

The Nigerian State and Anti-Corruption Policy Implementation Under President Muhammadu Buhari, 2015-2023.

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Abstract

The study examined the correlations between the state and anti-corruption policy implementation in Nigeria under President Muhammadu Buhari from 2015 to 2023. The data for this study were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Descriptive statistics of mean was employed for the analyses of the data so generated. The study examined factors that undermined PMB's anti-corruption campaigns in Nigeria; the study also examined why Nigerian state anti-corruption agency's chairpersons often face dozens of corrupt allegations in Nigeria. The theory of man in the state of nature by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was used as a framework for this study. After thorough analysis, the following findings were made: Despite efforts made by President Muhammadu Buhari's administrations to reduce corruption in Nigeria, corruption still widespread because of the politics of prebendalism and political corruption of those mandated to fight corruption in the country. Again, the character of the Nigerian state anti-corruption agency chairpersons contributes to corrupt allegations they often face in Nigeria. Based on the findings, the study recommended that: The government should embark on attitudinal change campaigns on the change begins with me mantra of the President Muhammadu Buhari's administration, 2015-2023. Also, Merit System should be encouraged in Nigeria to dissuade the people from exhibiting character that would be inimical to the country's fortunes, finally, the anti-corruption agencies should be strengthened to ensure timely prosecution of those indicted of corrupt practices.

Key words: Anti-Corruption, Corruption, Nigeria, Policy, President Muhammadu Buhari

Introduction

The massive corruption allegations that characterized former President Goodluck Jonathan's administration in Nigeria from 2010 to 2015 appears to have contributed to the victory of President Muhammadu Buhari in the 2015 presidential election as his electioneering campaigns was largely hinged on his vow to combat corruption and insecurity in the country no matter whose ox is gored (Babayo et al, 2018).

The former President Goodluck Jonathan was accused of complacency in his anti-corruption drive in Nigeria. Adversaries portrayed him as lacking the political will to address the issue of corruption and insecurity in the country. This perhaps contributed to his defeat in the 2015 presidential election. On the other hand, President Muhammadu Buhari's anti-corruption stance which include but are not limited to: Zero tolerance to corrupt practices, official accountability, change begins with me mantra, whistle-blowing policy framework, and his efforts in recovering stolen funds from corrupt individuals made his admirers to see him as a strong character.

For instance, during his inaugural speech in 2015, he made it categorically clear that he "...belong to nobody and to everybody". Following this statement, the President took a swift action to knowing how the money released to the office of the former National Security Adviser (NSA) to former President Goodluck Jonathan was spent. Evidence indicated that the money was diverted into private purses. President Buhari frowned at the frivolous manner with which the \$2.1 billion meant for arms purchase to intensify the war against the Boko Haram insurgents in the North-East was diverted by few individuals. Accordingly, all the accomplices to the crime were probed by the anti-graft agency, the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC). Consequently, Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd), was on December 1st, 2015, arrested and incarcerated without trial for over four (4) years before he was finally released following a court order in 2019 (the vanguard,2018) .

The next to receive President Muhammadu Buhari's anti-corruption 'sledge hammer' was the former Director General, National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Ayodele Oke, for his inability to explain why the sum of \$43.4, £27.800 and ₦23.2 Million was found in his Osborne Tower Apartment in Ikoyi, Lagos State. He was immediately sacked by the President (Buhari). Another person was the former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Babachir David Lawal, whom President Buhari sacked following his involvement in the "grass-cutting" scandal meant for the internally displaced person's camps. Similarly, President Buhari did not trivialize the charges that was brought against the former Chairman of the Special Investigation Panel for the Recovery of Public Property (SIRPP), Obolo-Obla, who was accused of administrative misconduct, as well as using forged ordinary level certificate (WAEC) to gain admission into the University of Jos to study Law and many other allegations leveled against him which he was unable to defend. He was immediately relieved of his appointment by the President (Premium Times, 2016)

The effects of corruption in Nigeria which is seen in the way and manner established norms and rules are flagrantly violated by both public and private individuals for personal gains made President Muhammadu Buhari to declare that," if Nigeria did not kill corruption, corruption will certainly kill Nigeria" (Buhari,2015). As a result of the endemic corruption in Nigeria, it was also described by former British Prime Minister, David Cameron as being "fantastically corrupt" and it was also highly rated as one of the most corrupt in the world in 2012 by Transparency International (TI,2012). Accordingly, Nigeria's bad reputation at the global level necessitated the creation of the anti-corruption agencies like the independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP), the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), among others by successive administrations to help fight graft to stand still in Nigeria. However, despite these anti-graft agencies, corruption still persists in the country.

