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**Corruption and Deficiency of Good Governance;
An Exploratory Study of Causes and
Consequences in Nigeria**

**الفساد ونقص الحكم الرشيد ؛
دراسة استطلاعية للأسباب والعواقب في نيجيريا**

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the glory of Almighty ALLAH, the Nourisher and Sustenance of the globe and all that exist in it, my amassing children for their inspirations, excitement and hope and to all the educationally deprived youth who are still struggling to get educational emancipation and empowerment.

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria as a country and Nigerians are going through a very difficult political and economic dispensation of democratic rules. Yet, Nigeria remains a society rich in natural resources, cultural, linguistic, religious, ethnic and political diversity but today an average Nigerian struggles hard to make ends meet; sees themselves as being poorer and finding it hard to be hopeful that things will get better soon due to corruption and deficiencies in governance despite the huge resources put into the implementation of policies geared towards combating corruption and enforcement of good governance.

The purpose of the study was to examine the causes and consequences of corruption on governance on the notion of causality and their nexus with the deficiencies in the country. With the use of the primary source of data collection, the concepts of Good Governance were analyzed. These are; the legitimacy of the government, the accountability of the public officials, and the capacity and competence of government to formulate policies and deliver services to the citizens, as well as respect for human rights and the rule of law.

The findings indicated that lack of transparency, rule of law and accountability foster bad economic performance, decaying infrastructures, the rising cost of living and poverty at both the private and public sectors of the country were affected by various forms of corruption which impeded Good Governances and if a check is not put in place, Nigeria will be left behind in the development agenda of world bodies as the fight against corruption is that of the survival of the nation itself.

The study explored the barriers confronting the 3-arms of government and alongside the Nigerian Police with a view to x-rayed the devastating causes and consequences of corruption leading to deficiency of Good Governance through articulated descriptive method for employing a case study method of inquiry through qualitative research analysis.

The study discovered that the choice before Nigerians is very clear: 'If Corruption do not kill Nigeria then Nigeria should kill corruption' to ameliorate the problems. Its proposes practical solutions that can be re-energize to win the battle against the endemic corruption, renew economic growth and improve Good Governance for a higher development path.

مخلص البحث

إن نيجيريا كبلد والنيجيريين يمرون بمرحلة انتقالية سياسية واقتصادية صعبة للغاية بعد خمسة عشر عاما من القواعد الديمقراطية. ومع ذلك ، لا تزال نيجيريا مجتمعا غنيا بالموارد الطبيعية والتنوع الثقافي واللغوي والديني والعرقى والسياسي. حاليا، النيجيري متوسط يكافح بشده لتغطية نفقاته; يرى نفسها بأنها أكثر فقرا مما كانت عليه قبل عقد من الزمان العثور علي انه من الصعب ان يكون الأمل في ان الأمور سوف تتحسن قريبا. وفي ضوء هذه الخلفية ، تحدد هذه الدراسة زيادة المعرفة بقدرات الدولة في نيجيريا عن طريق تقييم الفساد وقضايا الحوكمة والتنمية الناقصة.

وتهدف الدراسة إلى دراسة أسباب الفساد وعواقبه علي الحكم في نيجيريا. وباستخدام المصدر الرئيسي لجمع البيانات ، تم تحليل بعض المؤشرات المستمدة من المركبة الرئيسية لمفاهيم الحكم الرشيد. هذه هي ؛ شرعية الحكومة ، ومساءلة الموظفين العموميين ، وقدرة الحكومة وكفاءتها في صياغة السياسات وتقديم الخدمات إلى المواطنين ، فضلا عن احترام حقوق الإنسان وسيادة القانون.

وكشفت انه علي الرغم من الموارد الضخمة التي وضعت لتنفيذ السياسات الموجهة نحو مكافحة الفساد وإنفاذ الحكم الرشيد في نيجيريا ، لم تطرأ تغيرات واضحة علي مستوي معيشة المواطنين بسبب الفساد. والفساد هو أحد الأسباب الرئيسية لضعف الأداء الاقتصادي ، وتدهور البنية الأساسية ، وارتفاع تكاليف المعيشة والفرق نظرا لان القطاعين الخاص والعام في البلد يتأثران بأشكال مختلفة من الفساد.

