development needs said to have been met by the Nigerian Presidents in their Handover speeches within the period under study?
3. What is the extent of disparity if any, in the development objectives stated in presidential Inaugural speeches and development achievements stated in presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015?
4. To what extent do national development issues in the presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015 compares with the independent data on national development?

4.4.1 Answering of research questions

Figures 1 to 2 provide general background information about the sampled speeches and help the researcher to put in perspective, data generated to answers the four research questions earlier raised in chapter one. Figure 1 showed that majority (74.4%) of the 730 sentences found in the 7 sampled speeches were contained in the 5 Inaugural speeches while only 25.6% were in the 2 Handover speeches. Perhaps, because Inaugural speeches were more than the Handover speeches and usually, Inaugural speeches contained the Presidents' intentions and roadmap for their administrations while that of the Handover were more of the summary of the Presidents' stewardship within the four or eight years in office as the case may be. The figure further revealed that President Obasanjo's 2003 and 1999 Inaugural speeches were the longest (157 and

156 sentences respectively), while President Jonathan's 2010 Inaugural speech was the shortest (22 sentences); perhaps, because President Jonathan delivered his 2010 Inaugural speech while the nation was mourning the death of his predecessor (late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua) and such occasion often calls for a brief rhetorics.

Figure 2 showed that Nigerian leaders were in sync with the nation's development situation and acknowledged that in their Inaugural and Handover speeches as national development related sentences were the major contents of Nigerian Presidents' Inaugural and Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. However, majority of the development related sentences were found in the five Inaugural speeches while only 27% (113) were contained in the two Handover speeches. This is expected considering the fact that there was fewer number of Handover speeches/sentences compare to the number of Inaugural speeches/sentences.

4.4.1.1 Research Question One: *What are the dominant national development needs emphasized in Nigerian presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015?*

The first research question as seen above sought to know the dominant national development objectives set by the Nigerian past Presidents in the Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015. This analysis is necessary to understand national development objectives/promises made by past Nigerian President within the period in question. This is because development related issues appeared to be one of the major challenges of the country as Nigeria continued to rank among the third world nations of the world. The underdevelopment state of the country would have also prompted the mass campaigned against the military rule which was successfully brought to an end on May 29th, 1999.

To ascertain the national development objectives in the selected presidential Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015 therefore, this dissertation employed both quantitative and qualitative content analysis research methods. The quantitative content analysis was used to ascertain the frequency at which national development objective related sentences appeared in the selected Inaugural

speeches while the qualitative content analysis method was employed to the specific dominant national development objective subthemes contained in the selected Inaugural speeches within the period.

The analysis of the findings in figure 3 (quantitative content analysis) and table 2 (qualitative content analysis) were the relevant data that explained this research question. The data from this figure and table clearly and jointly showed that past Nigerian Presidents understood the development needs of the nation and always set development objectives as agenda in their Inaugural speeches. This is because national development objectives/promises related sentences have the highest number of sentences (45.9% of the 305 sentences) in the inaugural speeches. Comparatively, while the average development promises related sentences among the five Inaugural speeches is 28, only President Obasanjo's 1999 and President Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speeches have sentences (60 and 34 respectively) that contained development related promises that weighed above the average number of sentences. President Jonathan's 2010 Inaugural speech contained the least number of sentences (4) expressing development objectives/promises may be because the speech in question is the least in terms of volume and number of sentences used.

The quantitative content analysis findings in figure 3 were further substantiated by the qualitative data contained in Table 2 where majority of the 18 development subthemes, 94.4% (17 out of 18) were featured in the 5 sampled Inaugural speeches as development objectives/promises. They include: political, economic, agricultural, health, educational, Niger Delta/petroleum, sports, infrastructural, and social, developments; as well as security; and women and youth empowerment. Others are corruption control, resource management, promotion of foreign policies/international relations, nation building, national unity, promotion of national values and public confidence in governance. This list looks quite exhaustive and on most development needs of the country. This therefore substantiates Alo's (2012) finding that African political

leaders generally acknowledged the socio-economic problems of Africa and the need for change in their rhetorics.

At individual level, President Obasanjo's 1999 Inaugural speech has the highest number (15 out of 18) of national development promises/objectives subthemes followed by that of Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007/2010 and Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speeches which have 11 out of 18 national development promises/objectives each. Ironically, President Obasanjo's 2003 Inaugural speech which was the longest has the lowest number (8 out of 18) of national development promises.

While corruption, foreign policies/international relations, nation building, national unity, national values, and public confidence in governance may not look like development on the surface, the way they are being managed could make or mar development in any other core areas of national development as demonstrated in the existing literature (Shettima, 2009; Ayatse and Akura, 2010; Adewale, 2011; Agbibo, 2012; and Dunu, Onoja, & Asogwa, 2017).

