



Corruption Framing And The Antidotal Policies: A Comparative Analysis of Nigeria's Presidents Goodluck Jonathan and President Muhammadu Buhari's Administrations

¹Ojo Joseph IseOlorunkanmi; ²Olatunji Joshua Bamgbose; ³Edoro Emmanuella Kodi; ⁴Ibukun C. Akinojo & ⁵Daramola Precious Babalola

^{1,3,4}Department of Political Science and International Relations
Landmark University, Nigeria

¹iseolorunkanmi.joseph@lmu.edu.ng/ORCID 0000-0003-2662-2900

³kodi.edoro@lmu.edu.ng

⁴akinojo.ibukun@lmu.edu.ng/ ORCID: 0009-0004-2638-7263

²National Research University
Higher School of Economics
Moscow, Russia Federation
ORCID: 0009-0001-7059-7944
obamgboce@edu.hse.ru

⁵Federal University, Oye Ekiti
ORCID: 0009-0001-6429-9043
babaloladaramola@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

Corruption is an endemic problem in Nigeria. Successful governments have attempted to tackle the problem through policies that were either preventive or punitive. This article examined the framing of corruption by the administrations of both Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari, examine the policy response of each administration to fight corruption; and examine different policy approaches of each administration as well as the effectiveness of the policies. It employed secondary sources of data collection. The data analysis was done using content analysis. The study's findings reveal among others that the two administrations framed corruption differently and that informed their policy outlook. The study concludes that corruption is a cancerous ebola that have continued to consume the physicians as not government in Nigeria have not been enmeshed in one corruption scandal or the other.

Keywords: Nigeria, Corruption, Agenda setting, Policies

INTRODUCTION

Corruption is a global issue with many countries having it as a challenge. It can be endemic or systemic or a combination of both in some countries, especially those countries that lack the combination of institutional structure and political will to combat it. In these countries, it has remained a major hindrance to socio-economic and political development ravaging both the public and private sectors of the economy (Suleiman, Othman & Ahmi, 2017). Such is the case with Nigeria, where corruption is a major challenge; manifesting itself in bribery, diversion and misappropriation of funds through manipulation or falsification of financial records; payment for favourable judicial decisions, and so on (Azelama, 2002; Ijewereme, Waziri, 2010).

Meanwhile, Nigeria is a state that had very great prospects at independence, with per capita income of around \$1,100 during the late 1970s; being regarded as the fastest growing country in Sub-Saharan Africa. Yet it remains predominantly underdeveloped due to the scourge of corruption (Adeyemi, 2012). Without a doubt, the enormous resources in the country could transform the doom of any society into a fortune overnight, yet, rather than utilizing these assets to have a great effect on the nation's development, the politicians are occupied with the conversion of these resources into personal gains (Ijewereme and Dunmade, 2014).

This singular act has been one of the contributing factors to the increased poverty and underdevelopment status of the country. As a problem begging for an urgent solution, the battle against corruption has been present in all manifestoes since the country returned to democracy in 1999. With this in mind, at any period of a political election, different parties always find the promise to combat corruption as an easy tool to win votes from the electorates. Despite this, like a recurring decimal, this singular problem is always present for every administration to solve.

As a dominant problem in many countries, research efforts have been devoted to tackling corruption and various theoretical recommendations have been made towards it. Igbuzor (2008), highlighted a comprehensive, focused and consistent policy as the viable means to ensure anti-corruption efficiency. Furthermore, the interventionist school of anti-corruption prioritizes the punishment of offenders as a strong method to deal with corruption. Going by these views, a prosecutorial instead of preventive approach is advised as a means to tackle corruption whereas, this would mean that the corrupt act has been done, but not all corrupt cases are reported. This recommendation is reactive rather than proactive. Responding to the logical flaws of this school, the managerial school suggests a collective approach to anti-corruption campaigns wherein individuals are discouraged from engaging in corrupt acts through system building (McCusker, 2006). Again, this pattern of thought fails to consider the fact that not everyone operates in line with a collectively held standard. It is for this reason that Matei & Matei (2011) observed that corruption stems from the group as well as the individual. To him, an anti-corruption policy that considers the individual and societal root of corruption is bound to be effective. While this recommendation is important, little or no attention has been given to the impact of policy issue framing as a determining factor to anti-corruption success. The question of agenda-setting effect on anti-corruption policy effectiveness is yet to be answered. This is particularly important as agenda-setting determines the fate of a policy. Corruption as defined in the extant literature is a conflict of interest emanating from the principal-agent relationship, despite this not all principals give priority to the adoption of these controls as a means to achieve their goal (Pollack, 2007). This is because the perception of corruption differs; this difference greatly influences the policy response to corruption. To this end, a research question can be formulated as follows: How do proper agenda-setting and policy priorities influence the effectiveness of Anti-corruption policy in Nigeria?