ونتيجة لذلك ، فإن أثر الحكم الجيدة في البلد يعرقل وإذا لم يتم وضع علامة التحقق منه ، فإن نيجيريا ستتخلف عن الركب في جدول اعمال التنمية للهيئات العالمية. ومكافحه الفساد هي الكفاح من البقاء للامه نفسها. والخيار امام النيجيريين واضح جدا: "إذا كان الفساد يدمر نيجيريا فعلي نيجيريا إلغاء الفساد" أو ان تحارب بشكل خالص ضد الفساد بكل تشعباته.

ولذلك تستكشف هذه الاطروحة الاسلحة الثلاثة للحكم في نيجيريا إلى جانب الشرطة النيجيرية بهدف البحث التقصي علي الأسباب والعواقب المدمرة للفساد مما يؤدي إلى نقص الحكم الرشيد من خلال أسلوب وصفي واضح استخدام طريقه دراسة حالة التحقيق.

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TABLE OF CONTENT

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background of the Study.....	2
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	5
1.4 Research Questions.....	8
1.5 Objectives of the Study.....	9
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	9
1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study.....	11
1.8 Definition of the key terms.....	12
1.9 Organization of the Study work.....	17

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction.....	19
2.2 Corruption.....	19
2.3 Definitional Issues of Corruption.....	20
2.4. Types of Corruption in Nigeria.....	24
2.4.1. Causes and Effects of Corruption	27
2.4.2. Effects of Corruption on Nation- Building.....	34
2.5 Institutionalization of Corruption in Nigeria.....	35
2.5.1. Measuring Corruption in Nigeria.....	38
2.5.2. Anti-Corruption Measures in Nigeria.....	39
2.5.3. Why Measures to Check Corruption in Nigeria?.....	41

2.6 Impact of Global Corruption on Governance in Nigeria.....	43
2.6.1. The International Anti-Corruption Campaign.....	50
2.6.2. Constitutional Framework to Tackle Corruption and Agencies.....	53
2.7 The Anti-Corruption Agencies.....	54
2.7.1. The ICPC	56
2.7.2. Code of Conduct.....	57
2.7.3. Public Complaints Commission.....	58
2.8 Combating Corruption in Nigeria.....	58
2.8.1. Constitutional and Institutional Approach.....	60
2.8.2. Corrupt Practices and the Nigerian Electoral System.....	60
2.8.3. Public Sector Reforms.....	65
2.8.4. Privatization.....	66
2.8.5. Accountability and Transparency.....	67
2.8.6. International Support.....	67
2.9 The Role of Civil Society in the Global Anti-Corruption Crusade.....	68
2.10 Governance Definition.....	71
2.10.1. Deficiency of Governance in Nigeria.....	72
2.10.2. Governance Challenges across Africa.....	75
2.10.3. Perspectives on Elements of Good Governance.....	76
2.10.4. Good Governance Indicators.....	78
2.10.5. Characteristic of Good Governance.....	81
2.10.6. Consequences of Corruption on Good Governance.....	84
2.11 Moral, Ethical and Religious Approach to combat Corruption.....	85
2.12 Summary.....	90

Chapter THREE: RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction.....	91
3.2 Research Design.....	92
3.3 Nature of the Study.....	96
3.4 Research Philosophy.....	97
3.5 Research Approach.....	98
3.6 Theoretical Framework.....	99
3.6.1. Description of the Theoretical Framework	101
3.6.2. Theoretical Implications.....	103
3.7 Research Methodology.....	106
3.7.1. Research Population.....	107
3.7.2. Sampling Process.....	108
3.7.3. The Role of the Researcher.....	110
3.7.4. Data collection Procedures.....	110
3.7.5. Interview Techniques.....	111
3.7.6. Interview questions.....	112
3.7.7. Gaining the Confidence of the Participants.....	112
3.7.8. Documentation Examination.....	113
3.8 Strategy for Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	113
3.8.1. Coding Strategy.....	114
3.8.2. Data Interpretation.....	116
3.8.3. Quality Issue.....	117
3.8.4. Ethical Issues.....	118
3.9. Summary.....	119

