A Review of Scholarship on Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Nigeria

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The centrality of corruption in Nigeria’s socio-political and development discourse has spurred hundreds of scholarly research and studies devoted to illuminating the different aspects of the phenomenon. This article offers a review of some of the most important scholarly contributions available on the subject. The works covered in the study were from different disciplinary perspectives such as History, Law, Political Science, Anthropology, Economics, and included books, journal articles, internet materials and official publications. The key objective of the review was to identify the major strengths and weaknesses of existing studies and to highlight areas requiring further research. The study found that many areas of corruption and anti-corruption research, that is, causes, nature and effect of corruption, anti-corruption legislations and agencies, have been well covered by existing literature and are readily available to policy makers. On the other hand, the anti-corruption role and contributions of many important actors, such as the international community, sub-national authorities, the legislature, the judiciary, and civil society actors including the media, ethnic movements, professional groups and labour unions, have not been well reflected in existing research. Similarly, virtually all studies on corruption and anti-corruption in Nigeria were undertaken from the single country case study approach. The article concludes that there is need for researchers to broaden their focus and take into account all of these shortcomings for a more robust and comprehensive account of the phenomenon.

Introduction
Corruption has remained one of the most dominant themes in Nigeria’s socio-political discourse since attaining political independence from Britain in 1960. The centrality of corruption in Nigeria’s socio-political and development discourse has spurred hundreds of scholarly research and studies devoted to illuminating the different aspects and consequences of the phenomenon. Over the last decade, scholarly attention has shifted to assessing the various programmes and policy measures proposed by successive Nigerian governments with a view to finding effective remedies to the issue of corruption in Nigeria. This has added to the growing body of scholarly literature on the subject. Indeed, one may argue that today researching and publishing on corruption has become a ‘thriving industry’, involving a motley array of writers.

This article offers a critical review of some of the most important scholarly contributions available on the subject. The works covered in the article are drawn from different disciplinary perspectives such as History, Law, Political Science, Anthropology, Economics, and include books, journal articles, internet materials, official publications, and so on, by both Nigerian and non-Nigerian writers and institutions. This review covers works dealing with corruption, as well as those concerned with anti-corruption measures or programmes. The key objectives of this contribution are to identify some of the major works available in the field of corruption and anti-corruption; drawing attention of scholars and policy makers to the data available and highlight the major strengths and weaknesses of existing studies. More important, this article identifies areas of corruption requiring further research by scholars, and by so doing helps to ignite interest in such neglected areas of corruption research for the benefit of policymakers and society at large.
Conceptual Clarification

Before proceeding with our review of scholarship on corruption and anticorruption in Nigeria, it is apt to define the two different but very related concepts. This is to situate the understanding and analysis of the different works reviewed and also the efforts dedicated to fighting corruption by governments and other concerned stakeholders (Forgues-Puccio, 2013: 2).

Corruption

Constructing an acceptable definition of corruption is a task that has attracted considerable attention of all kinds of people in recent times. These include scholars, international institutions, policymakers and even ordinary citizens. But despite this intense attention, the search for a clear and universally acceptable definition of the phenomenon has remained elusive. Corruption is, on the one hand, a complex word that represents a wide array of illegal and unacceptable behaviour, and on the other, a concept whose uses is largely culturally specific. However, a careful review of existing scholarly literature, shows that there are three common broad definitions of corruption.

