
‘When I See the ‘Broom’, I Will Pass over You’: An Assessment of President Muhammadu Buhari’s Anti-Corruption Crusade in Nigeria, 2015-2019

O.O. Thompson, A.S. Afolabi, A.N. Raheem & C.A. Onifade
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Abstract

Corruption is a global phenomenon. Many states have embarked on several crusades to fight the menace, with little to show for these efforts. Using a critical analysis of literature, media reports and press releases, this article assesses the anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari’s administration, 2015-2019. The article argues that in spite of the strategies and panoply of laws employed by the administration to tackle the menace, the crusade has to a large extent failed because the crusade is waged along ethnic and particularly party lines. The article recommends among other things the need for transparency in the crusade, building institutions, revival of social norms, political will, and respect of the rule of law.

Keywords: Anti-Corruption, APC, Corruption, EFCC, ICPC, Muhammadu Buhari

Introduction

Corruption is a phenomenon facing the human race. It has a severe impact on social, economic and political advancement of any nation, thereby accounting for poverty, poor social welfare programmes, low human development capacity, weakening of state institutions/capacity building and increasing income inequalities. It is estimated that it equals more than five percent of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or approximately US \$3.6 trillion each year (Johnson 2018; Human Rights Watch 2020).

It was revealed that close to \$400 billion was wasted by Nigeria's leaders between 1960 and 1999—an average of almost \$5,000 per Nigerian (Ribadu 2009, p.5; 2010, p.2). In spite of numerous anticorruption laws, policies, and programmes set out by previous administrations (Achebe 1983; Quah 2007; Oji and Oji 2010; Obasanjo 2014; Jonathan 2018; Okonjo-Iweala, 2018, pp.72-73), much has not been achieved.

Though a lot of studies have delved into the menace of corruption and politics of reforms on the continent (Lawson 2009; Ribadu 2010; HRW, 2011; Enweremadu 2012; Alemika, Sha, Obe, Ya'u & Adeniyi, 2015; Prusa 2017; Page, 2018a), the few studies that have examined the anti-corruption crusades of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari have not sufficiently looked at the pitfalls of the administration's strategies (Roy 2017; Ocheje 2018). The deportment of candidate Muhammadu Buhari on anti-corruption during his campaign prior to general elections of 2015 captivated the attention of scholars, journalists and the international community. The article of anti-corruption crusades under the administration is instructive for some reasons. The administration was massively elected on the credentials, and it seems to make anti-corruption a priority of his administration. It will also be of interest to developing countries to take a cue and for developing partners to navigate around the boundaries of corruption and anti-corruption crusades in Nigeria.

With the metaphor of 'When I see the broom, I will pass over you,' this article assesses the anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari between 2015 and 2019. The understanding of these strategies and pitfalls will be of great benefit to policy makers and international stakeholders, to navigate the strength and pitfalls in recalibrating, refocusing and readjusting its crusade where necessary. The article is divided into five parts. The introduction situates the problem statement and objectives. The second part conceptualises and reviews extant literature on corruption and anti-corruption. The third

part examines the anti-corruption crusade, detailing the strategies, prosecutions and convictions under the Muhammadu Buhari administration. The fourth part shows the shortcomings of the anti-corruption crusade of the Muhammadu Buhari administration and the final part, which is the conclusion offers some recommendations based on the findings.

Corruption and Anti-Corruption: A Literature Review

Transparency International (TI) defines corruption as the abuse of entrusted power for private gains. Nye (1967) defines it as:

A deviation from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary exercise of certain types of private regarding influence. This includes such behaviour as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgment of a person in position of trust); nepotism (appointment by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private regarding uses).

There has been debates, as to what constitutes corruption. The United Nations Convention Against Corruption splits into 10 typologies: bribery, embezzlement, public procurement abuse, abuse of function, influence trading, nepotism, money laundering, conflict of interest, judicial corruption, and private sector corruption; other scholars expand theirs by three more (Page 2018a). These are: bribery, extortion, and exchange of favors, nepotism, cronyism, judicial fraud, accounting fraud, electoral fraud, public service fraud, embezzlement, kleptocracy, influence peddling, and conflicts of interest (Rose-Ackerman and Palifka 2016 in Page, 2018a).

Corruption has been described as not just an ancient problem, which has caused stagnation for much of sub-Saharan Africa (Bardhan, 1997; Knuckles 2006), and not an alien culture as some

scholars claim (Njomen 2015). It is regarded as the single greatest obstacle to economic and social development around the world. The World Bank describes an anti-corruption agency (ACA) as a body that reviews and verifies official asset-declaration; carries out investigations of possible corruption; and pursues civil, administrative, and criminal sanctions in the appropriate forums (Meagher, 2002).

