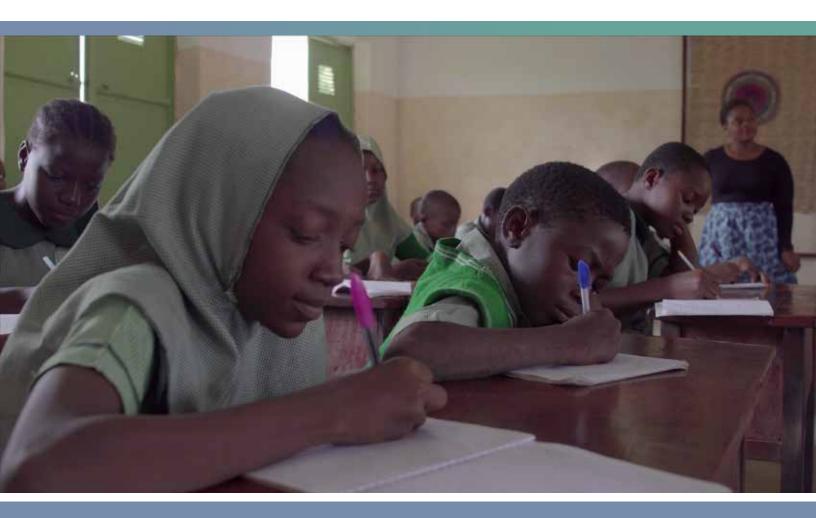


MacArthur Foundation



UNITED AGAINST CORRUPTION

Galvanizing Collective Action in Nigeria



THE YAR'ADUA FOUNDATION

The Shehu Musa Yar'Adua Foundation was established by the friends, family and associates of Shehu Yar'Adua to honour the legacy of one of Nigeria's foremost contemporary leaders.

Through its facilities and programmes, the Foundation endeavors to further the ideals of Shehu Yar'Adua; his commitment to national unity, good governance and to building a just and democratic society for all Nigerians.

The Foundation's Public Policy Initiative encourages the formulation and implementation of sustainable public policy to foster a more prosperous and inclusive nation.

CONTENTS

- 2 Executive Summary
- 3 Introduction
- 4 Message and Content Development
- 11 Stakeholder Engagement
- 16 Social Media Engagement
- On Nigeria GranteesPromoting Collaboration Among Pro-Accountablity Actors
- 26 Amplifying Investigative Reports
- 27 Deepening Anti-Corruption and Accountability Efforts
- Money and the 2019 Elections
- 32 Call To Action

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Yar'Adua Foundation, with support from the MacArthur Foundation, initiated an anti-corruption advocacy campaign to reduce retail corruption, amplify investigative reporting and galvanize community action to improve public service delivery in Nigeria.

The campaign adopted a messaging approach designed to shift cultural attitudes towards corruption at all levels of society, complimenting legal and government efforts by increasing citizen demand for accountability and transparency.

Pro-accountability stakeholders were empowered with advocacy tools to drive public conversations about accountability and transparency. The initiative provided support for collaboration among civil society organizations and investigative journalists to amplify the impact and effectiveness of their work, reaching and engaging over 2 million citizens on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube and over 9 million on radio.

Although it is too early to measure the impact of this long-term initiative, there is evidence that citizens and stakeholders are beginning to own their role in influencing collective attitudes towards corruption.



INTRODUCTION

Corruption is one of Nigeria's most critical but least understood governance challenges. Successive survey reports released by Transparency International since 2000 have placed Nigeria in the top 40 of the world's most corrupt countries. Corruption in Nigeria affects public finances, business investment and our standard of living.

It is estimated that over \$400bn was stolen from Nigeria's public funds between 1960 and 1999. Between 2005 and 2014, an additional \$182bn was lost through illicit financial flows from the country.

Nigeria has sought to tackle corruption by focusing on legal and institutional measures - including reform of public procurement and public finance management, enactment of anti-corruption laws and the establishment of various anti-corruption agencies tasked with investigating and punishing incidents of corruption. This focus on strengthening institutions and imposing tougher sanctions is critical. But innovative and complimentary efforts are required to shift cultural attitudes to corruption at all levels of society.

The Yar'Adua Foundation initiated an advocacy campaign to support demand-driven accountability in Nigeria and influence the attitudes of targeted stakeholders towards retail corruption. The campaign supported civil society organizations by amplifying the impact and effectiveness of their work, including media and journalism grantee investigative reports. It also developed and deployed messaging and innovative communication strategies.

