

# 1 Corruption and Post 2015 Development Agenda in Nigeria

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## 5 **Abstract**

6 This work examined the impediments corruption pose on Nigerias? economy. It states that  
7 ?Corruption in Nigeria is endemic in all facets and it has continued to challenge the goals of  
8 sustainability of development efforts in all ramifications. Thus, this chapter provides  
9 explanations on the corruption variable in the country, its negative impacts, consequences and  
10 impediments towards the country march to economic recovery in post 2015 and the sustenance  
11 of development effort. The work applied the historical method of data collection (secondary  
12 sources) using descriptive mechanism of analysis.

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### 15 **Index terms—**

## 16 **1 Introduction**

17 t has been argued that Nigeria currently is richly endowed with qualitative human and natural resources but yet  
18 to find an appropriate and rightful place among the community of nations in the world. One major reason that  
19 has accounted or responsible for this situation (socio -economic stagnation) is attributable to corruption and all  
20 effort geared at stemming the tide appears to be unsuccessful and problematique.

21 This work therefore is an attempt to unravel the mystery behind corruption in Nigeria and what has accounted  
22 for the difficulties in tackling it, so as to instigate and promote sustainability of development efforts in the country.

23 There is no gainsaying that the challenges corruption poses have a very severe and devastating consequences  
24 on Nigeria particularly from the colonial period to date.

25 Accordingly, Okolo and Akpokighe (2014. blamed corruption in Africa on colonialism. Thus, for them:

26 When specifically viewed with Africa's history in mind, administrative corruption, thought rampant across  
27 Africa today is an alien culture. Pre-colonial Africa, for the most part, was founded on strong ethical values  
28 sometimes packaged in spiritual terms, but with the end result of ensuring social justice and compliance. In  
29 both centralized and decentralized pre-colonial African communities, governance was conducted with the utmost  
30 seriousness. As the laws were mostly unwritten in nature and therefore prone to being easily forgotten, Author:  
31 PhD, Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce  
32 Island, Bayelsa State. e-mails: philipsobolo@gmail.com, philipsokolo@yahoo.com they were often couched in  
33 supernatural terms to instill fear and be instilled in the subconscious.

34 For example, the heavy emphasis on accountability and good governance across several precolonial African  
35 communities in West Africa, the Asante confederation was a kingdom that thrived on strict rules and regulations.  
36 Established by seven clans close to the city of Kumasi, the Kingdom was held together by the symbolic Golden  
37 Stool of Asante-Hene. With strong cooperation from all groups the leadership of the Asante kingdom was known,  
38 according to Emizet Kisangani, to have "implemented several modernization policies in administration that  
39 included promoting advancement by merit and the development of state enterprise through public investment."  
40 The Asante were able to "build roads and promoted agriculture, commerce, industry and education through  
41 self-help and self-reliance."

42 The Yorubas of south western Nigeria for instance, have an institution, Oyo-mesi the king making body, acted  
43 as a check against the abuse of power by the Alafin (the Oba) or the King of Oyo. The Alafin was constrained to  
44 rule with caution and respect for his subjects. When he is proven to have engaged in acts that undermined the  
45 interests of his subjects, such as gross miscarriage of justice for personal gains, the Oyomesi would, in the words

### 3 CONCEPTUAL EXPLANATION OF CORRUPTION

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46 of Yunusa Salami "present him with an empty calabash or parrot's eggs as a sign that he must commit suicide"  
47 since he could not be deposed, according to tradition.

48 In the traditional Igbo acephalous society, the absence of any form of overarching authority, by itself, placed  
49 leadership in the hands of the people -the very epitome of accountability and good governance. The titled chiefs  
50 sat together to address the more difficult issues of governance, and there is a saying among the Igbo that a "titled  
51 man does not lie." If one wanted to hear the truth, to be granted pristine justice according to the prevailing  
52 standards, s/he only needed to get the impeccable body of titled men to hear the case in question.

53 Pre-colonial Rwanda had a highly organized, efficient and centralized system of administration. Although an  
54 autocratic and hierarchical system presided over by the king, there were systems of checks and balances among  
55 those who ruled at the clan level. A variant of the land ownership, Ubukonde permeated pre-colonial Rwanda.  
56 It was a custom of mutually those who tried to amass land wealth in a corrupt manner outside of the Ubukonde  
57 system incurred the wrath of the King. Numerous examples abound across sub-Saharan Africa, but in all, what  
58 held these communities together and brought administrative corruption down to the barest minimum was a set  
59 of rules and regulations, agreed principles and moral values that guided human interactions.

60 Be this as it may, Colonialism introduced systemic corruption on a grand scale across much of sub-Saharan  
61 Africa. The repudiation of indigenous values, standards, checks and balances and the pretensions of superimposing  
62 western structures destabilized the well-run bureaucratic machinery previously in existence across pre-colonial  
63 Africa. The end result is what is rampant across Africa today; conspicuous consumption, absence of loyalty to  
64 the state, oppressive and corrupt state institutions, to mention few. Apart from this introduction, the rest part  
65 of the work is divided into three (3), the first deals with the conceptual explanation of corruption; the second  
66 addressed the issue causes and cost of corruption and the third provided the conclusion and recommendations.