Anti-corruption agencies (ACAs) or anti-corruption commissions (ACCs) have made concerted efforts towards reducing the menace. Yet, they have been affected by both internal and external obstacles leading to their low-impacts. Thus, some scholars aver that anti-corruption crusades in Africa and developing countries are not as they appear and failed for many reasons including their politicisation, adverse political incentives to control corruption, spill-over effects from ACC and institutions; and the vicious circle of corruption which is inherent in the populace (Ittner 2009; Lawson 2009; Abdulrauf 2020). Williams and Doig (2004), in a comparative study of ACC in some selected African countries identified seven sins which has continually hindered the effectiveness of ACCs. They highlighted them to be: 'Economic Sins', or lack of resources; 'Political Sins', or absence of political will; 'Legal Sins', or inefficient legal system; 'Organisational Sins', or leadership weakness such as lack of independence and poor administrative style; 'Governance Sins', or lack of effective complementary institutions such as the police; 'Performance Sins', or level of efficiency; and 'Public Confidence Sins', or lack of public trust and confidence. Doig, Watt and Williams (2005) suggest that ACC fail because of the failure to reconcile the scale and scope of the corruption problem and ambition of the ACC with the resources and capabilities of the ACC and the country's political context; the failure of donors to identify and apply appropriate performance indicators for the ACC; The failure of ACCs, Governments and donors to recognise and reconcile

the different lifecycles that impact on a country's capacity to combat corruption; and the failure of ACCs to achieve the optimal level of success required to maintain public credibility and authority without losing political commitment and co-operation (pp.40-46). Gumede (2012), argued that well-intentioned corruption agencies fail in Africa, because the root cause of corruption on the continent are poorly understood. In other words, they lack a clear goal (Dye 1984; World Bank 1998, p.1). Kurus (2015) likened the potency of ACC to watchdogs and guard dogs across the globe, with focus on some countries. He revealed that, whichever a country prefers, neither are inherently superior but they should reconsider agencies with stronger teeth and make them more effective by tightening internal protocols and procedures, securing fiscal and administrative autonomy, ensuring more open and independent leadership appointment and removal processes, establish oversight mechanisms to better ensure independence and building support capable of defending ACAs from political threats.

These highlighted challenges of ACAs seems to be applicable to Nigeria. Enweremadu (2012), revealed that between 1999 and 2007, the major hindrances to ACCs were limited powers, insufficient human and material resources, and inefficient legal system. Akinkugbe, Joda, Ibidapo-Obe, Okonofua and Idowu (2013), though separated the challenges of the ICPC from that of the EFCC, they aver that some of problems of these institutions vary from weak support from the judiciary; inadequate funds, lack of penetration to local units; concentration on 'big-fishes' to the detriment of the grassroots of corruption; lack of appreciation or misperception from the general public; secrecy of prosecutions; failure to change of the values and orientation of the business elites, among others (pp.157-162). Iwuamadi (2016), gave a plethora of challenges affecting some of these ACCs to be: leadership test, lack of political will, poor

funding, non-partisanship and disregard for rule of law, political elite domination or efforts to frustrate the ACCs, absence of effective collaboration and coordination among government agencies. Akpan and Eyo (2018) stated that some of the challenges of the ACC, especially the EFCC are, inadequate staff strength and underfunding.

Corruption in Nigeria has been described as the second hindering factor to foreign investment and that it is fueled by the rent-seeking posture of the country's political class (Roy 2017). Abdulrauf (2020) queried the continued increase in corruption in spite of the two ACAs -the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria. The Centre for Democracy and Development [CDD] (2020) in a five year study of anti-corruption under the Buhari administration described the crusade as a missed opportunity only focused on enforcement-based approach rather than institutional reforms designed to achieve lasting and sustainable change. However, the literature has in their assessment have not sufficiently examined the strategies of the Muhammadu Buhari administration.

President Muhammadu Buhari's (PMB) Anti-Corruption Crusade

On his inauguration day speech on 29 May 2015, PMB detailed how he intended to battle the three principles of his manifesto, namely, fighting corruption, insecurity and restoration of the economy. On the endemic corruption that had pervaded the previous administrations, he stated that despite the roles played by the founding fathers of the country to build a united and formidable state, and succeeding administrations have deviated from the norm. He puts it thus:

...Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house.... A few people have privately voiced fears that on coming back to

office, I shall go after them. These fears are groundless. There will be no paying off old scores. The past is prologue (Buhari 2015).

He further acknowledged the challenges of corruption and how he would tackle it. He stated that, though Nigeria faces an enormous challenge in terms of insecurity, pervasive corruption and a dwindling economy, his administration would not hesitate to tackle them head on. (2015: np). While some institutions and agencies and strategies were inherited, the Administration built on some, especially through collaborations with some foreign countries to help in repatriating laundered or hidden monies, and alleged corrupt officials taking refuge in these countries.

Strategies: Legislations, Capacity Building and Collaborations

The fight against graft since the beginning of the Olusegun Obasanjo era has been through the EFCC, ICPC and Code of Conduct Bureau; the EFCC seems to be the most popular. Perhaps, it is because of its mandate to prevent, investigate and prosecute all manners of economic and financial corrupt practices (EFCC Act 2004). With the coming of Buhari, he changed leadership of the EFCC by replacing Ibrahim Lamorde with Ibrahim Magu in November 2015 (Page, 2018a). Although, Magu was not confirmed by the Senate based on some security report by the State Security Service (SSS), he continued in acting capacity.

