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CHAPTER THREE

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INTRODUCTION

The existence of different types of corruption (Cuervo-Cazurra 2008; Rummyantseva, 2005) makes it difficult to have one singular definition of the act. However, several studies (UNDP, 2014; Akçay, 2006; Olken, 2007) have in a generally accepted definition of corruption, pinned it down to the abuse of public power for private benefit. In whatever forms that corruption take place, the consequences are often very grave for citizens and the development of nations.

According to Annan (2004, Foreword), corruption “has a wide range of corrosive effect on societies. It undermines democracy and the rule of law, leads to violations of human rights, erodes the quality of life and allows organized crime, terrorism and other threats to human security to flourish.”

Owing to its disturbing intensity, the world came together in 2003 to sign the United Nations convention against corruption and warns that corruption constitute a threat to “the stability and security of societies, undermining the institutions and values of democracy, ethical values and justice and jeopardizing sustainable development and the rule of law” (UNODC, 2004, p. 5). In coming together to tackle the problem of corruption, the gathering of world leaders identified information as a crucial instrument in the execution of the anticorruption crusade. Article 13 of the convention that focused on the participation of society states that measures should be taken to raise public awareness concerning the existence, causes and magnitude of the danger posed by corruption. Also contained in Article 13 is the need for the countries of the world to mobilize non-public sector individuals, civil society, non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations in the prevention and war against corruption (UNODC, 2004).

Article 13 further itemises some key points that would enhance society participation in the anticorruption programme. These are:

Enhancing the transparency of and promoting the contribution of the public to decision-making processes;
Ensuring that the public has effective access to information;
Undertaking public information activities that contribute to non-tolerance of corruption, as well as public education programmes, including school and university curricula;
Respecting, promoting and protecting the freedom to seek, receive, publish and disseminate information concerning corruption. That freedom may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided for by law and are necessary (UNODC, 2004:15).

With regards to information for successful enforcement of the world convention against corruption, world leaders have the same viewpoint as Stapenhurst (2000) who believes that the execution of development programmes by development agencies is greatly dependent on knowledge and information. Scholars such as (Aderonmu, 2011; Bertot, Jaeger, & Grimes, 2010; DiRienzo, Das, Cort, & Burbridge, 2007; Pillay, 2004) all see information as a vital and important resource for development programmes such as the anti-corruption crusade ignited by the United Nations convention against corruption.

Again the United Nations in 2011 convened a special event held in the context of the Fourth Session of the Conference of the States Parties to the United Nations Convention against Corruption and agreed that “anti-corruption is everybody's business; that corruption is tied to the success of all of MDGs; and that poverty combined with revulsion against corruption has triggered revolt in the MENA region” (UN, 2011:17). To help curb corruption, it was resolved that there should be citizens' engagement in the implementation of the MDG policies. The citizens, the Workshop Report stated, can be engaged through public institutions such as civic engagement, participatory budgeting, NGOs, political parties, trade unions, and other professional associations. To mobilise the public, the report stressed the fact that availability and accessibility of information is very crucial and should be deployed with the assistance of existing institutions and tools as opposed to brand new tools (UN, 2011).

The 2011 Workshop Report noted the case of Transparency International in its Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres (ALACS), a programme implemented in pilot countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and Romania and which has spread to 45 countries around the world with success stories. What Transparency International did was to encourage citizens to report cases of corruption while it provides the necessary legal support and also doing case advocacy where citizens have been victimized. To support public advocacy, statistical data was gathered from complaints made by citizens.

Anam (2002) reported how a weekly political debate program called Bangladesh Sanglap succeeded in correcting the negative findings in the Pulse of Bangladesh” survey by raising citizens awareness about corruption from its near zero level. According to the writer, the debate program through the encouragement of active citizen participation and mobilisation of civil society, made it possible for 'common' citizens to take elected officials to task for explanation and for officials to respond by explaining government policies and decisions in the open.