## 67 2 II.

### 68 3 Conceptual Explanation of Corruption

69 The concept "Corruption" like many other concepts in social sciences has no settled meaning. This means that  
70 there is no straight backed definition, or generally accepted, or encompassing definition for the term corruption.

71 The metaphor corruption has several meanings. For Nuhu Ribadu, pioneer Chairman of Economic and  
72 Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), "corruption is an abuse of public office for private gains" ??Jega, 2005:10).  
73 The concept "Corruption" like many other concepts in social sciences has no settled meaning. This means that  
74 there is no straight backed definition, or generally accepted, or encompassing definition for the term corruption.

75 However, certain definitional attempts have been proffered by different scholars. Although, there is often  
76 difficulties in defining it, because it means not only different things to different people, and even to the same  
77 people different things at different times, but also sanctions usually are attached to corrupt practices which hides  
78 them and gives them subtle forms. Thus, some people see "corruption" as a conscious and well planned act by a  
79 person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons.  
80 Then to others, it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash.

81 This work provides a conceptual framework, conceptual explanation of corruption as a term is uncertain and  
82 indeed devoid of any strait jacket definition. It depends on who is defining and from what perspective. What  
83 is corruption? If you are a typical Nigerian, you would define it as government officials looting our treasury.  
84 One could view; everything starts and ends in government offices. It will surprise you that almost everybody  
85 is campaigning against corruption in Nigeria? We are all waging a war against corruption. The main reason  
86 Nigeria is not making progress we say authoritatively is that those in government are just stealing public money.  
87 Corruption in Nigeria is not the exclusive preserve of politicians, civil servants, and captains of industry. Among  
88 the "common people" there is an instinctive honing of stealing skills. One should stop thinking people suddenly  
89 become corrupt when they join the government. However having been tutored and mentored on petty stealing  
90 from probably the age of five, Nigerians naturally explode when they occupy positions of authority at any level  
91 either in private or public sector. They join the bandwagon of selfish leaders after suddenly finding themselves in  
92 the corridor of power Rather than use their positions to repair its ills; they conform to the enrichment craze. In  
93 other words corruption is defined as the involvement in illegal, dishonest, or wicked behaviour which is destructive  
94 of the moral fabric of society. To some people corruption "is the conscious and will plan act by a person or group  
95 of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons".

96 It is in this regard that, some see "corruption" as a conscious and well planned act by a person or group of  
97 persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. Then to others,  
98 it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash. ??an Agbese, (1982), posits that "corruption is a  
99 phenomenon so difficult to define, yet it percolates every structure of the society. It affects the military as well  
100 as it soils the hands of the civilians". Agbese, went further to define corruption thus:

101 When we use our position in society to secure certain advantages jumping a queue, being waved off at the  
102 checkpoint or making others bend the rules to accommodate our demands ? by whatever means even if it is  
103 just 'thank you' our action however innocent, however well-intentional, however unthreatening to others, has  
104 corrupted a system or a convention or some rules and regulations in application.

105 Apparently, even whatever form of seasonal gifts, free air tickets, lunch or dinner -"kola" is no longer exempted,  
106 since these are likely to influence future courses of action and transactions the giver or receiver is thus corrupting

107 protocol or breaching some rules and regulations in the society (Nigeria) etc. Professor Abdullahi, Smith, for  
108 instance saw "corruption as the diversion of resources from the betterment of the community to the gain of  
109 individuals at the expense of the community". (Mumullan 1961: 183 -4) point out that a public official is corrupt  
110 if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do or to exercise a legitimate  
111 discretion for improper reason. Then for Malam Adamu Ciroma, corruption is "the deliberate binding of the  
112 system to favour friends or hurt foes, any misbehaviour deviation from or perversion of the system, or misleading  
113 Nigerians or giving them wrong or distorted information about things they ought to know."

114 To this end, any act or behaviour or omission, committed, intentionally or not to influence the actions of  
115 another, the influential and the influenced, respectively has corrupted a system which is detrimental to the entire  
116 society.

117 The political science school see "corruption" as "an optimal means of bypassing the queues and bureaucratic  
118 inertia and hence conducive to economic growth". While the economics school like (Krueger 1974), saw  
119 "corruption" as "an external manifestation of rent seeking behaviour on the part of individuals" The Webster  
120 Dictionary defines corruption as:

121 ? that act of corruption or the state of being corrupt putrefactive decomposition, putrid matter, moral  
122 pervasion depravity, pervasion of integrity. Corrupt or dishonest proceedings, bribery, perversion from a state of  
123 purity, debasement as of a language; a debased form of a word. Accordingly, Brownberger described corruption as  
124 a misapplication of public goods (broadly construed) to private ends. Edward C. Bandfield definition of corruption  
125 which we subscribe to for its elaborate and precise nature, defines corruption as the process of obtaining material  
126 enrichment or opportunities for oneself and or for others, through the use of public office (or influence) in ways  
127 other than those publicly acknowledge through rules and procedures of what office. This includes such behaviours  
128 as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgment or actions of a person in a position of trust) nepotism bestowal  
129 of patronage by reasons of inscriptive relationship rather than merit and misappropriation (illegal appropriation  
130 of public resources for private uses).