Buhari also ensured that the ACCs changed strategies, through foreign collaborations. Other means used were what some scholars termed: preventive but non-legislated policies and preventive-prosecutory but legislated policies (Akpan and Eyo 2018, pp.35-37). The preventive but non-legislated policies were the Treasury Single Account (TSA) and the Whistle Blowing Policy (2018, p. 35). Other preventive-prosecutory but legislated policies

include: Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal, Public Procurement Bureau, Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiatives (NEITI), Independent and Corrupt Practices and Other related Offences Commission (ICPC), Legislative Oversight at both Federal and State levels, and the Governance Code—supposedly suspended due to its complex nature (Ibid, p.36).

The government also ensured the passage of the Proceeds of Crime Agency Bill, the Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Bill, the Money laundering (Prohibition) Bill as well as a bill to create autonomy for the Nigerian Financial Intelligence Agency, which was hitherto under the EFCC. Aside the existing machineries on ground, the anti-corruption crusade under PMB further took some steps, by signing bilateral and multi-lateral agreements with some foreign partners on repatriating looted funds stashed abroad with persons identified as Politically Exposed Persons (PEPs) and corrupt personalities hiding from being prosecuted abroad.

On 19 January, 2016, Nigeria and the United Arab Emirate (UAE) signed six instruments of ratification on judicial agreements (*Premium Times* 2016). Similarly, on 30 and 31 August 2016, the Britain's Minister of State for Immigration, Mr Robert Goodwill, briefed reporters in Abuja, on a Memorandum of Understanding signed between both countries. It was reported that the agreement would benefit 40 jurisdictions, including British Oversea Territories on ownership information relating to companies, trusts and foundations in order to expose owners of stolen assets (Home Office, UK Visas and Immigration 2016). The ICPC and EFCC sought legislation to allow it keep part of the recovered funds for its vast operation across the country. By November, the Senate approved that the EFCC should get two percent from any recovered funds.

On 5 July 2017, the Federal Government approved the National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACS). It was aimed to identify and close existing gaps in the anti-corruption initiatives currently in

place. It has three levels in five concurrent pillars. The three levels are: strengthening the legal and institutional framework designed to prevent and combat corruption; Mainstreaming anti-corruption principles into governance and service delivery at national level (MDAs); and mainstreaming anti-corruption principles into sub-national public administration and the Society as a whole (NIALS, nd). The pillars are: prevention of corruption; enforcement and sanctions through speedy adjudication in the judiciary and provision of effective sanctions therewith; public engagement; Campaign for Ethical Reorientation; and Recovery of Proceeds of Corruption (Ibid).

Subsequently, the Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, MrAbubakarMalami, also signed an agreement with the government of the United States of America (USA), spelling out the road map for the return of over \$300million looted by late Gen. Sanni Abacha and a former Governor of Bayelsa, the late DiepreyeAlamieyeseigha. This was possible as a result of the agreements signed with Switzerland and the USA, respectively over return of previously looted funds (Adesomoju 2017). The government also introduced the Code of Conduct Tribunal Practice manual, so as to speedily address and prosecute corrupt cases without delays (FRN 2017). By June, the United States Mission Office, Abuja, also trained 16 members of staff of the EFCC, at the launch of the project tagged, 'effective communication and public relations for Nigeria Law Enforcement Agencies.'(EFCC 2017) In November 2017, the agency was given approval to further recruit 750 employees annually for three years to meet its staff short-falls.

In May 2018, an agreement on recovery of assets and cash stashed away in the United Arab Emirate (UAE) by Nigerians was finally sealed which took off in June 2018. The agreement bordered on apprehension of criminals, extraditing convicted persons, providing mutual legal assistance in criminal matters, as well as for

legal and judicial cooperation in civil and commercial matters (*The Nation*, 2018). Again in October 2018, the Federal Government and the British government entered into another Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the modalities for the return of Nigeria’s stolen assets. This time, it was necessary to make sure that returned assets would not be misappropriated again.

Prosecutions, Recoveries and Convictions

With MrMagu, in charge of the EFCC, his first duty began with the slush arms procurement cash, in which the former National Security Adviser, Rtd, Col. Sambo Dasuki, was prosecuted. This was followed by prosecuting those who benefitted from the slush funds. Indeed, since most of those who benefitted were members of the then ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), its members made up the majority on the list. Below are some persons prosecuted under the Buhari administration since 2015:

Table 1: Alleged Corrupt Public Officials or office holders by EFCC, 2015-2019

Names		Alleged Crime	Political Party/Ethnic Group/Religion	Remarks
Ret. Col Sambo Dasuki	Former National Security Adviser (NSA)	Misappropriation of \$2bn, possession of illegal firearms	PDP/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	Prosecuted by EFCC and SSS. Still held in custody since 2015 even after many courts have granted him bail
Alex Badeh (late)	Former Chief of Air Staff	Money laundering and diversion of ₦3.9bn belonging	PDP appointee/ Christianity	Prosecuted and granted bail by court.

