

**ANTI CORRUPTION CRUSADE UNDER GOODLUCK JONATHAN  
AND MUHAMMADU BUHARI ADMINISTRATION:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY**

**BY  
ALASA ABDULMIMIUE JOSHUA  
SSC1608172**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN  
BENIN CITY**

**JULY, 2021.**

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**BEING A RESEARCH WORK SUBMITTED TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF SOCIAL  
SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF BENIN IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR  
SCIENCE (B.Sc) DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**JULY, 2021.**

## **CERTIFICATION**

We the undersigned certified that this project work was carried out by **ALASA ABDULMIMIUE JOSHUA**, with matriculation number **SSC1608172** in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Bachelor of Sciences degree in Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Benin, Benin City.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Dr. JOSEPH AIHIE**  
(Project Supervisor)

\_\_\_\_\_  
**C. O. EGHWEREE (Phd)**  
(Head of Department)

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**DATE**

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**DATE**

## DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for any award in any other Academic Institution.

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Researcher

**Alasa Abdulmimiue Joshua**

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Date

## **DEDICATION**

This project is dedicated to Almighty God for His infinite goodness and mercies upon me throughout my course of study in University of Benin.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my profound and immeasurable gratitude to the fountain and giver of life for giving me the grace to complete this great academic adventure. Also, my unreserved appreciation goes to my project supervisor **Dr. Joseph Aihie** for his tireless support and guidance from the onset of this problem research

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## TABLE OF CONTENT

Title page	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-	i
Declaration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ii
Certification	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iii
Dedication	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iv
Acknowledgment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v
Table of contents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vi

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem			-	-	--	-	-	-	6
1.2 Research Objectives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1.3 Research Questions			-	-	-	-	-	-	8
1.5 Research Hypothesis			-	-	-	-	--	-	8
1.6 Significance of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
1.7 Scope of the study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
1.8 Organization of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Corruption Defined	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	11
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2.1	Nigeria and the Anti-Corruption Crusade	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
2.2	Agenda for Buhari anti-corruption crusade				-	--		22
2.3	Agenda for Goodluck Jonathan anti-corruption Crusade					-		23
2.4	Richard Branson’s Anti-Corruption Crusade in Nigeria	-				-		28
2.5	Empirical Review	-	-	-	-	-	-	33
2.6	Measurements of Anti-Corruption				-	-	-	36
2.7	Transparency		--	-	-	-	-	38
2.7.1	Accountability	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
2.7.2	Integrity	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
2.7.3	Non-Partisan	-	-	-	-	--	-	42
2.7.4	Theoretical Framework	-	-	-	-	-	-	45

### **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

3.0	Research Design	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
3.1	Area of Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
3.2	Population of the Study			-	-	-	-	47
3.3	Sample Size	-	-	-	-	-	--	48
3.4	Sampling Techniques			-	-	-	-	48
3.5	Research Instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	49
3.6	Validity/Reliability of the Instrument			-	-	-	-	49

3.7 Method of Data Collection - - - - - 50

3.8 Method of Data Analysis - - - - - 50

**CHAPTER FOUR**

Data Presentation and Analysis - - - - - 60

**CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION**

5.1 Summary - - - - - 60

5.2 Conclusions - - - - - 60

5.3 Recommendations - - - - - 60

References - - - - - 62

Questionnaire - -- - - - 66

## ***ABSTRACT***

*This study examine the Anti-corruption crusade under Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari administration: A comparative study, The specific objectives are to determine the extent to which the public are aware of the anti-corruption crusade of both administration, to ascertain the level of public knowledge about the anti-corruption campaign, to identify the source of public knowledge about the anti-corruption crusade, to examine the perception of the people about the anti-corruption crusade method of data analysis data collected were presented quantitatively using simple frequency tables, percentages and numbers.*

*The findings of the study, it is safe to conclude that the awareness on the anti-corruption crusade of Mr. President Goodluck Jonathan has gained grounds in South-South, Nigeria. This, no doubt, is the reason for the impressive 60% knowledge of the crusade among the people. For which 55.5% of the respondents are not satisfied with the corruption drive so far. This raises a big question on the drive itself and the way it is being approached.*

*The Recommendations of the public need to predispose themselves to the acquisition of knowledge on the anticorruption drive of President Buhari. This is because 60% knowledge might not be enough to appreciate the effort of this administration in fighting corruption. On the aspect of the sources of information, it is recommended that people should use their new media gadgets to source for more information regarding the anti-corruption drive. This will no doubt improve the knowledge of the people on the approach and strategies taken to curb corruption in the country.*

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Background of the Study**

Corruption has destroyed the basic concept of the Rule of Law in Nigeria. In Nigeria, the law has lost much of its operational force as people breach the law with impunity. The concept of the Rule of law is fast becoming a mantra in the country as many people are fast losing their fear of the law. The law regulates the conduct of affairs in a nation; it spells out the rights and duties of the citizens. It also defines the way of doing things. Appropriately, the law can be said to be the oil that ensures the smooth running of the engine of every nation. Where there is no respect for the law, there will be chaos and anarchy the effects of corruption have debilitating impact on the economy of Nigeria which in turn has a negative effect on the well-being of her citizens. The country has continued to grapple with the problem of balance of payments, weak and decaying infrastructure, bad and inconsistent political and economic policies which renders the country unattractive to both foreign and local Investors (Omoleye, 2013).

The return of the country to democratic governance in 1999 ushered in hope that the economic decline of the country would be halted but since then, many Multinational corporations have had to close shop in Nigeria and relocate their

investments to other countries that have clement investment environment. Many other companies that remained in the country have resorted to mass job cuts and raise in prices of their products and services to remain afloat. The result of this is high rise in unemployment which in turn promotes restiveness and rise in criminality (Afolabi, 2015).

According to the National Bureau of Statistics, 42.24 percent of youths in Nigeria were unemployed as at the first quarter of 2016. This percentage represents close to half the youth population in the country. This level of unemployment portends grave danger to the security of the nation as no nation can no longer endure and prosper which wastes the talents of so many of their citizens more especially the youths. Usman, (2004) stated and rightly so, that no economic growth or political stability is possible in Nigeria unless this cancer of corruption is tackled and largely overcome. On her part, Dachung (2013) lamented that corruption is Nigeria's "prime economic malady".

Quoting Essien (2011), she stated "corruption is the biggest and the fastest growing industry in Nigeria, while petroleum is the largest revenue earner (accounting for between 90-95% of National wealth)". Corruption is the largest consumer of revenue. Unfortunately, its consumption is into the accounts of a few

individuals and corporate persons, while the nation wallops (sic) in abject poverty, hunger, disease and debt (Omoruyi, 2016). Corruption should be attacked with the same velocity with which HIV/AIDS has been tackled from a historical perspective. The problem of corruption is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria. Before the amalgamation of 1914, Nigeria did not exist as a country. It evolved from the different Empires, Kingdoms and Chiefdoms which existed before the advent of colonialism. Many of these Empires and Kingdoms grappled with the problem of corruption notably amongst their Rulers and Nobles. Some of these Rulers and Nobles were accused of using the public treasury to finance opulent and ostentatious lifestyles. It was not only the Rulers and Nobles that stained themselves with corruption, the rich and powerful people also used their wealth to pervert the cause of justice. The vibrancy of the Jihad movement which Shehu Usman Dan Fodio led in 1806 had one of its anchors in the problem of corruption in the society (Garuba, 2011).

In pre-independent Nigeria, at one time or the other, some of the founding fathers of the nation found themselves at the receiving end on allegation of corruption. Some of them were either indicted or convicted of misappropriation of public funds or for improper conduct resulting from their mismanagement of public funds. Since independence in 1960, successive military interventionists in Nigeria have

often sought legitimacy by claiming that the previous regime was corrupt and that their intervention was to rid the country of the cancer of corruption (Ogume, 2011). Regrettably however, all the military interventions in Nigeria failed to cure the Country of the problem of corruption. Rather, many of such interventionists leave the Country more corrupt than they met it. Lamentably also, the democratic regimes in Nigeria which symbolized the will of the people, perpetrated corruption on a large scale that brought untold hardships on the same people they represented.