The first is what is known as the Public Office Centred Definitions. These are definitions linked to the notion of public service and behaviour that regulate its operations, as are reflected in the writings of Bayley (1966), Myrdal (1968, 2008) and Nye (1967, 2008). Generally, they place emphasis on the abuse of trust and power with respect to the exercise of public office, in a manner that is aimed at attracting illegal personal benefits which may not necessarily be material in nature. Market Centred Definitions are the second category of definitions. This second set of definitions is traceable to the works of scholars like Kluveren (2008), and several others. In brief, they place emphasis on the abuse of trust and power with respect to the exercise of public office, in a manner that is aimed at attracting illegal personal benefits which may not necessarily be material in nature. Market Centred Definitions are the second category of definitions. This second set of definitions is traceable to the works of scholars like Kluveren (2008), and several others. In brief, they emphasise the conversion of public office or positions into an enterprise for the maximization of income, almost similar to the way in which an entrepreneur will seek to maximise profits from his investments. According to Kluveren (2008), ‘a corrupt civil servant regards his public office as a business, the income of which he will...seek to maximize. The office then becomes a — maximizing unit. The size of his income depends...upon the market situation and his talents for finding the points of maximal gain on the public’s demand curve’ (cited in Heidenheimer and Johnston, 2008:7). The third type is the Public-Interest Centred Definitions. This set of definitions, as stressed in the works of authors like Friedrich (cited in Heidenheimer and Johnston, 2008: 15), Etzioni (1984) and Kempe (2000), links corruption to the concept of public interest. Within this framework, Friedrich (cited in Heidenheimer and Johnston, 2008: 7: 15) defines corruption as: ‘a kind of behaviour which deviates from the norm actually prevalent or believed to be prevalent in a given context, such as the political.’ Similarly, Kempe (2000: 18) views corruption as ‘the utilization of official positions or titles for personal or private gain, either on an individual or collective basis, at the expense of the public good, in violation of established rules and ethical considerations, and through the direct or indirect participation of one or more public officials, whether they be politicians or bureaucrats.’

Each of the three types of definitions contains shortcomings or limitations. For instance, all three consider corruption as more or less a public sector-based phenomenon, whereas, corruption also occurs in the private sector. Similarly, the second set of definitions, that is, the Market Centred Definitions, creates the wrong impression that corruption involves purely economic or financial gain. In reality, corruption may involve other benefits that are non-material. That said, they can be combined and integrated for a more inclusive, exhaustive and useful definitional framework which gives a clearer picture of the concept we are seeking to define. One of such comprehensive definitions which comes to mind is the one offered by Khan (1996). According to him, corruption may be seen as ‘any act which deviates from the rules of conduct, including normative values, governing the actions of someone in a position of authority or trust, whether in the public or private domain, because of private-regarding motives (that is non-public or general), such as wealth, power, status, etc.’

From to this definition, an act or behaviour can be termed corrupt if it meets all of the following conditions:

i. It involves an individual holding a position of authority or trust irrespective of the domain (public or private).

ii. The act or behaviour in question violets laws, regulations, including norms and values.
iii. The act or behaviour is committed intentionally with the aim of advancing some private goals which may or may not be material in nature.

Conceived this way, acts such as bribery, extortion, embezzlement, fraud, nepotism, electoral manipulations, examination malpractices can be termed corruption. This definition also agrees with the official definition of corruption in Nigeria, as contained in Section 2 of The Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000 (also known as ICPC Act), where corruption is defined as involving acts which ‘include bribery, fraud and other related offences’ (FGN, 2000).

Anti-corruption

Anti-corruption is a term that is commonly used to describe the body of ideas, policies and programmes dedicated to eliminating or preventing corruption. The term also refers to actions that are concerned with bringing individuals and institutions that are believed to be guilty of corruption to justice through investigation, legal prosecution and seizure or restitution of criminally acquired assets. Anti-corruption measures are therefore not one-off actions but a process or series of processes that have several components and separate stages. For instance, Klitgaard (2006) argues that anti-corruption has three stages. The first stage involves creating awareness about the existence of corruption and its negative impact. The second stage is where anti-corruption measures are designed and implemented in order to control corruption or prevent it from occurring, while the third stage involves obstructing systemic corruption.

Researches Focusing on Corruption

The overwhelming majority of scholarly publications focusing on corruption as a phenomenon has tended to address three broad aspects of the phenomenon of corruption, namely, the causes, nature and impact of corruption. This, as should be expected, has been done according to each author’s professional or disciplinary background. However, in order to enhance clarity, this review will be done according to the three major aspects of corruption research, namely causes of corruption, nature or forms of corruption and impact of corruption.

Causes of corruption

Explaining the causes of corruption is arguably one of the most researched areas in corruption research in Nigeria. Over the last five decades, a large number of books and articles have been published to explain widespread corruption in Nigeria. The explanations offered have usually included culture, history, economy, political institutions and the character of the post-colonial state in Africa, among many other areas.

