

**ASSESSMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS IN REDUCING  
THE LEVEL OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC (2015-2019)**

**BY**

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**16/27MPS/005**

**BEING A THESIS PRESENTED AND SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF  
POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE, COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, MANAGEMENT  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, KWARA STATE UNIVERSITY MALETE, NIGERIA. IN  
PARTIAL FULFILMENT AS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF  
MASTER OF SCIENCE (M.Sc) DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

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## CERTIFICATION

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I am most grateful to Almighty God for showering His mercies upon me from different directions as well as giving me the strength, ability, knowledge, wisdom and understanding throughout the course of this programme and for the successful completion of this project work.

My deepest appreciation goes to my indispensable and dynamic supervisor Dr. Ibrahim O. Salawu for his guidance, motivation, patience and useful comments that led to the completion of this Research. Almighty God will continue to elevate you, shower you with blessing and guide you in all your endeavors (Amen). I also appreciate the effort of the head of department, Professor Abdulrauf Ambali, all the staff of the department for their assistance during the period of my studentship most especially Dr. Raji Shittu, Dr. adegoroye Abayomi, Dr. Saka Lukman, Dr. Abdullahi Alabi, Dr. Idris Danjuma and Dr. Mrs. Oyoru. My special appreciation also goes to my co supervisor Professor Abdulrauf Ambali for his assistance during the programme despite of his tight schedule. May almighty God bless you.

My special appreciation goes to my mother, Mrs. Philomena Ugah, you shall live to reap the fruit of your Labour and may God continue to bless you . My special and warm appreciation to my beloved and dearest Finance Miss. Oluchi Simeon for her Love, Care, Support, Patience and understanding during the course of this programme. Almighty God shall always be with you and grant your heart desires.

My heart goes to my own very. Rev. Fr. Adams Emmanuel for always having faith in me, supporting me throughout my under graduate to my masters level and my very Fr. Anthony Onoko for your support and your moral guidance, may the grace of almighty God never depart from you and may you both continue to grow in God's own vineyard (amen). To all Neziyanya's and ofordu Family's may god bless you all. Amen

## Abstract

*Corruption is a cankerworm that has eaten deeply into the fabric of the Nigerian nation. Effort to frontally tackle this menace especially in the fourth Republic with the framework of executive and legislative arms of government have yielded little dividend. The emergence of president Muhammedu Buhari at the 2015 general election restored hope in the fight against corruption. However there seems to be a crack on the wall of the party due to the emergence of the leadership of national assembly against the party's choice of candidate, which has generated suspicions among the two organs of government that ought to cooperate to fight against corruption. Therefore, the general objective of this study was to examine the legislatures-executive relations in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria's fourth Republic. While specific objectives were; evaluate the relationship between executive and legislative under Buhari's administration. Determine executive-legislatures relations on the implementation of anti-corruption policy of the Buhari administration. Asserting the impact of executive-legislative relations on the fight against corruption. Scrutinize the executive-legislative relation's impact on reducing the trend of corruption under the Buhari administration. The study employed mixed method research design. Questionnaire and interview were adopted in collection of the research and the research adopted Pearson correlation and standard deviation in the analysis of the research. Findings from the study revealed that the legislative-executive bodies are at logger heads and have had a negative effect on the relationship of both organs, the study also found out that despite the face off some level of successes were recorded in the fight against corruption. The study recommended among others that there should be mutual respect among organs in their internal activities.*

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.1 BACKGROUND OF STUDY**

Corruption stands as one of the key factors that have denied Nigeria its place among community of nations, this singular fact becomes easy to explain the level of social- economic decadence that has befallen the country despite its human and material resources. Nigeria is estimated to have lost close to 400 billion dollars to corruption since her independence, in the opinion of former Vice President of World Bank Oby Ezekweleze (Awojobi, 2014), In further to what Oby Ezekweleze said, has contributed to the level of poverty in the country that was recently rated as world most poverty stricken country (world Poverty clock report, 2018) with 86.9 million of its citizens given an average of 50% of the country population.

The rate of corruption among the political elite is alarming for instances; 214 million dollar scam of national identity card project between internal affairs ministry and Sagem, 54 million naira bribe allegation for ministerial nomination, 50 million naira scandal between minister of education and national assembly, former Inspector General of Police Tafa Balogun's embezzlement of 128 million dollar, former governors such as Orji Uzor Kalu, Depreye Alamieyesegha , James Ibori among others. To these effect, Nigeria have constantly been rated poorly by Transparency International over the years to the extent that Nigeria was once rated as the most corrupt nation in the world having 6.9 corruption perception Index (Transparency International, 1996). Due to the level of trend of corruption which ranges from graft, treasury looting, subsidy and pension thievery, advanced fee fraud, favoritism and nepotism in appointment and promotion and money laundering.

However, various anti-corruption policies have been adopted by previous government since independence such as ethical revolution of Shagari 1981, War Against Indiscipline 1984,

National Orientation Movement 1986, Mass Mobilization of Justice 1987, War Against Indiscipline and Corruption 1996, Independent Corrupt Practices (and other related offences) Commission 2002 and Economic Financial Crime Commission 2004, with all the above mentioned, these efforts have brought little or no improvement in the reduction of corruption in the country.

Executive- legislature relations are essential key to the consolidation of any democratic process due to the fact that their interaction and function increases the confidence in government. King (1976) identified the typology of executive-legislature relations as non-party, intra-party, inter party , opposition and cross party relations, however, Nigeria political system can be analyzed from the above. From 1999-2007, the executive and legislative is based on intra-party relations that witness's rancor within the same party. The historical changes of the head of national assembly such as chief Evan Enwerem 1999, Dr. Chuba Okadigo 2000 and Adolphus Wabara 2005. (The Nations 19<sup>th</sup> August, 2018) are evidences of uncordial relationship between the executive and the legislative during Obasanjo's administration. However between 2007 to 2015 the relationship between the executive and legislature experienced non-party relations that contributed to the harmonious relation that facilitated quick passages of bills, budget and ministry nomination among others.

The relationship between executive and legislative arms of government since 2015, have become regular discussion among most Nigerians due to the disruptive relationship between them. The said organs have been filled with corruption accusation, disagreement in the appropriation bill, confirmations of presidential nominations, disagreement on policies. According to kopecky, (2004:142): "The relationship between the legislature and executive are one of the key defining characteristics of the functioning of any political system". The above postulation are clearly indicated in the numbers of policies enacted by the National Assembly from 2015-2019. Holme,

(2007), highlighting the importance of the relationship stated that: “Cordial relationships between the executive and legislative arms of government are essential to the effective maintenance of the constitution and the rule of law”. Lawal and Ogunro (2012:6) are of the opinion that: *“A good relationship between the executive and legislative organs is important to facilitate effective performance, but a relationship that consolidates democracy not the one that strengthens patronages”*.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The defect of the incumbent government in Nigeria’s electioneering process in 2015 General Election, shocked most Nigerians being the first time in the Nigerian political history, reasons being the willingness of Nigerians to eradicate the social-economic decadence caused by corruption. The massive victory of the All Progressive Congress and winning of the majority seat at National Assembly ignited a glimpse of hope among Nigerians that this would contribute to the cordial relationship between the executive and National Assembly. But reverse is the case, the emergency of the leadership of the National Assembly in persons of Dr. Bukola Saraki as Senate President and Rt. Hon. Yakubu Dogara as the speaker of House of Representative against the party, have created a mutual suspicion and distrust among the executive and legislature, this in turn have affected the synergy between both organs. (Fatile 2017, Leadership 2017, Ocheje 2017:6). In essence, the following issues can be attributed to being the cause of coercive relationship between the two organs; the decline of the numbers of bills passed from 2015-2018 , the numbers of bills rejected by the president accumulating to 41 bills in 3 years (The Guardian 8<sup>th</sup> may,2019) , as well as the 546 bills pending on the floor of 8<sup>th</sup> national assembly (Leadership 2<sup>nd</sup> dec.2018), refusal to confirm Resident Electoral Commissioner , the Budget padding allegation, the Attorney General of Federation and Dr. Bukola Saraki with Ekweremadu on the breaking of the senate standing order, Moreso, the Saraki and Federal Government code of

conduct tribunal, can be perceived as the crack on the wall in the relationship between the executive and legislatures.

Secondly, it is important to assess the executive-legislative relations in the implementation of anti-corruption policy from 2015-2019 being that the administration adopted some policies such as; the Mutual Assistance in criminal matters bill, 2016 and money laundering prevention and prohibition act 2011 as amended in 2016 (This Day 7<sup>th</sup> sept.2018), whistle blower policy, plea bargaining and the treasury single account; these are tools set to drive the anti-corruption war by the administration. However, the administration has been accused for selective approach in the implementation of anti-corruption policies such as the plea-bargain policies. Most of the politician who had adopted the policy have either pledged their political loyalty to the ruling party or are now a strong political ally to the presidency ; such examples are the likes of Sen. Omisore Iyiola and Sen. Obanikoro , it would be interesting to note that the application of Treasury single account by the administration having logically excepted some important sectors of the economy such as NNPC, PHCN, BOI and a host of other agencies that generate much more revenue of the country.

There are claims that the executive and legislatures have impacted in the fight against corruption within their constitutional functionality. The administration have successful convicted some corrupt public looters such as Mukhtar Ramalan Yero former governor of Kaduna state, Jonah Jang plateau state, Jolly Nyame of Taraba state , Sen. Peter Nwaoboshi , Metuh oliseh and Joshua Dariye and a lot of other politicians (Legit 20<sup>th</sup> June,2018), more so the legislatures through their various committee on oversight function have discovered some corruption with the MDAs, example of these are Recruitment scam at the Nigerian Social Insurance Trust Fund under the minister of Labour( Punch 4<sup>th</sup> oct.2016), the unbudgeted subsidy payment, SGF corruption allegation , despite the effort of both organ within the framework of checks and

balances ,some cases have been stalled such as the unconstitutional withdrawal of 496 million dollars to purchase aircraft with the national assembly approval (Premium Times 23<sup>rd</sup> April,2018) , suspension of Sen. Godswill Apkabio corruption cases after his defection, Suspension of Sen. Danjuma Goje corruption cases , stalled corruption charges of Babachir Lawal, have show weakness in the fight against corruption.

Although the administration claimed to have made a giant stride in the fight against corruption, to this effect, the Acting Chairman of Economic Financial Crime Commission recently declared that the agency have recovered 794 billion naira, 261 million dollars, 1,115,930.47 million pounds, 8,168,871.13 million Euro, 86,500 CFA and 407 mansion under 3 years of the administration (vanguard 13<sup>th</sup> nov.2018).while whistle blower policy have recovered 9.12 billion naira and the introduction of treasury single account have saves the country 13.53 trillion naira(Punch 17<sup>th</sup> june,2019). However, according to Sahara reporters (2018), there is a climate of impunity in the president Muhammadu Buhari government that allows officials to engage in corrupt practices with the sense of exemption from punishment. Such examples are the president's chief of staff Abba Kyari over the allegation of 500 million naira bribe from MTN to help in reduction of 5.2 billion dollar fine imposed on them (Vanguard 21<sup>st</sup> Oct.2016). Attorney general of federation and minister justice hiring lawyer at the cost 6 billion Naira , Gov. Ganduje bribery allegation from contractors(Premium times 11<sup>th</sup> August,2019) ,378 billion naira secret fuel subsidy payment from Nigerian liquefied natural gas without approval (Leadership 6<sup>th</sup> Nov.2018), Mustapha Maiheja , Director general of National Emergency Management agency. These therefore call for urgent need to reveal the effort of the administration in reducing the effect of corruption.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The general Objective of this study is to assess the executive-legislatures relations in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria; however the specific objectives are to:

1. evaluate the relationship between executive and legislatures under Buhari's administration.
2. Assessing the executive-legislatures relations on the implementation of anti-corruption policy of the Buhari administration.
3. asserting the impact of executive-legislative relations on the fight against corruption.
4. scrutinize the executive-legislative relation's impact on reducing the trend of corruption under the Buhari administration.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. To what extent does the executive-legislatures relations performed under Buhari administration in the fight against corruption?
2. To what degree do the executive-legislatures relations affect the implementation of anti-corruption policy of the Buhari's administration in the fight against corruption?
3. What effect does the executive-legislative relation have on the fight against corruption under Buhari's administration?
4. How has the effort of executive and legislatures relations helped in reducing the trend of corruption in Nigeria?

### **1.5 Justification of Research**

This study is motivated due to the increase in the Anti-corruption crusade by Buhari Administration, having known that corruption is an antithesis to democratic development and

infrastructural advancement. The study will therefore be of great importance to the policy makers, civil societies, governmental agencies, academic field of knowledge and Political activists as a source of reference in examine the executive and legislative joint effort in curbing corruption in Nigeria.

The result of the study will contribute to the academic field of knowledge by providing empirical evidence on the relationship between executive-legislative under Buhari administration in the fight against corruption. To determine whether they disagreement on some issues has affected the anti-corruption bills and policies and it will also serve as a body of reference for future researchers on executive and legislative relations in the fight against corruption.

The study will help Nigerians to assess the extent of which President and APC have fulfilled they promise of anti-corruption fight in 2015 general election despite low rating by Transparence International Corruption Index and highlight some success of the government.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The time frame for this study is four (4) years covering the period of 2015 to 2019 of Buhari administration and the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly of both House of Representative and Senate on their effort in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria.

## **1.7 Operational Definition of Terms.**

Operational definition is aimed at clarification of some terms used in the study in order to have a proper understanding of the concept. Having in mind that people perceived and view things differently just as scholars view concept differently.

**Assessment:** This is the act of painstakingly and carefully looking into an event or phenomena in order to be able to have a clear over view of an outcome.



**Legislature:** The legislative have a different name across the world, in America, it's referred to as Congress; Britain as Parliament while in Nigeria it is called The National Assembly, its name varies from country to country but have one core responsibility which is to make law. The Legislature is an essential organ of the government that makes laws with each member formally and equally elected as a representative of its political constituencies.

**Executive:** This is an organ in the presidential system of government, which is headed by the presidents and Governors in the discharge of governmental laws and policies through its various agencies, departments and ministries across the state.

**Corruption:** corruption is an act that is contrary to the moral and ethics that guide the activities of both private and public personnel in organization that will prevent the socio - economic development of the greater population.

**Anti-corruption:** Anti-corruption refers to the laws enacted by the legislation to curb corruption through the institutions of government constitutionally empowered to curb corruption. This institution can be legal institutions like organs of government legislatures, executive and judiciary and other agencies like Economic Financial Crime Commission, Independent Corrupt Practices Commission, Director of State Security and Police.

## **1.8 Organisation of Work**

This research is organized into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the study and gives a development of the background to the study, it also highlighted the research problem, the aim and objective of the study, the research questions, significance of research, research Hypothesis, scope and limitation of the research and with operationalization of concepts. Chapter two focuses on the literature review and theoretical framework of study. Chapter three deals with research methodology which comprise of method of arriving at the purpose of research and to

attain the research question such as the research survey, method of data collection, method of data analysis. Chapter four deals with Demographic and data presentation derived from the field through the use of SPSS. Chapter five contains summary, conclusion and recommendation.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Conceptual Framework**

In research, conceptual framework facilitates the understanding of the nature of the interrelationship that exists among the variable of interest. A conceptual framework therefore helps to place our research in its relevant perspective, thereby directing us on what to look for and the standard against which to analyze the data collected for the purpose of the study. Conceptual framework of the study consists of Executive organ of Government, Types of executive, Legislative Organ of Government, Types of Legislative, Nexus of Executive-Legislative, Corruption and Types of corruption, Theoretical review and Gaps in Literature.

##### **2.1.1 Executive organ of Government.**

The executive organ is that branch of government responsible for the implementation and execution of policies and programmes of the government for the benefit of citizen. The executive includes the head of government, his vice (deputy), the ministers (commissioners) of government, who superintend specific sectors of government business and the coterie of advisers and aid to these officials, including top officers in public services. (Robert cited in Iman and Obadan, 2004: 389). Edosa and Azelama (1995) see the executive as the implementation organ of government. They further argue that, the primary function of making and enforcing binding laws and distribution of scarce resources of the state has been the duty of the executive since the origin of state. Also, in a similar opinion of Abonyi (2006:17) sees the executive: “as that arm of government which gives teeth of action to the will of the state by carrying out or executing the law of the land as contained in the constitution statutes, decrees, treaties and chapters”. Heywood, (2007 cited in Oni, 2013:35) identified the executive

as the irreducible core of government. While Ranney (1975) called the executive “Glamour Boy” of government due to their popularity.