Statement of the problem

Scholars have extensively targeted consistency and focus as the prerequisite for the success of the anti-corruption policy. Little or no attention has been paid to the role of agenda-setting as a determining factor for anti-corruption effectiveness. This research intends to examine how proper agenda-setting and policy priority influence the effectiveness of anti-corruption policy in Nigeria. This aims to fill the gap in the literature in the selected field.

The central research goal of the term paper is to examine how proper agenda setting and policy priority influence the effectiveness of anti-corruption policies under President Jonathan and President Buhari's administrations. The objectives are to: examine how corruption was framed under President Jonathan's and President Buhari's administrations; examine the policy response of each administration to fight corruption; and examine different policy approaches of each administration as well as the effectiveness of the policies.

METHODOLOGY

This research made use of a qualitative method of data collection and analysis. The materials are obtained secondary sources of data: published literature, relevant textbooks, journals, articles, newspapers, internet sources, and official reports on the subject of study. While content analysis is

used to analyze data, interpretative frame analysis is adopted to explain how corruption was framed under the two administrations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The phenomenon of corruption now frames a portion of the regular talk, particularly in a nation like Nigeria, where the marvel is accepted to be the real reason for underdevelopment. Despite the consideration the phenomenon has pulled in, and the acknowledgement of its appearances by general society, it has remained un-amiable to an extensive and widely inclusive definition. This is so because the idea is utilized to depict a huge number of illegal conduct. Endeavours to offer an exact definition have tended to mistake corruption for other related offences.

Corruption is defined as efforts to acquire cash or benefits via illicit means, selfish gain at the detriment of the public; or abuse of public trust for personal interest (Lipset and Lenz, 2000, p.112-114 cited in Dike, 2008). From this definition, corruption can be induced to mean any misuse of power to obtain excessive benefit. This requires the action of two individuals; the individual who abuses his office as well as the other who aims to get an unmerited favour by this abuse.

The World Bank report (Wei, 2000) also substantiates that corruption ensues when the deeds of people operating in both public and private segments influence the enactment of regulations, laws and other administration policies to favour their interests by employing illegal donations of private benefits to public servants. Again, it exists where existing laws are being changed to get private or public servants to act on one's terms through bribery or illegal payment of any kind. Some of those forms are Nepotism, Fraud, Favoritism, Grand corruption, Embezzlement, Bribery, Petty corruption and Electoral corruption (Aluko, 2009:5).

In what seems like an expansion of the said topic, in a broadened research, Boisvert *et al.* (2014), exhaustively discuss the various categories of corruption. According to them, Corruption can be classified in different ways such as grand versus petty corruption, private versus public corruption, demand versus supply corruption, and conventional versus unconventional corruption. Going further, they also differentiated between corruption which is systemic and individual, corruption by commission versus by omission, by the extent of force used in performing the illicit act and the type of gains acquired. In Capasso and Santoro's view, supply corruption describes the act of donating an illegal payment, while demand corruption relates to the receipt of such a payment or advantage. This conforms with some scholars like Capasso and Santoro (2018), who tagged it as active and passive corruption. Again, they explained conventional corruption as a situation where government officials, illegitimately receive an undue advantage personally, disregarding public interest whereas unconventional corruption subsists in a situation where a bureaucrat behaves in a manner that does not align with the public interest with the objective being to achieve a particular advantage. However, an essential component is that no interpersonal transaction is identified as there is no clear bargain between both parties. This type of corruption includes acts, such as mismanagement, theft, embezzlement, and violation of ethical code. Capasso and Santoro's clarification on petty corruption is linked with "bureaucratic corruption," which entails the involvement of bureaucrats. In this case, bribes paid to police officers, customs personnel and facilitation or 'grease' payment are all examples of petty corruption. Grand corruption, on the other hand, entails superior elected authorities and government officials who harness possibilities which are introduced through government work. It is usually the outcome of bribes linked with extensive government schemes, such as construction and infrastructural programs. Accordingly, political corruption is deemed to be a kind of grand corruption as a result of its impact as well as the senior public officers concerned. It subsists where government and political representatives who are assigned to the enforcement of laws are equally corrupt (Capasso and Santoro, 2018).