Culture

Cultural theory of corruption generally emphasizes the central role of culture as a dominant cause of corruption. One of the earliest culturalists to work on Nigeria was M.G. Smith (1964, 1979), who examined the origin and nature of corruption in the northern part of Nigeria. From his studies, Smith established that widespread corrupt tendencies among northern political elites are largely derived from what he calls the ‘cultural condition of political corruption’ among the Hausa during the colonial era. According to him, oppression and corruption increases among the Hausa with political centralization and increase of governmental tasks. He concludes that to fully understand the emergence of political corruption among the Hausa, historical and structural factors which define corrupt behaviour and its context should be taken into full account. Another notable proponent of this theory is Ekpo (1979), who examined the supportive values of the culture of corruption in Africa generally, and Nigeria in particular. Ekpo looked specifically at how the African culture of gift giving and taking has encouraged the generalized practice of bribery and extortion in Nigeria.

A large number of new generation scholars have embraced the cultural perspective. In this category is found the American Anthropologist Smith Jordan who examined the issue from the perspective of kinship ties and obligations which places enormous obligations on individuals in positions to divert official resources to advance the cause of members of their social groups (Smith, 2002). Like Agogo (2002), many authors argue that the preponderance of social delinquency in society today is due to breakdown of value system.
In his work, he examined the cultural practices of the Igede people of Benue state, Middle Belt of Nigeria, as they affect concept of indiscipline and corruption in Nigeria and contended that the Igede people strongly held that the adoption of foreign values weakened the indigenous value system and is consequently responsible for rising incidence of social vices in our society today. If Nigeria is to stem the rising cases of indiscipline and corruption, it needs to reset its indigenous cultural provisions in the fight against social vices like indiscipline and corruption. From a similar viewpoint, Ezeh (2002) identified globalization, westernization and a calculated attempt at suppressing local values/culture as the factors in increasing anti-social behaviours in the society. But in self-contradiction, he contends that systemic corruption, with other deviant acts like armed robbery, Advance Free Fraud, dangerous driving are also the result of incomplete transition to post-colonial society from traditional society. This later argument draws from the modernization theory.

Aluko and Adesopo (2003) belong to another group of scholars who have devoted attention to the cultural viewpoint. In their study, these writers argued that the problem of bureaucratic corruption can be conveniently traced to several factors, notably, radical change in the value-system. They were however quick to acknowledge the effect of politics, poor reward system and unfavourable economic environment which usually leads to increase in the cost of living and corresponding fall in the standard of living among the people. But despite this, these scholars still considered bureaucratic corruption as basically a social problem, recommending radical change in value-system. In an earlier work published in 2002, Aluko (2002) maintained that culture is widely believed to be a major cause of corruption. Yet culture can also itself be negatively affected by corruption. Rooted in the sociological perspective, it posits that since all behavior is socially generated including corruption and as a social problem, it should be tackled through concerted societal efforts. In other words, it is the duty of the society to educate and mobilize its members towards a tradition of honesty, integrity and other moral virtues that will make the society a better place.

**Historical Perspectives**

The central argument of the historical perspectives is that the prevalence of corruption has to do with the history of a country or community, that is, past events that have occurred in that country or community. To that extent, prevailing corrupt tendencies of a people are only a response to unique events that occurred in the past. In the case of Africa or Nigeria in particular, most of these scholars usually point to colonial rule as the origin and basis of corruption in Africa.

Leading scholars within this school are Falola (1998), who examined how corruption was introduced into the Nigerian public service under colonial rule, especially the period between 1945-1960. Another major contributor to this perspective is Ekeh (1975) who in his famous work, ‘Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement’, contends that most of the problems evident in contemporary post-colonial Nigeria are rooted in the country’s colonial experience. For him, the experience of colonialism in Africa has led to the emergence of a unique a historical configuration: existence of two publics in post-colonial African society. One public being the civic public, and the other the primordial public. The former is believed to be amoral, while the latter is moral. The work argued that the outcome of interaction or the dialectics between the two publics in post-colonial Africa produces corruption. This arises directly from the amorality of the civil public and the legitimization of the need to take from the civil public in order to benefit the primordial public.