Suffice to say at this point that the two research methods (quantitative and qualitative content analysis) used in answering research question one performed complimentary role to each other as the findings of one substantiated the other. Findings from both research methods therefore underscored the fact that past Nigerian Presidents set national development objectives as agenda in their Inaugural speeches within the period in question as demonstrated in other climes (Katula, 2001; Humphrey, 2014). This therefore further substantiates the basic tenets of Agenda Setting Theory and justified its renewed application in political communication studies in general and presidential speeches in particular within the developing democracies in Africa and Nigeria specifically.

4.4.1.2 Research Question Two: *What are the stated national development needs said to have been met by the Nigerian Presidents in their Handover speeches within the period under study?*

The second research question placed priority on the achievements of Nigerian past Presidents while in office. The assumption is that as already identified from available literature and research (Thomson, 2011 and Petry, 2014), leaders strive to make good their promises while in office. Therefore, their Handover speeches often reflect their areas of achievements (Adjei, & Ewusi-Mensah, 2016) especially those identified in their Inaugural speeches at the beginning of their administrations. The analysis of the national development achievements related sentences and subthemes in the hand over speeches of the past Nigerian Presidents as seen in figure 4 and table 3 respectively provided lucid answers to the research question.

According to the quantitative content analysis data in figure 4, majority (80.5%) of the 112 development related sentences found in the Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015 were claims to national development they achieved while in offices within the period. This is also supported by the qualitative content analysis data as seen in table 3. The table revealed that 100% of the 18 development subthemes in the two presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015 contained national development claims. These include: political, economic, agricultural, health, human, educational, Niger Delta/petroleum, sports, and infrastructural developments; as well as security; and women and youth empowerment. Others are corruption control, resource management, promotion of foreign policies/international relations, nation building, national unity, promotion of national values and public confidence in governance. These findings corroborate the existing literature that leaders commit themselves to achieving their development promises while in office.

Surprisingly, President Jonathan's 2015 Handover speech had more national development achievements subthemes (16 out of 18) than President Obasanjo's 2007 (9 out of 18) even

though the speech covered only six years administration as against the 8 years regime of President Obasanjo.

Again, the quantitative and qualitative content analysis method were complimentary to each other in finding answers to research question two as seen above. Findings from both research methods suggest that national development achievements claims were dominant content of presidential Handover speeches in Nigeria from 1999 to 2015. This supports earlier findings like Adjei, & Ewusi-Mensah (2016) which report that in democratic system, leaders were expected to present a summary of their stewardship: “achievements and failures, challenges faced, and the way forward, some suggestions for the in-coming government, and a thank you message to the entire citizenry” (p. 36) in their handover speeches. Findings from both research methods equally upheld the basic tenets of Agenda Setting Theory and justified the continuous application of the theory in political communication studies and presidential speeches in particular within the context of developing democracies in Africa and Nigeria specifically.

4.4.1.3 Research Question Three: *What is the extent of disparity if any, in the development objectives stated in presidential Inaugural speeches and development achievements stated in presidential Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015?*

The essence of question three was to ascertain the extent to which the President stuck to the national development objectives or promises made at the beginning of their administrations. This was done by comparing the national development objectives/promises with the national development achievements the Presidents claimed to have achieved at the end of their tenures from 1999 to 2015. This research question was succinctly answered by quantitative content analysis data in figure 5 and the qualitative content analysis data in table 4. According to quantitative data in figure 5, there was very low level of consistency and coherence in the number of sentences the four Nigerian past Presidents employed in the expression of their

development objectives and achievements as the average simple percentage difference (SPD) recorded, 83.4%, was far above the 50% maximum allowed benchmark.

While only President Obasanjo's 2003-2007 administration maintained high level of consistency and coherence (16.20% SPD) in the choice of number of sentences to express national development promises (as in his 2003 Inaugural speech) and achievements (as in his 2007 Handover speech); President Yar'Adua/Jonathan recorded the highest level of inconsistency and incoherence (163% SPD) in their choice of the number of sentences to express their development objectives (as in Yar'Adua's 2007 and Jonathan's 2010 Inaugural speeches) and achievements (as partly reflected in Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speech) in Jonathan's 2015 handover speech. Specifically, the figure shows that Presidents Yar'Adua/Jonathan 2007-2011 regime and Obasanjo's first tenure made more development promises than claims; while President Jonathan's 2011-2015 and President Obasanjo's 2003-2007 administrations made more development claims than promises.

The qualitative data in table 4 further lend credence to the fact that the level of consistency and coherence in the communication of development objectives and achievements by past Nigerian Presidents were very low. According to the table, the average disparity rate in the development objectives and achievements themes raised by all the Presidents within the period under study was far above (61.3%) the 50% benchmark. However, against the finding from the quantitative data in figure 5, President Obasanjo's 1999 to 2003 recorded the highest level of consistency and coherence (46.7% ADR), while President Yar'Adua/Jonathan's 2007 to 2011 recorded the lowest level of consistency and coherence (81.8% ADR). This means the number of sentences or length of the speech did not necessarily reflect the number of development themes that could be found in a presidential speech.

