



## ABSTRACT

This study is an appraisal of the Buhari Administration anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria (2015-2020). A survey research design in which one hundred and twenty randomly selected students, market women, civil and public servants as well as members of the civil society constituted the sample was used. Three research hypotheses were raised and tested at 5% level of significance using student 't' test statistic and the result revealed that: there is a significant relationship between poverty and prevalence of

# A N APPRAISAL OF THE BUHARI ADMINISTRATION ANTI-CORRUPTION CRUSADE IN NIGERIA (2015-2020)

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## Introduction

Corruption is as old as the existence of man. It exists in the public and private sectors, profit and non-profit as well as charitable organizations. It subsists both in the developing and also in the developed nations but predominant in the developing countries hence, it remains a symptom of a poorly functioning nation. Corrupt practices did not begin today; the history is as old as the world. Ancient civilizations have traces of widespread illegality and corruption. Thus, corruption has been ubiquitous in complex societies from ancient Egypt, Israel, Rome, and Greece down to the present (Lipset and Lenz 2000).

In the Nigerian case, corruption is known to impact almost every facet of human organization, including the public bureaucracy, security agencies and financial institutions, among others. Dike (1999), for example, underscores these tendencies when he contends that the menace of corruption led to slow movement of files in offices, police extortion at tollgates and slow traffics on the highways, port congestion, parliamentary delay of legislation, queues at passport offices and gas stations, ghost workers syndrome, election irregularities, among others (Dike 1999). The import of this is that while corruption is a global phenomenon, it would appear to have become more endemic and problematic in Nigeria, prevalent among both the leaders and followers. But



*corruption in Nigeria; there is a significant relationship between poor institutional framework and corruption in Nigeria and there is a significant relationship between societal/extended family pressures and corruption in Nigeria. The study therefore concluded that in order to minimize corruption, restore the fame and dignity of the economy and make it an environment for rapid economic growth with minimal level of poverty, political/public office holders should not only be made accountable for whatever action they take while in office but that the society should allow them to discharge their duties conscientiously while in office without over-burden them with huge and sentimental personal request which could make them susceptible to corruption while the immunity clause that restrained established institutions from prosecuting corrupt public office holders while in office be removed in the best interest of the citizen and the nation.*

**Keywords:** Corruption, Anti-corruption, Poverty, Institutional Framework, Family Pressure.

successive Nigerian governments have always devised means of waging war against the menace of corruption, with varying degrees of success (Oladokun, 2007).

Well-endowed in terms of natural and human resources, it is ironic that Nigeria remains one of the most under-developed countries of the world, largely because of the menace of corruption as the scourge (corruption) has become a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabrics of Nigeria's development and a way of life of doing things (Obadan 2001; Omotola, 2008). Corruption possesses high-premium opportunity costs. While it favours those (minority) who have undercut the system, it tightens the noose on the generality of the people (majority) resulting in poverty, political instability, economic stagnation and in some cases retrogression and death.

In fact, corruption is at the root of several policy somersaults that characterize the polity: there is no continuity as every government official is propelled by what the system can yield to him or her. This proclivity for self-empowerment at the expense of the state has mired Nigeria deep in the quagmire of corruption. The deep-seated nature of corruption in Nigeria has led Nwala (1997), Thoevothin (2003) to describe it as "endemic" and Dike (2005) as "pandemic". The situation has become so bad to the extent that as far back as 1993, Achebe remarked that 'keeping an average Nigerian from being corrupt is like keeping a goat from eating yam (Achebe, 1988) and that 'anyone who can say that corruption in Nigeria has not yet become alarming is either a fool, a crook or else does not live in this country'. No wonder, the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index of 1995 to 1997 named Nigeria as the most corruption ridden country in the world while in 1999, the country (Nigeria) was equally named as being the second most corruption-ridden nation in the world (Ojaide, 2000).



Without doubt, Corruption has permeated the Nigerian society, inhibited the economic development of Nigeria, promoted income inequality, promoted the squandering of scarce financial resources, capital flight, promoted withdrawal of foreign investment amongst many others. However, President Muhammed Buhari, committed to the fulfilment of his electioneering campaign that he would fight corruption headlong if voted to power and use recovered money to fund his party's programmes on education, health, social infrastructure, youth employment and pensions for the elderly has commenced the prosecution of corrupt Nigerians through the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission (ICPC).