Objectives

- Galvanize Nigerians to support the fight against corruption – making the connection between petty corruption and its impact on their social welfare.
- Highlight and amplify stories/cases of positive deviants.
- Empower citizens and stakeholders to drive and monitor accountability.
- Increase visibility of investigative anticorruption reports produced by MacArthur journalism grantees.
- Improve transparency and accountability of key government programmes.

Approach

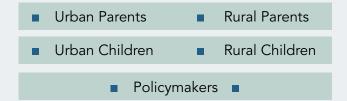
Our advocacy approach featured behavioural change messaging targeted at stakeholders considered to be critical in driving accountability in specific instances of retail corruption. Advocacy content and engagements were designed to:

- Allow audiences to explore typical acts of corruption in real-life scenarios.
- Clarify people's judgement of what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.
- Provide less personal and therefore less threatening ways of exploring negative behaviour in the context of promoting transparency and accountability.
- Convey the social costs of corruption and benefits of transparency and accountability.

MESSAGE AND CONTENT DEVELOPMENT

The Yar'Adua Foundation partnered with Neem Foundation to facilitate five focus group sessions from November 1 – November 3, 2017 at the Yar'Adua Centre. Participation was voluntary.

The objective was to identify the effectiveness of messaging approaches to drive behavioral change with respect to retail corruption. Sessions targeted citizen stakeholders from the following demographics:



Audio-visual materials and questionnaires were employed to provide meaningful direction and elicit useful reactions from 54 participants. Based on interactions, the Foundation developed messaging and engagement strategies to effectively target and galvanize stakeholders to engage in community action in the fight against corruption.

Urban Parents





27 – 41 years old



Abuja metropolis



4 women 6 men

Rural Parents





33 – 80 years old



Abuja (Galadimawa, Kabusa, Nyanya, Kuje)



4 women 6 men

Urban Children





10 – 15 years old



Abuja metropolis



El-Amin Secondary School, Abuja



7 girls 3 boys

Rural Children





7 – 15 years old



Abuja (Mararaba)



4 girls 6 boys

Policy Makers



Lessons Learned

- Messages targeting behavioral change in urban parents are most effective if there is:
 - concurrent government action and an enabling environment.
 - a clear link between the target audience's behavior and impact of corruption using relationships they have with their children.
- Rural parents place a high value on God as a solution to corruption. Gender roles appear to govern what media they consume, what spaces they occupy and what discussions they consider themselves entitled to contribute to.
- Children were more prepared to talk about their role models than adults. Role models were people within their families or public figures.
- Rural children felt that their teachers had favorites who received better treatment and they described the favorites with positive adjectives.
- Policymakers focused on solutions, power dynamics and other stakeholder points of view.

VIDEO VIGNETTES

The Foundation produced five video vignettes based on real-life scenarios as advocacy campaign tools. The vignettes served to convey the social costs of corruption and benefits of combating it to clarify people's judgement regarding what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

Femi's Monster

Femi chases his sister Tosan round the living room. She mistakenly knocks over a vase and it breaks. Femi's threat to report his sister to their mum leads to Tosan bribing Femi with her candy and food in exchange for his silence.

Femi's Monster portrays bribery as equal to corruption. Targeted at urban children, the video vignette explains that although bribery may not appear harmful, it can grow into a monster if not stopped. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3doU7-D4XM8)



Junior's Future

Junior asks his parents for help with his homework but his request is met with disregard. He goes ahead to write wrong answers in his book. As Junior and his mother leave for school, his father gives the mother an envelope containing Junior's school fees. Due to corruption in Junior's school and his parent's negligence, his education begins to suffer setbacks.

Targeted at urban parents, Junior's Future describes the consequences a child can face due to parental negligence. The video encourages parents to pay attention to the little things that could prevent corruption from stealing their child's future. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BsA69KkX1Is)



The Foolish Builder

Usman decides to pay a bribe instead of complying with building regulations. When his ceiling collapses, he discovers that the cost of corruption is greater than he thought.

