

1 Corruption and Governance: A Bad Ginger for Development in 2 Nigeria

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5

6 **Abstract**

7 Public service is a service where federal, state, or local government has an interest or where its
8 presence is felt. It is a very wide organ, encompassing the civil service, the school system, the
9 judicially, the local government system, the security agents, government companies and public
10 service is of great importance to any given state. The role of the public service in achieving
11 good governance cannot be underestimated. The purpose of the state is to maximize the
12 potentials of its citizens by providing basic rights, liberty, security, and welfare, which can be
13 gathered from the central role in the formulation and implementation of policies designed for
14 the development of the society. Development is critical and essential to the sustenance and
15 growth of any nation. A country is classified as developed when can provide qualitative life for
16 her citizenry. Nigeria in the last fifty years has been battling with the problems of
17 development despite huge human, material, and natural resources in her possession. In
18 Nigeria, the roles of government has come under severe critiques within the framework of the
19 gap that exists between the anticipated roles and the actual output in guiding the society
20 along the course of development as a result of corruption.

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22 **Index terms**— corruption, good governance, service delivery, sustainable development, accountability,
23 nigeria.

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30 to the sustenance and growth of any nation. A country is classified as developed when can provide qualitative
31 life for her citizenry. Nigeria in the last fifty years has been battling with the problems of development despite
32 huge human, material, and natural resources in her possession. In Nigeria, the roles of government has come
33 under severe critiques within the framework of the gap that exists between the anticipated roles and the actual
34 output in guiding the society along the course of development as a result of corruption. The paper discusses the
35 problems affecting national development as well as strategies for achieving sustainable development in Nigeria. It
36 also observes the fact that Nigeria is still struggling with the problems of bad governance as a result of the high
37 level of non-accountability and the presence of visible corruption that cannot be untameable legally as a result
38 of the system in place. The article also reveals that many of the anti-corruption efforts are part of the liberal
39 reforms that assume that corruption is an individual act or personal misuse of public office for private gain. It
40 points out that as laudable as the intentions of government in putting in place institutions and laws meant to
41 curb corruption, the enforcement of these laws has left much to be desired. In fact, the various reform efforts of
42 the Nigerian government are of limited value because they fail to consider much of the dynamics that support
43 corruption in the country. Thus, people now regard the law as paper tigers, meant only to be enforced when
44 breached by low-level public officers. While successive administrations have taken partially successful steps to
45 control corruption, these efforts have not fundamentally undermined the supporting environment for corruption

1 INTRODUCTION

46 in the country. The article adopts secondary data as sources of information. The paper concluded that faithful
47 implementation of development plan, commitment on the part of the leaders and absence of corruption are
48 required for the achievement of sustainable development in Nigeria. The article therefore recommends the need
49 for greater transparency in the management of public funds by the public officers, and the need for political will
50 and commitment from governments at Federal, State and Local, including government institutions at various
51 levels of governance in the country; with the need to consciously transform social values and state institutions
52 that works as enabling environments for corruption. The leadership also has huge responsibility in controlling
53 corruption and restoring the hope to the citizenry through good governance. Unless good governance is in place
54 with accountability carefully observed, sustainable development cannot be realized.

55 1 Introduction

56 In every society and community, there are certain behaviours, which are very much detested during interpersonal
57 relationships, and group behaviour. The behaviours include cheating, lying, etc. These behaviours which have
58 moral, ethical, legal and religious implications are detested because they are inimical to proper and decent
59 standards. The pattern of that encapsulates all this detested attitude is corruption ??Omoluabi, 2007:3).

60 One of the major challenges facing Nigeria and other developing areas of the world is how to create a context
61 of stable political and socio-economic environment for policies and programmes to be implemented. The issue
62 of getting the right leadership to fight corruption and propel good governance has been a recurring decimal in
63 Nigeria and Africa in general. Once this enabling environment is created, it becomes easy for the people to
64 confront and resolve challenges facing them by using resources within their environment to create a condition
65 of life where each stage is progressively better than the preceding one. However, this is not the case in Nigeria
66 due to corruption and bad governance. Good governance encapsulates transparency, accountability, freedom of
67 choice and liberty for the people to pursue their individual and corporate interest. Indeed, at the core of Africa's
68 underdeveloped status are corruption and leadership deficit.

69 Corruption as a household name in every society and its negative impact on the socio-economic and political
70 setting of a country can never be over emphasized. There has been a global cry and harmonized efforts to tackle
71 corruption through the creation and implementation of laws and policies across nations. Some nations have been
72 successful in their quest to reduce the level of corruption while others still fall behind. In this case, Nigeria seems
73 to be an example of a state that has failed in combating corruption. The challenges of corruption remain a major
74 devastating issue facing Nigeria since the colonial period, although, this phenomenon has become a cankerworm
75 that has eaten deep into the fabrics of our system ??Muhammed, 2013:120). From the common man in the
76 street to the highest political figure, corruption is recurrent in almost every transaction in the Nigerian society
77 or system.

78 Over the years, public sector in Nigeria has been characterized largely by ineffectiveness and inefficiency. The
79 situation is not different in other African countries. High-level corruption has been identified as being responsible
80 for Nigeria's underdevelopment and growing crimes rates. It is instructive to note that the Nigerian government
81 and citizens have not totally committed themselves to introducing and implementing measures that can prevent
82 or drastically reduce the extent and consequence of corruption in the country. That is not to say that laws,
83 institutions, and programmes for controlling corruption have not been introduced by successive governments.
84 On the contrary, every Nigerian government since 1975 introduced elaborate laws, programmes, and policies,
85 only for officials to turn such into fertile opportunity for corrupt practices and enrichment. Consequently, there
86 has been a geometrical growth in the rate of corruption in the country ??Etannibi, 2002). ??tannibi (2002),
87 also claimed that corruption is the source of many socioeconomic and political problems that have militated
88 against the attainment of economic development, equity, social justice, political integration, and stability as well
89 as democracy in Nigeria.

90 Political corruption is a persistent phenomenon in Nigeria. The employment, promotions, postings, and
91 deployment processes, especially in the federal service are riddled with corruption, and it was estimated in 2012
92 that, Nigeria had lost over \$400 billion to corruption since independence. In 2018, the country ranked 144 th
93 in the 180 countries listed in Transparency International's Corruption Index. Yet corruption in Nigeria has
94 continued ever since with greater ferocity and intensity. Since the return of the country to civil rule on May
95 29, 1999, the Nigerian government has taken several measures to address the problems of corruption and bad
96 governance in the country. Despite the successes attained by these measures, the situation remains unacceptable
97 as corruption continues to permeate and pervade every facet of national life in Nigeria.

98 In this research article, the data for the study were basically selected from secondary materials such as
99 textbooks, internet materials, newspapers, magazines, and journals articles, etc, through a systematic qualitative
100 content analysis.

101 In discussing issues in this study, the article is divided into nineteen sections. The first section dealt
102 with the introduction, the second focused on the conceptual analysis where corruption, governance and good
103 governance were conceptualized while the third aspect treated the conceptual clarifications, followed by the
104 national development plan in Nigeria, the problem of national development in Nigeria, strategies for national
105 development in Nigeria, and the seventh section deals with the strategies for the national development in Asia.
106 The eighth aspect treated the theoretical exploration of corruption, and in the ninth part, the interface between
107 leadership, corruption, governance, and the theory of two public was treated. In the section tenth, theory of

108 resource course was treated, followed by the historical perspective of corruption in Nigeria, forms of corruption
109 in Nigeria public sector, the effective nature and causes of corruption in Nigeria, examining corruption and
110 governance in Nigeria in retrospect, the major challenges of corruption and governance in Nigeria, and the way
111 forward on corruption and good governance in Nigeria. Anti-corruption initiatives in Africa: The National and
112 Regional experiences focus on section seventh. The eighteen section takes a cursory look at the analysis of trends
113 and policy implementations: African context, while the last section presented the concluding remarks.

114 **2 II.**

115 **3 Corruption and Governance: Conceptual Analysis**

116 Corruption is both an ancient and a global phenomenon that created the social phenomenon that is difficult
117 to define and has refused a universally accepted definition. Its practice is referenced by and dates back to
118 the ancient Christian and Islamic evolutionary historical books and days, respectively. These ancient historical
119 documentations argues that in the "garden of Eden", corruption overturned and crippled the first social institution
120 that God constituted on the planet earth -the Garden of Eden, (Holy Bible, Genesis Chapter 2-3, Quran
121 Chapter7:22, (Osvaldo H. Schenone and Samuel Greeg, 2003). In the same vein, corruption across the globe
122 today continues to cripple the development across the globe -socio economic and political institutions across the
123 globe. It is a menace that has no respect for developing, developed and industrialized societies. Corruption is
124 well known across the world as a danger to socio economic and political transformation but, it has been difficult
125 to reach a global consensus on its definition and permanent cure till date, for many reasons. Corruption is a
126 multifaceted phenomenon that has multiple causes and effects. Scholars, policy makers and opinion leaders tend
127 to be confused in the process of analysis due to complexity of the phenomenon as it takes on various forms.

128 Before we attempt to review any stated definition, corruption has been identified as one of the major clogs in
129 the wheel of development in Africa. It gained prominence in development lexicon in the late Volume XXI Issue V
130 Version I 52 () 1980s and early 1990s alongside other development concepts, like good governance, transparency,
131 accountability, and popular participation to mention but a few. The World bank and other international Financial
132 Institutions, like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) concluded that the structural Adjustment Programme
133 (SAP) failed in Africa due to bad governance, including corrupt practices. Prior to just mentioned period, different
134 institutions and social settings called corruption different names. The International Financial Institutions (IFIs),
135 like the World Bank (WB) does not call it corruption in the past but "project leakage and/or project pilferage".
136 The World Bank (WB) concepts were coined as a result of its experiences of corrupt practices in some of its
137 supported development projects across the globe. This amongst others, underscores why development banks like
138 the African Development Bank (AfDB) and others with similar institutional objectives continue to prioritize anti-
139 corruption fight in their project's development. The definition of corruption varies depending on the inclination
140 of the scholar and perception of the concept, nevertheless, all rationale adults know what constitute corrupt
141 practices (Inspector General of the Government of Uganda, 1989).

142 The challenge of consensus building on the word corruption also brought along with it the problem of having
143 a universal acceptable definition for the concept. Unfortunately, up ill date, there is no global acceptable
144 definition for the menace. Different definers describe and defines it from their experiences and perspectives.
145 Some development practitioners and researchers have also contended that the best way to define corruption is
146 to look at it from its various manifestations. This school of thought argues that corruption could manifest in
147 the form of bribery greed, stealing, extortion, embezzlement, fraud, and nepotism. Odukanmi (2013), argued
148 that corruption can be likened to a dreadful Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes (AIDS) virus that is
149 difficult to heal but can be successfully prevented, if necessary, prevention and steps are taken. Despite the
150 arguments on the definitions, practices and solution of corruption, it is also important to mention that, some
151 of the definitions have gained prominence in governance and development literature globally, like that of the
152 Transparency International's definition of "abuse of entrusted authority for private gain"; The United Nations
153 Global Programme Against Corruption (GPAC), defines corruption as the "abuse of power for private gain";
154 The World Bank (World Bank Independent Evaluation Group, 2006) defines corruption as "the abuse of office
155 for private gains." Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe.
156 ??gbu (2003), observes that public office can be abused for selfish gain even if bribery does not take place. This
157 implies that political corruption could be defined in the form of patronage, election rigging, and voters register
158 manipulation, favouritism in the award of contract, procurement scam, tribalism and nepotism in recruitment
159 and promotion, unfair punishment, and sanctions for public officials. Given the stated definitions, it can be
160 deduced that, corruption or political corruption denotes any action that violates electoral rules or the formal
161 duties of public roles, rules, or norms regarding public trust.

162 These explanations and definitions bring to light the extent to which corrupt practices are indulged and
163 perpetrated. Corruption viewed from different perspectives by scholars, share some common concern. There
164 is a general agreement among scholars that corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It
165 hurts everyone whose life, livelihood or happiness depends on the integrity of people in a position of authority.
166 ??atile and Adejuwon (2012), it is a serious societal problem about which something must be done to reduce its
167 occurrence and prevalence.

168 On the other hand, the term 'governance' cannot be pinned down to a universally acceptable definition.

3 CORRUPTION AND GOVERNANCE: CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

169 This is because it has fallen into semantic predicament to the extent that the literature on it replete with so
170 many definitions of the term by various scholars with different variant and subtype. However, we shall comb
171 the conceptual terrains of the term with a view to finding the middle ground for its heuristic investigation.
172 According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2011) governance is defined as "the exercise
173 of economic, political and administrative authorities to manage a country's affairs at all levels". Similarly, the
174 World Governance Survey Report conceptualized governance as "the formulation and stewardship of the formal
175 and informal rules that regulates the public realm, the arena in which state as well as economic and social actors
176 interacts to make decisions (in ??yden & Court, 2002).

177 Governance has also been defined as the use of political authority and exercise of control over society and the
178 management of its resources for social and economic development. It encompasses the nature of functioning of a
179 state's institutional and structural arrangements, decision making processes, policy formulation, implementation
180 capacity, information flows, effectiveness of leadership and the nature of the relationship between rulers and
181 the ruled ??Doig, 1995). Governance can also be described as the use of authority and the exercise of control
182 over society and the management of its resources for social and economic development. It is the way power
183 is exercised by governments in the distribution of a country's social and economic resources. The nature and
184 manner of distribution is what makes governance good or bad one. Thus, according to Ogundiya (2010), when
185 resources must be distributed to promote inequality or to achieve personal or group ambitions, the essence of
186 governance which coincides with the essence of politics and essence of the state is defeated. Therefore, resources
187 must be distributed responsibly, equitably, and fairly for the realization of the essence of the state.