The two research methods (quantitative and qualitative content analysis) and both methods of data analysis (SPDM and ADRM) were complimentary to each other in finding and analyzing

the data meant to provide answers to the research question three. In that, findings from both research methods and results from both methods of analysis agree with each other as seen above. That both SPDM and ADRM reinforced each other further lends credence to use of both analytical methods in the evaluation of coherence in presidential rhetorics on national development as seen in this study. In addition, that there was high level of disparity between presidential rhetorics on national development objectives and achievements suggests that Nigerian Presidents were not consistent in their communication of national development objectives and achievements from 1999 to 2015. This is equally an indication that the President would not have taken the issue of national development seriously as seen in their speeches. The findings therefore negate the basic

4.4.1.4 Research Question Four: *To what extent do national development issues in the presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015 corresponds with the independent data on national development?*

This research question sought to know the extent to which development claims by the Presidents agreed with the actual development recorded under the administrations of the affected Presidents. Data in table 5 and figures 6 to 18 revealed that even though Nigerian past President partly kept to their promises on national development at the level of output analysis, the same cannot be said at the level of outcome analysis. This is because while the Presidents made considerable efforts towards achieving the set national development goals and claims through the promulgation of policies and programmes, budgetary provision, legislations/laws, etc, those efforts did not translate into tangible short and midterm development reality within the period in question.

This means Nigerian Presidents often favour negative tenets of rhetorics as a tool for political communication in relation to their communication on national development in their Inaugural and Handover speeches. This is because Nigerian presidential rhetorics on national development

fell under what Partington (2003) referred to as vacuous, insincere speech or political “spin” and as such, violated the moral requirements of ‘decency’ as encapsulated in the Correspondence Theory of Truth and Normative Theory of Truth. The theories require that leaders should avoid making promises which they knowingly cannot keep (realism criterion); avoid making promises which they do not intend to keep (sincerity criterion); and also avoid making contradictory promises (consistency criterion). This finding also points to the fact that Nigerian democracy and presidency in particular has progressed albeit below expectations. Is like Bishop Whatley had Nigerian situation in mind when he commented in the introduction to one of his textbooks, *Elements of Rhetorics*, that the title was “apt to suggest to many minds an associated idea of empty declamation, or of dishonest artifice” (1828, p. xxxi). Many decades down the line, Nigerian experience is still inclined to support the assumption of contemporary scholars like Browne & Dickson (2010); McCrisken (2011); Easterly & Williamson (2011); and Hehir (2011) that political rhetorics is the antithesis of action or reality.

To sum up the findings under the historical (output and outcome) analysis, it is important to point out that findings on presidential performance on national development using the historical output analysis method did not agree with that of the historical outcome analysis method. This means presidential efforts in terms of policies, programmes, laws/legislations, budget and so on did not lead to the significant short term and midterm impact on the identified areas of national development. This difference may be attributed to the indentified challenges to national development as enumerated in some of the speeches analyzed as well as other factors like lack of political will, corruption, poor and hasty policy formulation to mention but a few as seen in the nation’s development history. The findings on the disparity in both approaches therefore question the sincerity of Nigerian Presidents in their development efforts as well as raised concerns on their level of commitment to national development issues in the country.

4.5 Discussion of Findings

The data analyzed in this study were obtained from secondary sources, presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches, World Development Indicators Databank, Transparency International Data, Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin, and Historical Documents bordering on national development spread across the period of 16 years (1999 to 2015). As previously stated in chapter one of this study, the central research question revolves around ascertaining the nexus between Presidential rhetorics on national development and their actual commitment/achievements in national development while in office. It is the assumption of this study that when the President expressed commitment to national development in the form of promises/objectives and claims, such would not only be consistent but should also reflect in their performance as captured in policies, programmes, laws, legislation, budget, etc and independent data from independent bodies.

The discussion of presidential rhetorics and performance on national development was therefore based on Agenda Setting Theory as well as Coherence and Correspondence Theories of Truth as stated in chapter two. These theories essentially extrapolate the criteria for the evaluation of presidential speeches vi-a-vis national development within the period under study. While Agenda Setting Theory looks at the level of attention Nigerian Presidents gave to national development in their rhetorics; Coherence Theory explains the level of consistency of presidential communication on national development; and Correspondence Theory of Truth explains the actual veracity of presidential rhetorics on national development within the period under study.