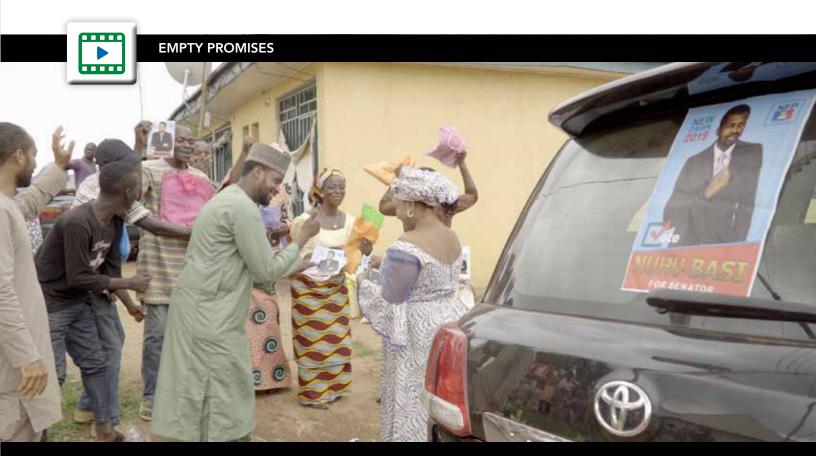
Targeted at the general public, the video vignette illustrates what happens when one decides to pay a bribe instead of complying with regulations.

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HiuRUjGZoE8)



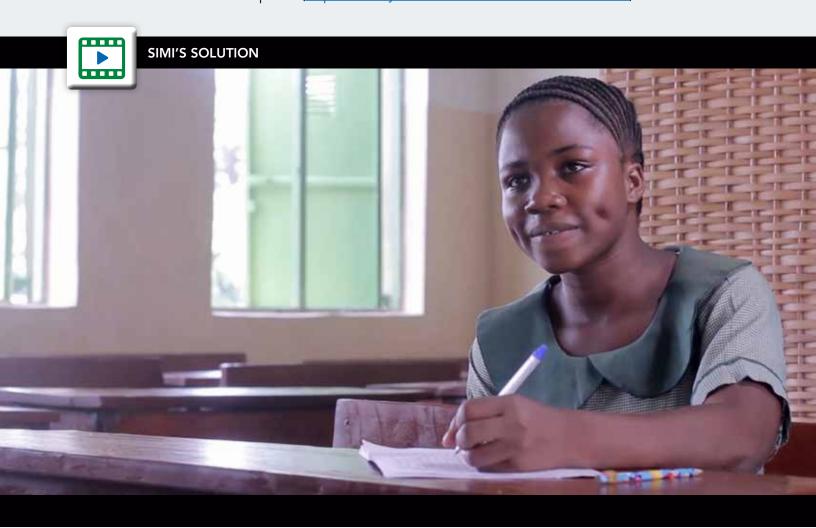
Empty Promises

Senator Nuhu Basi secures the support of women in a rural community with gifts and promises. After he wins the election, they quickly find that they cannot hold him accountable for his promise to repair their road. Empty Promises encourages the general public not to sell their votes during election periods and make efforts toward reducing retail corruption by holding key stakeholders accountable. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=AID6QpT1R2M)



Simi's Solution

Read 2 Succeed Africa was established by Simi Fajemirokun to create conducive learning spaces for pupils. They discovered that teacher absenteeism reduced, student performance improved and there was a reduction in retail corruption. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZwtHu4hRcss)



Social Media Engagement

Video Vignette	Facebook Impressions	YouTube Impressions
The Foolish Builder	47,000	123, 881
Femi's Monster	38,000	137, 028
Junior's Future	38,000	105,999
Empty Promises	66,000	122,166
Simi's Solution	39,000	119,835
Total	228,000	608, 909

STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

Stakeholder Roundtable

An Anti-Corruption Advocacy Roundtable engaged relevant policymakers, education experts and influencers to explore effective messaging that can drive behavioural change with respect to retail corruption in the education sector.

Thirty participants evaluated and discussed governance and accountability issues relevant to the fight against corruption.

Participants focused on solutions to challenges and identified individuals who could facilitate change. They proposed changes to the current state of affairs in public service delivery and suggested ways in which citizens could demand accountability. Participants also highlighted the role of government and objectives for quality service delivery.



Townhall Meetings

Anti-corruption townhall meetings in March and June 2018 provided platforms for stakeholders, civil society organizations and citizens to meet face-to-face to evaluate and discuss governance and accountability issues relevant to the fight against corruption. Radio appearances and live radio broadcasts coincided with townhall meetings. The radio broadcasts created awareness and served as a medium to engage live audiences during events. Traditional media engagement increased the scope of influence to include citizens who might not have access to digital media.

The Foundation has partnered with BEDC, CPC, SERAC, NBA, NEITI, Nextier, ICIR and SDN to widen audience participation.

