

Numbers and Words: Investigating the Effectiveness of Anti-Corruption Training in Nigeria

By

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Introduction

Corruption is a multifaceted and pervasive phenomenon in Africa and an impediment to her growth and development, going by the frequency of reports in the media and news coverage. It is, however, easy to develop a reductive view of a concept with multiple layers which influences numerous spheres of human existence. Its definition easily provokes debate. The Dictionary of Social Sciences (1964) says that corruption is using power for profit, preference, or prestige, such as to go against the law or against good conduct. According to Transparency International (TI), on the other hand, it is simply the abuse of a public office for private benefit (ICPC, 2003). The UNODC describes corruption as a complex social, political, and economic phenomenon that disrupts progress in every country. It undermines democratic institutions, slows the economy, promotes government instability, attacks democracy and what it stands for, and destroys strong institutions. Its spread has negatively affected institutional growth, citizens' well-being, and economic development globally, yet anecdotal and survey evidence presents it as particularly dominant in developing countries and often linked to their economic status (Svensson, 2005). Ibodullaevich and Bahromovna (2020) also established that corruption creates a conflict of interest between personal gains and regulatory standards, a violation of laws and ethical principles. From a political standpoint, it puts forward the interest of the elected over the citizens. From a business perspective, it could unfairly place the interest of employers over employees or the other way around.

There are also varying opinions on the question of what actions generally constitute corruption and where it happens. According to Bahoo, Alon, Paltrinieri (2020), corruption is a deviation from and non-compliance with laid down principles, and it involves illegal activities of bribery, nepotism, fraud, extortion, embezzlement of public resources, election rigging, substandard delivery of contracts, overpriced contracts amongst others. Myint (2000) described scenarios where bribes are used for personal gains in various institutions. According to Myint (2000), individuals use bribes to speed up paper documentation/registration processes such as licenses and permits; to influence legal processes and outcomes and to attract government benefits, contracts, and contract terms; while private or public organisations use them to reduce taxes, customs fees and other charges; individuals also use bribes. At a local level, the Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), the official anti-corruption champion for Nigeria, includes bribery and fraud in a list of acts of corruption (ICPC, 2008). In Nigeria, Page (2018) says that corruption is rife across sectors: health, education, political, economic, environmental, amongst others while, simultaneously, the practice of distributing brown envelopes (bribes) in media and politics is undermining the country's democracy.

The fallout of corruption constantly affects business collaborations, internal security¹ and international development assistance. Many attempts have been made to identify its causes as a step to stemming it if not totally eradicating it. Sumah (2017) identified several factors responsible for corrupt practices in nations as including the level of economic and political freedom of citizens, individual poverty, the quality of regulation, the efficiency of sanctions, the socio-economic state of civil servants, bureaucratic traditions, institutional control, and leadership modelling of corrupt patterns. Afolabi (2007) added other causes: the economic state of citizens, peer pressure, social values, and workplace favouritism. In the face of the wide variety of causes, anti-corruption training (ACT) has emerged as one of the remedies purported to counter the spread of corrupt behaviour; therefore, its effectiveness is an important consideration. Nigeria's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) score in 2020 was 25%, only a minus 2 since 2012 (Transparency International, 2020), which suggests that efforts, such as anti-corruption training, made to tackle corruption are yielding little or no results. This makes it interesting and essential to evaluate the effectiveness of anti-corruption training in Nigeria. In the rest of this report, we do a broad sweep of literature to understand corruption and some of its possible influencers, anti-corruption training (ACT), and anti-corruption training effectiveness (ACTE); we describe our methodology to study ACT and evaluate ACTE in Nigeria – first a quantitative step and then a qualitative one; we present our findings and discuss them - first those from using a quantitative method and then those from the complementary qualitative methods; and finally we make our recommendations for improvement to achieve greater effectiveness.

Literature Review

Understanding Corruption in Nigeria

Corruption manifests in diverse manners depending on the social context. In Nigeria, it appears to have become part of the social fabric. It needs one to have an attitude of active detection for it not to pass unnoticed or camouflaged as justifiable. Igbo (2015) includes the following practices: false claims by marketers to get extra benefits from product subsidies; payments to ghost workers and pensioners in the public sector; under- or over-valuation or over-invoicing of goods for personal gain; and 'settlements' paid to law enforcement officers instead of legal fines². Other examples of corruption-related activities are extortion, favouritism, obstruction of justice for financial inducement, misappropriation of property, illegal contributions to political causes, and money-laundering. They can all be classified into three distinct categories: bribery, nepotism, and fraud (including forgeries and embezzlement).

One important cause of corruption in Nigeria is the lack, by persons and institutions, of clear ethical guidelines about corrupt practices. When such people are placed in environments that provide opportunities or enablement for corruption (Yeboah-Assiamah, 2016), they quickly begin to engage

¹ The current insurgence of insecurity across Nigerian states is particularly sad.

² quoted in the training manual of the country's anti-corruption academy

in it and even recruit others to join them. Another cause is greed and lack of satisfaction with a merely comfortable life. Anti-corruption training (ACT) is one of the efforts to stem corruption but, at times, it is simply initiated fulfil compliance requirements and is reactive to international pressure rather than proactive and may turn for these reasons (among others) turn out to be ineffective. To make ACT more effective, it is necessary study its current level of effectiveness and derive insights on how to improve it. A first step towards achieving this is to unpack the contextual and other constructs that influence corrupt behaviour in Nigeria. We have considered several in this project: contexts (including the organisation, the supervisor, and the family); emotions; and character.

Contexts Influencing Corrupt Behaviour and therefore ACTE: the Organisation, the Supervisor, and the Family

Organisational Culture

According to Martins & Terblanche (2003), organisational culture speaks to values, beliefs, norms and practices shared by individuals in organisations. This means that the culture of the organisation, though sometimes not articulated (Mohammed, 2017) communicates what it stands for and sets the tone for what the employees, comprising as it does its values, ethics, beliefs, principles, norms, control, responsibility and empowerment (Kropp, 2000; Nwugwo, 2001, Kumar, 2016). Further, it is demonstrated in attitudes, behaviours, relationships, mode of communication, service delivery, customer interaction, mode of dressing, attitudes to work and interaction with the external environment, all these coalescing into thought patterns and practices learnt in the workplace (Erthal & Marques, 2018). The organisation's principles and value system, through the culture, influences interactions amongst its members and with other stakeholders, acting as a critical nesting ground for key decisions and communication (Stewart, 2010).

Extending the understanding of culture, Szydlo & Grzes-Buklaho (2020) find that it is influenced by four main factors: environment, organisational features, organisation type, and features of the participants. The Nigerian environment would thus be likely to affect the culture of the organisations in it, and the same could be said of the industry. If there is much corrupt behaviour in an industry, it is more likely that organisations in that industry may also have their employees behaving corruptly. How the organisation is administered may also deter corruption or foster it. Then of course there is the type of individuals who make up the entity and its subcultures (Rasak, 2020). Odor (2018) also noted that the organisation's history shapes its culture.

Organisational culture is meant to promote unity, community and cohesion, stimulate enthusiasm and innovation and assure a higher quality service delivery among employees to improve competitive advantage and organisational productivity (Amah, 2009; Li, 2015; Mohammed 2017; Padhi, 2017). As expected given the preceding, a strong culture would also promote brand image and employee commitment. In the context of this study, since the organisational culture is "the pattern of values, norms, beliefs, attitudes and assumptions that may not have been articulated but

shape how people in organisations behave and things get done (Mohammed, 2017, p. 178), it can very easily promote or hamper the effectiveness of ACT. The organisational culture sets the tone for its ethics and points to acceptable behaviours (Nwugwo 2001). If it accepts corrupt behaviours, ACT is unlikely to have much of an effect. Yet, because it can evolve, it can be harnessed to support ACTE.

Organisational Climate

The culture of the organisation creates a shared atmosphere described as the organisation's climate and Subramani et al. (2015) have established that it (climate) varies across organisations. Moghimi and Subramaniam (2013) defined organisational climate as values and beliefs that are not visible but exist within the employee's behaviour and action, while Aiswarya and Ramasundaram (2012) state that it is the recurring patterns of behaviour, attitudes and feelings that are indicative of life in the organisation. To differentiate it from organisational culture, we adopt the position that climate captures the measurable characteristics of the perceived work environment created by individuals in the organisation and which influences their behavioural patterns. Like the culture, it also impacts employee behaviour, commitment, and productivity (Mcmurray, Scott & Pace, 2004), especially when it is accompanied by trust, support, fairness, and recognition (Mcmurray & Scott, 2013). The implication for this to managers is to develop the suitable organisational climate to promote ACTE.

A growing body of studies have addressed the positive relationship between organisational climate and organisational citizenship behaviour (Subramani, Jan, Gaur, & Vinodh 2015; Sinaga, Abdullah & Tunas, 2019; Adnans, Hadiyani, Zahreni, & Fahmi, 2021) which would seem like a proxy for anti-corruption behaviour. However, there is scant literature explicitly dealing with the effect of organisational climate on anti-corruption behaviour. Although a related study done by Ke & Yan (2019) to investigate the effect of anti-corruption on organisational climate suggests that strong anti-corruption efforts have a positive effect on individual perception of organisational climate in relation to justice, as part of this study, we expect to discover and share more knowledge about the converse in the Nigerian setting.

Supervisor Support

Apart from the general ethos of the organisation as represented by its culture and climate, the first level leader - the supervisor - of each employee also influences his or her tendency to corrupt behaviour and the effectiveness of ACT. The supervisor's role is to build human resources and promote output (Noe, 2010), mediating between employees and top management by assigning tasks to individuals, providing the needed resources for work, following up on work progress and giving feedback to top management (Robbins & DeCenzo, 2004). They (supervisors) are empowered to train subordinates and provide all the support they need to achieve work efficiency (Ford, 2002; Fox and Spector, 2006; Kumar, Duggirala, Hayatnagarkar, and Balaraman, 2017) and increase their creativity and innovation levels (Zhou, Jin, Wang, Liao, Yang and Li, 2022).

According to Hsu, (2011), supervisor support also reflects how much supervisors care about employees' personal concerns and wellbeing and how they show support, including in emotional aspects (May, Gilson, and Harter, 2004; Ho, 2017). As Phungsoonthorn and Charoensukmongkol (2019) note, the degree to which supervisors support subordinates varies. They educate, counsel, coach and provide information, motivation, and rewards (Blanco-Donoso, Moreno-Jimenez, Pereira & Garrosa, 2019). At times they even design and deliver functional training programs and also otherwise provide information to eliminate uncertainties and ease wellbeing, safety and other concerns for the employees in their charge (Ellinger, Ellinger & Keller, 2005; Cole, Brunch & Vogel, 2006; Kesser, Lucianetti & Spector, 2020). Their influence over their subordinates is such that they can easily undermine the effectiveness of ACTE if they do not support it.

Family Support

Among numerous social interactions, the family plays a vital role in character development, setting standards for how a person behaves from childhood onwards (Jogdand and Naik 2014), providing emotional and psychological support and, through this, influencing personality and development (De Figueiredo and Dias 2012, Jogdand and Naik 2014). Highlighting the vital role that the family plays in the development of behaviour and way of life, Aloize (2017) identified the key areas as:

- a. Emotional support which boosts attachment, independence, confidence, and respect (Woosley et al. 2009), and improved intelligence and a strong sense of self/identity (Wallerstein and Blakeslee 2002, Woosley et al. 2009).
- b. Physical support which brings balance to the formation of behaviour by introducing discipline, love, mutual respect, responsibility and communal relations and setting an example to emulate.
- c. Ideological and informational support which give ideological background, contributing to worldview and understanding of right conduct (Pritchard and Kim, 2002, Woosley et al. 2009).

In homes where these are lacking or scarce, there can be behavioural problems (Jogdand and Naik 2014) which would include corruption. We expect that if the family provides inadequate support for ethical or non-corrupt behaviour, then this will undermine the possible effectiveness of ACT.

Other Constructs Influencing Corrupt Behaviour: Emotions (including from Peer Pressure) and Character Development (Internal and Core Personal Traits)

Emotional Drivers influencing ACTE

Similar to other economies, emerging ones face the challenges posed by corruption. Many factors drive corrupt practices, and studies show that emotions such as greed, fear, etc. (Kirchgässner,

2014; Brierly, 2022) are important factors that increase the incidence of corruption in developed countries and developing countries as well. Few studies however have clearly demonstrated the involvement of emotions in an African setting (Boamah, Watson, Amoako, Osei, Kwadwo, Nyamekye, Adamu & Appiah, 2021). What can be learnt about how emotions drive corrupt behaviour from individuals who have undergone ACT can guide the design of such training for greater effectiveness. There are four basic human emotions: anger, joy, sadness and fear (Wang, Patel, Bourgeois, & Huang, 2019) which scholars often explore when studying the effects of feelings on human behaviour. Each of these four are connected with others e.g., shame, disgust, despair, guilt, etc. They all influence a person's choices and the more the person is able to master them, the more likely that he or she will be able to resist being 'pushed around' by such emotions. While theorising on the role of emotions in propagating collective corrupt practices, Smith-Crowe and Warren already developed the emotion-evoked collective corruption model built for understanding a corrupt organisational culture (Smith-Crowe & Warren, 2014). For the more straightforward purpose of this study, we attempt to identify the emotions that could be drivers of corruption through the experiences of people who have undergone ACT.

Peer Pressure and ACTE

Drawing from Hartney (2011) & Weinfeld (2010), peer pressure could be defined as a non-tangible emotional or mental influence from individuals of similar age range, status or social group, which often influences a change in behaviour or belief. Calvó-Armengol, & Jackson (2009) noted that peer pressure is two-sided - either lowering the tendency to do something - positive peer pressure - or increasing the likelihood of doing it - negative peer pressure. Although there have been instances in literature where peer pressure motivates positive behaviour, it is more often associated with risky and harmful behaviours that trigger crime and negative habits. Examples include harmful alcohol consumption, cultism, drug abuse, sexual assault, theft, and corrupt activity (Morris, Larsen, Catterall, Moss, & Dombrowski, 2020; Nwamadi, 2021; Keyzers, Lee & Dworkin, 2020; Sargent, 2021).

According to Haun & Tomasello (2011) peer pressure begins from an early age (including through mere observation) and continues into adolescence (through friendship and desires for belonging)³ and into adulthood (through varying workplace, institutional, and societal influences). According to Maina (2011), adults experience pressure in peer groups such as religious groups, ethnic groups, management groups, age groups, political groups, social groups and even professional groups. Such pressure impacts key decisions as to where to live, whom to marry, career path, where to work, children and even health choices, with possible damaging and long-term implications. As continuous social interaction constantly reinforces it, making it difficult to curb (Lebedina-Manzoni, Lotar & Ricijas, 2011), it is not surprising that ACT can easily be rendered ineffective by peer pressure. Conversely, strengthening positive relationships could reinforce ACTE.

³ It can also be precipitated by certain parenting styles (De Guzman, 2007).

Character Development and ACTE

Character strengths enhance ACTE because of the heightened attributes they confer: values awareness, moral reasoning and ethical reasoning, critical reasoning, cognitive development, conflict resolution, etc. (Indartono, 2011; Pattarro, 2016; Zurqoni, Apino & Anazifa, 2018). Character training itself, and its curriculum content, aim “to educate learners to become good citizens with self-respect, responsibility and honesty” (Çubukçu 2012; Almerico 2014) hence it makes sense that it would complement ACT. In fact, ACT itself could be approached as a type of character training which forms the conscience of participants (see also Zurqoni, Apino, & Anazifa, 2018) to understand right or wrong behaviour when faced with corruption dilemmas.

The listing of core values varies among scholars (Hunter, 2000, Indartono 2011), yet it is commonly agreed that insights into how people’s minds work can indicate what motivates them to act in different ways (Young and Koenigs 2007). Character training aims to deepen understanding of moral values and encourage positive behaviour such that people are empowered to do the right thing (Battistich 2005, Skaggs and Bodenhorn 2006, Nurhasanah & Nida 2016, Zurqoni, Apino, & Anazifa, 2018). As with all character training, for ACT to have this impact, its design and content would have to be values-driven (Chang and Munoz 2007) and take a lifelong approach (Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1997) that makes it easy to apply to real situations and to policy implementation (Zurqoni, Apino, & Anazifa, 2018; Fatima, 2020). Going further to look into the mitigation of corruption, we review some literature on anti-corruption behaviour itself and then on ACT and ACTE.

Anti-Corruption Action: Mitigating Corruption and Promoting Anti-corruption Behaviour

Anti-corruption behaviour comprises approaches and practices that minimise or combat corruption (Zuniga, 2018; Lawal, 2021). According to Hasanah & Tarmah (2019), anti-corruption behaviour should be developed in individuals from a young age through different mechanisms such as storytelling, rewards and punishment, value clarification, learning by doing and learning to do. Thus, as they grow, these behaviours become a norm that is extended to every sphere of life and transferred to others in society. Therefore, they point to the role of family and schools in fostering anti-corruption behaviours and thereby providing a fertile soil for the future seeds of ACT. Later, already learned anti-corruption behaviour is strengthened by anti-corruption education, training, campaigns, civic engagement, collective action, whistleblowing and leadership engagement (Zuniga, 2018; Onyango, 2020). Those coming to the training without the previous learning may be at a disadvantage and the training may be less effective for them.

With regard to the organisation's role and its leadership’s engagement in promoting anti-corruption, Soot (2012) noted that leaders can model the anti-corruption behaviour to subordinates; this enhances the effectiveness of training them and complements compliance systems which incorporate deterrence via sanctions. At the systemic level, having whistleblowing

systems that are protective and confidential has also proven encouraging for anti-corruption behaviour (Cho & Song, 2015).

Given the susceptibility and vulnerability of both public and private sectors to harm from corruption, anti-corruption initiatives globally and locally have usually included institutions and agencies promoting discipline, ethical behaviour and lawfulness as well as punishing corruption. Yet, the measures have not always been effective and, to complement them, scholars such as Zamaletdinov et al. (2016) and Hauser (2018) have advocated fostering individual motivation to uphold values and ethics of culture, workplace and society and repetition of anti-corruption training. Hauser (2018) found regular employee training to be very effective in dissuading corrupt practices among staff while Zamaletdinov et al. (2016), studying ACTE in schools, recommended that students and lecturers be involved in strategizing and preparing their anti-corruption training tools. In these ways, the expectation is that anti-corruption behaviour would become accepted as corporate and personal culture. What was already learnt from the family, the organisation, and the supervisor then get complemented by the individual's motivation and disposition (emotions and character); all are important to consider when building ACT curricula for greater effectiveness.

Anti-Corruption Action in Nigeria: Effectiveness?