Besides, corruption is a clog in the wheel of progress of Nigeria, as well as a malaise that inflicts every aspect of the society. According to Ribadu cited in Obuah (2010a), corruption drains African countries of more than US\$140 billion yearly. According to them, corruption deprives enabling environment for potential investors to invest; it distorts public expenditure, increases cost of running businesses, cost of governance and diverts resources from poor to rich nations. No wonder, the progress which the Nigerian economy recorded after independence was short-lived especially with the discovery of oil, which sustains corrupt practices.

But even more disturbing is that most of the people alleged to have contributed in moving the country backward through corrupt practices are still active in the current government and have constituted a clog in the wheel of efforts to fight the scourge. The issue has become endemic as reflected in the current carpet crossing that characterized the Nigerian polity, all in an attempt to remain in power perpetually. Should this trend continue in Nigeria unabated?

### **Statement of the Problem**

Nigeria presents a typical case of a country in Africa whose development has been undermined and retarded by the menace of corrupt practices. To say that corruption has eaten deep into every aspect of the Nigerian Society is to affirm the obvious. This can be inferred from the revelations of probe panels that have been setup at different times by different regimes. In Nigeria, since independence, series of reforms have been carried out in the Public service so as to reduce the rate of corruption and as well make the Public bureaucracy more efficient and result-oriented. However, the anticipated gains of such reforms have not been visible due to series of factors which include that of corruption.

Without doubt, Corruption has permeated the Nigerian society, inhibited the economic development of Nigeria, promote income inequality, promoted the squandering of scarce financial resources, capital flight, promoted withdrawal of foreign investment amongst many others. However, President Muhammed Buhari, committed to the fulfilment of his electioneering campaign that he would fight corruption headlong if voted to power and use recovered money to fund his party's programmes on education, health, social infrastructure, youth employment and pensions for the elderly has commenced the prosecution of corrupt Nigerians through the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission (ICPC). But



even more disturbing is that most of the people alleged to have contributed in moving the country backward through corrupt practices are still active in the current government and have constituted a clog in the wheel of efforts to fight the scourge. Some members of the public have even doubted President Muhammed Buhari's determination to curb corruption in Nigeria given their perceived selective prosecution of corrupt leaders/public officers most of whom were from the opposition party. The pertinent questions that continue to agitate one's mind are: is the present administration battle ready to fight corruption in Nigeria, are there no corrupt public/political office holders in the current administration who are regarded as sacred cow? Is government not engaging in selective justice in bringing corrupt leaders/public officers to justice? Are government agencies and institutions established to curb corruption not used as a platform to witch-haunt political opponents so as to remain in power? What are the challenges militating against the production of corrupt public/political office holders in Nigeria? All these are the questions which this study sought to answer. From the above unveiled facts, it becomes expedient to investigate the Buhari administration anti-corruption crusade given the present challenges confronting the regime's determination to fight corruption headlong.

### **Research Hypotheses**

The following research hypotheses were formulated

- Ho<sub>1</sub>: There is no significant relationship between poverty and prevalence of corruption in Nigeria.
- Ho<sub>2</sub>: There is no significant relationship between poor institutional framework and corruption in Nigeria.
- Ho<sub>3</sub>: There is no significant relationship between societal/extended family pressures and corruption in Nigeria.

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **Concept of Corruption**

Corruption is a social phenomenon that is difficult to define, and it does not have a universally accepted definition. The definition varies depending on the inclination of the scholar and perception of the concept. Tanzi (1998) is of the view that while it is hard to define corruption, the crisis that is linked to corruption is not difficult to identify. The United Nations Global Programme Against Corruption (GPAC) defines political corruption as the "abuse of power for private gain." In a similar vein, TI also put forward a lucid definition of the concept as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain."

Waziri (2010) views corruption as a pervasion or a change from the generally accepted law or rules for personal benefit. Azelama (2002) defines corruption as any action or omission enacted by a member of an organization, which is against the rules, regulations, norms, and ethics of the organization and the purpose is to meet the selfish end of the member at the detriment of the organization. The World Bank (World Bank Independent Evaluation Group, 2006) defines corruption as "the abuse of office for private gains."



Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe. Agbu (2003) observes that public office can be abused for selfish gain even if bribery does not take place. This implies that political corruption could be defined in the form of patronage, election rigging and voters register manipulation, favoritism in the award of contract, procurement scam, tribalism and nepotism in recruitment and promotion, unfair punishment/sanctions for public officials.

Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon which has long been with every society in the world. Incidentally, it has been identified as the bane of most political and economic problems in societies. Corruption according to Khan (1996) is an act which deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private-regarding motive such as wealth, power or status.

Kalu and Yemi (1991) in their presentation assert that corruption refers to the conscious and well-planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person. The view presented by Ojaide (2000) is not at variance with the above conception of corruption. Ojaide asserts that corruption is

*“any systemic vice in an individual, society or a nation which reflects favoritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment, amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power, position and derivation of undue gains and benefits. It also includes bribery, smuggling, fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of document and records, window dressing, false declaration, evasion, underdevelopment, deceit, forgery, concealment, aiding and abetting of any kind to the detriment of another person, community, society or nation” (Ojaide, 2000:10).*

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) on the other hand cited in Onuoha (2009a) defines corruption as

*“the behaviour on the part of officials in the public or private sectors in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and /or those closely related to them or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed”(pg. 18).*

Broadly speaking, corruption is a term used to describe acts that are considered immoral, such as fraud, graft, bribery, stealing, perjury, lying, dishonesty, indiscipline and debased act like sexual immorality or perversion. Corrupt acts also include economic and financial crimes, nepotism, favoritism or discrimination and partiality in decision-making or allocation of values. Corruption thus represents degeneration from the normal, that is, an anti-social behaviour (Okojie and Momoh, 2005). In their study, Okojie and Momoh (2005) define grand corruption as an act which is widespread and systematic in nature and damaging to the local economy. To commit grand corruption is to commit economic crime and those who commit it are being regarded as ‘economic criminals’.



### **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of analysis adopted in this research work is the Marxist theory of post-colonial state. The researcher will elaborate on this by looking into the nature and character of the Nigeria State and its mode of capital accumulation in the economy in general and the failure of anti-graft war in particular. The State in the post-colonial periphery is a capitalist type of state, even though, to some extent, it is different from the state in advanced capitalist formations. According to the Marxist theory, the state is the product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms (Lenin, 1984). This state, which arose from the conflict between and among classes, is as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which by this means also becomes the politically dominant class and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed (Jakubowski, 1973). Thus, according to Marx and Engels (1971:38) “the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”. Therefore, contrary to the claim of Western liberal or bourgeois scholars, the state is not class neutral, rather, it is immersed in constant class struggle within and between the various institutional groups that make it a reality (Ezeani, 2008).

The classical Marxist theory of the state has been further developed to take into consideration the peculiarities of the neo-colonial state (Alari, 1972; Saul, 1974 and Ekekwe, 1986) while the main attributes of a neo-colonial state as seen by the Marxist theory include: (i) the state as an instrument of class domination;

- (ii) the centrality of the state and its apparatuses as the main instruments for primitive accumulation especially by the dominant class and their foreign collaborators;
- (iii) The rentier or extractive nature of the state;
- (iv) the unifying function of the post-colonial state (Alavi, 1972, Saul, 1974 and Ezeani, 2008).

As Ekekwe (1986) rightly noted; the difference between the two forms of capitalist state is thus: that whereas the state in the advanced capitalist formations functions to maintain the economic and social relations under which bourgeois accumulation takes place in the periphery of capitalism; factors which have to do with the level of development of the productive forces make the state, through its several institutions and apparatuses, a direct instrument for accumulation for the dominant class or its element. This peculiar attribute of the neo-colonial state can be traced to the colonial epoch. The Colonial Governments in their bid to achieve their economic interests discouraged the emergence of a strong indigenous capitalist class. This they achieved by discriminating against African businessmen in the disbursement of bank loans, award of contracts and other business incentives. In the absence of indigenous capitalist class strong enough to establish hegemony over the state at independence, the neo-colonial state such as Nigeria became the main instrument of economic investment and economic development. Besides, the new indigenous bourgeoisie that inherited control over the neo-colonial state and its



apparatuses had a very weak economic base, and hence relied on this control for its own capitalist accumulation (Ezeani 2008).