131 To others it is the act of turning power and authority into ready cash. To yet another group, it is the diversion  
132 of resources for the betterment of the community to the gain of individuals at the expense of the community.  
133 Black law dictionary however defines corruption thus:

134 An act done to give some advantage inconsistent with the official duty and rights of others. The act of Official  
135 or Judiciary person, who unlawfully wrongly uses his position or character to procure some benefit for himself or  
136 the right of others.

137 The dictionary in the second segment of its definition says that: "Corruption is the act of doing something  
138 with intent to give some advantage in consistent with official duty and right of others or officials use of a station  
139 or office to produce some benefit either personally or for someone else contrary to the right of others". The  
140 new edition of the chambers 20th century dictionary defines the term beyond the pilfering of public funds, the  
141 amassing of fortunes by illegal or corrupt means does not seem to necessarily disturb the average Nigerian as to  
142 make him lose sleep over it. Also, the British Department for International development (DFID) maintains in its  
143 Nigeria country strategy paper for the year 2000, that poverty persists in Nigeria because of the mismanagement  
144 of resources and corruption found practically but not exclusively in the public sector. The World Bank defines  
145 corruption as:

#### 146 4 The abuse of public office for private gains. Public office 147 is abused for private gain when an official accepts edicts or 148 extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively 149 offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for 150 competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also 151 be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs 152 through patronage and nepotism, the thereof state assets or 153 the diversion of state resource.

154 The Asian development bank understand corruption as involving "the behaviour on the part of officials in the  
155 public and private sectors, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and on these closely  
156 related to them, or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed. According to  
157 Stople, (2008), United Nations Convention against Corruption, recognized corruption as a multifaceted, dynamic  
158 and flexible phenomenon, and therefore does not define, but describe corrupt practices. Corruption may not be  
159 easy to define but, according to Tanzi, (1998), it is "generally not difficult to recognize when observed." Corrupt  
160 acts required a minimum of two individuals from one or more communities, and either exchange or the promise  
161 of an exchange of money. Henley (2003), on the other hand, defines it as "misuse of private or public funds,  
162 office, power and/or position for private benefits". In the light of our experience, we shall adopt the United  
163 Nations Human Development (UNHD) report that defines corruption as: personal interests, including kickbacks

## 6 CAUSES AND COST OF CORRUPTION A) CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

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164 from development programmes or multinational corporations; pay-offs for legislative support; and the diversion  
165 of public resources for private use, to overlooking illegal activities or intervening in the justice process. Forms of  
166 corruption also include nepotism, common theft, overpricing, establishing non-existent projects, payroll padding,  
167 tax collection and tax assessment frauds ??UNHD Report, 1998:11).

### 168 5 Acceptance of money or other rewards for awarding contracts, 169 violations of procedures to advance

170 This definition is all encompassing and relates to petro-economy corruption in Nigeria. It should be emphasized  
171 that this work is on corruption, in its entirety, and not petro-economy corruption (PEC). The PEC is concerned  
172 with mismanagement and outright stealing of funds from oil and gas sector of the Nigerian economy. These, as  
173 reflected in range from the demand of payment of 10 percent for the award of contracts in the First Republic;  
174 sales of oil at concessionary prices to some African countries, overinvoicing, under-reporting of petroleum revenue  
175 and embezzlement during the military era; to the Halliburton scam, unaccounted proceeds from excess crude  
176 oil production, fuel subsidy and fraudulent award of oil blocks in the Third and Fourth Republics (Aluko, 1976;  
177 ??nd Biersteker and Lewis, 1999).

178 These corrupt practices had debilitating effects on the national economy and development ??Ujomu, 2000).

179 According to Salisu, (2000), the simple definition of corruption is that it is the misapplication of public  
180 resources to private ends. For example, public Officials may collect bribes for issuing Passports or Visa, for  
181 providing goods at sea/airport for awarding contracts or artificial scarcity. Konie, (2003) identified two types of  
182 corruption, these are, Vertical corruption, which involves managers and decision makers. This is common in less  
183 developed countries and; Horizontal corruption, which involves the entire Officials, informed and laymen groups  
184 in the countries. The two types of corruption should be seriously addressed and eradicated if any meaningful  
185 economic or political progress is to be made.