Furthermore, Puke (2007), in an attempt to define the executive from the broad perspective, sees it as the arm that is responsible for implementing laws made by the legislative. While Fatile (2017:43), posits that: “executive in a democratic system exists to decide on the final choice of policy to be submitted to the parliament for approval; it ensures that the public service fully adhere to the policy as intended by the parliament and ensure that it delimits and also co-ordinates the activities of the different department of state”. Also, Ranney (1975:383) opines that: “In the democratic nations officials generally called “executive” perform two distinct principal roles, the first is that of “chief of state” acting as the nation’s official ceremonial head and spokesman for its whole people, the second is that of “head of government” acting as the leaders of the office holders who propose, direct and enforce the nation’s public policies. Ukase (2014) , sees the executive as a branch of government which has power and responsibility of executing all the laws, be it acts, laws, decrees, edicts in a democracy and the constitution itself. In explaining the concept of executive in a narrow view (Ojo, 1985), views the executive as the authority vested in the political head of a country, nation or state such as the prime minister , president , governor, chairman to execute the laws, that is to carry them into effects as distinguished from power to make the laws and to judge them.

The Nigeria constitution of 1979 and 1999 vested executive power in the president who is the Head of State, Chief Executive and Commander-in- Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation. The above is in line with section 5 (2) of the 1999 constitution which provide that the Executive Power of the Federation “ shall extend to the execution and maintenance of the constitution, all laws made by the national assembly and to all matters with respect to which the national assembly has for the time being the power to make law”. According to Remi (cited in

ukase 2014:10) “... the executive power of the president or Governor shall extend to the execution and maintenance of the constitution, all laws made by the national assembly”.

The term executive in its broad sense irrespective of system of government being practice, in asserting to the above Appadorai (1974:5) argues that: “the aggregate or totality of all functionaries and agencies which are concerned with the execution of the will of the state as that will has been formulated and expressed in terms of law”. This above definition points to the facts that the executive doesn’t represent the head of government but all governmental law enforcement agencies, ministry and department that help in implementing government policies. In identifying the important of executive organ Heywood (2007) argued that political system can operate without constitutions, assemblies, judiciaries and political parties but cannot survive or function effectively without the executive organ of policies formulation and implementation.

### **2.1.2 Types of Executive**

The political system adopted by a nation determine the type of executive in practice which usually exhibit in terms of power and function there are constitutional permit to carry out. For instance Almond and Powel (1975) classified the executive into political executive and the permanent executive, parliamentary and presidential. Also in similar vein Heywood (2007) classified executive into political executive and bureaucratic executives. From the classification of Almond and Powel (1975) and Heywood (2007) who shares similar view on political executive and permanent or bureaucratic, the political executive refers to those elected through direct or indirect election to serve over a particular period, it is usually determined by its constitution, while some are four(4) years like Nigeria and United State of American , others might be 5 years or more. On the other hand the permanent or bureaucratic executive are the civil servant whom work in the ministries, department and agencies, they work with any person who emerges as head of political executive.

Alonge (2005) argues that there are basically two type of executive namely Monocephalous Executive (single executive) and Bicephalous Executive (dual executive). In elaborating the monocephalous executive, Anyebe (2016:1) described the presidential system as “Monocephalous” he argued further that: “the executive authority and leadership are vested in a single individual, the president is elected directly by the people, he is independent of the legislatures, his ministers are appointed not legislative members, his/her ministers are directly responsible to him and he takes responsibility for the political and economic direction of the country”. Nigeria adopted monocephalous type of executive in 1979, 1989 and 1999 till date. While Oni (2013) viewed Bicephalous or dual type of executive as a system where the head of state is different from the head of government, however as earlier stated that the system of government adopted determine the type of executive, after independent Nigeria adopted the parliamentary system of government where the power is share between the head of state which is headed Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe who perform the ceremonial functions while the head of government is headed by sir. Tafawa belawa who perform the government function with the parliament. This system is also practice in countries like Britain; Australia, Belgium, Japan etc. Appadorai (1975) identified the parliamentary and non-parliamentary as type of executive. Despite the various type of executive type, nations have successful adopted a particular type that suit the peculiarity need of their political environment.

#### **2.1.2.1 Functions of Executive**

The functions of the executive organs is convoluted most specially as it's relates to the ever growing complexity of the modern political system (Edosa and Azdelama 1995). Also contributing to the functions of the executive Oni (2013:50) further added that: “their functions are so broad to the extent that even the legislative and judicial functions cannot be completely separated from the formulation and implementation of policies which the executive carries out”.

Also Benjamin (2004) political structures have existed for centuries without separate agencies for making laws but state structures without executive organ will be hard to find.

The function of the executive will be examined in the following heading:

1. Legislative function
2. Administrative function
3. Quasi-judicial function

#### **2.1.2.2 Legislation**

Benjamin (2004:387) argued that: “from time immemorial, making and enforcing binding rules and allocation through executive decision have been the primary function of government. In clearing the air on the legislation as the responsibility of legislative Ayeni-Akeke (2008:292) argued that : “ Law making is not the monopolized function of legislative rather a share responsibility among other organ of government”. Main while Abonyi (2006) identify the important of legislative in legislation, he further posits that the executive also exercises some legislative powers like recommending for legislative considerations, initiating executive bills, defending bills in parliament, through delegated legislation such as executive order. For Example the executive order 6 of 2018 by the president of federal republic of Nigeria. Abonyi (2006) argued further that; the vote power of the executive is legislation function in a presidential system of government.

#### **2.1.2.3 Administrative functions**

The centrality of the executive arm is derived from the overall functions it perform in a modern state (Ayeni-Akeke,2008). As path of their administrative function the executive help in harnessing both human and material resources, setting pattern of mobilization and allocation of socio-economic and political resources, determines what constitute national interest (Ayeni-Akeke, 2008). As part of the administrative function the executive

appoints, controls, discipline and remove the higher administrative officers which will need legislative confirmation as required in the constitution (Oni, 2013). Also as mention above the 1999 constitution section 5 (2) as amended affirm the president as the commander in chief of army forces, as part of the administration the head of the executive control and manage the army forces such as army , Navy, Air force and other Para-military in the country , which are used to protect the lives of citizens within the country and against external aggression. Also the chief executive represent the country or through his delegate in international assemblies and conferences, he negotiates binding treaties with foreign country which need the approval of the legislative (oni,2013).

#### **2.1.2.4 Quasi-Judicial function**

Abonyi (2006: 21) posits that : “ this relates to powers invested in the executive to grand state pardon , grant amnesty and commute death sentences to life imprisonment”. In similar vein Oni, (2013) see the judicial functions of the executive to include issuing of prerogative of mercy on offenders of the state.

## **2.2 Legislative Organ**

Rogers and walters (2006:2) “their contribution to the origin of the word “parliament” argued from the French word “Parler” means to speak or talk and was first used in England in the thirteen century when it meant an enlarged meeting of the king’s council, attended by barons , bishops and counters , to advise the king in law making administration and judicial decision. In definition of legislature, Lafenwa (2009 cited in Oni, 2013:23) however noted that: “there is no serious contention about its definition” . In similar vein Bernick and Bernick (2008) sees legislative as the people branch with the singular purpose of articulating and expressing the collective will of the people.



However, the role of the legislature particularly appear all encompassing and very important (wolffowitz, 2006). The legislature as the accredited representatives of the people has the duty of protecting public funds and other resources (Alabi and fashagba, 2010:2), proceeded further by referring the legislature as the controller of purse and guardian of public treasury. Jimoh (1999), noted that: “No matter how benevolent the executive are and no matter how vigilant, sacred and esteemed the judiciary, they cannot make law, which makes the legislative as far as law making is concerned an extra ordinary tribunal.

### **2.2.1 Type of legislature**

There are various scholarly contributions to the type of legislature, such as Heywood (2007), edosa and Azelana (1995) and oni (2013) have identified two main chambers, bi-cameral and uni-cameral legislature. However some countries have either experiment three chambers as some point example South Africa ([en.m.wikipedia.org](http://en.m.wikipedia.org)). The research will examine the two main legislature chambers which are: Unicameral and Bicameral legislature.

### **2.2.2 Unicameral Legislature**

Unicameral is a legislative structure that has a single legislature’s chamber. Abonyi,( 2006 cited Oni, 2013:39) noted that this type of legislative structure exists when there is only one legislative body in the country. However for these countries the choice of a single-chamber legislature was predicated on the fact that unicameralism is more streamlined and more effective especially in terms of responding to the needs of small and relatively cohesive and homogenous political societies (Abonyi, 2006).example of countries practicing unicameral are Armenia, Ukraine, turkey, Hungary, Serbia etc. according by Kenton (2018) reported that about 59% of the countries of world practiced unicameral. As a matter of fact Nigeria had once practice unicameral legislature at the federal level up to the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution and changed to

unicameralism at independence (Akinboye & Anifowose, 2011). The adaptation of this structure is due to is simple and less expensive to run and avoids delay in law making (Heywood, 2007; Okoosi-Simbine, 2010 cited Oni, 2013:39).

### **2.2.3 Bicameral legislature:**

Bicameral is a type of arrangement for two legislative chambers exist in a country example are Nigeria, the United States, the Soviet Union, Canada, Australia, India, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland. This situation is noted by Nwabueze and Mueller (1985 cited Oni ,2013 :40), when they viewed that in a bicameral legislature, there exists some forms of dominance of one chamber on the other in respect of some legislation, tenure of office of members, size and importance of the constituencies represented. They, however, added that intricate rules are usually adopted to harmonize the legislation function of the two chambers. However, Nwabueze and Mueller (1985) further argued that bicameral legislature is usually adopted by countries to protect the interest of the minority in a heterogeneous society, while some adopt it to check the lawmaking of the lower chamber such as Britain. Edosa and Azelama (1995) arguing in similar vein that bicameral legislative is connected to federal states so as to protect the interest of the smaller groups or region in a federal state.

Nigeria adopted bicameral at independent which was retained in the 1979 and 1999 constitution and is made up of the Senate (Upper House) and House of Representatives (Lower House). Section 4 of 1999 constitution as amended established the bicameral national assembly which as 109 senate and 360 members of house of assembly (nass.gov.ng).

## **2.2.4 Functions of the Legislative**

The legislative organ of government perform a lot of function in a modern government however the research considered some functions that are key in their effect in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria as treated below.

### **2.2.4.1 Law making**

Iman (2004:409) argued that : “the first important function of a legislature is of course, to enact laws”. Also the section 4 (2) of the 1999 constitution as amended empowers the both chambers to make laws for the peace , order and good governance of the entire federation or any part of the country with respect to any issue in the exclusive legislative list of the country. Appadorai (1975:549) in supporting the above points that : “Law making is the primary duties of the legislatures in a democratic society, it is essential to note that every provision of a law requires to be framed with the most accurate and long-sighted perception of its effect on all the other provision; and the law when made should be capable of fitting into a consistent whole with the previously existing laws”.

It duties ranges from consideration of bills as it stipulated in section 59 (1) also section 59 (1a) highlighted its legislation function to include an appropriation bill or a supplementary appropriation bill including any other bill for the payment, issue or withdrawal from the consolidation revenue fund or any other public fund of the federation of any money charged there on or any alteration in the amount of such a payment, issue or withdrawal ( CFRN 1999, LL 49). Apart from that above function , it is also within the function of the legislative to legislate on Bills either privately sponsor by member of legislative or from the executive arms of government and it passes through various stages from first reading , second reading , committee stage , third reading in both chambers of the national assembly and its finally sent to the

president for assent within thirty days and in a situation the president fails to sign the constitution empowers the legislature to veto it with two-third majority as stipulated in section 58(5) of 1999 constitution as amended.

#### **2.2.4.2 Oversight Function**

Egba (2012) posits that legislature oversight refers to the power of the legislature to review, monitor and supervise government agencies, programmes, activities and policy implementation strategies of the executive arm of government to remain responsive, transparent and accountable to the people. In enhancing the transparency of government in any democratic system, Iman (2004:410) points that : “ this is done to hold all state institution accountable with a view to throwing the light of publicity on the government acts; to censure them if found condemnable and if the men who compose the government abuse trust or fulfill in a manner which conflict with the deliberation sense of nation , to expels them from office and virtually appoint their successors”.

Oversight function serves as a watchdog in other to ensure that the act of national assembly and appropriation act is being implemented to it later, the essence of oversight of the legislature have help Nigeria in areas of curbing corruption such as misappropriation of fund in the aviation ministry, when the former minister of aviation Mrs stella Odun purchase of two bullet proof BMW cars for Nigeria civil Aviation Authority (NCAA) for about 225 million naira and additional 643 million naira to procure 54 vehicles as against the approved 240 million naira by the national assembly. Also it was the oversight function of the legislatures that reveal the whooping amount of 1 billion dollars was invested into power sector yet with poor electricity in the country.

The legislatures usually divide themselves into various committee such as Housing, Power, Customs etc in order to perform its oversight functions, this can be seen in the opinion of Olamide (2016) who opines that: “in order to carry out its functions effectively the members of the legislatures are usually divided into standing ad hoc committee”. The above thought is back up in section 62 of 1999 constitution, Apart from the financial oversight functions and ensuring that the national annually appropriation is duly spend as approved , it is also part of the oversight function of the legislatures in the screening of the appointment of the executive arm of government such as the members of the cabinet and other agencies of the federal government by the upper chamber (senate) , this is to ensure that members of the cabinet and agencies of the government are people of unquestionable character that will deliver the welfare of the people through their agencies ,Section 147 (2) of 1999 constitution as amended provided the above function on legislatures (Senate).

Olamide (2016) identifies the reason of legislative oversight in the following points:

- i. To prevent the arbitrary use of public fund by the executive as provided in section 80 to section 84 of the constitution.
- ii. To foster executive accountability
- iii. It help to strengthen democracy, this is due to the fact that exercise of oversight functions keeps the executive on their toes.
- iv. It helps to ensure effectiveness by the executive as they know that they are being overseen by the legislature.
- v. Exposes corruption , inefficiency or waste in the execution and administration of laws propounded by its or appropriation fund as provided in S.88 (2)(b)

The oversight functions of the legislatures are essential in a political system where the anti-corruption crusade is important such as this present administration of Buhari government.

### **2.2.4.3 Representative Function**

The growth of modern society and high increase in population gradually set aside the previous idea of democracy that was in practiced in greek-cities state and brought in the modern democracy of indirect representation. It therefore necessary of the citizens to elect their representation that will represent their interest in the political, economic and social development of the people. Having considered the above and the nature of Nigeria heterogeneous society, legislature stands as the closest representative of it people on national issues and discussed.

Representative function of legislatures in the word of Awotokun (1998) said that representation is the central role of the legislatures, in similar vein John Stuart Mill opines on representative Assembly viewed it as a body of committee of grievances and a congress of opinions, that is every opinions existing in the nations should have a voice, in other to enhance the chances of better interest protection. The Nigeria National Assemble is equally divided to represent the interest of parties whether majority or minority and it is structured in a Bi-cameral structure at the national level which at the upper chamber (senate) comprises of 109 members with each state having a 3 senators as a representative, while the house of representative comprises of 360 member which are more closer to the people at the local areas.

Simmons (2002) argued that legislatures serve as representative of the interest of its constituencies'. john mill asserted that: “ the point of having a government was that it performs two main function : it most use the existing qualities and skills of the citizens to best serve their interests and it must improve the moral, intellectual and active qualities of these citizens. Every political societies, groups, communities, religious group, Pressure group have a particular interest their wish to desire and due to the insatiable nature of human nature, conflict of interest

may assumed over the feeling of marginalization and due to heterogeneous nature of the modern state (Nigeria) the central government may not pay attention to the needs of every groups in the state ,it is then therefore the duties of the legislatures to carry those interest to national level through bills to get the attention of the central government , there also perform their representative function through the implementation of constitutional projects such as boreholes, primary healthcare, rehabilitation of schools etc. Representative functions are therefore essential in the modern political setting.

### **2.3 Executive – Legislative Nexus**

Abonyi (2006) describe the governmental relations as a “biological system” with many part constantly interacting with each other. Therefore the concept of intergovernmental relations as effort always made to maintain the harmonious relationship existing between and among the organs of government in order to keep the running of government active and functional at all time. In defining the concept Melkin (1976) defines inter-governmental relations as a series of legal, political and administration relationship established among unit’s government and which possess varying degrees of authority and jurisdictional autonomy. In explaining the power of government and its forms, Appadorai (1975:516) posits that: “its expresses itself in three forms, legislative, administration and judicial decision”.