Critical to understanding this, is an appreciation of the nature and character of the Post-colonial Nigeria. Many scholars such as Graf (1988), Diamond (1986) and Joseph (1996) have identified capitalist rent seeking, patrimonialism and prebendalism as the major characteristics of Post-colonial Nigeria State. Some have even fancifully referred to the Nigerian State as a “rogue state” (Joseph, 1996). The unique nature of the Neo-colonial State such as Nigeria therefore, has primarily on the fact that it combines that function of serving as a major instrument of capital accumulation with that being a direct instrument of class formation and domination.

The Marxist theory of state is very significant to understanding and explaining the anticorruption crisis in Nigeria. Applying the theory, it is argued that those who have presided over the state have tended to personalize power and privatize collective national resources, while being excessively reckless in managing the affairs of the nation. Indeed, the state has become the prime mover of capitalist development and class formation, with all the associated contradictions that this is wont to spew up. Put differently, the criminal justice system in any polity reflects the socio-economic system in operation. That is, the criminal justice system in a capitalist society is a reflection of the capitalist mode of production operated by the polity. The anti-graft agencies operating in Nigeria is operating in the interest of the rich and influential members of the Nigerian society. This confirms the thesis that ‘he who controls the means of production equally dominates other aspects of human life’. The rich and influential are the dominant members of the Nigerian society who benefit from dependent capitalism; and have also conspired to make the anti-corruption agencies operation in the society to reflect their interest.

### **Poverty and Corruption**

Nigeria, which was one of the richest 50 countries in the early 1970s, has retrogressed to become one of the 25 poorest countries at the threshold of the twenty first century (Obadan, 2002). It is ironic that Nigeria is the sixth largest exporter of oil and at the same time hosts the third largest number of poor people after China and India. Statistics show that the incidence of poverty, using the rate of US \$1 per day, increased from 28.1 per cent in 1980 to 46.3 per cent in 1985 and declined to 42.7 per cent in 1992 but increased again to 65.6 per cent in 1996 (Bello-Imam, 2004). The incidence increased to 69.2 per cent in 1997 (Central Bank of Nigeria, 1999).

There are certain unique characteristics about the incidence of poverty in Nigeria. First, statistics show that majority of the poor in Nigeria are located in the rural areas. Second, there are differences in the incidence of poverty across the geo-political zones in Nigeria with the incidence highest in the Northern parts of the country. Third, there are disparities in poverty between males and females. This was clearly documented in Nigeria’s Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRSP).



Poverty in Nigeria is in the midst of plenty (World Bank, 1996). Nigeria is among the 20 countries in the world with the widest gap between the rich and the poor. The Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or in some cases consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution (World Development Indicators, 2002). A Gini index of zero represents perfect equality while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality. Nigeria has one of the highest Gini index in the world. The Gini index for Nigeria is 50.6, this compares poorly with other countries such as India (37.8), Jamaica (37.9), Mauritania (37.3) and Rwanda (28.9).

However, there have been a lot of studies that have tried to explore the relationships between poverty and corruption. Most of the studies lead to the conclusion that corruption exacerbates conditions of poverty (low income, poor health and education status, vulnerability to shocks and other characteristics) in countries already struggling with the strains of economic growth and democratic transition (The Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act, 2000). Similarly, countries experiencing chronic poverty are seen as natural breeding grounds for systemic corruption due to social and income inequalities and perverse economic incentives.

A review of the literature points to the conclusion that corruption by itself does not produce poverty but rather, corruption has direct consequences on economic and governance factors, intermediaries that in turn produce poverty (Pope, 1996). Also, corruption impedes economic growth by discouraging foreign and domestic investment, taxing and dampening entrepreneurship, lowering the quality of public infrastructure, decreasing tax revenues, diverting public talent into rent-seeking, and distorting the composition of public expenditure. In addition, corruption exacerbates income inequality and distorts the economy and legal and policy framework. The governance factors include the fact the corruption reduces governance capacity through weakening political institutions and citizens' participation leading to lower quality government services and infrastructure.