Spanner in the Wheel of Corruption



The Foundation hosted a townhall to empower stakeholders and galvanize citizens to take action to improve accountability in public service delivery. The townhall featured a performance of Ken Saro Wiwa's *The Wheel*, a searing political portrayal of corruption in Nigerian society and Special Guest of Honour, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, Former Chairman, EFCC. The townhall was attended by over 250 participants, including students from academic institutions.





Panel Discussion

Pro-accountability actors representing government, media, the judiciary and citizenry discussed their role in ensuring improved accountability and transparency in public service delivery. They also responded to questions from the audience.



Aare Isiaka Abiola Olagunju, Nigerian Bar Association; Rosemary Otohwo, International Centre for Investigative Reporting; Prof. Umar Pate, Bayero University, Kano; Waziri Adio, NEITI; Moderator: Patrick Okigbo, Nextier Limited



Power Supply and the Nigerian Consumer



Power Supply and the Nigerian Consumer addressed consumer rights and responsibilities in the electricity sector. The townhall featured a satirical performance: *Blackout*, a witty portrayal of challenges to Nigeria's power supply due in part to corruption in the sector and a film segment from Shasha Nakhai's documentary, *Take Light*. Funke Osibodu, MD, Benin Electricity Distribution Company served as Guest Speaker. The townhall was attended by over 250 participants from government, the general public, academia and corporate institutions.

Panel Discussion

Panelists discussed ways to improve electricity service delivery and protect consumer rights in Nigeria.





Babatunde Irukera, Consumer Protection Council; Florence Kayemba, Stakeholder Democracy Network; Ordinary Ahmad Isah, Brekete Family; Timothy Adewale, Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP); Moderator: Amara Nwankpa, Shehu Musa Yar'Adua Foundation





Funke Osibodu, MD, Benin Electricity Distribution Company





Film Segment: Takelight







SOCIAL MEDIA ENGAGEMENT

The Foundation's social media campaigns engaged a wide audience with Little Things Matter (#LittleThingsMatter) and Full Current (#FullCurrent) that encouraged parents and the general public to combat corruption in basic education and the electricity sector. The campaigns reached over 2 million users on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube and created social incentives for action against corruption.

Social Media Messaging for Flashcards/ Infographics

The Foundation developed campaign flashcards/infographics targeted at urban parents to mobilize

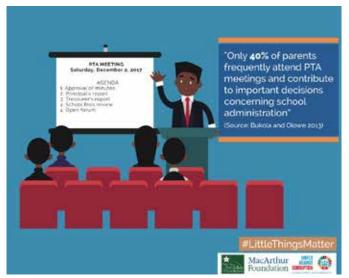
them to combat corruption in basic education. The Foundation also developed campaign flashcards/infographics targeted at Nigerian citizens to combat corruption in the electricity sector and to make the content of anti-corruption reports produced by media and civil society watchdogs more accessible to citizens.

- Key advocacy messages
- Flashcards/infographics

Flashcards and infographics were promoted on two social media platforms, Twitter and Facebook.