It is clear from the literature that political leaders usually employ political speeches in the bid to make their political objectives and achievements known to their subjects. These means, one can rely on presidential speeches for the collection of developmental promises and claims as this dissertation set out to achieve. It was also established in the literature that leaders are under

obligation to fulfil any development promises made and should also lay claims to those things they are sure to have achieved. It was against these backdrops that this study was formulated to evaluate Nigerian presidential rhetorics in relations to national development from 1999 to 2015. A critical analysis and the discussion of the data presented above following the literature survey, and research methodology therefore offered a wide range of results.

The Agenda Setting theory explains the power of the Presidents to set national development agenda; while Correspondence Theory of Truth opines that a statement or proposition can be said to be true if it corresponds with independent facts (Dunwoody, 2009), and the Coherence Theory of Truth argues that for a statement to be true, it must be consistent with other related statements.

Looking at the findings from the quantitative (content analysis) and qualitative (content analysis and historical analysis (both output and outcome analysis) critically, one can see substantial levels of correlation among the data but at different degrees. The findings from the quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis supported and substantiated each other on the national development objectives and claims emphasized in both presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. In the same vein, findings from the quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis as well as the SPDM and ADRM methods of data analysis supported and substantiated each other respectively in the area of disparity in presidential rhetorics on national development objectives and achievements within the period in question. However, findings from the historical output analysis and historical outcome analysis did not agree with each other as presidential efforts on the identified areas of national development did not translate into tangible developments reality as seen in the available independent data. This disparity in the results from both methods could be attributed to the indentified challenges to national development as enumerated in some of the speeches analyzed as well as other factors like lack of political will, corruption, poor and hasty policy formulation

to mention but a few as seen in the nation's development history which would have affected the result derivable from the identified national development efforts.

Critical analysis from the findings in this study points to the direction that national development objectives contents of presidential rhetorics (Inaugural speech) actually reflects the development needs of the country as they touch on almost all the key areas like the economy, politics, education, health, infrastructure, Niger Delta/petroleum, agriculture, corruption control, nation building, as well as promotion of national unity, values, and public confidence in governance; women/youth empowerment; better resource management; and social development. These identified national development objectives are in agreement with Todaro and Smith's (2003) itemized ideal objectives of development which include, to:

1. Increase availability and widen the distribution of basic life sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and protection.
2. Raise levels of living in addition to higher incomes, the provision of more jobs, better education, and greater attention to cultural and human values, all of which will serve not only to enhance material well-being but also to generate greater individual and national self esteem.
3. Expand the range of economic and social choices available to individuals and nation by freeing them from servitude and dependence, not only in relation to other people and nation states but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery.

As the findings also demonstrate, all the democratically elected Presidents of the country always signed off from office amidst cheers, highlighting many lofty national development vision that were brought to fruition. These cut across almost all the aforementioned development objectives and indication that Nigerian leaders were fully aware of the development needs of the country and have the ability to turn the fortune of the country around should they commit enough time and resources to the set goals.

However, over 57 years after independence, the above areas in the life of Nigeria continued to receive attentions for improvement from her leaders at the dawn of every administration. Initially, all accusing fingers pointed to the military for their protracted rule that set the hand of national development on a reverse order. However, if Thirlwall's (2003) itemized characteristics of developing countries which include: low level of capital accumulation, the dominance of agriculture and petty services, rapid population growth, exports dominated by primary commodities, unemployment, unequal national income distribution, poverty weighted growth rate, lack of basic welfare needs, poor state of development and structural change, poor industrialization and growth; are anything to go by, then the 16 years democratic experimentation coupled with many lofty national development objectives expressed and the asserted claims in all the presidential Inaugural and Handover speeches within the period has not been able to change the status of Nigeria as an 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' country.