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		to the Nigerian Air Force		Case was supposed to continue in 2019 before being assassinated on 18 December 2018
OlisaMetuh	Former national Publicity Secretary of the PDP	Alleged to have collected ₦400m from the Dasuki fund.	PDP/Igbo/Christianity	Sentenced to seven year jail term in February 2020 after several delays
Patience Jonathan	Wife of a former president	US\$15.5m fraud	PDP/Igbo/Christianity	Under prosecution. Case has been stalled.
Joshua Dariye	Former governor, Plateau state	Misappropriation of ₦1.162bn ecological funds	APC/Christianity	Prosecuted and sentenced by the court. Appeal court reduced sentencing from 14 to 10 years.
Jolly TevornuNyame	Former governor of Taraba state	Looting of US\$12.2m	APC/Christianity	Prosecuted and convicted by the court on 30 may 2018

Source: EFCC, "High Profile, Oil Subsidy, ETC Matters being prosecuted by EFCC"

The table above shows that a lot of alleged corrupt persons or PEPs are being investigated and prosecuted. Others currently under prosecution are: MurtalaNyako, Air Vice Marshall Adesola Amosu; Jacob Adigun and Air Commodore Olugbenga Gbadebo; Rasheed Ladoja of Oyo State; Mukhtar Ramalan Yero; Jonah Jang; Babangida Aliyu of Niger State; Bala Ngilari, Bala Mohammed, Gabriel Suswan, Attahiru Bafarawa; Femi Fani-kayode; Ayodele Fayose of Ekiti state; SuleLamido and son; Pius Anyim; Jonah Jang; Otunba Alao Akala; Robert Azibaola; Dufada Waripamo-Owei, among others.

The EFCC, in the course of its work, realised that, there were needs for international collaborations. This was because most of those under prosecution usually approached the court to travel abroad for various health reasons, or have some of these monies in foreign countries. The collaborations started yielding results. For example, MrMalami, stated while delivering a lecture at the Chatham House, London, in 2017, that, the country has continued to receive support and assistance from both multilateral institutions and individual governments, including those of the UK, US, Switzerland and the United Arab Emirates, among others, including major non-governmental entities, so as to achieve the anti-corruption objectives (Malami 2017). The EFCC corroborated some of these successes, when the gaffer revealed that N871bn looted funds, 407 mansions have been recovered in three years (EFCC 2018). It also stated that it has secured 703 convictions in three years. The break down were given as: 103 convictions in 2015; 194 in 2016; 189 in 2017 and 217 from January to November 2018 (EFCC 2018). While the recovered funds should have increased, it was surprising that as at July 2020, the Minister of Information, Alhaji Lai Mohammed still claimed that government had recovered more than N800 billion (Sanni 2020) even after two years. The CDD (2020) espoused that the administration has made achievements through consistent anti-corruption messaging,

imposed financial centralisation, task-specific anti-corruption bodies, and increased forfeitures of corruptly acquired assets (pp.3-4).

‘When I see the Broom’: Shortcomings of the Anti-Corruption Crusade

I am told that there are a lot of very senior people from PDP who have decided to join forces with President Buhari to take the broom to sweep away PDP and to continue to ensure that APC continues to preside all over Nigeria....We have quite a number of other leaders who have come...in fact, once you have joined APC, all your sins are forgiven (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qg_1mly5Gm8; Inyang 2019).

The above is credited to the former APC national chairman, AliyuOshiomole at an election rally in January 2019. The broom here, is the symbol of the APC. The statement meant that opponents andopponents who decamped to the APC at all levels to support the re-election of PMB would be shielded from prosecution if prosecuted for corruption. Naidoo (2013) giving instances from South Africa, argued that despite the commitments to tackle corruption through establishment of intra and inter-institutional approaches, most of these approaches are compromised or side-lined by collective action efforts that undermine the effectiveness of anti-corruption mechanisms (p.523). Below shows corrupt pending cases under the administration:

Table 2: Allegedly Corrupt public office holders shielded by the Buhari Administration

Names	Position	Alleged Crimes	Political Party/Ethnic Group/Religion	Remarks
Abdullahi Adamu	Serving Senator from	Stole ₦15 billion while	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	Apart from being tried by

	Nasarawa and member	he was governor		the EFCC for allegedly stealing , his son Nurianu was also arraigned by EFCC in January 2018 for ₦90million
AliyuWam mako	Was in charge of Buhari's campaign in Sokoto State. Former governor 2007-2015, Sokoto State	Alleged to have corruptly embezzled ₦15billion and money laundering	APC/ Hausa-Fulani/Islam	The EFCC is still investigating all allegations against him
Godswilla kpbio	Serving Minister, AkwaIbom State	Alleged to have embezzled about ₦100billion while in Office as the governor 2007-2015	APC/ Ibo[Ibibio]/ Christianity	He was initially grilled by the EFCC when he was in the PDP, but after decamping to APC; the outcome of the investigation has not been revealed to the public or prosecuted.
Orji Uzor Kalu	Former governor of Abia State,	Accused to have retained ₦2.5billion	APC/Ibo/ Christianity	A serving Senator under APC.