Reducing Retail Corruption in Basic Education

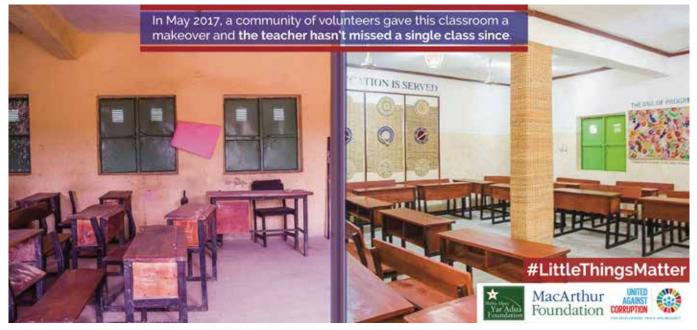












Reducing Retail Corruption in the Electricity Sector



#FullCurrent

MacArthur Foundation



FROM DARKNES

LACK OF ENERGY ACCOUNTABILITY ACF



Power Supply and the Nigerian Consumer

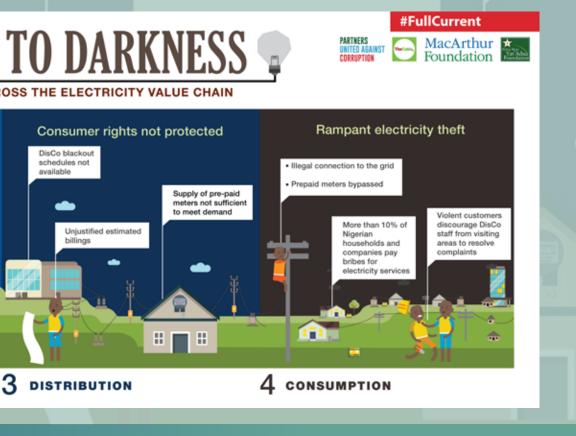
4 WAYS TO MAKE A COMPLAINT TO YOUR DISCO Phone In Call Centre Operator Write Letter To Complaint Centre Full Current Page 1 A Write Letter To Complaint Centre Full Current Walk In Frontline Officer at Complaint Centre Full Current Walk In Frontline Officer at Complaint Centre Full Current Walk In Frontline Officer at Complaint Centre Full Current

Message

You are entitled to quality service from your Disco.

Complaint Procedure

- Provide your account name, address, phone number, bills from last 3 months
- Collect your receipt and complaint ticket number for tracking
- You will receive a closure notification via SMS once your complaint is resolved



Social Media Engagement Results







ON NIGERIA GRANTEES

Promoting Collaboration Among Pro-Accountablity Actors



The Foundation designed and developed an anti-corruption portal (http://puac.yaraduafoundation.org/) to serve as an electronic repository for advocacy and campaign content. This facilitates collaboration and ease of access to advocacy material for civil society collaborators and MacArthur grantees. Since the portal was deployed, 61 grantees have uploaded information in the form of publications, flashcards, infographics and videos.

Portal Activities

Advocacy, Education, Electricity, Criminal Justice, Media and Journalism grantees uploaded publications and campaign resources (flashcards, infographics, videos and events). Online information sharing fosters stronger collaboration among grantees and strengthens efforts to promote transparency and accountability in Nigeria.









On Nigeria Grantees cont'd

Advocacy

...monitoring and reporting corruption issues and advocating for anti-corruption measures



African Centre for Leadership, Strategy & Development

Supporting Laws that Promote Transparency and Accountability

www.centrelsd.org



Arewa Research & Development Project

Amplifying Investigative News Reports and Mobilising Support for the Campaign Against Corruption

ardp-ng.org



Mobilising Citizens to Engage with Anti-Corruption Efforts

www.saynocampaign.org.ng



HEDA Resource Centre

Mobilising Community Support for Corruption Cases

www.hedang.org



Coordinating with Community Groups to Advocate for Government Accountability

www.saction.org



African Centre for Media & Information Literacy

Supporting Whistle-blowing in Federal Revenue Generating Agencies

www.africmil.org



Centre for Anti-Corruption and Open Leadership

Anti-Corruption, Accountability, Transparency and Good Governance Education for Grassroots Enlightenment Programme in Lagos And Osun States, South West, Nigeria

cacol.thehumanitycentre.com



Centre for Women and Adolescent Empowerment

Transparency & Accountability Project Adamawa and Gombe States

cwaeyola.wixsite.com/centreyola



Network for Justice

Implementation of Fight Against Corruption Campaign in Nigeria 2019 and Beyond

www.networkforjustice.org.ng



Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth & Advancement

Engaging Nigerian Youth to Organise for Anti-Corruption Initiatives

www.yiaga.org



Alliances for Africa

To Sustain and deepen anti-corruption and accountability efforts in Enugu and Ebonyi States in Nigeria

www.alliancesforafrica.org



Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution

To deepen and spread anti-corruption, transparency and accountability in Nigerian elections

www.resolutioncentre.ng



Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre

Raising Legislative Awareness to Advocate for Reform

www.cislacnigeria.net



Shehu Musa Yar'Adua Foundation

Developing Anti-Corruption Messaging and Amplifying Investigative Reports

www.yaraduafoundation.org



Youth, Adolescent, Reflection and Action Centre

Deepening and Sustaining Transparency and Accountability in Nigeria

yaracjos99@yahoo.co.uk

Criminal Justice

...implementing uniform standards for criminal justice, including corruption cases, under the Administration of Criminal Justice Act