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction.....	120
4.2 Response Rate.....	120
4.3 Interview Approach.....	121
4.3.1. Semi-Structured Interviews.....	121
4.3.2. Focus Group Discussions.....	122
4.3.2.1 Focus Group Discussions for the Executive Arm of Government ..	123
4.3.2.2 Focus Group Discussions for the Judiciary.....	124
4.3.2.3 Focus Group Discussions for the legislators (MPs).....	126
4.3.2.4 Focus Group Discussions for the Nigerian Police.....	132
4.4 Data Coding.....	140
4.5 Recurrent Themes.....	143
4.5.1. Respondents’ Perception about Support-Honesty Theme.....	144
4.5.2 Theme on Concern for People.....	145
4.5.3 Theme on Ethics Infrastructure.....	147
4.5.4 Theme on Ethics Training.....	148
4.5.5 Theme on Citizens’ participation.....	149
4.5.6 Theme on Access to Information.....	151
4.5.7 Theme on Accountability.....	152
4.5.8 Theme on Rule of Law.....	153
4.5.9 Theme on Competency.....	155
4.5.10 Theme on Autonomy.....	156
4.5.11 Theme on Anti-Corruption.....	158
4.5.12 Theme on Exploitation.....	160

4.5.13 Theme on Corruption.....	161
4.5.14 Theme on Hunger.....	162
4.5.15 Theme on Bribery.....	164
4.5.16 Theme on Income Inequality.....	165
4.5.17 Theme on Salary.....	166
4.5.18 Theme on Transparency.....	168
4.6 Impact of Corruption on Social welfare of the People.....	169
4.7 The impact of Corruption on Good Governance.....	170
4.7.1. The administrative facet of Corruption.....	173
4.7.2. The Economic facet of Corruption.....	175
4.7.3. The Socio-Political facet of Corruption.....	178
4.7 The Challenges of Good Governance in Nigeria.....	181
4.8 Bad Governance-Corruption Nexus in Nigeria: The Reform.....	183
4.9 Summary.....	184

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction.....	186
5.2 Recapitulation of the major findings.....	186
5.3 Discussion on Corruption.....	188
5.4 Discussions on Governance.....	190
5.5 Discussion of the major findings.....	195
5.5.1 Discussions of the findings of the Themes.....	197
5.6 Managing Implications.....	207
5.7 Limitations of the study and Suggestions.....	210

5.8 Recommendation.....	211
5.8 Summary.....	216
5.9 Conclusion.....	217
Bibliography.....	220
Appendix A	
Appendix A1: Interview Letter.....	240
Appendix A2: Focus Group Questions.....	241
Appendix A3: Field Pictures.....	243
Appendix A4: Publications.....	248
Appendix A4: Publications 2.....	250
Appendix A5: 1 st Seminar Announcement.....	253
Appendix A6: 2 nd Seminar Announcement.....	254
Appendix A7: 3 rd Seminar Announcement.....	255
Appendix B	
Appendix B1: Themes Pie chats.....	256

List of Tables

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
2.3.4: Examples of Ibrahim Index 2016.....	81
3.6.2 Corruption, Deficiency of Good Governance and Causes.....	104
3.7.2 Sample Size Representation.....	109
4.2.1 Shows the response rate.....	109
4.4.1 First Cycle Coding.....	141
4.4.2 Second Cycle Coding.....	141
4.7.3 The Sociological impact.....	180