188 As noted by Okeke (2010), governance is said to have evolved from the need to organize society towards the
189 achievement of a common goal. An opinion worth considering is that society derives its roots from the solitary
190 man who later got transformed into a family person to fulfil the need for socialization. Within this union, he
191 enjoyed the love, care and company of family members and recognised their inherent and inalienable rights to
192 preserve the love, harmony, and cohesion within the family. Society later grew out of the family in response
193 to the need to fulfil other higher needs and the collective aspirations of the people, such as security, economic
194 well-being and survival, through negotiations and the formation of social contract between the governors and the
195 governed. Governance, therefore, concerns not just the integrity, efficiency, and economy of government but also
196 its effectiveness in terms of the ends to which government organization and activity are directed.

197 Recently the terms "governance" and "good governance" are being increasingly used in development literature.
198 Bad governance is being increasingly regarded as one of the root causes of all evil within our societies. Major
199 donors and international financial institutions are increasingly basing their aid and loans on the condition that
200 reforms and ensures "good governance" are undertaken. Good governance has some characteristics which include:
201 It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective, and efficient, equitable and
202 inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are considered
203 and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making (Akhakpe, 2014). It is also
204 responsive to the present and future needs of society ??Downer, 2000).

205 Good governance has also been seen as government that fulfils the terms of the social contract with the people.
206 It is also seen as a fundamental right in a democracy, and it implies transparency and accountability.

207 Good governance entails an administration that is sensitive and responsive to the needs of the people and
208 is effective in coping with emerging challenges in society by framing and implementing appropriate laws and
209 measures. It includes strict rules of accountability. Good governance largely depends on the extent to which
210 the general citizenry perceives a government to be legitimate, i.e., committed to improving the public welfare
211 deliver public services and equitable in its conduct ? favouring no special interests or groups. It is among other
212 things, participatory, transparent, and accountable. It is also effective, equitable and promotes the rule of law.
213 Good governance ensures that political, social, and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society
214 and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of
215 development resources ??Richardson, 2008).

216 Good governance however remains elusive with no limitation of scope that commands universal acceptance.
217 The true test of good governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promise of human, civil, cultural,
218 economic, political, and social rights. It ensures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are
219 considered and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision making. It is also responsive
220 to the present and future needs of society and the nation at large. Governance is good when it is able to achieve
221 the desired end of the state defined in terms of justice, equity, protection of life and property, enhanced citizens'
222 participation, preservation of rule of law and improved living standard of the populace (Ogundiya, 2010). There
223 is no doubt that in Nigeria since the return to democratic rule in 1999, good governance has been elusive which
224 many scholars believe is largely attributable to large scale level of corruption in different facets of the society and
225 most especially the public sector.

226 Politically, good governance entails the establishment of a representative and accountable form of government;
227 good governance requires a strong and pluralistic civil society, where there is freedom of expression and association;
228 good governance requires good institutions -sets of rules governing the actions of individuals and organizations and
229 the negotiation of differences between them; good governance requires the primacy of the rule of law, maintained
230 through an impartial and effective legal system; and good governance requires a high degree of transparency and
231 accountability in public and corporate processes.

232 Economically, good governance requires policies to promote broad-based economic growth, a dynamic private
233 sector and social policies that will lead to poverty reduction. Economic growth is best achieved in an efficient,
234 open, market-based economy. Investment in people is a high priority, through policies and institutions that
235 improve access to quality education, health and other services that underpin a country's human resource base.
236 Effective institutions and good corporate governance are needed to support the development of a competitive
237 private sector. For markets to function, social norms are needed that respect contract and property rights.

238 Yet, careful management of the national economy is vital in order to maximize economic and social
239 advancement. Governance comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and
240 groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.
241 Good governance means competent management of a country's resources and affairs in a This brings us to the
242 vexed issues of development. The term development has endured conceptual and methodological shift over the
243 years. In the 70s, development was associated with issues of growth in the economy, rise in per capita income
244 and increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, Todaro (1982) provides a parameter for interrogating
245 the issues of development. For him, objectives of development should include ability to meet basic needs such
246 as food, shelter, health and protection, achievement of self-esteem and human freedom. Todaro went further to
247 argue that society deserves human freedom in form of emancipation from alienating material conditions of life
248 and freedom from the social servitude of man and ignorance of nature, misery, institutional and dogmatic beliefs.

249 Corroborating the above view, Eberlee (2001) argued that in contemporary times, the concept of development
250 has moved away from the fetishism of growth and development to the ability of a people to recover their resources
251 and use same according to its cultural values to solve their individual and collective problems to bring about
252 new frame of life where each stage is an improvement on the preceding one. What is at stake in Africa is the
253 lack of development of man's wellbeing and welfare due to bad governance which has given rise to monumental
254 corruption.

255 4 III.

256 5 Development: Conceptual Clarifications

257 Development as a concept is a victim of definitional pluralism. It is a difficult word to define. However, attempts
258 have been made by erudite scholars to conceptualize development. Some of these definitions will be explored
259 for the purpose of this study. ??boyega (2003), captures development as an idea that embodies all attempts
260 to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. It implies improvement in material well-
261 being of all citizens, not the most powerful and rich alone, in a sustainable way such that today's consumption
262 does not imperil the future, it also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be
263 removed or drastically reduced. It seeks to improve personal physical security and livelihoods and expansion
264 of life chances. Naomi (1995) believes that development is usually taken to involve not only economic growth,
265 but also some notion of equitable distribution, provision of health care, education, housing and other essential
266 services all with a view to improving the individual and collective quality of life ??Naomi, 1995). ??hrisman
267 (1984) views development as a process of societal advancement, where improvement in the well-being of people
268 are generated through strong partnerships between all sectors, corporate bodies, and other groups in the society.
269 It is reasonable to know that development is not only an economic exercise, but also involves both socioeconomic
270 and political issues and pervades all aspects of societal life.

271 6 a) National Development Plans in Nigeria

272 National, according to Longman dictionary of contemporary English, refers to a phenomenon that embraces a
273 whole nation. National development therefore can be described as the overall development or a collective socio-
274 economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. This is best achieved through
275 development planning, which can be described as the country's collection of strategies mapped out by the
276 government. National development plans in Nigeria We have had series of development plans in Nigeria.

277 Nigeria is permanently hunted by the spectre of development. The myth of growth and development is so
278 entrenched that the country's history passes for the history of development strategies and growth models from
279 colonial times up to date. No term has been in constant flux as development, and this seems that, Nigeria is the
280 only country where virtually all notions and models of development have been experimented ??Aremu, 2003).

281 Two years after independence, the first National Development Plan policy was formulated between 1962 and
282 1968 with the objectives of development opportunities in health, education and employment and improving access
283 to these opportunities, etc. This plan failed because fifty percent of resources needed to finance the plan was to
284 come from external sources, and only fourteen percent of the external finance was received ??Ogwumike, 1995).

285 Collapse of the first Republic and the commencement of civil war also disrupted the plan. After the civil war
286 in 1970, the second national development plan 1970 to 1974 was launched, the plan priorities were in agriculture,
287 industry, transport, manpower, defence, electricity, communication and water supply and provision of social
288 services (Ogwumike, 1995). The third plan, covering the period of 1975 to 1980 was considered more ambitious
289 than the second plan. Emphasis was placed on rural development and efforts to revamp agricultural sector. The
290 fourth plan 1981 to 1985 recognized the role of social services, health services, etc. The plan was aimed at bringing
291 about improvement in the living conditions of the people. The specific objectives were: an increase in the real

8 C) STRATEGIES FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

292 income of the average citizen, more even distribution of income among individuals and socioeconomic groups,
293 increased dependence on the country's material and human resources, a reduction in the level of unemployment
294 and underemployment ??Ogwumike, 1995).

295 During these periods, Nigeria's enormous oil wealth was not invested to build a viable industrial base for the
296 country and for launching an agrarian revolution to liquidate mass poverty. For instance, the Green Revolution
297 Programme that replaced Operation Feed the Nation failed to generate enough food for the masses. In the
298 recent past, various strategies for development have also been tried with little or no result; among these were
299 the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP), Vision 2010, National Economic Empowerment and Development
300 Strategy (NEEDS), Creation of Development Centres, etc. Currently, there are seven-point agenda of the present
301 administration with vision 2020, and without any clear methodological approach towards achieving them. It is
302 obvious that the current results so far are not what development connotes.

303 7 b) The Problems of National Development in Nigeria

304 Despite series of development strategies, put in place by successive governments, and sometimes with good
305 intentions, all attempts to generate meaningful development proved futile. Based on this, one is now confronted
306 with these puzzles: "Were those previous development plans or strategies bad in their context, or wrongly
307 projected?" If nothing was wrong with the plans, then why is it still difficult to generate meaningful development
308 despite the huge resources at our disposal? The solutions to these puzzles are not farfetched. A lot of factors
309 have combined to fetter nation's development.

310 One, there are in most cases, no executive capacity responsible for the formulation and implementation of
311 the plan. What we usually see are officials entrusted to such a position but without any meaningful executive
312 authority. Some of the previous development plans failed because; there was little or no consultation of the public.
313 Planning is supposed to involve even the peasants in the villages. Even, the Local Government officials who are
314 close to the people were not consulted. Planning is not an edifice where technocrats alone operate ??Mimiko,
315 1998).

316 Lack of good governance also militates against national development. Where there is no good governance,
317 development becomes a mirage. This is as a result of bad leadership in the country. Most of our leaders have
318 no sense of commitment to development. Mimiko (1998) captures the situation this way: "The decolonization
319 allowed the crop of leaders that aligned with colonial power to take over Nigeria. This ensured the sustenance of
320 a neo-colonial economy even after political independence. These leaders on assumption of power quickly turned
321 up the repressive machinery of the colonial state rather than dismantling it. Significantly, they have no vision of
322 development to accompany the efficient instrument of repression they inherited. All they were interested in was
323 access to power and privileges and not development".

324 High level of corruption and indiscipline is another barrier to development. Nigeria state is corrupt, managed
325 by corrupt leaders who have made the state an instrument of capital accumulation, rather than using it to project
326 the interest of the citizenry. An incredibly good plan supervised by a thoroughly corrupt state can hardly do a
327 thorough good job ??Mimiko, 1998). Corruption and development are antithetical to each other, the two cannot
328 cohabit, and so, where one is present, the other suffers.

329 Another important factor is the mono-economic base of the country. The country largely depends on crude oil
330 for her survival to the detriment of other resources. All other sectors of the economy are neglected. For instance,
331 agriculture, which constitutes the mainstay of the Nigerian economy in the 1950s and 1960s, has been thrown
332 into limbo over the years. How would government encourage export promotion when there is virtually nothing to
333 export? The economy is not diversified, and this is not suitable for a sustainable development ??Mimiko, 1998).

334 8 c) Strategies for National Development

335 The beauty of any development plan is the faithful implementation of such plan, which its success lies with the
336 implementers. In our previous discussion, it was mentioned that most of the past development plans failed as a
337 result of implementation problem and lack of committed leadership etc.

338 Based on this fact, new development policies and strategies are currently in place as alternative strategies for
339 development, such as Seven Points Agenda, Vision 2020, etc. These policies and vision appear to be all embracing
340 but they are not sacrosanct in their totality. But if faithfully implemented, the nation at least will move towards
341 path of development. It is in our opinion that to successfully implement the Seven Point Agenda of the present
342 regime, there some lessons we can learn from Asian models of development.

343 First, development requires total commitment on the parts of the leadership. The need for discipline and
344 honesty on the part of the project implementers cannot be compromised; such officials should show enough
345 discipline, interest, willingness, dedication, and honesty. Without these attributes and the will to pursue set
346 economic goals, all other ingredients of development present would amount to nullity.

347 Second, this country should learn that wholesale liberalization; the type advocated by the apologists of
348 orthodox SAP is not necessarily synonymous with development. It goes without saying therefore that a level of
349 state involvement (heterodoxy) is imperative even in the face of the crucial need for structural adjustment. But
350 whatever the degree of state involvement, private ownership of properties must be guaranteed for investment to get
351 stimulated (Mimiko, 1997). Although, it is another question whether Nigerian state as presently constituted can

352 play this critical role given its embarrassing level of corruption, inefficiency, and incapacitation by commitment
353 to sundry primordial values. Be it as it may, the goal should be to evolve a process of reformation of the state
354 to make it able to play the type of highly constructive role that its counterparts are playing in the whole of East
355 Asia (Mimiko, 1997).

356 Also, stability and continuity of policies encourage investment and propel development. For instance, in Korea,
357 when Park was assassinated, his policies remained and were building on. Nigeria leadership must learn to build
358 on policies rather than to jettison them for new ones for the sake of party politics and personal 240 J. Public
359 Adm. Policy Res. aggrandisement. There is the need for Nigeria to revamp the agricultural sector; this sector
360 was instrumental in the development of Japan. Agriculture used to be the mainstay of Nigeria economy, but the
361 discovery of crude oil succeeded in putting agriculture into state of oblivion.

362 Human resources development is also a sine qua non to Nigeria national development; this was demonstrated
363 in Japan and Korea ??Lawal et al., 1976). Development depends very much on human knowledge and skills. This
364 must be such that a high quality of education and training is achieved for a large majority at a reasonable price
365 and the context and quality of such education and training should be relevant and adequate to the country's
366 development needs. Literature on development stresses the axiom that it is the people who develop and that
367 unless there are large numbers of suitably qualified people, development cannot take place.