Centre for Socio Legal Studies

Providing Technical Assistance for Implementation of the Criminal Justice Act

www.censolegs.org



Legal Defense and Assistance Project

Supporting State Level Implementation of the Criminal Justice Act

www.ledapnigeria.org



Partners West Africa Nigeria

Enhancing Citizen Participation in Judicial Processes

www.partnersnigeria.org



CLEEN Foundation

Providing Detailed Information on Corruption Cases

www.cleen.org



Nigerian Bar Association

Supporting Implementation of the Criminal Justice Act

www.nigerianbar.org.ng



International Federation of Women Lawyers

Strengthening the Capacity of Legal Professionals to Enforce the Criminal Justice Act

www.fida.org.ng



Increasing Knowledge in the Implementation of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act 2015

www.nials.edu.ng

Electricity

...promoting effective and efficient use of public resources to reduce corruption in the electricity sector



Association of Nigerian Electricity Distributors

Building Awareness of Accepted Practices in the Electricity Sector

www.anedng.com



Nextier Capital Limited

Light Improvement Through Education

www.nextierlimited.com



Promoting Accountability in the Electricity Sector

www.breketefamily.com



Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission

Improving Accountability and Public Knowledge of the Electricity Sector

www.nercng.org



Consumer Protection Council

Reducing Retail Corruption in the Electricity Sector

www.cpc.gov.ng



Stakeholder Democracy Network

Promoting Accountability in the Electricity Sector

www.stakeholderdemocracy.org

On Nigeria Grantees cont'd

Education

...promoting effective and efficient use of public resources to reduce corruption in the education sector

act:onaid

Promoting Accountability and Transparency in Kaduna State School Feeding Programme

www.actionaid.org/nigeria



Monitoring Management of UBEC Funds

www.ceddert.org



Connected Development Initiative

Strenghtening Community Based Associations

www.connecteddevelopment.org



Girl Child Concerns

Monitoring Kaduna State School Feeding Programme

www.girlchildconcerns.org



Partnership for Child Development

Improving Transparency and Service Delivery

www.hgsf-global.org



Promoting Accountability in Ogun State School Feeding Programme

www.actionhealthinc.org



Civil Society Action Coalition on Education for All

Monitoring Kaduna and Lagos State School Feeding Programmes

www.csacefa.org



Promoting Accountability in the Education Sector

http://www.cogennigeria.org



Human Development Initiatives

Reducing Corruption in the National Feeding Programme

www.hdinigeria.org



Pastoral Resolve

Strengthening Accountability for Effective Basic Education Delivery in Kaduna State

pastoralresolveng.blogspot.com.ng



Providing Data Visualisation for Anti-Corruption Partners

www.yourbudgit.com



Community Life Project

Monitoring Kaduna State UBEC Funds

www.communitylifeproject.org



Federation of Muslim Women in Nigeria

Monitoring Kaduna State School Feeding Programme

www.fomwan.org.ng



Legal Awareness for Nigerian Women

Monitoring UBEC funds

www.leads.org.ng



Public and Private Development Centre

Increasing Education Finance Transparency

www.procurementmonitor.org/ppdc/

Education cont'd



Resource Center for Human Rights & Civic Education

Supporting Kaduna State UBEC Fund Implementation

www.chricedng.org



Women Consortium of Nigeria

Enhancing Citizen Participation in Judicial Processes

www.partnersnigeria.org



Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project

Reducing Retail Corruption in the Electricity and Education Sectors

www.serap-nigeria.org



Theatre for Community Development

Promoting Accountability and Transparency

www.tfdc.org.ng



The Centre for Women's Health & Information

www.cewhin.com



The Education Partnership

Tracking Lagos State UBEC Funds

www.tepcentre.com



Universal Basic Education Commission

Improving Accountability in the Education Sector

www.ubeconline.com

Media and Journalism

...amplifying investigative reporting to expose corruption, demand government action and show successes



Tiger Eye Social Foundation

Strengthening the Investigative Capacity of Media

www.tigereyefoundation.org



Cable Newspaper Journalism Foundation

Investigating Retail Corruption in the Power and Education Sectors

www.cablefoundation.org



Sahara Reporters Media Foundation

Strengthening Investigative Journalism Capacity

www.civicmedialab.com



Bayero University Kano

Producing the Next Generation of Investigative Journalists

www.buk.edu.ng



Daily Trust Foundation

Conducting High-Quality Investigative Journalism

www.dailytrust.com.ng



Reboot

Fostering Healthy Information Ecosystems Through Technical Support To Journalists And Media Organizations

www.reboot.org



Premium Times Centre for Investigative Journaism

Investigating Financing, Security and Terrorism

www.ptcij.org



International Centre for Investigative Reporting

Strengthening the Capacity of Journalists to Investigate Procurement Processes

www.icirnigeria.org



Wole Soyinka Centre for Investigative Journalism

Monitoring Nigerian Regulatory Agencies

www.wscij.org

Amplifying Investigative Reports

On June 19, 2017 the Cable Newspaper published an investigative report on the death of three Queens College students resulting from diarrhoea. The report linked decades of mismanagement to poor water supply infrastructure in the school.