State capture is another type of grand corruption which is defined as an organizational influence on government policies through payments. On the contrary, public officials can also endeavour to exploit parties in the private sector for their selfish interests, otherwise known as business capture. Corruption can also be categorized by its private or public nature. The distinction rests in the segments where the corrupt activity is carried out whether public or private (Boisvert *et al.*, 2014).

The scholars did not relent in their efforts to dissect corruption as they went further to explain systemic corruption as existing where corruption is widespread in society. Simply put, it is repetitive

in its dealings between personal and government businesses. In this society, there is tension between official and unofficial regulations, as there are robust incentives for government authorities, individuals and businesses to conform to this unlawful structure (Boisvert *et al.*, 2014). In contrast, individual corruption thrives where corruption is uncommon. These acts of corruption are done by commission or omission, this is to say, a government authority can likewise abstain to act in the execution of his or her responsibilities, for personal or business gain. These elements and the extent of pressure implemented by the official and the type of advantage assigned (physical good, creation of social duty, monetary), are important as they may influence rationalization and decision-making by corrupt authorities.

There is a growing debate among Nigerian scholars concerning the origin of corruption, while some trace it to the origin of mankind, others addressed it as an attendant consequence of colonialism. To Omotola (2006), corruption in Nigeria is a hangover element of colonialism. He asserts that colonialism in Nigeria was built on corruption. In his view, due to the colonialist's corrupt nature to exploit the state for their exclusive benefit, they destroyed the social structure related to pre-colonial Africa and transformed it for their purposes (Omotola, 2006).

From the foregoing, it is axiomatic to see why corruption must be reduced to its barest minimum. Nevertheless, an anti-corruption campaign in Nigeria is always a herculean task because it seems, as some argue, to be part of the culture of the country as in many other developing countries (Egwemi, 2009, Igbuzor, 2008).

Understanding Corruption Through the Lens of Framing

According to Kurian *et al.*, frames are discursive cues, found throughout the communication process, that emphasize a particular interpretation of an issue (Kurian *et al.*, 2011). In their view, frames appear in the speaker's mind as conscious decisions are made about how to present an issue to the public. Simply put, frame analysis is all about the way we understand the causes and solutions of a major national problem. Following this lead, one can begin to question how these administrations frame corruption. While there has been enormous literature in social sciences establishing the link between corruption and underdevelopment (Suleiman, Othman & Ahmi, 2017), President Jonathan did not seem to subscribe to such a school of thought. Judging from his manifesto, corruption in Nigeria is not a problem that deserves political attention. His manifesto was weaved under his "transformation agenda" plan for the nation, the bulk of which focused on infrastructural developments and agriculture. This reveals that corruption was not initially considered a hindrance to his development agenda for the country. To buttress the point on his initial lackadaisical approach to corruption, President Jonathan in a media chat with journalists publicly stated that "stealing is not corruption" (Obe, 2014). Such a position signalled a green light to the 'agents' under his watch to amass public wealth to enrich themselves via the diversion of public wealth, and illegal transfer of cash from one bank account to the other.

With such negative commentaries and their damaging effect on his re-election, it became pertinent for his administration to respond. The administration responded with the formulation of the Bank Verification Number Policy as a means to curtail the illegal flow of cash within the country. The point being made here is that President Jonathan only responded to corruption when it was no longer conducive for him to ignore it. Simply put, he has a reactive approach to tackling corruption. This connotes that he came prepared to tackle corruption headlong with a full understanding of the endemic nature of corruption in the country such that no meaningful development can be achieved in the country without first tackling corruption. He attributed every socio-political and economic problem of the country to corruption. Therefore, a successful anticorruption campaign equals development in his agenda (Onya & Elemanya, 2016).

Again, their rhetoric on corruption further shows their perception divide and priorities on corruption. In his media chat journalist, President Jonathan made a contentious speech asserting that "stealing is not corruption" This particular statement attracted criticisms from local and international media questioning the type of government he is running as to whether a kleptocratic one or a democratic one that seeks to maintain accountability, transparency and integrity. In what seems like a remedy to his image and response to the local and foreign pressure, the administration initiated the Bank Verification Number Policy. On the other hand, Buhari's strong position on the anti-corruption

campaign has always been clear. During the Independence celebration speech, he categorically stated that "Corruption will kill us if we did not kill corruption" (Vanguard, 2016). This further reinstates his commitment to the anti-graft campaign and send a strong signal to perpetrators of corrupt act.