According to Eberlei and Fuhrmann (2004), corruption is a cause of poverty and constraint to successful poverty reduction hence, the fight against poverty is closely linked to the fight against corruption. In fact, the two are inter-linked. Corruption is one cause of poverty, it impedes poverty reduction. Poverty is one cause of corruption. it impedes the fight against corruption. In the poorest countries in particular, which are afflicted by structural poverty and systematic corruption, the fight against corruption can only be successful (i.e. the two problems can only be reduced) if and when the two phenomena are addressed on a co-ordinated basis (Otite, 1986).

### **Attempts by the President Muhammadu Buhari Administration to Tackle Corruption in Nigeria**

Of the three main priorities for which President Buhari obtained Nigerians' mandate in 2015: fighting corruption, assuring security and growing the economy, fighting corruption was both the most clearly articulated and the most effective in winning him the votes of





millions across the country (including the writer's vote). He correctly labeled corruption an "evil" and affirmed that it "is even worse than terrorism". He promised Nigerians that corruption will not be tolerated by his administration and gave us all the hope that corruption shall no longer be allowed to stand as if it is a respected monument in the nation. In addition to his clarity on the nature of the problem of corruption in the Nigerian milieu and the specific commitment to zero tolerance of corruption under his watch, he also enjoyed a reputation for integrity (Advice on fighting corruption, Vanguard, April 28th 2015).

At the level of diagnosis of the problem of corruption and explication of its dimensions, the Buhari administration deserves high marks. During the second year of the administration, Vice President Osinbajo underscored the enormity of the problem as follows: 'all the institutions of government, I mean, the executive, legislature and the judiciary, are corrupt...' (Punch, October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2016). However, it's worth mentioning that in 2008, seven years before assuming office, General Buhari, alongside Generals Babangida and Abubakar, was an apologist for Abacha's looting (Premium Times, April 13th 2018).

The anti-corruption campaign, under President Muhammadu Buhari, has triggered unprecedented actions on concerned agencies, especially the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offenses Commission (ICPC). These agencies had made some arrest and prosecution of past public office holders. Notable amongst them is the arrest of the National Security Adviser (NSA) to former President Goodluck Jonathan, Sambo Dasuki, over an alleged embezzlement of \$2.1 billion. The money is said to have been earmarked for the purchase of weapons to enable the armed forces fight insurgency in the north-eastern part of the country. In addition, Olisa Metuh, Publicity Secretary of the People's Democratic Party was also accused of benefiting N400 million from the arms deal scandal and he was granted bail to the tune of N700 million by two separate courts(<http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/buhari-s-anti-corruption-crusade-gets-tough/148726.html>).

The former minister of petroleum resources, Diezani Alison-Madueke was also arrested by EFCC over her financial activities when in office. The former minister was alleged of releasing the sum of N23 billion public fund through Fidelity Bank Plc for the 2015 re-election campaign of former president (Goodluck Jonathan).The EFCC investigators tracing the disbursement of the funds have made several arrests and recovered some of the money (<http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/buhari-s-anti-corruption-crusade-gets-tough/148726.html>)

Another high-profile investigation is the arraignment of Senate President Bukola Saraki before the Code of Conduct Tribunal over an allegation of fraud in the asset declaration form he submitted to the Code of Conduct Bureau. On the other hand, Lawal Jafaru Isa (former military governor of Kaduna State) who was accused of receiving N170 million from the arms deal was set free without trial when he returned N100 million and promised to return the remaining N70 million. In addition, the immediate past EFCC chairman Mr. Ibrahim Lamorde was dismissed by Buhari in November 9, 2015, for allegedly diverting N1



trillion of recovered funds. When summoned by the Nigerian Senate, Larmode refused appearing before the senate and subsequently disappeared from the country without trace. (<http://www.lawyard.ng/names-of-judges-being-investigated-for-corruption-in-nigeria/>).