List of Figures

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
3.6.1 Theoretical Framework on Corruption and Deficiency of Good Governance	101
4.5.1 Honesty Theme	144
4.5.2 Concern for People	145
4.5.3 Theme on Ethics Infrastructure	147
4.5.4 Theme on Ethics Training	148
4.5.5 Theme on Citizens' participation	149
4.5.6 Theme on Access to Information	151
4.5.7 Theme on Accountability	152
4.5.8 Theme on Rule of Law	155
4.5.9 Theme on Competency	156
4.5.10 Theme on Autonomy	157
4.5.11 Theme on Anti-Corruption	158
4.5.12 Theme on Exploitation	160
4.5.13 Theme on Corruption	161
4.5.14 Theme on Hunger	162
4.5.15 Theme on Bribery	165
4.5.16 Theme on Income Inequality	166
4.5.17 Theme on Salary	166
4.5.18 Theme on Transparency	168

LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

AMLCFT	Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism
APC	All Progressive Party
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
ASP	Assistant Commissioner of Police
BPE	Bureau of Public Enterprises
CAC	Corporate Affairs Commission
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FCPA	Foreign Corrupt Practices Act
FRSC	Federal Road Services Commission
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCON	Grand Commander of the Order of Niger
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFI	Global Financial Integrity
IIAG	Ibrahim Index for African Governance
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices Commission
IGP	Inspector-General of Police
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IPPIS	Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System

IMF	International Monetary Fund
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NJC	Nigeria Judicial Council
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Company
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGN	Nigerian Naira
NFIU	Nigeria Financial Intelligence Unit
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
NCAA	Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority
MRA	Media Rights Agenda
NSPSR	National Public Service Reform Strategy
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PSC	Police Service Commission
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SAP	Structural Adjustments Programme
SARS	Special Anti-Robbery Squad
SAN	Senior Advocate of Nigeria
SSS	State Security Services
SEC	Security and Exchange Commission
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TI	Transparency International
STA	Single Treasury Account
NOA	National Orientation Agency

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against Corruption
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic & Social Commission for Asia and Pacific
USG	United States Government
USAID	United State Agency for International Development
WAI	War Against Indiscipline
WBI	World Bank Institute

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Nigeria is a **Federal Republic**, commonly referred to **Federal Republic of Nigeria** in West Africa, bordering Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the north. Its coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. It comprises 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, where the capital, Abuja is located¹.

Nigeria is officially a democratic secular country is often referred as the "Giant of Africa²", owing to its large population and economy. With approximately 200 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seventh most populous country in the world³.

Nigeria has one of the largest populations of youth in the world. The country is viewed as a multinational state, as it is inhabited by over 500 ethnic groups, of which the three largest are the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba; these ethnic groups speak over 500 different languages, and are identified with wide variety of cultures. The official language is English. Nigeria is divided roughly in half between Christians, who live mostly in the southern part of the country, and Muslims in the northern part. A minority of the population practise religions indigenous to Nigeria, such as those native to Igbo and Yoruba peoples⁴.

It is also the most populous country in Africa and her citizens are found at every nooks and corners of the entire continents. Since her independence on the 1st October 1960, the country was known for her rich exports of agricultural products including groundnut, palm oil, cocoa, cotton, beans, timber, and hides and skins. With the discovery of oil boom in the seventies, the endowed oil wealth and natural gas resources are capable of financing a number of important projects to meet basic consumption, infrastructural and developmental needs of the country, rather it is

¹

Nigerian Constitution". *Nigeria Law*. Retrieved 17 July 2015

² Nigeria: Giant of Africa, by Peter Holmes 1987.

³ The CIA World Fact Book 2014. Skyhorse Publishing, Inc. 2013. ISBN 978-1-62636-073-0.

⁴ Otite, O. "Nigeria's Identifiable Ethnic Groups". Online Nigeria. Retrieved 9 May 2015.

saddening that the affairs of the said country are sorrowful confirming the general saying that ‘oil has been a curse rather than blessing to Nigeria⁵.