368 There is need for attitudinal change. Nigerians must as a matter of fact change their pessimistic attitude
369 towards development. The idea or belief that "things cannot work in Nigeria or Nigerian factor" should be
370 discouraged. Real development is achieved through internal activities rather than from external influences.
371 Development is seen as a process generated within a society by forces propagated and invigorated by the actual
372 members of that society. It is believed that true development can neither be started nor sustained by outsiders.
373 Although, no country can develop in isolation, but heavy emphasis should not be placed on foreign resources
374 for the country's development. The models of development of Japan and China show how these countries utilize
375 their internal resources both human and material for rapid economic development. It is reasonable that Nigerians
376 should inculcate a high sense of patriotism as demonstrated by the Japanese and Chinese.

377 Importantly, citizenship should be promoted over indigeneity in order to achieve cooperation and participation
378 of all communities in the development process. Omotoso (2008) noted that the 1999 constitution is directly
379 or indirectly promoting indigeneity in the country. For example, section 318(1) of paragraph (IV) supports
380 indigeneity. The constitution sets parameters for indigenes and non-indigenes. It equally gives legal bases to
381 various discriminatory policies that actively promote indigeneity, contrary to some sections that argue against
382 discrimination. This is very contradictory. Leadership in Nigeria must behave in a way to inculcate the spirit of
383 patriotism in the minds of the people, so that they will be ready to stand with the government in her development
384 efforts. When Nigerians see themselves as one and not as belonging to one section of the country as portrayed
385 presently, the urge to develop Nigeria will be germinated and sustained.

386 Additionally, the need to reform electoral process is imperative for socio-economic and political development.
387 Electoral fraud is one of the bane of Nigeria's development. The role of leadership in development cannot be
388 overemphasized, all efforts towards development must be coordinated and directed by the leaders, therefore, the
389 leaders must be development conscious, have genuine interest for development and the political will to propel
390 such development. The leaders must also have the cooperation of the people, because, it is the people that
391 develop a nation. Honestly, the aforementioned ingredients cannot be possible without a legitimized mandate
392 for the leaders by the people. When a leader assumes office illegitimately or through electoral fraud, such leader
393 is bound to fail in his effort to generate meaningful development. This is due to the fact that such illegitimate
394 leaders tend to display characters that repress development such as; selfishness, corruption, pride, thuggery and
395 inefficiency and also, there is apathy and natural detachment to development plans by the people as they did not
396 see such emerging leaders as the products of their consent through voting. Based on the foregoing, the electoral
397 process should be reformed in such a way that nobody assumes power (political) through crook or fraudulent
398 means. The process should be made opened, free, fair and competitive. All legal battles preceding the elections
399 must be concluded before any swearing in. This, it is believed, will create genuine environment conducive for
400 development. Lastly, development plan should not be exclusively regarded as economic issue it should be seen
401 as holistic and encompassing national issue that cuts across economic, social, political, and psychological aspects
402 of human endeavour.

403 9 d) Models of development in Asia

404 This model outlines the driving forces of development in some of the Asia countries as models for Nigeria's
405 development. The enviable growth and development patterns of several Asian countries are well known. East
406 Asia is the only region in the world that has been able to maintain strong, consistent growth patterns over several
407 decades, led first by Japan and the newly industrializing economies of Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and
408 Taiwan, etc ??Mimiko, 1998; ??delman, 1995). Apart from the homogenous nature of these societies, other
409 several factors were responsible for their development. These were development of agricultural sector, a system
410 of mass education, development of indigenous industries, export-oriented strategy, the Spartan discipline of their
411 leadership, existence of efficient bureaucracy, human resources development, encouragement of a dynamic private
412 sector working in co-operation with the government towards a societywide vision of development, institutional

413 capacity building and attention to the problems of governance, consistency and policy stability, etc (Mimiko,
414 1998).

415 IV.

416 10 Theoretical Exploration of Corruption

417 As corruption is a complex phenomenon, no one theory explains it all. This part of the article reviews the main
418 theories used to explain why corruption occurs. The technical or effectiveness theory posited that an organization
419 is technically efficient, if it is adequate for the demand made on it. What the technical theorists are saying is
420 that efficiency of the public administrators should be measured by how well they have performed in meeting the
421 objectives of the organization. That is, to provide and deliver essential services and goods to the public at an
422 affordable price and at the right time.

423 Target (operational) theory is concerned with a situation where a number of different units are operating in a
424 number of different environments. Public sector comprises of the department, ministries, and others like public
425 corporations. It is through these organizations, which makes up the public sector that government carries its
426 activities ??Akpan, 1982). An organization might try to be efficient but its activities, its interdependency or
427 inter-relationship with other departments might affect negatively or positively its efficiency.

428 Institutional theory -also known as institutionalism -uses country and government institutional characteristics,
429 such as pre-existing rule of law, well-defined anti-corruption norms, and independent anti-corruption institutions
430 with enforcement powers, to explain corruption in the public sector. Institutional theory "examines the processes
431 and mechanisms by which structures, schemas, rules, and routines become established as authoritative guidelines
432 for social behaviour" ??Scott, 2004). In relation to understanding corruption, institutional theory brings in
433 the social context and provides a taxonomy for understanding how corruption might become entrenched in
434 organizations, in institutions and in society, despite the existence of an anti-corruption framework ??Luo, 2005).
435 Institutional theory considers that corruption is influenced by the character, design and transparency of the
436 political system and its institutions. At the same time, it acknowledges that the relationship between corruption,
437 institutions, political systems, culture, and gender is complex (Debski and others, 2018; Stensöta, Wängnerud
438 and Svensson, 2015).

439 Another theory that explains the prevalence of public sector corruption is the game theory. This theory
440 borrows from economic literature and seeks to provide rationales for corrupt decisions by public officials. In
441 particular, Macrae (1982) suggests that corruption is part of a rational calculus and an integral and often deeply
442 rooted method by which people take decisions. In this context, individuals face a "prisoner's dilemma", which
443 "illustrates a conflict between individual and group rationality" (Kuhn, 2019). The individual fears a disadvantage
444 if she refuses to engage in corrupt practices while other individuals do not refuse to do so in the same situation.
445 As a result, all individuals obtain some sort of benefit which, however, is always less than the benefit that each
446 of them would have obtained if they refused to engage in corrupt practices. This is illustrated, for example, in
447 the area of public procurement, where participants in corruption include private sector actors that are unsure
448 of the actions of others. The fear of being outdone by competitors acting illegally or unethically thus motivates
449 otherwise ethical companies to engage in procurement corruption.

450 Another theory that is relevant to this discourse is the modernization theory. The modernisation school of
451 thought was the first attempt to articulate the problem of development in terms of the need to transform the
452 backward "traditional" nature of Third World economies into "modern" economies. Drawing from the historical
453 experience of the Western Europe after World War II, under the Marshal Plan, it advocated the need for
454 accelerated economic growth through an import substitution form of industrialisation, a process seen to entail
455 securing the right quantity and mix of saving investment and foreign aid. Given the relatively low levels of new
456 capital formation in most Third World countries, one obvious policy implication was the need for massive capital
457 investment through foreign aid.

458 Modernization theorists were concerned with structural change in the economy and the process that had an
459 economy from a state of primitive organization of production to the modern organization of economic activities
460 ??Huntington, 1968). Emphasis on the transformation of a traditional society into a modern one suggests
461 that the outcry against corruption amounts to a puritan reaction to modernization. In this view, corruption
462 represents a deviation from ethical norms. Thus, looking at corruption from the modernization perspective
463 reflect Volume XXI Issue V Version I 58 () a strong anti-state position which Huntington cited by Abu (2007)
464 summarised best by stating that in terms of economic growth, the only thing worse than a society with a rigid over
465 centralized, dishonest bureaucracy is one with a rigid, over centralized bureaucracy. It is instructive to note that
466 the modernization theory had been replaced with the principal-agent theory by the neoclassical economists. In
467 their view, corruption amounts to principal-agent problem ??Abu, 2007). In this case, it is the state which is the
468 principal that entrusts the task of allocation rights to appropriate resources to its agents, i.e., the administrators.
469 This means that there would be no corruption if the state had nothing useful for the private interests to allocate
470 selectively.

471 Modernisation theories provoked a great deal of criticisms from radical scholars such as Andre Gunder Frank,
472 Claude Ake, Bode Onimode, Shegu Oshoba, Zwingina Silas and others who argued that colonialism and Western
473 capitalism were the two major factors responsible for the underdeveloped nature of Third World countries. The
474 Western industrialised countries developed by exploiting human and natural resources of their colonies and by

475 making them economically dependent on their colonial powers after independence. Neo-colonialism continues
476 as western industrialised countries continue their political and economic domination of their former colonies.
477 The theory states that development in metropolitan capitalism is the underdevelopment in the periphery. The
478 modernisation theory is adopted in this study because the behaviour of leaders in Africa shows that they lack
479 the personality trait and motivation skill that will lead to growth and development.

480 V.

481 The Interface between Leadership, Corruption, Governance, and the Theory of Two Public

482 The concept of leadership evokes several meanings and studies elaborating different dimension of it abound.
483 Leadership is both the adhesive and catalyst which bind citizens of a given country together and triggers their
484 motivation towards the achievement of individual and group objectives. To Bedeian (1986), leadership is the art
485 of influencing individual or group activities towards the achievement of organizational or societal objectives. Also,
486 leadership involves the inducement of followers by the leader to act for certain goals that represent the values and
487 motivation, the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations of both leader and followers ??Burns, 1978).

488 After a careful examination of the leadership impasses in Nigeria, Achebe ??1983) concludes that:

489 The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing with the Nigerian
490 land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its
491 leaders to rise to its responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmarks of true leadership.

492 Surely, leadership holds the key to unlocking the transformation question in Nigeria, but to sustain this drive,
493 leaders must carry certain genes and attributes that are representative and promotive of this order. These include:
494 (i) The existence of practical, purposeful, visionary, and missionary initiative by the individual, reflecting the
495 objectives of held ideas, values and aspirations, (ii). The existence in an individual of a clear set of ideas, values,
496 aspirations reflecting those of the majority who are the subject or followership, and (iii). The existence of patriotic
497 and nationalistic spirit, transparency and accountability, signs of concrete achievements involving the extent to
498 which intended effects are produced by the leader. These are the core values of good governance.

499 Many scholars of African descent and politics such as Osaghae (1988) and Ekeh (1975) have traced the
500 problem of leadership, corruption, and governance in Africa to the wickedness of colonialism. Theory of two
501 public is credible not only in the understanding of the state and its predicaments in Africa but also in providing
502 important explanations for the pandemic leadership deficit, corruption and bad governance ravaging African
503 countries. ??keh (1975), argued that one of the most striking impacts of colonialism was the emergence of two
504 public realms, the primordial and civic public realms which related differently with the private realm in terms
505 of morality. For Nigeria in particular and Africa in general, Ekeh argued that only rights/benefits are expected
506 from the state by its citizens, who owe duties/responsibilities to a native sector. The former forms the basis of an
507 "immoral civic public realm" and the latter a "moral primordial public realm". Therefore, the civic public realm
508 was associated with illegitimate and exploitative colonial rule and had no moral linkages with the private realm.
509 It was an immoral public realm in which cheating the system was considered a patriotic duty ??Ifidon, 1996).

510 The result is that, as the same actors operate in the two realms, the state apparatus is employed to fatten the
511 nest of the primordial public, thereby making corruption, nepotism, impunity and ethnicity to mention a few,
512 the hallmark of the civic public ??Osaghae, 1988).

513 11 According to Ekeh (1975):

514 A good citizen of the primordial public gives out and asks for nothing in return; a lucky citizen of the civic public
515 gains from the civic but enjoys escaping giving anything in return whenever he can. But such a lucky man would
516 not be a good man when he channels all his lucky gains to his private purse. He will only continue to be a good
517 man if he channels part of the largesse from the civic public to the primordial public. That is the logic of the
518 dialectics. The unwritten law of the dialectics is that it is legitimate to rob the civic public in order to strengthen
519 the primordial public.

520 Dudley (in Akhakpe, 2014) made one of the elaborate attempts at explaining the political behavioural and
521 institutional patterns and nature of societies in terms of Weberian postulations on individuals and collective
522 values embedded in their culture. The central thrust of Dudley's perspective is on the impact of the countrywide
523 premium placed on wealth and status on politics. In Nigeria for example, there is the use of political office to
524 enrich one's self. This is not seen however as corruption in as much, as the person involved is seen as contributing
525 such ill-gotten wealth to the welfare and development of his or her community (Osaghae, 2011). In addition,
526 Osaghae (1994) stresses that the material perception of the state has made the political elite to seek for power
527 mainly to enrich themselves and members of their groups. The reason why people seek power is not to further
528 the ends of the people and community but that of self.

529 The relevance of the theories to this paper is that, it provides a framework for understanding the wide gap
530 between the (leaders) civic public and the (followers) primordial public. These disconnect between the leaders
531 and the citizens are evident. The leaders did not emerge from among the people; rather they were imposed
532 on them by godfathers and political parties, showing clearly what a political corruption is, as defined by the
533 United Nations Global Programme Against Corruption (GPAC) "abuse of power for private gain"; which entails
534 the form of patronage, election rigging, and voters register manipulation, favouritism in the award of contract,
535 procurement scam, tribalism and nepotism in recruitment and promotion, unfair punishment, and sanctions for
536 public officials". Since the elected officials are not accountable to the people, the leaders engage in corrupt act

537 and bad governance with impunity at the expense of the ordinary citizens. On the other hand, due to the nature
538 of the society, a corrupt official remains a good man as long as he channels part of the money he or she stole
539 to satisfy ephemeral yearnings of a few, jettisoning programmes and projects that will improve the life of few
540 people.

541 12 VI.