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	1999-2007 and one of the most influential politicians in South-East. APC Chieftain	belonging to the state government and diverted ₦3.2billion from state coffers. Total of ₦7.65 billion diverted		He paid several visits to President Buhari and was also bestowed with the title 'Dan Baiwan Hausa' by the Emir of Daura, Alhaji Umar Farouq. Prosecuted but case thrown out by the Supreme Court.
BabachirLawal	Former Secretary to the Government (SSG) and President Buhari's second term campaign coordinator.	Accused by the Senate ad hoc Committee on Humanitarian Crisis in the North-East and awarding contract of invasive plant species in Komadugu, Yobe Water Channels to his company in	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Christianity	Prosecution ongoing with delays.

		contravention of Section 43 (iii) and (iv) of the Public Procurement Act 2007		
Rotimi Amaechi	Present Minister of Transportation and Director-General of the Buhari Campaign Organisation 2014 and 2018	Indicted for misappropriation of ₦97bn by the Justice G Omeregile Rivers State Judicial Commission of Inquiry	APC/Ibo [Ekwere]/Christianity	Though Amaechi has continued to challenge the indictment, even at the Supreme Court; the EFCC never probed the allegations
Abdulaziz Yari	Governor of Zamfara State and Chairman of Nigeria's Governor's Forum	Alleged to have diverted nearly ₦700million which formed part of the Paris Club refund due to Zamfara state and another N200 billion by the administration	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	He got a court injunction against the EFCC and Attorney general of the Federation from continuing his trial. No appeal by the authorities.
Ali Modu Sheriff	Former PDP chieftain and now with APC. Appointed DG of Presidential	Alleged to have received ₦450million out of the N23bn (\$115m)	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	He was grilled severely by the EFCC but has not been charged.

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	Support Committee of Buhari in July 2018	disbursed by a former Minister of Petroleum Resources, Diezani Alison-Madueke during the build up to 2015 general elections		
Maina A. Abdulrasheed	Former Chairman of the Presidential task Force on Pension Reforms.	Alleged to have misappropriated ₦2b, went on exile in 2013; and was reinstated by a cabal to his erstwhile position after being declared wanted by former administration in the presidency in September 2017	Partisan Civil Servant (APC)/ Hausa-Fulani/ Islam	He met some top officials in the UAE and even had his posters across the state where he planned to contest in the 2019 governorship election in Borno State. Controversially reinstated by the Buhari administration before public outcry. Recently jumped bail but caught in Niger Republic.

AbdullahiG anduje	Present governor of Kano State. Promised Buhari 5million Kano votes in 2019 election.	Alleged to be collecting kickback in tune of about \$5millions of dollars from contractors	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	He denied the video and also challenged the State House of Assembly from probing him. The presidency has vowed to analyse the video
Musiliu Obanikoro	Former Minister of State for Defence under the PDP	Alleged to have received ₦4.7bn, as part of the Arms deal and distributed N1.3 each to AyodeleFayo se of Ekiti and IyinolaOmiso re of Osun states respectively prior to the 2015 general elections. Although once jailed but later released, after offering to return ₦785m	APC/Yoruba/ Islam	Under EFCC prosecution since 2016 but some of his properties worth ₦500m. Seems to have been released. As for IyiolaOmisore, he is presently free of all charges of corruption against him; while Fayose who remains in the PDP is still being prosecuted.

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		but returned N473m		
Timipre Silva	APC Candidate for Bayelsa governorship election in 2015. Former Chairman, inauguration Committee of President Buhari 2015	Alleged 50 counts charges against him and ₦19bn misappropriation	APC/Ibo [Ijaw/Christianity	He was under the radar of the EFCC in 2013 and some of his properties seized, but now free of all charges, and all 48 houses returned to him. He denied owing the houses and also accused former president, Goodluck Jonathan of witch-hunt.
Prof Usman Yusuf	Former Executive Secretary, National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS)	Allegations of misappropriating ₦919 million (\$2.5 million) in training funds and steered consulting work to his	APC appointee/ Hausa-Fulani/ Islam	PMB reinstated him, even after another committee, governing council found him guilty. Not quite long before, the president then ordered

		brother's firm, among other malpractices . He was sacked by the Health Minister, Adewole Isaac.		for his suspension, but no prosecution.
JafaruIsah	Political friend of PMB	Also collected part of the Arms cash from former NSA, Sambo Dasuki, while under PDP.	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	Under EFCC investigation; reported to have returned small part of the monies but never charged to court.
Sanni Baba-Inna	Former Aide-De –Camp (ADC) to the Wife of the President, Aisha Buhari	Kept huge donations from donors, politicians, etc., in the tune of ₦2.5bn to himself without informing MrsBuhari	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	After due investigation by the Police, it was established that the allegations were false, but MrsBuhari denied any connection with his arrest; and then ordered the SSS to take over the case.