It has a population larger than sixteen West African Countries put together which makes it a very important player not only within West Africa but Africa in general. As the hub of investments and the richest in the African continent, the country has been rarely off the world press mostly due to notoriety rather than fame. One persistent accolade conferred on Nigeria is that it is one of the most corrupt countries in the world and slightly descending into a failed state reputable with bad governance. Corruption denies the ordinary citizen the basic means of livelihood, it worsens unemployment and erodes our image as a nation and as individual. However, this study opines that both corruption and deficiency of good governance are interrelated and intertwined, as each generates, sustains and reproduces one another. Hence, it becomes necessary to undertake a study of their interface, and their impact on development in Nigeria⁶.

This section provides the basic grounds for conducting the study including the nature, past phenomenon, and the linkages regarding corruption and deficiency of good governance. It presents the background, statement of the problem, objectives, significance, and the data type and sources of the study. The organization of the thesis is also described at end of this chapter.

1.2 Background of the Study

In general, corruption is a form of dishonesty or criminal activity undertaken by a person or organization entrusted with a position of authority, often to acquire illicit benefit⁷.

Corruption may include many activities including bribery and embezzlement, though it may also involve practices that are legal in many countries. Political corruption occurs when an office-holder or other governmental employee acts in an official capacity for personal gain. Corruption is most commonplace in kleptocracies, oligarchies, narco-states and mafia states⁸.

5 Adeyemi, O. Oluwatobi, *European Journal of Sustainable Development* (2012),1,2,183-198, ISSN:2239-5938

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Elliott, Kimberly Ann (1997). "Corruption as an international policy problem: overview and recommendations". Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

⁸ Ibid

Corruption can occur on different scales. Its' ranges from small favours between a small number of people (petty corruption), to corruption that affects the government on a large scale (grand corruption), and corruption that is so prevalent that it is part of the everyday structure of society, including corruption as one of the symptoms of organized crime. Corruption and crime are endemic sociological occurrences which appear with regular frequency in virtually all countries on a global scale in varying degree and proportion. Individual nations each allocate domestic resources for the control and regulation of corruption and crime⁹.

The word corruption is often associated with cases occurring in developing countries, or in former Eastern European states. Also countries situated around the Mediterranean Sea and Asian countries¹⁰. People living in countries where there is corruption believe that corruption does not occur in their own surroundings, mostly due to corruption being traditionally associated with a country's economy and political development¹¹.

Today corruption and bad governance exists in all countries, including Western countries. Scandals involving corruption have appeared increasingly over the years, and also there has been more awareness about the causes and consequences. Not only has it been noticed among researches, but also among the public. The effects are in many cases negative. For example, it affects trust, democracy, society and legitimacy. Corruption exists on different levels, within organizations such as governmental but also within international organizations¹².

Corruption a universal problem and does not only happen in certain organizations or situations. The extension is to all countries, in organizations, in the private and public sector both in non-profit and profit organizations¹³.

There are many reasons why corruption has negative effects, yet eliminating corruption will not necessarily make the world a better place. If corruption would not occur, the result would be inefficiency and an extensive supervision. Getting out of corruption is not easy, and if certain reforms are not implemented then corruption will continue. The phenomenon of corruption is nothing new, it has been known for

⁹ Op.Cit, Pg. 2

¹⁰ Andersson, Staffan. (1999). Hederlighetens Pris-en ESO-rapport om corruption. Ds:departmentserien 1999:62. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.

¹¹ Ibid, Pg 2

¹² Myint, U. (2000). Corruption: causes, consequences and cures. Asian-Pacific Development Journal, Vol.7, No. 2, p.33-35

¹³ Ibid

hundreds of years. From an economic perspective, corruption can hinder the economic development and modernization in a country. Hence, it has a very strong negative effect on governance of any country. This is leading to deficiency of good governance¹⁴.