New Tactics in Human Rights (2010) conversation on 'empowering citizens to fight corruption' was centred on building awareness, mobilising allies, resisting and disrupting abuses. It stated that due to the mobilization of citizens' participation against corruption, in the past 10 years there has been:

A grass-roots, bottom-up "eruption against corruption" - to borrow a popular slogan from the Fifth Pillar movement in India. Citizens can and are fighting to curb corruption in their communities and countries. They are organizing and strategically using nonviolent actions such as: civil disobedience; petitions; vigils; marches; sit-ins; Right to Information laws, demanding information; monitoring/auditing of authorities, budgets, spending and services; social networking and blogging; coordinated low-risk mass actions; creation of parallel or independent institutions; social and economic empowerment initiatives; street theatre; songs; humour; and public pledges (New Tactics in Human Rights, 2010:1)

New Tactics in Human Rights (2010) opined that mobilisation of citizens against corruption is necessary because they are the ones that are directly affected by acts of corruption and possess civic power and can utilize civil resistance and nonviolent tactics to mount pressure on the higher-ups. The conversation covers or makes reference to cases of citizens' participation against corruption in different countries. It points out how Armenia Anti-corruption advocates, youth groups and environmental activists are using humour, video, animation, and creative nonviolent street actions to protect the environment from illegal building and commercial development, how the youth driven "enough" MJAFT campaign in Albania is being used to increase citizen participation, promote good governance, fight corruption and improve social justice and how the "I Vote" report disseminates the results of civic monitoring of Albanian legislative activity and equally narrates how a group of young Orange Movement, Kuwait men and women, communicating through text messages, launched the "Orange Movement" against political corruption.

In Nigeria, the war against corruption is waged with the support of the media though not a planned or organized media campaign that can be identified as such. For instance, Sowunmi, Raufu, Oketokun, Salako, and Usifoh (2010) state that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria achieved success with media support. Though the author could not specifically indicate how the media was deployed or the method by which it was used to support EFCC efforts.

The media in Nigeria has sporadically busted cases of corrupt practices to its credit. In 1999, Salisu Buhari - Nigeria's Speaker House of Representatives, quit his office in tears following allegations of forgery and perjury levelled against him by the media (Dare, 2011). Those indicted in the Nigeria Port Authority (NPA) probe of 2004 were persecuted only after a prolonged and consistent war waged by the Nigerian media (Sowunmi, Raufu, Oketokun, Salako, & Usifoh, 2010). There were also tales of corruption and violence that greeted the Ekiti State re-run election in 2009 (Onapajo, 2014).

Thus, the anti-corruption drive in Nigeria enjoys the support of the media, notwithstanding the fact that there are no identifiable communication campaigns such as the type indicated in the UN convention against corruption or as noted in the mobilisation of citizens to participate in anti-corruption movements in Bangladesh, India, Armenia, Albania, and Kuwait.

The Problem

In Nigeria, corruption is widespread. The huge sums of money pumped into the Nigerian economy from the various productive sectors can to a large extent not be accounted for (Ogbeidi,

2012; Thomas and Canagarajah, 2002). In the period spanning year 2000 to 2009, the Federation Account received oil revenue totalling the sums of N34.2 trillion and N7.3 trillion respectively from the non-oil sector, which represents about 82.36% and 17.64% (Baghebo and Atima, 2013). To Wurthmann (2006:9), the sale of crude oil in Nigeria has generated an estimated \$600 billion since the 1960s.

The country has persistently maintained a low score card in the Transparency International Annual Corruption Reports rather than make progress (Trading Economics, 2017). The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2017) adds the information that 95 percent of Nigerians indulged in bribery. In a news report by Rita Okoye that was published in the Daily Post, August 31, 2012, Dr. Oby Ezekwesili, the then Vice President for Africa of the World Bank stated that: “a review has confirmed that over \$400 billion of the nation's oil revenue has either been stolen or misappropriated since Nigeria gained independence in 1960”.