542 13 Theory of Resource Curse

543 Two of the exponents of resource curse, Auty (2004) and Ross (2001), observe that since the 1960s, the resource-
544 poor countries have outperformed and grown higher than resource rich countries. Extant literature reveals that oil
545 dependence leads to a skewing of political forces. It concentrates revenues from resources to geographic enclaves
546 and power into the hands of few elites; this reduces their incentive to develop the governance mechanisms that
547 enable general taxation. Empirical studies reveal that oildependent nations especially in developing African
548 countries that have at least 25% of their exports from natural resources are more likely to have conflicts
549 (Bamiduro, 2012). Bamiduro further opines that "resource conflicts seem to be driven by poor governance,
550 greed and corruption." Oil-dependent-rich states often lack basic ethics, transparency, and accountability, and
551 are also characterized with poor people ??Abubakar, 2004).

552 It has become axiomatic that countries rich in natural resources, especially oil and gas, grew slower than those
553 without (Ross, cited in Otaha, 2012). "Major oil producers such as Algeria, Angola, Iran, Saudi-Arabia and
554 Venezuela have experienced fundamental decline in per capita income in recent decades" (Otaha, 2012, p. 85).
555 In 2004, Nigeria's Relative Poverty measurement of Nigerians living in poverty stood at 54.4% but increased to
556 69% (or 112,518,507 Nigerians) in 2010; while in 2004, Nigeria's Absolute Poverty measurement of Nigerians who
557 were living in poverty stood at 54.7% but increased to 60.9% (or 99,284,512 Nigerians) in 2010 (Yemi, 2012),
558 even though the country earned more than US\$340 billion in oil revenues since the 1970s (Otaha, 2012). It is
559 disheartening that of all the oil companies operating in the Niger Delta region, none of them were owned by
560 Nigeria or Nigerians; hence, the so-called national cake is not even baked by Nigerians but by multinational
561 companies owned by foreigners (Otaha, 2012), and this often leads to capital flight to home countries of the
562 multinationals. Observation shows that:

563 in Angola where 90 percent of government revenues come from oil and two thirds of the population have no
564 access to clean water, good schools, and medical facilities while its autocratic president is the richest in the
565 country; a recent IMF audit reveals that US\$4.2 billion oil revenue of Angola went missing between 1996 and
566 2001. ??Otaha, 2012).

567 Angola is ranked 151 on its Corruption Perception Index (CPI) in 2006. In fact, a majority of resource (oil)-
568 dependent rich countries rank extremely low in the World Bank's Voice and Accountability Index. Most of these
569 governments are reddened in corruption, and their leaders often have a seat-tight syndrome to stay in power for
570 life. For example, Zaire's President, Mbuto Sese Seko, stayed in power for 32 years (from 1965 to 1997; Otaha,
571 2012). In Nigeria, General Gowon attempted it in 1975, Shagari in 1983, Babangida in 1993, Abacha in 1998, and
572 Obasanjo in 2006; the story is the same in most oil-producing states (Otaha, 2012). In oil-dependent states (as
573 opposed to non-oil dependents), nutrition and life expectancy is often low, child mortality is high, unemployment
574 is often rising, literacy rate increases at decreasing rate, and food importation is prevalent, even though they
575 have the capability to produce food in abundance.

576 Nigeria with a total dependence on oil revenue is doomed because resource wealth often floods governments
577 with more revenue than they can effectively manage, thereby providing incentive for corruption ??Dietz & Eric,
578 2005). Oil revenues in Nigeria Volume XXI Issue V Version I 60 () tend to be collected by governments in
579 ways that are unusually difficult for citizens to track and unusually easy for crooked officials to divert; hence,
580 some revenue end up in off-budget accounts or the pockets of government officials, and is never heard of again
581 (Ross, 1999). Mehlum and Ragner ??2002) observe that governments that depend on oil and that get their
582 revenue from natural resources become less democratic and hence less accountable than countries that rely on
583 other income sources such as taxation. In some cases, governments of resource-dependent countries use their
584 largesse to prevent the formation of independent social groups that might eventually demand political rights
585 (Isham, Pritchett, Woolcock, & Bushy, 2004). Although there are examples of countries that broke the oil curse,
586 others avoided it altogether (Otaha, 2012). The United States, the United Kingdom, Norway, Canada, and so on
587 consist predominantly of states that were already democratic with effective application of the rule of law before
588 oil came along. Another group, however, has successfully moved from oil doom to oil blessed; these include
589 Mexico, Dubai, Indonesia, and so on (Otaha, 2012). Indonesia economy has tripled over the last 20 years. Since
590 the mid-1990s, it has been using its oil receipts to build world-class infrastructural facilities in areas of education,
591 health, agriculture, and social services (Otaha, 2012). The country is growing at 16% per year, and oil, once its
592 primary source of income, is now around 6% of the GDP (Ross, 2001). Three decades ago, Indonesia and Nigeria
593 had comparable per capita incomes. Today, Indonesia is 10 times better than Nigeria. Today, per capita income
594 in Nigeria has declined at a worrisome level because of corruption being sustained by oil revenue.

595 14 VII. Corruption in Nigeria: historical Perspective

596 Corrupt practices are not issues just beginning today in our society; its history is as old as the world (Lipset &
597 Lenz, 2000:3). Most countries around the globe are noted for their area(s) of specialization. Nigeria is best known
598 for her corrupt practices, and this has been on for decades. The country formally came into existence about a
599 hundred years ago and more precisely in 1914 with the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates
600 by Lord Lugard. According to Fawole (2013:9) there was no objective criterion for the amalgamation except for
601 the administrative convenience of the British colonialist. The Northern and Southern protectorates had little or
602 nothing in common.

603 From 1960 to date, the word 'corruption' has become the order of the day in every facet of our national life.
604 No wonder that the Transparency International (TI), an organization based in Germany has consistently rated
605 Nigeria as one of the most corrupt country over the last one decade. During the second term of Chief Olusegun
606 Obasanjo as a civilian president, there were rays of hope, as he indicated his willingness to hold the bull by
607 the horn and tackle the "hydra-headed" monster called corruption, considering several institutions established to
608 combat corruption including the Independent Corrupt Practice and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC)
609 and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) which came into being in 2000 and 2004 respectively
610 under the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo to deal with other unethical practices in the high and
611 low places. This is an effort which has not been sustained by subsequent civilian administrations in the country.
612 This is why today, some school of thought believe that the EFCC is more corrupt than when it started because
613 after Mallam Ribadu left the organisation, the institution is yet to win a case levelled against some notorious
614 corrupt officers. The EFCC has been rendered useless by the National Assembly and it is now a toothless bulldog.

615 15 a) Forms of Corruption in Nigerian Public Sector

616 Although political corruption is perceived differently from one territory and geographical location to another,
617 the following behaviors are regarded as forms of political corruption in Nigeria: acceptance of gratification;
618 succumbing to inducement and undue influence; embezzlement; conflict of interests, for example, the award of
619 contracts by public office holders to cronies, family members, and personally held companies; bribery; fraud;
620 nepotism and tribalism in recruitment/appointment, promotion; kickback on contract; rigging of elections;
621 misappropriation and conversion of public funds for personal gains; procurement scam; leaking tender information
622 to friends and relations; diversion and misappropriation of funds through manipulation or falsification of financial
623 records; payment for favorable judicial decisions, and so on (Azelama, 2002; Ijewereme, 2013; Waziri, 2010).

624 i. Electoral Corruption This refers to buying of votes with money, intimidation of agents of opposition parties
625 at the Polling units, obstructing the freedom of election, and engaging in ballot snatching and stuffing (Idada
626 & Uhunmwuangho, 2012). It involves manipulation of voters' register, brigandage, and all manner of electoral
627 violence leading to killing and maiming of people. It also involves multiple thumb printing on ballot papers, the
628 announcement of votes in areas where votes were not cast, and winners of elections ending up as the losers.

629 ii. Nepotism This is a highly biased method of distribution of state resources where a public officer prefers his
630 or her relatives and family members or friends in awarding contracts, job recruitment, promotion, appointment
631 to public positions, thereby ignoring the merit principle; this may lead to the downgrading of the quality of
632 the public service (Amundsen, 1997; Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management,
633 2010). It also includes exemption of once relatives and friends from the application of certain punitive laws or
634 regulations, and this may disrupt esprit de corps and trust. Nepotism provides room for "preferential treatment
635 of one individual over another, without taking into accounts the relative merit of the respective individuals;
636 this represents nothing but victimization of an individual or individuals" (Commonwealth Association for Public
637 Administration and Management, 2010).

638 handwork and societal value. It has lowered the image of academic and non-academic members, as well as
639 governing councils of most public tertiary institutions in Nigeria. Corruption denies access to basic education and
640 health services, fuels political violence, generates popular anger that threatens to further destabilize societies,
641 and exacerbates violent conflict (TI, 2012). It distorts public expenditure, increases cost of running businesses
642 as well as cost of governance, and diverts resources from poor to rich nations. It has frustrated research efforts,
643 derailed administrative goals, instigated organizational goals displacement, and it has also drastically reduced
644 the image of Nigeria in the international communities to mention just a few (Azelama, 2005; Waziri, 2010).

645 It is extremely appalling that despite the long years of independence, Nigeria, the so called "giant" of Africa
646 is still battling with the problem of good governance. The crop of leaders that have attained leadership position
647 since independence had in one way or the other lacked vision, most of them have been engrossed with corruption
648 and political bickering leading to the enthronement of maladministration and mismanagement of public resources,
649 and consequently economic setback and abject poverty as nation heritage ??Lawal & Owolabi, 2012:9). Since
650 Independence in 1960, corruption has persisted and grown enormously in variety and magnitude. Pervasive
651 corruption endures in both the private and public sectors of the Nigeria society; however, the emphasis here is on
652 public sector corruption which contributes more than 70% of the corruption cases in Nigeria and as well, seen as
653 the source of heightened divide between Nigeria' wealth and its poverty (Abiodun, 2012:5). Significantly, Nigeria
654 is among the countries of the world endowed with immense natural and human resources that are capable of
655 improving socio-economic status and living standards of the citizenry; but the reverse has always been the case.

19 B) THE EFFECTS, NATURE AND CAUSES OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

656 In view of this ugly trend, one begins to wonder what kind of superficial "giant" position Nigeria claims to hold
657 in Africa, after almost fifty-three (53) years of independence with nothing to show for it.

658 Even though no country in the world is corrupt free, corruption in the case of Nigeria has become very
659 worrisome because she has consistently been placed among the most corrupt nations in the world. The iii.
660 Favouritism This is a form of corruption where a public servant gives undue preference or favour to his or her
661 friends, family, and anybody close and trusted in recruitment, promotion, and so on.

662 16 iv. Procurement Scam

663 This refers to overinvoicing of government contracts or corruption related to purchases. That is, the purchase
664 price of an item is inflated so that the difference between the inflated price and actual price is shared between the
665 person who does the purchasing and the sellers or it is taken by the purchaser alone with the seller conniving.
666 (Azelama, 2002, p. 92).

667 17 v. Ghost-Workers Phenomenon

668 This is a practice where the management of a public organization deliberately inflates the payroll by including
669 fictitious names to get more subventions for salary. The excess is siphoned by the members of management in
670 connivance with some members of governing councils or boards (Azelama, 2005).

671 18 vi. Budgeting Corruption

672 This is a form of corruption where management of a public organization in connivance with governing council
673 or board minister/commissioner bribes some members of the legislature to approve inflated estimate for the
674 institution during budgeting. In a situation where the budget is already approved, the management is expected
675 to give tips or gratifications to the government functionaries whose duty it is to release money to the institutions
676 (Azelama, 2005).

677 19 b) The Effects, Nature and Causes of Corruption in Nigeria

678 The effects of corruption in Nigeria are outrageous. The effects range from under development, absence of basic
679 infrastructure such as potable water, good road networks, misappropriation of national resources leading to
680 massive poverty, mediocrity in leadership and cluelessness in professionalism, deficient leadership outputs, high
681 unemployment and youth hopelessness, continuous widening gap between the rich and poor, and falling standard
682 of education leading to production of low-quality graduates (Waziri, 2010). Corruption has made students
683 and products of the tertiary institutions suffer from loss of selfconfidence, hopelessness, and loss of confidence
684 in on corruption perception, rated Nigeria as the 143 most corrupt nations out of the 183 countries surveyed
685 (Chukwuemeka, et al, 2012; Lipset & Lenz, 2000:244; Abiodun, 2012).

686 There are varieties of corruption as they manifest in Nigeria, these include: political, bureaucratic, private,
687 public, materialistic and non-materialistic corruption, petty corruption and grand corruption, systemic and non-
688 systemic corruption, etc (Fawole, 2013:5). According to him, grand corruption, otherwise known as "State
689 Robbery" in the public sector is the main problem in Nigeria. 'State Robbery' is a variety of corruption where
690 members of the political and bureaucratic elite simply plunder the national treasury through brazen theft, or
691 through other ingenious methods ranging from deliberate alteration of documents, facts and figures to make
692 money; outright collection of bribe, the type we heard so much about in the National Assembly, which led to the
693 removal of a Senate President who allegedly demanded and obtained cash incentives from a Minister of Education;
694 deliberate embezzlement of funds, such as is acted out in Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to mop
695 up unspent funds before the close of the financial year. Other varieties of 'State Robbery' are falsification of
696 contract figures through inflation, over-invoicing, periodic upward reviews of contract sums, a practice that still
697 goes on in MDAs; contract splitting, an offence for which Chief Olabode George, a People Democratic Party
698 Chieftain who was Chairman of the Nigeria Port Authority (NPA) went to jail; fraud, graft, misappropriation
699 and misapplication of funds for personal aggrandisement; payoffs and contract kickbacks; and several others such
700 as profiteering, shadiness, prolificacy, distortion, doctoring, falsification, etc.