More recently, anti-corruption measures in Nigeria have focused on establishing institutions to promote anti-corruption behaviour and punish corrupt behaviour (Nwaodu, Adam & Okereke, 2014). However, earlier, before the colonial era, morals were embedded in the taboos of many communities and tribes, the violation of which could lead to grave consequences including death, and which was adjudicated by courts of chiefs and councils of elders (Ezenwaji 2000, Nwaodu 2012). Sharia law in the North also deterred corrupt practices and punished offenders. The idea behind the institutionalisation of law enforcement through the establishment of non-partisan entities like the police and the judicial system was to eliminate individual vulnerability to corruption (Mbaku 1998).

Around 1952, a commission of enquiry into bribery and other corrupt practices was established (Adebayo 1986, Nwandu, Adam & Okereke, 2014) and continued to function after independence in 1960 (Nwaobi 2004, Mbaku 1998). By 1966, military rule was instituted to curb the corruption of the incumbent politicians. However, their administration was perceived to be even more corrupt than the civilian rule it overthrew (Mbaku 1998). A programme called "Operation Purge the Nation" was initiated to eliminate corrupt politicians and public sector servants and restore professionalism in and respect for the civil service (Nwaodu 2012). The effort proved less effective than expected, as some people used it to persecute their opponents and political enemies (Nwaodu, Adam & Okereke, 2014). There grew much concern about corruption, misuse of power and rights violations and a probe panel was set up to look into these, resulting in the 1979 constitution (Nwaobi 2004), which elaborated on a code of conduct for public servants. Another coup brought the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) programme meant to improve political and administrative efficiency in the public sector (Inegbedion, 2001), which, like the others, was criticised for not engaging the members of the public on the best way to truly combat corruption (Hope 1998, Mbaku

1998, Nwaodu, Adam & Okereke 2014). Other anti-corruption initiatives over the years include the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and the project 'War Against Indiscipline and Corruption' (WAIC), a Bill to the National Assembly in 1999 for the creation of a law "to prohibit and punish bribery and corruption of or by public officers and other persons (Nwaobi, 2004:30); the Oputa panel which investigated violations of human rights; and, finally, agencies like the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), which are still operational till today (Nwaobi, 2004).

According to Opara (2007) the government strove to achieve "more accountability in the public sector, enforcement of existing anti-corruption laws, the establishment of a Public Procurement Commission, the publication of information and requirement of transparency in the petroleum industry, the requirement of transparency in the privatisation and market liberalisation processes, and finally, the requirement of transparency in the political process" (p. 81). This has led to measures like the Treasury Single Account (TSA) which is a financial policy that enhances the government's control of its cash assets (Pattanayak, and Fainboim, 2010; Malami, 2016; Udo, 2016; Arowolo and Olaniyan, 2018) and the Whistle Blower Policy encouraging private citizens to join the fight against corruption (Bulusson 2017; Arowolo and Olaniyan 2018).

Despite all efforts, numerous challenges have constantly accompanied the fight against corruption, notable among them resistance and greed from both private and public sector actors, as well as the ineffectiveness of the legal justice system and some degree of ignorance especially in specialised industries such as in the financial sector (Umar, Samsudin and Mohamed, 2017). Training efforts have always been abundant in both sectors, but their effectiveness remains suspect given the unrelenting growth of corruption indices.

Anti-Corruption Training (ACT)

Corruption almost always involves human actions that violate laws and ethics; hence, training that strengthens an individual's motivation to uphold values and ethics could be the best type (Baloyi 2020). ACT thus often aims to develop skills and build confidence (Truitt 2011) through relearning, unlearning and learning new knowledge that helps improve effectiveness at honest work. Such training is expected to produce and shape behaviours and characters not only for their workplace but also for the community. It is expected that such training produces an impact that lasts beyond the training itself (Hope 2017).

With regard to flow, most training instruments begin by bringing international anti-corruption standards to the awareness of trainees; showing how they can be applied at the local and national level and then going through the organisation's compliance measures, programs and tools to enforce obedience (Hauser 2018). It seems that some ACT training also suggests checks that the trainees can use to ensure that their actions align with what is ethical and lawful in their organisations (Smith 2009). For instance, the Anti-corruption and Training Project (ACET) organised to tackle bribery, corrupt practices and fraudulent activities in the engineering and construction industry set out to empower their members to be more capable of:

- “Refusing to become personally involved in activities that permit the abuse of power for private gain;
- Recognizing that funds intended for projects for the benefit of mankind worldwide too often go to dishonest individuals;
- Understanding that corruption occurs in both the public and private sectors, in both the procurement and execution of projects, and among employers and employees;
- Realising that corruption can occur in all countries, rich and poor, developed and less developed;
- Refusing to condone or ignore corruption, bribery, extortion, or payments for favours;
- Urging professional engineering societies to adopt enforceable guidelines for professional and business practices; and
- Enforcing anti-corruption guidelines by reporting infractions by members or non-members of the engineering profession” (Smith 2009, pg. 140).

Another perspective recognises two aims of training: 1) teach individuals how to react when faced with corruption, how damaging corruption is to society, and the procedures to report corrupt individuals or agencies; and 2) disseminate knowledge about effective strategies and how to implement them within the institution, including measures to enhance identification, control, accountability, regulation, and transparency (Boehm and Nell 2017).

Anti-corruption Training Effectiveness (ACTE)

Only a little has been done in this area. Examining how effective anti-corruption training is, Hauser (2018) found that regular employee training effectively dissuades corrupt practices among staff. Using regression analysis, he observed that people who have been exposed to ACT are less likely to justify corrupt practices. They are those who use their skills and control measures to ensure that they do not partake in corruption and even go to the extent of reporting such acts. Hauser also found that the training should also be specific to different sectors, to include all the grey areas in them (pg. 13). This implies that certain aspects of ethics and law in public and private sectors may require more emphasis or more explanations depending on the sector being trained, and that other factors such as the community, culture, workplace, etc. should also be taken into consideration such that ACT be custom-planned and executed based on the sector, business or organisation in focus.

Doig and Riley (1998) had also incorporated this sentiment in their studies of ACT in developing countries. They found that each institution of these countries has its own interpretation of what might have been considered a general term. Therefore, the strategies to curb corruption in developing countries and the different public and private sectors should be targeted at addressing

professionalism and instilling specific technical skills that assist employees in their effectiveness at their workplace and the society (pg. 60). This makes this current study an important contribution to this discourse.

Again, Zamaletdinov et. al (2016) while studying the effectiveness of anti-corruption training and strategies in institutions of learning, recommends that while trainees and trainers be involved in the strategising for and preparing the tools for anti-corruption training, independent organisations/institutions should also be consulted to ensure compliance and non-bias (pg. 60). In this study, we have included participants with experience as trainees and as trainers as well as held focus groups to elicit non-bias positions.

In summary, the expectation from extant literature on ACTE is that it would be affected by specifying the training to the intended audience rather than using a one size fits all. To get a deeper and wider picture of other constructs that affect ACTE, we have done the very wide review of literature above and now we go on to examine some of them closely in our empirical data collection, first with a quantitative survey and then with qualitative interviews and focus groups to tease out more nuances. The constructs we chose to focus on are the context of the trainees, their exposure to developed country contexts, the support they find within their organisations (including from their up lines) or their families, the emotional drivers of their decision to act corruptly or not, and impact of their character on their decision to act corruptly or not. We expect to widen the understanding of what ACT needs to take into account to achieve stronger ACTE, primarily though not only in developing countries.

[1] cabinet minister of National Guidance

The Research Design

Research Questions

To holistically investigate the effectiveness of anti-corruption training, this research adopts the post-positivist approach to gain insight into the individual or subjective perspective of the data found about the studied phenomenon. Scholars believe this approach can create new, richer and healthier understandings. Hence, we use the positivist data to investigate the problem, and interpretive data to explore why, when and where the problem occurs and how it could be addressed based on the participants' views in the qualitative engagements. Thus, this research is both inductive and deductive, adopting an explanatory sequential design. Accordingly, quantitative

results are obtained and analysed, and then qualitative data are collected and analysed to explain or expand the quantitative result. The qualitative phase derives from the quantitative phase and the two phases are linked. The rationale is that the quantitative phase provides a general understanding of the research problem, while the qualitative phase refines and explains the statistical results by exploring participants' views in more depth.

According to Transparency International (2020), Nigeria's corruption perception index (CPI) further declined to 25% in 2020, which is a minus two (2) since 2012. According to CPI, any score below 50% is considered highly corrupt. In general, scholars recommend anti-corruption training as a means to mitigate corrupt practices for both developed and developing countries despite the obvious contextual differences. Given these differences, this study explores what factors affect the effectiveness of anti-corruption training in Nigeria and seeks answers to the following research questions:

1. Which contextual factors mediate the effectiveness of anti-corruption training in developing economies like Nigeria?
2. Which relational factors mediate the effectiveness of anti-corruption training?
3. Which dominant emotions drive corrupt acts in developing contexts?
4. How does anti-corruption training work to mitigate the frequency of corrupt acts in a highly corrupt environment?

Research Hypotheses

Following the research questions, the broad research hypotheses cum propositions are:

Hypothesis 1. Exposure to international standards (IE), frequency of anti-corruption training (FAT) and perception of modelling by the trainer (SM) are factors that influence anti-corruption training effectiveness (ACTE).

Hypothesis 2. Relational factors mediating the effect of anti-corruption training include perceived support (from institutional culture, from direct supervisor and from family) for anti-corruption action

Hypothesis 3. The five dominant emotional factors that drive corrupt acts in developing contexts are greed; fear of poverty; desire for acceptance; despair of a different narrative; and fear for personal safety and life.

Hypothesis 4. Anti-corruption training will result in the development of a strong personality – disciplined, ethically sound, and lawful – that is necessary to withstand a highly corrupt environment.

The Quantitative Phase

This is a cross-sectional study to understand the effectiveness of anti-corruption training. The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) is a social-psychological theory that explains the behavioural decision-making processes of human beings with the aim of understanding and predicting the behaviour of individuals, advocating that the successful completion of human behaviours is mainly controlled by individual will (Ajzen, 1991). TPB is built on several constructs:

- Attitude towards the act or behaviour: An individual's belief about whether the behaviour will affect them positively or negatively.
- Subjective norm: Constitutes a person's social pressures to perform particular acts.
- Perceived behavioural control: Constitutes the individual's belief of how easy or hard it is to behave in a certain way. This depends on capabilities, resources and opportunities.
- Behavioural intention: Motivation for behaviour such that the stronger the motivation, the more likely the individual will behave that way.

Anti-corruption training should address these constructs, to have positive outcomes and a lasting impact. We incorporated this thinking into our survey questionnaire design.

In addition, the neutralization technique, a psychological method that allows individuals to temporarily override specific values when they are planning to commit corrupt acts and thus rationalize it, is important in the consideration of corruption (Hauser, 2018). It manifests in justifications to avoid some negative emotions and preserve the individual's self-concept of continued integrity. Although this process of rationalization is also applicable to corrupt practices in Nigeria, there are other emotions, attitudes, perceptions about corruption, and subjective norms which are just as relevant in our cultural context and not encompassed by the neutralization theory. For example, the negative emotions which neutralization techniques try to eliminate refer more to guilt and self-assurance when one is doing something that one knows to be wrong. For our context, the average person could engage in corrupt practices out of fear for personal safety or despair – a different narrative. It is for this reason that we built on the theory of planned behaviour as our theoretical framework in assessing the intentional, relational, contextual, and emotional factors that influence the practice of corruption in Nigeria, as reviewed above in the literature. In addition to motivation, opportunity and rationalizations of the fraud triangle (and capability for the fraud diamond), we aim to enrich the theory of planned behaviour by examining more emotions and psychological influences on actions. Hence, we expanded Hauser's instrument to reflect other factors that sustain corrupt practices in Nigeria, rather than evaluating with neutralization technique only, in order to have a more robust understanding of the phenomenon and to propose effective solutions to curbing corrupt practices through anti-corruption training.

Data Collection

In our sampling at the quantitative, we used a snowballing method to find 150 employees who had undergone ACT in different companies in Nigeria's business sector and invited them to respond to our survey instrument, which was derived by adapting and expanding Hauser's (2018) validated instrument. The resulting quantitative data were subjected to regression analysis using SPSS to determine whether anti-corruption training is indeed effective and to explore the factors influencing it. Based on the result of the survey, interview protocols were developed for focus group discussions and individual interviews, using a much smaller sample size than for the quantitative data collection, and these were carried out to get a deeper understanding of the findings thus far. Following this, qualitative data was collected, and a thematic analysis was carried out to gain further insight into the quantitative results. The qualitative instrument was therefore focused on the parts of the quantitative results that called for further explanation. Both datasets were considered not to be independent but rather related to each other since the explanatory sequential approach aims to explain initial quantitative results with a qualitative phase.

The Qualitative Phase

The data for the qualitative phase was collected from the same category of individuals as for the quantitative because they are best positioned to offer more insight into the statistical results. There were thirty-two (32) in-depth interviews and four (4) focus group discussions (FGDs) with respondents drawn both from a pool of those who had filled out the questionnaires and those who had not. These respondents cut across various industries including the banking sector, oil and gas, SMEs, public enterprises, and the health sector. They were individuals who were actively in service and some who were. It was common to all that they had done formal ACT and could recall the content to a reasonable degree.

The interviews were carried out mostly through zoom with a few physical interviews. They were all recorded either on zoom or phone devices. Consent was taken from all participants before the recording and interviews. Consent forms were sent through emails or provided physically and signed before commencing the interviews and discussions.

One of the FGDs entailed a physical visit with all participants physically present. Two of the others were hybrid, while the last was entirely online. The questions for both the interviews and FGDs were semi-structured, informed by the initial analysis of our quantitative analysis since our philosophical assumption for the qualitative analysis was based on constructivism. The respondents were encouraged to be as forthright as possible with the assurance of anonymity.

Analysis was done with Dovetail software. Before uploading the interviews, they were cleaned to ensure anonymity. Tags were created at a meeting with all five researchers agreeing on the principal terms or keywords which were most representative for answering research questions. The codes were symbolically assigned to four (4) major areas.

- A. Contextual factors which included the external sphere, organisational culture and climate, international exposure and contextual differences with other climes.
- B. Those relating to relational factors with positive and negative family influences, supervisor support and modelling.
- C. Emotions relevant for anti-corruption behaviour especially the six dominant emotions we had identified as influencing the practice of corruption.
- D. Finally, we looked at the content, frequency, and perceptions about improving the effectiveness of anti-corruption training.

After the codes were unanimously agreed on, the tags were scrutinised again and then created on dovetail. Each individual interview and FGD was tagged and analysed by at least two researchers. Differences were flagged as comments for ease of identification. Each researcher went through the comments and disagreements were discussed. In every situation where there was no unanimous agreement, that code was considered unreliable. Intercoder reliability was calculated for each subset of the data analysed by two researchers. It was calculated manually with the formula 'number of agreements/number of agreements + disagreements'. We accepted 75% as our minimum and used the data set that met the intercoder reliability.

After the coding, subsets were created with similar codes which had been colour coded. Analysis and interpretation of the data were done by the five researchers and written up for review by all. Accounts of this data analysis were used for the write up of the report.

Results from the Quantitative Survey

Test of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: IE, FAT, SM influence anti-corruption training

Predictors	β	t	P	R	R ²	AdjR ²	F	P
(Constant)	6.192	2.007	<.05	.838	.702	.696	115.408	<.01
Exposure to international anti-corruption Standards	.446	4.185	<.01					
Frequency of anti-corruption training	.684	.114	<.01					
Supervisor modelling	.260	.073	<.01					

Table 1: Effect of IE, FAT and SM on anti-corruption training

The result reveals that exposure to international training, frequency of anti-corruption training and supervisor modelling have a joint predictive influence on the effectiveness of anti-corruption training ($R^2 = .702$), $F (147\%) = 115.408$, $p < .01$). When combined exposure to international training, frequency of anti-corruption training, and supervisor modelling account for 70.2% of the effectiveness of anti-corruption training, this reveals that the collective exposure to international training, frequency of anti-corruption behaviour and supervisor modelling have a significant joint prediction on the effectiveness of anti-corruption training. The result further reveals that exposure to international training ($\beta = .446$, $t = 4.185$ $p < .01$), frequency of anti-corruption training ($\beta = .684$, $t = .114$ $p < .01$), and supervisor modelling attitude ($\beta = .260$, $t = .073$ $p < .01$) are significant independent predictors of effectiveness of anti-corruption training. The hypothesis is thus accepted.

Hypothesis 2. Relational factors mediating the effect of anti-corruption training include perceived support (from institutional culture, and from family) for anti-corruption action

Predictors	β	T	P	R	R ²	AdjR ²	F	P
(Constant)	20.982	4.700	<.01	.628	.395	.386	48.226	<.01
Perceived organisational support	.438	8.151	<.01					
Perceived family support	.410	2.099	<.05					

Table 2: Result of relational factors mediating the effect of anti-corruption training

The result reveals that perceived organisational support, and perceived family support have a joint predictive influence on the effectiveness of anti-corruption training ($R^2 = .395$, $F (148\%) = 48.226$, $p < .01$). When combined, perceived organisational support and perceived family support account for 39.5% of the relational factors mediating the effectiveness of anti-corruption training, this reveals that the collective perceived organisational support and perceived family support have significant joint predict on effectiveness of anti-corruption training. The result further reveals that perceived organizational behaviour ($\beta = .438$, $t = 8.151$ $p < .01$), and perceived family support ($\beta = .410$, $t = 2.099$ $p < .05$) are significant independent predictors of effectiveness of anti-corruption training. The hypothesis is thus accepted.

Hypothesis 3. The five dominant emotional factors that drive corrupt acts in developing contexts are greed; fear of poverty; desire for acceptance; despair of a different narrative; and fear for personal safety and life.