Official misuse of funds and resources abound in Nigeria (Dike, 2005). The Belgore Commission of Inquiry into the “Cement Armada” scandal found the Gowon government culpable of defrauding the nation (Ejovi, Mgbonyebi, and Akpokighe 2013). Ikpeze (2013) identified corruption as the most formidable problem confronting Nigeria. For Junior (2015), corruption is responsible for Nigeria losing about 40 percent oil revenue. Ojukwu and Shopeju (2010) reported that the Gulf Windfall money that accrued to Nigeria during the military regime of President Ibrahim Babangida which amounted to \$12.4 billion oil revenue was never accounted for. In the First Republic, Ogbeidi (2012), explained that the leadership of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister and Nnamdi Azikwe as President was characterised by massive corruption, as looting of public fund reigned supreme.

The noticeable grip corruption has on Nigeria informed the decision of the Government of President Mohamadu Buhari to identify it as a major problem when it assumed office on 29th May 2015. The Buhari Government quickly reinvigorated the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT), the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC), and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in a major effort to combat corruption. The government also instituted the Treasury Single Account (TSA), Bank Verification Number (BVN), and review of anti-corruption laws and drafting of anti-corruption strategy document all in an effort to stymie the strong wave of corruption in Nigeria.

The Nigerian National Anti-Corruption Strategy document encompasses the Buhari Government's effort to remove Nigeria and Nigerians from the strong grip of corruption. The anti-corruption strategy document released in 2017 revolves around three central themes of strengthening the legal and institutional framework established to prevent and combat corruption, improving the environment for transparency, accountability and integrity as well as sustaining corruption control (Premium Times, 2017, July 18).

But can the Government effectively tackle the problem of corruption without the involvement of Nigerians? The way it is, communication which entails the dissemination of information remains the best way through which Governments can rally the support of its citizenry for communicated anti-corruption policies. This explains why the participation of the society is included in the United Nations convention against corruption. DiRienzo, Das, Cort, and Burbridge (2007) state that access to information helps to lower national corruption level.

In some publications by development communication associations (Community Tool Box, 2017; O'Casey, 2002), it is stated that only through the dissemination of information can the public comprehend the issues involved in the development programmes' campaign. It is when citizens have a clear understanding of the issues canvassed that their support can be given. Gaining the support of the public will in turn lend credibility to the development programmes and make the public take ownership of such development programmes. However, the Buhari Government's anti-corruption strategy document lacks a communication component. How then does the Government intend to disseminate information about communicated anti-corruption policies?

According to Jegede (2007), lack of information about a programme could spell doom for such a programme. The author highlighted the case of the 2003 failed polio campaign in Northern Nigeria as a good example. He said the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) campaigners could not muster public trust essential in the campaign to eradicate polio as opinion leaders in the areas of operation lacked understanding of what the campaign is all about. The immunisation campaign was brought to a halt as political and religious leaders in Kano, Zamfara, and Kaduna states ordered parents not to allow their children to be immunised, alleging that the vaccine was contaminated with anti-fertility agents.

Anam (2002) narrated how the citizens of Bangladesh failed in a "Pulse of Bangladesh" survey conducted by the BBC World Service Trust in 2005 to consider corruption as an important matter in a less than 12 percent rating and also could not identify unemployment and transportation issues as consequences of corruption.

In the business of development programmes, anti-corruption agencies also need information to respond to media queries. Since information on its own does not just happen, it has to be filtered through the media. Anti-corruption agencies that fail to partner with the media stand the risk of the media working against its programme goals and objectives. Byrne, Arnold, and Nagano (2010) reported the case of the Human Resources Development scandal in Canada where a correctable management problem was blown out of proportion because of the inability of Human Resources Department to obtain necessary information from its internal auditors for the purpose of responding to media enquiries.

Deane (2004), Waisbord and Larson (2005), Warah (2004), and Inagaki (2007) warned that communication is accorded very little place or no place at all in government /development agencies campaign efforts. Findings in the works of several scholars and major studies (Deane, 2004; Waisbord and Larson, 2005; Warah, 2004; Inagaki, 2007; Okunna, 2002; Yoo, 2006; Singh, 2002; UNESCO, 2017) claim that it is only through a workable information dissemination strategy that awareness and knowledge can be created about development programmes.