701 Experiences in Nigeria seem to support the view that political and administrative malfeasance feed on each
702 other (Abu, 2007:39). Over centralization of authority, and under or over-elaborated rules of authority is a
703 major contributory factor to governmental corruption. The evil called corruption at the highest level distorts
704 competition by denying the public access to competitive marketplace (Pope, 1996). Also, great inequality in the
705 distribution of national wealth; the reliance on political office as the primary means of gaining access to wealth;
706 the conflict between changing moral codes; the weakness of social and governmental enforcement mechanism;
707 and the absence of strong sense of national community have been identified as other causes of corruption.

708 As a matter of fact, corruption in Nigeria has resulted to a reduction in the quality and quantity of goods
709 and services available to the public as reflected in poor infrastructures, poor quality of education standards,
710 poor health facilities and high cost of living and rising social insecurity. On the aspect of political development,
711 corruption has often led to the inability of the nation to develop and consolidate its democratic practice as
712 excessive corruption has often led to erosion of government legitimacy, defective leadership input and democratic

713 destabilization through military takeover of government and truncation of civilian rule (Abiodun, 2012; Ugwuanyi,
714 2011).

715 There is no doubt that at the root of corruption quagmire in Nigeria is the failure and virtual collapse of
716 governance, the contamination of democratic values, the erosion of accountability procedures, and the prevalence
717 of bad leadership. Thus, the consequences of corruption can be disastrous. Corruption and carelessness are said
718 to be at least partially responsible for the very heavy death toll in the massive earthquake that struck Haiti
719 in 2010. There is no doubt that the scourge of corruption has impacted governance significantly in developing
720 countries where it is mostly perpetrated.

721 Corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance. Corruption
722 increases the cost of business through the price of illicit payments. It generates economic distortions in the
723 public sector by diverting public investment into capital projects where bribes and kickbacks are more plentiful.
724 Corruption also lowers compliance with construction, environmental, or other regulations, reduces the quality
725 of government services and infrastructure, and increases budgetary pressures on government. Also, some other
726 consequences of corruption include the fact that it can make other people suffer for the corrupt practices of an
727 individual. An example was a situation where the education of a child is stopped because of corrupt practice
728 of people in leadership position who have failed in their responsibility in addressing the education problem in
729 the country (Adesuyi, 2013). The effect of corruption is grave that many organisations have been established to
730 monitor corruption and promote efforts to reduce it in governance globally.

731 Familoni (2007) and Dike ??2003) agreed that corruption causes a reduction in quality of goods and services
732 available to the public, as some companies could cut corners to increase profit margins. Corruption affects
733 investment, economic growth, and government expenditure choices; it also reduces private investment and fuels
734 inflation. Empirical evidence from a number of researches, for example, Bello Imam (2004) shows that corruption
735 contributes immensely to inhibition of economic performance and consequently affects investment and economic
736 growth which is antithetical to national development (quoted in ??uhammed, et al, 2008). Moreover, corruption
737 can also upset ethnic balance and exacerbates problems of national integration in developing countries. Familoni
738 (2007) observes that if a corrupt but popular ethnic leader is replaced in his or her position, it may 'upset
739 ethnic arithmetic', the cohorts may revolt, and this may engender the disintegration of the state. Moreover,
740 the legitimacy of a particular government can be destroyed by corruption. It has been a stumbling block to
741 the people enjoying the economic and social fruits of democracy (Muhammed, Ayinla & Muhammed, 2008:83).
742 Furthermore, corruption is said to have contributed significantly to mass poverty in Nigeria. It has rendered
743 several millions of Nigerians jobless and uneducated. There is no doubt that corruption has been attributed to
744 mass poverty which has been breeding all forms of extremisms in the country, most especially the Niger-Delta
745 crisis and the recent Boko Haram insurgency which has threatened the security, unity and co-existence of Nigeria
746 as a nation-state.

747 The most damaging effect of corruption is that if left unchecked, it grows, intensifies, and spreads like cancer
748 to vital centres of government with powerful influences on the public. Already, the negative multiplier effect of
749 corruption in Nigeria has manifested in the mass spread of poverty and the nation's unenviable position in the
750 list of poor and underdeveloped countries of the world (Chukwuemeka, et al, 2012). Corruption causes a serious
751 development challenge, in the political sphere; it undermines democracy and good governance by weakening
752 political processes. Corruption in elections subverts accountability and representation in policy making, in the
753 judiciary it suspends the rule of law and in the public service it leads to unequal distribution of services (Dininio
754 & Kpundeh, 1999). Corruption wastes skills because time is often a huge waste to set up anti-corruption agencies
755 to fight corruption and also to monitor public sectors. Above all, corruption diverts scarce public resources into
756 private pockets, it weakens good governance; it also threatens democracy and erodes the social and moral fabrics
757 of a country ??Dike, 2008). Within the context of the Nigerian state, it is not as if successive governments have
758 not realized the problem posed by corruption to the socio-economic and political development of the country.
759 Without doubt, successive governments at one point or the other have made series of attempts at combating
760 corruption through series of anticorruption campaigns ??Lawal & Tobi, 2006). What is in doubt, however, is
761 what the impact of this anti-corruption campaign is?

762 20 c) Examining Corruption and Governance in Nigeria in 763 Retrospect

764 The rise of public administration and the discovery of oil and natural gas are two major events believed to have
765 led to the sustained increase in the incidence of corrupt practices in the country. Efforts have been made by
766 the government to minimize corruption through the enactment of laws and the enforcement of integrity systems
767 but with little success. Greed, ostentatious lifestyle, customs, and people's attitudes are believed to have led to
768 corruption. Another root cause is tribalism. Friends and kinsmen seeking favour from officials can impose strains
769 on the ethical disposition of the official as these kinsmen see government officials as holding avenues for their
770 personal survival and gain.

771 Corruption, though prevalent, was kept at manageable levels during the Pre-independence and the First
772 Republic. However, the cases of corruption during the period were sometimes clouded by political infighting.
773 Azikiwe was the first major political figure investigated for questionable practices. In 1944, a firm belonging to

774 Azikiwe and family bought a Bank in Lagos. The bank was procured to strengthen local control of the financial
775 industry. Albeit, a report about transactions carried out by the bank showed though Azikiwe had resigned as
776 chairman of the bank, the current chairman was an agent of his. The report wrote that most of the paid-up
777 capital of the African Continental Bank were from the Eastern Regional Financial Corporation. In western
778 Nigeria, politician Adegoke Adelabu was investigated following charges of political corruption levelled against
779 him by the opposition. In the Northern region, against the backdrop of corruption allegations levelled against
780 some native authority officials in Borno. The Northern Government enacted the Customary Presents order to
781 forestall any further breach of regulations. Later on, it was the British administration that was accused of corrupt
782 practices in the results of elections which enthroned a Fulani political leadership in Kano, reports later linking
783 the British authorities to electoral irregularities were discovered.

784 The Government officials in Tafawa Balewa's government in the First Nigerian Republic looted public funds
785 with impunity. Balewa did not take any policy position to wipe out the menace ?? Gowon's administration was
786 unashamedly corrupt to the macrolevel, and corruption was not hidden from the public gaze ??Lawal & Tobi,
787 2006). According to Nigerian Tribune August 1st, 1975 (cited in ??awal & Tobi, 2006), his promise to enact
788 anti-corruption decree like other promises was never fulfilled. The level of corruption under Gowon's regime came
789 under intense public scrutiny when Murtala Mohammed became the head of state and set up Assets Investigation
790 Panel (AIP), to probe the governors and other public officers that served under Gowon. The panel indicted 10
791 of 12 military governors, and so their assets were confiscated. The anti-corruption crusade spread to the entire
792 public service; thus, the purge of the public service led to the retirement and dismissal of more than 10,000 public
793 servants nationwide (Anazodo, Okoye, & Chukwuemeka, 2012).

794 Accordingly, one would have expected Murtala war against corruption to enthrone deterrence in Nigerian public
795 service. Unfortunately, it is disheartening that the politicians of the Second Republic during Shehu Shagari's
796 administration were not deterred, despite the ignominious ways the indicted governors that served under Gowon
797 were treated. The politicians of the Second Republic engaged in all forms of corrupt and unethical practices of
798 different shades. The period was marked by fragrant abuse of power by virtually all public officers-career and
799 political office holders. The political office holders used their offices to siphon and misappropriate public fund
800 ??Lawal & Tobi, 2006).

801 The military administration led by Major-General Muhammed Buhari who took over power from the Shagari's
802 administration was extremely determined to eradicate corruption from Nigeria through the War Against
803 Indiscipline (WAI) crusade. Various tribunals both at the federal and state levels were instituted to probe
804 the political actors of the Second Republic. The Paul Omu-led tribunal found most of the politicians guilty
805 and sentenced them to long jail terms ??Lawal & Tobi, 2006). The Babangida administration that ended the
806 Buhari's administration through a coup d'état on August 27, 1985, did not show any commitment to the anti-
807 corruption drive of its predecessor. Maduagwu cited in ??awal and Tobi (2006) listed the following as some of the
808 highlights of Babangida corrupt practices: The Abacha administration that took over from the interim National
809 Government followed the pace set by the Babangida administration in looting the government treasury. The
810 entire country became an extension of his personal estate within a space of 5 years, amassed so much wealth than
811 the wealth of most countries in Black Africa put together (Ebategulem, 2012; Ijewereme & Dunmade, 2014).

812 A total sum of N63.25billion was said to have been recovered from the Abacha family. In fact, parts of the
813 Abacha legendary stolen wealth are still being recovered from his family till date (Ijewereme & Dunmade, 2014).
814 The Abdusalam administration is not an exception from the mass looting of the public treasury. The Christopher
815 Kolade panel set up to review contracts, licenses, and appointment made under the Abdusalam administration
816 came out with shocking revelation. The panel found beyond imaginable proportions that, though Nigeria was
817 already neck deep in corrupt practices, the Abdusalam administration made a mockery of any sense of discipline
818 and probity and at a scale that practically made saints of his predecessors (Anazodo, Okoye, & Chukwuemeka,
819 2012; ??awal & Tobi, 2006). The panel specifically reviewed 4,072 contracts, 576 licenses, 807 appointments, 768
820 awards, and 111 approvals all made within 5 months. The panel submitted that the 4,072 contracts cost Nigeria
821 N635.62 billion as against the N88 billion budgeted in 1998, this representing a deficit of N551 billion. The panel
822 also revealed the depletion of the foreign reserve, which at the end of 1998 stood at US\$7.6 billion but shrank to
823 US\$3.8 billion by May 1999.

824 In a similar vein, when Obasanjo came to power in 1999, he told Nigerians that corruption was the major
825 clog in the wheel of Nigeria's progress and, until the social menace is eradicated, development will continue to
826 elude Nigeria. Accordingly, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo signed the anti-corruption bill into law that established the
827 Independent Corrupt Practices And Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial
828 Crime commission (EFCC) that are in the ongoing political dispensation in the Fourth Republic ??Aderonmu,
829 2009; ??jewereme, 2013). Unfortunately, these institutions made little impact in the war against corruption in
830 the Nigerian public sector. For instance, some western diplomats were of the opinion that Nigeria lost between
831 US\$4 billion and US\$8 billion annually to corruption during the 8 years of Obasanjo's regime (Human Rights
832 Watch, 2007). In a similar vein, Transparency International (TI), scored Nigeria very low for 4 consecutive
833 years; the scale showed that, on the scale of 10, Nigeria scored 1. 6 Corruption became all pervading; electoral
834 fraud common place, personal insecurity and unresolved assassinations characterized his regime just as much
835 as disobedience of court rulings. Many infrastructures were left to decay while he pursued an attempt to stay
836 longer in office by trying to amend the constitution. He pursued to jail or impeachment those governors who did

837 not agree with him using corruption as the weapon: On corruption those who agreed with him were unscathed.
838 Though, he tried to reorganize some arms of government-The civil service and finance.

839 Obasanjo's administration was characterized by unthinkable greed, hatred for the rule of law and human
840 rights, selective investigation of corrupt public officials, and inefficient handling of the economy (Aderonmu,
841 2009). Furthermore, the revelation after the end of his government showed that he waived due process for
842 awarding of contracts; he sold government property to himself and his cronies below the cost price (Aderonmu,
843 2009; Ebegbulem, 2012; Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013; Oluwasanmi, 2007).

844 In addition, Yar' Adua's government constantly reaffirmed his administration's determination to combat
845 corruption and proclaimed respect for the rule of law and due process, but his actions and body language revealed
846 the contrary (Aderonmu, 2009; Ijewereme, 2013). Yar' Adua's government through the office of Attorney General
847 of the Federation made frantic efforts to (undermine the fight against corruption) prevent James Ibori, the former
848 governor of Delta State, from being prosecuted and jailed. James Ibori was a close associate of Yar' Adua as well
849 as one of the major financiers of Yar' Adua's election. Umaru Yar' Adua forced Ribadu from office just 2 weeks
850 after he tried to prosecute powerful former Delta State Governor James Ibori (Human Rights Watch, 2011).