In the 2016 Transparency International Corruption Perception Index in which 168 countries of the world were assessed, Nigeria was ranked 136 with a score of 26 out of a possible 100 thereby falling among the class of highly corrupt countries of the world. This unenviable position surely rubs on the country a pariah status and is a reproach to her citizens. All over the world, Nigerians are stigmatized and treated with odium and opprobrium. Thus, across the globe, even honest and hardworking Nigerians are hardly trusted. Nigeria however has a long history of legislating against corruption which predates the country's independence in 1960. The domestic provisions against corruption may be found in the criminal code, penal code and some specialized or dedicated statutes such as the corrupt practices and other related offences Act 2000, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act 2004, Advanced Fee Fraud and Other Related

Offences Act 2006, Public Procurement Act, Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act 2011 (as amended) and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) as amended amongst others. Soon after his inauguration as President on May 29, 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo identified corruption as a monster that must be fought to a standstill in Nigeria. He made Anti-Corruption crusade a fundamental policy of his administration. In furtherance of this objective, the administration presented the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Bill to the National Assembly which was passed into law.

The regime also established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). Soon after its establishment, the EFCC effected the arrest of known fraudsters, many of whom had hitherto assumed a larger than life status. In view of the personalities arrested, a source in the EFCC was quoted to have said that the Commission does not care about the status or pedigree of suspects and that once a person is found to be culpable, such person will be treated according to the law. Also, in March, 2005, the EFCC arrested some high ranking members of the executive arm of government and the national assembly for their involvement in a 50 million naira bribe for budget scandal. Irked by the personalities involved in the bribe for budget scandal, President Obasanjo said he would not hesitate to take on more prominent Nigerians in his war against corruption. Omokheni (2017)

acknowledged that corruption was endemic in the developing countries particularly Nigeria and vowed to step on more toes.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

Corrupt practices have always existed in Nigeria but became obvious in the second republic between 1979 and 1983 under the Former President Shehu Shagari's administration (Inamete, 2001; Ogbeidi, 2012). This led to the coup d'état by the Major General Mohammad Buhari government in 1983. During General Buhari's regime, the government fought corruption in all ramifications with Major General Babatunde Idiagbon at the war front. Nigerians were given re-orientation which changed their perceptions that eradicated lateness to offices in ministries, departments and agencies, reduced the level of bribery, fraud and embezzlement of public funds. The government arrested and detained many corrupt politicians. The convicted drug peddlers were publicly executed. Mobile courts were established to instantly try offenders and the convicted were either fined or sentenced to jail term where necessary. Huge success was recorded and sanity returned to the affairs of the nation. However, Nigerians were deeply dissatisfied with Buhari's restrictive governance which led General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) to oust the government in August 27, 1985 (Adediji, 2013; Ekundayo, Obasaju, Lawal, & Ise, 2013). Gen. IBB lessened the governmental

control of the press and released a number of political detainees from the former government. During the IBB regime, corruption was celebrated and it grew in an unprecedented manner (Inamete, 2001). Other regimes attempted to fight corruption but without the desired result. In Nigeria between 2001 and 2016, various corruption indications were exposed ranging from outright embezzlements, election malpractices, budget padding, and money laundering cases to stealing of government properties. In Nigeria every one condemns corruption yet most public servants and key political office holders have contributed to further its course (Aiyede, 2016; Bello & Ahmad, 2017). This study is therefore undertaken to assess the anti-corruption crusade by two recent administrations, the Goodluck Jonathan-Led administration and the Muhammadu Buhari-led Administration.

## **1.2 Research Objectives**

The specific objectives are to:

1. To determine the extent to which the public are aware of the anti-corruption crusade of both administration.
2. To ascertain the level of public knowledge about the anti-corruption campaign.
3. To identify the source of public knowledge about the anti-corruption crusade.
4. To examine the perception of the people about the anti-corruption crusade.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. To what extent is the public aware of the anti-corruption crusade of both administrations?
2. To what level is the public knowledge about the anti-corruption campaign?
3. What are the sources of public knowledge about the anti-graft crusade?
4. What is the perception of the public about the anti-corruption crusade?

### **1.5 Research Hypothesis**

H<sub>0</sub>1: High level of knowledge of the anti-corruption campaign is dependent on the respondent's level of awareness of the anti-corruption campaign of both administrations

H<sub>0</sub>2: The level of knowledge of the anti-corruption campaign is not dependent on the respondent's level of awareness of the anti-corruption campaign of both administrations

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The need for evaluation is steam from the understanding that for any task to fulfill its objective, then it must constantly be reviewed, assessed, controlled and redo. This is also the case which this study attempts to submit. The study serves as a

weigh scale to enhance the understanding of the forgetful populace of the anti-corruption fights by governments by presenting their victories and their woes in form of a constructive assessment. Also, the study is an addition to several literatures on corruption and furthermore, it will serve as a research reference for further studies.

### **1.7 Scope of the study**

The study examined the anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria but was restricted to two recent administrations, the Goodluck Jonathan Led Administration and the Muhammadu Buhari-led administration.

### **1.8 Organization of the Study**

This study was structured and divided into five chapters. This is to enable clarity and effective consumption of the idea communicated in this research work. Also, the organization was in line with the departmental guideline for such works. The first chapter, Introduction, gives a strong background to the study; the statement of the problem; significance; research questions and scope were highlighted in the chapter. Chapter two dealt with a review of related and relevant literatures. This is of essence as the ideas, inputs and contributions of scholars and authors were acknowledged and duly represented. The third chapter, assesses the Goodluck

Jonathan-led anti-corruption crusade. The beginnings, successes and failures were examined in this chapter. The fourth chapter assessed the Muhammadu Buhari-led anti-corruption crusade. The impact, successes and failures were constructively examined in the chapter. The fifth chapter drew a conclusion on the study, gave a summary and recommendation.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Corruption Defined**

Corruption is defined as "an arrangement that involves an exchange between two parties (the demander and the supplier) which (i) has an influence on the allocation of resources either immediately or in the future; and (ii) involves the use or abuse of public or collective responsibility for private ends" (Salisu 2006). According to Amundsen (1996) as quoted by Enor, Chime and Ekpo (2016), corruption as an act which deviates from the rules of conduct governing the action of someone in a position of public authority because of private regarding motives such as wealth, power and status.

Similarly, International Monetary Fund (IMF) explained that corruption is an abuse of office or trust for private benefit: and is a temptation indulged in by not only public officials but also by those in positions of trust and authority in private enterprise or non-profit organizations. IMF also classified corruption into bureaucratic or political, cost reduction or benefit enhancing, briber or bribe initiated, coercive or collusive, centralized or decentralized, predictable or arbitrary (IMF, 2017). Onuigbo & Emeh (2015) succinctly tabulated the forms of corruption below:

<b>Type</b>	<b>Status of Main Perpetrator</b>	<b>Enabling Means</b>	<b>Usual Motive</b>	<b>Victims of Corruption</b>
Political corruption	Chief Executives - Other Political Office Holders	political power - economic power - social power	to gain or retain political power - to victimize	-ideals and values of the polity - political opponents
Economic and commercial corruption	- businessmen - contractors - consultants	- economic power - political and social connections	to make more profits and money	the generality of tax payers and other citizens
Administrative and professional corruption	- highly placed civil servants and executives of parastatals	Administrative authority - technicality, exclusivity and - professional such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, university teachers etc.	- material wealth - cultivation of political and social connections autonomy of the professions	the generality of tax payers and other citizens - consumers of the professions
Organized corruption	- political, economic, social and bureaucratic elites - high echelons of control agencies	influential connections to information sources - control and enforcement authority	Money and material wealth	- government treasure - private individuals
Working class	- artisans	technicalities of	Money and	Consumers of goods and

corruption	- junior and intermediate staff - market women and men	occupational skill - ignorance and carelessness and acquiescence of	material wealth to make ends meet	services
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**Source:** Onuigbo & Emeh (2015)

## **2.1 Nigeria and the Anti-Corruption Crusade**

Corruption has many faces and meanings. It could also be the same wine in different bottles. The word corruption sounds light on our tongues, but it has bedeviled and truncated our beloved Nigeria. Over the years, this torment has found solace in our minds and our dear country Nigeria. As a result, so many patriots and servicemen have suffered a great defeat in the hands of corruption (Gin, 2016).