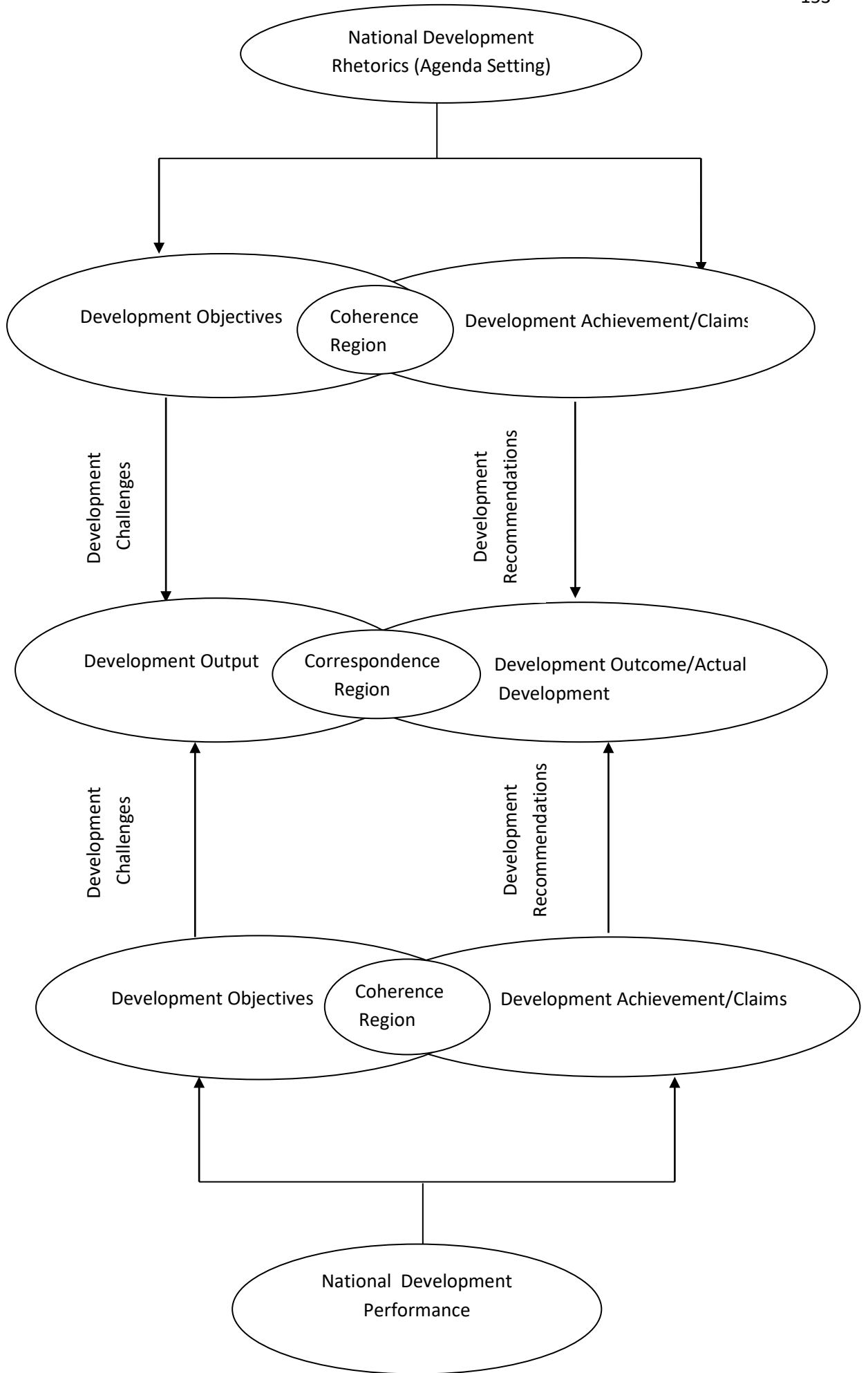
As findings demonstrate, with regards to the question of consistency between the set national development objectives/promises and national development achievements claims, Nigerian President often contradict themselves on their development motives and accomplishments. This was measured at two different stages: the number of sentences relating to objectives and claims as well as the specific number of development objectives and claims subthemes. Although, the disparity at the level of number of objectives and claims related sentences was insignificant, the same cannot be said in terms of the number of specific national development subthemes. This is because the Presidents often sign off with list of national development that was mostly different from the development objectives they set for themselves while assuming offices. This shows lack of focus and a demonstration of the fact that Nigerian past Presidents employed rhetorics as a '...dishonest artifice' (Whatley, 1828, p.xxxi), an antithesis of action (Browne & Dickson, 2010; McCrisken, 2011), or reality (Easterly & Williamson, 2011; Hehir, 2011) in their narratives on national development.

However, synchronization of the rhetorics-solicited-public efforts with that of the leaders through presidential commitment to set development objectives are necessary if the country must transcend from the class of underdeveloped countries to the comity of developed nations of the world. This is because, over the years, experience has clearly shown that successful leaders in Africa like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Alpha Oumar Konare of Mali, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania, Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Thomas Isidore Noel Sankara of Burkina Faso, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Samora Michale of Mozambique, and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia, who were able to turn the fortune of their people in different ways did that through their positive rhetorics aimed at making the citizens to dissipate their energy and time towards the same goals they were also committed towards achieving. Nevertheless, when leaders, as seen in the findings, instead of using their political speeches to establish and maintain social ties, express feelings, and sell ideas, policies and programmes to their followers (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012); send conflicting signals by moving contrary to their words; they throw the people into confusion and hinder progress.