Lawal (2006) whose major work was titled ‘Corruption in Nigeria: A Colonial Legacy,’ also belongs to this school of thought. He argues that corruption was invented and nurtured under colonial rule during which the phenomenon became extremely pervasive in all sectors of the then emerging economy. During this time, British colonial officials, contrary to a widely held view, invented various methods of perpetrating fraud and embezzlement of public funds. As the author shows, these corrupt British officials were hardly punished by their kit-and-kin who were in charge of governance, so that over time, Nigerians inherited or began to copy some of these vices imported by Europeans. Several others have also elaborated this framework, including Aluko (2007), Osoba (1986), Pierce (2006) and Tignor (1993).
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Economy
A good number of scholars have traced the cause of corruption in Nigeria to economic factors or nature of the economy. Abubakar (1986) argues that the level and nature of corruption is influenced, not only by the nature of politics, but also the type of economic organization: the development of private vis-à-vis the public sectors; the participation of labour in the national economy and economic conditions which gave rise to the political independence. His work suggests that in a new rapidly growing market, foreign investors are caught by surprise. They are able to accumulate some profit in a short time, sometimes exceeding their expectations. Because of the economic advantages in such a market, both foreign and indigenous entrepreneurs are disposed to practice corruption in order to maintain their privileged position or expand their market share at all cost. This is why corruption is more ubiquitous in emerging economies. Another writer advancing the economic viewpoint argues that the main determinant of corruption is the issue of endemic poverty (Adebayo, 2008). Akinpelu, Ogunseye, Bada and Agbeyangi (2013) have extended this argument further by examining the short and long-run impact of key economic indicators such as gross domestic product, literacy rate, trade openness, population growth rate, value of fuel export on level of corruption in Nigeria, measured through the Corruption Perception Index of Nigeria. The study concludes that there is long-run relationship between gross domestic product, per capital income, population growth rate, value of fuel exports, literacy rate on the one hand and corruption on the other. Of all economic factors, the presence of natural resources, crude oil in this case, has received the most attention as a determinant of the level of corruption. Thus, Olagunji (2005), Akinlola (2005) and Xaivier and Arvind (2008) argue that the abundance of oil and the fact that ownership and management of the country’s oil-resources is vested absolutely in the Federal Government has exacerbated corruption, resulting in Nigeria being ranked among the most corrupt countries in the world. This is what is also known as the ‘resource curse’ theory.

Political Institutions
Scholars writing from this perspective are mainly political scientists and law scholars who argue that the structure and character of a country’s institutions, including the state and their constitutions, are the major determinants of political behaviour. The major assumption of these writers, therefore, is that contrary to some pedagogic belief, corruption in developing countries, such as Nigeria, is not only a culturally embedded phenomenon but also an institutional problem which can be contained, to a reasonable degree, by institutional restructuring (Enweremadu, 2012: xvii). These scholars have, for example, blamed Nigeria’s high level of corruption on the weaknesses of governmental institutions, like democracy, political parties, public services or even federalism. From this school of thought, Bach (1989) and Suberu (1998) in their separate works show how Nigerian federalism, being decentralized political System characterized by two factors, namely politically fragmented political order and regular creation of political sub-units, contributed significantly to corruption.

To begin with the latter, creation of new states and local councils, which was capped with a specific formula for the distribution of federal revenue among the federating states and local councils, and the institutionalization of the ‘federal character’ principle, provided opportunities to spread development to previously inaccessible regions and for increased local political participation, but also for excessive corruption and rent-seeking on the part of the ruling elites and their cronies in the private sectors. Bach has termed this process the ‘boomerang effects of Nigerian federalism’ (Bach, 1989).

The second factor has to do with a highly fragmented political system characterized by multiple layers of antagonistic semi-autonomous political authorities and frequent changes of government arising from intra-elite struggle for positions. This then heightened corruption because it encouraged political leaders to be short-sighted in their calculations and to place their individual survival above the exigencies of national development (Suberu, 1998; Lewis, 2007). For instance, officials fearing that their tenure of office could be cut short, were encouraged to steal what they could as quickly as possible. In other words, the nature of corruption and governance in Nigeria, is not only informed by the decentralized institutional arrangements in place, but also the country’s notoriously volatile political
atmosphere, punctuated by violent ethno-religious competition for power (Enweremadu, 2013).

The character of Nigerian federalism and its propensity to generate corruption has also been captured in the concept of “prebendalism” (Joseph, 1987), which borders on illicit appropriation and clientelist redistribution of state patronage in an atmosphere of fierce ethnic and regional competition. Politicians who occupy public office are expected to use their position to amass resources for themselves and members of their primary groups, or else they lose their relevance.