According to the African Development Bank (AfDB, 2012) Report, Nigeria was seen as the biggest economy in Africa with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 481.07 billion United States Dollar (USD) as of 2015 ahead of countries such as Egypt with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 330.78 billion United States Dollar (USD) and South Africa with GDP of 312.80 billion USD respectively. Unfortunately, despite the anti-corruption policy implementation framework in Nigeria under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration from 2015 to 2023, Nigerian image has continued to appear in the lower rung of the global corruption perception index. For instance, in 2011, Nigeria was ranked 143rd most corrupt in the world out of 183 countries by Transparency International. Similarly, in 2012, Nigeria was ranked 139th out of 178 countries. In 2013, Nigeria was again placed at the 144th position out of 177 countries, and in 2015, Nigeria was also rated 130th

out of 174 countries in the world. This has affected the country's global fame (Otunuga,2016).

The desire to rid Nigeria of corruption was also part of the justifications the military gave for intervening in the democratic governance of Nigeria in 1966. Yet, its anti-corruption policy was such that corruption was used to check corruption by corrupting the system all the more (Matthew, et al., 2013). In an effort to correct this age-long anti-social phenomenon, President Muhammadu Buhari launched a renewed campaign against corrupt practices in the country with the inauguration of a presidential committee on anti-corruption in Nigeria to synergize efforts with the anti-corruption policy implementation agencies thinking that this idea would help to restore the country to the part of sanity, however from the way and manner established norms are flagrantly abused by those in leadership positions at all levels, corruption in Nigeria appears to be far from over. The study sought to investigate what undermines President Muhammadu Buhari's anti-corruption campaigns in Nigeria, by examining the correlations between the character of the Nigerian state and anti-corruption policy implementation in Nigeria under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration from 2015 to 2023.

Conceptualizing Corruption

Usman (2020) in a book entitled, *"Corruption and Public Administration in Nigeria"*, says, "in order to achieve a clarity and precision in understanding of corruption in Nigeria, its conceptualizations are necessary". Corruption is the abuse of public office or entrusted power for private gains (Transparency International, 2018). Corruption has further been looked at as dishonest conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery. Again, corruption has been seen as the process whereby an official will demand and receive bribe before performing any official task assigned to him (TI,2018).

Uji (2015), Corruption is asking, giving or taking a free gift or favour in exchange for the performance of a legitimate task; the pervasion or obstruction of the performance of such a task or the performance of an illegal and illegitimate task hoarding, collusion, price fixing, election rigging, abuse and or misuse of office.Obasanjo(2013) described corruption as the behavior of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve a private end. He stated that corruption is the abuse of power, most often for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance. Corruption according to him can be motivated by greed, the desire to retain or increase one's power, or perversely enough, by the desire to maintain a supposed greater good.

Ogboru(2019),argued that corruption is the illegal profiteering (that is, mismanagement of public funds) by a public official from his or her position as a representative of government. He maintained that corruption wastes resources, distorts budgetary allocation, breeds inefficiency and unpredictability, slows and erodes development and lowers respect for constituted authority.

Onyiloha (2015) defined corruption as complete, social, political and economic phenomena that affect all countries. It undermines democratic institutions, and slows economic development. It attacks the foundation of democratic institutions by distorting electoral processes, perverting the rule of law and creating bureaucratic quagmires whose only reason for existing is the soliciting of bribes. Economic development is stunted, because foreign direct investment is discouraged and small businesses with the country often find it impossible to overcome the "start-up costs" required because of corruption. The above description highlights major aspects of corruption and their negative impacts on the society.