Corruption is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges in Nigeria. It is a challenge that is not only leading to impoverishment and loss of lives, but also threatening the stability of the country. The fight against corruption in the public sector came to limelight in 1966 when the Military identified corruption by politicians as one of the reasons for taking over the then civilian government.

Since then successive governments have been waging war against the menace (Otunuga, 2016).

Before the present administration, preceding administrations in Nigeria had successively instituted legal instruments, measures and policies designed to combat corruption in the country. According to Enweremadu (2012), during the administration of former President Olusegun Obasanjo in May 29, 1999, corruption campaign was pursued through different methods and directed at achieving a number of objectives, three of which are most perceptible.

The first was to bring about a sharp drop in the incidence of corruption, through the speedy arrest and prosecution of corrupt public officials. This was to be achieved through the establishment of new anti-corruption agencies, the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), inaugurated in 2000 and 2003 respectively. Previous experience has shown that such institutions, which have produced relative successes in some countries, were not easily adaptable to Africa-never mind to Nigeria specifically, where the necessary administrative capacity (adequate funds, quality manpower, strong laws, and efficient judicial systems)

and strong political support are often lacking, and prevailing political logic tends to favour the abuse of office and misappropriation of public resources.

The second objective was to reduce or remove incentives for corruption among public officials, via a comprehensive reform of the public sector (including the judiciary). Specifically, the reforms aimed at the following: eliminating monopoly, by privatization and deregulation; reducing discretion, by the streamlining of functions and reinforcement of controls; and removing administrative opacity, by the increasing of transparency and accountability, particularly in public revenue collection and expenditure. The aggressive implementation of these policies, it was hoped, would reduce the opportunities for corruption among public officials. Some aspects of these reforms – privatisation, reform of the management of public finance, and the adoption of a new policy on employment and compensation (also known as ‘professionalisation’ and ‘rightsizing’) in the public service – were pursued with considerable vigour. But their cumulative effect on corruption has proved difficult to see.

The third objective was to redress some of the worst consequences of past corruption on the economy and improve the financial health of the nation. This goal was to be achieved through the identification of some of the offshore bank accounts and assets – landed properties, companies, shares, and so on – owned by

corrupt Nigerians and ensure they were duly confiscated and the proceeds repatriated. These remedial measures did not achieve the desired results to prohibit and prescribe punishment for corrupt practices. The Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000 was the first to be passed into law by the Obasanjo Presidency, while the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) were inaugurated on the 29th of September 2000. There is also, the Economic and Financial Crimes (Uniamikogbo, 2007).

Unfortunately, certain factors have continued to undermine the effectiveness and integrity of the anti-corruption crusade. One of these is the use of the anti-graft agencies to witch hunt perceived oppositions to government in power. This was the case between 1999 and 2007. Also, the agencies were under funded, thereby making it rather difficult for them to effectively prosecute those accused of graft. These factors were more pronounced during the tenure of the immediate past administration. Above all, interference from the powers that be in the corridors of power as well as the issue of immunity clause hampered the operation of the agencies significantly. This was because, for example, the immunity clause made it impossible for ICPC and EFCC to take on serving governors even when the agencies have evidence against them (Otunuga, 2016).

When President Buhari took over the mantle of leadership on May 29, 2015, he vowed to combat corruption in Nigeria no matter whose ox is gored. He started the anti-corruption campaign by arresting Col. Dasuki (rtd), the then National Security Adviser of President Jonathan. Dasuki's accomplices that are of the opposition party, People's Democratic Party (PDP) and those in the military were arrested and charged to court by Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) over the massive scam in weapons and defense procurements that led to the misuse of three trillion naira defence budget since 2011, under the guise of fighting the notorious Boko Haram menace.

The fight against corruption and impunity by President Buhari's administration has also attracted the goodwill of the international community. At the meeting of the G7, President Buhari pleaded with the leaders of global capitalism to collaborate with Nigeria in fighting terrorism and in fixing her comatose economy while it requested The Obama administration to assist in the repatriation of about 150billion dollars allegedly looted from the public treasury in the last decade (Otunuga, 2016).

However, some critics of Buhari's anti-corruption war have accused him of not being sincere and holistic in the fight against corruption as virtually all the people

and corporate organizations investigated are all of the opposition party –PDP, and his perceived enemies. These people are of the opinion that the President has no moral prestige to fight corruption. Cases like Buhari as Minister of Petroleum, Buhari as a petroleum TET fund chairman, Buhari’s certificate forgery, President Buhari harbouring corrupt Ministers in his cabinet were cited to buttress their point (Elemanya & Onya, 2016).

Nigeria is one country where government hikes up the price of essential commodities like petroleum products and does not consider it necessary to increase the wages of its workers commensurately. In other words, successive governments in this country were and are still creating inflation with eyes wide open which worsens the assisting decadence in the country in terms of corruption and misconduct (Gin, 2016).

The essence of paying the police and the citizenry intensely for their services is not due to the tremendous wealth a country has, but because of the realization of the destructive potentials of corruption to any society. Developed countries in the world live up to their expectation because they know too well that fighting corruption amidst poverty is a farce, and will not elicit the support and compliance of the people. As a matter of fact, human nature being what it is, an anti-crusade

cannot succeed under conditions of impoverishment. Unemployment will readily be construed as oppression and tyranny despite the fact that it is being implemented for the good of the society and people (Gin, 2016).

For far too long, Nigeria had been under the griping claws of corruption and, consequently, the prevailing political situation in the country had constituted an unpleasant jam jar and reached a proportion that Nigerians were beginning to lose hope in the country's political leadership. Corruption has long been the bane of socio-economic cum infrastructural development in Nigeria. It can also be rightly said that corruption is so pervasive in Nigeria because of a culture of poor wages, absence of effective policy that softens the effect of poverty, weak government institutions and absence of key anti-corruption legislations (Ishiaku, 2015).

Taking a look at other countries that do not produce petroleum in any form like Nigeria does, any do not earn revenue from mineral resources; either solid or liquid but are doing far better than Nigeria despite revenue earnings from columbite, bauxite, tantalite barite and several others which are not even half exploited as they should be, one will surely wonder and ponder over the implications and outcomes of predicament. More so, Nigeria has agricultural products that the world is craning for, groundout, maize, cotton, palm oil and

rubber which if properly utilized will bring about comfort for the Nigerian citizens and maintain an everlasting content among the populace. All these put together show that Nigeria has enough wealth and potentials to be richer, enough to support an anti –corruption crusade which will transform all facets of national life, forever (Gin, 2016).