However, a country political and national development of any democratic system is a function of mutual and cordial relation between all arms of government (Ihemeje, zaid, Ahmad and jawan, 2016) one of the morbid symptoms of this and unsettled condition in our democratic order is the gladiatorial contest between the executive and the legislative arms of government but at the federal and state levels (Bassey, 2008). Also Ukase (2014: viii) argued that: “executive and legislative conflict is arguably a major source of political instability in modern African”. Aiyede (2006); the challenges of constructive legislative and executive relations until recently was

considered to be particularly pronounced in a presidential system erected on the principle of separation of power.

Nigeria adopted parliamentary model of the colonial masters was due to theoretical assumption of little or no separation of power between the executive and legislatures which create absolute interdependence between organs of government (Ukase 2014). It is due to no dependence of executive that; Akinsanya (cited Ukase 2014:1) describe it as : “the parliamentary system as government under the rule of the legislature”. There is interference among the organs of government, in most cases the executive with power dictates the tunes in the functions of the other arms of government this is an abuse of power that is contrary to the doctrine of separation of power (Jawan et al 2016:21). Furthermore in other to cushion the aforementioned led to the reintroduction of the presidential system of government in 1999 by general Abdulsalami Abubakar opened yet another antical and fundamental issues which relates to the relationship between the executive and legislative (ukase, 2014: 179) Rosenthal (1932:3) points that: “their clashes and their collaboration are the heart of the executive- legislative relationship. In examining the relationship under Buhari administration Akpan and Eyo (2018:44), argued that: “the administration has the worst spectacle of executive-legislative relationship.

## **2.4 Conceptualization of Corruption**

Corruption practice in all its manifestations are as old as human race ( Lipset and lenz,2000 cited Ogundiya, 2010:233). Aleyomi (2013) posits that corruption practice did not begin today. He highlighted that the history is as old as the world it can be traced to ancient Egypt, Israel, Rome and Greece ( Lipset and lenz,2000 cited Aleyomi 2013:2). However its dimension, form, nature and severity differ among countries (Ogundiya, 2010), in similar vein Transparence international (2001), also identified that; it magnitude is unequal among societies due to one is more corrupt than the other.



In an attempt to conceptualized Corruption (Lawal and Ogunro, 2012; Ikpeze, 2013) argued that is difficult to define. Because it's drawn from different and multifaceted meaning from different quarters most especially in the social science (Aleyomi, 2013). In his attempt to define corruption, J.S Nye sees it as:

*“Behavior which deviates from normal duties of a public role because of private regarding (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gain, or violates rules against the exercise of certain type of private regaining influences , This include such behavior as bribery (use of reward to prevent the judgment of person in a position of trust) nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit) and misappropriation (Illegal appropriation of public resource for private regarding uses” ( Alabi and Fashagba, 2010:4-5).*

Also the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000 defines corruption to include bribery, fraud and other related offences like gratification, the act gave a very wide definition of gratification to mean among other things the offer or promise or receipt or demand for money, donation, gift, loan, free reward, valuable security, property or interest in property with the intent to influence such person in the performance or non performance of his/her duties (ICPC ACT, 2000). In another development, Duruji and Azuh, (2016) viewed Corruption as: “The abuse of trust and enrichment of oneself at the detriment of others”. Obayelu (2007) identifies corruption as: Effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expenses or misuse of public power for private benefits (Obayelu 2007 cited in Ogundiya 2018). Onuigbo and Eme (2015) define corruption as a behavior which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private relationship. While Salisu (2006 cited in Onuigbo and Eme, 2015: 3) view corruption as “ an arrangement that involves an exchange between two parties (the

demand and the suppliers) which (i) has an influence on the allocation of resources either immediately or in the future and (ii) involves the use or abuse of public or collective responsibility for private ends”.

However as part of effort of assessing the degree of corruption, Ogundiya (2010:236) argued that: “Corruption has robbed Nigeria of its benefits of economic development because scarcely available resources that should have been deployed to acute developmental project have gone into private foreign account”. Corruption have become a culture in Nigeria (Iyanda, 2012: 37) , Reviewing the depth of corruption in our society and how accustomed Nigerians are to the monster called corruption, Ndokwu (2004) point that; corruption have been nicknamed among major languages in Nigeria such that the Igbo call it Igboozu, Yoruba call Egunje while the Hausa call it Chuachua”. This shows how corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of the country’s social, political and economic development. Ocheje (2017) report the reason of the mastermind of the Nigeria’s first coup of 1966 by major Kaduna Nzeogwu was quoted saying that:

*“Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10 percent, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers or VIPs at least, the tribalists, the nepotisms, those that make the country look big for nothing before the international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put Nigeria’s political caliber back by their words and deeds”. (Ocheje,2017:3)*

To support the above Kolawale (1997) believes that corruption is a major factor that breeds military intervention in Nigeria politics. Nevertheless as part of the effort to curb corruption

Before the present administration , preceding administration in Nigeria had successively instituted legal instruments measures and policies designed to combat corruption in the country ( Ireju and Adeyeye,2018) , The establishment of ICPC and EFCC and other agencies with quasi anti-corruption functions greatly improved Nigerian’s corruption perception rating at that time in certain aspects of public service, federal, state and local government. (Mike, 2017 cited Akpan and Eyo, 2018:36). However, Buhari anti-corruption fight have generated a lot of good will and support from international community’s ( Ireju and adeyeye,2018). The first litmus of Buhari will be how his government will fast track the trial of some politically exposed persons accused of embezzling public fund while in office (Onuigbo and innocent 2015). As part of Buhari effort to tackle corruption led to the establishment of presidential advisory committee on the fight against corruption (Ahmed, 2018), in relation to the above, below are some of anti corruption policies adopted by Buhari’s administration:

- Whistleblowers protection act
- Witness protection act
- Anti-money laundering act
- Mutual assistance in criminal matters act
- The Nigeria financial intelligence unit (NFIU) act

( Vanguard 18<sup>th</sup> march,2018)

However, over the past three years public perception of the Buhari administration fight against corruption has improved dramatically. As part of the effort in assessing the anti-corruption effort of the president to relieved Nigeria from the demise of corruption, in the recent survey conducted by Afrobarometer’s in Nigeria indicated that 6(six) to 10 (ten) Nigerian (59%) say the government is performing “fairly well” or very well in the fighting corruption a strong improvement from 21% recorded in 2015 (Afrobarometer 1<sup>st</sup> Feb. 2018)

**Table 2.1 showing Nigeria Rating by Transparency International 2015-2018**

Year	Corruption perception index (100%)	Position
2015	26%	136 out of 178
2016	28%	136 out of 178
2017	27%	148 out of 180
2018	27%	144 out of 180

Sources: Transparency International, 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018

The table above shows Nigeria effort in reducing the corruption , from 2015 -2018 the table explain that Nigeria improved in the rating among nations in 2016 from 26% to 28% despite being at the same position of 136<sup>th</sup> out of 178 countries , in 2017 the country drop to 27% and also on the position table to 148 out of 180 countries which shows that the country have perform poorly in reducing corruption while in 2018 the table shows that Nigeria corruption perception remains the same as 2017 but shows increase in the position to 144 out of 180 countries.

Despite the effort to curb Nigeria from corruption, Nigeria has remain among the lowest and performance poorly in the corruption perception index rating as explained above, In reacting to the above civil society legislative advocacy center (2016) posits that despite the anti-corruption effort of the President , sees Kenya which is more corrupt as at 2016 has now over taken Nigeria to 143 from 145 (the cable, 2017). Also In reacting to 2018 transparency international ranking, editorial report by Pulse.ng (2019) “while Nigeria upward movement might be considered an improvement by the casual observer, the development isn’t exactly a cause for celebration for the sole fact that the most important details is that the nation has show no improvement from 2017 ranking when it was 144<sup>th</sup> Nigeria corruption perception index in 2018 is 27, the exact the same score in 2017. Meaning that the country did not get better over the course of the year.

Onuigbo and Eme (2016) even more disturbing is that most of the people alleged to have contributed in moving the country backward through corrupt practices are still active in government and have constituted a clog in the wheel of effort to fight corruption. In the report titled “Heavy Knocks for Buhari’s anti-corruption “ by Sahara Reporter (2015) mention some of the accused politician working in the Buhari cabinet such as Kayode Fayemi present governor of Ekiti and former minister of mining, kemi Adeosun former minister of finance , Rotimi Amaechi minister of transportation.

#### **2.4.1 Types of Corruption**

Corruption takes different forms and type, in order to understand the various form, dimension or type of corruption; Aluko (2006) highlighted five types as fellow:

- 1) Political corruption carried out by political office holders such as president, governors, ministers, commissioners and personnel assistance.
- 2) Economic / commercial corruption this carried out both political office holders and in private environment.
- 3) Administrative /professional corruption refers to deliberate act by top administrative and professional personnel either in public or private enterprise.
- 4) Organized corruption this is exhibited by groups of elite for the enrichment of those participating at the expense of the society.
- 5) Working class corruption is as similar to that of administrative corruption except in status of the executor.

Also Onuigbo and Eme (2015) listed the view of Adekunle (1991) which is similar to the above with the aid of table below:

**Table 2.1.2: shows the Type of Corruption, Enabling means and Victims**

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

	elites -high echelons of control agencies	sources -control and enforcement authority		
Working class corruption	-artisans -junior and intermediate staff -market women and men	-technicalities of occupational skill -ignorance and carelessness and acquiescence of public	Money and material wealth to make ends meet	Consumers of goods and services

**Source:** Adekunle, (1991 cited Onuigbo and Eme 2015 :4)

The table above explained the different form of corruption in Nigeria which helped to highlight the perpetrators, the meaning of achieving their corrupt mandate and the victims of corruption, it shows that corruption is in every sectors and strata of the society. Also Iyanda (2012:39) reporting the view of Justice Mustapha Akanbi, former chairman of ICPC classified corruption in Nigeria into three categories, these are:

- i. Street level corruption which describes corruption in administration as shown in day to day experiences of the citizens in their interactions with officials.
- ii. Business corruption that occurs among low to medium sized business with or without active connivance of the equivalent public sector official.
- iii. High level corruption, which involves huge sums of money in high power centers in finance, public service and administration.

In another attempt to classified corruption Ogunro and Lawal (2012) include Moral corruption and Electoral corruption. While Thiankolu (2006), enlisted it as grand corruption, political

corruption, corporate corruption, administrative corruption and petty corruption. Ikpeze (2013) posited that despite the various type or forms of corruption it has majorly between petty Corruption and grand corruption. He argued further that petty corruption refers to those trivial corrupts practice such as money indulgence, minor favour by persons seeking preferential treatment or employment of friend or relative into minor positions. While Transparency International (2016) view grand corruption as the abuse of high level power that benefits the few at the expense of the many and causes serious and widespread harm to individual and society most often goes unpunished, it therefore recommended that grand corruption should be treated as international crime.

## **2.5 Policy Implementation**

Policy implementation has been defined by many scholars from various perspectives (Khan, 2016). It is stage in policy process concerned with turning policy intention into action (Own 2008:6). Effiong (2013) implementation refers to the process of converting human and materials inputs, including information , technical, human, demands and support and so on into outputs in the form of goods and services. Khan (2016) public policy is the guide to action and it connotes a broader frame work to operationalize philosophy, Principle, vision or decision, mandate etc which are translated into various programs, Project and actions. Irrespective of how well a policy is, the implementation process determines the essences of its beauty and it affects on the general public. Ikechukwu and chukwuemeka(2013) in identifying the essences of policy implementation, point that the most crucial stage in policy process after policy formulation is policy implementation, this is the reason scholar refers it as Hub of policy process.

However, Policies are always well and brilliantly formulated but ineffectively implemented by the Bureaucracy. (Obodoechi 2009 cited in Ikechukwu and chukwuemeka 2013:60).example of such policies are Vision 2020, 7 point agenda, National strategic Health Development Plan



(NSHDP) 2010. Over the years in Nigeria, numerous policies have formulated and implemented yet Nigeria remains in the category of least developed countries of the world (Ikechukwu and chukwuemeke 2013). Effiong (2013) Nigeria have always been blessed with the best planners but the problem of implementation stands out to frustrate these lofty policies.

In identifying the obstacles of policy implementation in Nigeria, Ikechukwu and chukwuemeka (2013) points to political corruption and leadership corruption that characterized selfish, egoistic interest of political leaders, Public Popularity, Favoritism among political elite. Also contributing to the factors affecting the outcome of policy implementation Effiong (2013) identified that: “ a large number of unanticipated factors: Political, Economical, social-cultural and administration and those related to legitimization, communication, co-ordination , staffing and control of policies and programmes usually change mainly in the course of policy implementation thus dramatically influences outcome.

## **2.6 Empirical Review**

This sub-chapter examined the empirical results of previous research work on the assessment of executive-legislative relations in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria. This empirical review was divided into two executive and fight against corruption and legislative in fight against corruption.

### **2.6.1 Empirical review on executive in anti-corruption**

Akpan and Eyo (2018) conducted a study on the Anti-Corruption War under President Muhammadu Buhari in Nigeria. The aim of the study was to assess and appraise the status and level of victories achieved by the president Buhari government in the anti-corruption war. The authors adopted a content and contextual analysis method to examine diverse anti-corruption policies, legal and regulatory frameworks instituted by the administration to aid the fight against escalation of corruption in Nigeria. The study found that though, Nigeria had adopted global

provisions and international conventions required for anti-corruption war, the nation remains on the negative corruption index. The study therefore recommended that ‘President Buhari, where the bulk stops at his table and his cabinet, should make the rule of law and international best practices their watchword and benchmark at fighting against corruption. Also, all policies formulation and enforcement in the direction of fight against corruption should be non-selective, non-ethnic and/or political party affinities or persuasion.’

Also, Enwereonye, Paul, Egbeh and Ibe (2017) in a conference presentation on Governance, Corruption and Anti-Corruption Initiatives in Nigeria: An Assessment of the Performance of the EFCC, tried to assess the causal relationship between three key constructs which are governance, corruption and development. The study was approached from a descriptive and theoretical research perspective and secondary data was gathered through the use of content descriptive analysis technique. At the end of the study, the authors submitted that ‘corruption is the bane of socio-economic development in Nigeria’ an indication of a strong regression between the variables. It was therefore recommended that a national conference be called to produce a workable national template in the fight against corruption.

In another similar study carried out on Legislature-Executive Relations in the Presidential System: A Study of Lagos and Ogun States, Nigeria, 1999-2011; Oni (2013) examined the cause, nature and consequences of actions and activities of the two arms of government through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. A set of 300 respondents were selected using a simple random probability sampling technique and a structured questionnaire were administered to them. At the end of the study, it was discovered that there is a noxious pattern of legislature-executive relations conditioned by such socio-political and economic culture as rent-seeking, manipulations, impositions, patronage and political clientelism, among others, existed in Lagos and Ogun States. Oni submitted that such nature of relationship is not only injurious to

democratic consolidation, but also treacherous to their political development. Consequently, it was recommended that the states should implement a self-accounting and service commission laws, they should institutionalize the practice of party democracy and proposal of quality ideology and manifestoes as solutions to the identified problems.

Furthermore, Amannah and Adeseye (2018) examined public perception of anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari. It was a study involving a total of 385 respondents in South-Southern states, selected through a multi-stage sampling technique. Findings revealed that over 80% of the respondents were aware of the anticorruption war of President Buhari. It was also revealed that 60% of the respondents in South-South states were knowledgeable about the anti-corruption crusade of President Buhari. Findings further revealed that 55.7% of the respondents in South-South states were of the perception that the anticorruption crusade of President Buhari is not satisfactory. It is recommended that government should be more objective, open minded, transparent and proactive in the anti-corruption crusade as a way of winning the sympathy of the people.

### **2.6.2 Empirical Review on Legislative and fight against corruption**

In a paper that sought to examine the progress rate of the Nigeria legislature in performing its constitutional functions, Olujinmi and Fashagba (2010) conducted a study on The Legislature and Anti-corruption Crusade under the Fourth Republic of Nigeria: Constitutional Imperatives and Practical Realities. The study established that there is absence of correlation between theoretical constitutional provisions and political realities in the country. Olujinmi et al. (2010) further submitted that the Nigerian legislature is confronted with so many daunting challenges that make its implementation of constitutional responsibilities an almost impossible task. However, the study concluded that absence of political will, inability of the legislature to

prosecute executive members and ideological divides among the political parties are the major issues militating against the nations system.

Earlier, Momodu and Matudi (2013) had conducted a study the Implications of the Executive-Legislative Conflicts on Good Governance in Nigeria. A descriptive and analytic research method was used. The study analyzed key performance indicators in determination the implications and concluded that the two arms of government are often at logger heads and this has a negative, with some positive impacts on the possibility of good governance in the country. The study recommends that both the executive and legislature should respect and strictly adhere to the tenets of the principles of separation of powers so as to avoid frictions that could be counter-productive to the discharge of their constitutional duties, while embracing dialogue in resolving their differences.