President Jonathan Bank Verification Number (BVN) and Petroleum Industry Reform Policy

Corruption is one problem that has paraded itself in Nigerian society in many forms. One identified means is through some banking activities; the illegal movement of cash from one bank account to another. Probable public officials and ordinary citizens employ this method to distribute ill-gotten money to various proxy accounts to avoid public attention. In an attempt to combat corruption and impersonation of accounts rampant in the banking sector, President Goodluck's administration via the apex financial institution in the country; the Central Bank initiated the special identification method known as Bank Verification Number (BVN). The BVN functions by giving bank customers a specific identification number (apart from their account number) to be utilized throughout the banking industry in Nigeria, which serves as a verification tool in performing banking transactions. Among other things, the Bank Verification Number policy was introduced due to the rise of personality theft by public officials to perform illegal financial activities and existing challenges with the traditional security methods, in particular; PINs and passwords. This development increased the security measures for protecting the vital information of individuals in banks. With this policy in place, financial institutions can now be used to spot, trace and monitor unlawful financial transactions, prevent illegal access to customers' bank accounts or details, reduce identity theft and enable the bank to recognize fraudsters (CBN Report, 2014).

President Buhari Policy Response to Corruption Whistleblowing Policy and Treasury Single Account

Upon the ascension of President Buhari to power, the first action against corruption was the introduction of a treasury single account (TSA Policy). This policy allows for the payment and collection of all government revenues via electronic means in a unified account. This system deters the corrupt opportunity that the previous multi-account of government gives especially as it blocks revenue leakages and the contact between bureaucrats and physical cash (Chukwurah & Iheanacho, 2015). The new policy in place also revealed that from 2009 to 2011, the Nigerian National Petroleum Cooperation generated #6.132 trillion without remitting any amount to the federation account. This policy as an effective public finance management system promotes accountability and transparency in the public ministries, departments and agencies generating revenue financial.

In a follow-up course, the administration also adopts the whistleblowing policy. Whistleblowing in the context of private entities entails reporting the unscrupulous behaviour of staff, managers and directors and top executives of an organization by staff or individuals to the relevant authority. It connotes a signal of caution to an institution that informs them of wrongdoings in the organization and addresses the issue.

Policy approaches towards anti-corruption campaign in Nigeria

The Nigerian government has adopted various strategies in the time past to address these causes of corruption. One such strategy is the establishment of a code of conduct bureau and code of conduct tribunal in 1979. The mandate of the Code of Conduct Bureau is to receive complaints about non-compliance or the breach of the code of conduct of public officers, process and forward such breaches to the Code of Conduct tribunal whose duty is to hear and decide such cases accordingly. Again, the commitment of the government to combat corruption was shown when Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) was established. With the responsibility to receive complaints, investigate and prosecute offenders as well as educate the public on the detrimental effect of corruption and other related offences. Suffice it to say, the agency also reviews and modifies the activities of public bodies where such practices may aid corruption.

It was like an overlapping of duty when the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was established with a mandate closely related to that of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). The new agency was also charged with the duty to enforce laws and regulations relating to economic and financial crimes such as money laundering, advance fee

fraud misappropriation of public funds, embezzlements etc. More so, it is to coordinate the domestic effort of the global fight against money laundering and terrorist financing.

The aforementioned set high standards for subsequent administrations to continue the fight against corruption howbeit with different approaches. In light of this, the study shall compare the anticorruption approaches of these administrations.

Public sector reform versus Public financial management: evident from the anti-corruption policies initiated by President Buhari (treasury single account and whistleblowing policies) it could be induced that his approach is targeted at controlling the central public finance through the ministry of finance; having a centralised e-payment system such that people's contact with cash could be reduced thereby reducing the incentives on corruption. A proper look at the two policies (Treasury single account and whistleblowing policies) reveals the focus on the Ministry of Finance directly. The treasury single account was put in place to harmonize all government revenue under a single account through an electronic payment system. Whereas President Jonathan's approach revealed a sectoral reform or public sector reform evident in the reforms carried out in the petroleum and banking sectors aimed at transforming the sectors by ensuring accountability in their mode of operation.

Specific versus General: the administration of President Jonathan is more focused on sectoral reform as exemplified in the focus of his policies; Special Anti-corruption Task Force was raised to tackle corruption in the petroleum sector and Bank Verification Number was initiated to combat corruption in the banking sector. These efforts are geared towards reforming the banking and petroleum sector specifically, on the other hand, President Buhari's approach is more general especially the treasury single account which enforces accountability and transparency on all revenue-generating ministries, departments and agencies of government. More so, the whistleblowing policy covers a wide range of corruption like embezzlement, diversion of public funds, violation of the procurement act, conversion of public assets to private use etc. On the other hand, it recruits every member of society as an anti-corruption agent as it allows them to raise an alarm of any illegal activities. With this policy in place, Public officers are now being sceptical before engaging in the corrupt act as they do not know whose eye is watching.