It must be known now that an authority that does not pay those rendering services it well, those working under its jurisdiction, such an authority does not have any moral right to sanction the workers for acts of corruption. A father that does not feeds his children and does not provide lives basics for them, will have God judge him if he punishes them for stealing. If the other, he provides them with basic needs and perhaps with some measures of comfort, he will be justified for punishing them severely if ever they steal. What Nigeria is trying to do with the anti-corruption crusade in the present circumstances is introduce laws in an environment that constantly tempts the individual to break the laws. Within the socio-economic environment in our present day, introducing an anti-corruption law may be foolhardy because the enabling structures for its implementation and compliance are lacking. In Nigeria, an overwhelming majority do not have portable water to drink, they do not have good roads to carry out commercial activities and their income per capita is too low to do anything more than just

consume to stay alive. How does one stop a ridiculously low income earner from taking bribe under the present inflationary circumstance? It is like stopping a person who sees something charging out of his eyes from blinking or shutting his eyes (Gin, 2016).

The Nigerian government has much thinking and acting to do, on its own part. If its proposed anti-corruption crusade will succeed. Most at times, some argue that Nigeria multi-ethnicity will not let an anti-corruption crusade thrive. This line of thought holds water only to the extent that government either consciously or by omission, as in the past, continues to perpetuate ethnic sentiments through its actions. To surmount the ethnic problem, government may not need to do more than give every section and nationality in Nigeria a sense of belonging in the nation-state. Ethnic sentiments are fueled by inequity in the sharing of the national wealth. Thus, jobs, political appointments, budgetary allocations, in fact, everything that comes from the center to the states and to the states and regions. In the midst of plenty, nobody remembers tribe. People will only support the crusade for a better Nigeria, a corruption-free Nigeria if they believe in Nigeria. Faith in Nigeria, or in any country, or in anybody comes only with the evidence that one is cared for by the object of his faith or belief. To combat corruption, government

should work day and night to fashion out and impudent measures to eschew tribalism in all its ramifications (Gin, 2016).

## **2.2 Agenda for Buhari anti-corruption crusade**

When the last administration of President Goodluck Jonathan came up with the economic jargon of re-basement which catapulted the Nigerian economy to the leading economy in Africa, we forgot to ask if corruption was also factored in as an economic index before they arrived at the alarming statistics that overnight changed the course of our economic prosperity. In the estimation of Nigerians, the Jonathan government was very guilty of corruption and the statement by the erstwhile president that his administration did not believe that jailing people would end corruption did not also help matters (Ishiaku, 2015).

However, the new administration of President Muhammadu Buhari needs to understand that modern corruption has gone scientific, requiring scientific and institutional approaches in curbing it; there are many angles or dimensions to corruption. There are “political or government corruption”, “electoral corruption”, “legislated corruption”, “economic or financial corruption” and “civil corruption”. In all, it is shocking and alarming that those shouting “anti corruption” in Nigeria’s public offices as presently constituted are either do not understand its fundamental meaning or have chosen to use it to deceive and mislead Nigerians

for the purpose of achieving cheap popularity and obtaining mechanical legitimacy (Ishiaku, 2015).

Freedom from corruption or fight against corruption connotes impeccability of character, sound morality and cleanest mindset. It is therefore important that the Buhari government should avoid corrupting its anti-corruption agencies and go to equity with clean hands. That is to say that President Muhammadu Buhari must live by firm example by not only being clean, but also seen to be clean. It is no doubt cheering news that the new administration of President Muhammadu Buhari has launched a renewed campaign against corruption. It is also cheering news that, there appears to be a kind of attitudinal reset in every government institution on the seriousness of the anti-corruption crusade (Ishiaku, 2015).

### **2.3 Agenda for Goodluck Jonathan anti-corruption Crusade**

Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, the then vice president, took over as substantive president and maintained the reform agenda of his predecessor until May 2011. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan took oath of office as the newly elected President and commander-in-chief of Nigeria Armed forces on 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 2011 amidst thunderous expectations of a new dawn, given his humble background and the mountain of problems and decay that the country has found itself over the years.

Realizing the high expectations, the President promised not to let the people down. (On that historic day, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan promised Nigeria a policy package tagged the transformation Agenda when he declared that together we will unite over our nation and improve the living standard of all our people whether in the North or in the South; in the East or in the West. The President further pledged that his leadership will be decidedly transformative in all critical sectors and that his administration must grow the economy, create jobs and generate enduring happiness for all and sundry. In addition, the President declared on day that he has “great confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform the country and that the urgent task of his administration is to provide a suitable environment for productive activities to flourish. He went on to appeal all good people of Nigerian to enlist as agents of the great transformation. Agenda. Transformation itself is a development strategy aimed at complete or radical change in the life of an individual, organization, community or even the nation at large. According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, transformation is a complete change in somebody or something transformation in the life of a person connotes radical attitudinal change from bad to good or even vice versa. Transformation or reform, particularly in the health institution is a process that seeks changes in the health

sector policies, financing and organization of services as well as in the role of government to reach national health objectives.

This include the need to expand and strengthen primary health care services throughout the country, eradicate or eliminate childhood and other preventable diseases through adequate routine immunization; strengthen all disease control efforts and health promotion activities into health care at primary care level, reduce environmental and occupational health related morbidity and mortality, protect the public from the harmful effects of fake drugs, unregistered medicines and processed foods etc. in the life of a nation, transformation involves structural changes in the major institutions of governance and the society at large. Thus, on the whole, transformation can be said to be a total package that involves every facet of the individual, organization or society. It is meant to be a vehicle for a better society where virtually everyone will be reasonably comfortable. The transformation agenda of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan is yet another policy somersault in relation to the 7-point agenda of his immediate predecessor, late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua. It is a 5-year development plan, 2011-2015, which also coincides with the life time of his term in office. The President, upon assumption of office, assembled a vibrant team of renowned technocrats called the Economic Management Team to midwife and drive the process through to a

successful end. The appointment of the minister of Finance, a reputable Economist, clearly indicates the centrality of the economy as the driving force in the success of the Transformation Agenda. Thus, the Transformation Agenda of Goodluck Jonathan, from all intent and purposes, is largely in pursuance of collective national goals and aspirations towards driving Nigerian into the comity of the 20 largest economies by 2020.

As observed by Itah (2012), the transformation Agenda of Goodluck Jonathan is a policy package that proposes to reposition the economy by addressing issues of poverty, unemployment, insecurity and most particularly, the diversification of the entire economy from total dependence on oil to a significant reliance on non-oil driven economy.

The transformation agenda of President Goodluck Jonathan seeks to hopefully transform the Nigerian people into a catalyst for growth and national development. Under the transformation drive, government is expected to guide Nigerians to build an industrialized modern state that will launch the nation into the first 20 economies of the world by the year 2020. According to the President himself, in the presentation of the 2012 budget to the national assembly, he said: As we collectively resolve, he said: As to create a brighter and enduring future for all

Nigerians, a future of hope and prosperity not lack, fear or hatred, we must prepare to overcome any adversity that may arise. Accordingly, we must all be determined and committed to follow through the difficult but balance choices that we make in piloting the affairs of the great nation. (Jonathan Goodluck , 2011),

The Honourable minister and Deputy Chairman of the National Planning Commission , and also a member of the Economic Management Team (EMT) provided details of the Transformation Agenda of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. According to the Minister, the transformation agenda is focused on three key areas. One, strong, inclusive, non-inflationary growth. This includes efforts on the part of government to encourage large-scale industries and small and Medium Enterprises (SMES), revitalize ailing industries, promote agriculture and agro business, encourage local content strategy and develop information technology and communication (ICT) to be the major driver of the agenda. Two, employment generation and poverty alleviation.

President Jonathan replaced EFCC Chairman Farida Waziri with the former EFCC Director of Operations Ibrahim Lamorde, who had worked under previous Chairman Nuhu Ribadu. In October 2012, President Jonathan permanently appointed ICPC Acting Chairman Ekpo Nta after he had served in that position for

11 months. During Jonathan's regime, the EFCC's anti-corruption efforts waned, with little progress on prosecutions of federal, state, and local officials accused of corruption. ICPC investigations resulted in 8 convictions in 2013, bringing the total, since its inauguration to 68 cases. Pervasive corruption, a lack of investigative capacity, inadequate legislative authority, and interagency dysfunction have hindered or blocked numerous prosecutions and investigations related to money laundering in Nigeria. This is the kind of situation that might have prompted the former prime minister of Great Britain, David Cameron to describe Nigeria as 'fantastically corrupt' in a conversation with the Queen of England (10<sup>th</sup> may, 2016).