Not only that, the agents of the Department of State Security (DSS) embarked on an unprecedented raid of homes of numerous judges, arresting several of them, including two Supreme Court justices directly linked with alleged electoral judgment fraud in Rivers and Akwa Ibom States. The judges named in a confidential list sent to President Muhammadu Buhari include Justices Nwali Sylvester Ngwuta and John Inyang Okoro of the Supreme Court, Justice Muhammad Ladan Tsamiya of the Court of Appeal, Ilorin Division, Justice Uwani Abba-Aji of the Court of Appeal, Justice Adeniyi Ademola of the Federal High Court, Justice Mohammed Yunusa of the Federal high Court, Justice Kabir Auta of the Kano State High Court, Justice Munir Ladan of the Kaduna State High Court, Justice Bashir Sukola of the Kaduna State High Court, and Justice Mu'azu Pindiga of Gombe State High Court. Other high profile judges named in the confidential memo include Justice Zainab Bulkachuwa, the current President of the Court of Appeal, Justice Ibrahim Auta, the Chief Judge of the Federal High Court, Justice Abdul Kafarati of the Federal High Court, Justice Nnamdi Dimgba and Justice Anwuli Chikere of the Federal High Court (<http://www.lawyard.ng/names-of-judges-being-investigated-for-corruption-in-nigeria/>).

Justice Abdul Kafarati was also arrested over litany of corruption allegations. Officials of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) allegedly found more than N2 billion in the judge's bank account. The judge reportedly claimed he had earned the funds from his farming business in Yobe State. (<http://www.lawyard.ng/names-of-judges-being-investigated-for-corruption-in-nigeria/>).

President Muhammadu Buhari has unrelentingly sought the assistance of foreign countries in the recovery of stolen money and has consistently called on world leaders at different global platforms and gatherings to strengthen international instruments and mechanisms to combat corruption and, specifically, illicit financial flows. Switzerland, Britain and the United States of America have agreed to help Nigeria locate and retrieve stolen assets domiciled in their countries. For instance, Switzerland has expressed readiness to repatriate \$321million of Abacha's loot to Nigeria on the condition that a clear, practicable and implementable framework for managing the recovered loot will be developed. In the same vein, Nigeria and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have signed bilateral agreements to boost the government campaign on the recovery and repatriation of stolen wealth. These include Judicial Agreements on Extraction, Transfer of Sentenced Persons, Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal Matters, and Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal and Commercial Matters.

Another landmark achievement recorded by Buhari Administration in the area of corruption is the introduction of the Treasury Single Account (TSA). TSA was introduced in August 2015 to promote transparency, accountability and efficiency in managing public finance. TSA requires that all public sector revenue receipts and payments are done



through a consolidated revenue account at the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) with a view to blocking revenue generation leakages. By early 2018, N8.9trn was in the TSA. However, the National Assembly and the Judiciary have continued to operate outside TSA. The Whistleblower Policy was also introduced in December 2016 to help curb mismanagement of public funds and financial malpractice. The policy provides for citizens who provide tips (blow whistle) about corrupt practices and financial crimes to be rewarded with between 2.5 and 5% of the money recovered. From the 534 investigations concluded (out of over 1000 tips received) by April 2018, N7.8bn, USD378 million and GBP27, 800 had been recovered (The Nation, April 17th 2018). It's important to add that the policy will only become institutionalised when the Whistle Blower Protection Bill that is pending in the National Assembly is enacted. The TSA is further complemented by the Integrated Personnel and Payroll Information System (IPPIS) and Bank Verification Number (BVN). Through the IPPIS and BVN, the government says that it has so far uncovered 43,000 ghost workers on its payroll and saved about N4.5 billion. Although these initiatives predate the present administration, it seems to have given them a new vitality and repositioned them to serve as veritable tools in fighting corruption.