On a similar lane, while the Jonathan-led administration reflects a prosecutorial form of intervention, President Buhari's intervention is preventive.

Perception of the nature of corruption: the perception of the administrations on the level of corruption in the country also differs. In the view of President Jonathan, corruption is just a minor challenge facing some sectors in the country. It is, therefore, not surprising that his anti-corruption policies are particularistic to some specific sectors which he perceived are being ravaged by corruption. On the contrary, President Buhari's approach is more general born out of the understanding that at the root of the most socio-political and economic problem in the country is corruption this informed a general approach to anti-corruption policy. This view also views corruption as a cankerworm depleting the fixed resources of the country. Therefore effective anti-corruption policy to him is a viable means to achieve an even distribution of resources and development

Agenda Setting and Implementation: The mode of agenda-setting pattern of President Buhari's anti-corruption policy reflects both the mobilization and outside-initiation model of agenda-setting. There was a collaborative effort of the government, media and civil society to put a nail on the coffin of corruption in the country. More so, the policy instrument employed by this administration in its campaign against corruption adopts the use of finance (incentives are given to whistleblowers), and the use of information to sensitize the public on the need to shun corrupt acts. The whistleblowing policy allows the citizens to actively participate in the fight against corruption, making everyone an anti-corruption detective although it faced some implementation challenges nonetheless its impact on the overall performance of the policy is minimal as compared to the Bank Verification Number policy. The Bank Verification Number policy faced some implementation challenges that hindered the full realization of its goals. As of October 2015, which was the deadline given to all customers to register for Bank Verification Number; only 20.8 million customers had registered whereas about 46 million accounts were yet to be linked with Bank Verification Number (Daily Post, 2015). Meanwhile, the punitive measure earlier stated that account holders without Bank Verification Number after the deadline will forfeit their monies could not be implemented as the government was pressured to extend the deadline. This extension gave room for the owners of illegal accounts to move

their monies out of the banks to buildings or strategize on the way out. Some have also questioned the use of banks as one of the implementing agencies due to the allegations that bankers connive with these corrupt individuals to perform illicit transactions begging the question of whether a corrupt agency can implement a policy that works against its goal. More so, the implementation of the petroleum industry reform was greatly marred by the corrupt interest of the powers that be such that the recommendation of the panel set up which was to inform a petroleum industry bill act never see the light of the day (Aiyede, 2016).

Technocratic versus Collective action: the problem of corruption challenged the two administrations, however, various approaches were adopted. President Jonathan's anticorruption approach reflected an elite-driven technocratic approach with the belief that once anti-corruption mechanisms are established corruption acts will cease. This is evident in the manner he addressed corrupt practices prevalent in the petroleum sector during his tenure. The petroleum sector of the country is one corrupt-prone sector in the country. This corruption was exposed when the government could no longer subsidize fuel prices in the country on the account that the subsidy is marred with corruption and under the control of a cabal. In response to this, the administration initiated a Special Task Force on Governance and Control with a mandate to review all administrative controls on the state-owned National Oil Corporation (NNPC) and other parastatals, formulate a new administrative system to ensure transparency and good governance and formulate a plan to differentiate guiding principle from operations in the Corporation and other related agencies, set key performance indices, eradicate opportunity for corruption arbitrage (Aiyede, 2016). This response further reinstates his technocratic approach to fighting corruption.

Conversely, President Buhari's approach indicates a mobilization of collective action to the anti-corruption campaign. Beyond the formulation of anti-corruption policies, grassroots support was incorporated into the anti-graft campaign. This is particularly exemplified in his whistleblowing policy aimed at making every citizen a watchman on corrupt practices. In his view, the value at stake due to the acts of corruption is economic, since the public treasure is the prey of such acts. Such a view depicts a fixed resource of the national treasury corruption as a cankerworm depleting it and preventing the equitable distribution of the national resources. Defining corruption in this manner further motivates the collective support to tackle it

Comparative Analysis of the Effectiveness of their Policies

Combating corruption is not an end itself rather it is a means to an end; an end being development but this cannot be achieved without accountability, integrity and transparency. As Rotimi *et al.* (2013) noted, poverty has become of the factors inhibiting the reform of institutions that are meant to fight corruption.