Although President Goodluck Jonathan administration had the policy of transformation agenda and fought against corruption, but during 2011-2015, his policies and programmes were directed at transformation of the national economy, care for the underprivileged and provide responsive and credible leadership to Nigerians (Jonathan, 2011).

#### **2.4 Richard Branson's Anti-Corruption Crusade in Nigeria**

Western top business men do not often talk about corruption in Nigeria that is why whenever any of such opinion comes to the public domain, it is bound to elicit all

manners of reaction and responses from all walks of life. Some condemning and others applauding yet, others become non-committal even with their very vocal statements. The reasons for the frugality of publicly stated opinions by Western business men on corruption dynamics and character in Nigeria should be obvious to anyone who has taken a cursory glance at the historical context of the phenomenon especially its diverse and systemic manifestations in our dear country (Jimoh, 2016).

However for those that did not remember what he said, it is good that his statement as reported by the media is paraphrase;

“....We fought daily battle against government agents who wanted to daily make fortune from us, politicians who saw the government 49% as a meal to seek for all kinds of favour...watchdogs (regulatory body) that didn't know what to do and persistently asking for bribes at any point...Nigeria people are generally nice but the politicians are very insane...that may be irony because the people make up the politicians...”

Was that statement made in his earnest desire to assist in exposing corruption in Nigeria or was it an attempt to smear and besmirch Nigeria thus contributing to the on-going international bashing of the country that has seriously led to low inflow of FDI into the Country? Or, was it just sour grapes as a result of business deals

gone badly and as such an attempt to get back at his perceived business enemies?  
(Jimoh, 2016)

The position of Mr Richard Branson's from the onset is not overly different from what has been expressed variously in Nigeria on this vexatious issue. The issue of corruption is a deep systemic challenge and according to former member of the Federal House of Representatives – Hon. Dino Melaye, 60% of the nation's annual budget is lost to corruption. When this is also viewed at the backdrop of the missing Trillions of naira, other findings and controversies trailing the various Fuel Subsidy reports including the Pension scam and most recently, the Ribadu report and the aggressive attempts at rubbishing them within the context of the crisis of underdevelopment confronting the nation, its negative impact on the living index of Nigerians becomes alarmingly overwhelming. But, his blanket tar of all Nigerian public officials including the invidious insinuation of corruption being Nigerian is not only unacceptable to every discerning mind but to all patriotic Nigerians (Jimoh, 2016).

Branson's position though may have been informed by experience from his inner dealings with various MDAs and federal political leaders in the course of doing business in the country. Perhaps as he said, bribes were requested in return for

favour and other influences peddled to get Branson's business arrowhead in Nigeria – the Virgin Atlantic and subsequently the failed joint venture, Virgin – Nigeria in a vantage position to exploit the nation's aviation sector. Agreed there may have been less than honourable and transparent positions driven by pure greed by some of the public officials that he had encounter with, we strongly believe that there still exist within Nigeria today, public officials of great integrity and high moral standing that can compare if not better than the best of the best that could be found in other climes including Richard Branson's Britain (Jimoh, 2016).

One of these manifestations must have been some of the challenges that the business mogul witnessed and was complaining about. For a British owner of a Multi-national Company to suddenly become an anti-corruption crusader in Nigeria, every Nigerian patriot will immediately be alert and question his altruism. If it is to draw awareness to the dangers and existence of this deep contradiction, and, to seek global attention to fashion out strategies for its eradication, then it is a welcome effort that should be supported whole heartedly. But, if it is propelled by the crass intention of getting even with his business associates in political garb by painting every Nigerian public official in bad light, then his statement should be queried and rejected completely not only as public commentators but as patriotic Nigerians whose civic duty it is to protect the image of the nation. It is important

that while he rightly takes out time to blame and if possible name the officials or Department and Agencies so involved, he should find time to also look back and berate his people for the damage they did to the various Socio-political processes of Nigeria and perhaps be in the forefront of the campaign to demand reparations from his people (Jimoh, 2016).

Mr Richard Branson was asked what he did to have secured the International Wing of the Murtala Muhammed Airport for his Virgin Nigeria operations while other domestic Airlines were using the Domestic terminal. Did he not consider what he did as unethical and morally wrong? Did he not consider that as tilting the playing field to his advantage through political influence? Did he not see that as operating in breach and against the provisions of the nation's relevant aviation statutes and regulations? Finally, was the entire operational context of the Virgin group in Nigeria as it lasted not mired in corruption? The very thing Mr Branson seems to be accusing the nation's public officials of. Efforts to answer these questions will only lead to one thing and that is simple; that it is the foreign Companies and their governments that have operated in Nigeria that imported corruption into our business environment. They also created the enabling environment for the facilitation and practise of corruption to fester. The locus of this monster therefore can be found in the operations of the MNCs in Nigeria and

the sanitisation of their operations in the country will go a long way in solving the problem of corruption in Nigeria. The various cases involving them that attracted global attention can easily be seen in the Siemens Scandal and the Halliburton scandal including the various efforts at selling some of the OMLs (Jimoh, 2016).

This is not the case of trying to hold brief for any official found to have corruptly enriched himself while in office but it is wrong for Mr Branson to have called all Nigerian public officials greedy and corrupt and in the process besmirching the whole of the citizens and peoples of Nigeria. There still remains a remnant of public officials in Nigeria who are committed to enhancing the welfare of the Nigerian people and are determined to work tirelessly to ensure that this nation becomes the best place for every Nigerian to aspire to be. All British or American people cannot be called corrupt just because some of their officials or highly placed citizens got involved in less than wholesome dealings and this are revealed in the Press on daily basis (Jimoh, 2016).

## **2.5 Empirical Review**

In a study by Rotimi, E. and Obasaju, B. (2013) titled analysis of corruption and economic growth in Nigeria reviewed the causes and effects of corruption, without leaving out the dynamics of corruption. Also, the study looked at the relationship

between corruption and the Nigerian economic growth. The researchers used the ordinary least squares (OLS) to determine the relationship between corruption and economy growth. The study applied the granger causality method to measure the causal relationship that exists between corruption and the gross domestic product (GDP). The study revealed that corruption impairs and impacts economic growth. The researchers therefore recommended that Public anti-corruption initiatives and Public education campaign/programmes should be strengthened and motivated in to address the cause of corruption rather than its effects.

In another related study carried out by Enor, Chime and Ekpo (2016) titled *The Irony of Nigeria's Fight against Corruption: An Appraisal of President Muhammadu Buhari's first eight months in office*, which sought to appraise Nigeria's strategy in the fight against corruption under President Muhammadu Buhari's first eight months in office. The researchers used the interview and library research method in collecting data. The researchers concluded that Muhammadu Buhari envisaging the persistent escalation of corruption traits in public offices won the 2015 presidential election pools owing to his firm anti-corruption stands and inclinations to fight it to a standstill. However, he, in his first eight months just like every other Nigerian leader has failed to tackle the issue of corruption but its manifestation. The researchers therefore recommended that

corruption can be reduced to its barest minimum if modalities are put in place to prevent and deter the manifestations of corruption rather than fight it.

Another study carried out by Ugoani, J. (2016) titled political will and anticorruption crusade management in Nigeria which sought to explore the relevance of political will in anticorruption crusade management in Nigeria, using exploratory research design. The researchers recommended that there should be a demonstration of credible intent by political leaders, stakeholders groups to attack perceived causes or effects of corruption at a systemic level.