Apart from federalism, laws and the constitutions are other types of political institutions that scholars believe have predisposed people to corruption in Nigeria. Akinseye-George, (2000) provides insights into this perspective while trying to establish the relationship between the Nigerian legal system, corruption and Governance. He argues that the phenomenon of corruption has been nurtured by weak the legal system in Nigeria. After reviewing the existing anti-corruption provisions, he concludes that these legislations, especially the outdated criminal and penal codes are not effective or sufficient to serve as deterrents against corrupt behavior, necessitating an urgent review.

Nature and Extent of Corruption

Until very recently, an overwhelming majority of academic researches and other publications on corruption in Nigeria were undertaken principally to shed more light on the multifaceted nature of corruption and its growing scale as measured by the amount of money or assets involved. Within the first group we find studies examining corruption as it occurs in a wide range of sectors like the private economic sector, the public sector including bureaucracy, states and their local government, the military and other law enforcement agencies, the judiciary, educational institutions, and so on.

Among those focusing on the private sector is Adeleke (2003), who from a broad perspective examines the system of corruption in the private sector which was found to have been not only as serious as, but also nurtured and sustained by the endemic nature of corruption, in the public sector. Others have focused on specific sections of the private sectors. These include Utigikar (1986), Oyewobi, Abdullahi and Nwokobia (2011), and Adewale, Siyanbola and Fasasi (2011) who studied corruption in the construction industry, especially fraudulent contract practices which were held to be one of the major areas of rising corruption. Other scholars such as Babalola (2007), Idolor (2010), Kanu and Okorafor (2013), Nwankwo (2013) and Echebiri (2011) focused on corruption and fraud in the banking sector, which they considered a major threat to Nigeria’s economic progress. Cant, Wiid and Kallier (2013), on the other hand, examined patterns of corruption and fraud in small scale business. Also of note are the works on the role of multinational companies in corrupt practices, one of the areas that have received comparatively lesser attention (Otusanya, 2011).

With respect to the public sector, we have a large number of studies which have focused on the nature of corruption in various public institutions or subsectors. For instance, Aluko and Akinola (2005), Falola (1998) and Aluko and Adesopo (2003) examined bureaucratic corruption, showing its huge impact on Nigeria’s development, while Apeji (1986) and Adebisi, Adebisi and Arogundade (2012) addressed corruption within the educational sector, highlighting its implications for national development. Among those focusing on the educational subsector are also found studies that focus on corruption at both the secondary (Jimoh and Omorogbe, 2012), as well as the post-secondary levels of education (Nzeakor, 2002). For the judiciary, we have studies such as those of Olufokunbi (1986), Fadayomi (1991), Oyebode (1996), Babatunde Sr. (2011) and Hill (2011), which examine the extent of judicial corruption in Nigeria which they showed to be very high, while Onwueme (1986), Oluwaniyi (2011) and Enweremadu (2017) examined corruption as it affects the Police. Corruption in Health Care Delivery System in Nigeria was the focus of Adebola (2007). Another area of public sector corruption that has attracted significant attention is local government corruption. The seriousness of this issue has been analyzed by writers like Adams (2002) who studied corruption in Nigeria’s local government system, while demonstrating its huge implication for rural development, Aiyede (2003) who examined local government corruption from the perspective of ethics and Adeyemi (2012) and
Aluko (2006) who looked at the core issues involved in local government corruption. Mohammed (2007) sheds more light on the phenomenon of legislative corruption, while Agbaje (1996) demonstrated the implication of political parties in corruption in the context of democratization, making his work one of the few studies that have examined corruption among political parties. Eze’s (2002) focus on corruption in the field of sports is also relevant as it represents a new area of research requiring urgent attention. Agubamah (2009) which compares corruption in civilian and military regimes is also another relatively less researched area. His finding showed there was no significant difference between the two types of regimes as far as corruption is concerned.

There are also studies which examine the trend of corruption occurring during the elections, their causes, implications and possible solutions. Ehwarieme (2011), Okoye (2013) Enweremadu (2011) and Hoffmann (2010) provide good accounts of how such form of corruption undermines democratic development and political stability and what can be done about them.