It appears, in the area of outputs, which is regarded as one of the major test of leaders performance (Thomson, 2001; Petry, 2014), that Nigerian past President had partly kept their promises towards national development within the period under study. A leader, according to Thomson (2001) and Petry (2014) is said to have kept his/her promise if he/she subsequently followed the promises with commensurable government action like enactment of law, regulation, a treaty or an agreement, introduce relevant policies and programmes, or made adequate budgetary provisions; partly kept when the corresponding action is a compromise (the action is completed but it does not go as far as what was promised) or the promised action is not in force at the time of analysis, but is expected to be in force before the end of the administration; and broken when it is not followed by a government action, and there is little or no expectation that action will be taken any time soon. At the outcome (the very tangible impact made on national development) level however, Nigerian leaders' performance on those national development areas

they spotted out themselves left much to be desired, as findings suggest that no Nigerian past Presidents fulfilled his national development promises as contained in their Inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015 and neither were they truthful in their claims to have contributed to national development as documented in their Handover speeches within the period under study. This is an indication that Nigerian leaders have problem with executing national development goals. Such situation could give room for waste of national resources that are supposed to be used for uplifting the people's wellbeing.

The overall findings of this study as it pertain to presidential rhetorics and national development performance could be diagrammatically represented in the model bellow.



As seen in the model, President set development agenda in their inaugural and handover speeches and tried to achieve same using different development outputs but were often hindered by different development challenges which in turn could impact on the actual development outcome (performance). The coherence between the presidential rhetorics on national development objectives and achievements is represented in the point of intersection between the development objectives/promises and development achievements/claims. The correspondence between presidential rhetorics on national development and the actual national development is as represented in the point of intersection between the development rhetorics and development outcome.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study was conducted to evaluate Nigerian presidential rhetorics (Inaugural and Handover speeches), in relation to the development challenges confronting the nation from 1999 to 2015. The results of the study would be significant contributions to the very limited references on the nexus between presidential rhetorics and national development in developing countries like Nigeria. The study used the mixed research methodology, which comprised content analysis (both qualitative and quantitative) and Historical Analysis (both output and outcome analysis).

The data for this study were generated from secondary sources including the Inaugural and Handover speeches of Nigerian past Presidents from 1999 to 2015; World Development Indicator Data Bank; Transparency International; Nigerian annual budget; Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Statistical Bulletin, and other relevant historical documents. The data were collected using coding sheet. The simple percentage and frequency table were used for analyzing the quantitative content analysis data generated in the course of this dissertation. The qualitative content analysis and historical (output) generated data were analyzed using thematic method (analysis of categories to extract meaning) and interpretivism; a post-structuralist research paradigm in which social reality or the social world is understood by a researcher from the subjective experiences of individuals (the researched), and the task of the former (researcher) is to present a narrative that as much as possible represents the informed understanding of the collective subjective experiences, views, and perspectives of the researched (Walsham, 1995; Chowdhury, 2014; and Elster, 2007). Simple Percentage Difference Model (SPDM), Average Disparity Rate Analysis Model (ADRAM) were specifically designed by the researcher for the

analysis of disparity in presidential rhetorics on national development objectives and achievements in their Inaugural and Handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. In the same vein, the Weighted Average Development Analysis Model (WADAM) was specifically designed by the researcher and employed in the analysis of the historical (outcome) data generated for this study.

The Agenda Setting Theory as well as Correspondence and Coherence Theories of Truth provided the framework for the discourse in this study. These theories have tended to form a basis for most of the general discourses on presidential speeches. Their relevance to the study is illustrated in the insightful explanations of development Agenda Setting function of Nigerian President and the truthfulness of development narratives in presidential speeches from 1999 to 2015. The materials reviewed centered around the issue of political rhetorics (speeches) as an aspect of political communication and national development as a function of leaders in developing nations like Nigeria.

The finding from the study demonstrated that national development is a dominant content of presidential rhetorics in Nigeria as majority (57.3% that is 418) of the 730 sentences in both the inaugural and handover speeches studied were national development related. Expectedly, the study equally reported that national development objectives/promises theme dominated the inaugural speeches, while national development achievement/claims theme dominated the presidential handover speeches. This corroborates the existing literature that while presidential inaugural speech often outlines leaders' objectives and plans for their people and the country; the handover speech centres on the recall of their achievements while in office (Van Dijk, 1993; Humphrey, 2014; Adjei, & Ewusi-Mensah, 2016). This finding equally suggests a strong awareness of the national development needs among Nigerian Presidents between 1999 and 2015 and corroborates Alo's (2012) assertion that African political leaders generally acknowledged the socio-economic problems of Africa and the need for change in their rhetorics.

Finding also shows that there were 17 national development objectives/promises subthemes in the inaugural speeches which include: political, agricultural, educational, economic, infrastructural, health, and social developments; corruption control; public confidence in governance; security of lives and properties; development of Niger Delta/Petroleum sector; promotion of good foreign policies/international relations; women/youth empowerment; promotion of national unity and values; effective resource management; and other general issues. There were also 18 national development claims in the two handover speeches studied which include: political, economic, infrastructural, agricultural, health, human, educational, and sports developments; promotion of national values and unity; nation building; corruption control; security of lives and properties; women/youth empowerment; development of Niger Delta/petroleum; promotion of foreign policies/international relations; public confidence in governance; and general development issues.