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				However, the PDP and the public appealed to the authority to make the investigation open. The outcome is yet to be declared publicly.
Lawal Daura	Former Department of State Service (DSS) Boss.	Bribery and missing funds inherited from his predecessor, Ekpenyong Ita ; Daura ordered the siege on the National Assembly on 7 August 2018	APC/Hausa-Fulani/ Islam	He was sacked by the VP, Professor Yemi Osinbajo after the siege but the probe on his bribery allegations and foreign bank accounts have not been made public.
Abba Kyari	Chief of Staff to the President	Telecoms bribery; N29.9m bribe for contract award alleged by one Bako Waziri Kyari who claimed to be his nephew.	APC/Hausa-Fulani/ Islam	Despite a nation-wide probe, he was defended by the Senior Special Assistant to the President on Media. He was never

		Abba Kyari is alleged to be one of the arrow heads behind the recall of Maina		investigated until his death in 2020.
JunaidAbdullahi	Executive Secretary, Border Communities Development Agency (BCDA) and PMB's Son - In-law	Violation of procurement act and fictitious award of contract in tune of 1.3bn	APC/Hausa-Fulani/Islam	No investigation yet
Adams AliyuOshiohole	Former governor of Edo State and National Chairman of the APC	Petitioned by one Bishop OsadolorOchei that he built a mansion worth N10bn in his hometown and other financial crimes while he was governor and \$50m bribe in the just concluded APC primaries election.	APC/Bini [Etsako]/Christianity	A court ordered that the APC chieftain be tried by the EFCC in October 2019 but the APC has also approached another court to dismiss corruption suit filed against him. He was also questioned by the State Security Service (SSS) over

				allegations of bribe taking during the APC primaries. However, neither the EFCC nor the SSS has released any official statement on their investigations .
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Sources: Ezeamalu, B (2018) Alleged N7.7bn Fraud: EFCC, judge frown as Orji Kalu travels abroad” *Premium Times*, 5 November; Akinkuotu, E, Adeoye, G., and Alagbe, J (2018), “Eight politicians with N232bn corruption cases working for Buhari’s re-election” *The Punch*, 1 September; Soni, D., (2017)“Wanted Maina’s governorship campaign posters flood Abuja, Kaduna”; “Obanikoro, wife, son recover N500m houses, land from EFCC.” *The Punch* 25 November; Akinkuotu, E (2018) “Obanikoro, Omisore recover passports from EFCC, ex-minister returns to US” *The Punch*, 21 October; *Vanguard*,(2018) “Omisore: APC, SDP forming coalition government in Osun”26 September; Akinkuotu, E (2017), “Why ex-Gov Sylva recovered 48 houses—EFCC” *The Punch*. 4 September; Ameh, J (2018) “ICYMI: Yes, my brother’s company won N46m contract—NHIS, Usman Yusuf” *The Punch*, 2 November.

The table above reveals a lot about the anti-corruption crusade of the Buhari administration. First, it shows the attitude of the administration towards allegations of its members or those who decamps to its party. It is instructive to note that where petitions and allegations were made against some APC members, there are contentions that the ACAs usually portray a lackluster attitude to investigate or prosecute those cases. For example, one of the key

members of the ruling party, Senator Bola Tinubu, was allegedly regarded as one of the most corrupt governors between 1999 and 2007 when Chief Obasanjo asked the then former EFCC gaffer, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu to furnish him with the report (Obasanjo 2014). The report further held “... twenty-eight out of thirty-six Governors were either manifestly corrupt or had been tainted in one way or other. He gave me a copy of his report on those Governors. Bola Tinubu was definitely one of the worst cases” (Obasanjo, 2014:472). To show where the interests of the elites lie, it is on record that Mr Tinubu secretly worked with Mr Jonathan to become president because Jonathan made him believe he was a breath of fresh air, even when Mr Nuhu Ribadu contested under Tinubu owned-- Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) in 2011 (Odunsi 2015). Again, one will wonder how Messrs Obasanjo and Tinubu got on same page to support candidate Muhammadu Buhari during the 2015 general elections in spite of their differences on corrupt practices. The only explainable cause is personal interests.

To further show the ambiguity of the anti-corruption crusade of the administration, the ACAs did not investigate the allegations made by a former Minister of State for Petroleum, Ibe Kachikwu, that there were some illegal practices and failure to follow due process by the former group Managing Director of the Nigeria National Petroleum Company (NNPC), Dr Maikanti Baru. Also, when a former minister of Finance, Kemi Adeosun, acknowledged to have gotten a counterfeited National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) discharge certificate, there were allegations that, in order to avoid prosecution, she was ferried out of the country by members of the APC. These few examples only show the travesty and more importantly raises more questions about the anti-corruption crusade of the administration. Some civil society groups and even members of the APC even raised eyebrow over how the anti-corruption crusade have been politicised, especially how Buhari’s kinsmen and those who decamped to the

ruling party had their cases dropped or case files missing (Princewill 2020). The US in its annual reports revealed that corruption was not only massive but also that the anti-corruption war is draped with dismal disregard for human rights as some officials engage frequently in the practices with impunity under the Buhari administration (United States Department of State, 2018).