Notwithstanding the sharp focus of both initiatives, only modest results have been recorded. Generally, one has to score Buhari administration low regarding the fight against corruption. Specifically, corruption has continued to stand as if it is a respected monument in this nation. The 2017 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) of Transparency International – the world's most credible measure of public sector corruption – confirms this reality when it ranked Nigeria among countries with high level of corruption and there was a slight decrease in the country's score from 28% in 2016 to 27% in 2017. It is no consolation that average CPI scores under Buhari's predecessors were lower: Obasanjo 16%; Yar'Adua, 25% and Jonathan, 25%.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

This study adopted a survey research design .The sample of the study comprised of one hundred and twenty civil society, artisans, market women, students, civil and public servants in both Ijebu-Ode and Ijebu North Local Governments Area of Ogun state in Nigeria. The samples were randomly selected amongst members of the civil society, artisans, market women, students, civil and public servants throughout the two selected local governments. A self –designed questionnaire tagged 'An Appraisal of Buhari Administration Anti-corruption Crusade in Nigeria' (AABAACN) was used. The instrument had two sections,the first section contained seven items that elicited demographic information of the respondents while the second section contained 30 items of likert type format ranging from 1( strongly agreed), 2 (agreed), 3(strongly disagreed),4 (disagreed). The instrument was validated by specialists in the area of psychometrics in both Local Government Areas selected and their comments /suggestions were reflected in the final production of the instrument. Also, a reliability coefficient of 0.71 was established using Cronbach alpha. The data obtained were analysed with the use of Statistical Package for



Social Sciences (SPSS) using inferential statistics of Pearson Product Moment Correlation Co-efficient and t-test at 0.05 level of significance.

## Result and Discussion

### Test of Hypotheses

The three hypotheses formulated to guide the study were tested at 0.05 level of significance.

**Hypothesis 1 (HO<sub>1</sub>):** *There is no significant relationship between poverty and prevalence of corruption in Nigeria.*

**Table 1: Student 'T' Analysis of the Relationship between Poverty and Corruption in Nigeria**

SUBJECT	Mean	SD	No	df	T	t	Decision
	(X)				Cal.	Critical	
AGREED	3.21	0.39	96	118			Reject
					10.19	1.65	HO <sub>1</sub>
DISAGREED	2.16	0.24	24				

Level of significance – 0.05 N=120

Since “t” calculated is greater than the table/critical value (i.e. 10.19 > 1.65), it therefore implies that the null hypothesis which stated that there is no significant relationship between poverty and prevalence of corruption in Nigeria is rejected while the alternative hypothesis which stated that there is a significant relationship between poverty and prevalence of corruption in Nigeria is upheld.

**Hypothesis 2 (HO<sub>2</sub>):** *There is no Significant Relationship between Poor Institutional Framework and Corruption in Nigeria*

**Table 2: Student 'T' Analysis of the Relationship between Poor Institutional Framework and Corruption in Nigeria**

SUBJECT	Mean	SD	No	df	T	t	Decision
	(X)				Cal.	Critical	
AGREED	3.48	0.61	96	118			Reject
					7.21	1.65	HO <sub>2</sub>
DISAGREED	2.74	0.42	24				

Level of significance – 0.05 N=120

Since “t” calculated is greater than the table/critical value (i.e. 7.2 > 1.65), it therefore implies that the null hypothesis which stated that there is no significant relationship



between poor institutional framework and corruption in Nigeria is rejected while the alternative hypothesis which stated that there is a significant relationship between poor institutional framework and corruption in Nigeria is upheld/retained.

**Hypothesis 3 (HO<sub>3</sub>):** *There is no Significant Relationship between Societal/Extended Family Pressures and Corruption in Nigeria*

**Table 3:** Student ‘T’ Analysis of the Relationship between Societal/Extended Family Pressures and Corruption in Nigeria

SUBJECT	Mean (X)	SD	No	df	T Cal.	t Critical	Decision
AGREED	4.12	0.52	93	118	5.11	1.65	Reject
DISAGREED	2.09	0.35	27				HO <sub>3</sub>

Level of significance – 0.05                      N=120

Since “t” calculated is greater than the table/critical value (i.e. 5.11 > 1.65), it therefore implies that the null hypothesis which stated that there is no significant relationship between societal/extended family pressures and corruption in Nigeria is rejected while the alternative hypothesis which stated that there is a significant relationship between societal/extended family pressures and corruption in Nigeria is upheld/retained.