Chart 1: Respondents’ rank of anger with the current injustices as a dominant driver of corruption

Dominant Driver of Corruption: Anger with the current injustices

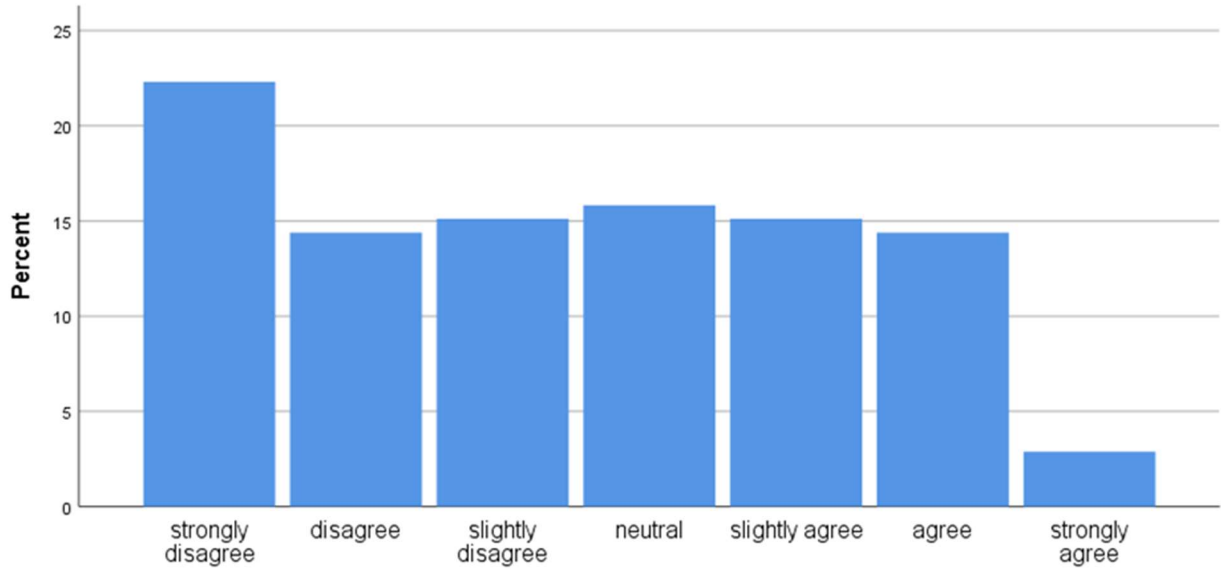


Chart 2: Respondents' rank of greed as a dominant driver of corruption

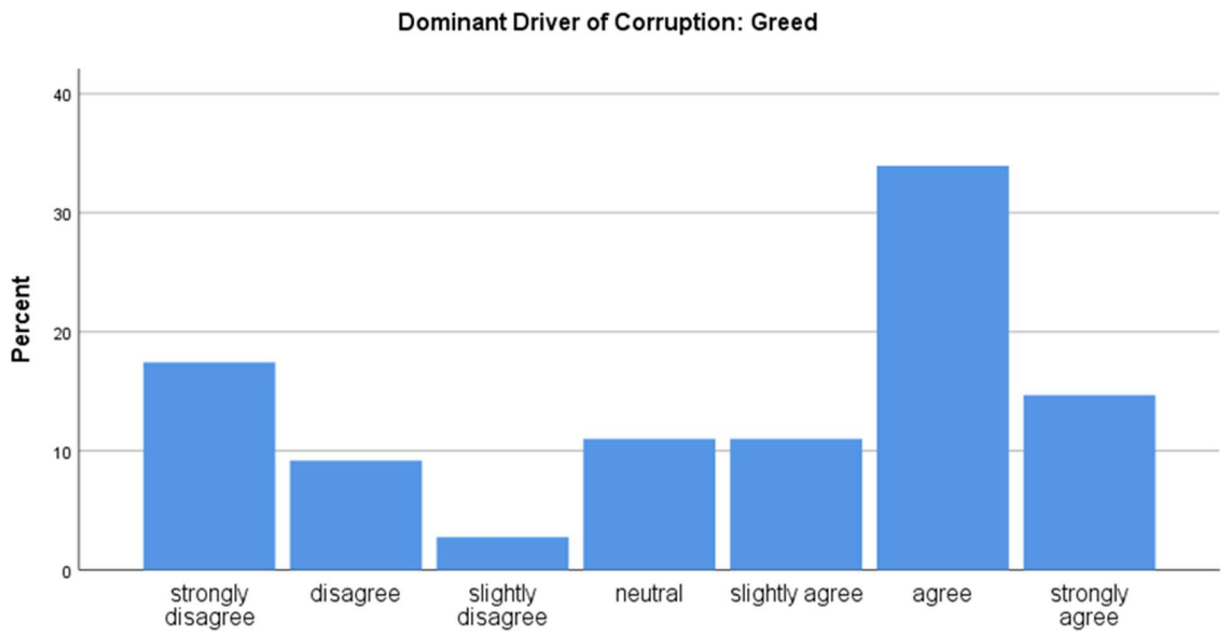


Chart 3: Respondents' rank of fear of harm (personal safety and life) as a dominant driver of corruption

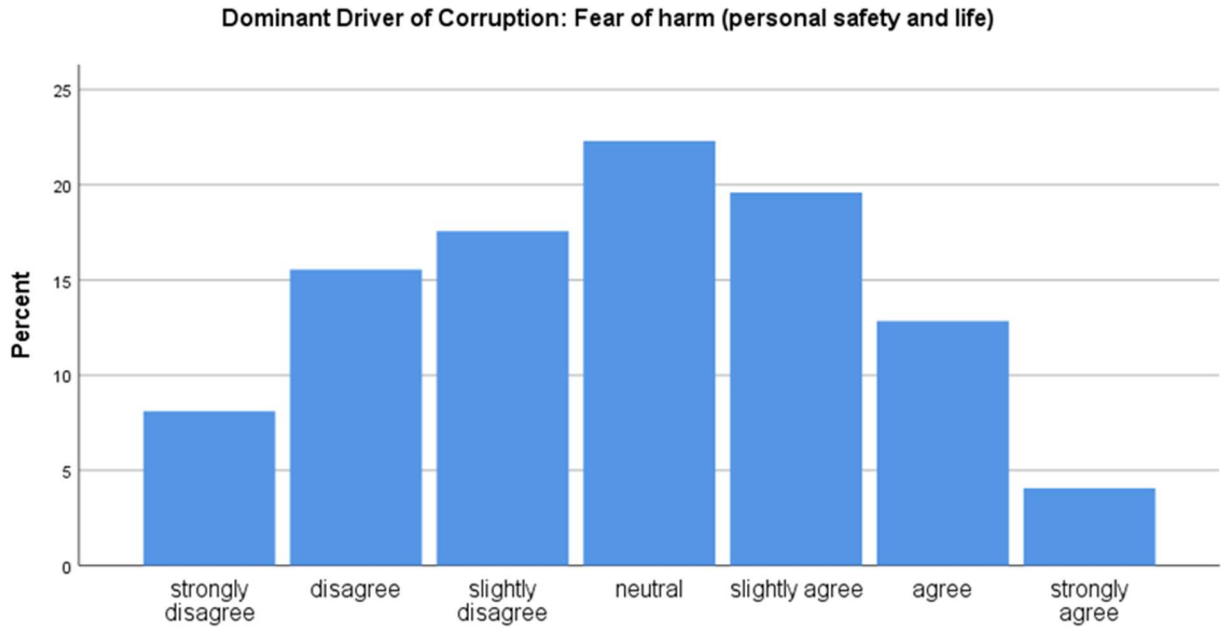


Chart 4: Respondents' rank of fear of poverty (need) as a dominant driver of corruption

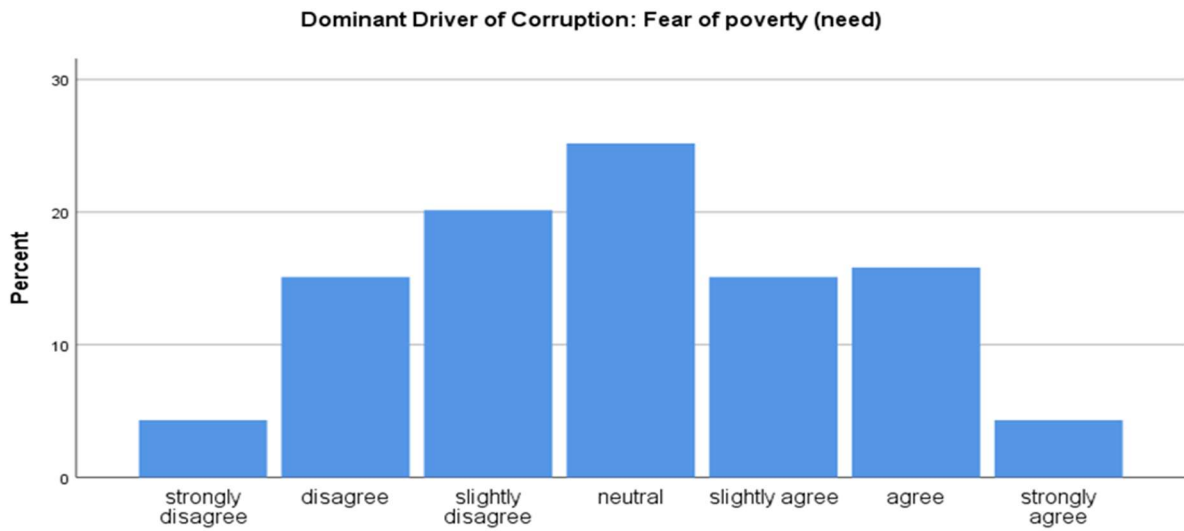
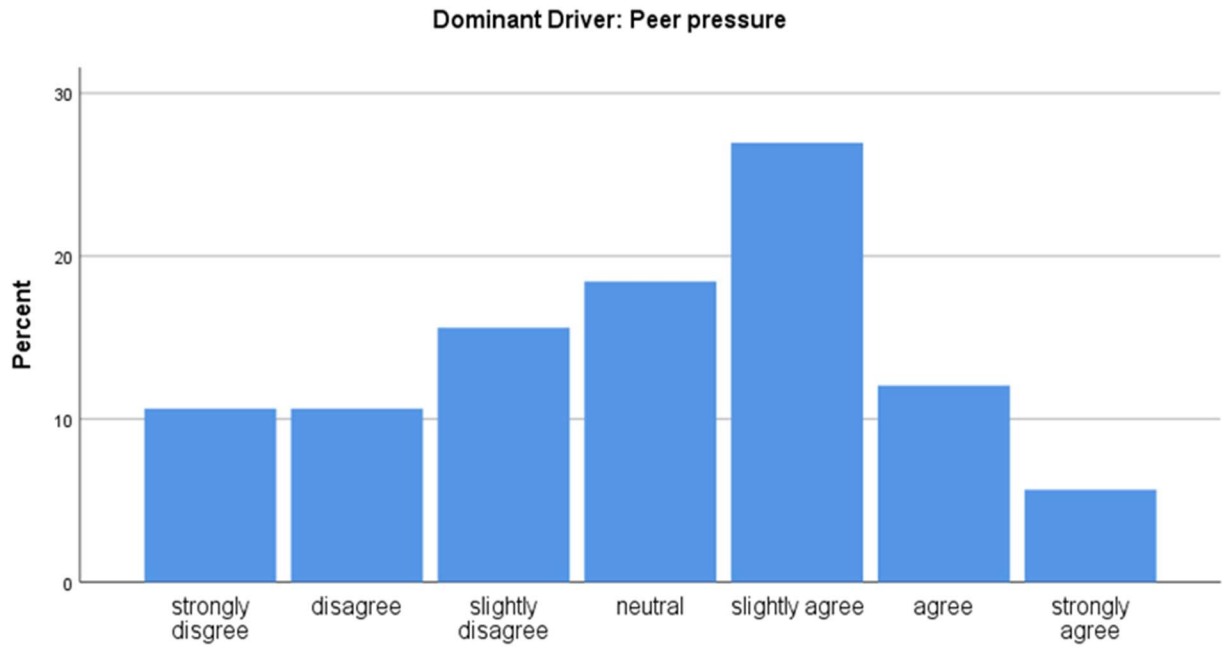


Chart 5: Respondents' rank of peer pressure as a dominant driver of corruption



Based on the figures above, the respondents ranked the dominant drivers of corruption. The results show that the highest ranked dominant driver of corruption is greed. 43% of respondents agreed that greed drives corruption in Nigeria the most. This is closely followed by *Peer Pressure* at 41.8%. At 35.8%, *Fear of Harm (Personal safety and life)* was the third most dominant driver of corruption, followed by *despair for a different narrative* at 34% and *Fear of Poverty* at 32.5%. The respondents' least ranked driver of corruption in Nigeria is *Anger with Current Injustices* at 29.7%. This is represented by figure 9 (chart 6) below:

Chart 6: shows the aggregate drivers of corruption in Nigeria in order of dominance.



Hypothesis 4. Anti-Corruption training will result in developing a strong personality—disciplined, ethically sound, and lawful—that is necessary to withstand a highly corrupt environment.

A. Questions about self

SN	Questions about self	Unlike me (%)	Neutral (%)	Like me (%)
1	I try to check the legality of my choices	3.3	2	94.7
2	I lead others to do things in accordance with company rules and country laws	2.6	4	93.4
3	I keep to the requirements of the law in my interactions	2	6	92.1
4	I manage my emotions to prevent/reduce my attraction to unlawful transactions	2.7	4	93.3
5	I manage others to be ethical by following the law	2.6	3.3	94

Table 3: Respondents’ mindfulness and practice of what is lawful

Chart 7: Respondents' tendency to check the legality of choices

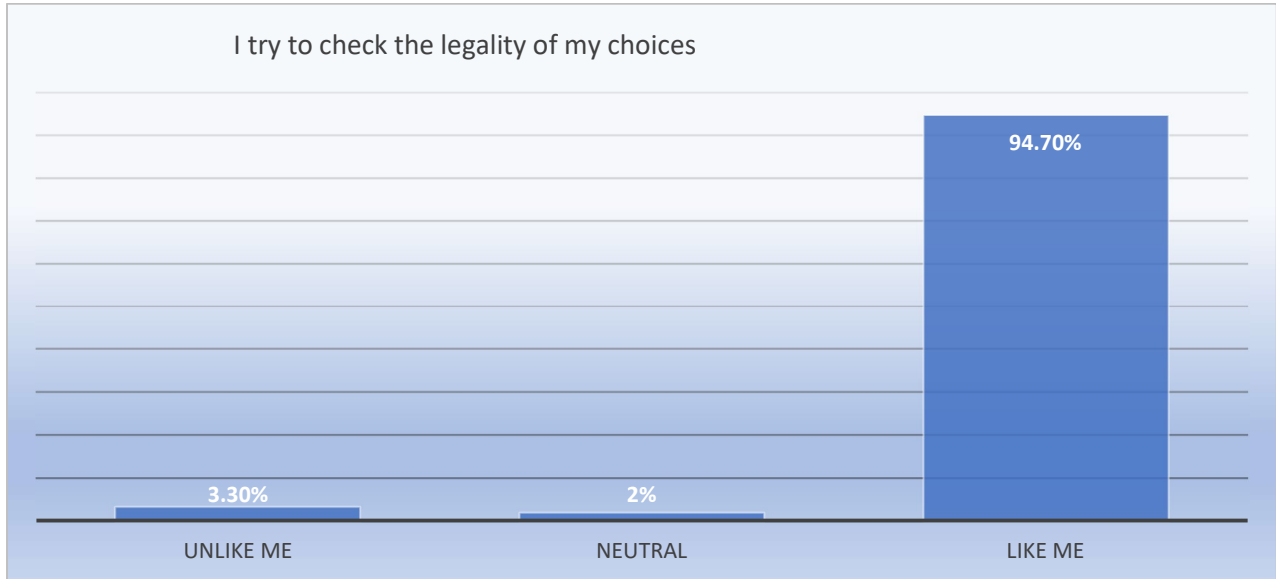


Chart 8: Respondents' tendency to lead others lawfully

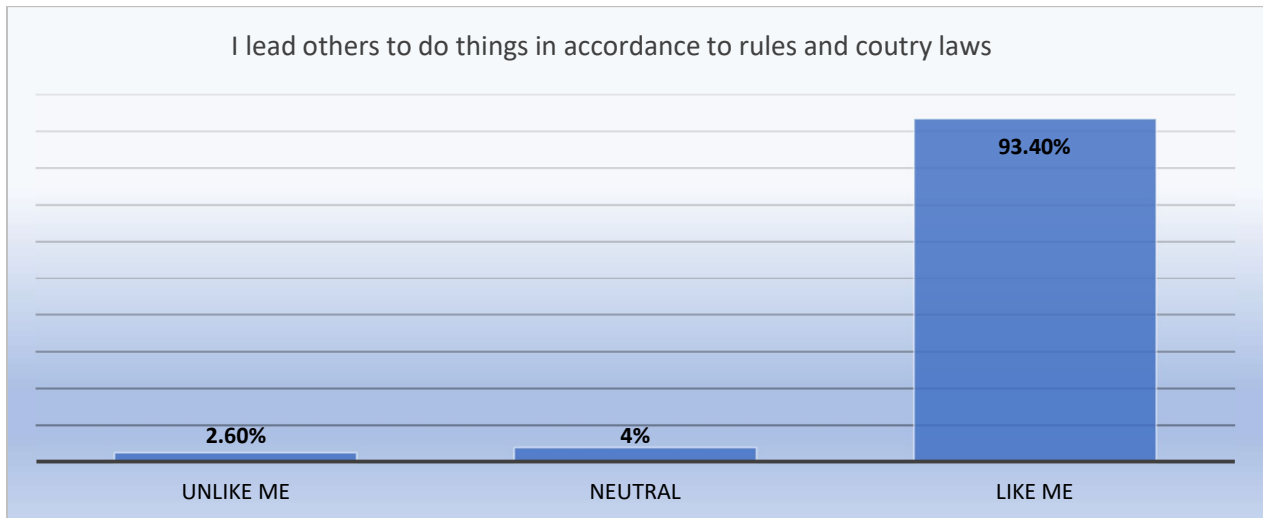


Chart 9: Respondents' tendency to keep the requirement of the law

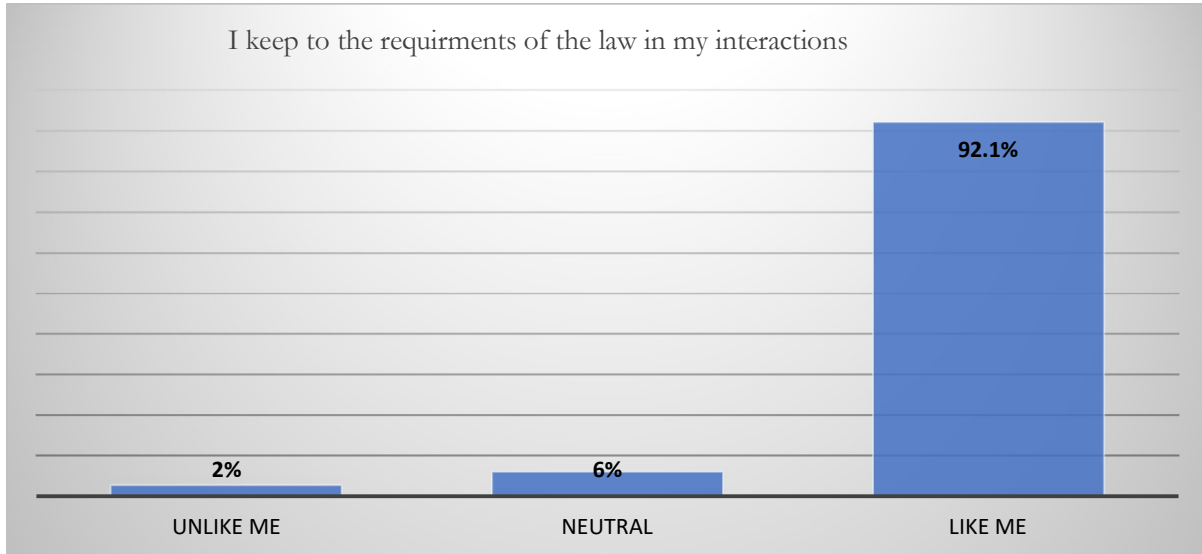
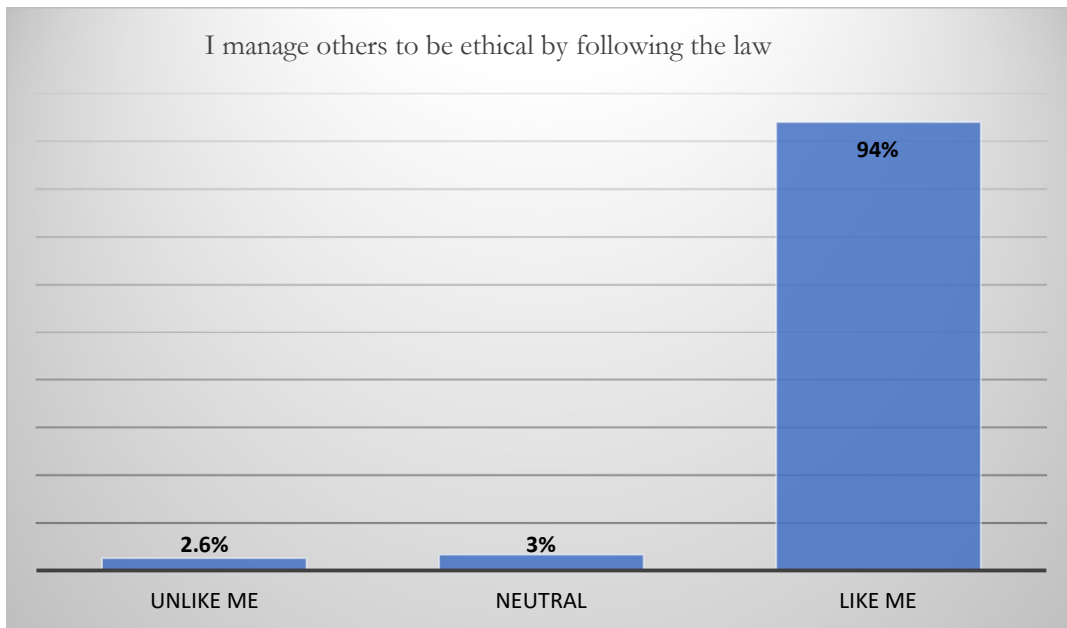