Between September 5 and October 10, 2018, the Foundation partnered with the Cable Foundation to amplify key issues and recommendations of the investigative reports. Titled #LittleThingsMatter, the campaign targeted urban parents and reached over 200,000 citizens on social media.

Reducing Retail Corruption in Basic Education



One of the most dangerous effects of corruption in basic education is the increased risk to the health of school children.



For many children and their parents, the cost of corruption in basic education can be unbearable.



Unchecked corruption compromises school safety and puts your child at risk.

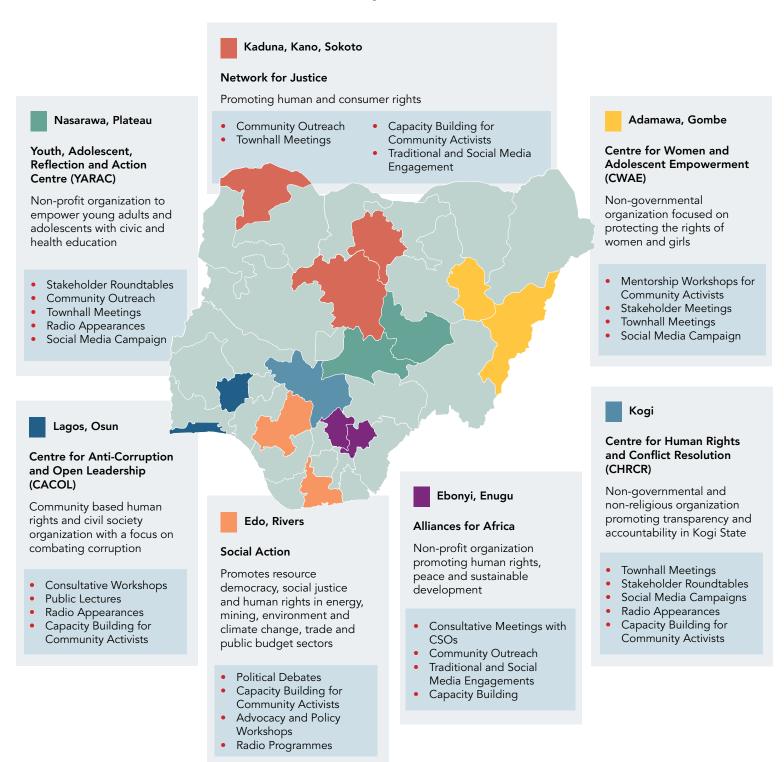


Parents are encouraged to know how school fees are being managed in their children's schools.

Deepening Anti-Corruption and Accountability Efforts

The Foundation provides support to community based organisations to complement national efforts at combating corruption. Our support has empowered our partners with knowledge and tools to deepen and sustain the fight against corruption; create and sustain synergies between non-state actors involved at national and sub-national levels; and increase demand for transparency and accountability from political actors at the state level beyond the 2019 elections.

Community Based Partners



Citizenship, Democracy and The Culture of Transactional Politics in Nigeria November 13 -14, 2018

Money and the 2019 Elections

The conference increased public awareness and understanding of the connection between transactional politics and poor governance outcomes and identified ways to reduce public sector corruption in Nigeria.

Supported by the Ford Foundation and Trust Africa, the conference had over 300 participants and featured Nigerian and international experts in elections and security related matters.

Conference video: https://youtu.be/53-FL EXQxU



Professor Benjamin Page Northwestern University An Equal Voice for Every Citizen



Professor Anthonia Okoosi-Simbine Acting INEC Commissioner Political Campaign Finance Reform in Nigeria



Ms. Ayisha Osori, OSIWA, Choreographed Political Processes: Ignored Citizenry; Honourable Chudi Offodile, Primary Elections: Changing the Way We Choose Candidates; Professor Jibrin Ibrahim, Transactional Politics: Vote Buying, Clientelism



Dr. Kole Shettima MacArthur Foundation



Mr. Innocent Chukwuma Ford Foundation



Mr. Benson Olugbuo CLEEN Foundation Mapping Hotspots



Mr. Y. Z. Yau CITAD Monitoring Hate Speech



Mock Presidential Debate

A mock debate lampooned the anti-debate political culture in Nigeria, making the argument that candidates and political parties must win votes based on the strength of their agenda and not the depth of their pockets; a candidate's religious or ethnic background should not be the basis for election; nor should the electorate consent to selling their votes, no matter how enticing the offer may be.