Given the above scenarios where the absence of information or the mismanagement of it could spell doom for development programmes, the question can be asked of the fate of the Buhari Government's anti-corruption initiative in the absence of a communication strategy to drive it. It will be worth the while to ask how the government intends to educate, provide access to information and mobilise citizens' participation in such a way that Nigerians will know in the words of Odo (2015:185-187) that:

For every ghost worker, one person has been denied employment, for every corrupt practice in the health sector, a life is put in jeopardy, and lives are ruined. Corruption raises moral questions on individuals and national probity and

accountability. It burdens the private sector and deters foreign and domestic investments; the cost of corruption often falls disproportionately on the poor who are unable to pay bribes and thus, may be denied essential services. It undermines public trust in government and prevents the emergence of necessary ingredients for socio-economic and political development; It explains that corruption is a key factor in every crisis that had rocked the Nigerian nation since independence; asks the question why the more fertilizers and agrobusiness, yet the more the unavailability of food at affordable prices; the more electric power stations, the less electricity supply; the more policemen with guns and walkie-talkies, the more the crime rate. Corruption in elections reduces the legitimacy of governments, accountability and representation in policy-making; it also distorts the playing field, shielding companies with connections from competition and thereby sustaining inefficient companies and in the judiciary, corruption suspends the rule of law and erodes public confidence in the administration of justice (Odo, 2015: 185-187).

Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the extent to which Government mobilises public opinion to support its communicated Anti-Corruption Policies in Nigeria and with specific reference to the South-South Zone. In achieving this general objective, the following specific objectives were examined:

- i. To determine whether citizens level of education and sensitization have influenced public opinion in support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone
- ii. To ascertain whether citizens access to available information on corruption has influenced public opinion in support of communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone.
- iii. To investigate whether citizen participation has influenced public opinion in support of communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone.

Hypothesis

Ho: Citizens level of education and sensitization, access to available information on corruption and participation have not significantly influenced public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone.

Literature Review

According to *Miller (2005)*, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, the German political scientist who propagated the spiral of silence theory, articulated why people will rather remain silent with a minority view or decide to join forces with proponents of a dominant view. Miller stressed the fact that Noelle-Neumann's prognosis on how the concepts and principles of spiral of silence help to unravel the direction of public opinion, brought to the fore the need to load up the dominant view. Thus, in the cross current that powers the spiral of silence grid, the essence of the morality in anti-corruption campaigns can be used to rally support in the crusade against corruption and pull more people out to speak against it (*Miller, 2005*).

The dominant view theory does not reside only with the majority. There is a difference here between the majority view point and the loudest prevailing reasonable views that may even reside with the minority. Development communication strategists must therefore know when to gather scattered voices and build them to become the leading voices or make such voices to be on the side of the leading voice.

The above position is supported by Byrne, Arnold and Nagano (2011) who assert that systemic change will only occur when anti-corruption agencies are able to garner public support for particular development programmes. de Quelen (2008) narrated how in the Philippines, the Transparent Accountable Governance (TAG) laid out the enabling environment to achieve systemic change through its gathering of public support where credible messengers used credible messages backed by research and evidence to engage people.

Bauer (2014) in 'how Communication can help break the chain of corruption in the private sector' presented a systematic model whereby internal communication with company employees and external communication with company partners can help mobilise support for the campaign on why it is critical to stop small scale bribery by providing reasons why the act is inappropriate. The author talked about building staff integrity level while collective action and internal dialogue can be applied to sway external public support to make the private sector a partner in the fight against corruption for integrity compliance.

Marquette (2014:4) in "communication in anti-corruption work: articulating messages to structure a communication plan," a background document for the anti-corruption task team of the OECD-DAC Governance Network, discussed four questions around which any communication strategy aimed at mobilising public support against corrupt practices must attempt to answer. The questions are:

1. "What is corruption and why is it important in development? What is the impact of corruption on development?"
2. "What do we know about the public in DAC countries' perceptions about corruption in development aid? Have these changed over time? How do these compare with public perceptions of corruption elsewhere?"
3. "How can we measure corruption? What do current measures tell us? How are these measures being used to shape policy and make decisions on aid allocations, aid instruments, etc.?"
4. "What are donors currently doing in the fight against corruption (past and current trends, tools and approaches)? In particular, what are the complexities in protecting aid funds with the increased trend in using developing countries' own systems for the management, safeguards and reporting on the use of funds (through budget support, sector wide approaches, working in conflict settings, etc.)?"
5. "What has worked? What has not worked?" (Marquette, 2014, p. 4)

To Marquette, answering these questions would power and produce a communication document that would be effective in creating dominant opinions garnered through the rallying of public support to help people take actions that can push against the practices of corruption.