Chart 10: Respondents' tendency to influence others to be ethical



These anti-corruption-trained respondents overwhelmingly self-reported as being disciplined and law-abiding. Scenarios posed in the instrument checked their perception of acceptability of corrupt actions, introducing a contrast with the acceptability same action in a developed context. Below, one can see from the results that their reactions are in substantial consonance with their self-reports. It is also interesting that their perceptions of acceptability in developing and developed contexts are more closely aligned as the perception of acceptability of the corrupt action heightens.

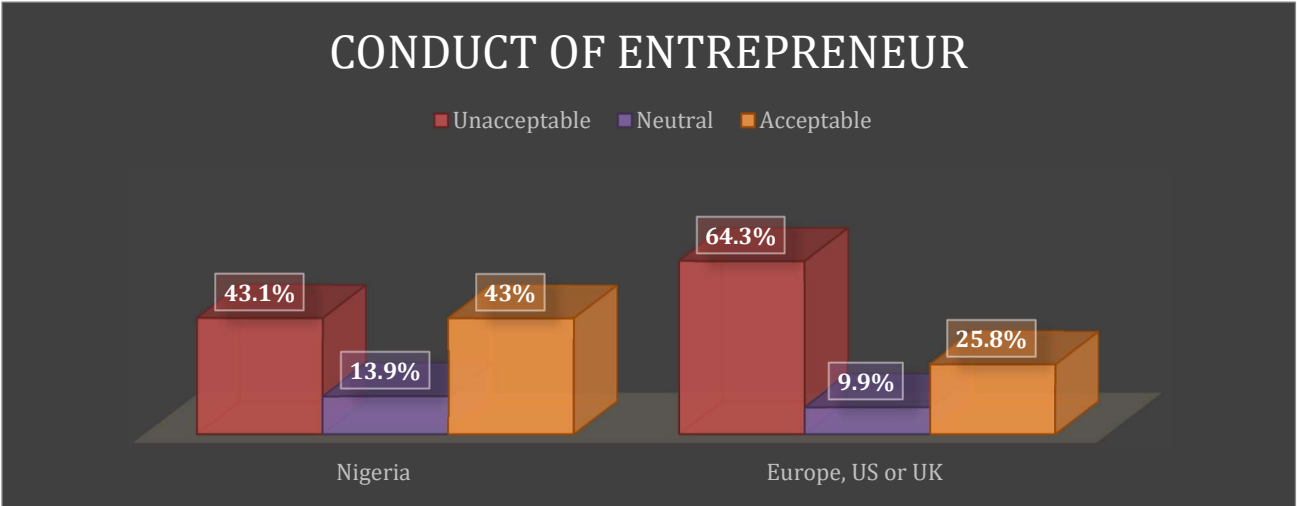
B. Hypothetical Scenarios

16a. An entrepreneur wanted to put up an additional building on his property in Lagos. To be able to start construction in the current financial year, he asked the official in charge of the local government to process the building permit as quickly as possible. They got it on time and the entrepreneur thanked the official with a bottle of wine worth about NGN 15,000.00, which he gratefully accepted. How do you assess the behaviour of the individual actors?

Conduct of the Entrepreneur	Nigeria (%)	Europe, US or UK (%)
Unacceptable	43.1	64.3
Neutral	13.9	9.9
Acceptable	43	25.8

Table 4: Entrepreneur’s ethical conduct in Nigeria, and Europe, US or UK

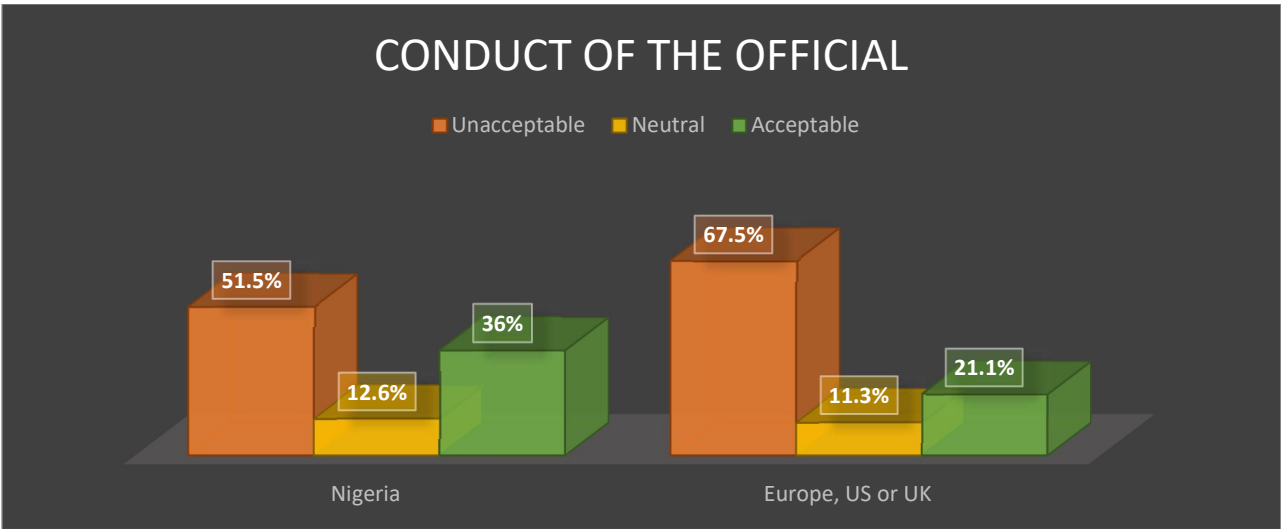
Chart 11: How the ethical conduct of the entrepreneur compares between Nigeria, and Europe, the US or the UK



Conduct of the Official	Nigeria (%)	Europe, US or UK (%)
Unacceptable	51.5	67.5
Neutral	12.6	11.3
Acceptable	36.4	21.1

Table 5: The official’s ethical conduct in Nigeria, and Europe, the Us or UK

Chart 12: How the ethical conduct of the official compares between Nigeria, and Europe, the US or UK

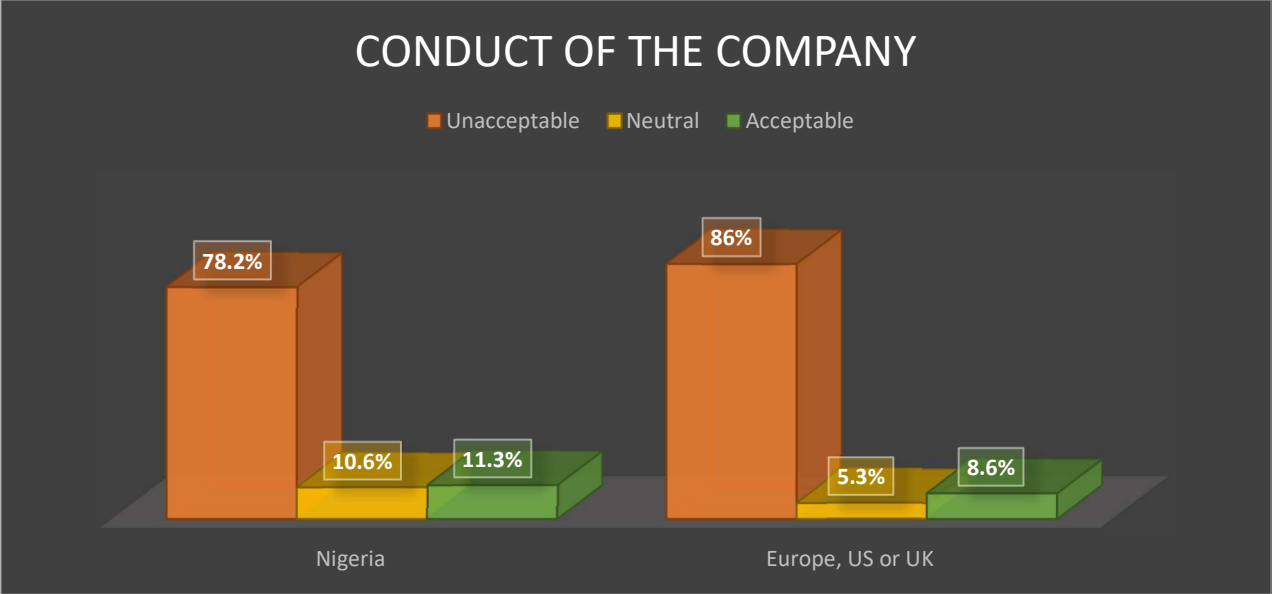


17a. A container with perishable goods worth NGN 60,000,000.00 is stuck at customs in Apapa. The customs officer in charge has informed the company that the import documents are not in order, but that the matter could be resolved quickly and unbureaucratically by an unreceipted payment of NGN 150,000.000, to be made privately to the customs officer. Since a further delay in customs clearance threatened the total loss of the goods, the company complied with the customs officer's request. How do you assess the behaviour of the individual actors? (1 = completely unacceptable, 7 = completely acceptable)

Conduct of the company	Nigeria (%)	Europe, US or UK (%)
Unacceptable	78.2	86
Neutral	10.6	5.3
Acceptable	11.3	8.6

Table 6: The company’s ethical conduct in Nigeria, and Europe, the Us or UK

Chart 13: How the ethical conduct of the company compares between Nigeria, and Europe, the US or UK

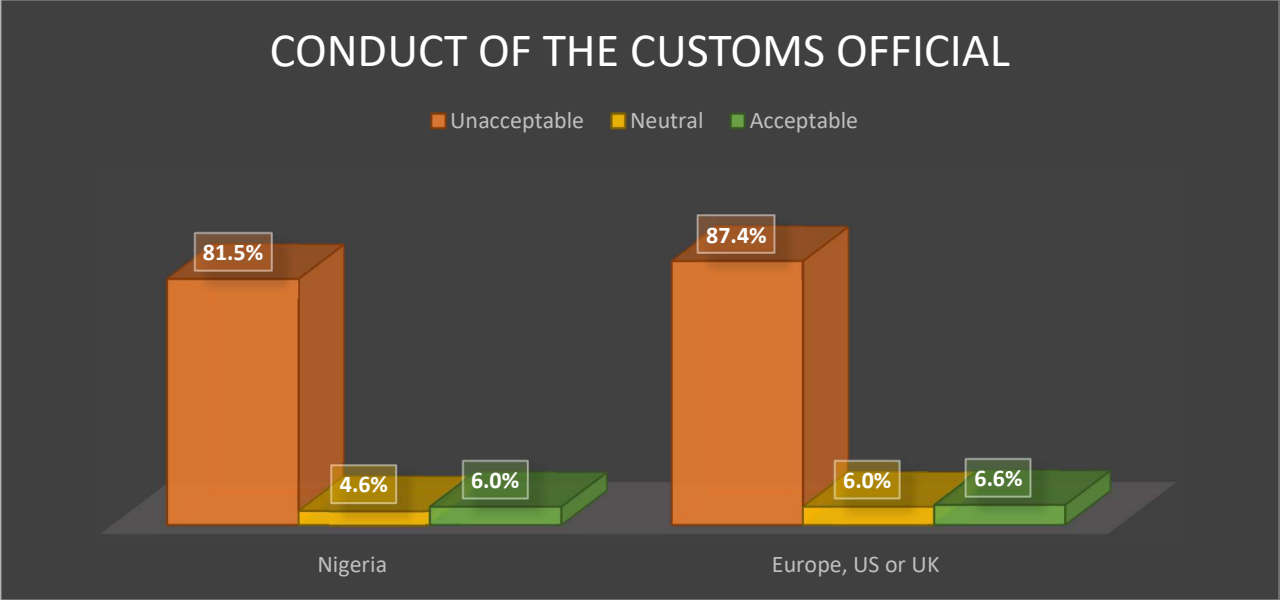


17 b

Conduct of the Customs Official	Nigeria (%)	Europe, US or UK (%)
Unacceptable	81.5	87.4
Neutral	4.6	6
Acceptable	6	6.6

Table 7: The customs official’s ethical conduct in Nigeria, and Europe, the Us or UK

Chart 14: How the ethical conduct of the customs official compares between Nigeria, and Europe, the US or UK

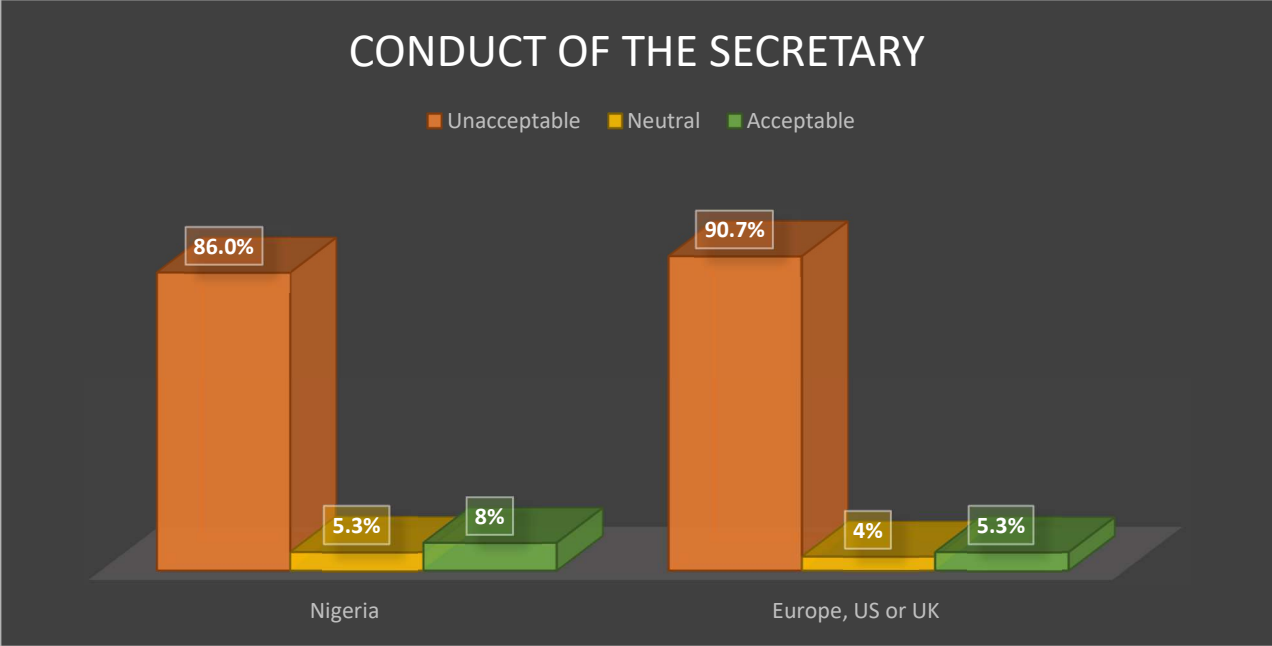


18a. An entrepreneur needed to travel urgently to Italy to attend to a business transaction worth NGN 40,000,000. A week before his trip, he learned that the travel regulations required a negative Covid test done 48 hours before entry. The trip was essential for the business and a positive result would endanger it; his secretary suggested paying the hospital for a negative result, assuring him that people do it. He accepted the suggestion and succeeded in travelling. How do you assess the behaviour of the individual actors? (1 = completely unacceptable, 7 = completely acceptable)

Conduct of the Secretary	Nigeria (%)	Europe, US or UK (%)
Unacceptable	86.8	90.7
Neutral	5.3	4
Acceptable	8	5.3

Table 8: The secretary’s ethical conduct in Nigeria, and Europe, the Us or UK

Chart 15: How the ethical conduct of the Secretary compares between Nigeria, and Europe, the US or UK

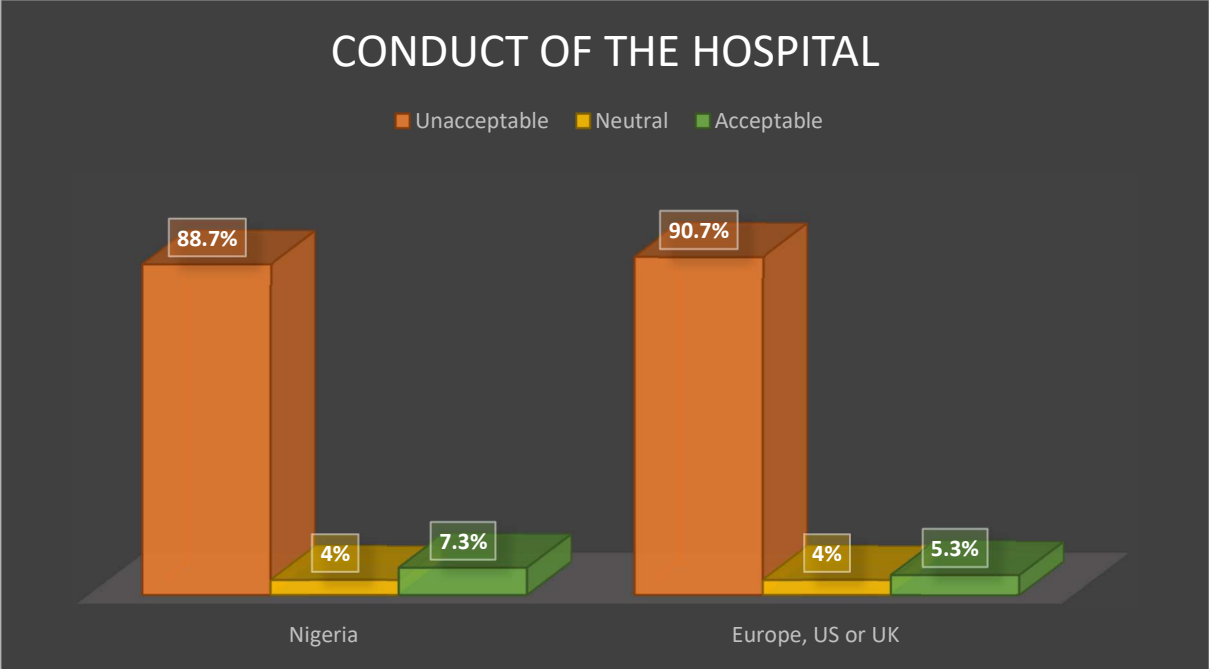


18b.