186 Corruption also reduces economic growth, enhances inequalities and reduces the governments' capacity to  
187 respond to people's needs. All these swerve down to create poverty in the society. Corruption distorts economic  
188 and social developments, by engendering wrong choices and by encouraging competition in bribery rather than  
189 in the quality and price of goods and services and, all too often, it means that the world poorest must pay for  
190 the corruption of their own officials and of multinationals agents. Corruption leads to a grooving gap between  
191 the rich and the poor and deepens poverty by enriching a few at the expense of fellow citizens. Under a corrupt  
192 system, there is a concentration of wealth in the hands of a tiny minority of the population. Resultantly income  
193 distribution becomes highly skewed.

194 Closely associated with the connection of wealth in the hands of the few, a distorted consumption pattern,  
195 aimed at meeting the luxurious lifestyle of the urban elite, emerge, According to (Transparency International  
196 (TI), 2008) Corruption is the misuse of entrusted power for private gains. TI went further to differentiate between  
197 "according to the rules" Corruption and "against the rule" Corruption. Facilitation of payments where a bribe  
198 is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute  
199 the former. The latter on the other hand is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited  
200 from providing. Some researchers have defined corruption to be related only to bribery and unlawful payments,  
201 (Grunner, 1999; Ojaide, 2000), defines corruption as "any systematic vice in an individual, society or a nation  
202 which reflects favoritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment or amassing of wealth, abuse of  
203 office, power position and derivation of undue gains and benefits. This is where the incumbent president Buhari's  
204 pattern of appointment becomes circumspect in my opinion and to those who share the same view with me, given  
205 the essential ingredient as provided by the Federal Character Principle (FCP) in Nigeria, were all sections and  
206 diverse ethnic nationalities is to be included in the governance process of the country. Corruption also includes  
207 bribery, smuggling, and fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents  
208 and records, window dressing, false declaration, tax evasion of any kind to the detriment of another person,  
209 community society or nation. The question to ask is: what is the cause of corruption in Nigeria? III.

### 210 6 Causes and Cost of Corruption a) Causes of Corruption

211 Re-current studies have revealed many reasons put forward as probable causes for the prevalence of corruption  
212 in Nigeria. These ranges from nonconformity to religious tenets, imparted values and ideas and ideas alien  
213 to our culture, ethnicity which encourages favoritism and nepotism, a weak legal system which is honored in  
214 the breech than observance. The political bureau in its report mentioned such causes as excessive materialism  
215 generated by our individual capitalist order which emphasize personal wealth without regard to the collective  
216 interest and welfare of the larger society. Other causes of poverty, illiteracy, get-rich-mania, statism, and wrong  
217 attitude to public property, absence of a welfare scheme which cushions effect of unemployment, retirement, large  
218 families, and quest for power, double standards and low level of patriotism. These are important in themselves;  
219 it does appear that poverty is the most important single factor ? Using proxy names to buy property. Thus,  
220 Nwaobi, (2004) posited that Nigeria must be one of the very few countries in the world where a mans' source  
221 of wealth is of no concern to his neighbor, the public or the government. Wealthy people who are known to  
222 be corrupt are regularly courted and honored by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and other private  
223 organizations. This implies that people who benefit from the largesse of these corrupt people rarely ask questions.

224 In Nigeria, although traditional values of gift giving and tributes to leaders often lead to what Berger, (1983)  
225 describes as "Polite Corruption", the extent of such corruption is relatively small. Dadajo, (2008) revealed that  
226 traditional Chieftaincy titles and membership of boards of directors of government-owned corporations are only  
227 for the influential individuals in the society who have "made it" economically or politically. Most of these people  
228 "made it" through enriching themselves fraudulently, but enjoy public respect and accolades. The most annoying  
229 thing is that honest and dedicated public servants, who have not accumulated dirty wealth, do not command  
230 much respect from the society. These attitudes serve to encourage a new breed of public servants who engage in  
231 corrupt practices.

232 According to Maduegbuna, (2005), the benefits of corruption are greater than the consequences of being caught  
233 and disciplined. High incidence of poverty, which according to National Bureau of Statistics, ( ??005) is put at  
234 54.1% contributed in no small amount to the desperation of Nigeria to acquire Wealth through any means. While  
235 the few employed received low wages, unemployment is high. The unemployed are mostly the youths engaged  
236 in anti social activities such as cyber crime, drug peddling, prostitution, political thuggery, paid assassins, oil  
237 bunkering, kidnapping, militancy (Niger Delta) among others; all in the name of money. (Jimo et al, 2001)  
238 attributed corruption within the (Africa) regions public administration to over -centralization of power, lack of  
239 media freedom to expose scandals, the impunity of well connected officials and absence of transparency in public  
240 fund management, clienteles and low salaries. Dandago, (2008) observed that the poor salary levels of most  
241 public servants have not kept pace with inflation, which has eroded their purchasing power. It is also clear that  
242 the process of gaining power in Nigeria is either by armed force or the influence of money.