In a work to examine the legislative and anti-corruption crusade under Nigeria's Fourth Republic 1999-2013, Eme (2014) the study summated that the role of the legislative in the anti-corruption initiative is critical given the centrality of the role of the legislative in the political process of a polity. Eme (2014) further submitted that there is a wide gulf of difference between constitutional prescription and political realities in a country where the legislature itself is confronted by daunting corruption challenges.

Nyewusira and Nweke (2018) examine the anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria: an assessment of the deposition of the national assembly (1999-2013) the study adopted institutional approach to interrogate the effort, capacity and political will of the national assembly to function as a watch dog of public fund, they concluded that combating corruption will yield little or no result until operators understand and perform their critical role as the soul and conscience of good governance.

Joshua and Oni (2004) the Nigeria house of representative and corruption (1999-2011), the research adopted elite theory adopted empirical and secondary data, they study discarded among other things that the activities of this chamber over the years revealed that it is indeed an accomplice as far as corrupt practices is concern in Nigeria.

Usman Mohammed (2015) assessment of the role of national assembly oversight function on corruption in the Nigeria federal public service (2007-2013) by means of descriptive approach reveals that national assembly have not been able to sanction those found wanting as regards to corruption.

## **2.7 Theoretical Review**

Theories are essential in any research work, it helps to critically analyze phenomenon, sheila (2001 cited Oni, 2013:64) argued that theory is concept and principles designed to enhance the understanding of a collection of event, facts and phenomenon. Also Einstein was quoted saying that: “there is nothing more practical than a good theory”. The relationship between the legislatures and executive can be explained and understanding within the Institutional theory.

### **2.7.1 Institutional Theory**

The root-based of institutional theory is entrenched from the concept of “Institution” and “Institutionalization” which was propounded by Meyer and Rowan 1977 (Sudbaby, 2010, McCarron, 2018). However, prior to this time, Institutionalism has been used to explain state and politics since the time of Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu etc. The concept of institution and institutionalization possess different meaning in various discipline with substantial variations among approaches, even within the organizational theoretical arena (Rowe and walter, 2001). Also Scott (1995) in his view posits that there is no single and universal agreed definition of an institution in the institutional school of thought. These show the dynamic

and flexibility of the theory in the study of governmental agencies, department and organs of state institution in analyzing some phenomenal. Institutional Theory has been defined by theorists since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to mean “rules” (Rowe and Walter, 2001:8). Nyewusira and Nweke,( 2017:179) defines an institution as “any persistent system of activities, or any pattern of group behavior and as offices and agencies arranged in a hierarchy, each agency having certain functions and powers”. While Ambali (2015:58) argued further that: “The approach focuses on formal arrangements such as federalism executive re-organizations, presidential commission and traditionally government institutions”. In attempt to explain further, traditional government institutions represent the organs of government such as Legislative, Judicial and Executive, which further allocates the fundamental status to the institution of state in the study of politics and its agency.

Nyewusira and Nweke, (2017) further emphasis that: classical political thinkers concentrated their studies on political institutions such as the legislature, executive and judiciary, which performed functions of rule making, rule enforcement and rule interpretation, respectively. Despite its long history within the political science , it still very relevant in the modern analysis of the complexity of the modern state whose functions and responsibility is all encompassing most especially in the study of the organs of government and other governmental agencies. It’s also describes the duties and arrangement of bureaus and departments while considering constitutional provisions, administrative and common law as well as judicial decision. Kraft (2007) posits that: “Institutional theory is policy making that emphasizes on the formal and legal aspects of government structures”.

### **2.7.2 Criticism of Institutional theory**

Institutional theory has been criticized as being exclusively focused on the political institution but neglecting the primary actors which consist of the individuals involved and it also overlooks

some other political phenomena like violence, political agitations, war, terrorism as well as other informal groups in the political environment. Dover and Lawrence (2010), posits that: “part of the limitation of institutional theory is lacking practical relevance and being overstretched beyond its original core purpose thereby losing focus and coherence in the process”. Also affirming to the above; Peters (2010), points that among the problem of the theory is its inability to provide coherent explanation of political phenomena and also the difficulty of measuring institutions.

### **2.7.3 Application of Institutional theory to the study**

Assessment of Executive-Legislative relations in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria’s fourth republic adopted the Institutional Theory. The rationale is because it explains and examine the functions of various organs and agencies of government in determining the policy making and policy implementation of organs of government. Sudbaby (2010), institutional theory has become the dominant perspective for explaining organizational environment relationships. Also Zacker (1987) claims that by applying institutional theory it can provide comprehensive views of organization which has become a dominant theory for studying organization.

It would further give a proper assessment of the institutional politics of most important organs by giving a clear view of the constitutional provision and functions of the organs of government. The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria separates the power and functions both legislature and executive in section 4 and 5 of 1999 constitution as amended. Institutional theory helps to provide an explanation for institutional decision and activities, it also helps to describe how both deliberation and accidental choices lead institutions to mirror the norm, values and ideologies of the organizational field. With the aid of institutional theory, it is believed that an understanding of the operations and transactions of the Legislature (National Assembly) and the Executive, is important to either achieving or undermining the fight against corruption in Nigeria.

## **2.8 GAPS IN THE LITERATURE**

The chapter focused on the review of extent literature on the legislative and executive relations in the fight against corruption. It also centered the research within a theoretical framework of institutional theory which provides a lens through which the study can be clearly understood. Previous studies on legislative-executive relations in the fight against corruption have either examine the relations between the executive and legislative, constitutional conflict of between the legislative and executive , the evaluation or appraisal of the performance of anti-corruption agency such as EFCC , ICPC and quasi anti-corruption agencies.

A lot of studies have been carried out to understand corruption, causes, implications, control strategies and role of the nation's legislative, judiciary and executive arm of government in eradicating the cankerworm that has eaten deep into the nation's economy. Among such works are the study aimed at conceptualizing corruption (David Iyanda, 2012), national assembly and the fight against corruption (Alabi and Fashagba, 2010) and the anti-corruption war under Buhari (Ireju and Adeyeye, 2018, Akpan and Eyo,2018). Though these the findings of these studies have contributed to knowledge in the study of corruption, none of them considered the inter-play between the legislature who makes law and judicial arm who interpret the laws. Also, the role of civil society groups and agencies in aiding or fighting corruption was left unresearched. These are the gaps this thesis intends to fill. Furthermore, there are methodological incoherence in these studies as the use of survey method to study corruption lacks statistical justification. These studies therefore aim to fill, scope, methodological and time gap on the executive and legislative relations in the fight against corruption.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter contains the general procedure for the conduct of the study; it therefore gives details information on the following: research design, data collection, Population, sample size, sampling procedure, validity and Reliability of research instrument, Reliability analysis and method of data analysis.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

Research design is a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever question he or she has posed, (Ragin 1994 cited flick, kardorff and Steinke, 2004: 146). The research adopts a mixed method approach to the study which combines quantitative and qualitative research in arriving at the findings. Johnson et al (2007 cited in schoonenboom and Burke 2017:107) states that: “mixed method research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approach for in-depth understanding”. Quantitative research is design for more scientific, tangible and reliable finding from the research outcome through the use of the scientific tools such as SPSS while the Qualitative research help to provide a more details information that can be subject the view of expert or respondent on a particular phenomenon a researcher aim to unveil.

#### **3.2 Data collection**

To achieve the objective of this study, both secondary and primary method were adopted. The primary method adopted the use of both Questionnaire and interview; the questionnaire will be close ended. Closed-ended questionnaire provides quantitative data that can be analyzed using a

software program. ( Zarinpoush and Gumulka,2006), This will enable the respondents to answer questions raised by the researchers based on Likert continuum scale from range of 1 to 5; where 1 represent strongly agree; 2 agree; 3 undecided; 4 disagree and 5 strongly disagree. It will be divided into two sections which one is information of the respondent (Bio data) and section 2, contain questions raised by the researcher.

Secondary materials such as annual report of Transparency International, Global Financial Integrity Report, Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Reports, National Legislative Report (National Assemble Gazettes), Nigeria Bureau of Statistics, EFCC annual reports, journals, national dallies, text books, publications were heavily relied on.

### **3.3 Population of Study**

Research population is an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conforms to a set of specification (Polit and Hungler, 1999 cited Norman 2015:22). The study population focused on committees at both Houses of Representative and Senate of the National Assembly, which are 469 in number. These two chambers have some committees which include special committees selected for the purpose of the research; such as Ethics, privileges and public petition committee, Public Account committees, Anti-corruption committees, Anti-corruption and financial crime. Staffs of these committees sum up to 38 members. Also, some Civic Societies Groups were selected such as, Accountability and good governance, Civil society Network Against Corruption, Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Center, Center of Democratic Development, Kwara state administrative executive council of Nigeria Labour Union. The study was unable to acquire exact number of the population of these societies because they were reluctant to provide it for political reasons.

From the executive organ some governmental agencies such as economic financial crime commission top staff, civil servant of both state and federal works, staff of tertiary institution of the department of political science in kwara state university and unilorin will represent the population.

**Table: 3.1 show Target Populations.**

<b>Selected groups</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>% Representative</b>
Senate and house committees	36	18
Civil societies	100	50
Agencies /tertiary institutions	64	32
<b>Total population</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Compiled by researcher ([https://placng.org\\_cislacnigeria.net](https://placng.org_cislacnigeria.net).)

The table above shows the number of each targeted groups in the population , which was divided into three different groups Legislative comprises of Senate and House committees, the civil societies which comprises of labour union, center of democratic development, civil society legislative advocacy center etc and the third group comprises of civil servant and experts in tertiary institution.

### **3.4 Sample size**

The Sample size of a research helps in capturing the needed section of the population in other to address the research question. Anyadike (2009) argued that: In most social science and environmental research, it is not always possible to obtain the population. That is obtaining the general population needed for the study might be difficult. In other to properly capture the sample size of all the groups under investigation. The study adopted the Krejcie and Morgan, (1970), which can either be in a statistical formula or table as shows below:

$$s = \frac{X^2 NP (1 - P)}{d^2 (N - 1) + X^2 P (1 - P)}$$

s= Required Sample Size

$X^2$ =the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841)

N=population

P= the population proportion (assumed to be .50 since this would provide the maximum sample size).

D= the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05)

**Table: 3.2: Sample size representation of each group**

Group	Population	Stratum%	Sample size of Groups
Senate and house of committees	36	18	24
Civil societies	100	50	66
Agencies and tertiary institution	64	32	42
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>132</b>

A total of 6 (six) experts was considered for interview selected from the various strata of groups to answer the Interview aspect of the study. Respondents in this category will be illustrated in table 3.3 below.

**Table: 3.3 below contain the target population for Interview and sample size**

S/N	Target Population for Interview	Sample size
1	Executive Organ	2
2	Legislative Organ	2
3	Civil societies	2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>

The above table explains in the numbers of people considered for interview.

### **3.5 Sampling procedure**

The study adopted Purposive sampling method; Purposive sampling method enables the researcher to focus on interesting section of the population in order to answer the research question. In the words of Maxwell (1997) further defined purposive sampling as a type of sampling in which, “particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices”. In order to distribute the questionnaires and conduct interview the research will adopt the sampling method.

### **3.6 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments**

The researcher will conduct a pilot study on some civil societies through random sampling before the main data collection exercise will commence. The rule of the Thumb that 1% of the respondents should be selected for a pilot study will be applied as a basis for selection. This is to enhance the validity of the study. Validity basically means “measure what is intended to be measured” (field 2005 cited Taherdoost,2016:29) ,It measures the intended data or phenomena that the researcher want to achieve, it is often held that it is nearly impossible to get 100% of research validity , so it help to measure the degree of subject under study. While external validity

will help to measure the extent to which the result of the study can be generalized from a sample to a population.

Content validity instrument will be used to measures the appropriateness of the content in the research, in other to measure (questions, Observation, Interview) accurately assess what the research intent to achieve. Boudreau et al, (2004 cited Taherdoost, 2016: 30) defines content validity as “the degree to which items in an instrument reflects the content universe to which the instrument will be generalized”.

### 3.7 Reliability analysis

Reliability deals with the degree to which a measurement of a phenomenon provide stable and consist result (Carmines and Zeller 1979), to measure the internal reliability , the research adopted cronbach’s alpha coefficient , which ranges between 0 to 1.

The formula of Alpha Cronbach’s represent below:

$$\alpha = \frac{n(1 - \frac{\sum Vi}{V_{test}})}{n - 1}$$

Where:

a = Cronbach’s Alpha

n= the test lets (number of items to be tested)

vi= Variance of observed total test scores.

V test = Total Variance of overall scores on the entire test (not % scores)

A higher alpha value shows a higher level of reliability, while a lower alpha indicates a lower level of reliability.

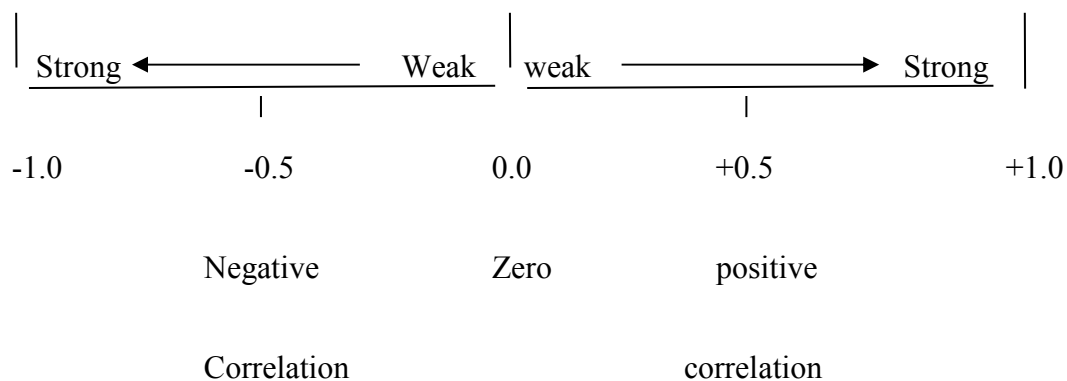
This was adopted as measurement instrument in other to enable the researcher to measure multiple variables identified in the research work as it relates to the executive –legislative relations in the fight against corruption.

### 3.8 Method of Data Analysis

Correlation analysis was adopted in the study, which measures the degree of relationship between variables under consideration. Arora and Arora (2007) in identifying the important of correlation as statistical tools argued that: “correlation is a statistical tool which studies the relationship between two variables”. Gogtay and thatte (2017:78) posited that: “the end result of a correlation analysis is a correlation coefficient whose value ranges from -1 to +1”.

Correlation coefficient of +1 indicates that the two variables are perfectly related in a positive manner, correlation coefficient of -1 indicates that two variables are perfectly related in a negative manner while correlation 0 indicates that there is no linear relationship between two variables.

A diagram below represents that above analysis;



Gogtay and Thatte (2017)

The adoption of the above analytical technique was to enable the researcher measure the relationship between variables identified in the research work. Correlation coefficient helps to

show the level of relationship between variables in order to determine whether there is stronger relationship or weaker relationship among variables.

Thematic analysis was used to analyze the data collected via interview, it helps to identify the theme and semantic of the research by the researcher and enable flexibility due to its lack of attachment to a particular theory. Braun and Clark (2006 cited Maguire and Delabunt, 2017:3352) describe thematic analysis as a “systematic process of analyzing within the context of learning and teaching research”. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the interview gathered from the field work.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter contains the data presentation and analysis gathered through survey study and in-depth interview with senior aids of members of the executive and legislative arms government in Abuja and members of the civil society. The analysis was done using quantitative and qualitative analysis. Tables were used for the quantitative analysis to show descriptive and inferential statistics, while the qualitative data were analyzed thematically. The original sample size for the study is 132 but the study administered in 10% increase making the whole questionnaire 145. At the point of analysis, 130 were successfully retrieved for analysis, which is 97% return rate.

#### 4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

**Table1: Gender of Respondents**

	Frequency	percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Male	<b>79</b>	<b>60.8</b>	<b>60.8</b>	<b>60.8</b>
Female	<b>51</b>	<b>39.2</b>	<b>39.2</b>	<b>100</b>
Total	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Researcher's field work, 2019**

The table above shows the number and percentage of respondents based on gender. It shows that 60.8% of the respondents are male while 39.2% are female

**Table 2: Years of Experience of Respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid 0-5 years</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>36.2</b>
<b>6-10 years</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>24.6</b>	<b>24.6</b>	<b>60.8</b>
<b>11 years and above</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>39.2</b>	<b>39.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**Researcher's Field work, 2019**

Table 2 provided information about the number of years respondents have spent in the agency where they were interviewed. The table shows that majority of the respondents have spent 11 years and above in service accounting for 39.2% ; followed by those who have spent between 0 and 5 years which is estimated to be 36.2% and then those who have spent 6 to 10 years make up for 24.6% of the respondents.