Given the importance of the fight against the scourge of corruption on a global scale, the United Nations (UN) has declared the “9th of every December as UN International Anti-Corruption Day.” All member-states including Nigeria observe the day every year. Corruption embraces a broad spectrum of activities ranging from fraud (theft through misrepresentation), embezzlement (misappropriation of corporate or public funds) to bribery (payments made in order to gain an advantage or avoid a disadvantages).

Dikwa(2016) argued that corruption is a systematic vice associated with an individual, society or a nation which reflects favouritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment, amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power, position and derivation of undue gains and benefits. Corruption also includes bribery, smuggling, fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents and record, window dressing, false declaration, evasion, overpayment, underpayments, deceit, forgery, concealment, aiding and abetting of any kind to the detriment of another person, community, society or a nation.

Iyanda (2012) sees corruption as the unlawful use of official power or influence by an official of the government either to enrich himself or further his course and/or any other person at the expense of the public. In contravention of his or her oath of office and/or contrary to convention or laws in force. The author’s view on corruption has clearly explained the existence of corruption through faulty recruitment of employees into the Nigerian public and civil service. In his words;

One of the banes of the Nigerian public and civil service is the recruitment of mediocre or totally unsuitable candidates in preference to candidates of high merit. The reasons for this ugly situation can be traced directly to nepotism. Corruption plays only a little part and is generally prevalent in the recruitment of every junior employee like messenger and clerk. In this category of recruitment, the recruiting agents are generally officials lower–middle ranks who see an opportunity of making some money on the side by collecting little bribes from applicants (Iyanda,2012:13).

According to Sharma, Sadana& Kaur(2011), corruption is a criminal misconduct by public servants in the discharge of official duty, which among others, may include habitual acceptance of illegal gratification for himself or for any other persons; misappropriation or conversion of property entrusted to him as a public servant or allowing another person to do so; acts of obtaining pecuniary advantage for himself or for any other person. Wikipedia (2015), see corruption as a form of dishonest and unethical conduct by a person entrusted with a position of authority, often to acquire personal benefit. Amundsen (2010), made clear distinction between “corrupt practice” and corruption when he opined that “corruption is when individuals misuse the public power they are bestowed with for private benefit”. While corrupt practice is when a responsible person accepts money or some other forms of reward, and then proceed to misuse his official power by returning undue favours.

Transparency International (2015), says that “corruption implies abuse of delegated power for personal advantage” . According to World Bank (2017), corruption is an abuse when public office–holder sways public policies by collecting bribes for self-increase. It further argued that corruption is an institutionalized system of nature/society interaction forged from state authority and moulded around local social power through systems of social capital formation.

UNDP(2010), describes corruption as revolving around extortion, embezzlement, nepotism, bribery and state capture. To further add credence to the UNDP's supposition, Asobie(2012) maintains that corruption means demonstrating breach of legal principles for personal accumulation as well as application of political power to secure jobs for the members of the family, political supporters and people from the same ethnic origin.

Lawal (2012), identifies types of corruption to include; moral corruption which is exhibited in sexual pervasiveness, greed, especially in interpersonal relationship, loose tongue, indecency, among others; economic corruption, which manifest in the areas of plagiarism, manufacturing of fake drugs, piracy, adulteration of drinks, etc; political and bureaucratic corruption, these includes illegal, unethical and unauthorized exploitation of one's political or official position for personal gains; and lastly, electoral corruption, which has to do with electoral frauds such as election rigging, manipulation, under-age – registration, and so on. Collaborating this view, Matthew et al (2013) see corruption as encompassing. According to him, "corruption include bribing, smuggling, fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, evasion, underpayment, deceit, forgery, concealment, aiding and abetting of any kind to the detriment of another person, community, society or nation.

Transparency International (2015), argued that "corruption is the use of entrusted power for private gains; and is classified as either grand, petty, and political depending on the amount of money lost and the sector where it occurs'. It went further to explain that Grand corruption consists of acts committed at a high level of government that distorts policy and polity or the central functioning of the state enabling leaders to benefit at the expense of public good; on the other hand, petty corruption refers to everyday abuse of entrusted power by low and mid-level public officials in their interaction with ordinary citizens; and finally, political corruption which involves manipulation of policies, institutions, and rules of procedures in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth.