243 It is in this regard that, Chobal, & Daloz, (1999) reasoned that in Africa, such factors as the Obligations of  
244 mutual support, the imperatives of reciprocity, the importance of gift exchange, the payment of tribute, the need  
245 to redistribute even the habits of cattle rustling or, more generally, of plundering others, all have a bearing on  
246 the continent today. There are also those who believe that modern bribery may not be seen as cognate with  
247 traditional gift giving since it takes place outside the context of a patron -client relationship. Ethnically, the  
248 poor man's bribe to the faceless power he will never meet again is completely distinct from his traditional gift to  
249 a patron.

## 250 **7 b) Cost of Corruption**

251 One of the greatest threats to socio -economic and political development of any nation is corruption. The  
252 challenges of corruption have devastating consequences to Nigeria since the colonial period. Corruption as a  
253 phenomenon has become a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabric of our system. Almost all levels  
254 of Nigeria society are perverted by corruption. Ndubisi (2009) described corruption in Nigeria as endemic  
255 and Egonmwan (2002) considered corruption as a sub-culture within the Nigerian context. Thus, the socio -  
256 economic and political problem in Nigeria today is as a result of corruption. From the collapsed of our traditional  
257 institutions, failure of public enterprises, decay and inefficiency of our public service, to the failure of private  
258 enterprise are all considered as consequences of corruption in our society and body polity. (Nsikan, Aliyu &  
259 Udensi, 2015. Pp 1 -5).

260 The menace of corruption has been tackled at different levels, yet this ugly incidence keeps surviving with  
261 us at all facets of our endeavours. For instance, in year 2000, the Guardian, one of the leading newspapers in  
262 Nigeria, conducted an opinion poll about the obstacles to Nigeria's development. Respondents were asked to  
263 choose from a list including corruption, bad leadership and unemployment. 70 percent of the 1080 respondent  
264 picked corruption as one of the worst problems that hinders Nigeria's development Igbuzor, (2008). Consequently,  
265 the extraction of billions of dollars in corruptly acquired funds has cost Nigeria dearly. It has been argued that  
266 Nigeria's past corrupt leaders stole and deposited about US\$400 billion in foreign banks from the first military  
267 government in 1966 and the return to civilian rule in 1999 (Ayttey, 2002).

268 Similarly, the former chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuru Ribadu  
269 was noted to have observed that Nigeria's former leaders had misappropriated approximately US\$507 billion  
270 from public coffers which, when compared against the proposed 2008 budget of N2.456 trillion, translates into 26  
271 years worth of public spending Igbuzor, (2008). This therefore described Nigeria as 'a money laundering haven'  
272 according to report by the Financial Action Task Force of 2001 (Ochefu and Chima, 2008).

273 The former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo in his inauguration speech of 1999 asserted that corruption  
274 in Nigeria has reached the stage of a "full-blown cancer" and is "the greatest single bane of our society today"  
275 Maier, (2000 p.20). Even the most conservative estimates involve huge sums: in December 2010, Global Financial  
276 Integrity (GFI), an international illicit financial outflow watchdog, suggested that from 2000 to 2008, Nigeria's  
277 past leaders had overseen the illicit flow of US\$130 billion. The report, titled: Illicit Financial Flows from  
278 Developing Countries: 2000-2009, ranked Nigeria tenth on a list of nations losing money through illegal capital  
279 flights ??Amundsen 2010; see also Nsikan, Aliyu & Udensi, 2015).

280 Corruption differs widely in its forms, pervasiveness and consequence, it occurs in monarchy, democracies and  
281 military dictatorships; at all levels of development and in all types of economic systems from open capitalist  
282 economies to centrally planned economies (Faloore 2010; Egwemi 2012). In developed countries, the effect may  
283 be less severe, while in developing countries particularly African continent the effect on national development are  
284 very severe. In Nigeria, corruption affects every facet of human development, little wonder, the Transparency  
285 International (TI), global corruption barometer survey rate Nigeria 27 percent in corruption index and ranked

## 7 B) COST OF CORRUPTION

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286 136 out of 175 less corrupt countries ??Transparency International, 2014). The futile attempt by the government  
287 to fight the cankerworm stems from the fact that government itself is greatly infected with the virus and an  
288 average Nigeria is seen as corrupt in most parts of the world (Odofin & Omojuwa 2007).

289 According to Olugbenga (2007), the word corruption cannot easily be defined because of its complex and  
290 multifaceted dimensions having multiple causes and effects that take on various forms and contexts. However,  
291 the United Nations Global Programme against Corruption (GPAC) (2009 p.12S) defines it as "abuse of power for  
292 private gain". Similarly, the Transparency International, (2008) has chosen a clear and focused definition of the  
293 term as "the abuse of entrusted power and public office for private gain". Public office is abused for private gain  
294 when an official accepts, solicits or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to  
295 circumvent public offices and processes for competitive advantages or profit. It also means theft of public trust  
296 whether the person concerned is elected, selected, nominated or appointed and it does not matter whether the  
297 person affected holds office or not since anybody can be corrupt.