The Bank Verification Number Policy adopted by President Jonathan achieved some degree of success in its objectives as it has helped curtail fraudulent activities in the banking sector by unmasking faceless account holders who hide under students' names to siphon public funds. More so, it has produced an unintended outcome of exposing 'ghost workers' on the government payroll as well as forcing corrupt individuals to move their money from the bank to their houses. However, this policy performed less in reducing corruption when compared with the whistleblowing policy. As an attendant consequence of this policy, the heavy looters strategized a new way to keep their ill-gotten wealth by stacking billions of money in their private apartments. It is a positive score of whistleblowing policy, that several of them were exposed. Some of which is the recovery of \$43.5 million, 27,800 pounds, 23.2 million found in a building in Lagos, US \$9 million recovered from the personal safe of a former director of the state's oil company NNPC, Andrew Yakubu. All were retrieved as a result of whistleblowing. Again, a fraudulent case was also exposed with the revelation of some corrupt cases in the banking sector chiefly among which is the recovery of \$136,676,600 from a fictitious account (Anya & Iwanger, 2019). This exposure further opens some of the implementation challenges of BVN policy, as one would have expected this to be revealed by the Bank which is duty-bound by BVN to report such cases to the financial fraud unit.

In another view, the whistleblowing policy covers an array of corrupt practices including diversion of public funds, embezzlement, ghost workers, contract inflation and conversion of public properties to private use. More so, it recruits every member of society as an agent of anti-corruption. One such was

a serving Honourable Member, of the House of Representatives, Abdulmumin Jibrin who blew a whistle that the parliamentarians padded the 2016 budget (rewrite the budget by adding items to it which were not there when presented to them). He exposed that the expenditure passed by the house was higher than the one sent to them with over four hundred and eighty-one billion Naira. Likewise, a young man also raised an alarm that led to the recovery of Thirteen billion naira stacked in a building in Lagos. The foregoing consolidates the fact that whistleblowing policy allows for collective support in the fight against corruption. More so, the implementation challenges faced by BVN policy, especially from bankers who sometimes connive with politicians to perform illicit transactions greatly affected the success of the policy whereas, whistleblowing policy has recorded a remarkable success. According to the data gathered from 3000 cases has been received by the agency which has helped in the repatriation of public funds.

The foregoing indicates that whistleblowing represents a holistic approach to fighting corruption than the Bank Verification Number policy. However, this does not mean that whistleblowing has recorded a complete success to escape the criticisms of this paper. This depicts the framing of corruption by President Buhari who views corruption as a parasite depleting the nation's fixed resources; this would mean that he is more focused on repatriating the looted resources than pursuing the robber.

The Treasury Single Account (TSA) policy as a public financial management system has also proved effective in blocking to a great extent financial leaks in the public sector. It has also ensured accountability from the "agents" by blocking their contact with physical cash. This policy entails that all revenue-generating ministries, departments and agencies of the government maintain a single account through an electronic platform. This method to a great extent minimizes the issue of cash remittance, stealing and bribe-seeking in these ministries and agencies. This policy has achieved greater success in curbing corruption than the use of external auditors, special panels that President Jonathan adopted. Drawing from this point, President Buhari's citizen engagement strategy and whistleblowing policy have triggered action against corruption from every member of the society such that public officials are now being sceptical about collecting bribes or abusing their office because they are now in the watchful eyes of the people who may record their corrupt activities through their mobile phones or other technological means.

CONCLUSIONS

The level at which the two administrations understood corruption greatly influenced the agenda-setting which ultimately influenced the effectiveness of their policies. As a result of President Jonathan's initial insensitivity to the anti-corruption campaign, his agents utilized this opportunity to amass public wealth through diversion and embezzlement. Hence, the focus of his policy is on the illegal financial flow of cash meanwhile, this effort only curtails very little aspect of the systemic corruption pervasive in the country.

Contrarily, the administration of President Buhari framed corruption as a critical problem that needed to be solved to achieve development. This understanding of the effect of corruption triggered a policy that combats many aspects of corruption other than the illegal financial flow of cash. While President Jonathan's policy implementation relied heavily on financial institutions, President Buhari embraced a decentralized approach, mobilizing the collective action against corruption thereby allowing the public to join the fight against corruption.

Finally, corruption like a cancerous *ebola* has continued to consume or stain the physician who intended to cure it. All past administrations in Nigeria have been enmeshed in one corrupt allegation or the other.

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