Table 3: Corruption Index of Nigeria, 2014-2020

Year	Rank	Score
2014	136/176	27/100
2015	136/168	26/100
2016	136/176	28/100
2017	148/180	27/100
2018	144/180	32/100
2019	144/180	27/100
2020	146/180	26/100

Source: TI, “Transparency International Corruption Perception Index” 2014-2020; Jonathan, 2018:48

The table above show that there has been no much difference from the corruption index from Goodluck Jonathan and PMB’s era. Little wonder, a former senator from the APC, before decamping to another party, ShehuSanni, accused PMB of using double standards in fighting corruption. He sarcastically stated that “When it comes to fighting corruption in the National Assembly and the Judiciary and in the larger Nigerian sectors, the President uses insecticide, but when it comes to fighting corruption within the Presidency, they use deodorants” (Stalyt 2017; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zc1sb2uaFRQ>). Similarly, the wife of the President, Aisha Buhari, also raised the alarm that some cabals, and not his husband were in charge of the country. Even a religious group, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), during a

visit to the president in November 2018 alleged that the ruling APC was becoming a safe haven for corrupt politicians. The group urged the president to make the fight total and non-discriminatory (Ameh 2018). A good example was when President Buhari supported some gubernatorial candidates including Hope Uzodinma of Imo State earlier accused of corrupt practices by the Special Presidential Investigative Panel on the Recovery of Public Property (SPIP), headed by Chief Okoi Obono-Obla and the APC candidate in the October 2020 Edo State election, Pastor Osagie Ize-Iyamu (Ajayi 2018; Ailemen 2020). This came at a time, PMB reiterated that his anti-corruption war was non-negotiable at home and abroad and his party, the APC stated that it will prosecute all corrupt persons even if they moved to its side; President Buhari reiterated that he would reward those who would work for his re-election in May 2019. Such inconsistent utterance from the party and president would manifest after he was sworn-in on May 29 2019 as some alleged corrupt persons were given key positions on his re-election campaign board. As the CDD (2020) puts it:

He has consistently turned a blind eye to malfeasance by some of his own appointees and resisted independent oversight of Nigeria's most scandal-ridden agencies. His cabinet includes several individuals tainted by accusations of corruption. The APC has nominated—and President Buhari has personally campaigned for—many notorious kleptocrats (2020, p. 1).

Labelling of members who left the APC to the opposition as corrupt also calls to question the moral credentials of not just President Buhari but also his administration and party, the APC. It was not surprising when the vice chairman on Anti-Corruption and Financial Crimes Committee of the ninth senate, Aliyu Wammako, was alleged to have had some cases of corruption worth N15 billion, hanging across his neck (Akinkuotu and Folarin, 2019). The

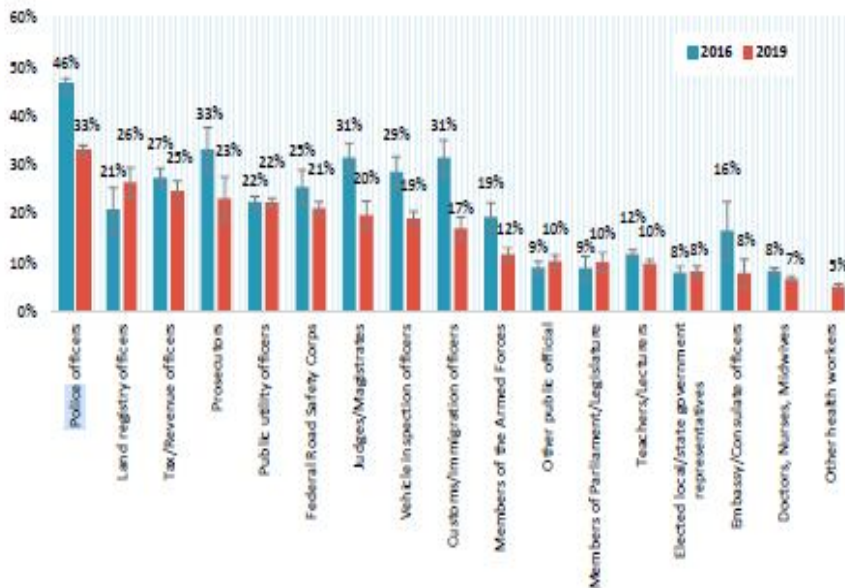
presidential candidate for African Democratic Congress (ADC), Dr Obadiah Mailafia, stated that the ruling APC blackmailed him prior to the 2019 general elections to join them, so that his crimes (which he claimed he was unaware of) would be forgiven (Sobowale 2019). By the time President Buhari announced his cabinet after his successful re-election in July 2019, pundits described the lists as nothing but a political reward of recycled looters and nothing more (Ajaja, 2019). Hence, a former president, Olusegun Obasanjo succinctly states:

It is no use, at this juncture, to keep lamenting about the failure, incompetence, divisiveness, nepotism, encouragement and condonation of corruption by Buhari administration as there is neither redeeming feature nor personality to salvage the situation within that hierarchy. You cannot give what you don't have (Obasanjo 2019).