**Impact and Cost of Corruption**

The last area of corruption research to be reviewed here is the impact of corruption on the Nigerian state and its people. Given its endemic and multidimensional nature, corruption has had multiple consequences, including national reputation, political stability, erosion of social values, environmental degradation and economic performance. Over the years, scholars have examined challenges faced in these areas which are seen as the different consequences of corruption. Ogundiya (2010) stressed the effect of corruption on democratic stability in Nigeria; Idris (2013) analysed corruption as a trigger of insecurity in Nigeria; while Agbu (2003) focused on demonstrating how corruption is driving human trafficking. In his study, Ayodele (2006) emphasized the link between corruption and poverty in Nigeria. Danlami (2006) was concerned with the effect of corruption on the advancement of Persons with Disabilities, while Enweremadu (2011) examined the relationship between oil, corruption, and violent conflict in the Niger Delta. Perhaps the most debated area in corruption studies is the assumed link between corruption and development. Several works have supported that linkage in respect of Nigeria. The work of Agbiba (2012) and Bello-Imam (2004) are very relevant in that regard. However, Enweremadu (2013), who studied Nigeria and Indonesia (1967-1998) from a comparative perspective, has questioned that linkage.

**Research on Anti-corruption**

Over the last decade, scholarly attention has progressively shifted away from analyzing the cause, nature and consequences of corruption, to examining the strengths and weaknesses of the various anti-corruption initiatives and strategies being put in place by various stakeholders and the relative implication and contributions of each of these stakeholders in such struggles. Some of the initiatives and stakeholders that have attracted significant scholarly attention include legislative provisions, anti-corruption agencies (ACAs), civil society, international community and legislators.

**Legislative Provisions**

One of the initiatives that have received significant attention of scholars is the adoption and implementation of anticorruption laws. Nigeria boasts of an impressive array of anti-corruption legislations including ICPC Act 2000, EFCC (Establishment) Act 2004, Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal Act 1989, Fiscal Responsibility Act 2007, Public Procurement Act 2007, Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Act 2007, and Freedom of Information Act 2011. The country is also a signatory to several international legal instruments such as the African Union Convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption 2003 and United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) 2003. Scholars have highlighting the unique provisions, strengths and limitations of the legal instruments. Among the anti-corruption legislations which have received the most attention are the ICPC Act and EFCC Act (Kolajo, 2002; Igbudu, 2008), constitutional provisions, such as the criminal and penal codes (Bello, 1991), Money Laundering Act (Okogbule, 2007) and the Public Procurement Act (Jacob, 2010). Igwenyi (2010), Okediran (2006) and Agbovo and Atsegbua (2013) examine the challenges associated with applying these laws. Generally, Nigeria’s inability to successfully apply these laws is seen as the major cause of the failure.
of the anti-corruption drive. From a slightly different perspective, Ngwakwe (2009) offers an Analysis of jurisdictional conflicts among anti-corruption laws and institutions in Nigeria, while Olagoke (2004) was concerned with the extra-territorial scope of anti-corruption legislations in Nigeria, which both limit Nigeria’s battle to curtail corruption according to these scholars.

Anti-corruption agencies
The creation and operation of anti-corruption agencies (ACAs) have perhaps received even greater attention. Detailed analysis of the prospects and challenges involved in operating such agencies can be found in works of scholars such as Adebanwi (2010), Adebanwi and Obadare (2011), Aiyede (2006) and Igwilo (2009). We also find an analysis of anti-graft agencies in the works of Ngwube and Okoli (2013), Waziri (2013), Eme and Okoh (2011), Enweremadu (2006, 2010, 2012) among many others. Taken together, these studies have highlighted the modest achievements of these agencies, especially in the area of public enlightenment/education and awareness; investigation, arrest and prosecution of several individuals, including some highly placed officials; recovery of stolen public assets and enforcement of some provisions of national and international anti-corruption laws. But they also identified some key challenges confronting Nigeria’s anti-corruption war, including politicization of the anti-corruption fight, loopholes in existing laws, administrative problems like inadequate resources and manpower available to ACAs and limited domestic and international political will. The problem of internal corruption which undermines the capacity and efficiency of some of these agencies, notably, the Police, have also been highlighted (Enweremadu, 2017; Akubo, 2015).

Clearly, enormous efforts have been invested in analyzing the Operations of ACAs in Nigeria. However, several gaps still remain to be filled. Firstly, an overwhelming majority of studies focusing on the operation of ACAs, especially over the last decade, have focused on the EFCC and ICPC. Other key anti-corruption agencies such as the Code of Conduct Bureau, Bureau for Public Procurement and the Special Control Unit for Money Laundering have not attracted significant attention. This imbalance is largely informed by the fact that these other agencies have not been receiving much attention from successive governments, and are relatively new, in terms of the date when they were created. However, even the Code of Conduct Bureau which has existed from the 1990’s has also received little or no attention. Secondly, the studies that have been done have not been cross-country in nature, which means that Nigerians cannot benefit from the experience of other countries, notably countries where these bodies have been relatively effective such as Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea.