Elemanya V. And Onya R. (2016) titled analysis of President Buhari's anti-Corruption Policy: a reality or an illusion? Analysed Buhari's anti-corruption policy. The researchers found out that Buhari's fight against corruption should be holistic and transparent and recommended that the Nigerian populace and indeed the electorates that voted for change of Buhari's government must assist the government and challenge it if need be, to fight corruption as promised, during his electioneering campaign and his inaugural speech.

In a study conducted by Sheriff Folarin in 2014 titled "Corruption, Politics and Governance in Nigeria", which sought to examine how corruption affects the political climate of the country, identified some of the weaknesses of the anti-corruption crusade, with the devastating effects on nation-building. The study

concluded that “the dangerous consequences of corruption for the nation make it imperative that the anti-corruption war should be intense and backed by new and systematic strategies” (Folarin, 2014:22). The researcher recommended that “anti-corruption agencies should no longer be under the control of the executive arm of government, rather they should be independent of political corruption. Such agencies should rather be controlled and answerable to the judiciary, particularly the Supreme Court, which is often independent of the Presidency or Executive. Also, the anti-corruption agencies should be headed by a judge of the Supreme Court who has a track record of forthrightness and fearlessness” (Folarin, 2014:22).

## **2.6 Measurements of Anti-Corruption**

Transparency, accountability, and integrity are often considered proxies for the *absence* of corruption, since they encompass ideas contrary to the abuse of power. These ideas include openness, responsiveness, responsibility, discipline, and ethics. But it is also useful to consider transparency and accountability as the fundamental building blocks of integrity, increasing citizen voice and participation, and influencing public officials to use power for officially authorized and publicly justified purposes.

Transparency and accountability initiatives are a means of making government more responsive (to external actors), and responsible (through internal mechanisms), about its decision-making and activities such as the delivery of public services. Transparency can lead to accountability where officials are held responsible for their conduct and governments are held to account for their performance in both service delivery and policymaking. But accountability is not generated by the mere provision of information. It requires well-designed accountability mechanisms and integrity checks. The concepts of transparency, accountability, and integrity are broad in scope and closely interlinked, and so defy simple categorization. Transparency alone does little but inform, unless it is used to impose accountability on government for its actions. Accountability can be horizontal – oversight agencies exert influence over each other within government systems – or it can be vertical – informed citizens hold government to account through participatory processes or confrontational techniques. Integrity focuses on the systems, processes, and behaviors that exist in tension with accountability, either as a precursor, a prerequisite, or a check on unethical behavior.

## 2.7 Transparency

Transparency can be defined as the availability of information, both to the general public and to individuals that comprise the government workforce, as well as clarity about government processes, rules, and decisions.

**Right-to-information systems** are practical components of government administration that reflect a commitment to the principle of transparency. Although a right-to-information system comprises only one part of transparency in government, they are a key factor in bringing about openness and access to information. A right-to-information system aims to increase the transparency of government by providing regular and reliable information to the public and facilitating appropriate and relevant use of that information. Monitoring the practices of a right-to-information system can identify whether problems are rooted in a lack of political will or the capacity of an administration. Measurement of right-to-information systems might entail data on legal frameworks, institutional arrangements for monitoring and oversight, records and information management, information disclosure procedures, and proactive disclosure outputs, including open-data resources.

**Public-sector functioning** in procurement, tax, revenue, budgets, and human resources are important areas for transparency in central government activities.

Disclosure or information dissemination is often part of public-sector reform efforts that aim for more effective resource allocation or gains in efficiency and productivity. Better resource allocation in budgets is often the primary goal of fiscal transparency efforts, including policies that are pro-poor, gender-sensitive, and responsive to marginalized groups. But efficiency gains and cost savings can also be realized by institutionalizing transparency in budgeting processes and procedures. Cost- and time-saving results in procurement practices can be obtained through openness during the bidding process and technological streamlining of activities.

Transparency in procurement and revenues also facilitates monitoring of activities, which helps to ensure openness and transparency throughout the procurement process, including tendering, qualifications, and awards. Transparency in human resources management is related to information disclosure of policies, procedures, and practices of personnel. A lack of transparency in the wage bill or in personnel rosters may obscure the presence of “ghost employees” that represent a substantial percentage of salary costs. Measurement of transparency in public-sector functioning would focus on elements of openness and access in procurement, tax, revenue, budgets, and human resources.

### **2.7.1 Accountability**

Accountability comprises “answerability,” which refers to the rights of citizens to request a response to questions about government decision-making, as well as the obligation of government to respond. It also includes “enforcement,” which is about the capacity to ensure that action is taken, and provides access to mechanisms for redress when accountability measures fail. For governments, accountability is manifest in its role in ensuring effective delivery of services (e.g., education, health, social welfare, transportation, etc.) and as a protector of the public interest (e.g., law, order, security, safety, etc.). Accountability may also be instituted as an organization holding itself to account through internal audits, oversight mechanisms, and risk assessments.

In terms of accountability in the public sector, the following four pillars have been often cited:

- Financial accountability: reports on the intended and actual use of resources or of designated offices
- Administrative accountability: critical systems of control internal to the government
- Political accountability: free and transparent elections as an effective starting point for oversight

- Social accountability: civic engagement that involves ordinary citizens and groups demanding great accountability for public actions and outcomes.

**The Rule of Law** can be defined as the restriction of the arbitrary exercise of power by subordinating it to well-defined and established laws. In practice, the rule of law is a system of rules and rights that enables fair and functioning societies. It is the ultimate form of accountability, whereby individuals are detained and investigated by law enforcement, held to account before a court of law, and punished accordingly. Measurement of the rule of law might focus on the strengths and effectiveness of law enforcement, and judicial and correctional institutions. It might also include notions of justice, openness, and access to judicial services for poor and marginalized groups.

### **2.7.2 Integrity**

Integrity as it is used in the fields of corruption and anti-corruption has taken on a two-tiered meaning. At the national level, integrity refers to the strength and effectiveness of several pillars of a country's governance system. Together, these pillars manage corruption risks and contribute to the fight against corruption: Legislature, Executive branch of government, Judiciary, Public sector, Law enforcement, Electoral management body, Ombudsman, Audit institution, Anti-corruption agencies, Political parties, Media, Civil society, and Business. Along

with the national-level integrity, practitioners often use the concept of institutional integrity, such as judicial integrity, referring to the integrity of a particular institution or a sector.

At the individual level, integrity refers to ethical behavior and personal responsibility that all public officials must embody. These models are reflected in conflict of interest restrictions that allow government organizations to hold their employees to a certain standard expected of public office holders. Similarly, financial disclosure systems monitor the behavior of officials for conflicts that may compromise their integrity or instances of illicit gain. Measurement of integrity can extend from the rules that establish codes of conduct to the violations of those rules through petty corruption.

### **2.7.3 Non-Partisan**

The fight against corruption will generally be a long-term effort and is likely to span successive political administrations in most countries. This makes it critical that anti-corruption efforts remain politically neutral; both in their goals and in the way they are administered. Regardless of which political party or group is in power, reducing corruption and improving service delivery to the public should always be a priority. To the extent that anti-corruption efforts can be made politically neutral, it is important that transparency and information about the true

nature and consequences of corruption are major factors in an anti-corruption strategy, because these generally operate to ensure that corruption is seen as a negative factor in domestic politics. Where corruption is endemic, the popular perception is that individual interests are best served by predicting which political party will hold power and therefore be in a position to reward supporters. A major focus of anti-corruption strategies must be the reversal of this attitude so that the perception is that any political faction which is exposed as corrupt is not acting in the public interest and is therefore unlikely to remain in power for long.

The table below highlights the degree of effectiveness and successful execution of the anti-corruption parameters or strategies by both administrations under discussion.