When a dominant view becomes the leading opinion, it ignites a spiralling progression whereby one group will loudly express its view while the other would rather choose to remain silent. Opinions are moulded in the process and a gradual change in attitudes effected. The views propagated can either be positive or negative. When the opinion foisted is negative, it can have dire consequences. The case of the Rwanda genocide comes handy here. The instrumentality of Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTL) was used to push to the background the voices of opposition to hate filled broadcast of (RTL). After President Habyarimana's plane was shot down, the radio called for a "final war" to "exterminate the cockroaches," referring to Tutsi as cockroaches (Smith, 2003). The presence of a United Nation anti-hate broadcast station

to block the RTLM frequencies at that time in point would have reversed the negative propagandist images the dominant spiral effect have on the minds of the Hutu's and would have saved the over 800,000 souls recorded to have been consumed in the wake of the genocide.

In 2003, rumour mongers became the dominant voices in the polio rejection saga in Northern Nigeria. Five states suspended the Oral poliovirus vaccines (OPV) on the ground that it is an "American conspiracy to spread HIV and cause infertility in Muslim girls" (Raufu, 2002). The high-ranking public figures blamed for the spread of the rumour may have had their way because the agency involved in the polio programme may have undermined the role of communication in the process. It was after the problem had been created that top development communicators were contacted to address it. According to Professor Onuora Nwuneli, there is this arrogance among agency campaigners who always have the notion they can achieve their campaign goal(s) without communication (Interview with Professor Nwuneli). To corroborate the views of Nwuneli, Hignett (2017) noted that project failures can be linked to poor communication.

Methods

The study employs the survey design to sample the views of every adult age 18 and above in two states of the South-South zone. The states were selected through a random sampling method from among the states in the in the South-South zone. The selected states are Bayelsa and Rivers.

The South-South Zone was picked for the study because it covers states with very rich monthly allocation from the Federation account. There are claims of massive corruption in the South-South states as allocation from the Federal Government have not been properly utilized (Osuoka, 2007). The choice of sample is obvious. The South South people are also part of Nigeria covered in the literature review where scholars have found the practice of corruption to be endemic in its different colourations.

The National Population Commission census of 2006 puts the population of the two states at 6,888,758. Bayelsa (1, 703, 358) and Rivers (5, 185, 400). This would in turn yield a population figure of 8,934,714 with a 2.7 percent projection to 2017. The sample size of 250 justified through Taro Yamane's sample size selection formula for a finite population (Little Dumb Doctor Tutorial, 2017) indicates a degree of assurance of being representative of the population of the two states from which it was drawn. The nature of the data gather through the administration of Likert scale styled questionnaire renders itself to descriptive and inferential methods of analysis. For the selection of senatorial district, local governments and rural/urban communities see table 1. The study further adopted the multi-stage sampling approach to pick male and female respondents of age 18 and above from rural/urban areas of selected LGAs and senatorial district.

Table 1: Sample Distribution to States, Senatorial Districts, LGAs and Communities.

States	Senatorial Districts	Selected LGAs from Senatorial Districts	Selected U/R localities from Selected LGAs
Rivers (125)	River Central (60)	Port Harcourt (30) Obia-Akpo (30)	Port Harcourt(U) (25) Woji(R) (25)
	River East (65)	Ahoda (30) Oba-Ebima-Ndoni (35)	Ahoda (U) (25) Omonku (R) (35)
Bayelsa (125)	Bayelsa Central (60)	Southern Ijaw (30) Kolokuma/Opurama(30)	Opurama(U) (30) Gbaran-Ekpetiama (R)(30)
	Bayelsa West (65)	Ekeremor (30) Sagbama (35)	Agbeidiama (U) (30) Sagbama (R) (35)

Source: Fieldwork, 2017.