Another issue is the opportunity cost of fighting corruption. There are evidences that the EFCC is spending more time on prosecutions than in building institutions. This explains why the EFCC, even with some of its own corrupt personnel is quick to point accusing fingers at the judiciary when some cases do not go in its favour, forgetting that a true reform is required to confront the menace. More importantly, the forceful migration of ministries, agencies and departments (MADs) into some of the economic and financial stratum of the government such as Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS), TSA among others rather than reduce corruption and increase productivity and transparency (Pattanayak&Fainboim 2011; CBN 2016) have itself heightened corruption, affected productivity and become counter-productive. The implication of this is that, corruption is fueled by a gamut of environmental factor spawning from social, political to economic institutions (Ocheje 2018, pp. 370&373) and cannot be tackled with a

singleregulatory economic/financial policy. This can be further be explained from figure below:

Figure 1: Prevalence of bribery, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Source: UNODC &NBC (2019 December) *Corruption in Nigeria: Patterns and Trends*, p. 7

Figure 1 explicitly shows that corruption has continued to soar in spite of these measures, though relatively between 2016 and 2019. The CDD (2020) gave some shortcomings of the administration’s anti-corruption crusade to include:questionable senior appointments, turning a blind eye to political corruption, failure to make petroleum sector reforms, tolerating security sector corruption, corruption prone economic policies, declining fiscal transparency (pp.6-8). Page

(2018b) had earlier described the security votes as an avenue for Federal and State governments to corruptly enrich themselves. Hence, if a government claiming to be fighting corruption is engulfed in such petty theft, it was no news when the EFCC gaffer, MrMagu was suspended on the recommendation of the Justice Ayo Salami panel in July 2020 after series of petitions alleging serious corrupt practices including abuse of office, human rights abuses and insubordination. Nonetheless, the suspension of MrMagu should not be seen as a reform or altruistic anti-corruption passage, rather a consequence of power tussle among the rent seekers (broom carriers).

Conclusion

The article assessed the anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari's administration, focusing on its strategies, success and shortfalls. This is instructive in order to assist stakeholders, within and outside the country and continent to navigate through the terrain of corruption on the continent as a whole and Nigeria in particular. The article revealed among other things, that the crusade against graft has been orchestrated by every administrations, be it military or civilian since colonial period. Yet, each regime or administration has not been able to eliminate the menace. The election of candidate Muhammadu Buhari gave high hopes, based on his antecedent as a military leader. In order not to disappoint his followers after winning the elections, he appointed a new gaffer and employed new strategies to curb the menace. For instance, some of the weaknesses faced by previous administrations such as administrative, financial and strategic frameworks were fine-tuned by apportioning certain percentage from recovered loots to the ACA; external collaborations, whistle blowing, implementation of the TSA, among others. These yielded results as the administration recovered loots and prosecuted more public office holders than ever.

Unfortunately, very few have been convicted, especially as most of these alleged corrupt people, decamped to the ruling party, the APC, with which its symbol is the 'broom.' Evidences show that they were mostly from the opposition party, the PDP and are either Christians or southerners. Though some have argued that this is so because, they were previously in power and had access to the state's commonwealth. Another weakness is the gross human right abuses fraught in the fights, especially in cases involving oppositions or critics, while blood relatives and party members were, in most times, ignored or advised to return whatever they could afford. Furthermore, it has shown that during PMB's re-election campaign in 2019, he had to ally with the alleged corrupt people he promised to prosecute. In fact, some of his associates, including his wife, Aisha Buhari, and party faithful reiterated that the anti-corruption war had been politicised and the administration hijacked by some cabals. By this, alleged corrupt persons, who were members of the opposition but who had decamped to the ruling party, the APC, blood relations, or those who helped actualize PMB's re-election bid were not only appointed as zonal campaign coordinators, but were rewarded after he won his re-election bid.

Thus, the study made some recommendations based on the findings. This will assist governments across the continent or developing nations, fighting against the menace of corruption, including, Nigeria, itself, on ways to tackle the scourge holistically. Foremost, the root causes of corruption should first be addressed. This lies in poverty, lack of value orientation, decaying moral values, bad governance and weak institutions including financial, mining, religious, security, legal, legislation, policy making and even the home. More so, the crusade must ensure that, the principles of equity, justice and fairness is ensured, if truly the crusade against corruption is to succeed. Additionally, Nigeria's ACAs should be made to be more independent, responsive and inclusive. That is, no matter whose

ox is gored, government and its agencies should be transparent, neutral and improve preventive measures. Meanwhile, all these must be within the confines of human rights and international best practices.

O.O. Thompson

History and International Studies
Communication and General Studies
Federal University of Agriculture Abeokuta

A.S. Afolabi

History and International Studies/UADC
Faculty of Arts
University of Ilorin

A.N. Raheem

Economics Department, COLMAS
Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta

C.A. Onifade

Social Studies, Communication & General Studies
Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta
olakunleolasupo@yahoo.com

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