<b>ANTI-CORRUPTION PARAMETERS</b>	<b>PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION</b>	<b>PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI ADMINISTRATION</b>
TRANSPARENCY	Under Jonathan and the PDP, Nigeria made her best ever improvement on Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, moving eight places forward from 144 to 136 in 2014".	Under President Buhari and the All Progressives Congress, Nigeria has made her worst ever retrogression, moving backwards 12 places from 136 to 148.
ACCOUNTABILITY	The Goodluck Jonathan led administration was able to at least explain to the public the key reasons and factors responsible to high inflation and increase in fuel prices and other issues regarding government spendings.	The Buhari led administration is one such a regime where things just happened without answerability to anyone. The government has failed on countless occasions to explain to the public cogent reasons for hike in fuel prices, judicial system abuse of authority, banditry activities and many others across the nation which is so appalling.
INTEGRITY	In terms of integrity, the Goodluck Jonathan led administration has a higher level of integrity to keeping to promises with the political will to pursue the implementation of the Transformation agenda which was	Under the Buhari led administration, the government has failed woefully which is evident in the eyes of the citizenry, how the government for two consecutive tenures now,

	unfortunately plagued mostly by insecurities.	failed to eliminate corruption and insecurities as promised. These critical issues has indeed worsen rather than been curbed by the government.
PARTISAN	The Goodluck Jonathan administration had some little success in working alongside with anti-corruption agencies and making it non- partisan to ensure that it's operation and effectiveness is realized.	The high level of political gladiators infiltrating the operation and effectiveness of anti-corruption agencies is so high under the Buhari led administration. This is the government is yet to provide lasting solution to and has broaden the occurrence of corruption in the country.

**Source:** Researcher Computation

#### **2.7.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on the self-perception theory propounded by Daryl Bem in 1972. It is enshrined in the idea that the perception of the people about a particular issue influences their attitude and behaviour. It applies the concept of sensory perception to politics or political activities, just as sensory perception relates to how humans perceive and process sensory stimuli through their five senses (Onyebuchi, 2013).

The major thrust of this theory relates to “how individuals form opinions about issues and the merchandise they offer through the behaviour they display” (Blank, 2012:1). Similarly, Flamand (2011) noted that perception theory is any attempt to understand how people’s perception of issues influences their behaviour. Those who study perception try to understand why people make the decisions they do, and how to influence these decisions. Usually, perception theory is used by marketers when designing a campaign for a product or brand” (Onyebuchi, 2013). This theory is related to the study under review because it helps explain how people form their opinion about issues and how such opinions affect their behaviour as experienced in the fight against corruption.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Research Design**

The research design for this study is the survey research design. Nwosu and Uffoh (2005: 218) note that “survey research focuses on people, the vital fact of people and their beliefs, opinions, attitudes, motivation and behaviour.” Hence, the survey method enabled the researcher to generate data regarding the opinion of the people on the anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari and Ex-President Goodluck Jonathan.

#### **3.1 Area of Study**

The area of the study covered public perception of anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari in South-South, Nigeria. This means that the residents in south part of Nigeria constituted the focus of the study. South-South geo-political zone is one of the six geo-political zones of the country. The zone consists of Edo, Rivers, Cross River, Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom and Delta States.

#### **3.2 Population of the Study**

The population of this study focused on respondents from south-south states of the country. The population figure of the people in south-south, Nigeria, according to the 2006 population census, is 21, 014, 655 (NPC, 2006). However,

the projected population figure was used. The figure for the projected population is 39, 615 228.

### **3.3 Sample Size**

To determine the sample size of this study, therefore, the Australian Calculator was used. The calculator as provided by National Statistical Service (NSS) provides a simplified formula for calculating sample sizes. With a confidence interval of 0.05 and a proportion or estimate of variance (confidence level) of .5, the population of 39, 615 228 produced a basic sample size is 385.

### **3.4 Sampling Techniques**

The sampling procedure that was used in this study is the cluster, non proportionate and purposive sampling techniques which allow for the subdivision of south-south zone into states that make up the region, and selection of respondents based on the need of the study. For this reason, two local governments were selected from the state capitals of each of the states that make up south-south geo-political zone. In all, the local governments used for this study were twelve (12). The sample size of 385 was non-proportionately divided by the twelve (12) local governments ( $385 \div 12 = 32$ ), meaning that 32 copies of the questionnaire were given to each of the twelve local governments. Respondents from these local governments were purposively selected for the study.

### **3.5 Research Instrument**

This study used questionnaire as an instrument to collect data. The questionnaire instrument had two sections: the demographic and psychographic sections. The demographic section was used to elicit information about the bio-data of the respondents, while the psychographic section focused on the research questions.

### **3.6 Validity/Reliability of the Instrument**

Face validity technique was used to validate the research instruments. The instrument was given to three experts in Mass Communication Department of University of Nigeria, Nsukka. First it was tested if the items in the questionnaire are related to the topic under consideration. Their expert scrutiny gave birth to the final copy that was used for the study.

In checking for the reliability of the instrument, a pre-test was conducted in Port-Harcourt to ascertain the reliability of the research instrument (questionnaire). A total of 20 respondents were drawn for this purpose. The reason was to determine whether the responses would be in line with the required result expected from the instrument.

### **3.7 Method of Data Collection**

The instrument was administered on face-to-face bases. A total of 385copies of the questionnaire were administered. However, at the end of the exercise, only 336 were retrieved and used for the study.

### **3.8 Method of Data Analysis**

Data collected were presented quantitatively using simple frequency tables, percentages and numbers.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, data collected from the field were presented and analysed. The analyses were based on the returned and usable 336 copies of the questionnaire which amounted to 87% return rate and a loss of 13%. The data were presented in tables, frequencies and numbers.

#### **Research Question One: What is the extent of public awareness of the anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari?**

The first research question sought to find out the level at which the public in south-south states were aware of the anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari. The data collected is presented in table 1 below:

**Table 1: Respondents Awareness of Anti-Corruption Crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari?**

<b>Options</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Large extent	271	81%
Moderate	39	12%
Low extent	23	6.7%
Can't say	3	0.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

Table 1 above, indicated that 81% of the respondents were, to a large extent, aware of the anti-corruption crusade of Mr. President at a respondent quotient of 271. This is in contrast with the 6.7% of the respondents who had low awareness of the fight against corruption; although, 12% of the respondents are moderately aware of the anti-graft war in the country.

The implication of this finding is that over 80% of the respondents were aware of the anti-corruption war in the country as championed by the administration of President Buhari. This is to say that the awareness is spread across the length and breadth of South-South, Nigeria.

### **Research Question Two: What is the level of public knowledge about the anti-corruption campaign?**

In establishing the perception of the people on the anti-graft war, it is important to know the level of knowledge of the public upon which they are forming their opinion. It appears that the levels at which people are knowledgeable about issues, the more they are likely to make informed opinion about them. To gather information on the knowledge level of the respondents, respondents were asked to answer cheater questions and then weighted. The weighted scales are presented in table 2 below.

**Table 2: Respondents level of knowledge**

<b>Option</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Ptyyp percentage</b>
Very high	49	14.5%
High	153	45.5%
Can't say	3	0.9%
Low	75	22.3%
Very Low	56	16.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

The data presented in table 2aboveshowed that 60% of the respondents have high knowledge of the anti-corruption crusade, while 39% of the respondents have low knowledge of the anti-graft war; although, their knowledge levels are at varying capacities.

The table indicates that 153 respondents indicating 45.5% of the population have high knowledge of the anti-corruption crusade of Mr. President. When this percentage is added to those with very high (49, 14.5%) knowledge of the campaign, it will amount to 60% of the respondents with reasonable knowledge of the crusade.

The implication of this finding is that 60% of the respondents in South-South, Nigeria, were knowledgeable about the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari. This indicates an above average knowledge level of the respondents. At this level the people should be able to form an informed perception.