Presentation of Result and Discussion

Data collected from the field survey was presented and analysed using the descriptive and inferential methods of analysis. A total of 250 questionnaires were distributed to respondents in the field. Out of 250 questionnaires, 221 were returned correctly filled and the other 29 were discarded. It was on the basis of the 221 that the analysis below was carried out.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents on their Socio-Demographics Characteristics

Gender	Male	145	66%
	Female	76	34%
	Total	221	100%
Age	18-28	24	11%
	29-39	76	34%
	40-50	72	33%
	>51	49	22%
	Total	221	100%
Educational Qualification	SSCE	57	26%
	OND	66	30%
	B.Sc/HND	96	43%
	M.Sc/M.Ed	2	1%
	Total	221	100%

Source: Fieldwork, 2017.

The focus in the first section of study was used to collect demographic data from respondents as indicated in table 1 above. The respondents were asked ten questions in this section. About two third of the respondents were males while the females constituted about a third of the sampled population. The sampled population is concentrated within the age range of 29 50 with over two third of the respondents. In a descending order, first degree holders, Ordinary Certificate of Education and school certificates holders have the highest number of respondents interviewed.

Table 3: Respondents Level of Awareness on Government Communication on Anti-Corruption Campaign

Awareness on Government Communication on Anti-Corruption Campaign	Aware	209	95%
	Not Aware	12	5%
	Total	221	100%
Anti-Corruption Organization	EFCC	162	78%
	ICPC	24	11%
	Code of Conduct Bureau	9	4%
	Code of Conduct Tribunal	14	7%
	Total	209	100%
Channel of Communication	Radio	51	24%
	Television	37	18%
	Magazine	20	10%
	Newspaper	30	14%
	Internet	46	22%
	Others	25	12%
	Total	209	100%

Source: Fieldwork, 2017

In table 3, respondents were asked if they had heard about the anti-corruption campaign of the Federal Government and some of the anti-corruption agencies and the sources through which they heard about the campaign. The awareness level was found to be very high at 95 percent.

Table 4: Mean response on whether citizens level of education and sensitization have influenced public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone

Items	Mean	S.D
I know it is my rights to campaign against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.35	0.46
I exercise my civic power of communicating against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.42	0.61
I utilize civil resistance to move against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.28	0.57
I know how to deploy non-violent tactics against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.48	0.72
I understand how to promote citizens actions against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.33	0.58

Source: Field work, 2017

Criterion Mean = 2.50

In table 4, the study shows whether citizens level of education and sensitization have influenced public opinion support for communicated anti-corruption policies in the South-South Zone of Nigeria. Items raised point out the level of citizens' education and sensitisation and criterion mean of 2.50 was used to measure whether citizens level of education and sensitization influences public opinion support on communicated anti-corruption policies. The result showed that the available citizens' education and sensitization have not influenced Nigerians on joining

and facilitating the war against corruption. On a specific note, Nigerians lack the knowledge on the right to campaign against corrupt practice (2.35 ± 0.46), they lack the civic power to communicate against corruption (2.42 ± 0.61), they do not in any way utilize civil resistance move against corruption (2.28 ± 0.57), they lack the knowledge on deploying non-violent tactics to fight corruption (2.48 ± 0.72) and they also do not understand how to promote citizens actions on corrupt practices (2.33 ± 0.58). By implication, Nigerians are not equipped with the necessary education to mobilise support against corruption in Nigeria.