298 On the other hand, national development refers to the type of economic growth pattern where the use of  
299 resources meets the needs of the human population while conserving the environment at the same time. This  
300 implies that resources are used in such a way that both current and future human needs can be met (Sustainable  
301 development guide online 2012). It should to be noted that consistent corrupt practices has the potential of  
302 eroding national development by compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Thus,  
303 corruption has strived and sustained despite all efforts at curbing it.

304 Pervasive corruption has remained a serious obstacle to economic development in Nigeria. Corruption inhibits  
305 human and social development. It has impaired hard work, diligence and efficiency. It has caused incalculable  
306 damages to the social and political development of Nigeria It subverts honest selection processes and distorts  
307 prices. Furthermore, it weakens institutions, hampers investment and retards economic development. More  
308 importantly, the resources that should be used for developmental purposes are being diverted from the society to  
309 private or personal use. This accumulation of the nation's economic resources for personal benefits had variously  
310 contributed to the leakage of capital from Nigeria or illegal deposits abroad.

311 Since the return of the country to civil rule in May 29, 1999, the Nigerian government has taken a number of  
312 measures to address the problems of corruption. These measures include public service reform (monetization  
313 to reduce waste and reduction of over-bloated personnel, reform of public procurement); establishment of  
314 anti-corruption enforcement agencies (such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission, Independent  
315 Corruption and other Practices Commission); and the on-going sanitization of the financial service sector by the  
316 Central Bank.

317 Despite the crusades of anti-corruption in Nigeria, its magnitude appears to be on the high side as corruption  
318 continues to permeate and pervade every facet of national life in Nigeria Akindele, ??2005). Against this backdrop,  
319 this study examines the causes, types and effects of corruption on Nigeria's development. The study also makes  
320 suggestion on ways of achieving a society that is free (if possible) from corruption. Thus arguably, the cost of  
321 corruption can be classified into four factors, political, economic, social, and environmental. On the political  
322 strand, corruption constitutes a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law. In a democratic system,  
323 offices and institution lose their legitimacy when they are misused for private advantage. This is harmful to our  
324 democracy in Nigerian in the post 2015 development agenda. Our democracy and political leadership cannot  
325 develop in a corrupt climate and this has an implication for the sustainability of development effort in country  
326 towards our match to achieving the new sustainable development goal in the current world order.

327 Generally, governance in Nigeria and more particularly in the Niger Delta States can be referred to anything  
328 except democratic: it lacks all the irreducible principles and tenets of democracy such as fair and credible election,  
329 rule of law, separation of powers, independence of the judiciary, fragrant abuse of court judgements and checks  
330 and balances between the arms of government. The political system of the region is highly mal -functional: the  
331 reason, the constitutional framework only exists in paper and not in practice. It is absurd that the democratic  
332 presidential system which Nigeria claim to practice, the executive arm could comprehensively dominate other  
333 branches such that the governors of the region have become repository of the three branches put together.  
334 Consequently, the legislature goes to the governor to ask for money, instead of the other way round, (Okolo &  
335 Inokoba, 2014).

336 The Niger Delta like the larger Nigeria political space is dominated by corrupt, greedy and desperate elites  
337 who will stop at nothing just to acquire political power. Corruption has been institutionalized by the ruling elites  
338 in Nigeria; hence, political leaders embezzle most of the money accruing from the sale of oil. The former anti  
339 -corruption Czar, Mr Nuhu Ribadu while granting an interview to the BBC in 2006 said "more than \$380billion  
340 has either been stolen or wasted by Nigerian Governments since independence in 1960" (Courson, 2009; see also  
341 Okolo & Inokoba, 2014. .

342 While there is an abundance of extant literature devoted to oil and violence in the Niger Delta, there has been  
343 a dearth of studies highlighting the roles and linkages of corruption in the protracted conflict of the region, yet  
344 the persistence, the increasing frequency and the intensification of corrupt act among political actors, community  
345 leaders and private oil companies operating in the Niger Delta, have for some time been the hallmark of politics in  
346 the region Enweremadu, (2009). It is therefore less surprising that today Niger Delta governors and public officials  
347 are seen as the most corrupt in the country. Out of the four former governors of Nigeria's major oil producing  
348 states (Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom, Delta and Rivers), three have either been convicted for large scale corruption. One

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349 has been convicted and jailed for plundering the resources of his state on a massive scale (Alamieyesegha of  
350 Bayelsa State). A second was arrested and charged on 105 counts of looting up to 10billion Naira from his state  
351 (Ibobi of Delta state) Enweremadu, (2009). The same former governor was extradited from Dubai to United  
352 Kingdom for money laundering offences tried and convicted, and is currently serving jail term in the UK. The  
353 third former Niger Delta governor under close investigations over the same offences though protected by the court  
354 is Dr. Peter Odili, and of course the former Governor Timipre Sylva of Bayelsa State between 2007 and Feb.,  
355 2012 has also been engulfed with wide scale corruption scandals, (see Okolo & Inokoba, 2014).