**Research Question Three: What are the sources of public knowledge about the anti-graft crusade?**

Now that it has been ascertain that 60% of the respondents are knowledgeable about the anti-corruption crusade, it will be imperative to find out their sources of information, which of course aided their knowledge. To gather data in respect to this question, respondents were asked to indicate one of their major sources of information on the anti-corruption crusade. The findings are as shown in table 3 below.

**Table 3: Respondents sources of information on anti-corruption crusade**

<b>Types of Sources</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Print (Magazines, Newspapers)	58	17.3%
Electronic sources (TV, Radio)	178	53%
New media (Internet, social media)	34	10.1%
Neighbours/friends	63	18.8%
Can't say	3	0.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

The data presented in table 3 above showed that the electronic media and neighbours/friends which amounted to 53% and 18.8% respectively were the most important sources of information on the anti-graft crusade of Mr. President.

This implies that messages from the electronic media (178, 53%) served as the major sources of information on the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari.

**Research question four: What is the perception of the public about the anti-corruption crusade?**

At this point, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with the anti-corruptions crusade as an indication of their perception concerning the corruption war of President Buhari. They were asked to indicate once, their perception on the corruption issue vis a vis their level of satisfaction. The data collected in line with this question is presented in table 4 below.

**Table 4: Respondents Perception on the Anti-Corruption Crusade of President Buhari**

<b>Options</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Very Satisfactory	17	5.1%
Satisfactory	129	38.4%
Not Satisfactory	187	55.7%
Can't say	3	0.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

Reference to table 4 above showed that 187 respondents amounting to 55.7% are not satisfied with the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari. This is against the 43.5% of the respondents who said they were satisfied with the anti-corruption crusade. This satisfaction falls within the category of very satisfactory and satisfactory.

The implication of this finding is that 55.7% of the respondents in South-South states were of the perception that the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari is not satisfactory, meaning that they appear not to be happy with the way the crusade is been carried out.

### **Discussion of Findings**

#### **Research Question One: What is the extent of public awareness of the anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari?**

The finding of this study in relation to research question one indicates that 81% of the respondents in South-South states were aware of the anti-corruption crusade championed by the administration of President Buhari. This is to say that the awareness of the anti-corruption drive is spread across the length and breadth of South-South geo-political zone. This finding as presented in table 1 reveals that 81% of the respondents were, to a large extent, aware of the anti-corruption

crusade of Mr. President at a respondent quotient of 271. This is in contrast with the 6.7% of the respondents who had low awareness of the fight against corruption; although, 12% of the respondents are moderately aware of the anti-graft war in the country.

**Research Question Two: What is the level of public knowledge about the anti-corruption campaign?**

Data collected and analyzed in respect to the knowledge level of the people on the anti-corruption crusade revealed that 60% of the respondents in South-South states were knowledgeable about the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari. This indicates an above average knowledge level of the respondents. As presented in table 2 of the study, 153 respondents indicating 45.5% of the population have high knowledge of the anti-corruption crusade of Mr President. When this percentage is added to those with very high (49, 14.5%) knowledge of the campaign, it will amount to 60% of the respondents with reasonable knowledge of the crusade.

**Research Question Three: What are the sources of public knowledge about the anti-graft crusade?**

The findings of this study reveal major sources of information on anti-corruption crusade. However, it indicated that messages from the electronic media (178,

53%) served as the major sources of information on the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari. This was followed by interaction with friends and neighbour at 18.8%. The data presented in table 3 show that the electronic media and neighbours/friends which amounted to 53% and 18.8% respectively were the most important sources of information on the anti-graft crusade of Mr. President.

**Research Question Four: What is the perception of the public about the anti-corruption crusade?**

In response to research question four, it was revealed that 55.7% of the respondents in South-South, Nigeria were of the perception that the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari is not satisfactory, meaning that they appear not to be happy with the way the crusade is being carried out. Table 4 which presented the data shows that 187 respondents amounting to 55.7% were not satisfied with the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari. This is against the 43.5% of the respondents who said they were satisfied with the anti-corruption crusade. This satisfaction falls within the category of very satisfactory and satisfactory.

The finding of this study is closely related to that of Sheriff Folarin in 2014 titled “Corruption, Politics and Governance in Nigeria”, which expressed strong dissatisfaction with the execution of the anti-corruption crusade. Sherriff

identified some of the weaknesses of the anti-corruption crusade, with the devastating effects on nation-building and concluded that “the dangerous consequences of corruption for the nation make it imperative that the anti-corruption war should be intense and backed by new and systematic strategies” (Folarin, 2014, p.22).

The perception theory also contributes to our understanding of how people build their opinion and how that opinion influences behaviour. It points to the fact that perception theory is any attempt to understand how people’s perception of issues influences their behaviour (Flamand, 2011). This goes a long way to expose the length at which most Nigerian seemed not to be happy with the execution of the anti-corruption war.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION**

This section summarizes the research findings presented and analyzed according to the questions that guided the study.

#### **5.1 Summary**

The research was a comparative study of the anti-corruption crusade under Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari administration. To achieve the purpose of the study, four research question were raised and examined. Data was collected from three hundred and thirty six (336) respondent selected from the south geopolitical zone in the country. The questionnaire was the instrument for data collection. The descriptive survey research design was adopted for the study. An analysis of data was done using descriptive statistics which include frequency, simple percentage and mean score standard.

#### **5.2 Conclusions**

From the findings of the study, it is safe to conclude that the awareness on the anti-corruption crusade of Mr. President Goodluck Jonathan has gained grounds in South-South, Nigeria. This, no doubt, is the reason for the impressive 60% knowledge of the crusade among the people. For which 55.5% of the respondents

are not satisfied with the corruption drive so far. This raises a big question on the drive itself and the way it is being approached.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the researcher made the following recommendations:

The public need to predispose themselves to the acquisition of knowledge on the anticorruption drive of President Buhari. This is because 60% knowledge might not be enough to appreciate the effort of this administration in fighting corruption.

On the aspect of the sources of information, it is recommended that people should use their new media gadgets to source for more information regarding the anti-corruption drive. This will no doubt improve the knowledge of the people on the approach and strategies taken to curb corruption in the country.

Finally, it is recommended that government should be more objective, open minded, transparent and proactive in the anti-corruption crusade as a way of winning the sympathy of the people. Also institutions and channels for prosecuting cases should be allowed to work. This will help the government in gaining public trust in their zero corruption campaign.

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**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN, BENIN CITY,  
EDO STATE.**

Dear Respondent,

**REQUEST FOR RESPONSE OF RESEARCH INSTRUMENT**

I am a final year student of the above named department and institution, carrying out a research on Anti-Corruption Crusade under Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari Administration: A Comparative Study

Honestly, the research is purely for academic purposes to complete my degree in Political Science, any information received by you should be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thanks for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

**Alasa Abdulmimiue Joshua**

**UNIVERSITY OF BENIN, BENIN CITY  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Data on Questionnaire**

Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**Key: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD)**

S/N	Items	SA	A	D	SD
	<b>What is the extent of public awareness of anti-corruption crusade of president Muhammadu Buhari?</b>				
1.	Large extent				
2.	Moderate				
3.	Low extent				
4.	Can't say				
	<b>What is the level of public knowledge about the anti-corruption campaign?</b>				
5.	Very high				
6.	High				
7.	Can't say				
8.	Low				

9.	Very low				
	<b>What are the sources of public knowledge about the anti-graft crusade?</b>				
10.	Print (magazines, Newspapers)				
11.	Electronic sources (Tv, Radio)				
12.	News Media (Internt, Social media)				
13.	Neighbors and friends				
14.	Can't say				
	<b>What is the perception of the public about the anti-corruption crusade?</b>				
15.	Very satisfactory				
16.	Satisfactory				
17.	Not satisfactory				
18.	Can't say				