Civil Society
Works dealing with the involvement of civil society in the struggle against corruption also abound. Some of these works include Adegbite (1991), Benjamin (2006), Okeshola (2009) and Aderonmu (2011), who stressed the crucial role of civil society actors in the war against corruption. They underline the weaknesses of the civil society as an anti-corruption agent. Some of the studies on civil society have focused on specific civil society groups such as religious bodies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). In this category is Adebayo (2013) who dwells on the imperative for integrating religion in the anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria, using an Islamic perspective and Akpabio (2005) and Nwaomah (2007), who call attention to the role of the Christian church in Nigeria’s anti-corruption campaign. Similarly, Alanamu, Adeoye and Yinusa (2009), Al-Tukry (2007) and Moshood (2007) draw attention to the role of Islam in combating corruption in Nigeria. Unlike religions and religious groups, works focusing on the role of NGOs in anti-corruption are very rare, with the possible exception of Enweremadu (2010). Other civil society actors such as the media, ethnic associations, professional groups and labour unions have received even less attention.

International actors
Scholarly writings on the contributions or involvement of international bodies in Nigeria’s ongoing campaign against corruption are unfortunately rare. This is rather surprising, considering the huge role the international community has played in encouraging anti-
corruption reforms, especially following the return to civil rule in 1999 and the support they continue to give to various anti-corruption actors in Nigeria. However, few studies have been published to show the utility of these actors as well as their limitations. Goodling (2003), for example, examines how U.N. Global Programme can help resolve Nigeria's corruption problem. Enweremadu (2013) which offers a detailed account of President Obasanjo’s international effort to recover some of Nigeria’s funds in foreign territories and Enweremadu and Kodi (2011) which evaluated UNDP supported public accountability programmes in Nigeria (2010-2011), also offers more insight into the prospects and challenges involved in fighting corruption in Nigeria with the support of international actors. Obviously, more effort is still needed in this direction.

The Legislature and Legislators
Nigerian legislatures, especially those at the national level, are widely perceived as major purveyors of corruption. Ironically, the legislature is among the most important pillars of good governance. This contradiction has been the subject of a growing number of scholarly publications. These include Alabi and Fashagba (2010) and Lafenwa (2010a, 2010b). Other works written from that perspective include Mohammed (2007), which also stressed how legislative corruption negatively impacts on democratic sustenance in Nigeria.

Conclusion
From the above review, it is clear that both corruption and anti-corruption are subjects that have attracted and continue to attract scholarly attention. Many areas of corruption and anti-corruption research have been well covered by existing literature and are readily available for use by policy makers. In respect of corruption, these include research dealing with the causes, nature and effect of corruption, and in the area of anti-corruption, issues such as anti-corruption legislations, anti-corruption agencies and international involvement in Nigerian anti-corruption projects have received attention. That also applies to the role of civil society and legislature in anti-corruption.

However, while some areas of corruption and anti-corruption research appear to be well covered, or even over-flogged, some equally important ones have received very little attention. For instance, among numerous anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria, only the ICPC and EFCC have received significant scholarly attention. Other ACAs have unfortunately been ignored. Similarly, while the anti-corruption roles and contributions of several important actors have been adequately highlighted, the roles and contributions of some others have not been reflected in existing research in any significant way. These include crucial actors like international community, sub-national authorities, the legislature, the judiciary, business/private sector operators and civil society actors like the media, ethnic movements, professional groups and labour unions.

Also extant corruption and anti-corruption studies in Nigeria appear to have neglected some key areas or issues of corruption, which are relevant in Nigeria. One of such issues is academic corruption among high institutions, including examination fraud, plagiarism and diversion of research grants. Similarly, virtually all studies done in the fields of corruption and anticorruption in Nigeria have been based on the single country case-study approach. Only a few studies, such as Enweremadu (2010, 2013), employed cross country case-study approach. Evidently, there is an urgent need for research focusing on corruption and anti-corruption in Nigeria to broaden focus and take into account all of these shortcomings, in order to assure a more robust and balanced account of the phenomena of corruption and anti-corruption Nigeria.

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