Table 5: Mean response on whether citizens' access to available information on corruption has influence public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone

Items	Mean	SD
Nigeria Government have made useful information available for communication against corruption in Nigeria	2.36	.85
I have the Freedom to speak on corrupt practices in Nigeria	2.21	.88
The mass media is supportive towards accessing information on corrupt practices	2.24	.46
Free press without anti-press laws readily made accessing information on corruption in Nigeria possible.	2.37	.61

Source: Field work, 2017

Criterion Mean = 2.50

In table 5, the study shows whether citizens' access to available information on corruption has influenced public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone of Nigeria. Items raised point out citizens' access to available information on corruption and criterion mean of 2.50 was used to measure whether citizens' access to available information on corruption has influence public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies. From the above result it shows that Nigerians do really lack the access to information on corruption which infers that they cannot really mobilize against corruption. Specifically, the government does not give the people useful information to communicate against corruption (2.36 ± 0.85), freedom of speaking against corrupt practices in not guarantee (2.21 ± 0.88), the mass media is not given the chance to support the citizens on accessing and speaking against corruption (2.24 ± 0.46), and there is a strong anti-press law preventing the freedom of press on accessing information on corruption. By implication, Nigerians not being able to access information on anti-corruption crusade nor have the freedom to speak on corruption when there are no repressive laws indicate information dissemination on the anti-corruption crusade is very weak.

Table 6: Mean response on whether citizen participation has influence public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone

Items	Mean	S.D
Citizens are effectively mobilized against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.42	.63
There is this Freedom of Association against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.30	.74
Citizens are not victimized when mobilizing against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.67	.76
Nigeria Government support citizens when mobilizing against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.21	.69
International community support citizens when mobilizing against corrupt practice in Nigeria	2.11	.73

Source: Field work, 2017

Criterion Mean = 2.50

In table 6, the study shows whether citizen participation has influenced public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone of Nigeria. Items raised point out citizen participation, and criterion mean of 2.50 was used to measure whether citizen participation has influenced public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies. From the above result it shows the level of citizen participation does not wield enormous influence on the support for communicated anti-corruption policies in the South-South, as citizens are not effectively mobilised against corrupt practice (2.42±0.63), citizens are victimised when they even take action against corruption (2.67±0.76). Also, the level of support from both the government (2.21±0.69) and international community (2.11±0.73) on the fight against corruption through citizens' mobilisation is low compared to what is expected and actually performed in other countries. By implication, Nigerians are yet to be mobilised to participate in the anti-corruption crusade because there is a large disagreement among respondents on taking part in activities aimed at getting Nigerians involved to participate in anti-corruption crusade.

Test of Hypothesis

The following hypothesis was formulated and tested using the regression analysis statistical technique.

Ho: Citizens level of education and sensitization, access to available information on corruption and participation have not significantly influence public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone

Table 7: Regression analysis on the effect of Citizens level of education and sensitization, access to available information corruption and citizen's participation on public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone

Model	B	t-statistic	p-value
Constant	4.287	13.156	.000
Citizen level of Education and Sensitization	-.453	1.241	.245
Access to available information	-.367	1.354	.156
Citizen Participation	-1.356	0.896	.067
R²Adjusted	.178		
F-Statistics =	6.022	p-value =	.008
r-co-efficient=	.177		

Dependent Variable: public opinion against corruption; Significant level (p-value<0.05)

Table 7 shows the regression result on the effect of citizens' level of education and sensitization, access to available information on corruption and citizen's participation in public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies in the South-South zone of Nigeria. The test of hypothesis result shows that the R² adjusted of 0.178 reveals a 17.8 percent change in public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption Policies in South-South Zone of Nigeria is explained by the changes in citizen's level of education and sensitization, access to available information on corruption and citizen's participation. This result is further buttressed by the r-coefficient value of 0.177 revealing that a weak relationship exists between citizen's level of education and sensitization, access to available information on corruption and citizen's participation on the one hand and public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies on the other hand. The F-statistics value of 6.022 (p<0.05) revealed that citizens' level of education and sensitization, access to available information on corruption and citizens' participation are not particularly responsible for the influence of public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies. Finally, the t-statistics value of 1.241 (p>0.05), 1.354 (p>0.05) and 0.896 (p>0.05) revealed that there are statistical differences among the variables under study i.e. citizen's level of education and sensitization, access to available information on corruption and citizen's participation are statistically the same on the influence of public opinion support for communicated Anti-Corruption policies.