Conduct of the Hospital	Nigeria (%)	Europe, US or UK (%)
Unacceptable	88.7	90.7
Neutral	4	4
Acceptable	7.3	5.3

Table 9: The hospital’s ethical conduct in Nigeria, and Europe, the US or UK

Chart 16: How the ethical conduct of the hospital compares between Nigeria, and Europe, the US or UK



Rationalisation and ACT

To further check the attitude of the respondents towards corrupt acts, questions were raised as to circumstances that could lead to rationalisation. The responses, shown below in Table 12 and Charts 17 to 33, indicate that many of these people who have undergone ACT would not easily justify corruption.

What is your opinion on the following statements? [Multiple answers possible] (1 = not true at all, 7 = fully true).

SN	What is your opinion on the following statements? [Multiple answers possible]	Not True (%)	Neutral (%)	True (%)
A.	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [... this serves a good cause]	65.6	11.9	22.4
B	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [... this will secure jobs]	70.9	9.9	19.2
C	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...no one is directly harmed]	70.2	13.2	16.5
D	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...the injured party does not otherwise deserve this]	68.8	12.6	18.5
E	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one is forced to do so by circumstances]	61.6	13.9	24.5
F	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...There is danger to life and limb]	49	17.9	33.1

G	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...the competitors also do this]	60.9	11.9	27.1
H	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...it is part of the culture/custom of the country]	56.9	13.9	29.2
I	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this can help to get the contract one is targeting]	66.9	10.6	22.5
J	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this can help one afford life's luxury]	70.8	7.3	21.9
K	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one does not see any other way to achieve one's goal]	73.4	11.9	14.5
L	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one does not see any other way to achieve one's goal]	71.6	9.9	18.5
M	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this can assure that one will not be poor]	74.9	11.3	14
N	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one is under financial pressure from one's family]	70.9	9.9	15.2
O	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one's family does not see anything wrong with it]	72.1	11.3	16.6
P	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this is what one's immediate boss expects one to do]	72.2	14.6	13.2
Q	Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one is angry that others are getting away with it]	62.9	12.6	24.6

Table 12: Circumstances that may justify engagement in corrupt acts

Chart 17: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [... this serves a good cause]

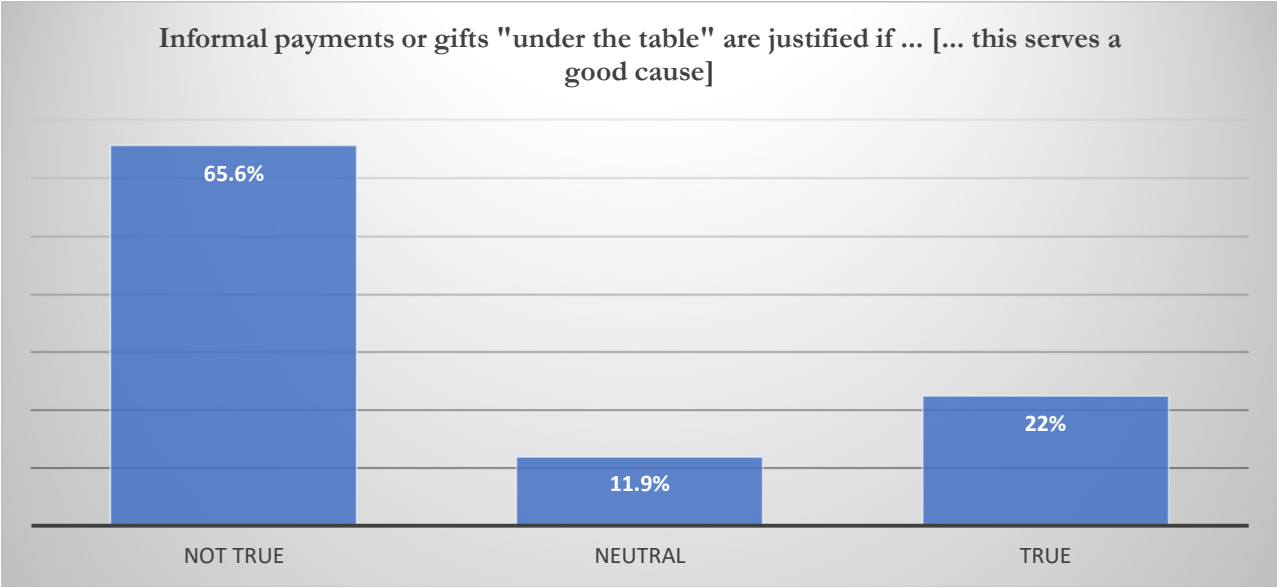


Chart 18: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [... this will secure jobs]

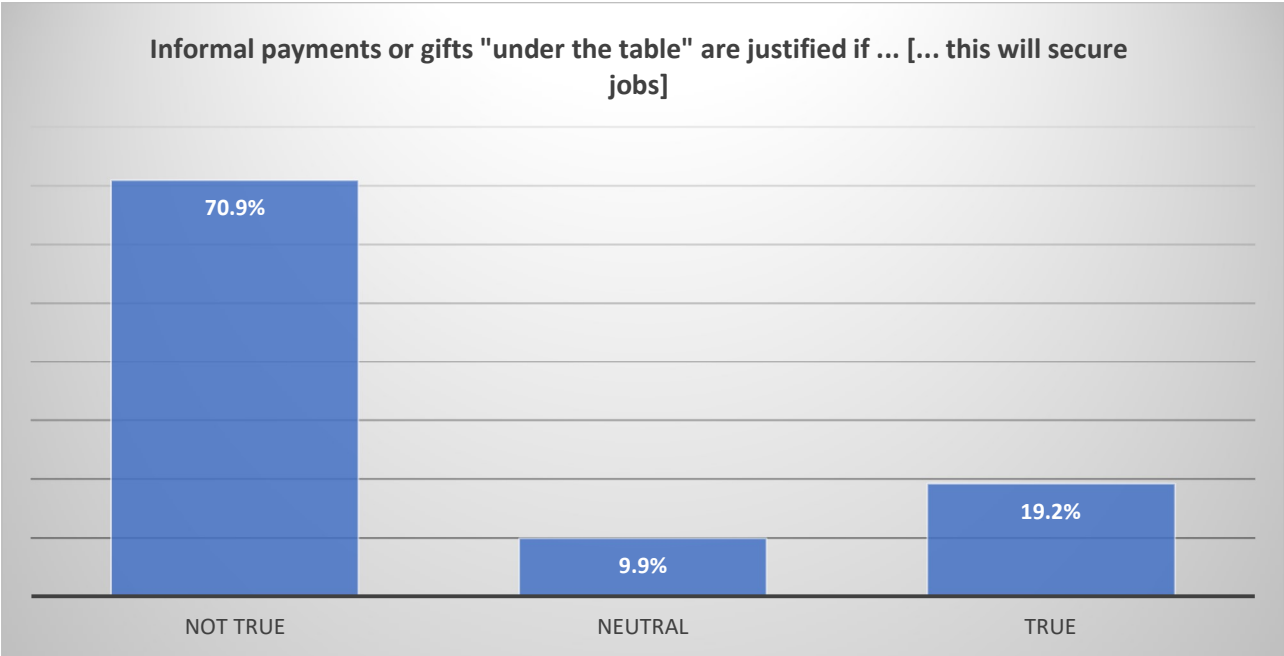


Chart 19: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...no one is directly harmed]

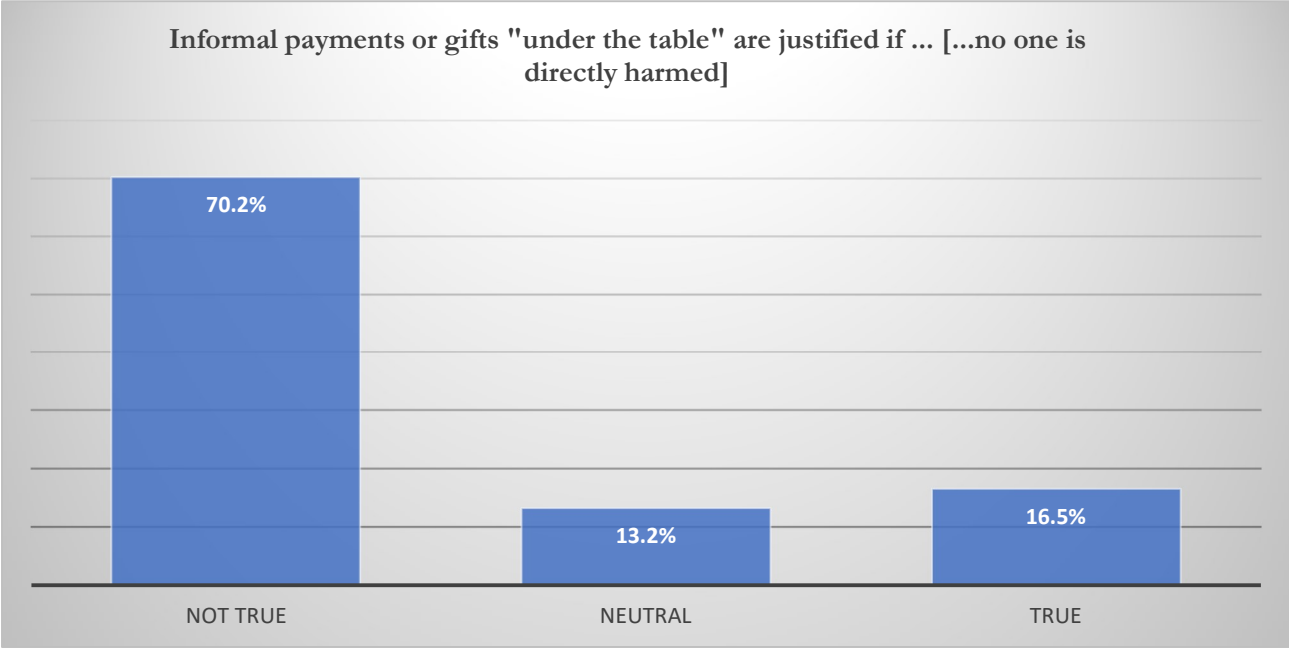


Chart 20: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...the injured party does not otherwise deserve this]

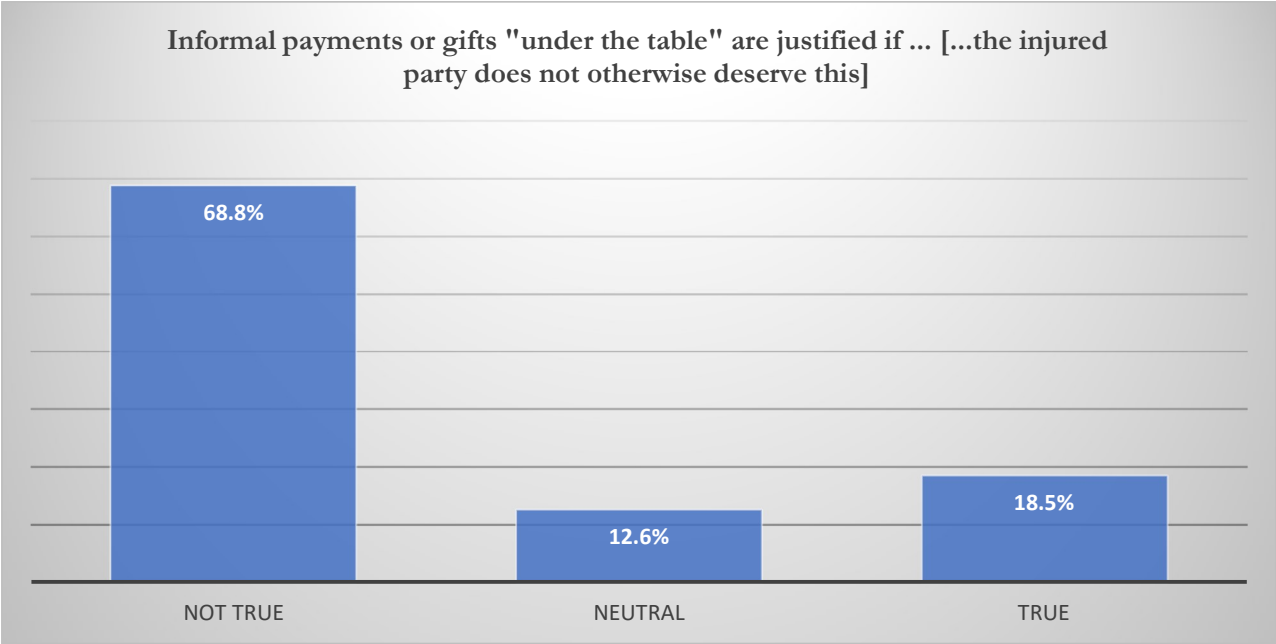


Chart 21: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one is forced to do so by circumstances]

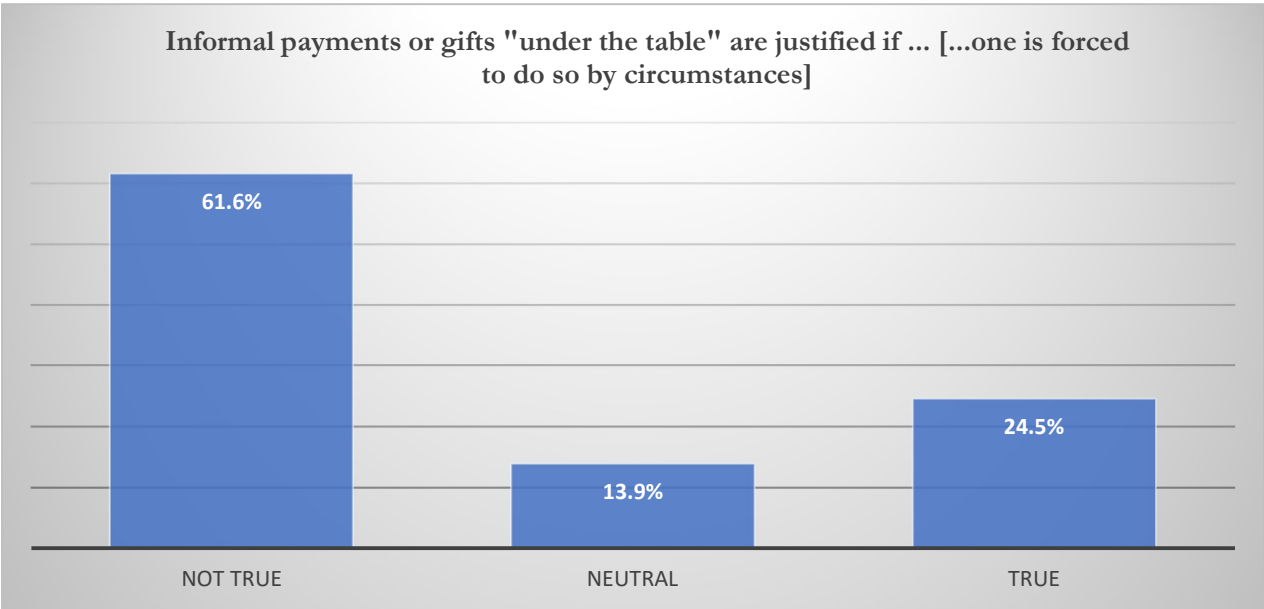


Chart 22: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...There is danger to life and limb]

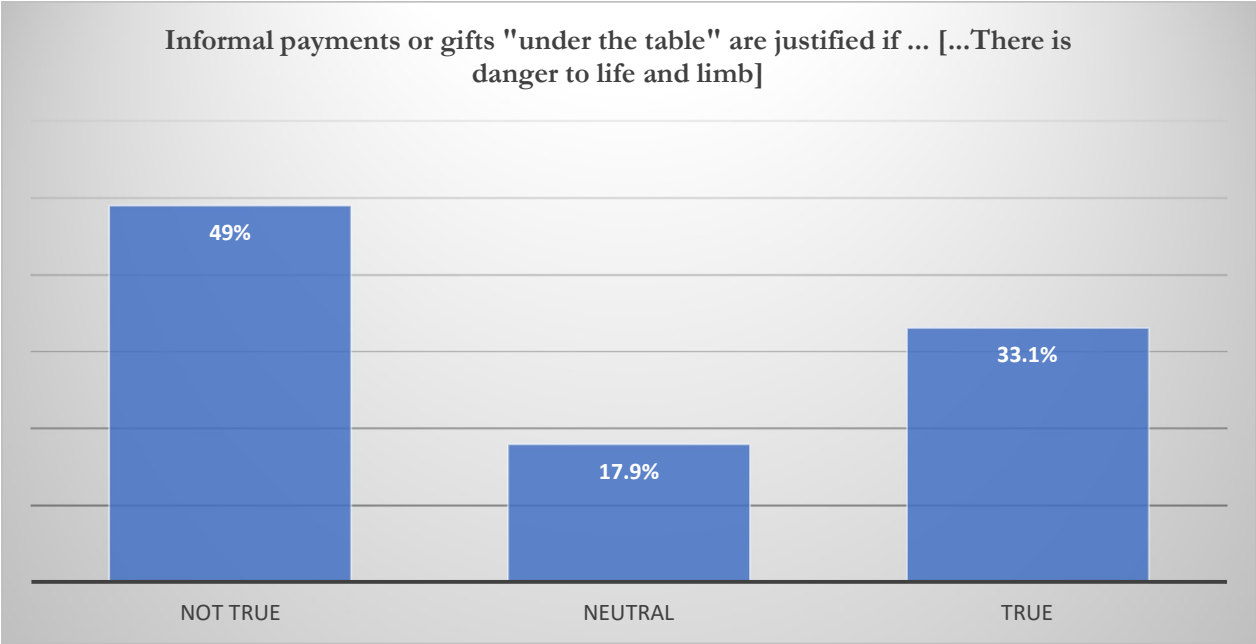


Chart 23: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...the competitors also do this]