851 However, president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration could not show the courage and tenacity to fight
852 corruption in the face of many allegations of corruption perpetuated and reported often about public officials.
853 Recent audit report on Goodluck Jonathan's administration discovered unprecedented ghost employees in the
854 Nigerian Federal Civil Service. The fraud of ghost employees on payroll is also common to many states in Nigeria.
855 Billions of Naira are wasted to fraudsters on monthly bases, and there are more than 45,000 unaccountable workers
856 on the federal payroll alone, and government is spending over N100b annually ??Okekeocha, 2013). The most
857 worrisome is that Nigerians have not been informed or given account on what is being done to the perpetrators
858 of this heinous crime. In a similar vein, the board of the Nigerian national Petroleum Corporation (NNPC)
859 and the Minister of Petroleum supervising NNPC, Diezani Allison Madueke, were indicted of corruption; the
860 president sacked the board of NNPC without sacking the Minister of Petroleum. "Mrs Daziani Allison Madueke
861 has been indicted by five different investigative panel Committees reports at different time, yet she confidently
862 remains in charge of the Ministry unperturbed" (Melaye, 2013a, p. 2). This is simply because she has family ties
863 with president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. An international tax and audit firm, KPMG, audit report indicted the
864 NNPC, Petroleum Product Pricing Regulatory Agency (PPPRA), and the Ministry of Petroleum of large-scale
865 corruption and absence of transparency. According to Melaye (2013a), "the Farouk Lawal Report of the House of
866 Representative Investigative Committee: Spoke elaborately of unprecedented Corruption between bureaucracy
867 and the marketers of petroleum products" (p.2). The marketers cannot put their hands into government treasury
868 to pay themselves without approval from appropriate authorities such as NNPC, PPPRA, Minister of Petroleum,
869 CBN, and of course Minister of Finance (Melaye, 2013a). It is disheartening that, till date, no government official
870 in these ministries and agencies has been invited by the anti-graft agencies or police on these excessive subsidy
871 scandals (Melaye, 2013a). According to Melaye (2013b), the government of President Goodluck Jonathan is
872 yet to convict one corrupt political official; not one politically exposed person has been convicted of corruption
873 under Jonathan's administration. Corruption is flourishing in Nigeria because there is a complete lack of political
874 will to combat the monster by successive governments, especially President Goodluck Jonathan's administration.
875 Melaye (2013b) is of the opinion that the situation would continue, except the power to appoint the EFCC, and
876 the ICPC chairmen is removed from the president.

877 New allegations of corruption that have emerged since the departure of President Jonathan on May 29, 2015,
878 including:

879 Volume XXI Issue V Version I 66 () The current administration of President Buhari can hardly be exonerated
880 from the several scams in Nigeria in recent times. President Muhammadu Buhari came to power in the 2015
881 elections on the back of two key messages: improving the security environment and reviving the fight against
882 corruption. The Presidency of Muhammadu Buhari has seen major action against corruption in Nigeria. In
883 2016, the Senate ad-hoc committee on "mounting humanitarian crisis in the North-East" led by Senator Shehu
884 Sani indicted the then Secretary to the Government of the Federation appointed by Muhammadu Buhari, Mr.
885 Babachir Lawal in a N200 million contract scandal for the clearing of "invasive plant species" in Yobe State by
886 Rholavision Nigeria Limited; a company he owns. On October 30, 2017, President Buhari sacked Lawal based
887 on the report of a three-man panel led by Vice-President Yemi Osinbajo that investigated him and one other. In
888 2016, Buhari was reportedly presented evidence that his Chief of Staff, Abba Kyari, took N500 million-naira bribe
889 from MTN to help it slash the \$5 Billion dollar fine slammed against it for violation of Nigeria telecommunications
890 regulations bothering on national security. MTN fired the staff involved in the bribery scandal. But Abba Kyari
891 was left intact in his position as Chief of Staff to national outrage forcing Buhari to announce the probe of Kyari.
892 The findings of the investigation were never made public.

893 Abdulrasheed Maina was the head of the task force on pension reforms during the President Goodluck Jonathan
894 led administration but fled Nigeria in 2015 after claims that he embezzled two billion naira (\$5.6 million, 4.8
895 million euros). Despite the fact that an Interpol arrest warrant was issued, he still managed to return to Nigeria,
896 where he was said to have enjoyed protection from the Buhari government. Maina had been fired from his position
897 by Goodluck Jonathan's administration and was put under investigation for corrupt practices but was reinstated
898 and given double promotion by Buhari administration. According to the senate through its committee on public
899 accounts, 85 government parastatals under the present government under the leadership of Muhammadu Buhari

900 are yet to submit their audit reports since the inception of this government. The flag bearer of the corruption
901 fight in Nigeria, the EFCC has responded to the senate committee on public account's claim on the no submission
902 of her account report by the institution and 84 others. The Economic and financial crimes commission denied
903 the report issued by the committee claiming it was not true.

904 Despite criticism, the Nigerian Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) announced in May 2018,
905 that 603 Nigerian figures had been convicted on corruption charges since Buhari took office in 2015. The EFCC
906 also announced that for the first time in Nigeria's history, judges and top military officers including retired service
907 chiefs are being prosecuted for corruption. In December 2019, the country's controversial ex-Attorney General
908 Mohammed Adoke, who was accused of being bribed to grant oil licenses to Shell, was extradited back to Nigeria
909 from Dubai and was immediately arrested. In January 2020, however, Transparency International's Corruption
910 Perception Index (CPI) still gave Nigeria a low ranking of 146 out of 180 countries surveyed.

911 The fight against corruption in Nigeria has completely becomes a lost battle. In the First Republic, corruption
912 was 10%; in the Second Republic, it snowballed to 20%; during the general Ibrahim Babangida era, corruption
913 was institutionalized, President Obasanjo's administration strengthened corruption, and for reasons best known
914 to President Umaru Yaradua, he allowed the ICPC and the EFCC leadership to be occupied by corrupt
915 officials ??Falana, 2012). Falana further opines that corruption was perpetuated with impunity under President
916 Goodluck Jonathan's administration to the extent that the war against corruption lost completely. According
917 to Falana (2012), "the Auditor-General of the federation disclosed that 4.2 trillion Naira collected by Ministries,
918 Departments and Agencies (MDAs) was not remitted to the Federation Account from 2006 to 2009." The Nigeria
919 Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative reported that oil companies have failed to pay into the Federation
920 Account about 10 billion dollars from 1999 to 2008. The Nuhu Ribadu-led Petroleum Revenue and Special
921 Task Force revealed that Nigeria has been robbed to the tune of almost 100 billion dollars. The EFCC was led
922 by Ibrahim Magu, until July 2020 when President Muhammadu Buhari approved the suspension of the acting
923 Chairman, Ibrahim Magu, from office. The suspension follows the investigation of allegations against him, which
924 borders on misconduct and financial irregularities. It was suggested that, the investigation of the EFCC boss was
925 to reinforce President Buhari's administration's commitment to transparency and accountability, adding that the
926 holder of such office must be above suspicion.

927 All the indicted leaders in the cases of Siemens, Halliburton, and other scandals are walking freely and
928 still dictating who gets what and how in the Nigerian political arena. All the foregoing shows the enormity
929 of corruption and unethical practices in the Nigerian state. The issue is, "What are the major causes of
930 these corrupt practices in Nigeria?" Different arguments have been put forward to explain the pervasiveness
931 of corruption in the Nigerian state. These include poverty, personalization of public office, political culture, and
932 inability of leaders to overcome their colonial mentality with respect of their perception of public office ??Lawal
933 & Tobi, 2006). Moreover, the magnitude of corruption in Nigeria since Gowon's regime to Goodluck Jonathan's
934 administration has been attributed to political economy growth of Nigeria by some scholars, that is, the movement
935 from dependence on agriculture in the 1960s to total dependence on oil and oil revenue (which became the major
936 source of Nigerian wealth) from the 1970s, among other factors.

937 The problem of corruption in Nigeria has become dreadfully endemic and successive Nigerian governments
938 have come to realize the problem posed by corrupt practices to the nation's economic and political development
939 and have at different time devised various means to curb its menace. Without doubt, corruption has permeated
940 the Nigerian society and in the words of Achebe (1988) "anyone who can say that corruption in Nigeria has
941 not yet become alarming is either a fool, a crook or else does not live in this country." It should be noted that
942 Nigeria has very good laws and constitutional provisions to combat corruption but there has been a general lack
943 of implementation of these laws and this is one of the reasons why the nation is lagging behind in its campaign
944 against corruption. Moreover, the leaders and the public officials who are supposed to spearhead this campaign
945 against corruption are themselves unwilling and reluctant to fully commit to the course because they themselves
946 are the masterminds behind the corrupt practices. As such, much is still desired in the fight against corruption
947 in Nigeria, and unless something is done to increase the level of commitment of all the actors in this campaign,
948 the country would continue to experience the adverse effects of this societal ill.

949 21 d) Corruption and Governance in Nigeria: Major

950 Challenges Several normative and empirical obstacles inhibit the efforts in promoting good governance and fight
951 against corruption in a developing country like Nigeria. In what follows, we shall dwell on these challenges with
952 a view of providing a road map for ameliorating, if not eradicating them.

953 The spirit of patriotism and nationalism in Nigeria and Africa in general seem to have gone with the attainment
954 of political independence. Ever since then, African leaders hardly pursue the goals of the state but their own
955 personal and sectional interest. To exemplify this, is a statement credited to President Goodluck Jonathan
956 that the dreaded Islamic fundamentalist group 'Boko Haram' has infiltrated his government and nothing much
957 has been achieved in the present administration, led by Mohamad Buhari. This bewildering statement is an
958 indication that some cabinet members are there to pursue interest antithetical to that of the nation, thus, in
959 these circumstances the issue of leadership and good governance remains a mirage.

960 The materialistic thesis and perception of the state in Africa and its institution is a hydra headed problem
961 that has robbed the society of its leadership and governance essences. The state in Africa is seen as an avenue

962 of primitive wealth accumulation. This notion and virus have affected the conduct of government business and
963 regrettably has crept into the whole society. Banfield (in Osaghae, 1994) argued that the only reason people in
964 this kind of society seek public office is to pursue their material gain and, in the process, neglect public wellbeing
965 and interest. For example, Mobutu Saisasiko a former President of Zarie now Democratic Republic of Congo
966 once told a bewildered nation "that it is not a crime to steal government money, only when you steal, steal
967 small-small, and invest it in the country but you become an enemy of the state when you steal and invest outside
968 the country" (see ??khakpe, 2014).

969 Yet, Nigeria and most African countries are plural societies with multi-ethnic and religious group. This throws
970 up another problem in areas of representations at the federal, state and local government levels. One of the
971 measures put forward to manage these diversities in Nigeria is the federal character principle. However, whether
972 the principle has done well overtime is a different subject matter. But suffice to say that the application of federal
973 character with tense ethnic relations have vitiated the value of merit with its attendant poor performance and
974 service delivery in the public sector (Akhakpe, 2014).

975 Policy inconsistency, government instability and over reliance on foreign ideas to tackle domestic problems are
976 common phenomenon and bane of effective leadership and good governance in Africa. Leaders hardly sustain the
977 policies and programs of their predecessors; cabinet reshuffle is often expected because government is expected
978 to be representative of all interest in the country. African leaders pursue nonindigenous policies with little or no
979 knowledge of their application and implications.

980 While in developing countries desirous of development, corrupt practices by government official and leaders
981 attract death penalty, in Nigeria and Africa in general, instead of tightening the punishment for corruption, it is
982 been weakened by the so called 'pleabargain'. For instance, some former governors who were indicted of stealing
983 and miss-managing state funds escape punishment through this window of the law. The legal frameworks dealing
984 on issues of corruption and bad governance should be redesigned to be no respecter of any one no matter how
985 highly placed while the existing laws should be activated.

986 Corruption in Nigeria has become so pervasive to the extent that young men and women do not see the
987 essence of doing the right thing or going to school to learn because they see daily how illiterates and halfbaked
988 educated ones control billions of naira while the highly educated once conducting research that is contributing
989 to advancement of knowledge and the society are looked at with scorn. In this context, the people can hardly
990 believe and respect their leaders.

991 Indeed, the commercialization of religion in Nigeria is now a permanent feature of our religious landscape. One
992 can say with some measure of certainty that most of those who profess faith among the Christian and Muslim
993 worshippers are actually faithless. Both the Bible and Qur'an say the fear of God is the begging of wisdom.
994 Donations are taken from followers without caring how the monies were gotten. Religious titles are awarded to
995 the highest bidders while the universities award honorary doctorate degrees to leaders without questioning the
996 moral credentials of the beneficiaries.

997 The mass media and professional bodies in Nigeria are not helping matters. It appears a number of them
998 are set up with money acquired through corruption and therefore, see nothing wrong in stealing of public fund.
999 Most professional bodies in Nigeria are concerned about how their members could benefit from what goes on in
1000 the polity, rather than ask questions on how public officials openly live above their legitimate income. In other
1001 clients the mass media and professional bodies serve as the watch dog and whistle blowers against corruption
1002 and bad governance. Is high time we investigate the owners of private newspapers, television, and radio stations
1003 across the country with a view to ascertain their sources of the funds.

1004 Flowing from the above points, it is clear why the issues of corruption and governance will for long remain an
1005 issue of debate in Nigeria. There is also the issue of imperatives of transformational leadership here. Leadership at
1006 the government level is therefore seen as the cause and effect of the country's development predicaments. It would
1007 appear that once public offices are personalized, leaders tend to distance themselves from the people they ought
1008 to serve. In this context, governance essences are ignored as service delivery, transparency and accountability
1009 takes the back burner. People engage in corrupt practices and all sort of unethical behaviour to help themselves.
1010 How do we break from the cycle in Nigeria? These we shall address in the section that follows.