Otite (2000), observes that corruption could be conceived as pervasion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or depravity. He further identified five categories of corruption to include; political, economic, bureaucratic, judicial and moral corruption. Otite maintained further that each of these types manifest itself in many ways. In fact, from Otite's classification, it could easily be deduced that corruption is found in all facets and departments of human and national life, as well as both the public and private sectors.

Agbese (2020) opined that corruption is any act or thing done by a person or group of persons to influence another in order to take advantage of any situation, the flaw in Agbese's analysis was that it failed to distinguish corruption from the lawful exercise of power as well as influence to attain certain legitimate societal goals, which indeed is what political power as well as influence are. Therefore, his definition of corruption tends to wrongly convey albeit, unintendedly, the feeling that any act done to influence another so as to take advantage is corruption. This is however, not true.

According to Okeke (2004), corruption in public service took a more ravaging dimension after independence in 1960. He went ahead to explain that the first military coup in Nigeria which took place in January 15th, 1966, was partly attributed to the phenomenon. He quoted the leader of the coup, Major General ChukwumaNzeogwu as saying, "it is because of all those corrupt politicians who, for the past five years have been holding this country to ransom ...that the coup was staged".

McMullan (in Haralambos and Heald, 1980), says that a public officer is said to be corrupt "if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do, or exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reason". However, Odondiri (1995), argues that, an act may be corrupt without necessarily involving money or money's worth. He contends further that, "A corrupt act may of course consist of a unit of financial and affective considerations". A more embracing definition of corruption is the one that was given by African Development Bank Report (2001), which says "It involves using a position of power to seek or extort an advantage by a public servant in consideration of the performance or omission of an act.

Former president Olusegun Obasanjo in an address he presented at the formal signing into law of the ICPC Act, 2000, gave a somewhat elastic definition of corruption when he argued that corruption covered acts such as; use of one's office for pecuniary advantage, gratification, influence peddling, insincerity in advice with the aim of gaining advantages, less than a full day's work for a full day's pay. Tardiness and slovenliness. A person is said to be corrupt if he or she uses the position occupied to extort favour from clients outside the official rewards due to him or her. In other words, a public official is corrupt if such official accepts any reward or favour for performing his statutory duties. He maintained that Public corruption is the worst form of corruption. This type has contributed immensely to the very low rate at which the country is growing. This is characterized by large scale favouritism, nepotism, ethnicity and lots more.

According to Hearts(2004), public corruption entails "the use of public office and influence to secure for oneself, and/ or relations, friends and associates (including ethnic groups) " undue, unmerited advantages, rewards, appointment, employment into public office, the perpetrators of injustices and inequity in matters of personnel promotion, advancement, nepotism, ethnic and tribal basis contrary to the specifications of public service rules, regulations and code of conduct. Some others includes all acts of malfeasance, including deliberate refusal by public office-holder to carry out their official responsibilities with the intent to secure advantage of one type or another for themselves or their relations in a manner contrary to the law; collaborating the above assertion, Mallam Adamu Ciroma admitted that public corruption in Nigeria is, "the deliberate bending of the system to favour friends or hunt foes; any misbehaviour, deviation, from or pervasion of the system or misleading Nigerians or giving them wrong or distorted information about things they need to know .

To Hearts ((2004), public corruption (especially its political, economic and bureaucratic aspects), has left the Nigerian state emasculated, wretched, and underdeveloped". Achebe in his book titled, the trouble with Nigeria; laments that "corruption has passed the alarming stage and has entered the fatal stage" and Nigeria will die if we continue pretending that she is only slightly indisposed". He went further to decry the pervasive nature and degree for which corruption has penetrated the fabrique of the society thus: ...to look the other way while the nation's treasury is being looted by people in authority, to collectively regard election manipulations as a way of life, to mischievously embrace the act of offering and accepting ten percent on total contract signed by public officials, to inflate consensus figure , receive undue favour from government and a countless other corrupt acts, are such parts to the nation's demise" (Achebe, 1983).