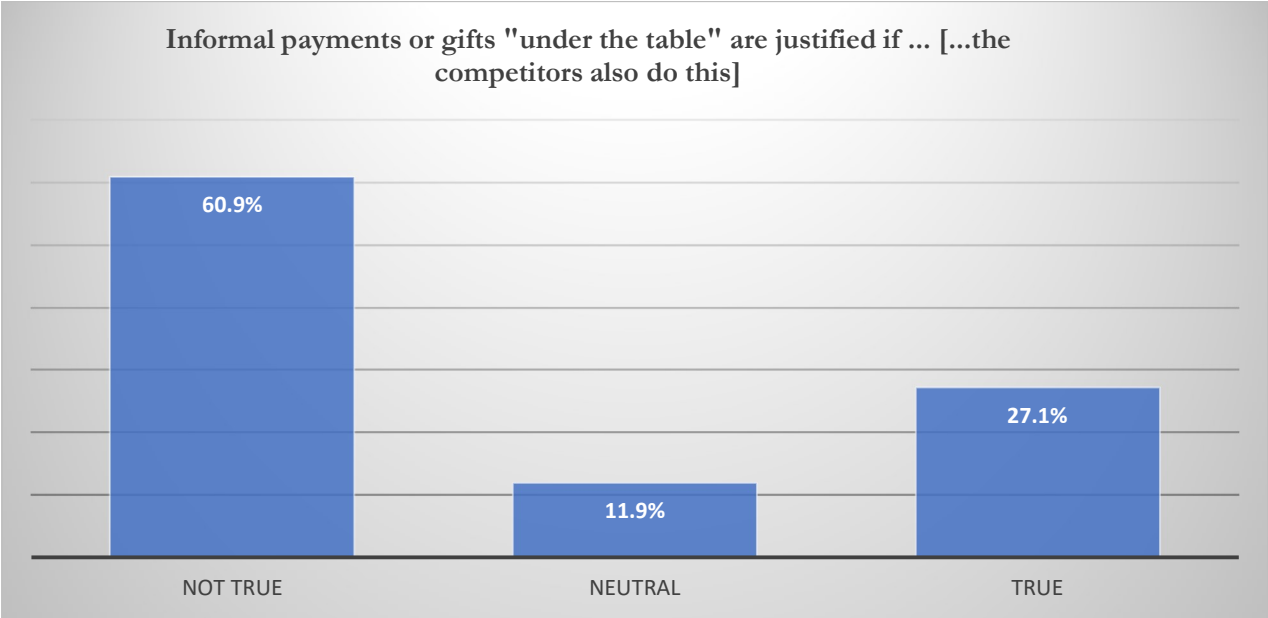


Chart 24: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...it is part of the culture/custom of the country]

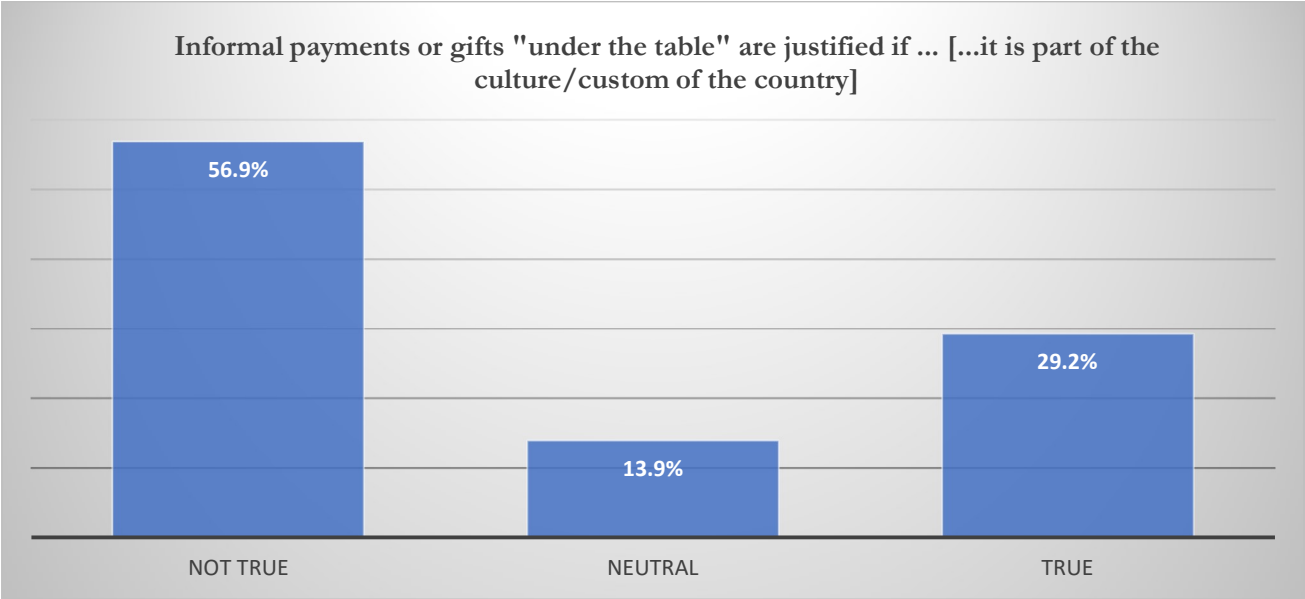


Chart 25: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this can help to get the contract one is targeting]

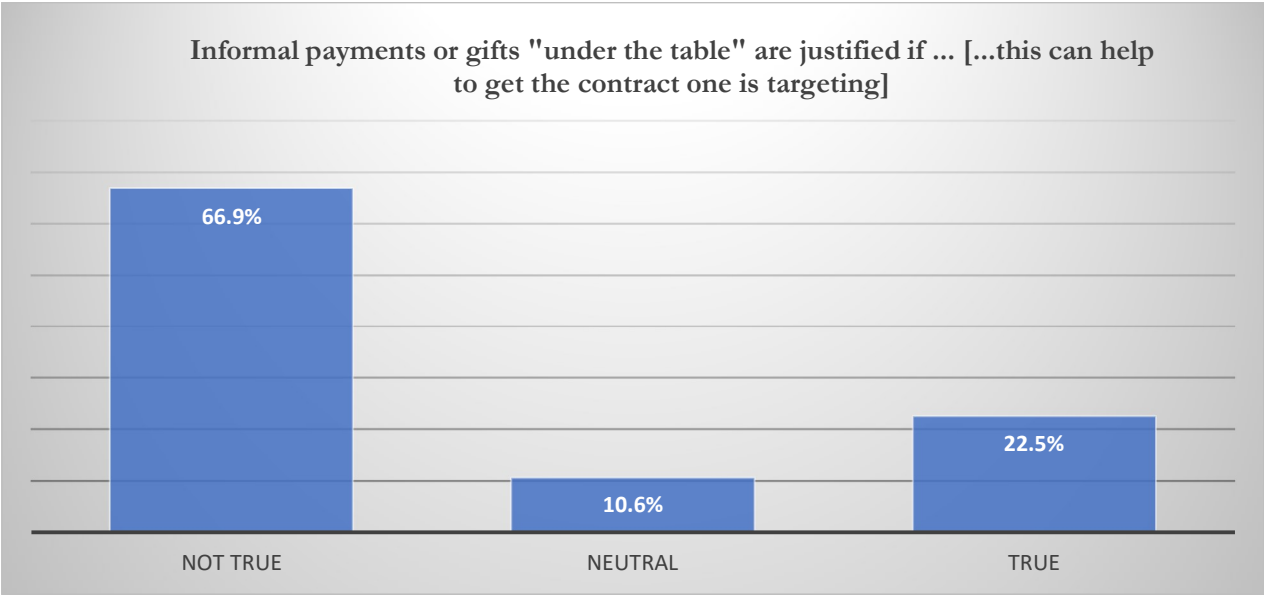


Chart 26: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this can help one afford life's luxury]

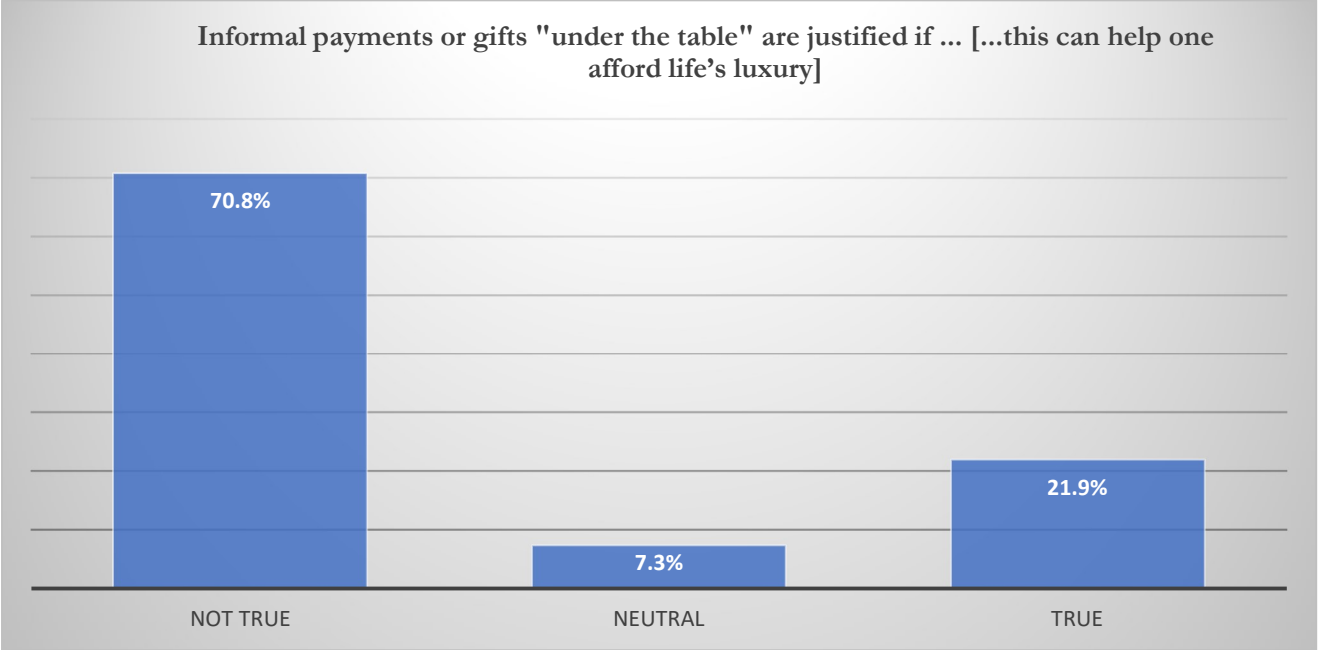


Chart 27: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [... this is what one's colleagues expect one to do]

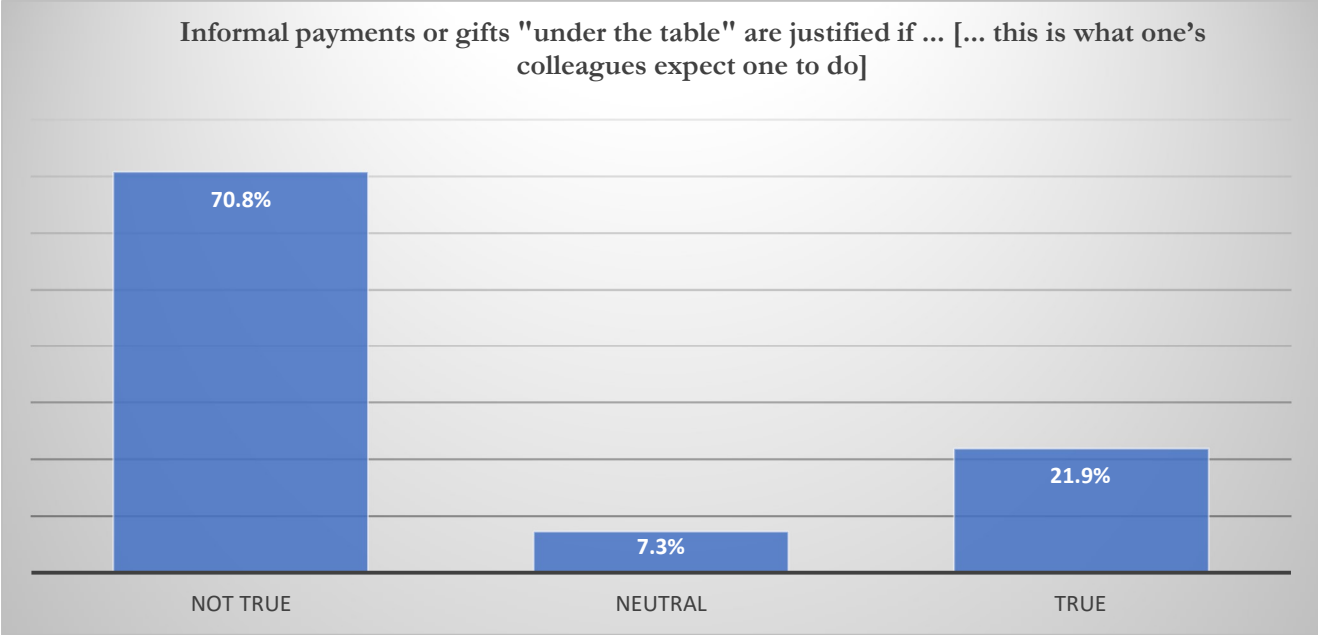


Chart 28: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one does not see any other way to achieve one's goal]

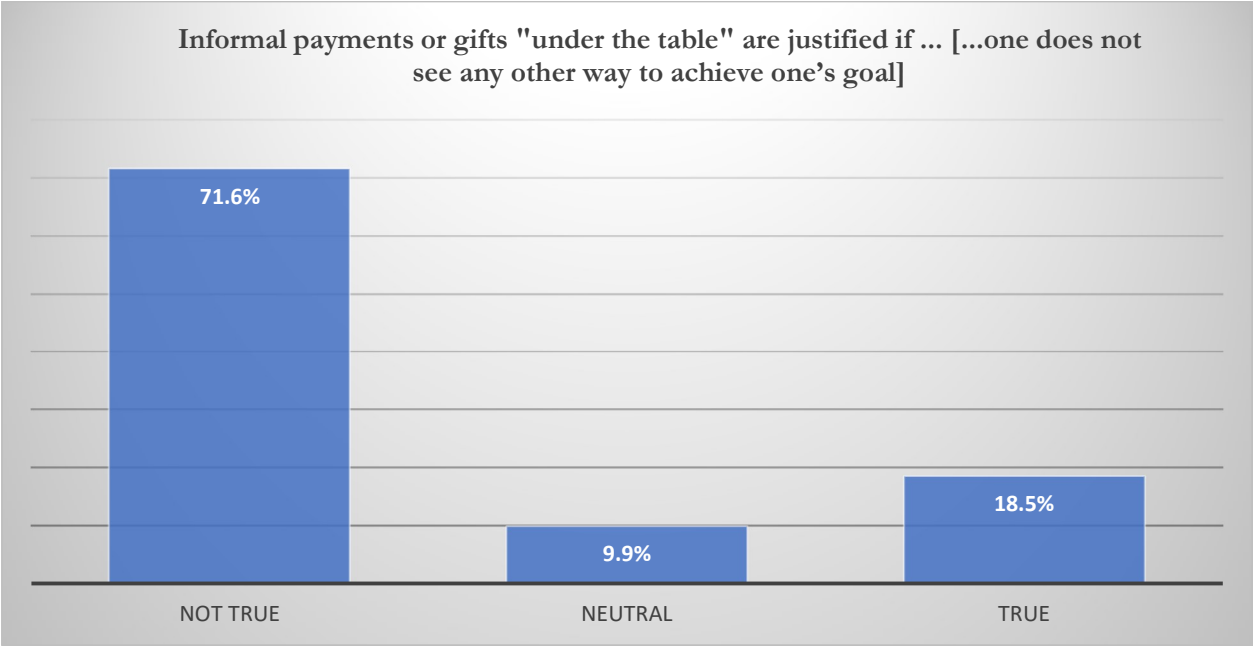


Chart 29: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this can assure that one will not be poor]

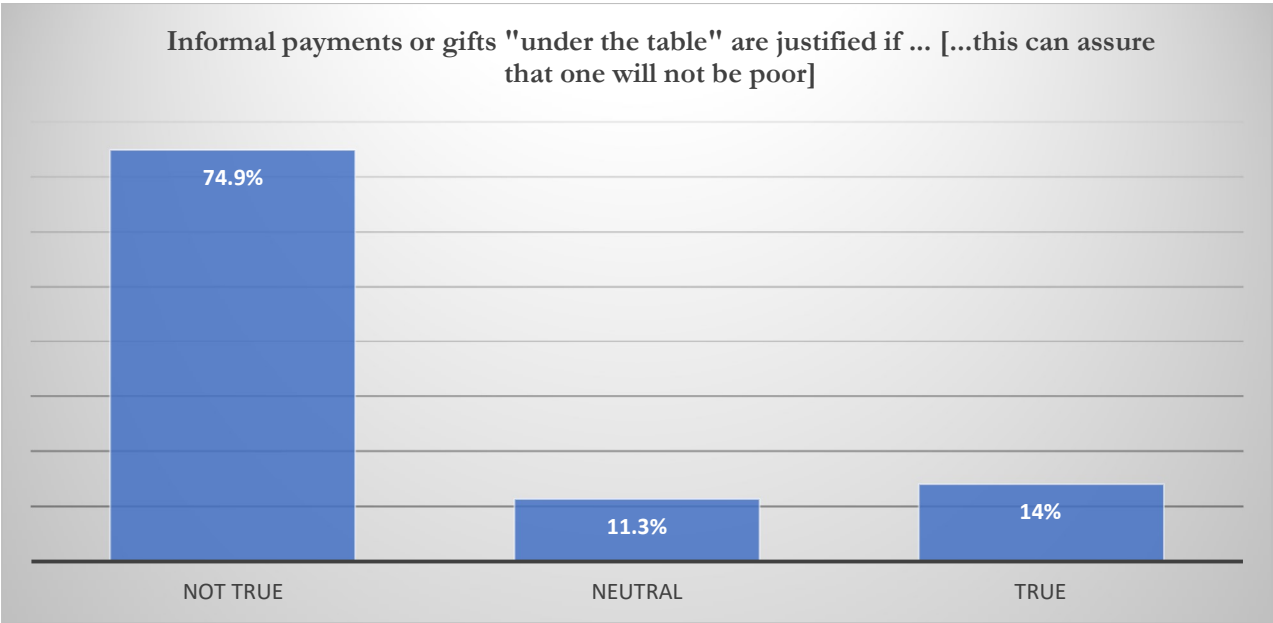


Chart 30: N. Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one is under financial pressure from one's family]