### Discussion of Findings

Research hypothesis one stated that there is no significant relationship between poverty and prevalence of corruption in Nigeria and the testing of this hypothesis indicated that there is a significant relationship between poverty and prevalence of corruption in Nigeria. This result of this study is consistent with the findings of Ellis (2012) who posited that corruption also fuels poverty through a reduction of the quality and quantity of public services (education, health, housing etc.) which benefit mainly the poor. According to Eberlei and Fuhrmann (2004), corruption is a cause of poverty and constraint to successful poverty reduction, hence, the fight against poverty is closely linked to the fight against corruption. In fact, the two are inter-linked. Corruption is one cause of poverty as it impedes poverty reduction. On the other hand, poverty is one cause of corruption as it impedes the fight against corruption. In the poorest countries in particular, which are afflicted by structural poverty and systematic corruption, the fight against corruption can only be successful (i.e. the two problems can only be reduced) if and when the two phenomena are addressed on a co-ordinated basis (Otite, 1986).

Research hypothesis two stated that there is no significant relationship between poor institutional framework and corruption in Nigeria. The testing of this hypothesis indicated



that there is a significant relationship between poor institutional framework and corruption in Nigeria. Although, there are institutions that fight corruption in Nigeria but have not lived up to expectations in the discharge of their mandates. The anti-corruption institutions like the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) saddled with the responsibility of combating corruption in Nigeria has been perceived to be discharging the onus with kid gloves (Daily Vanguard Editorial, 2014). To make the matter worse, the immunity clause entrenched in the 1999 constitution which protects certain public office holders like the President, Vice President, State Governors and their deputy's from civil or criminal proceedings during their tenure of office give room for public office holders to loot the treasury without any control over them by established institutions.

Research hypothesis three stated that there is no significant relationship between societal/extended family pressures and corruption in Nigeria. The testing of this hypothesis indicated that there is a significant relationship between societal/extended family pressures and corruption in Nigeria. The real situation in Nigeria is that the members of the immediate family, extended family and society put pressure on political/public office holders in terms of demands which cannot be accommodated by their allowances and emolument and this often prompted some of them to bow down to the dread evil called corruption with a few to satisfying their family and community members.

### **Conclusion**

The study established that poverty, poor institutional framework and societal/extended family pressures promote/breed corruption in Nigeria. Therefore, it is obvious that in a bid to minimize corruption in order to restore the fame and dignity of the economy and make it an environment for rapid economic growth with minimal level of poverty, political/public office holders should not only be made accountable for whatever action they take while in office but that the society should allow them to discharge their duties conscientiously while in office without over-burden them with huge and sentimental personal request which could make them susceptible to corruption while the immunity clause that restrained established institutions from prosecuting corrupt public office holders while in office be removed in the best interest of the citizen and the nation.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were made:

1. The government has to willingly and practically tackle poverty headlong and provide social welfare packages that can stem down the rate of abject poverty in the country in order to encourage and give hope to the people. This will give hope to the hopeless and rekindle hope in public office holders that there is comfort after



their tenure of office. The N-power programme and financial empowerment of market women via soft loan by the Federal government is a step in the right direction to wipe out poverty in Nigeria.

2. Remuneration of high level public officers should be made unattractive and men of proven integrity should be at the helm of affairs in Nigeria. This will prevent members of their immediate family and community from committing responsibilities that are beyond their means before them.
3. The institutions saddled with corruption in Nigeria like the EFCC, ICPC, Code of Conduct Bureau should not only be allowed to operate without interference from the ruling government but be strengthened to investigate and prosecuted public office holders if found guilty to serve as deterrent to others.
4. Individual families should re-orientate their children on the need to be honest, accountable and transparent such that when they grow up, it will become their watchword. Rather than embezzling public fund, they will use same for the interest of the general public.
5. Individuals that are transparent, honest and accountable within the nation should be identified and honoured for other to emulate them. The current scenario in Nigeria where money-bag politicians are given national awards and chieftaincy titles by the traditional rulers will not lead the government/society anywhere in its bid to nip corruption in the board.
6. The anti-corruption of the incumbent president under the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari will receive a boost if same can be extended to corrupt individuals in APC rather than chasing only the members of the opposition. To date, no member of the APC has been arranged or prosecuted on ground of corruption and this does not reflect fairness, equity and transparency which the government of APC promised Nigerians.

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