Discussion of Findings

The study found awareness level of anti-corruption communication to be very high at 95 percent. This is attributable to the effort of the government to drive the anti-corruption message across to the public. This agrees with Stapenhurst's (2000) view that execution of development programmes by governments or development agencies is greatly dependent on disseminated information. However, from the analysis derived from the mean response of respondents, the respondents could not explain or tell the purpose of the Government anti-corruption crusade, indicating that they lack understanding of the issues involved. This is in tune with Oji's (2011) findings where respondents' awareness of Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) development programmes was established to be on the average. The average awareness level not understanding, the respondents lack knowledge of the NDDC programmes because they lack

understanding of the purpose for which the NNDC programmes were put in place (Oji, 2016). The findings in this study and that of Oji (2011) and Oji (2016) only go to show that people's awareness of development programme do not necessarily translate to knowledge of such programmes.

Consequently, in the analysis carried out to ascertain if actions have been taken towards curbing corruption as a result of the anti-corruption campaign mounted by Government, the outcome shows the efforts of Government so far have been unsuccessful. The regression analysis did not show any causal relationship, the number of respondents who took actions that could result in the reduction of corrupt practices was very low. Coinciding with the views of Noelle-Neumann (1974), it is evident the government is yet to deploy available dominant voices and deploy them in the fight against corruption.

The results corroborate the negative depiction of the consequences of anti-corruption campaigns in existing literature, especially in the absence of a communication plan as reported in Nigeria's anti-corruption document (Inagaki, 2007). This explains why Marquette (2014) citing OECD, International Drivers of Corruption noted that corruption rather than reduce appears to be getting worse.¹ Thus, until government begins to take communication and the role of communication experts serious in development programmes such as the anti-corruption crusade, development programmes will continue to lag in terms of effectiveness and acceptability in Nigeria and corruption will continue to bare its fangs (Raufu, 2002; Interview with Nwuneli).

Conclusion

The challenge of corruption is endemic and Nigeria needs to check the problem. Governments' move to stymie it is in good stead but lacks a basic component of communication. The Nigerian situation therefore is not a standalone problem; but it is a problem that has dire consequences for the people of Nigeria.

Communication scholars often point out the issue of negligence of communication in development programmes. The high awareness reported in this study is a testimony to that fact. However, Government strategy lacks cohesion due to lack of a well-planned communication document to enforce it.

Communicating information on a development programme is not just about creating awareness about it. The underlining issues that create the problems in the political and social-cultural spheres must be identified and addressed. Thus, Nigerians should be able to understand the core problems that the Government aims to address in the anti-corruption crusade.

Communication is not happenstance, it requires planning. What Government has done so far is to churn out information on anti-corruption crusade. They have managed, as it is reported here, to hit the target but they failed woefully to capture the mind or sway public opinion on the side of anti-corruption. Thus, there is so much noise about fighting corruption in Nigeria while majority of Nigerians still indulge in corrupt practices or practically do not know what to do to combat it. Nothing has changed.

Recommendation

The Federal Government of Nigeria is determined to curb corruption. It has to this extent produce a working document tagged Nigerian National Anti-Corruption Strategy. The anti-corruption strategy document according to Premium Times (2017, July 18) revolves around three central

themes of strengthening the legal and institutional framework established to prevent and combat corruption, improving the environment for transparency, accountability and integrity as well as sustaining corruption control. Ironically, communication recognized as a crucial component of development programmes (O'Cass, 2002; Jegede, 2007) is left out of the government game plan to curb corruption in Nigeria.

Consequently, the Government was able to raise awareness about corruption to 95 percent. Hearing about a programme is very much different from having knowledge of the programme and knowing what to do with it. Government throwing of information about to inform Nigerians of the endemic nature of corruption in the country has not gone beyond what an unplanned effort could yield.

Thus, this study recommends that the Federal Government should constitute a high power committee of eminent scholars of communication with a brief on drafting a communication document that can help drive home the salient issues in the current anti-corruption war. This is because Nigeria needs to move beyond just throwing information about to create awareness about corruption to Behaviour Change Communication (BCC). Through BCC, the needs of Nigeria in her anti-corruption crusade as well as the awareness and knowledge level of Nigerians on the subject matter will be unveiled and proper communication strategies developed to address the problem of corruption (UNFPA, 2002).

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