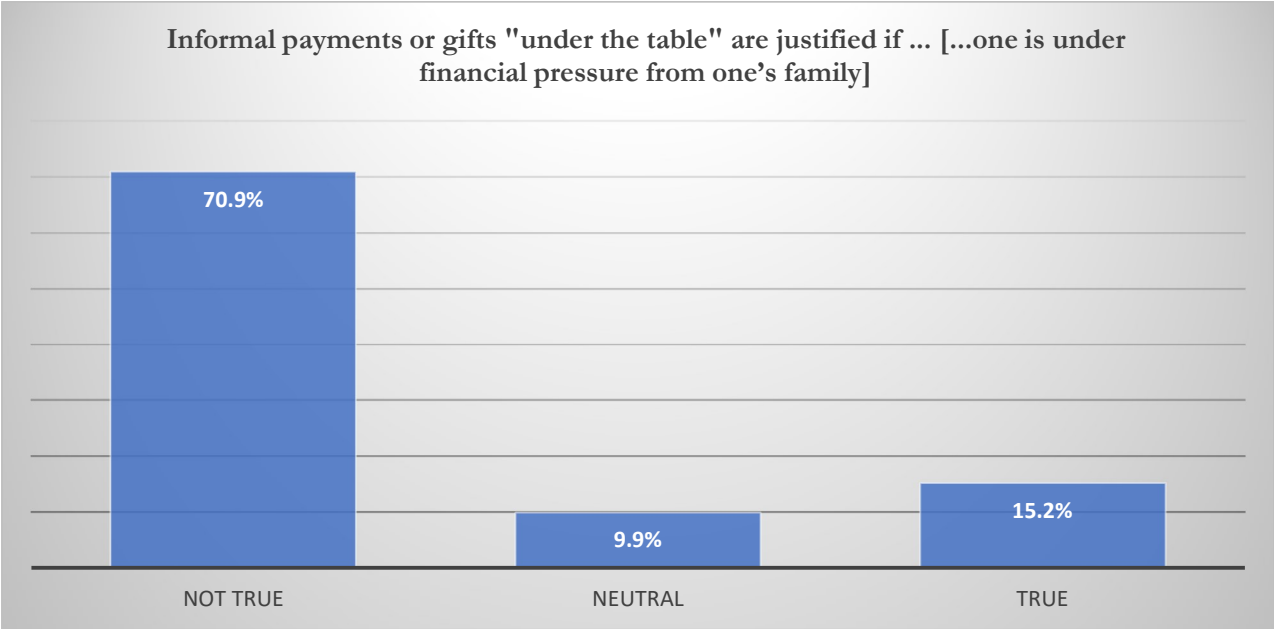


Chart 31: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one's family does not see anything wrong with it]

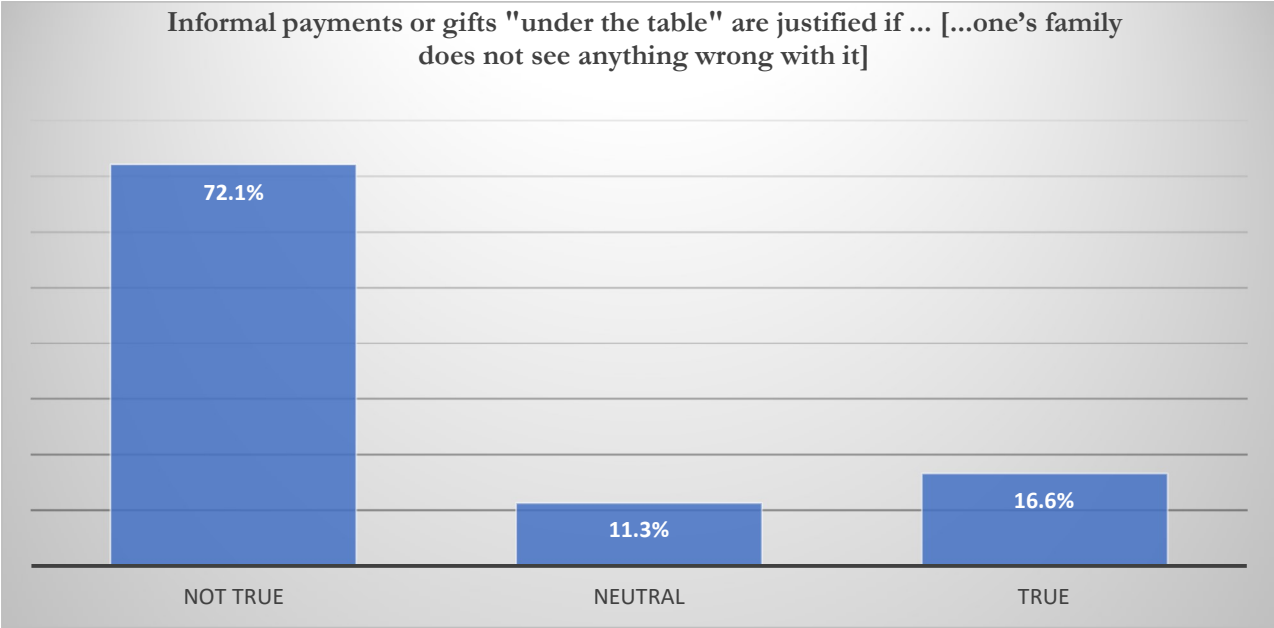


Chart 32: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...this is what one's immediate boss expects one to do]

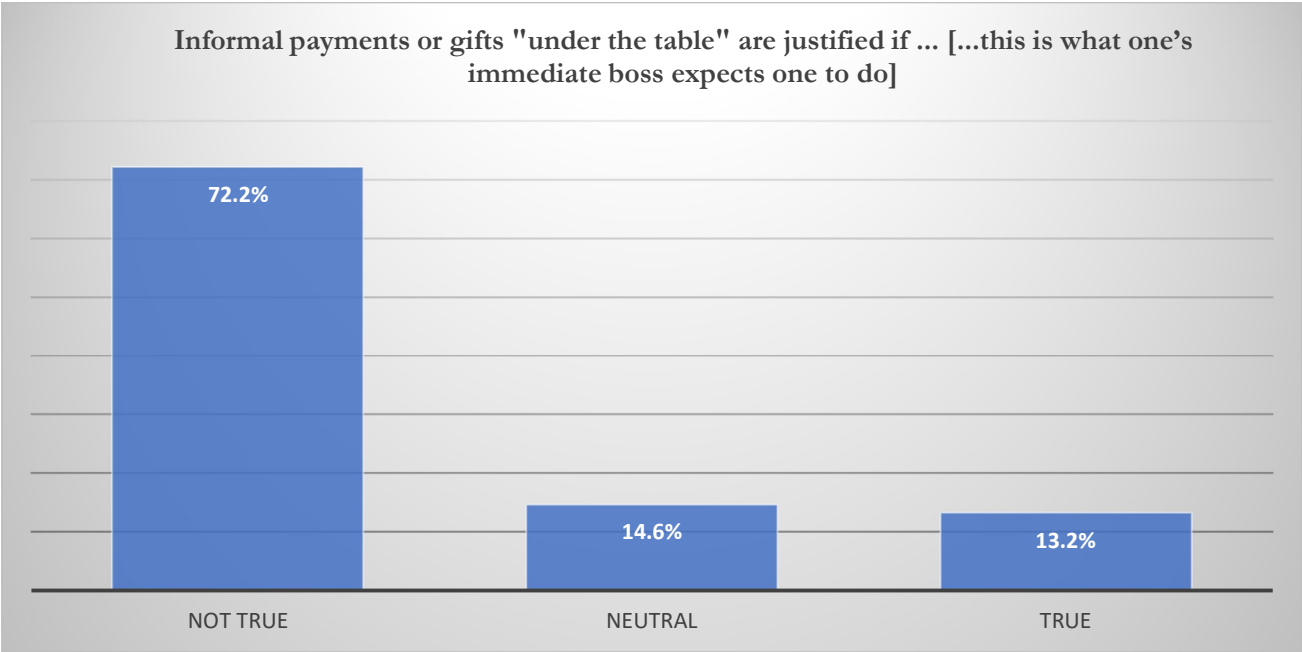
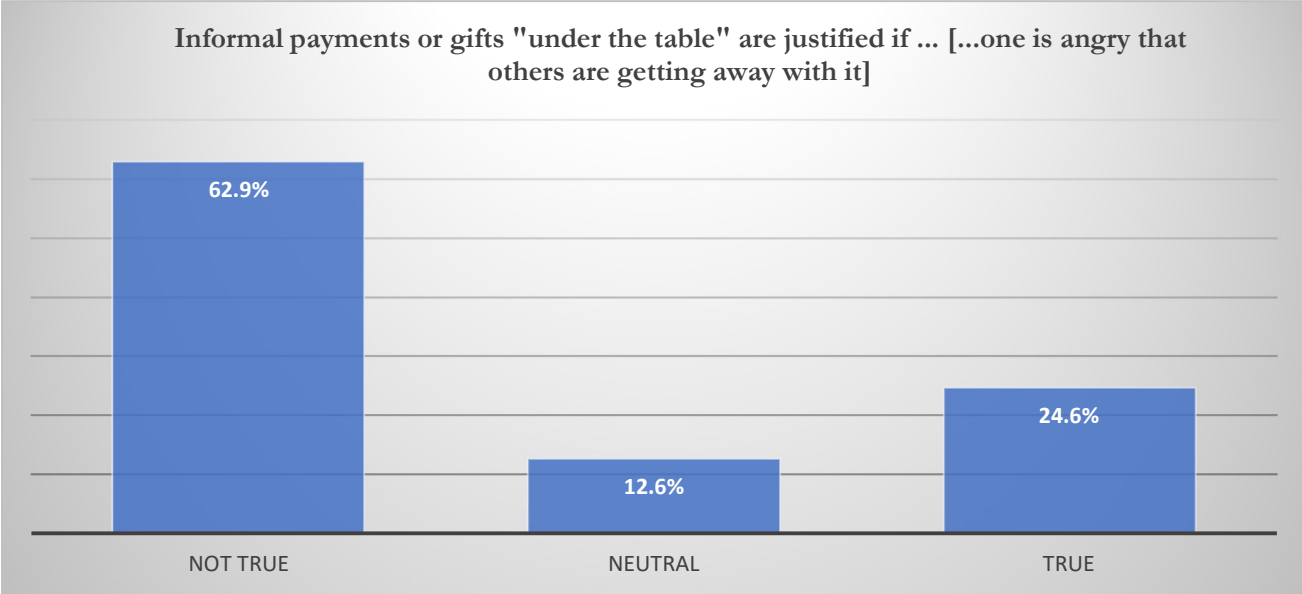


Chart 33: Informal payments or gifts "under the table" are justified if ... [...one is angry that others are getting away with it]



Qualitative Results and Discussion

The quantitative data analysis indicates that ACT is effective in Nigeria, yet the country's anti-corruption index as measured by transparency international continues to be low. The qualitative phase of this study sought to understand this better. As envisaged, the data contributed to a deepened understanding of the quantitative results and helped shape our recommendations for deeper ACTE. We present the data below in a discourse analysis format based on our conceptual framework, beginning by looking at insights derived from further exploring the work context, supervisor and family relationships, emotional notes, and character traits of the respondents.

Context

Anti-corruption trainers' understanding of the trainees' context could enhance effectiveness: To tease out what this means, we discussed it with the respondents of the qualitative phase. The trainees highlighted the laxity in implementing government policies intended to prevent and punish corrupt behaviour. They observed that policies, though in place, are not strong enough or are ineffective. Institutions such as EFCC and ICPC were acknowledged to be doing some work, but in some cases selective, with one trainee attributing their function to "80% recovery". The lack of 'seen' consequences for corrupt behaviour was the significant reason for the difference in Nigeria's corruption level vis-à-vis developed countries. These institutions were called on to show the strength of character as reflected in a respondent's words, "So, institutional strength must be built. The anti-graft agencies must remain what they are called and people there should be punished when they are caught stealing or aiding this corruption in any manner". Nigerians know how to act right and desist from corrupt acts as evidenced by almost a 360 change in attitude once they leave the country's shores. Thus, the overarching problem is the lack of effectiveness of our policies on corruption within and outside the institutions put in place to champion this.

The leadership of organisations was also commented on. It was agreed that there is a flow from leaders to subordinates. That is, the leaders always set the tone from the top. If they thus engage in corrupt practices or are seen to condone such acts, those beneath them will invariably model these behaviours with a few exceptions where the individual strength of character comes into place.

Weak internal controls within an organisation aid corruption. As stated by a trainee, In the public/civil service, there is a clear delineation of what constitutes an offence bordering on corruption and the repercussion for such. However, when one is found flouting these rules, compassion often comes to bear with people pleading that the corrupt act be overlooked. This needs to be checked, and in the words of a trainee, employees need to know that "If you behave in an unethical manner, it can cost you your job".

Organisational support was viewed as being very important in this struggle. This support while set by leadership needs to be championed by a particular department, the compliance department. This department, or officers in the department, will oversee activities within the organisation, and check activities which if left unchecked, will lead to corruption. Whistleblowing was also mentioned as one of the tools that can be used to anonymously report corrupt acts, thus giving everyone in the organisation a sense of ownership and responsibility.

Organisational culture and climate were mentioned quite often by the trainees. The culture should be so clear that an employee understands this is what is expected of me, and this will be the consequence otherwise, depending on the severity of one's action. As such, in an organisation where things are done anyhow, yet ACT administered, probably for the books, the required impact will not be had. As an employee, if you come into an organisation with good intentions, it is easy to lose your way if the culture and climate support corruption.

Trainees touched on training frequency as being important. The more trainings, the more effective the output. These trainings should not be one off or far spaced but done frequently so it resonates with the trainee. As stated by one of the trainees, the style of delivery could vary, but ACT needs to be frequent. The reason for the advocacy for frequent trainings was explained by a trainee, who said individuals' characters are formed over time, and as such, a one-off training will have little to no impact. Whereas repeated trainings could gradually change the formed character of such an individual.

Emotions

In a bid to better understand the influence of emotions on corrupt practices, the interviews explored these emotions in-depth. They identified some examples showcasing their impact on the likelihood of engaging in corrupt practices. Future ACTs can keep these emotions in mind.

Greed was the emotion that was most cited as a driver of corruption. Respondents explained that a lack of satisfaction with having basic needs could drive people to engage in corrupt practices. "I work in an organization, where I think people are relatively well paid, not overly, but at least you'd be able to make ends meet and live within your means, but hey, it's greed that would make you want to get more through unethical means." Greed was also compared to a feeling of entitlement, resulting in a person feeling that they have a right to everything good whether or not they work for it.

Greed was also described as lack of contentment with what one has. An interviewee observed that "people are no longer contented [with] ...what they have". The lack of contentment associated with greed is also sometimes compounded by the desire to be seen as having the same economic power as other people in one's circle. Sometimes, when people compare what they own with those of others they become dissatisfied with what they have and want more. An interviewee describes it as "keeping up with the Joneses" syndrome. Comparing one's financial status with one's peers could create self-imposed pressure to have more money and assets. More direct peer pressure was also seen to drive corrupt practices. Requests from others to join in such practices could influence people especially when they do not have strong personalities.

For example: "if (...) you have a child [that] all her friends are going abroad, and you know what the parents do... peer pressure makes you want to belong. ... start to think of joining their corrupt businesses so you can start making money the way they do."

Sometimes, urgent or pressing genuine needs for money for oneself or one's family may be a source of pressure or tension that pushes one into corruption. As such, one may be pressured to get money by all means. As one interviewee said, "maybe they need to sort out some things and the funds are not forthcoming, and you saw somebody gives you an inroad into a supposedly corrupt practice that could yield some funds. People could easily fall into that trap and take the bait."

Respondents also identified fear as a motor for corrupt practices for example, when there is fear for personal safety or fear of losing one's job and means of livelihood when in an organization which supports corrupt practices. Another kind of fear that was pointed out is the fear of poverty – this may be more intense for younger staff especially if they believe they could lose their jobs for refusing to abet a supervisor's corrupt practices.

Fear might however also prevent a person from getting involved in corrupt practices. Many of the anticorruption trainings' contents explained the consequences of engaging in corrupt practices to the participants. That knowledge of the consequences, including jail sentences, provoked fear in them. Sometimes staff members were informed when a colleague was sanctioned for corrupt practices. Fear of the consequences of engaging in corrupt practices was a deterrent from engaging in such practices.

Lack of hope makes some people stop fighting corruption and even join in the practices. The person may feel there is no hope for change or a better situation. The statements "the problem is that, you know, to make it in this country, you have to be corrupt" or "in our country Nigeria we are feeling that everything is bad, everything is not working out well so because of that feeling and emotions already you will go and engage in corrupt practises" depict that despair of thriving without being corrupt drives corrupt practices such that one feels helpless in the face of dilemmas.

Impatience with slow bureaucratic processes, coupled with the thought that corrupt ways are the only ways to get things done, makes people participate in corrupt practices. Interviewees also expressed a concern that a desire to make quick money instead of patiently working and waiting for returns to grow can push people, especially young people into corruption. It was however interesting to find that hope is still experienced by some interviewees, and they look forward to a better Nigeria in spite of the negative experiences that they have had.

Feelings or attachment to other individuals, relatives, friends etc. may prompt one to conduct unethical favours for them. Our interviews yielded examples within the banking industry where overfamiliarity with customers may make a person less vigilant in going through the checks before approving transactions which may turn out fraudulent. Another example would be the interest in preserving friendships and doing favours for people whom one knows by using one's influence to help them shunt queues or skip normal processes and checks.

Other emotions include the general lack of satisfaction with one's work or situation and a lack of motivation to work hard and work well. Some training included motivation a rejection of corrupt practices by prompting the person's sense of pride and pointing out that they would be proud of the results of working with integrity.

Anger at injustices, sometimes manifested as a feeling of being cheated, could drive corrupt practices, for example, when a person is underpaid or has not been given promotions when due. Being fed up with the status quo and wanting to get in a position to siphon resources that one does not own could also be a manifestation of anger at the injustice one observes.

Anti-corruption training curricula would do well to address as many of the emotions described above as possible.

Family Relationships

The idea of the family being foundational for the formation of one's character and moral fiber came out in both the individual interviews and the Focus Group Discussions (FGD). Several respondents expressed the opinion that the effectiveness of their training was directly related to the extent of their previous learning in the early years of growing up provided by the families.