356 For instance, how best can one describe the situation were the immediate past governor of Rivers state Rotimi  
357 Amechi presents the States 2014 budget inside government house on the same day and the budget got passed  
358 first, second and third readings and signed into law. This goes a long way to explain the nature and manner of  
359 desperation politicians / so called political leaders in the region could be. How about the members of the Rivers  
360 state house of Assembly, who passed that budget, how do we describe them? Only time will tell, however there  
361 are indication that Ritimi Amechi is nominated by the incumbent president Mohammadu Buhari as minister of  
362 the Federal Republic of Nigeria in spite of the termed opposition/petitions of his perceived corrupt tendencies,  
363 but there is the absolute need for a change, and that change is now, and if this change is to occasion sustainability  
364 of development effort in post 2015 development agenda in Nigeria.

365 In order to strengthen this argument, on the relationship between mis -governance, poverty and violence in  
366 the Niger Delta and as a Nigeria, there is a urgent need to show how Peter Odili of Rivers state (1999 -2007)  
367 recklessly spent the state's 2006 budget. The Rivers states' 2006 budget which was estimated at 160billion naira  
368 (\$1.2billion), governor Odili spent 10.7billion naira to maintain his office. This sum excluded the 500million naira  
369 spent on 'gifts' and 'souvenirs' for his visitors, the 4.3billion naira used as 'Grants' and 'Donations' and the  
370 hefty 5billion devoted to security vote. In the same budget, Governor Peter Odili reserved for himself 3billion  
371 naira to take care of his frequent trips overseas, which is even far above what the President of Nigeria gets.  
372 The 32 members of the Rivers House of Assembly also got 690million (about \$5.4million) naira for their travel,  
373 \$2.8million of which was meant for foreign trips. This is separate from the \$2.8million given to the legislature  
374 as sitting allowance (not salaries), Enweremadu, (2009). However, Odili Generosity never extended to social  
375 services, which would benefit a greater number of Rivers state citizens. A meagre sum of 2.8billion naira was  
376 all that was given to the state ministry of health out of a budget of 160billion naira, in spite of having been  
377 coined a 'priority ministry' Enweremadu ??2009). It is therefore less surprising that Dr. Peter Odili ran the  
378 most expensive presidential campaign in 2007.

379 On the economic front, corruption leads to the depletion of our national wealth. It has led to the use of scarce  
380 public resources to finance uneconomic high profile projects such as power plants pipelines that cost billions  
381 whereas if these were channel towards building schools, hospitals and roads or the supply of Electricity and water  
382 to rural areas which are basic needs of life. This has hindered the development of fair market structures which  
383 has led to job losses and also affects investment.

384 Corruption is the cause of poverty in Nigeria. This is premised on the logic that if poverty is the root cause of  
385 Petro -economy Corruption (PEC), ??kolo & Etekpe, (2015. Pp 246 -266) what can be said for the justification  
386 of the petty bourgeoisie who by every standard are not poor, and yet, stole money from the public coffers?  
387 What therefore fuels PEC in Nigeria is greed Bayart, (1993). Nigeria is not the only oil producing country in  
388 Africa or the world. But the country has one of the worst cases (manifestations) of how oil wealth has either  
389 been out rightly stolen or mismanaged to the tune of US \$400 billion since independence in 1960 (Ogundele and  
390 Unachukwu, 2012). This must have informed Ribadu to refer to oil wealth as the devil's excrement or the Dutch  
391 disease. Granted PEC is a global problem that is not peculiar to Nigeria as the world looses about US\$4,000  
392 or 10 percent of its gross economic output per day, Global Financial Integrity estimates that between 1970 and  
393 2010, Africa lost more than US\$854 billions to corruption.

394 The Transparency International (TI) puts the amount of bribe companies paid politicians and other public  
395 officials in developing and transiting economies annually at US\$40 billion; and that Nigeria, in particular,  
396 and Africa, in general, constituted major part of it (Ogundele and Unachukwu, 2012, and Isakpo, 2013:52-  
397 3). But the point of departure is the degree or pervasiveness which varies from country to country, and the  
398 measures each country has adopted to minimize, if not eradicate it. The essence is to produce new knowledge for  
399 multiple constituencies to formulate proactive policies for the eradication of corruption to engender sustainable  
400 development in Nigeria.

401 On the social ladder, the people have lost their trust in the political system. In its institutions and leadership,  
402 they have developed non-chalant attitude and general apathy towards government policies resulting in a weak  
403 civil society. Environmental degradation is yet another consequence of corrupt systems. The non enforcement  
404 of environmental regulations and legislation has led to the pollution of the environment in Nigeria. Careless  
405 exploitation of Natural resources from oil and minerals by domestic and international agents hassled to ravaged  
406 natural environments affecting the health of her citizens. Most environmental devastating project are given  
407 preference in funding, because they are easy target for siphoning of public funds into private pockets.