1011 22 e) Corruption and Good Governance in Nigeria: The Way 1012 Forward

1013 The issue of corruption remains a challenge in the development of any society. In order to successfully combat
1014 corruption, there is the need for a mechanism that will drastically transform the culture and legacy of corruption.
1015 Positive transformation of Nigeria can only occur through addressing the root causes of corruption and through
1016 effective implementation of the legal mechanisms already in place. It is important to note that in spite of
1017 the efforts by government at all levels, corruption remains a key concern, and sustainable efforts are required
1018 through multifaceted approaches to curb the menace of corruption in order to bring about good governance to
1019 the populace.

1020 Corruption has been universally acknowledged as antithetical to any development that can be sustained.
1021 Nigeria's experience so far in effective governance validates this statement because it has become clear that
1022 to combat and prevent corruption in Nigeria, a multi-faceted approach must be adopted. In order words, for

22 E) CORRUPTION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: THE WAY FORWARD

1023 corruption to be combated towards ensuring effective governance and sustainable development, it has to be
1024 anchored on a new paradigm that stresses the platform of rule of law, justice, equity, truth, honesty, virtue, and
1025 integrity.

1026 Institutions of governance once created take a life of their own. Therefore, deliberate attempts should be made
1027 to ensure that these institutions are built on sound ethical values and orientations, their operators should be made
1028 to go through and imbibe enduring moral training and virtues that can be passed on to future generations in
1029 order to guarantee rectitude, transparency and accountability in public service. These can redress the decadence
1030 in agencies and organs of government, especially watchdog institutions such as the judiciary, police, and anti-graft
1031 bodies.

1032 The establishment of democratic government is an anti-corruption strategy. Theoretically at least, the dispersal
1033 of power within the institutions and processes of democratic government should constrain possibilities for venality.
1034 The accompanying protection of civil liberties and human rights should make for open and transparent government
1035 and provide a check on abuse of power (see Odinkalu, 2010). Competitive politics under-pinned by periodic
1036 renewal through elections of the mandate to govern should reward politicians with a credible record of protecting
1037 the public resources and interest. Together, these three occurrences -dispersal of power, institutions accountable
1038 to government, and competitive electoral politics for periodic renewal of government's mandate -are essential
1039 elements of democratic government as an anti-corruption strategy.

1040 In the present era where emphasis is on governance, service delivery, transparency and accountability are the
1041 game in town, and everyone need to key into it. As desirous as good governance can be it cannot be brought
1042 to bear on leaders by mere slogan. The features of leadership and good governance should be infused into their
1043 psyche and made a way of life in the society.

1044 There is need for fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom. However, in Nigeria, the reverse can be
1045 seen as the case, as the high number of places of worship (mosques and churches), has increased the incidence of
1046 corruption and bad governance. A peep into the activities of various Pilgrims Welfare Boards and Commissions,
1047 both the Christian and Muslim ones, will reveal to a keen observer, that corruption is not even a respecter of
1048 religion or faith. The religious groups encourage corruption in different forms. Some preach prosperity without
1049 accountability.

1050 The Nigerian masses need to regenerate and restore high ethical standards and patriotism. It is important to
1051 state that the responsibility for monitoring the fight against corruption in the service fell on the anticorruption
1052 desk officers in the Ministries, Department and Agencies, who are expected to be resolute and firm in their action.
1053 Also, a situation where the national honours list parades a 'rogues' gallery contradicts a genuine commitment to
1054 wage war against corruption. There is need to create an environment that will give room to the emergence of
1055 a strong civil society for the promotion of transparency, accountability, and responsiveness in governance. The
1056 constriction of all loopholes being explored to perpetrate fraud is strongly advocated. Preventive measures have
1057 to be scaled up with more proactive accounting and audit controls in government ministries, departments, and
1058 parastatals.

1059 The code of Conducts Bureau should utilize egovernment in order to publish a list of all public officials who
1060 have declared their assets as well as those who have not. This would ensure transparency in the assets declaration
1061 process and provide valuable information to whistle blowers such as the media and civil society who in the past
1062 lacked access to such information. Whistle blowing and protection for the blowers should be strengthened to nip
1063 all the negative devices and tendencies in the bud. There is the need to ensure that the anti-corruption agencies
1064 in the country are properly funded and equipped to effectively fight corruption.

1065 The public procurement process in Nigeria is greatly flawed and this is one of the areas in which the government
1066 needs to step up its efforts through the training of both state and non-state actors who to date have virtually
1067 little or no knowledge in the monitoring process and as such cannot determine if the prescriptions of the Public
1068 Procurement Act are duly followed. The Nigerian Government must also ensure that information related to
1069 public contracting opportunities and the names of winning bidders are at all times available to the citizenry as
1070 this would reduce the conspiracy that has plagued the system.

1071 The present administration should invest anticorruption crusade with more momentum by making it an ongoing
1072 crusade. Also, the crusade must be holistic and all embracing. All tiers or arms of government and the private
1073 sector must be carried along. In addition, attempt should be made to introduce and strengthen where they are in
1074 existence, government watchdog agencies-anti corruption bureaus like Inspector General, Auditors-General and
1075 Ombudsman (government official appointed to receive and investigate complaints made by officials, etc)-which
1076 will identify corruption practices and bring them to public attention. Thus, the authorities should look inwards
1077 to revive the EFCC by not appointing police officers as EFCC head. There are retired military officers, such as
1078 military intelligence officers from the rank of Brigadier-General as well as retired State Security Service (SSS)
1079 directors that are intelligent who can be appointed as EFCC head. Thus, Fadahunsi (2013) is of the view that if
1080 we continue to make police officers to head the commission, it will be like asking a cat to oversee a pack of meat
1081 in a corner.

1082 The media is important in demanding accountability in government through their ability to investigate and
1083 expose corrupt acts; hence freedom of press is an important tool in fighting corruption. Independent and free
1084 press will also help to combat corruption by working against the notion of the public that corruption is inevitable,
1085 and that important people are free from investigation. The media will be used to Volume XXI Issue V Version I

1086 70 () raise public awareness, expose corruption, and will assist to build a coalition to combat corruption ??Olowu,
1087 1993:39). The role of the media is critical in promoting good governance and the fight against corruption.

1088 The reforms of the Public/Civil Service should be implemented genuinely instead of the present window
1089 dressing policy issues; in this regard, the involvement of the civil society becomes imperative. The Nigeria's
1090 value systems that promote corruption go beyond the frontiers of legal normative propositions to the need for
1091 socio-cultural normative standards that will correct the existing value systems. Therefore, the civil society's
1092 involvement in the anti-corruption crusade must go beyond the formal engagement of government and its officers
1093 in effective governance issues into the arena of challenging the cultural practices and values that "communicate"
1094 or "facilitate" corrupt practices.

1095 Orientation and re-orientation of leaders and followers alike should be made a continuous exercise. Best values
1096 and practices in globe should be internalized in Nigeria and Africa in general. Indeed, it would appear that the
1097 problem has often been the gap between words and action. Nigerian leaders should match their words with action.
1098 Be stable and consistent in its policies and programmes. Then, the people will believe the government/leaders
1099 and follow suit by performing their obligatory and non-obligatory duties and responsibilities. There should be
1100 involvement of civil society and citizens in consultations on national policies and at all levels in the planning and
1101 delivery of services. Participation must be informed, institutionalized and inclusive. This way we can prevent
1102 the corrupt use of funds and make sure that disadvantaged groups are not excluded from the delivery of vital
1103 services.

1104 The culture of a society can develops or hinder their development. The perception of corruption as an amoral
1105 act stems from the fact that too many Nigerians still see the state an abstraction meant to brutalize and not to
1106 cater for the socioeconomic and political wellbeing of its citizens. This notion can only be jettisoned through
1107 effective leadership and good governance. Governments must build checks and balances into different sector's
1108 policy and publish flows of money so that, proper monitoring and evaluation can take place. Independent
1109 oversight bodies are also needed, but they must have salaried staff with technical expertise and no conflicts of
1110 interest.

1111 Corruption has been the focus of considerable attention, hand-wringing and lamentation in and outside Nigeria.
1112 Some of the best-known public advocacy and international organizations in the world, including Transparency
1113 International -exist to combat it while on the home front we have Independent Corrupt Practice Commission
1114 (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC). We do not claim any special insights on
1115 this issue. In addressing the issue of corruption, we propose to reflect our own personal viewpoints and the
1116 experiences as Nigerians. Corruption has continued to defy all possible solutions in Nigeria because the cost of
1117 corruption is too cheap and the political will to implement anti-corruption laws is absent (Igbokwe-Ibeto & Okoye,
1118 2014). They went further to argue that poorly and inappropriate institutional frameworks are responsible for a
1119 significant level of the opportunism that has pervaded the Nigerian state since independence. To North (1990),
1120 "institutions are the humanly devised constraints that shape incentives in human exchange, whether political,
1121 social, or economic". Institutional change shapes the way societies evolve through time, and hence, is the key to
1122 understanding historical change.

1123 It will be difficult to address the problems of corruption and governance in Nigeria in isolation of the rest of
1124 Africa. Indeed, leadership failure, corruption and bad governance is not just a Nigerian problem; it is a problem
1125 for Africa's for development to which African countries collectively lose an estimated 25 percent of GDP or about
1126 \$148 Billion annually. Nigeria merely illustrates to scale a problem that every African and indeed developing
1127 country also confronts.

1128 Yet, the poor economy of Nigeria must be addressed. There is no gainsaying the fact that there is high rate of
1129 poverty in Nigeria. This poverty is linked to so many factors such as lack of employment, underemployment etc.
1130 It is a common knowledge that the Nigerian economy has seriously suffered the global economic meltdown which
1131 has really adversely affected labour market. This has largely contributed to massive retrenchment at both private
1132 and public sectors of the economy. Therefore, as a survival measure, a typical Nigerian has to look elsewhere to
1133 meet up with his/her responsibilities. So, when any slight opportunity comes his/her way to embezzle public or
1134 private treasury as the case may be, he or she grabs it with both hands.

1135 With effective leadership, eradication, or minimization of corruption to the barest minimum as well as good
1136 governance, the Nigerian state will be able to perform the functions of a normal state. In this context, we are
1137 referring to the basics of contemporary human existence such as shelter/housing, healthcare, security, food, peace,
1138 jobs/employment, education for all, and public transportation.

1139 Also, there should be advocacy for the confiscation of properties of public officials found to be involved
1140 in wrongful corrupt acts; death penalty for embezzlement and siphoning of state money abroad; jail sentences
1141 without fine option for offenders of corrupt practices and bad governance; cancellation of election results obtained
1142 based on rigging and fraudulent acts; disqualification of public officers implicated in election and allied mal-
1143 practices; and public disgrace and life jail for corrupt business men and women feeding fat on public fund.
1144 Also, civil society in Nigeria should be linked both at the level of ideas and practice. As it stands, there is
1145 so much individualism in the operations of civil society organizations. For broader reach and positive impact,
1146 "civil society organizations working in different sectors such as reproductive rights and health, environment,
1147 human rights, youths and so on, need to be encouraged to work together and to develop common platform for
1148 intervention and participation in shaping policies. It is not in doubt that Nigeria has a large number of civil

25 ANALYSIS OF TRENDS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS: AFRICAN CONTEXT

1149 society groups, some claim to be anti-corruption bodies. But it seems some of these civil society groups have
1150 been infiltrated by corrupt officials. The infighting and the scramble for the spoils of offices or what can be called
1151 'stomach infrastructure' are evident in many of these civil society groups.

1152 23 VIII.

1153 Anti-Corruption initiatives in africa: the National and Regional Experiences

1154 In sharing the African experience in the fight against corruption, it is important to state that there is hardly
1155 a country in Africa that has no national policy, institutional and legal frameworks against corrupt practices.
1156 There are different types of horizontal and vertical networks measures against corruption at both at national and
1157 sub-regional levels, but the challenge has always been implementation and political commitments .

1158 There have been different explanations that underscore the establishment of various African anticorruption
1159 partnerships at sub-regional and regional levels. Some of these explanations include the fact that there is a
1160 conviction that the fight against corruption will work better if independent states of Africa can provide technical
1161 assistance for each other and collaborate against cross boarder crimes and corruption. This conviction among
1162 other things made some of the African Regional Economics Communities (RECs), otherwise known as the building
1163 blocks in Africa, to embrace first, the fight against corruption, before the African Union. The explanation for
1164 the late embracement of anti-corruption fight at the continental level was not unconnected with the fact that the
1165 promotion of democratic and good governance was not among the initial objectives of the African Union, when it
1166 was Organization for African Unity (OAU). The objectives of the then OAU, amongst other things was to eradicate
1167 all forms of colonialism from Africa, promote the unity and solidarity of the AU Member States; promote and
1168 intensify their socio-economic and political integration, defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member
1169 States, and to jealously guide their political independence. Others include promotion of international co-operation
1170 and respect for the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

1171 have surpassed other regions on the continent of Africa, although, this does not make all the countries in the
1172 two regions ahead of other countries on the continent in terms of anti-corruption performances. The East Africa
1173 Community has also been active in strategizing against corruption in the region. The region has an association
1174 known as the East African Anti-Corruption Authorities (EAAACA). It also has a Protocol on Preventing and
1175 Combating Corruption. Other initiatives at the regional level include the establishment of regional network of
1176 independent antcorruption bodies.

1177 24 IX.

25 Analysis of Trends and Policy Implications: African Context

1178 According to John Ikubaje, (2018), corruption remains a serious problem in Africa. The fact that all the members
1179 of the African Union do have all the requisite anti-corruption instruments and institutions, they are not effective
1180 a expected. In some of the African countries for example, anti-corruption institutions have become instruments
1181 of intimidation in the hands of the ruling parties against members of the opposition parties, thereby losing its
1182 relevance and usefulness. John, (2018), cited, in some countries, the findings in the in the reports of the national
1183 anti-corruption institutions are perpetually kept on the shelves without a follow-up on their implementation.
1184 While some countries have good anti-corruption commission, they are neither independent but operates under
1185 the control and dictates of the executives.