To forestall such from happening made President Muhammadu Buhari's administration in Nigeria to lay emphasis on fighting corruption to a barest minimum. Though, such efforts are yet to impact positively on the society following the intractable

nature of the phenomenon of corruption nation-wide. To the political bureau that was set up during the reign of Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida;" corruption pervades the strata of the society. From the highest level of the political and business elites to the ordinary person in the village. Its multifarious manifestations include the inflation of government contracts in return for kickbacks; fraud and falsification of accounts in the public service; exam malpractices in our educational institutions including universities; the taking of bribes and pervasion of justices among the police, the judiciary and other organs for administering justice and other heinous crimes against the state in business and industrial sectors of our economy, in collusion with multi-national companies, such as over-invoicing of goods, foreign exchange swindling, hoarding and smuggling. At the village level, corruption manifest itself in such forms as adulteration of market goods or denting of measures to reduce their contents with a view to giving advantage to the seller"

The above statement clearly show that corruption has become part and parcel of our daily life. However, it identified some major elements that were not included in the definitions given by the World Bank that see corruption as the abuse of public office for private gains. Ogundiya(2009),view corruption as the misuse of public position for private , group or sectional gains. This definition is limited in scope as it restricts corruption to only those who occupy public positions. Agbiboa (2010), notes that cultural variation, societal beliefs and surreptitious nature of corrupt practices have cornered universally acceptable understanding of the concept. He argued that what is termed as corruption in many societies repudiates African philosophical acceptance, embedded in societal norms, customs, and tradition. He cited India thus, "in india, giving presence and gratuity to government is an indispensable courtesy, and a respectable, civilize way of carrying on business". In a similar way, Sardan (1999) review that in Niger Republic, presentation of a gift to traditional chiefs is considered as an element of morality and generosity that may add values to individual personality. However, this form of gratuity is tagged as element of corruption in western political philosophy; this made Bayley (1966) to argue that, "many definitions that have been promulgated reflects western hybridity, as a result of non-universality in its practices creates problematic environment in defining the concept, and therefore, raises inexorable argument among intellectuals (USIP,2010).

Edeh (2022) opined that corruption has now become endemic in the country as it is practiced in both the low and the high places. It has reached a point where an incorruptible person is despised and called all sorts of names by his colleagues, immediate community and family members. He went further to note that corruption takes the following forms: embezzlement of public funds, fraud, bribery, money laundering at home and abroad, clientalism, favouritism, nepotism among others. But its effect on the Nigerian economy over the years has been enormous.

Idris (2021), noted that corruption in Nigeria persists at alarming rate to the extent that Nigeria was in 1997 ranked 52 as the least corrupt nations out of 175 countries, but 152 out of the same number (175) in 2005. The country was also ranked 144 in 2018 and 146 in 2019 out of 180 countries. By 2019 ranking, Nigeria was the second most corrupt in West African Sub-Region. In response to the steady increase of corruption in Nigeria, several efforts have been made by PMB's administration to reduce the effects of corruption in Nigeria, this was why the presidential task force on corruption was inaugurated to help fight the fight the phenomenon. However, this move has not yielded any positive result.

According to Akinrinade (2020) , "one of the major challenges that Nigeria faced over the years is the issue of corruption and its debilitating ancillaries, including bribery, graft, fraud, manipulations, indiscipline and nepotism. He concluded that "corruption has

become so deep-seated that it has stunted growth in all sectors and has been the primary cause for Nigeria's socio-economic backwardness".

Smith (2010), admits that "the Nigeria's social construction and political architecture accommodates corruption due to institute clientelistic and patron relations, embedded in ethnic schism; implying diversion of funds by the patrons for redistribution among clients. In this context, the informal institutional network serves as a riding board for corrupt practices. Consequent upon the endemic corrupt practices in Nigeria, Transparency International in 2014 rated the country as one of the most corrupt in the globe. The quest to redeem the country's image from such global bashing led to President Muhammadu Buhari administration's determination to completely eradicate corruption and the practice of it in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of man in state of nature by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was used as a framework for this study. Because the concept of "corruption" engulfs in it some levels of complexity and ambiguity both in its usage, interpretation and application. to adopt a working model as well as tackle the issues of the blurred disparity between corruption and its manifestations, the Hobbesian theory of man in his nature shall be discussed and applied respectively. In his classical piece Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes painstakingly studied the human nature and gave verdict on what he thought of to be natural, axiomatic, self-evident and true of man's behaviour without some forms of societal restraints. He averred that men are naturally equal in mind and body, yet, the resources of which man depends on for sustenance are not evenly distributed but scarce and ferociously struggled for. This struggles foments competition, competition on the other hand engenders strife and fear of extinction. This culminates in distrust or diffidence. Diffidence and insecurity incites invasion and conquest which yield glory to the victor and vice versa.