**Table3: Educational Background of Respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative percent
<b>Valid Secondary School</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>
<b>University/Polytechnic</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>83.1</b>	<b>83.1</b>	<b>84.6</b>
<b>Other Institutions</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Researcher's Field work, 2019.**

Table 3 shows that majority of the respondents have either gone to university or polytechnic accounting for 83% of the respondents, only 2 of the respondents have SSCE and 20 (15.4%) have gone to other institutions for a programme or the other.

**Table 4: Table Showing Agencies Respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Executive	43	33.1	33.1	33.1
Legislative	24	18.5	18.5	51.5
Civil Societies	63	48.5	48.5	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

**Researcher's Field work, 2019.**

The respondents for this study are divided into three categories, the executive, legislative and civil societies. There are 43 (33.1%) executive respondents, 24 (18.5%) legislative respondents and the highest 63 (48.5%) civil society members.

**Table 5: Table Showing Religion of Respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Muslim	<b>76</b>	58.5	58.5	58.5
Christianity	54	41.5	41.5	100.0
Others	0	0.0	0.0	
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

**Researcher's Field work, 2019.**

The table above shows that majority of the respondents are from the two major religions in Nigeria, meanwhile 58.5% of the respondents are Muslim having the majority while 41.5% of the remaining respondents are Christian.

**Table 6: Showing the Ethnicity of Respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Hausa	42	32.3	32.3	32.3
Yoruba	53	40.7	40.7	73.1

Igbo	35	26.9	26.9	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

#### **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

Table 6 above shows the ethnicity of Respondents, Yoruba ethnic have the highest respondents with 40.7%, Hausa have 32.3% percent while the lowest respondents are the Igbos with 26.9%

### **4.2 Research Question Analysis**

This study at the beginning sought to achieve four research questions which are the extent of relations between executive-legislatures relations under Buhari administration in the fight against corruption. To what degree do the executive-legislatures relations have in the implementation of anti-corruption policy of the Buhari's administration in the fight against corruption? What effect does the executive-legislative relation have on the fight against corruption under Buhari's administration? How has the effort of executive and legislatures relations helped in reducing corruption, Based on these questions, the analysis was therefore treated according to the objectives.

#### **4.2.1 Objective One: Issues on Executive – Legislative Relations**

The first objective of the study was to examine the extent to which relationship between executive-legislative arms have help in reducing corruption in Nigeria. To answer this objective, the research looked into issues like cordial relationship between the executive and legislative, how it has improve the passage anti-corruption bills, executive-Legislative relations promote democratic development and if the executive have overbearing influence on legislative activities. Variables 1-5 in Section B were tailored to seek information regarding the respondents' opinion on executive-legislative relation during President Buhari administration (2015-2019).

**Table 4.2.2: The executive-legislatures at federal level have cordial relationship under the Buhari’s administration.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	23	17.7
Agree	31	23.8
Undecided	8	6.2
Disagree	31	23.8
Strongly Disagree	37	28.5
Total	130	100%

**Source: Researcher’s field work, 2019**

From table 4.2.2, findings from the table above reveals that majority of the respondents disagree regarding the opinion that executive-legislatures at federal level have cordial relationship under the Buhari’s administration. 23% strongly agree with the notion and 31% agree while 31% disagree and 37%strongly disagree. Only 8% of the total populations were undecided on the issue.

**Table 4.2.3: The relationships between the both arms of government have transmitted in the passing of bills on the floor of national assembly.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	18	13.8
Agree	36	27.7
Undecided	10	7.7
Disagree	25	19.2
Strongly Disagree	41	31.5

Total	130	100%
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**Source: Researcher's Field work, 2019**

The above table shows that 13.8% strongly agree that relationship between executive-legislative have helped in passing bills in national assembly, 27.7% agreed, 19.2% disagree, 31.5% strongly disagree while 7.7% are undecided. From this, it is revealed that majority of the respondents either strongly disagree or disagree that relationship of both arms have negative effect on the passage of bill in National Assembly.

**Table 4.2.4: The executive have overbearing influence in the activities of legislatures.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	22	16.9
Agree	43	33.1
Undecided	27	20.8
Disagree	13	10.0
Strongly Disagree	25	19.2
Total	130	100%

**Source: Researcher's Field work, 2019**

The above table indicates that 50% of respondents strongly agree or agree that the executive influences the activities of legislatures, 29.2% of the respondents either strongly disagree or disagree, while 20.8% of the respondent are undecided. Based on the above table, the study concluded that the executive have influence in the activities of the legislatures.

**Table 4.2.5: Executive-legislative relations are in consonance with the checks and balances.**

	Frequency	Percentage
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Strongly Agree	23	17.7
Agree	60	46.2
Undecided	25	19.2
Disagree	11	8.5
Strongly Disagree	11	8.5
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

Table 4.2.5 findings from the survey reveal that majority of the respondents either strongly agree or Agree which amount to 63.9% agreed that executive-legislative relation is in consonance with check and balance, however the percentage of undecided respondent 19.2% is higher than the total respondents of disagree and strongly disagree of 17% .

**Table 4.2.6: Executive –legislative relations promote democratic development.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	26	20.0
Agree	39	30.0
Undecided	15	11.5
Disagree	19	14.6
Strongly Disagree	31	23.8
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

From Table 4.2.6, an average of 50% of the respondents strongly agree/agree that executive and legislatures relation promote democratic development, however 38.2% of the respondent disagree from the question while 11.5% of the remaining respondents are undecided on the question raised.

## **Qualitative Analysis for Objective One; In-depth Interview**

As part of the effort to support the above survey, Interview was further conducted to provide further explanation to the questions raised. Top aides of members at the executive, legislative arms of government and civil societies groups were interviewed to gather information. This analysis shall be divided into a:

### **4.2 Theme 1: Relationship between Executive-Legislative in fight against corruption.**

#### **Does the executive and legislative have cordial relations under Buhari administration?**

Respondent 1 who is of the view that there is cordial relationship between the executive and legislative under Buhari's administration which according to him reflects on the effort of national assembly trying to pass bills and its effort to support the executive in the fight against corruption.

Respondent 2 who has a contrary view, believes that there is no cordial relationship between them. He established his claims by referring to discords that have happened between them such as the fight between the presidency and the senate president over asset declaration, the case at code of conduct tribunal, budget paddling and constituency project face off. He concluded by opining that 'the executive make the legislatures looks bad rather than making effort to work together to make good life accessible for the ordinary man'.

In an interview with respondent 3 who decided to sit on the fence on the issue. He described the term cordial relationship as being "relative" describing issues around both arms as "circumstantial" because in some issues they would agree while in other they would not.



Respondent 4 see their relationship as uncordial which has transcendent to slow policy formulation and unsuccessfully implementation of some policies.

In the opinion of Respondent 5 who gave a straight responds , In his word: “No, there is no cordial relations and no need of panting words”.

While Respondents 6 believes that their relationship cannot always be cordial most especially in kind of political system will operate.

**Has there relationship transmitted in the passing of anti-corruption bills at national assembly?**

### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1, responses is negative to the result from the survey; he however reveals that the two arms of government are not in any face –off and as a result it has not affected the passage of bills in the National Assembly. To further buttress his view, he highlighted that there is no bill on anti-corruption that is being delayed by the senate. Rather, is the executive that is withdrawing some bills over some disagreement among some of its agencies.

Respondent 2, who believes that bills are not what Nigeria need, that one good bill is enough with the right structure and right people.

Also respondent 3, believes that it’s relative depending on the instances you are looking at but from the point of view of civil societies, who have expected that there are some basic things that the government that has vowed to fight corruption to a standstill should put in place. Rather there are a lot of laws that are just pending without being passed, while some that are passed are being rejected by the president without assent. This

does not contribute to the growth of the government that meant from the onset to fight corruption and the much expectation from the people.

Respondent 4, argued that passage of bills cannot be used to judge relationship between both organs, if it is a serious minded government that have the interest of the people, but the reversed is the case in Nigeria.

Respondent 5: yes, because if you check the record of rejected bills and the pending bills in the national assembly is alarming.

Respondent 6, only the drama in the recent budget presentation by the president and previous issues between the executive and legislatures that answer the question.

**Do you think executive-legislative relations promotes democracy?**

### **In-depth Interview**

The respondent 1: who believes that the relationship between the two arms of government is relative and as a result may not have straight answers. He however submitted that *“If it is for one organ trying to set itself free from the control of the other organ, it promotes democratic development but if it is for ego and political reasons, it does not”*

Respondent 2: Yes, both organs are two most important organs of government, respect to the Judiciary organ but in policy formulation and policy implementation the executive and legislative determines national development.

In another interview respondent 3 who argued that fight between the two arms has not helped

the nation's democracy because it is devoid of "mutual respect". He noted that when there is mutual respect, then they can both have their positions and will promote development.

Meanwhile, respondent 4 also supported the previous respondents, in his own view he believes that tussle is not healthy for democracy and rather does it support any positive result, in other to have a positive result parties have to adopt constructive criticism for national building. He further argued that: *"power tussle connote negativity such as Ego, personal Interest and in every means does not favour anybody both the people battling and the people that are supposed to be the beneficiary"*.

Respondent 5: yes, if it is by generally speaking but in Nigeria it promotes the opposite that encourage cooperative stealing of public fund like in the past administration of Goodluck Jonathan.

Respondent 6: Is relative that depends the angle one is viewing it from.

## **THEME 2: CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY**

### **Does the executive have overbearing influence in the activities of legislatures?**

#### **In-Depth Interview**

On the contrary to what he perceives about the power of the executive arm of government, Respondent 1, strongly believes that the executive are the ones demonstrating an over bearing influence on the other.

He noted that *"executive uses their power to bully the legislatures making them look like the school pupils and it has affected the fight against corruption. Executives are also in the media trailer using the officers of arm forces to intimidate the legislatures and in most*

*cases due to their rush to media have made EFCC not taking time to investigate some alleged corruption cases”.*

Respondent 2, yes there always try to control the legislatures even in the United State of America,

maybe is because of the political system we adopted

Respondent 3 simply gave a straight answer which he summated that *“is the person of Buhari and the executive”.*

While Respondent 4, also support the previous opinion, the executive have power over the activities of the legislatures since every bills and every paper work ends up on the table of the president for confirmation.

Respondent 5 , yes , they do

Respondent 6: No, because if they have that kind of influence, Magu case would have be a story of the past.

**Does check and balance promote harmonious relations between the executive-legislative organs?**

### **In-depth Interview**

In the interview conducted, Respondent 1, yes, it does, in fact it meant for harmonious relationship and enhance efficiency in their duties, if every organ mind its jurisdiction and working collective for the betterment of the country.

Respondent 2, in similar vein highlighted the current disagreement between the executive-legislative are not related to the check and balance rather is on separation of government.

He further elaborate his view ; *“ what was actually brought the tussle is separation of government because if it’s not about power it would have a convergence at a particular point, which*

*will led to development , it is seen as every authority trying to prove a point, instead of working together.*

Respondent 3, No, in fact that can be attributed to disagreement between executive and Legislative over their power to summon head of agencies and ministry

Respondent 4 blamed the disagreement between the two tiers of government on lack of quality personality in the leadership of the nation. He referred back to the era of the first president:

*“For instance in 1999-2007, in the crisis rocking the national assembly you can see the personality of Obasanjo always trying to impose his will on the national assembly, but from 2008-2015 there was cooperation among the two arms of government when we have a civilian, as a president but since 2015 till date the crisis is back, so the separation of power and the constitution is not the problem it is the personality and their military tendency of the person to impose, they overbearing powers. Separation of power and check and balance are needed for effective and efficiency running of government”.*

He concluded that separation of power and check and balance are not the problem rather is the personality of the leadership.

Respondent 5, No, but it was supposed to promote consonance relations between executive and legislative in corrupt free society.

Respondent 6, without check and balance in our political system their will be more crisis than we have between executive and legislatures.

## Analysis of Themes for objective 1

The first theme discussed under Objective one was the relationship between Executive Legislative. On the question raised on the cordial relationship the interviews did show knowledge on the question but however tend to view it from different perspective. Respondent 1 submitted that: *“there is cordial relationship between both organ which according to him reflect on quick passage of anti-corruption bills”*. However respondent 2 had a contrary opinion as against respondent 1, he further highlighted cases such as Budget Padding, Assets declaration face-off as evident of face-off. While Respondents 3 decided to be neutral arguing that is *“Relative”*. Respondent 4 agreed with respondent 2 that there is uncordial relationship between the executive and legislative which have affected in policy implementation. Meanwhile Respondent 6 believes that the kind of political system determines relationship.

On the second question under the Theme 1, respondent 1 argued that: there is no face-off and as a result, there is no anti-corruption bill waiting at the floor of National assembly, however respondent 2, 3, 4 believes bills are not what Nigerians need, while respondent 3 argued that there are a lot of laws that are just pending without being passed. Meanwhile respondent 5 and 6 believe that their relationship have affected the fight against corruption.

The third question under the first theme, respondent 1 submitted that: *“ if it is for one organ trying to set itself free from the control of the other organ, it promotes democratic development but if it is for ego and political reasons, it does not”*. Also respondent 2 agreed that there are the most important organs of government. While respondent 3, 4, and 5 disagreed , in the opinion of respondent 4 that: : *“power tussle connote negativity such as Ego, personal Interest and in every means does not favour anybody both the people battling and the people that are supposed to be the beneficiary”*.

On the second theme which focus on constitutional responsibility that raises question on executive overbearing influence in the activities of legislatures ,respondent 1, 2,4 and 5 all agreed that the executive have overbearing influences of legislatures, respondent 1 He noted that *“executive uses their power to bully the legislatures making them look like the school pupils and it has affected the fight against corruption. Executives are also in the media trailer using the officers of arm forces to intimidate the legislatures and in most cases due to their rush to media have made EFCC not taking time to investigate some alleged corruption cases”*.

While on question of check and balance, respondent 1 agreed that check and balance was meant to promote harmonious relationship, also respondent 2 and 6, in the view of respondent 2; *“what was actually brought the tussle is separation of government because if it’s not about power it would have a convergence at a particular point, which will led to development, it is seen as every authority trying to prove a point, instead of working together”*. while other respondent viewed it as issue of individual personality, in their view *“ Is the personality of the president”*.

## **Objective two: Issues on implementation of anti-corruption policy**

This objective aims at understanding the implementation of anti-corruption policies such Treasury Single account was proposed by the federal government in 2012 and was fully implemented under Buhari’s administration; this is to be able to consolidate all inflows from governmental agencies, Ministry and department into a single account. Whistle blower policy is an anti-corruption policy that encourages people to voluntarily report any fraud, bribery, looted government funds, financial mismanagement or any form of corruption, Mutual Assistance on the effort of the Buhari’s administration to reduce corruption in Nigeria. The following tables and Interview below will be used to analyze the Objective.

**Table 4.3.1: Executive-legislative has cooperated in the implementation of anti-corruption policies.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	31	23.8
Agree	30	23.1
Undecided	16	12.3
Disagree	33	25.4
Strongly Disagree	20	15.4
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

Table 4.3.1 above sought to know whether executive-legislative have cooperated in implementing more anti-corruption policies under Buhari's administration, 46.9% strongly agree/agree while 40.8% strongly disagreed/disagree , while 12.3% are undecided making the result from the finding highly difficult to analyze, knowing that the percentage of undecided is more than the outcome when percentage of agreed is substituted from disagreed.

**Table 4.3.2: Whistle-blower policy has helped in the recovery of Nigerian loot.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	55	42.3
Agree	50	38.5
Undecided	12	9.2
Disagree	7	5.4
Strongly Disagree	6	4.6
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**



Table 4.3.2 above shows that 80.8% of the respondent from the survey either strongly agree and agree that the whistle blower policy have helped in the recovery of stolen loots from Nigeria, while the total of 10% either strongly disagree or disagree and 9.2% are undecided on the effectiveness of the policy.