1186 Majority of the anti-corruption institutions in Africa are under-funded, as another was of rendering these
1187 institutions powerless by political actors according to John, (2018). As stated by John, (2018), African
1188 governments must put their resources where their mouths are, to help promote the needed development in their
1189 countries and the continent. Additionally, integrity checks are mostly absent in the recruitment of anticorruption
1190 workers in some of the African Union Member States, thereby, creating corruption to thrive in the anticorruption
1191 institutions. There is also the political enthusiasm as against political commitment. Political leadership embrace
1192 anti-corruption decision but many of them are not committed to the implementation of the decisions, thereby
1193 making mockery of their anticorruption initiatives. For instance, some of the African Union Member States
1194 belong to more than one subregional anti-corruption bodies, but the multiple membership has little or no impact
1195 in the fight against corruption in the affected Member States.

1196 Another serious challenge in the fight against corruption in Africa is impunity and lack of accountability. Some
1197 of the past corrupt African leaders have been left untouched and are allowed to enjoy the loots after their terms
1198 in office. Also, the Western countries have not helped anyway in fighting against corruption. Majority of the
1199 corrupt African leaders have the proceeds of their corrupt practices stashed in some of the developed countries
1200 in Europe and America.

1201 The fight against corruption at the sub-regional and continental levels has little or no impact. In some cases,
1202 the anti-corruption at the sub-regional and 'Donor intervention in development promotion can be likened to water
1203 that is being poured constantly in a basket, which the water is the resources (financial and human) that are being
1204 poured in the basket to promote peace, socioeconomic and political development. The basket is the environment
1205 or country where the support is being carries out. The holes in the basket, that prevents the basket from holding
1206 ton the water is corruption. For the water to stay and make impacts in the basket, the holes must be blocked.
1207 Here, corruption is a hole in the basket of development intervention'. John, (2018).

1209 While the international development partners in Africa have done a lot to promote peace, security, health, and
1210 education, amongst others, these supports cannot be sustainably retained until the corruption is fully confronted.
1211 It is on this note that all development partners working in Africa must incorporate anticorruption in their
1212 programmes to confront corruption in the continent.

1213 Finally, a critical analysis of activities that have been outlined, over the years have failed to sustainable
1214 interventions that will stand the test of time in the fight against corruption in Africa. Majority of the outlines
1215 activities over the years, are one-off interventions and are not in anyway promote sustainable anti-corruption
1216 strategies that will bring about an enduring socio-economic and political transformation in Africa.

1217 **26 X.**

1218 **27 Conclusion**

1219 Corruption is like a cankerworm that easily eats deep into the social and moral fabric of any society or nation.
1220 Incidentally, corrupt practices sometimes take place in such a subtle and insidious manner that they may be
1221 unnoticed for a long time after they must have taken deep roots. That is why individuals should constantly be
1222 on guard in the course of social, business, or political transactions by noting and clarifying uncertain nuances
1223 and in particular, making "scepticism" their watch word.

1224 That corruption is a serious menace to effective democratic governance and sustainable development is
1225 an understatement. Indeed, corruption is a major factor responsible for the nation's comatose state of
1226 underdevelopment despite the abundant wealth. It is the reason why policy makers with executive immunity
1227 divert scarce public resources to uneconomic high-profile projects that are detrimental to the provision of simple
1228 basic and highly essential projects like investment in education, health and other infrastructures such as good
1229 roads, portable water and power supply. The resultant consequences include an impoverished economy with
1230 enormous negative impact on the poor. Indeed, because of corruption, the citizens have lost trust in the political
1231 system, its institutions and leadership hence the violent clashes and litigations that usually trail election results
1232 (Abdulahi, et al, 2012:248).

1233 There is no doubt that good governance in Nigeria has been stagnant due to bureaucratic, political, and
1234 electoral corruption and this article has shown that these three types of corruption greatly affect good governance.
1235 The conclusion then is that corruption in Nigeria can only be tackled through a systemic approach.

1236 In sum, we have dwelt extensively on the issues of corruption and governance in Nigeria as captured by
1237 scholars and social commentators with an attempt at clarifying the intellectual "cobweb" surrounding corruption
1238 and governance and the challenges. In addition, searchlight was also beamed on the theoretical framework for a
1239 better understanding of the concepts under interrogation. Thus, different theories on the concept of corruption
1240 and governance have been espoused as postulated by scholars. An attempt has also been made to establish
1241 the interface between Leadership, Corruption, Governance, and development in Nigeria. Leadership deficit,
1242 corruption and bad governance have been an endemic disease, which affects the growth and survival of the
1243 Nigerian state and Africa as a continent. For the avoidance of doubt, it has been established that corruption
1244 can ruin a nation. Corruption undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal
1245 processes, reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making. More generally, corruption erodes
1246 the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public
1247 offices are bought and sold. The United Nation Human Development Index (HDI, 2011) has put the poverty
1248 level of Nigeria to be about 64.7% and as such, majority of the Nigerian population are said to be living under
1249 abject poverty.

1250 It is the position of the paper that the most daunting challenges militating against Nigeria and Africa's quest
1251 for transformation appears to be seemingly untameable corruption and bad governance. Based on these, we have
1252 made some recommendations that if religious followed and adhered to, could resolve the hydra headed leadership,
1253 corruption, and catalogue of bad governance problems in Nigeria.

1254 Finally, the paper highlighted a number of challenges which have varied implications on the quest to resolve
1255 the transformation question in Nigeria. One of such implication is that, until Nigerian leaders begin to think
1256 Nigeria and begin to 'plant trees' whose shades they know they shall never seat in, the quest for good governance
1257 and efficacious leadership that could fight corruption and engender sustainable socio-economic and political
1258 development will for long remain a mirage.

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10. Ministry of Finance led by Okonjo Iweala hurried payment of \$2.2 million to health ministry contractor in disputed invoices.

11. NDDC scams and multifarious scams including 2.7-billion-naira worth of contracts that do not conform to the Public Procurement Act.

12. Police Service Commission Scam investigated by ICPC that revealed misappropriation of over 150 million naira related to election-related training. ICPC made refund recommendations, but many analysts indicated that pros- more e- cu- tion appropriate.

1

Countries	2015	2014	2013	2012
Cape Verde	55	57	58	60
Ghana	47	48	46	45
Senegal	44	43	41	36
Burkina Faso	38	38	38	38
Benin	37	39	36	36
Liberia	37	37	38	41
Mali	35	32	28	34
Niger	34	35	34	33
Cote D'Ivoire	32	32	27	29
Togo	32	29	29	30
Sierra Leon	29	31	30	31
The Gambia	28	29	28	34
Nigeria	26	27	25	27
Guinea	25	25	24	24
Guinea Bissau	17	19	19	25

[Note: Source: Emmanuel Akomaye's Presentation at ECOWAS on trends of Corruption: its effects and challenges to anti-corruption efforts in West Africa, April 2016: cited by John Ikubaje, (2018): The African Union and the Fight against Corruption.]

Figure 2: Table 1 :

1260 The OAU was transformed to AU in 2012. The transformation brought a significant paradigm shift in the
1261 work of the African Union as a continental institution charged with promoting democratic principles and good
1262 governance in its Member States. Under the African Union Governance Architecture (AGA), there are eight
1263 Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms (RMs), within the African continent that are
1264 duly recognized. Significant numbers of these RECs have now established their own anti-corruption institutions
1265 and/or programmes.

1266 Year 2021 F Year 2021 F regional economic communities have substantial legal and institutional initiatives and
1267 programmes on anticorruption for its members. These anti-corruption initiatives were not unconnected with the
1268 argument of the international development and financial institutions like the World Bank (WB) and International
1269 Monetary Fund (IMF), that effective anti-corruption is an anti-dote to the failure of the Structural Adjustment
1270 Programme (SAP) on the African Continent in the 1980s. The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)
1271 was the first Africa Regional Community to adopt a regional anti-corruption legal instrument in August 2001
1272 known as the SADC Protocol on corruption. In addition, SADC has another anti-corruption body known as
1273 the Southern African Forum on Corruption (SAFAC). Impressively, countries like Tanzania in East Africa is a
1274 member of SAFC and the East African Anti-corruption Authorities (EAAACA) respectively.

1275 Similarly, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), also found wisdom in regional anti-
1276 corruption initiatives and established the ECOWAS Protocol on corruption in December 2001. ECOWAS to
1277 her credit, was the first REC to facilitate a formal continental civil society structure on transparency and
1278 accountability to campaign against corruption and other related offenses in its Member States. In addition
1279 to the ECOWAS Protocol on corruption, it also established an anti-corruption institution known as the Inter-
1280 Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA). GIABA is the ECOWAS
1281 institution, responsible for facilitating the adoption and implementation of Anti-Money Laundering (AML) and
1282 Counter-Financing of Terrorism (CFT) in West Africa. Comparatively, in terms of anti-corruption initiatives,
1283 both the Southern and West African Regions Volume XXI Issue V Version I 72 () continental levels are seen
1284 as policy levels and can only advise the African countries on what should be done to successfully fight against
1285 corruption, not minding if actually implemented or not. The decision to heed the given advise is left in the hands
1286 of the countries. There has not be sanction of any kind, of the countries that that have refused to comply with the
1287 recommendations of these anti-corruption institutions, the more reason the AU-ABC has been tagged a toothless
1288 anti-corruption institution. The AU-ABC has not been in position to investigate any anti-corruption case at
1289 any level, neither can it sanction any country to the convention. Most often, the activities of the African Union
1290 Advisory Board on Corruption have been limited to only organising Board Meetings, where mostly, management
1291 of the Secretariat and Board issues discussed. The Board should be active in African countries to evaluate
1292 implementation of the Convention and to provide requisite technical assistance to the affected state parties. If
1293 the board is to make meaningful impact on anti-corruption, members of the board should be appointed on full
1294 time basis and more resources should be committed to the board to carry out its assignments as provided for
1295 in article 22 of the Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption. The African Union Advisory Board
1296 should focus more on defining a Continental Strategy for anti-corruption in Africa and the Strategy should also
1297 cater for programmes implementation and evaluation. Some critics of the AU-ABC have argued that the name
1298 of the Board is also not helpful. The contends that the name should be African Union Advisory Board on anti-
1299 corruption and not on corruption. While this may be important, it has been argued that, if the works of the
1300 Board are carried out as enshrined in the Statutes of the Board, the name is likely to be insignificant in term of
1301 its impact on anti-corruption in Africa.

1302 In addition, the Board should make a more concerted effort in its advocacy to popularize the Board, its
1303 activities, and the usefulness of the Board on good governance and development in Africa. There is need for
1304 the Board to be known by majority of Africans due to the impact of its work. Unfortunately, this is not the
1305 case. The African Union Advisory Board should coordinate and collaborate with other international and similar
1306 organizations with mandate on the fight against corruption in Africa. Thee is also an urgent need for all AU
1307 Organs with mandate on anti-corruption to work together under the AGA's Governance Cluster to jointly develop
1308 a common anti-corruption strategy for Africa. Partnership between the AU Board on Corruption and the African
1309 Association of Independent Anti-Corruption Bodies, the Regional Association of Independent Anti-Corruption
1310 Bodies and the Commonwealth Centre on Anti-Corruption is critical.

1311 The African Union Advisory Board on Corruption should also partner with the African Union Specialized
1312 Technical Committee Eight, Sub-committee on Public Service and Administration to promote anti-corruption
1313 champions at the AU Member States and also at individual levels in Africa. These individual champions would be
1314 different from the Board members, and they will work together to combat the menace on the continent of Africa.
1315 The Board should prioritise research and training programme. An African Anti-Corruption Centre should be
1316 established by the Board to cater for corruption research and training of AU Member States. The content of the
1317 training would be determined by the findings emanating from the Board's research work. Also, the AU Member
1318 States should prioritise the funding of the Board programmes and activities and they should not be left at the
1319 discretion of the international development partners.

1320 An administrative mechanism should be put in place to ensure that the Head of the AU-ABC Secretariat
1321 is answerable to the Bureau of the AU-ABC, headed by the Chairperson of the Board. As a continental
1322 anticorruption advisory body, the Board should demonstrate good example to the AU Member States and other

1323 public sector institutions in Africa by developing a comprehensive and implementable anti-corruption policy for
1324 members and staff of the African Union Advisory Board. A code of conduct, integrity pact and asset declaration
1325 forms should be developed and signed by all the Board Members and its staff on a yearly basis, and this should
1326 form part of the Board's activities and principles. Furthermore, professional, and competent officials with integrity
1327 credential should be recruited to the secretariat of the AU Board on Corruption. Member States of the AU should
1328 henceforth prioritise domestication and implementation of the AU Convention on Corruption.

1329 It is important to also indicate that, the AU Convention on Corruption provides for the civil society and
1330 the private sector in the fight against corruption. These vertical and horizontal anti-corruption measures should
1331 be maximally utilized and all AU Organs with mandate on governance and anti-corruption should team up for
1332 the establishment of the African network of Non-State actors Against Corruption in Africa to compliment the
1333 effort of the AU-ABC in the fight against corruption in Africa. The Model Anti-Corruption Law that was jointly
1334 developed by the UNECA and the Board should not be left in the bookshelves. The Board should be pro-
1335 active and engage Member States that need the Model Law for them to use it accordingly in their fight against
1336 corruption and other related offences.

1337 According to John, (2018), the international partners and donors' community should bear in mind that a
1338 successful fight against corruption in Africa is a pre-condition for impactful development intervention in the
1339 continent. To some donors, anti-corruption is not a priority, which is seen as a serious mistake.

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