Ms. Kadaria Ahmed Moderator



M. C. Tagwaye



Arojah Theatre The Leaders We Deserve?

Mentimeter Surveys

The conference included two mentimeter surveys, an online platform for participants to share opinions in public forum discussions. Each session was followed by data analysis, observations from the audience and conversations amongst participants.

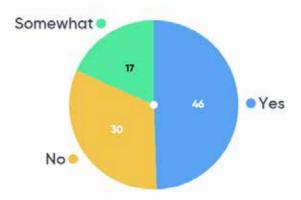




Name one government policy that has positively impacted your life since the last election



Does your vote make a difference?



CALL TO ACTION

LITTLE THINGS MATTER

Corruption does not seem harmful until it is too late

It is often easy to ignore impacts of petty corruption when they appear to be little more than inconveniences. But collective permissiveness of minor graft creates an enabling environment for corruption to fester, resulting in a problem far more difficult to solve.

Stop tolerating petty corruption. Pay attention to the smallest signs of retail corruption in public service delivery and be prepared to demand accountability from government service providers.

LITTLE ONES MATTER

Education can help prevent corruption by fostering a culture of integrity

An effective way to tackle corruption is to teach children to recognize it, reject it and condemn those who tolerate it.

School curriculums must incorporate ethics and civic education in the curriculum. Parents, teachers and school administrators must recognize their responsibility to shape the values of the next generation by exhibiting high standards of integrity, honesty and transparency in their actions.

FATALISM IS PARALYSING

Anti-corruption strategies are less likely to be successful when entrenched practices are considered impossible to overcome

Decades of unchecked corruption in Nigeria's public institutions and a history of inept leadership have destroyed public faith in governance and created a sense of fatalism. Citizens are unlikely to be motivated to combat corruption because experience suggests that nothing will change.

The fight against corruption can be won. New approaches must be adopted to create social incentives for collection action against corruption. Leaders must inspire faith in anticorruption efforts by implementing tangible reforms in public institutions. Civil society and community leaders must develop and promote a national social contract that rewards accountability and enforces social sanctions for unacceptable behaviour.

CHANGING OUR APPROACH TO ANTI-CORRUPTION MESSAGING

Sensational messaging desensitizes the public to corruption

Traditional approaches to anti-corruption messaging in Nigeria have been characterized by sensational reporting of corruption cases involving huge amounts of money or the use of extreme language to eliminate undesirable behaviour. These kinds of messages risk inducing apathy in citizens by reinforcing their sense of powerlessness in the face of rampant corruption.

CALL TO ACTION cont'd

Anti-corruption messages must be carefully framed to effectively communicate the negative impacts of corrupt behaviour while empowering targeted audiences to take practical and effective action. Proaccountability actors must avoid the one-size-fits-all approach to anticorruption messaging and ensure that messages are assessed for effectiveness before dissemination.

REDESIGNING GOVERNANCE PROCESSES TO MAKE CORRUPTION AVOIDANCE PRACTICAL

Doing the wrong thing becomes a rational choice if doing the right thing is too difficult

In Nigeria, avoiding corruption may not be the most practical option. Governance processes are not designed to be citizenfriendly. It is easy to fall afoul of regulations because procedures are needlessly complicated and poorly documented. Complying with penalties for relatively minor violations is unnecessarily difficult and creates incentives for extortion by law enforcement agencies.

Government must rethink and redesign routine procedures for providing public services to ensure they are citizen and business friendly. Options for complying with penalties for minor violations should include online platforms where citizens can lodge complaints, dispute imposed penalties and report instances of solicitation or extortion.

POLITICISING CORRUPTION CAN DO MORE HARM THAN GOOD

Political bias in the fight against corruption undermines public faith in anti-corruption efforts

In Nigeria, fighting corruption can be an excuse to persecute political opponents. Government and its anti-graft agencies are often accused of abusing their power and being biased in choosing which allegations of corruption to investigate or prosecute. In several cases, court rulings are disregarded.

Fighting corruption is already a difficult mission. The abuse of state power compounds Nigeria's accountability challenge. The government must be seen to be fair in applying sanctions and anti-corruption agencies must operate independently and within the scope of the law.