To support the data from the survey, it was recorded that the first two month, Nigerian government recovered the sum of \$178 million, also in October, 2017 the Anti-corruption chairman of EFCC gave a financial break down of the money recovered N 527,643,500; \$53,222.747; GBP 21,222,390 and Euro 547,730 has been recovered since the policy was launched. (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/whistle-blower-policy>), also Global legal insight (2018) reported that in two month of the inauguration of whistle blower policy in February 2017, the minister of information has announced that it has recovered 151 million dollars and eight billion naira (\$, 26,143,790). In a similar report the minister of finance Mrs. Kemi Adeosun disclosed that federal government had so far recovered about 9.12billin naira through whistle blower policy. The policy has also received about 2150 communication and 337 tips through whistle-blower unit (Sahara reporter 6<sup>th</sup> of July, 2017). The above data shows the degree in which the policy have impacted in the fight against corruption and its acceptance by Nigerians in other to exposed corruption.

Below table highlight some of the fund generated through whistle blower as part of evidence to back up the data collected from the field work.

**Table 4.3.1: Table showing money recovered through whistle blower**

Name	Amounts	Locations
Former DG of NIA Ayo oke	\$43.5 million, 27,800 pounds and 23.2 million naira	16, Osborne Road Ikoyi, Lagos

Ex NNPC GMD Andrew Yakubu	\$9.8 million and 74,000 pounds sterling	In Kaduna
Anonymous	49 million naira	In Kaduna Airport

Sources: Sahara Reporters ( April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017), Premium Times (feb. 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017), Premium times( march 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

**Table 4.3.3: Treasury Single Account has helped to reduced waste in among MDAs in Nigeria.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	25	19.2
Agree	52	40.0
Undecided	23	17.7
Disagree	16	12.3
Strongly Disagree	14	10.8
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

From the Table 4.3.3 above shows that 59.2% of the respondent strongly agree/ agree that Treasury single account have helped to reduce waste in Ministry, Department and agencies, 23.1% strongly disagree/disagree while 17.7% are undecided .

To juxtapose with the finding from the survey, the researcher looks at some updates on the policy and view of scholars; Adegbite (2015) treasury single account is the most potent anti-corruption weapon by any government given that it is a double edge sword that would not only cut all the fingers of corruption in government but it is also an ingenious policy that will sanitize

the banking sector, where there are no longer existences of hundred of clandestine account hidden in several bank.

Prior to the introduction of TSA, MDAs have remitted poorly to the coffers of government, in asserting to above Opeyemi, Adesina, Faboyede and Adejana (2017: 133) argued that MDAs which generate revenue have multiple account in commercial banks and use part of the money to running their program and then remit the surplus to government as a result their remit what is deem fit to the government therefore short changing the government. Meanwhile, Okwe.etal,(2015) gave a breakdown of money generated and remitted by MDAs from 2009 - 2011, in 2009 MDAs generated 3.06 trillion only remitted N46.80 billion to government coffers. In 2010 generated N3.07 trillion but only remitted mere 54.10 billion, while in 2011 generated 3.17 trillion remitted a meager 73.80 billion

However , since the introduction of TSA , report have it that government saves 24.7 billion naira monthly and 108 billion have also be saved in two and half years from maintenance fees payable to bank (Vanguard 18<sup>th</sup> June, 2018). According to Central Bank of Nigeria which reported that the volume of transaction which rises from N10.65 trillion in 2016 to N13. 53 trillion naira in 2017. ( Punch 17<sup>th</sup> June,2019), as added to the success of TSA in the fight against corruption , this record shows a massive increase from the previous remitted fund by the MDAS. Also as part of the success recorded by the policy the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) reported that the policy have generated 13.53 trillion naira in 2017 (Punch ,2018, Leadership,2018) ,This however show a remarkable increase from the previous years.

**Table 4.3.4: Mutual Assistance in criminal act policy has helped in repatriation of lost Assets in Foreign countries.**

	Frequency	Percentage
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Strongly Agree	24	18.5
Agree	55	42.3
Undecided	27	20.8
Disagree	12	9.2
Strongly Disagree	12	9.2
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

Table 4.3.4 shows that majority of the respondent 60.8% strongly agree/agree that mutual assistance in criminal act have helped in the repatriation of lost assets in foreign countries, however the number of undecided respondent 20.8% is more than the percentage of the strongly disagree/ disagree which is 18.4%

**Table 4.3.5: EFCC and Other anti-corruption Agencies has helped to implement the anti-corruption policy in professional manners.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	23	17.7
Agree	32	24.6
Undecided	15	12.5
Disagree	40	30.8
Strongly Disagree	20	15.4
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

The table above sought to know if anti-corruption agencies have implemented anti-corruption policies in a professional manners however the result shows that 46.2% strongly

disagree/disagree while 42.3% strongly agree/agree and 12.5% are undecided , this result shows a very highly contested from the respondent on the professionalism of anti-corruption agencies.

## **QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF OBJECTIVE TWO**

Interviews were conducted to assess the success level in the passage and implementation of anti-corruption laws and how it has aided in the recovery of looted funds. To achieve this, questions were raised on different initiatives and then the recovered funds. Thus, this part of the objective two shall be divided into two major themes, policies, president's disposition and recovered funds. The policies shall be treated individually.

### **THEME 1: Implementation of Anti-corruption Policies.**

**Did you think executive –legislative have cooperated in implementing anti-corruption policies?**

#### **In-depth Interview**

In an interview with respondent 1, who opines that both arms have not corporate enough to push for new policies as most of the policies, were from the previous administrations that just got passed and signed into law by the house.

Supporting his argument respondent 2 noted that; *“Most of these laws are not from this*

*Government there are from previous administration mention anyone of them, in fact no laws they only amended the law to improve it”.*

Also respondent 3, affirmed to the view of previous respondents that some of the anti-corruption policies or laws were previously in place rather what is different is the leadership willingness.

Meanwhile respondent 4, argued that Nigeria do not need more anti-corruption policies and

the President must be commended in his brave move to adopt previous policies but only recommend for improvement by the National assembly to fit into the present political situation of Nigeria.

Respondent 5 shows not being aware of any anti-corruption policies that are new but recognized that improvement in the fight against corruption.

## **THEME 2: POLICIES TO COMBAT CORRUPTION**

### **Has the whistle blower policy helped to recovered Nigeria stolen wealth?**

#### **In-depth Interview**

During the in-depth interview with the respondents, Respondent 1 appraised the whistle-

blower policy, he affirmed that the policy has helped the government to recover funds and have also help in the fight against corruption.

Respondent 2 do not believe in the policy of whistle-blower due to, it's an imported idea that may not strived in our social political system.

Respondent 3 acknowledges whistle-blower policy as a good policy but lack the protection of law. He described it as "*ineffective*".

Respondent 4 supported the policy, that it has helped to exposed top MDs and head of Agencies that runs it is personal business

Respondent 5, Yes it has helped a lot

Respondent 6, yes , but we don't know how the money is used, those individuals have not being taking to court, so if it is on paper recovery yes, but in reality no.

## **Has the Treasury single Account helped to reduced waste in MDAs in Nigeria?**

### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1 believes that TSA policy has not been effective as expected, he further stated

that not all the agencies, ministries and department are part of TSA policy and doesn't remit to the government, if not, the National pension commission N36 billion will not be missing.

Respondent 2 , however highlighted the impact of the policy on assets recovery but pointed

that some agencies have been excluded from the TSA policy such as Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation, Power Holding Company Nigeria, Bank of Industry and few other agencies.

Also in similar Respond, Respondent 3 agrees that the treasure single account is perfect strategy as well but how much of it is really followed through. He argued that:

*some of the sectors of government that are pulling the guns as far as the financial stand of the government is concerned, they are not in the TSA, NNPC does not remit money and that is where the 90% of the country money comes from, is like you say, everybody bring all that you have and the person that has the much should not bring his own, he should keep it. So it's like you are collecting from peasantries and leaving the person that is with the bank*

However , Respondent 4, supported the TSA policy pointing that since the policy commence

agencies like custom remit to government has drastically increased and other agencies.

Respondent 5, was more political when he argued that: “yes it has and anybody that says otherwise are part of the problem of Nigeria people”

Respondent 6: yes it has but more needs to be done.

**Did you think Mutual assistance policies have helped to retrieve Nigeria lost assets in foreign account?**

**In-depth Interview:**

Respondent 1 noted that there is a limit to how mutual aid can help Nigeria in the fight against corruption. This is because international policies and national sovereignty and historical antecedents may influence it.

Respondent 2 supporting the policy thinks the mutual assistance has been helpful to the nation. He submitted that:

*“Honestly it has, but just as other policy, it just within some circle of few individuals that are friends to the president is aware how far it has helped to recover fund.*

Respondent 3; I can say Yes or No, but in some way it has helped but Nigerians are not aware for the policy and how it has helped in the fight against corruption.

Respondent 4; No, “because we don’t know how much recovery the policy has made apart from Abacha Loot”.



Respondent 5, points the policy as good, he however argued that policies are not only good on

papers, he believes that it is not much better from the Assets Recovery, which has help in the recovery Abacha's loots, yet the information of the asset are not at the public information, there are other laws such as Administrative exchange of Information, financial intelligent law , Mutual legal assistance and anti-money laundering law are all policy aim at improving fight against corruption .

Respondent 6; yes to some extend but I cannot actually tell you how extend.

### **THEME 3: Professional Manner of anti-corruption agencies**

**Did you think EFCC and other anti-corruption agencies have conducted their activities in a professional manner?**

#### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1; Yes, the president is the commander in chief of Nigeria Arm forces and he is the chief executive officer, that give him control over all agencies directly or indirectly.

Respondent 2; believes the executive influence the activities of the anti-graft agencies such as EFCC. He responded as thus,

“the executive is the president and as such the president have control”. This therefore Make the fight against corruption a weapon in a wrong hand to oppress the opposition.

Respondent3; every head of the agencies are appointed by the president, so they do the bidding of their boss.

Respondent 4 also agrees that the executive's influence anti-corruption agencies simply because the president has to sign the whole stuff before anything can happen

*“well, if everything have to go to the table of the executive to sign on, you cannot take away that discretion, excessive power it may be not but we may not called it discretion power, though there is a provision of the legislative to over ride the president but all the unnecessary party loyalist will not override the executive because is there person and from the party.”*

Respondent 5 also agreed that the executive has influence on the anti-graft agencies, citing Buhari’s selection and imposition of Ibrahim Magu on the nation despite disapproval of the lawmakers. He described the action of the president as “irresponsible” and said “ *the president is only using Magus to pursue the perceived enemy of his administration.*”

Respondent 6; Yes, it is as simple as that.

## **ANALYSIS OF THEMES FOR OBJECTIVE TWO**

The first theme discussed under this objective was the success rate on anti-corruption policies implementation. On the issue of whistle blower and TSA, the interviews did acknowledge the potential of the policies but raises question on how efficient it has been used. Interviewee 1 submitted that “*some agencies run without remitting to the T.S.A account.*” Furthermore, Interviewee 2 also raised serious issue regarding the non remittance of NNPC funds to the TSA accounts and also “*some sectors of the government are pulling guns as far as financial stand of the government is concerned; they are not in the TSA*”

The third item under this policy theme is on mutual assistance. Respondent one responded that mutual assistance has assisted in the recovery of stolen funds in a way and “ *to some extent*” while interviewee 3 called for proper implementation of policies so that they will not just be on

papers saying “ *policies are not just good on papers, it still comes down to who should implement*”

On the professional of anti-corruption agency towards the effort of reducing corruption ,Interviewee 4 “*well, if everything have to go to the table of the executive to sign on, you can’t take away that discretion, excessive power it may be not but we may not called it discretion power, though there is a provision of the legislative to over ride the president but all the unnecessary party loyalist will not override the executive because is there person and from the party.*”

#### **4.4. Objective Three: Issues on the effect of executive-Legislative Relations on the fight against corruption.**

This Objective is design to examine executive-legislative relations effect on the fight against corruption, and to achieve this, the researcher posed a question to the respondent to answer.

**Table 4.4.1: The rejection of EFCC chairman by the senate affects the fight against corruption.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	26	20.0
Agree	37	28.5
Undecided	20	15.4
Disagree	31	23.8
Strongly Disagree	16	12.3
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher’s Field work, 2019**

Table 4.4.1 shows that 48.5% of the respondent strongly agree/agree that the rejection of EFCC chairman by the senate has affected the anti-corruption fight, however 36.1% strongly disagree/disagree while 15.4% are undecided

**Table 4.4.2: Legislative oversight has impacted in reduction of corruption among MDAs.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	36	27.7
Agree	35	26.9
Undecided	10	7.7
Disagree	30	23.1
Strongly Disagree	19	14.6
Total	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

The above table indicated that 54.6% of the respondent strongly agree /agree that the legislative has reduced corruption in MDA's through it oversight function, however 37.7% of the respondent strongly disagree/disagree while 7.7 % are undecided on the question.

**Table 4.4.3: Executive influences the fight against corruption.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	32	24.6
Agree	41	31.5
Undecided	7	5.4
Disagree	31	23.8
Strongly Disagree	19	14.6

Total	130	100%
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Source **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

An average of the respondent agreed that the executive influences the fight against corruption with total of 56.1% of the population, 38.4% disagree and 5.4% of the respondent are undecided.

This therefore shows that the executive influences the function and activities of anti-graft.

**Table 4.4.4: Legislatives are victims of fight against corruption.**

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	32	24.6
Agree	43	33.1
Undecided	15	11.5
Disagree	28	21.5
Strongly Disagree	12	9.2
	130	100%

Source: **Researcher's Field work, 2019**

The table above shows that 24.6% strongly agree that the legislative are the victims of the anti-corruption fight, also 33.1% of the respondents also agree to the question, however the 21.5% of the respondent disagree and 9.2% strongly disagree while 11.5% are undecided. The shows that 57.7 % agree/strongly agree that the legislative are victim of the anti-corruption movement.

## **Qualitative Analysis on Objective three**

### **Theme 1: Challenges of anti-corruption fight.**

#### **In-depth Interview.**

**Did you think the rejection of EFCC have affected the fight against corruption?**

Respondent 1; No, that should not affect the fight if the structure are in place, Magu is just the head and not the agency , so ordinary whether the chairman is working on acting capacity or not , the agency must continue working.

Respondent 2 argued that the senate never rejected the Magu but rather is the executive that rejected Magu with the report from state security service in debting Magu and Magu failed to provide all the document needed from confirmation.

Respondent 3 points that whether confirmed chairman won't have changed anything; he would still be control by the president.

Respondent 4; yes , because they would have been a more focus agency with substantive head that feel he is working on the mercy of one man , may be there might be difference in the fight against corruption.

Respondent 5, who believed that in a way the rejection affected the drive against corruption but however praised their effort so far.

Respondent 6; the rejection of Magu by the senate shows how deep the rancor's between the senate and executive because ordinary, the Nigeria senate would have confirmed Magu on the first day but Magu was only used as an escape goat in the power tussle with the executive and Magu in person also played part by accusing some senators of corruption most especially the senate president.

## **Theme 2: Institutional Effort in reducing corruption.**

### **Has the legislative oversight impacted in the reduction of corruption in MDA's?**

#### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1 who argued that apart from law making function, another function of the

legislature is to secure the purse of the federation, meaning they are the custodian of public wealth. Ideally the National Assembly is the main anti-corruption institution of any country, so by virtue of that the national assembly has helped to reduce corruption through their various committees.

Respondent 2; to some extent they have, former SGF corruption act was through the national assembly,

NEMA and the allegation of the Vice-president was National Assembly, the abuse of office by the former IGP was through National assembly, so they have helped to reduce the level of corruption.

Respondent 3; No, rather the corruption is in the national assembly, where some of its members are under investigation of one form of corruption or the other.

Respondent 4; is a two way thing, to some extent yes they have and on the other hand they have not, even when they do, the control of power (executive) may decide not to act on it.

Respondent 5, a system that its leadership emerges with deception cannot reduce corruption, so No as far as I am concerned.

Respondent 6, without sentiment the 8<sup>th</sup> national assembly made effort to compare with the 7<sup>th</sup> assembly despite the face-off with the executive, in a way they played a part in the fight against corruption.

## **Does the executive influences the fight against corruption?**

### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1 noted that there is a connection between the office of the Attorney General of the Federation, the President and EFCC.

He submitted that *“Yes, the president appoints Attorney general and all the directors of all agencies are appointed by the president. The attorney general is directly in charge of the EFCC because they have to report to him and him report to the president, so he will do the bidding of his boss.”*

While, Respondent 2, also agreed that the executive influences the activities of the anti-graft

agencies on the simple reason that *“president appoints the chairman of all the anti-graft agencies and all the other directors of all agencies are appointed by the president. So the interest of their boss is most important , an enemy of my boss is my enemy “.*

Also respondent 3, summated that he who pays the piper dictates the tone

Respondent 4; argued that since the return of democracy right from the time of President

Obasanjo the anti-graft agencies have always remain a tools of intimidation in the hand of the executive , so we are used to this activities.