However, the study reported that development achievements/praise theme which ordinarily ought to be an exclusive content of handover speeches was also found in the inaugural speeches this could be attributed to the prevailing political happening surrounding the selected speeches. For instance, development achievement/praise theme found its way into President Obasanjo's 1999 inaugural speech by way of praising the immediate past Military President Abdulsalami Abubakar for his contribution to national development; the said theme again appeared in President Obasanjo's 2003 inaugural speech as a recount of his development achievements during his first tenure since there was no other former handover speech in that year. Similarly, development achievement theme appeared in President Yar'Adua's 2007 and President Jonathan's 2010 inaugural speeches in the form of praising the immediate past administrations for their contributions to national development. In 2011, the theme again appeared in President Jonathan's inaugural speech as a recount of his development achievements from 2010 to 2011 since there was no other official handover speech as he handed over power to himself after winning the 2011 presidential election.

Finding revealed low level of coherence between the development objectives and achievements themes raised in Nigerian Presidential inaugural and handover speeches from 1999 to 2015. This is because the Simple Percentage Difference (SPD) in the number of sentences used for the expression of development objectives and achievements and the average disparity rate (ADR) in the development objectives and achievements themes raised by all the Presidents within the period under study were 83.4% and 61.3% respectively which were far above the 50% benchmark. This means that the Presidents neither strictly stayed on the national development agenda they set for their administrations while taking oath of offices nor did they limit their claims to only those areas they would have affected positively while in office. This however negates the basic tenet of Coherence Theory of Truth which suggests that for the President to be judged as truthful, he must maintain some level of consistency in his rhetorics (Schmitt, 2004). This no doubt has negative implication on the reliability of political rhetorics in the country.

Again, the study found that even though Nigerian past President have always put in necessary development outputs like policies and programmes as well as legislations to drive their development promises; there was low level of correspondence between Nigerian presidential rhetorics on national development and the available actual or independent development reality as advocated by the Correspondence Theory of Truth. This means no Nigerian past Presidents fulfilled his national development promises as contained in their inaugural speeches from 1999 to 2015 and neither were they truthful in their claims to have contributed to national development as documented in their handover speeches within the period under study.

The overall findings from the study demonstrate great knowledge of the development deficit of the country among Nigerian leaders but usually matched with low political will and personal commitment to turn things around.

5.2 Conclusion

National development is always the function of leaders in every developed clime, and their identification in Nigerian Presidents' rhetorics is an indication of awareness of same within the parlance of Nigerian democracy. The result of this study shows that Nigerian Presidents also recognized their role in moving the country from the state of underdevelopment that had continued to affect the nation since independence.

A critical appraisal of the theories (Agenda Setting theory as well as Coherence and Correspondence Theories of Truth) used in this study also offered further explanation on the development rhetorics and performances of Nigerian Presidents from 1999 to 2015. The Agenda Setting Theory for instance, basically explains the process whereby political leaders highlight certain issues or problems as the most salient that require the society's attention per time. In the same vein, the Coherence Theory of Truth argues that a proposition is true only if it maintains some level of consistency; while the Correspondence Theory of Truth opines that a statement or proposition can be said to be true if and only if it corresponds with independent facts (Dunwoody, 2009). While the Agenda Setting Theory explains the dominance of development contents of presidential rhetorics, Correspondence and Coherence Theories of Truth explain the quality of the content of presidential rhetorics on national development.

One of the major findings and contributions of this study to knowledge is that past Nigerian Presidents set national development objectives and achievements as agenda in their Inaugural and Handover speeches within the period in question. This finding supports the tenets of Agenda Setting Theory and justifies its renewed application in political communication studies in general and presidential speeches in particular within the developing democracies in Africa and Nigeria specifically.

Other major findings of this study and a definite contribution to knowledge are the minimal coherence in presidential rhetorics on national development in Nigeria as well as minimal

correspondence between presidential development rhetorics and performances from 1999 to 2015 as against the principles of the Coherence and Correspondence Theories of Truth. However, the study substantiated and expanded the use of Coherence and Correspondence theories of Truth in measuring whether leaders match their rhetorics with performance on national development while in office. Closely tied to the above contributions to knowledge is the fact that this study suggested three different models that could be used in measuring presidential rhetorics and performance on national development when relying on the Coherence and Correspondence Theories of Truth as theoretical framework. The models are the Simple Percentage Difference Model (SPDM), the Average Disparity Rate Model (ADRM) and the Weighted Average Development Analysis Model (WADAM).