Eyo, Udofia & Enor (2011), stated that according to Hobbes, man in his nature is at condition of war, of every man against every man. In this state of nature, there is no place for industry; agriculture; navigation; trade; no arts or letters, no societies, no amenities of civilized life and worst of all, there is "continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short". However, the fear of death and the dire need and desire for commodious living drives men to give up on their inherent desperation for self-preservation and agree to live a harmonious life. Since men are naturally prone to renege on promises which have no compulsions attached, there arose the need to create a sovereign authority to which power to enforce peaceful co-existence was transferred to. The sovereign is the Hobbesian Leviathan.

Drawing from the above, man's quest for glory, fame, splendour and self-preservation at the expense of others is innate, natural and congenital. It is an inherent attribute man would have naturally exhibited but for restraints and deterrence. Thus, selfishness, greed, wickedness, and desperation for self – preservation at the expense of fellow mankind is congenital and inherent in everyman. Since corruption entails using entrusted public responsibility for private, personal and selfish gratification, is therefore an exhibition or manifestation of that innate attributes of man. Corruption then becomes that innate selfish mind-set that compels man to worry only about himself. In an effort to bypass the acceptable norms, laws and regulations to self-preservation, this innate attributes of man is manifested in form of corruption.

Though corruption is innate, natural and congenital and inherent in everyman but is however suppressed by the host for either some restraint factors like law, punishment,

good reputation, or perceived assurance of self-preservation with available resources. The inability of man to suppress these drives results in the manifestation of corruption. The importance of these theories to this work is that Nigerians are in dire need of a just state where the common wealth would be used for the benefit of all, high or low, educated or not, rich or poor, employed or unemployed, without recourse to ethnic, religious or political consideration. This will discourage greed and avaricious quest for wealth by those in authority. This will go a long way in bridging the gap between the rich and the poor and therefore make corrupt practice in public and private places a thing of the past.

Conclusion and Recommendations

From the foregoing, it is evident that corruption in Nigeria has remained intractable due to the compromised sincerity of those mandated to implement the anti-corruption policy. This position is hinged on the fact that there is overbearing influence from the political class in the prosecution of the war against corruption by the anti-graft agencies (EFCC, ICPC) considering the immunity granted the most part of the public /political office holders till the expiration of their tenure of offices. This political class have continued to manipulate the anti-graft bodies in their favour. This oftentimes makes the prosecution of corruption ending with bail applications.

Attitudinal Change: The government should embark on attitudinal change campaigns on the change begins with me mantra of the President Muhammadu Buhari's administration, from 2015 to 2023 by creating a directorate of attitudinal change in every state, with offices in the local government councils. This will help in educating the populace that anti-corruption policy implementation involves everybody and not only the government and its agencies.

In addition, Merit System should be encouraged in Nigeria to dissuade the people from exhibiting character that would be inimical to the country's fortunes, finally, the anti-corruption agencies should be strengthened to ensure timely prosecution of those indicted of corrupt practices.

Merit system should be encouraged in Nigeria: The government needs to institute a competency driven and incentive/sanction-based procedure for hiring, promoting, training, rotating and firing public officials who are corrupt in order to create a new public sector culture. By institutionalizing a merit system. This way, both nepotism and favoritism in the public sector will be eliminated. This will also fight the "sacred cow" syndrome in the country. Again, if employees are hired based on their qualifications rather than who they know it will assuage their feeling and therefore promote efficiency in government and eliminate the abuse of power and the feeling for dormancy in the system. This will therefore, mitigate the negative implications of the character of the Nigerian state in the society.

Anti-Corruption Agencies Reform: The anti-corruption agencies in the country should be strengthened to ensure timely prosecution of those indicted of corrupt practices no matter how highly placed because justice delayed is justice denied.

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