Respondent 5, is obvious, join APC and become a saint and remain in PDP become a subject of victimization.



Respondent 6, there are part of the executive and they obey the chain of command, so Nigerians should not totally see it as being control by the executive.

### **Did you think that legislative are victim of fight against corruption?**

#### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1 point that most of the legislatures are one time Governor of one state or the

other so it is natural if some of them are question by anti-graft agencies, that is expected.

Respondent 2, yes, *“when you are having issue with someone who thinks is more powerful than you that is what will happen.”*

Respondent 3, decided not to answer *“serious I can’t say anything on that”*

Respondent 4, No, *that the leadership of the national assembly is being accused of corruption does not mean the national assembly are the victim because there are not.*

Respondent 5, No, there are not because the fight caught across all agencies of government.

Respondent 6, the executive uses the anti-graft agencies to put the legislative in check and that is our it is in this country.

#### **Analysis of theme three**

Results derived from the interview on objective three shows that responds from the question on the rejection of EFCC, if it has affected the fight against corruption, six respondents were interviewed , interviewee 1 believe that the rejection of Magu does not affect the fight against corruption , Interviewee 2 argued that the rejection of Magu shows the evidence of disagreement

between the executive and legislative in the fight against corruption, while 4 and 5 agreed that rejection of Magu have not affected the fight against corruption.

Therefore, interview responses shows that the respondents were tightly divided on their opinion on the question .

The second question raised focused on legislative oversight impact in the reduction of corruption in MDA's from the interview 1 agreed that national assembly is an anti-corruption institution and by that they have help to reduced corruption, also interview 2 supported the opinion of interview by sighting instances like former SGF sage and NEMA corruption allegation. Interview 3 and 5 disagreed rather accused the institution as hub of corruption while interviewee 4 rather remains Neutral.

The result drawn from the interview shows that the interviewees were divided on the oversight function of the National Assembly in the fight against corruption.

On the third question which focuses on the executive Influence on the fight against corruption shows that majority of the responses all agreed that the executive influences the fight against corruption as a respondent rightly put it:" *"Yes, the president appoints Attorney general and all the directors of all agencies are appointed by the president. The attorney general is directly in charge of the EFCC because they have to report to him and him report to the president, so he will do the bidding of his boss."*

The result shows that executive influences the fight against corruption , which affect the fight against corruption.

#### **4.5 Objective Four: Issues on Reducing the Trend of corruption**

To analyzed this objective the study adopted a secondary data method , that is information from reliable organization, National dailies , Journals and text books and also to compliment the finding an interview with used. The adopted method of data collection is to enable the researcher

generate various information's related to the trend of corruption in Nigeria and to be able to reduced bias from the respondents. It also provide us with both International and local opinions on the effort of the government in reducing the trend of corruption in Nigeria.

#### **4.5.2: The president anti-corruption stands have helped to reduced corruption in Nigeria.**

I'll be merciless in pursuing looter (punch march 16<sup>th</sup> ,2016) these are one of the few strong word of the president on the fight against corruption, also recently the president affirmed his commitment on the fight against corruption when he ascribe that: “ the fight against corruption in my administration is not negotiable” . The fight against corruption is one of his main promises to Nigerians; this has made him the champion of African Union on the fight against corruption (All African, 10th dec.2018).

However, Pulse.ng (19<sup>th</sup> Nov.,2019) reported the view of US on Buhari Anti-corruption that:” Massive corruption is evident under president’s leadership”. Other criticism on the posture of President Buhari anti-corruption stand as weapon being used mainly as a political weapon to hound, intimidate and frustrate the opposition , while those accused of corruption in the ruling party are spared or treated with kid gloves (Punch feb.3<sup>rd</sup> ,2019). To affirmed the above the senator representing Kaduna state and a member of APC have also accused the president anti-corruption stands as using insecticide against suspected corrupt people in the opposition and deodorant for those in the president’s camps.( Punch 24<sup>th</sup> jan.2017)

In the recent statement made by the chairman of APC when admitting politicians from opposition party that their sins are forgiving once they join APC ( Sahara Reporters 18<sup>th</sup> jan. 2019), Musa Rafsanjani the executive director of civil society legislative advocacy accused the ruling party for worsening the situation by admitting corrupt suspects into its fold ( Punch 3<sup>rd</sup> feb, 2019), more so some corruption cases that has question President Buhari Corruption stands

such as Babachir Lawal corrupt saga, Abdulrasheed Maina reappearance, double promotion and disappearance after corruption allegation as former Pension commission board, Governor Ganduje Abdullahi Umar of Kano corruption allegation ( Punch 20<sup>th</sup> Octo. 2018) , Adams Oshiomhole corruption allegation ( punch 3<sup>rd</sup> july, 2019).

**Table 4.5.1 Shows alleged corrupt politicians working with president Buhari**

Sen. Abdullahi Adamu	15 billion
Sen. Aliyu wamakko	15 billion
Sen. Godswill Akpabio	100 billion
Gov. Orji uzo kalu	3.2 billion
Babachir lawal	223 million
Rotimi amaechi	97 billion
Gov. Abdulaziz Yari	680 million
Ali modu sheriff	450million

Source punch 1<sup>st</sup> sept.2018

### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1; did not directly rate Buhari's posture as low, he indirectly linked the posture performance to occurrences in the state. He opined that:

*“ he is the chief executive, the grand commander of the federal republic, he is the chief implementer of the law. If there are instances everywhere that he has not done well, every report or index that concerns human development are always going backward, the last report says that Nigerian police is the worst in the world and the commitment of reducing inequality, we are second to the last, the corruption perception index came out and we are not doing better. Is like you say that I am a*

*father and I am a good man but all my children are either stealing or caught up in all bad things, what kind of good father am I and what qualifies me as a good father?*

Respondent 2; Appraised the President posture on the fight against corruption, he opined that:

*“the president commitment to the fight against corruption has reflected in some many areas in Nigerian must especially in our ministries, departments and Agencies, look at EFCC, nothing change but the President commitment has moved the agency from toothless bull dog to real bull dog, even the N. Power program people are being enroll into the program based on merit not on who you know, it has really reduced corruption.”*

Respondent 3; who bluntly argued that: *“It amazing how corruption has increased under Buhari, just wait till the end”* corruption is high and that reflected in the recent ranking by Transparency International.

Respondent 4, argued that *“when the head is serious and committed but he is surrounded by wolfs, his effort will not be noticed, that is the problem Buhari is currently facing.*

Respondent 5, President Buhari is only recovering loot and not fighting corruption because institutions are still weak, may be after the loots has been recovered he may start fighting corruption.

Respondent 6; honestly is issue of a two side of a coin, is posture from the beginning send a strong signals from his speech “ I belong to nobody and I belong to everybody” but over time people close to him started to understand that he actually belong to somebody and corruption started

#### **4.5.3: There seems to be high level of corruption within the executive.**

In the word of Chairman of the Independent corrupt Practices and other Related Offences commission, Prof. Bolaji Owasanoye opined that: “the executive arm of government in Nigeria was more corrupt than the legislative and judicial arms”(Punch 8<sup>th</sup> April,2019). He further asserting that this is because the executive spends a far bigger chunk of the money appropriated. . These above assertion can be seen in various report such as the department of the British government for international development (DFID) that corruption in Nigeria is majorly in the executive and about 55% (Akanmidu, 2011). Similarly, (Ugwu, 2011:165), reporting from the USA department states that: “corruption is acute in Nigeria especially at the Presidency”.

This therefore encourages individual enrichment that makes mockery of the fight against corruption in Nigeria To substantiate the above claim, former Secretary of the Federation, Babachir Lawal was charged on corruption over embezzlement of funds (500 million naira) meant for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (vanguard 30<sup>th</sup> oct, 2017), Ayodele Oke former director general of national intelligence Agency (NIA) who was alleged of (43.5 million dollars) which was discovered in a flat at Ikoyi (the Guardian 10<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2017). This prompted Na’Allah the former senate deputy leader to affirmed that 70% of the recoveries have come from the doorstep of the executive and therefore suggested that preventive measure should be targeted at that of the executive arm of government.(premium Times 10<sup>th</sup> may,2017). Also reporting the corruption within the executive Gan Intergrity , (2017 cited Nigeria Monitor 14<sup>th</sup> oct. 2016) reported 2.7 Million Naira of bribery allegation which was recovered from Assistant Commissioner of Police, who is allegedly facing unspecified disciplinary action. Diversion of public funds is so common that an audit in december 2016 discovered and removed 50,000 ghost workers from government’s payroll, leading to saving quoted as 636 million dollars (African News, dec, 2016)

## **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1; corruption is more evident in the executive than any other organs, not that there are no cases of corruption in other organs like legislative and judiciary, *“in fact most of the legislatures facing corruptions charges are one time governor or minister”*.

Respondent 2; The executive are the implementer of government project and policies , these gave them access to fund, they are the personal you meet in day to day activities, so bribery , nepotism, favoritism that have portray Nigeria has corrupt nation are the dealing of the executive.

Respondent 3: Yes, not only in Nigeria but world over.

Respondent 4: yes, there is high level corruption in the executive; the corruption is so high to the extent that public servant/ civil servant salary are being diverted into personal project, which further exposed workers to survive by any means.

Respondent 5; yes, it is not debatable

Respondent 6; it is obvious fact, especially when looking at Nigeria situation, is the executive that collect bribe ,is the executive that hike contracts, is the executive that awards contracts, so when you look at it they will be vulnerable to corruption.

### **4.5.4: The administration has persecuted more corrupted individuals than previous administration.**

The first litmus of Buhari will be how his government will fast track the trial of some politically exposed persons accused of embezzling public fund while in office (Onuigbo and innocent 2015). As part of the effort in assessing the anti-corruption effort of the president , in the recent survey conducted by Afrobarometer’s in Nigeria indicated that 6(six) to 10 (ten) Nigerian (59%)

say the government is performing “ fairly well” or very well in the fighting corruption a strong improvement from 21% recorded in 2015 (Afrobarmeter 1<sup>st</sup> feb. 2018). On may 28<sup>th</sup> , the economic and financial crime commission (EFCC) announced that the commission have recorded 603 convictions since the president assumed office in 2015 (Council on Foreign Relations 31<sup>st</sup> may,2018)

**Table 4.5.1 Shows prominent Politician serving Sentences under Buhari Administration**

Muktar Ramalana Yero	Former governor of Kaduna state	Five years in prison
Bala Ngilari	Former governor Adamawa state	Five years in prison
Nyame Jolly	Former governor of Taraba state	14 years in prison
Sen .joshua dariye		14 years in prison

Source: complied by researcher

**Table 4.5.2 shows Ten Nationally Prominent Political Figures Charged Under Ribadu (April 2003-December 2007)**

Defendant	Office Held
Tafa Balogun	Inspector general of police (2002-2005)
Diepreye Alamieyeseigha	Governor Bayelsa state (1999-2005)
Abubakar Audu	Governor Kogi state (1999-2003)
Joshua Dariye	Governor,Plateau state (1999-2007)
Orji Kalu	Governor, Abia state(1999-2007)



Saminu Turaki	Governor Jigawa state (1999-2007)
Jolly Nyame	Governor, Taraba State (1999-2007)
Chimaroke Nnamani	Governor, Enugu state
James Ibori	Governor, Delta state (1999-2007)
Ayo Fayose	Governor Ekiti state

Source: Human Right Watch , 2011

**Table 4.5.3 shows Four National prominent Political figures charged under interim chairman Ibrahim Lamorde. ( January- June 2008)**

Defendant	Office Held
Lucky Igbinedion	Governor, Edo state (1999-2007)
Iyabo Obasanjo Bello	Senator , ogun state (2007-2011)
Adenike Grange	Minister of Health (2007-2008)
Gabriel Aduku	Minister of state for Health (2007-2008)

Source: Human Right Watch, 2011

**Table 4.5.3 shows Sixteen Nationally prominent political figures charged under Waziri (june 2008-july 2011)**

Defendant	Office held
Babalola Borishade	Minister of Aviation (2005 – 2006)
Femi Fani-Kayode	Minister of Aviation (2006 – 2007)
Michael Botmang	Governor, Plateau State (2006 – 2007)
Boni Haruna	Governor, Adamawa State (1999 – 2007)

Rashidi Ladoja	Governor, Oyo State (2003 – 2007)
Olabode George	Chairman, Nigerian Ports Authority (1999 – 2003)
Nicholas Ugbane	Chairman, Senate Committee on Power
Ndudi Elumelu	Chairman, House of Representatives Committee on Power
Igwe Paulinus	Chairman, House of Representatives Committee on Rural Development
Jibo Mohammed	Deputy Chairman, House of Representatives Committee on Power
Attahiru Bafarawa	Governor, Sokoto State (1999 – 2007)
Abdullahi Adamu	Governor, Nasarawa State (1999 – 2007)
Nasir El-Rufai	Minister of Federal Capital Territory (2003 – 2007)
Hassan Lawal	Minister of Works and Housing (2008 – 2010)
Dimeji Bankole	Speaker of the House of Representatives (2007 – 2011)
Usman Nafada	Deputy Speak of the House of Representatives (2007 – 2011)

Source: Human Right Watch,2011

### **In-depth interview**

Respondent 1: It depends on which administration, but if it is Goodluck administration, there was no serious fight against corruption however, the Buhari administration have persecuted and have retrieved lost lot than that of Jonathan administration.

Respondent 2: Yes, they have sent some individuals to prison.

Respondent 3: The administration is only persecuting political opponents, not corrupt politicians because if not, people like Rotimi Amaechi, Sen. Danjuma Goje, Adams Oshiomole should be facing trial now.

Respondent 4: Yes, at least for the first time, we saw big politicians bagging 14 years Imprisonment, while others are in prisons like Kuje and Kirikiri. So, the president has strived better than his predecessors.

Respondent 5: On media yes, but the administration have lost more corrupt cases in court and those detained are evidence of lack of respect to the rule of law, in as much as there is not respect to the rule of law and no court has found them guilty.

Respondent 6: actually the administration has recorded tremendous effort in that direction but not just sending them to prison but strengthen Institutions.

#### **4.5.5: The fight against corruption have promoted Nigeria image among comity of nation.**

Buhari anti-corruption fight have generated a lot of good will and support from international community's ( Ireju and adeyeye,2018). As part of the appraiser the of Buhari effort in the fight against corruption, the united nations, un secretary- General Antonio Guterres commended the president for his role in the fight against corruption in African. (Daily post may 24<sup>th</sup> ,2018).as part of praise on President Muhammedu Buhari on anti-corruption has made him the champion of African Union on the fight against corruption (All African, 10th dec.2018). The office on drugs and crime (UNODC) greatly appreciates the solid commitment shows that Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari in confronting Corruption in his own country and across the African Union (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2017).

However the report from European Commission Ranked Nigeria 12<sup>th</sup> on the list of 23 countries with the weakest anti-money laundering and anti-terror financing regimes in the world. (Mere Orthodoxy 12<sup>th</sup> july,2019). Civil society legislative advocacy center (2016) posits that despite the anti-corruption effort of the president in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria ,sees Kenya which is more corrupt as at 2016 has now over taken Nigeria to 143 from 145 (the cable, 2017).

year	Corruption Perception	Ranking
2015	26%	136 out of 178
2016	28%	136 out of 178
2017	27%	148 out of 180
2018	27%	144 out of 180

Sources: Transparency International, 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018

Also In reacting to 2018 transparency international ranking, editorial report by Pulse.ng (2019) “while Nigeria upward movement might be considered an improvement by the casual observer, the development is not exactly a cause for celebration for the sole fact that the most important details is that the nation has show no improvement from 2017 ranking when it was 144<sup>th</sup> Nigeria corruption perception index in 2018 is 27, the exact the same score in 2017.

### **In-depth Interview**

Respondent 1: The world now sees the determination in Nigeria government to curb corruption and that has generated a lot of support from international communities.

Respondent 2: we cannot say that our image have been promoted when the latest rating from Transparency International shows we are still where we are the previous years.

Respondent 3: is relative, to some it has, while to some it has not.

Respondent 4: it has promoted and has gained trust among world leaders that shows the success being recorded in recovery of Abacha loots.

Respondent 5: Nigeria's Image has grown drastically among comity of nations and thanks to the president seriousness in the fight against corruption.

Respondent 6: No, because Nigeria has not improved in the any International Ranking.