In general, the study argues that the prevailing lack of consistency and correspondence among and between presidential rhetorics and performance on national development in Nigeria could be a reflection of the evolving nature of the democratic structure of Nigerian society. This is significant in that, it could be inferred that the level of democratic evolution in the society could influence the use of political rhetorics as form of political communication. In this, this study was able to establish a benchmark regarding the state of emerging political communication in the evolving democratic Nigeria and also, identify the possible shortcomings of the existing approach to political rhetorics and speech analysis.

The findings from the study could therefore enhance the capacity and knowledge level of political speech analysts, speech writers, the mass media and the civil societies in the country in the analysis of presidential speeches as well as speech writing for Nigerian leaders. It could also act as a spring board for further research in recognition of the identified research gap.

The models as proposed by the researcher could also serve as a spring board by other researchers in political communication by using it in the analysis of political rhetorics and in such a way modify and sharpen the models to globally accepted standard for global use.

It is therefore safe to conclude at this point that in countries where democratic principles and structure are still emerging like Nigeria, presidential rhetorics could provide insights into government development agenda, but the same may not be a reflection of leaders' true development intentions/objectives and achievements as obtains in other developed democracies of the world where leaders are responsible for whatever content that finds its way into their speeches. This is because, rather than using presidential rhetorics (Inaugural and Handover speeches) to reflect the development intents, efforts and achievements; Nigerian Presidents employed same as tools to influence public minds to be positively inclined towards their administrations. Issues addressed in this study raised additional questions that have implications for the future development of presidential speeches in the country and in the formulation of an appropriate guidelines and theory for political rhetorics and national development in African societies.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the major findings of this study, the following recommendations are therefore put forward:

1. There is need for Nigerian leaders to follow the moral requirement of decency in their political speech by avoiding making promises which they knowingly cannot keep, avoiding making promises which they did not intend to keep, and avoiding making contradictory promises.
2. As much as possible, Nigerian Presidents should stick to the development promises or objectives set out in their Inaugural speech when they assume office.
3. There is need for Nigerian Presidents to include in their list of achievements, only national development issues they are sure to have achieved while in office to avoid misinforming the populace.
4. Nigerian Presidents should increase development outputs in development areas identified in their Inaugural speeches to achieve while in office.

5. If the country must attain the Sustainable Development Goals by 2020, there is need for improved media literacy as well as political education among Nigerians to enable them hold their Presidents accountable and responsible for missed development objectives and goals.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Studies

Research in the nexus between political rhetorics and national development is still relatively new, especially with regards to Nigerian context, as such profound opportunities abound for more research in this area. Researchers could examine many different aspects of political rhetorics and national development based on the findings of this study.

This study has suggested that there is minimal coherence among Nigerian presidential rhetorics on national development. Future research could be conducted in this important area, perhaps to understand factors that would have necessitated the lack of coherence in presidential narratives on national developments. The scope of this study did not include an examination of the Presidents' angle of these speeches studied. The need for a more extensive study to take into account the Presidents and their speech writers' perspectives in the production of presidential speeches cannot be ignored. The essence of such study would be to identify the interfering variables that influence the contents of presidential speeches.

The study also noted that there is minimal correspondence between presidential rhetorics and independent facts/reality on national development in Nigeria. This no doubt, calls for further investigations. Other research efforts could be channelled towards understanding the level of presidential commitment to their development objectives and the extent of truth in their development claims through a survey of public opinion on these areas. After all, communication is a two way thing, and political communication can better be understood from the stand point of both the speaker and the listener.

Another important area which this study did not focus on, and where future research could be conducted is the reason why Nigerian leaders could not match their rhetorics with development performance. This is a major area of concern and challenge to the nation as the country continues wallowing in underdevelopment in spite of the many hearth warming Inaugural and Handover speeches over the years.

5.5 Limitations of Study

The study is not without some limitations. As an emerging sub-genre of development communication studies, there seems to be lack of sizeable domestic literature. However, the researcher was able to establish a strong literature base using available literature from other climes. There were equally challenges in accessing the necessary reliable uniform national secondary data that would have served as the best proxies to the different forms of development themes identified in this study. Nevertheless, the researcher was able to overcome this challenge by relying on internationally accepted data and interrogated the best possible proxies to national development from the identified sources.

Although, the study take into account only the entry and exit years of the selected administrations as seen in the WADAM, limiting the performance analysis to those two important years out of the four year-term enabled the researcher to considerably avoid the error of push over effects. That is a situation whereby the development policies and programmes of the previous administration continue to engineer changes or affect the development performance some years into the succeeding administration.

Even thouempirical evaluation of presidential rhetorics on national development and performance using the Coherence and Correspondence Theories of Truth is relatively novel and there seems to be lack of adequate measuring parameter for such task in the existing literature, the researcher designed and applied SPDM, ADRM and WADAM to adequately measure presidential rhetorics and performance on national development in Nigeria.

Another major limitation of this study is the use of multiple research method to unravel the complexity of the study. However, the diligent utilization of each of the research methods added rigour and depth to the study.

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