P18 was categorical in statements that show an almost direct proportion between quality of family education and effectiveness of anti-corruption training. P17 and others explained how their personal experiences have helped them appreciate that the quality of one's first formative years help in the later understanding of the content of Anti Corruption Training. P17 added that his father was a role model for him because he witnessed him live out the teachings he transmitted. Specific examples were given by P24, who detailed some instructions he received with regard to honesty, theft, and fairness which eventually influenced his convictions about corruption and its ills. Thus, our findings point to the fact that the framework for one's moral fiber is mostly set in childhood and fortified by the teachings and examples received in the family. It is when there is a strong moral conscience that anti-corruption training in later life becomes effective because it resonates with what one already knows.

In FGD 2 other examples were given such as learning how and when to accept gifts, how to identify unlawful sources of gifts, and how to be content with what one has. P13 gave a personal example about bringing home a toy and being questioned about its source. That lesson for him became a practical reminder that not all 'gifts' are welcome. Contentment is thus learnt in the family not through theoretical discussions but in the reinforcements of behaviour that show content and penalties for those that do not. Some of our respondents (P2 and P28) said they understood early that necessity is not an excuse for unlawful acquisition of property which helped them in later life to resist bribery and corruption.

Another example that on the surface did not appear to be directly connected to the topic of corruption yet provided a strong learning point for the future came up in FGD 2. One of the discussants recounted that his mother had told him to always be sincere in his relationships and never make a dishonest declaration of love simply to gain favour. Since Bribery is the unlawful acquisition of public goods for private gains, one can understand that any form of deception for personal gain makes corrupt practices more plausible. Thus, sincerity, honesty, integrity, and

uprightness can be built through family interactions and eventually form strong individuals able to withstand corruption.

P1, P13, and P31 repeatedly pointed out the role of disciplined parents who model the virtues of honesty, hard work, justice, fairness, integrity, and lawfulness. P31 put it succinctly that when children grow up knowing that one can act uprightly behind closed doors it gives them the confidence to act through conviction rather than simply for the fear of punishment. It is in one's home that one acts in conscience and therefore builds strong convictions.

The questions of personal convictions as being a great motivator for acting uprightly was brought up in many of the sessions. P23 gave an example of building convictions and forming children in freedom as possibly the most effective way of developing upright individuals. He gave the example that inculcating love and respect for one's family name could be a motivator for acting so as not to tarnish that name even when one is alone. P19 also pointed out that especially in the African context, when a child misbehaves, the judgment is that he is lacking home training or showing the great emphasis that is placed on the family for forming character.

It is interesting that the topic of the family as the first and primary trainer came up several times in our discussions and not simply in the context of the nuclear family. P19 pointed out that his grandmother had been a strong influence in his upbringing and understanding of ethical practices. Other extended family members or even members of the community were also recognised as having almost similar responsibilities to one's parents even though distinct.

In a similar way, when it came to pressures to act unethically, some of our respondents recognised that family members may be guilty of comparing with other families and thus putting pressure on some of their members to commit unlawful practices. For instance, P17 talked about peer pressure from family to accept gifts or privileges that amount to bribery. In FGD 1 one of the discussants recounted an incident in his community where ill-gotten goods were brought home by two members of the community and instead of reporting this to law enforcement agents, the community decided to judge the situation claiming it was a 'family' situation. Eventually, no punishment was meted out, and by overlooking or seeming to support this behaviour, they inadvertently transmitted an acceptance of such behaviour to other young people in that community.

P29 highlighted a particular aspect of the pressure that may be placed on some family members. He pointed out the strong cultural practices in some Nigerian families that expect the first son or daughter to carry the family forward economically. At times, this responsibility leads some to accept gifts from their children without questioning the source. In all the FGDs, there was a consensus that formal and informal education on anti-corruption training needs to start at the level of the community and the family.

P18 went as far as advocating some form of anti-corruption training from the nursery school level with an adapted curriculum and examples for these 3- or 4-year-olds. His thinking, like many

others, was that it is easier to internalise truths and build convictions from childhood. One of them said 'it is easier to build little children than to repair broken men'.

In FGD 4, it was pointed out that community-wide trainings would be capital intensive and require a lot of funding and the collaboration of corporate bodies. There is still a nationwide need to study how training can be made broader, more far-reaching, and more effective. However, there is no doubt that if each family takes up the task of training its members, there will be more law-abiding citizens with the strength of character to resist the pressures of a corrupt environment.

Finally, the question of religion came up often in our findings. It was seen to provide the moral teachings that lay a foundation for anti-corrupt behaviour. The Christian faith was particularly extolled as an effective vaccine against corruption when truly lived, well modelled, and transmitted as a personal commitment of a free conscience acting before God. This was because most of our respondents happened to be Christians and referred to this background as grounds and motivation for their moral knowledge and actions. P25 and P26, referring to the motivation to act well that comes from working to uphold one's family name, added that a constant consciousness of acting as "a child of God" could also help one act in coherence with one's religious beliefs and thus resist corruption.

Interestingly, P9 pointed out that even if one lacked the early formation that should have provided a foundation for anti-corrupt behaviour, it was not enough of an excuse to act unethically since one could continually educate one's conscience. In FGD 2 one of the respondents corroborated the point using a rich cultural play on words, 'your background should not be the reason why your back should be on the ground'. After all, one has the choice of friends in later life as well as the option of what kind of life to live. Therefore, whereas family is not chosen, one can surround oneself with a support system that was initially lacking in one's family.

Supervisor Modelling

Given the social condition of our human nature that needs others to grow and develop, we have seen the role of family, friends, and community in forming virtues and habits that make uprightness possible. In the organisational climate, our findings also confirmed that one's direct boss significantly influenced one's ethical practices.

As FGD1 put it, 'work is where we spend a good part of our day and relationships there can forge our characters'. If one's environment with colleagues uphold anti-corrupt practices, it is easier to act well. However, many of the discussants agreed that one's direct supervisor or boss is an even more significant influence on one's ethical decisions and practices. There was unanimous recognition of the fact that if the boss is corrupt, it is easier to condone corrupt practices. In fact, in FGD 1, one of the respondents stated that 'the fight has to start from the top. The leaders of an organisation have to show good example. If that does not happen, there will be no headway. There has to be a top to bottom approach if there is to be anti-graft culture'.

It is clear from our findings that if the anti-corruption training received is reinforced by the decisions of the boss, then it becomes more effective. Apart from the direct actions that are unethical, P11 pointed out that a supervisor should be open, trusting, trustworthy, and approachable which makes it easier for others to open up to him about work issues or ethical dilemmas. The boss should also be fair and unbiased. This is even more pertinent if the supervisor is to be involved directly in the training. Several respondents such as P18, P15, P3, noted that if the supervisor did not practice what anti-corruption training preached, it would be ineffective. The virtues already discussed as transmitted in the family can be reinforced through the actions of the boss. One who has had such training early in life is also more amenable to confirming the anti-corrupt practices of the boss. Therefore supervisor-modelling works on the moral fibre of the subordinate already previously prepared.

Specific examples were given by P9 with direct reference to ACT when the supervisor is punctual and then asks that the others are punctual. This way, he teaches not only by what he says but also by his body language. One can tell the kind of person he is and his values and act accordingly. People watch their bosses to see what they do more than what they say. P6 said that the supervisor role is more like a mirror that shows everyone exactly what he or she is or should be doing. The idea of a mirror was used not only in reference to the supervisor but also in reference to when subordinates have to make decisions and ask what the supervisor would do in their situation. The supervisor becomes like the voice of their conscience.

In summary, the human being as a social creature is greatly influenced by the networks, he establishes around him. The early support systems are incredibly effective in forging character thus the family has a defining role in nurturing the human beings that belong to it. Since the first socialization occurs within the family, many values can be formed or not depending on the practices and modelling within that family. It is in the family that one can become other-oriented and learn to work for the common good. Yet the immediate family's effort is insufficient for forming individuals strong enough to withstand anti-corruption. The extended family, the community, early education, and friendships, as well as the formation of individuals with a conscience able to face self and God in ethical decision making is essential for the process of making anti-corruption training effective.

Importance of Personal Character for ACTE

As suggested in literature and in the quantitative survey results, a person's personal qualities can affect the effectiveness of anti-corruption training. This happens in various ways. P24 suggests that ACT can wake up the trainee's conscience, reminding him or her that something that may appear normal to do is in fact not normal. According to P22, many people undergo ACT because their organisations make it mandatory, but it is the "individual decision" that matters. For P22, the training was effective only because the "eye opener" content was "coupled with my kind of person".

In our conceptual model, we expected that the core of a person would influence their attitudes towards corruption and therefore their receptivity to and capacity to assimilate ACT. We would thus be recommending that ACT should not be superficial but should be properly linked to core

characteristics of the trainee – touching on their values and building their strengths. From P23, we get insight into the contrast between someone with a strong core and someone with a flexi core. P23 “went against the law and everything I stand for” to bribe the police out of a moderate fear for safety “my life was not at risk but to an extent I thought my life was in danger” and applauds an acquaintance who resisted in similar circumstances – “if the person in her position was not as strong willed as she was, she would probably be fearing for her life ... If another person was not as strong willed as her, the person would have caved in”. In short, “the main factor is personal choice (P20)”. With a good strong character, one can still be influenced by others with a bad stronger character, yet the likelihood is lower. In addition, with a good strong character, one is more likely to resist joining corruption and blow the whistle when seeing corruption around.

In the words of P22, “the fact that you have ... a boss that is corrupt or a boss that doesn’t have integrity, you can allow that to influence you but, to me, I can’t let someone ... influence the way I see things, influence me negatively so it’s just an individual [choice]”. Again, speaking about international exposure, P21 states that “no matter the exposure to international standard, it’s a decision that one makes”.

“It takes people of different character to actually do as expected (P28)”. The strong core is characterised by discipline, lawfulness and ethical knowledge and behaviour. Current ACT content already accentuates the existing desire to be law-abiding. For example, some trainees were taken “to prison to see firsthand people who did not abide by law, people who treated corruption with levity and thought they could get away with, ... how ... and where such people end up. ... a reminder that nobody is truly invisible and ... nobody's really above the law”. This practical exposure is in addition to information shared through theory, caselets and stories about different anti-corruption situations and penalties increases ethical knowledge and so can impact ethical behaviour.

An example from FGD1 illustrates how enhanced knowledge from ACT results in effectiveness:

“I have a brother; I didn’t know he was into illegal dealings. And he says ‘sorry, I have some money that is coming from the US, it just needs to go through your account and just help me out, somebody else will take it. What I’m I doing? That is money laundering, but because I have this training, I know that there’s a likelihood that’s an act of money laundering. So, I will have to ask him specific questions. But if I don’t have this training, I will say no problem, it’s my brother, and maybe I will get some dollars from him at the end of the day.”

With ACT, knowledge gaps that the trainees are not aware of are bridged and their strong character can then work with this material.

Participants recognised qualities such as being patient, content, and hardworking as essential background human qualities on which anti-corruption training can find a good foundation. “Anti-corruption training only reinforces your belief system”, says P19. A good number of participants claimed that such qualities had been instilled by their religious or family belief systems – “this anti-corruption training ... is aligning [with] my religious belief (P8)”.

Also, ACT can only be adjudged to be effective when it touches the core of the person and not merely some of T's external acts. If the trainee only desists from some corrupt acts that have been mentioned in that specific ACT, then that trainee will either be committing other corrupt acts not covered in the ACT at the same time or in the future once time and circumstances change, for example, the risk of getting caught. Effectiveness that means only desisting from some specific corrupt actions in specific times and spaces is good, but it is not good enough. A better effectiveness outcome would be one where the character of the trainee is impacted by the ACT, starting with introspection – “the main learning point is to look inward and look at myself first again (P10)” – and continuing to behavioural change.

In conclusion, ACT mostly provides technical knowledge and skill, which needs to be linked to moral knowledge and skills in order to be compelling. Promoters of ACT need to integrate backwards to include character training from an early age as well as embed strong links to character traits into ACT content. This is supported by a view from FGDI that a reinvention of the value systems of the whole community, again since “it's just a training, to be responsible is like an individual decision, you can be trained and ... still go back and do whatever you want to do. It's just a training” (P22).

Trainings: Content, Frequency, Effectiveness, Weaknesses, etc.

The interviews and focussed group discussions gave insights on the trainings, its contents, weaknesses, and the suggestions for improving ACTs.

The training currently use scenarios and case studies. P25 explains that the training was a leadership training showing the “need for all of us to understand our personal leadership responsibilities and now using it to explain that, if you are not leading well if you are not doing the right thing, it means you are also contributing to a corrupt society”. The ACT sessions involved “case discussions, group discussion, presentations just for us to clearly understand, have a deeper and good knowledge of what anti-corruption is all about, and our responsibility to also contribute in the anti-corruption campaign and fight.”

ACTS currently rely heavily on the awareness of the punishment that awaits defaulters as a deterrent for corrupt practices. Participants of two of the FGDs and P15 specifically mention that the trainings highlighted the punishment due to corrupt practices in the organization. A participant of the FGD2 shared his experience of how a visit to a maximum-security prison where offenders were sent impacted all those undergoing that training.

Frequency: Many of the interviewees said that repetition of trainings was important for its effectiveness. P14 says that ‘the frequency of the training is also fundamental because in many offices you know, it gets so hectic ... But if you were attentive at the training coupled with all these external factors that you have surrounding you, it's very difficult to fall into that pit.’ According to P18 “when you train frequently, you bring it to your people's faces, this is what is going on, this is

what you should do, these are the repercussions, it is easy for the person to remember and to see that the organization takes it seriously. So, the frequency of training is very key.” The participants advocated for frequent training stating that it is easy to forget the content of one single training if there is no follow-up. Repeating the training gives reminders to people.

According to the participants, a clear knowledge of the consequences of non-compliance with ethical standards makes ACT effective. P22 said that a clear exposition of the jail terms for various offences explained to participants during the training was a deterrent for corrupt practices. The training in general included people of different generations, especially those in Fintech companies and also those involved in both the private and public sectors. ACT equipped the participants with knowledge that helped them detect and avoid corrupt practices. Ability to identify corrupt practices was a recurrent theme as the participants spoke about the power of knowledge in preventing involvement in corrupt practices. When one is aware of the different activities that are corrupt, even when they are common practices, it is easier to resist being a part of such. ACT gave knowledge which empowered the participants to avoid corruption. Participants also said that having case studies made the training more relatable and effective. Since people are not trained alone, colleagues can remind each other about the key points and advise each other when in the situations of doubt about the legitimacy of some activity. When participants had strong anti-corruption principles/beliefs, the trainings reinforced the beliefs of participants that corrupt practices were to be avoided.

Participants cited infrequent training as a weakness for ACT; they suggested that more frequent training in organisation would go a long way to make them effective. Some proposed that a wider reach of trainings to young people and the Fintech space as a pressing need for reducing corruption in the country. A lack of follow-up or clear measurement policy to evaluate how much of the training has been imbibed and put into practice by the attendees is another identifiable weakness of trainings that make them less effective. Some training needed more examples, while some did not use cases from Nigeria, and participants suggest that having training based on a variety of possible cases within the country may boost ACTE.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The research findings show that the importance of ACTE cannot be overemphasized. The constructs that affect it include the character formation received from families, supervisor modelling and support, international exposure, and, perhaps most important for ACT, emotional drivers, with the strongest one being greed. We also observed that the high level of corruption in Nigeria calls for more solid regulatory policies (in crafting as well as in enforcement) and the provision of basic needs of citizens who dread poverty. The study suggests that ACT though already effective to an extent, will be even more effective when these are acknowledged and incorporated into the training design and content.

ACT can connect to familial upbringing and build on existing ethical character traits, thus appealing to the trainee's sense of continuity, such that previous learning in childhood about morality, related explicitly to honesty and fairness or to greed and theft, becomes a significant contributing factor to ACTE. This would make the current content of ACT resonate more strongly with many people and be linked more to conviction and principles than to fear of consequences. Conviction is a more sustainable reason than fear for primary anti-corrupt behaviour. The more strong-willed individuals in a society with an ethical character that prioritizes the common good as shown in consideration for others, a regard for law and a mindset against corruption, the more effective ACT will be.

ACT should take on board the power of emotions in motivating or demotivating corruption. While the specific emotions that each respondent highlighted may differ, they did ascribe a vital role to the emotions as drivers of corrupt practices. Education on emotions is therefore important for eradicating corruption, and this should be part of ACT. People need to learn to reflect and make better decisions for the greater good of society and for long-term benefits instead of acting based on the emotions that drive them to engage in those harmful practices.

Interestingly, fear is one emotion that is bidirectional. On the one hand, fear of punishment based on an explicit knowledge of the consequences of being caught engaging in corrupt practices is sometimes strengthened during ACT by visits to correctional facilities or prisoners, and the research findings showed that this mitigates corrupt practices. On the other hand, fear of losing out and fear of poverty can push one into corrupt practices. Training needs to help participants focus on what is truly good and what contributes to the common good to motivate them to better self-management.

Regarding the training itself, the impact of repetition and frequent reminders cannot be underestimated. When there were multiple reminders, trainees understood their work better and got clearer information on the grey areas regarding corrupt practices. In addition, the research participants suggested that more follow-up by supervisors, to check if the lessons learnt in the training are effected would make ACT even more impactful. Case studies and live examples used in ACT had an impact on the trainees as they could relate to the situations described. Local cases and examples that connected with the participants' daily activities were found particularly helpful.

ACT needs to be evaluated after each delivery and the results tied to the KPIs of the trainees. It needs to be frequent and top to bottom – leaders of organisations should be included. Integrity checks need to be done from time to time within organisations. Those found wanting should bear some consequences depending on the severity of the activities. Whistleblowing should not only report corrupt acts but also report commendable acts for which awards and recognition can be earned. ACT could also encourage trainees to share their knowledge with their families and social networks, to widen the fields of impact.

In general, for greater ACTE, country-wide changes could also help. For example, the extant anti-graft laws should be reviewed to reflect the realities of the present-day corrupt practices. There is a

widespread assumption in Nigeria that ‘to make it in this country, you have to be corrupt’. There is a need for policies that are implementable and enforceable. The public sector needs a department actively championing and monitoring compliance, just like in many private institutions. Persons involved in corrupt practices be duly prosecuted and face punitive consequences, which would serve as a deterrent and validate what is being taught in ACT.

ACT should be more widely implemented as a curriculum at all levels of formal education, from citizens’ earliest years. This would require a huge commitment of funds and governmental support. Attention should be paid to start-ups, particularly Fintechs, ensuring that they get ACT at the early face of their businesses and beyond. Jingles on corruption and anti-corruption need to be revived and championed by specific agencies, to raise the awareness of those in the non-formal sector as to what constitutes corruption and its repercussions. In addition, the eradication of bureaucracy in government and digitisation of processes could make it easier for individuals and businesses to act ethically.

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