#### **Analysis from Interview on Objective four**

The resulted generated from the interview shows that all the interviewee have different opinion on the question, while interviewee decided to sit on the fence just like interviewee 1 who opined that *"he is the chief executive, the grand commander of the federal republic, he is the chief implementer of the law. If there are instances everywhere that he has not done well, every report or index that concerns human development are always going backward, the last report says that Nigerian police is the worst in the world and the commitment of reducing inequality, we are second to the last, the corruption perception index came out and we are not doing better. Is like you say that I am a father and I am a good man but all my children are either stealing or caught up in all bad things, what kind of good father am I and what qualifies me as a good father?"*.

Other decided to blamed the poor performance on those working with the president, Interviewee 4, points that: *when the head is serious and committed but he is surrounded by wolfs, his effort will not be noticed, that is the problem President Buhari is currently facing.*

The interview found that most interviewees are not really sure of the president anti-corruption stands, with majority of the interviewees decided to sit on the fence which make it quite difficult for the researcher to \drawl a either negative or positive outcome.

The question on high level of corruption within the executive, the finding from the interview shows that majority of the interviewee agreed that the corruption is high in the executive, Interview 2 opined that: *The executive are the implementer of government project and policies, these gave them access to fund, there are the personal you meet in day to day activities, so bribery, nepotism, favoritism that have portray Nigeria has corrupt nation are the dealing of the executive.*

The interview concluded that corruption is high within the executive which have led to the level of corruption in the country.

The question on if the administration has prosecuted more corruption individuals than previous administration. The result shows that majority of the respondents such as interviewee 1,2,4 and 6 agreed that the president have prosecuted more corrupt individual than previous administration , interviewee 1 opined that *Buhari administration have persecuted and have retrieved lost loot than Jonathan administration* while interviewee 3 and 5 viewed President Buhari corruption persecution as politically motivated citing politician such as Rotimi Amaechi, Sen. Danjuma Goje, Adams Oshiomole whom ought to be facing trial.

The interview concluded that Buhari administration have prosecuted more corrupt individual than previous administration.

On the image of Nigeria among comity of nations, result generated from the interview shows that the interviewee did not agree on the question, with interview 1, 4 and 5 supporting that Nigerian Image have grown among other nations while interview 2 and 6 disagreed pointing that; *“the latest rating from Transparency International shows we are still where we are from the previous year’s”*.

## 4.6 Pearson Correlation Analysis

This is used to show the degree of linear relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Represented with a symbol  $r$ , spanning from the range of -1.00 to +1.00, a correlation coefficient indicates the direction and magnitude of the relationship between the two variables. The closer it is to 1.00, the more likely the relationship is statistically significant (Iversen and Gergen, 2012).

Table 4.6 Pearson correlation Analysis Between Variables

### Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
EL_AV	3.0677	.46426	130
IM_AV	3.4354	.55988	130
FAC_AV	3.3000	.62676	130

	EL_AV	IM_AV	FAC_AV
EL-AV Pearson	1	.102	.103
Correlation			
Sig.(2- tailed)		.250	.244
N	130	130	130
IM-AV Pearson	.102	1	.084
Correlation			
Sig.(2-tailed)	.250		.340
N	130	130	130

FAC-AV Pearson	.103	.084	1
Correlation			
Sig.(2-tailed)	.244	.340	
N	130	130	130

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Source: Primary Data from this project, 2019

Table 4.6 represents the means, standard deviations and correlations among all variables in the study. It was conducted to examine the correlation coefficient among the study variables. Indications from the table show that there is a greater correlation between executive and legislative relation and the fight against corruption (.103) with the dependent variable. The above table equally shows that there is a positive relationship between executive-legislative relations and implementation of anticorruption policies. The relationships between these two variables are significant with a probability value of 0.00. The level of significant with a probability value of 0.01.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMEDATION**

This chapter discusses summary of findings, and conclusion based on the study specific objective, recommendation, limitation of study and contribution to knowledge.

#### **5.1 SUMMARY**

This study was conducted to investigate the assessment of legislature and executive relations in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria's Fourth Republic (2015-2018). The population of the study was divided into three strata such as the legislative committees and members, civil societies groups and civil servant and public servant in both state and federal secretariat; this is to enable the research to have all interest opinion samples in the research. The study was divided into five chapters, the first chapter discussed the background issues, which led to developing four objectives and four research questions with the scope of Buhari Administration from 2015-2018. The conceptual review of literature and empirical studies on the assessment of legislature and executive relations in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Also discussion was made on expected relationship between each of the proxies of the independent variable and the dependent variables. The theoretical framework that underpins the study was also discussed.

The study was conducted to answer the following research questions through a combined research methodology of survey and in-depth interview. Questionnaire was administered to 145 aides of executive office holders, legislators and members of the civil services. Interview was also conducted with two senior aides to senators of the federal republic of Nigeria at the National Assembly Abuja and two senior staff of civil society groups and two civil servants. Data

gathered through the questionnaire was analyzed with the use of Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS, V.23).

At the end of the study, it was discovered that:

1. There is a serious rancor between the executive and legislative arm of government and this has negatively affected the anti-corruption campaign.
2. There has really been no major passage of new anti-corruption laws during the Buhari administration as most of them were inherited from the previous administration. However existing laws such as whistle-blowers, treasury single account, plea-bargaining and mutual assistance have been justified to be successful on the anti-corruption fight.
3. The executive arm of government was labeled to be in control of excess power which made it easy for it to have an overbearing influence over anti-graft agencies such as EFCC and the legislative arm of government. The independence of the legislature was reported to be often threatened by the executives because certain lawmakers are loyal to the executives and party such as president vote against policies that would have been beneficial.
4. There is high level of corruption in the executive which has question president Buhari stands on corruption , despite the success recorded by number of convictions by the administration , there seems to be more corruption in the inner circle of the president which have affected Nigeria ranking among comity of nations.

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

The study was conducted to assess the executive-legislature relations in reducing the level of corruption in Nigeria's fourth republic from 2015-2018. While specific objective includes; to determine executive-legislature relations on the implementation of anti-corruption policy of

Buhari administration. To assert the impact of executive-legislature relations in the fight against corruption and finally to scrutinize the executive-legislative relations impact in reducing the trend of corruption under the Buhari's administration.

Based on the findings, the study discovered that the executive –legislative relations under Buhari administration from 2015-2018 reveals that there is no cordial relationship or corporation between the legislative and executive arms of government and as a result, it has hampered the progress in the fight against corruption at execution and policy formulation levels. However, the study reveals that higher percentage of the respondent 50% faulted the executive as the cause of the face-off. Also the interviews corresponds to the finding of the survey which also reveals that there is a poor relationship between the executive and legislature.

The study reveals a positive response from the survey on Objective two, while the interview is however contrary. While survey responses appraised the policies such as Treasury Single Account, Whistle Blower, to be doing well in recovering funds, however the interview reveals contrary to the survey on the bases of lack of transparency in the process and also the survey rated EFCC and other anti-corruption agencies averagely 46.2% as against 42.3% the performance of its duties in a more professional manner which is contrary to the interview. The study concluded that there is a positive outcome from the implementation of anti-corruption policy.

Objective three findings reveals through the survey that the rejection of the chairman of EFCC has a negative effect on the fight against corruption. The interviewee in essence is tightly divided in their opinion, the study also reveals that the legislature have impacted in the fight against corruption through it oversight functions. The study discovered that executive-legislative relations have a negative effect on the fight against corruption.

In answering the fourth objectives findings from the interview conducted reveals that despite the appraisal of the president's anti-corruption postures, the number of prosecution recorded and global recognition for his effort to reduce corruption, most Interviewee believes that corruption have continued to thrive in the executive. which most interviewee believes that the trend of corruption have not actually reduced as most rating from international body rated Nigeria poor in the fight against corruption.

## **1.2 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The following recommendations were put forward base on the findings of the study:

1. To foster a strong relationship between the executive and legislature, there is need for mutual respect between both organs in the independent activities of their internal politics as the study reveals that over 56.1% respondents reveals interference of the executive in the internal activities of the legislatures. These would therefore empower the legislature to properly carry out their duties as related to section 88 sub-section (2b) which empower the legislatures to expose corrupt, inefficiency and waste in the executive, so the study recommends that section 89 (1d) of 1999 constitution as amended should be reviewed to empower the national assembly to issue a direct arrest through the Nigeria police force in cases where the executive officials refuses to answer summons just as the case of controller general of custom, Inspector general of Police, Minister of Justice and it should empower the national assembly through two-third majority vote remove any minister found wanting in this regard.
2. In order to promote people's trust in the fight against corruption, the federal government through the ministry of finance, central bank of Nigeria and economic financial crime commission should be providing quarterly update on the money and assets recovered

from the fight against corruption, these would enable the general public to be aware of the effort of the government and its level of transparency in the fight against corruption.

3. The legislature should engage in more public awareness program, seminars and symposiums on educating the general public on the activities and effort of the national assembly in enhancing the national development and curbing corruption through its various committees, and as part of its effort to encourage public awareness the annual national assembly gazette should be available for the citizens at all federal literary and tertiary institutions.
4. Anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria should be strengthened and partner with other anti-corruption bodies such as Transparency international (TI) to build capacities and monitor international collaborators towards corruption-free society, also as part of the effort to curb corruption, Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) should intensify its effort in curbing money laundry and other financial waste in governmental agencies most especially the political office holders. Some of the agencies such as Nigeria National Petroleum Commission, Bank Of Industry, Power Holding Nigeria Company and some big agencies that were excluded from the TSA policy should be mandated to join in order to have an accurate fund and reduce corruption.
5. Code of conduct bureau should verify assets and identify wealth and resources owned by both politicians and senior civil servants, most especially the public officer holders such as ministers before and after their tenures, these would complement the effort of other relevant agencies in minimizing corruption in the polity and reduce corruption in the executive organ.

#### **5.4 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

The study is limited to executive and legislature relations in the fight against corruption from 2015-2018, meanwhile there are other variables that would have robust the research such as the oversight function of the legislature in the fight against corruption and factors responsible for the pending and unaccented billed from the 2015-2018, there are other limitation to the study such as unavailability of some legislative members during the course of research , the bottleneck in the structure of the executive such as refusal to grant interview that would have added more information to the research work most especially the economic financial crime commission. Insufficient fund and individual loyalty to a particular political party or group. However these limitations did not affect the finding of the study due to adequate empirical method adopted making the result reliable and fit for policy formulation.

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## APPENDIX I



**KWARA STATE UNIVERSITY, MALETE**  
**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE**

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Ma,

It is my pleasure to recommend **Nezianya chukwujekwu Francis (16/27/MPS005)** of Political Science, Kwara State University Malete. The candidate is now in the last stage of the program and required to conduct a research project in partial fulfilment of the requirements for M.Sc. Degree in Political Science. As such he needs your kind assistance to collect data and necessary information.

At this juncture, I humbly seek your help and cooperation to help him get the data and achieve the objective of the study. I really appreciate your time and efforts to make this a success.

Thanks.

Sincerely

**Prof. Abdul Rauf Ambali**

HOD, Politics and Governance

Kwara State University Malete,

Nigeria.

## APPENDIX II

Department of Politics and  
Governance,  
  
College of Humanities, Management  
and Social Science,  
  
Kwara State University,  
  
Malete-Ilorin  
  
PMB 1530  
  
June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Dear Respondent,

I am a postgraduate student currently undergoing a Masters degree in the above institution. I am carrying out research on: **ASSESSMENT OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS IN REDUCING THE LEVEL OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC (2015-2018).**

I am therefore, appealing to you to complete this questionnaire as honestly and truthfully as possible which is designed to gather relevant data for academic purpose. All the information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Nezianya Chukwujekwu Francis

### **APPENDIX III**

#### **QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear Respondent,

My name is NEZIANYA CHUKWUJEKWU FRANCIS; I am a Masters student of the department of politics and governance Kwara State University, Malete carrying out a research on the ASSESSMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE–LEGISLATURES RELATIONS IN REDUCING THE LEVEL OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC (2015-2018).

This questionnaire is designed for the purpose of collecting data only. Any information given by respondents will be confidential for the purpose of this research.

Thank you.

### **APPENDIX IV**

#### **SECTION A**

##### **Demographic information of the Respondent**

Instruction: Indicate by ticking in each of the boxes that best describes you.

1. Sex:    Male                      78                      Female                      53
  
2. Age:    18-30 years    31                      31-40years    23    41-50years    43    51 and Above    34
  
3. Years of working Experience : a) 0-5    47    b.6-10    31    c. 11 and above    51

4. Educational Background : a) Secondary Level 2 b) University/ Polytechnic level 107  
c). Other institution 20
5. Agencies: a. Executive ( 43 ) b. Legislatures ( 24 ) c. civil societies (62 )
6. Religion : a. Muslim ( 80 ) b. Christianity (51 ) c. Others ( 0 )
7. Ethnicity : a. Hausa (42 ) b. Yoruba ( 53 ) Igbo ( 37 )

## SECTION B

Please respond to each of the items conscientiously by ticking (√) on the option that fits your response.

### ISSUES ON EXECUTIVE – LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS

SA= Strongly Agree, A= Agree, UD= Undecided, D= Disagree and SD= Strongly Disagree

S/N		SA	A	UD	D	SD
1	The executive-legislatures at federal level have cordial relationship under the Buhari's administration.					
2	The relationships between the both arms of government have transmitted in the passing of bills on the floor of national assembly.					
3	The executive have overbearing influence in the activities of legislatures.					
4	Executive –legislative relations is in consonance with the checks and balances.					
5	Executive –legislative relations promote democratic					

	development					
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### **ISSUES ON IMPLEMENTATION OF ANTI-CORRUPTION POLICY**

SA= Strongly Agree, A= Agree, UD= Undecided, D= Disagree and SD= Strongly Disagree

<b>S/N</b>		<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>UD</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Executive-legislative have cooperated in the implementation of anti-corruption policies</b>					
<b>2</b>	<b>Whistle-blower policy have helped in the recovery of Nigerian loot</b>					
<b>3</b>	<b>Treasury Single Account has helped to reduced waste in among MDAs in Nigeria.</b>					
<b>4</b>	<b>Mutual Assistance in criminal act policy have helped in repatriation of lost Assets in Foreign countries</b>					
<b>5</b>	<b>EFCC and Other anti-corruption Agencies have helped to implement the anti-corruption policy in professional manners.</b>					

### **ISSUES ON THE EFFECT OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS ON FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION**

SA= Strongly Agree, A= Agree, UD= Undecided, D= Disagree and SD= Strongly Disagree

<b>S/N</b>		<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>UD</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>The rejection of Efcc chairman by the senate affects the fight against corruption</b>					
<b>2</b>	<b>Legislative oversight have impacted in reduction of corruption among MDAs</b>					
<b>3</b>	<b>Executive influences the fight against corruption</b>					

<b>4</b>	<b>Legislative are victims of fight against corruption</b>					
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### **Section C**

#### **ISSUES ON REDUCING THE TREND OF CORRUPTION**

- 1. The president anti-corruption stands have helped to reduced corruption in Nigeria**
- 2. There seems to be high level of corruption within the executive**
- 3. The administration have persecuted more corruption individuals than previous administration**
- 4. The fight against corruption have promoted Nigeria image among comity of nation**

## **APPENDIX V**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### **ISSUES ON THE POWER TUSSLE BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATURES HAVE AFFECTED THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION.**

##### **ISSUES ON EXECUTIVE –LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS**

1. Does the executive and legislative have cordial relations under Buhari administration ?
2. Has there relationship transmitted in the passing of anti-corruption bills at national assembly?
3. Does the executive have overbearing influence in the activities of legislatures?
4. Does check and balance promote harmonious relations between the executive-legislative organ?
5. Do you think executive-legislative relations promote democracy?

##### **ISSUES ON IMPLEMENTATION OF ANTI-CORRUPTION POLICY**

1. Did you think executive –legislative have cooperated in implementing anti-corruption policies?
2. Has the whistle blower policy helped to recovered Nigeria stolen wealth?
3. Has the Treasury single Account helped to reduced waste in MDAs in Nigeria?
4. Did you thinks Mutual assistance policies have helped to retrieved Nigeria lost assets in foreign account?
5. Did you think Efcc and other anti-corruption agencies have conduct their activities in a professional manner?



## ISSUES ON THE EFFECT OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS ON FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

1. Did you think the rejection of efcc have affected the fight against corruption?
2. Has the legislative oversight impacted in the reduction of corruption in MDA's?
3. Does the executive influences the fight against corruption?
4. Did you think that legislative are victim of fight against corruption?

## ISSUES ON REDUCING THE TREND OF CORRUPTION

1. Has Buhari anti-corruption stands helped to reduced corruption in Nigeria?
2. Did you think corruption is high in the executive?
3. Did you agreed that the administration have persecuted more corrupt individual than previous administration?
4. Has the fight against corruption helped to promote Nigeria image among comity of nations?