408 IV.

409 **8 Concluding Remarks and Recommendations**

410 Giving the foregoing discuss, a conclusion can be drawn that the war against corruption in Nigeria should be  
411 part of a societal transformation where the citizens are empowered in the fight against corruption. It should be a  
412 fight against inhumanity and for the reorientation of values. It should be a fight that attempts to free the society  
413 from mediocrity and makes it difficult for corrupt and unworthy millionaires from taking part in the political  
414 process and holding public office. The fight against corruption should not be an event in isolation but a fight  
415 for the enthronement of a just, equitable and fair economic system throughout the world. It is only through this  
416 that a 'dependency state' can turn into a 'development to another for the benefit of the mass of the people.'

417 The following recommendations are suggested for the reduction/eradication of corruption in Nigeria to promote  
418 the economic growth for sustainability of development efforts in the post 2015 development agenda in Nigeria.  
419 ? Nigeria's legal and judicial system should be reviewed and restructured to handle swiftly the cases of people  
420 that are engaged in corrupt practices. In addition, an establishment of special court for economic and financial  
421 crimes (corruptions) to forestall the prevailing attitude of regular courts' incessant adjournments and perpetual  
422 injunction. ? There is need for the strengthening of the activities of the anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria  
423 such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and  
424 Related Offences Commission (ICPC). This can only be possible if interference by political office holders is  
425 checkmated. Again, adequate funding and management of EFCC, ICPC, Police and other agencies saddled with  
426 the responsibility of the fight against corruption is required to engender sustenance of the post 2015 development  
427 agenda in Nigeria. ? Those who have demonstrated exemplary and corrupt free leadership should be celebrated  
428 by rewarding honesty and integrity as a way of checking corruption in Nigeria.

429 ? Penalties for corrupt officials should be made very stiffer to serve as deterrent to others. ? The rule of  
430 law must be upheld to instill sanity in the administration of justice. Equal treatment of corrupt officials is a  
431 necessity. There should be 'no sacred cows' there should be no exceptions to the rules as the law is no respecter  
432 of persons. The prevailing situation were perceived corrupt officials are nominated by the incumbent president  
433 and undergoing screening by the senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to be appointed as ministers does not  
434 in any reflect the fact that all persons are equal before the law in Nigeria.

435 **9 ? Restoration of indigenous values and institutions:**

436 Nigerian indigenous values and systems were for the most part debunked by first, the missionaries, then the  
437 colonialists in a much more forceful manner. Indigenous solutions to corruption must once again be explored  
438 followed by the rediscovery of indigenous systems of administration. Rwanda has successfully done the latter  
439 through the Gacaca, Abunzi, Umuganda, Umudugudu and other indigenous systems. The above is by no means  
440 a call for Nigeria Christians and Muslims to revert to African traditional religion as is often perceived whenever  
441 the indigenous is mentioned. Far from it. The merging of Nigeria's social, cultural, and moral values with its  
442 religion was the handiwork of some over-zealous missionaries and racist colonialists.

443 Nigerians have come of age to separate between religion and other causes and to realize that one can be fully  
444 functioning in his chosen religion and still abide by several positively rewarding indigenous Nigerian values. ?  
445 Education: Formal, Informal and non-formal education is the greatest vehicle for cultural transmission towards  
446 a transformation of prevailing social paradigm is education. In its formal form, the curriculum of learning  
447 across Nigerian must be overhauled to make for real mental and intellectual independence. In its non-formal  
448 manifestation, conferences, workshops, camps, and other nonformal learning situations must be widely utilized  
449 to re-educate citizens on the fact that real living occurs only when individuals have sound moral values, or at  
450 least, consistently and seriously aspire to it. Informally, the media will be mobilized as a crucial element of mass  
451 mobilization towards an appreciation of the Nigeria's authentic social, cultural and economic environment. ?  
452 Religion as a nation building institution: Nigerians listen to their spiritual leaders, much more than they do  
453 politicians and policy makers. The pulpit ought to be mobilized as a knowledge and faith-based platform for  
454 reaching the souls of Nigerians and in directing them towards nation-building.

455 ? Promotion of the "African" nation state: For the past 55 years, Nigerians have been struggling in vain to  
456 assimilate the artificially imposed colonial boundaries. It is time to promote the greater African nation-state  
457 and de-emphasize the cosmetic divisions that is filled with antagonistic ethnic groups. ? Nigerians must be  
458 encouraged, motivated and facilitated to travel widely across the continent in order to overcome the ethnic  
459 animosities that was ignited by colonialism, established by the post colonial tussle for power among ruling elites,  
460 and strengthened by geographic claustrophobia.



Figure 1:



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## 9 ? RESTORATION OF INDIGENOUS VALUES AND INSTITUTIONS:

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