Good Governance is a qualitative form of the concept ‘Governance’; which according to the World Bank Institute (WBI) *It consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced, the capacity of government to effectively formulate and implement policies; and the respect of citizens and the state institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them*¹⁵.

Indeed, the diminution or the absence of the qualities mentioned above reflects the institutionalization of bad governance in the society. Good governance, peace, security and development that are sustainable are veritable values every nation desires to cultivate. The cultivation or achievements of these objects have apparently been the desire of sundry governments in Nigeria since independence. In fact, it is interesting to observe that since the Nigerian state returned to civil administration in 1999 during the era of what Samuel Huntington called the “third wave of democratization”; “the nature of governance in the country has been the subject of intense debate by scholars of all persuasions¹⁶”.

For George-Genyi, ... the rising concern about the governance project in Nigeria cannot be explained outside the country’s historical experience, one that has laid the “solid” foundation for the current wave of ethno-religious and politico-economic crisis in the land. This state of affairs importantly raises some serious concerns about the question of good governance in Nigeria where the politics of deprivation and mismanagement of resources appears to be taking over the principles of accountability, transparency and responsibility. Apart from attempting answering the following questions posed by George-Genyi “what is the explanation for bad governance in Nigeria? How can these governance deficits be corrected? The study hopes to expatiate further by attempting questions such as: what is the causes, effects,

¹⁴ Op.cit

¹⁵ Owo & Bissessar,1992:1, {retrieved from World Bank Institute:
<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/egi/index.asp>:June 4,2012 }

¹⁶ George-Genyi, European Journal of Business and Social Sciences, Vol. No2, pp 56-65, May 2013.
URL:<http://www.ejbss.com/recent.aspx> ISSN:2235-767X. Pg.1122

consequences and the global impacts of corruption in Nigeria? What are the challenges of good governance and characteristics?¹⁷.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Without doubt, corruption has pervaded the Nigerian society and in the words of Achebe anyone who can say that corruption in Nigeria has not yet been alarming is either a fool; a crook or else does not live in this country. The situation has become bad to the extent that as far back 1993, keeping an average Nigerian from being corrupt is like keeping a goat from eating yam¹⁸.

Corruption is a social problem that has interested many scholars. Ruzindana¹⁹ asserts that corruption in Africa is a problem of routine deviation from established standards and norms by public officials and parties with whom they interact. He also identified the types of corruption in Africa as bribery, private gain, and other benefits to non-existent workers and pensioners (called ghost workers). The dishonest and illegal behaviour exhibited especially by people in authority for their personal gain is corruption.

According to the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) Act (section 2) of Nigeria, corruption includes vices like bribery, fraud, and other related offences. Corruption is the abuse or misuse of power or position of trust for personal or group benefit (monetary or otherwise).

This word “Corruption” has become a global phenomenon and no country is completely corrupt free. However, corruption is apparent in some countries than others because those countries with less corruption have learnt to manage corruption than others by putting the necessary checks and balances in place and curbing the opportunities of corruption while others have either not figured corruption out or lack the political will to do same²⁰.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Achebe, C. (1988). *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Enugu, Fourth Dimension Publishers.

¹⁹ Ruzindana.G, (1999), Corruption remains long term Nigeria’s challenge. *The Daily Independent Newspaper*, Tuesday, 24 April, 1999.

²⁰ Dr. Dahida, Akangbe, *International Affairs and Global Strategy* ISSN 2224-574X (Paper) ISSN 2224-8951 (Online) Vol.15, 2013, www.iiste.org, pg. 76

The use of public power and resources in a manner that advances individual, factional, ethnic, religious or other limited interests at the expense of more broad based social, national or global needs is corruption because power and public resources are appropriated towards private purposes and gains. Theft, bribery, extortion, patronage, nepotism, and other practices are grouped together as corruption. Corruption is so widespread that each country has developed its own terminology to describe these practices; egunje or essu in Nigeria, mordida in Mexico, arreglo in Philippines, baksheesh in Egypt, dash in Kenya, pot-de-vin in France, steepening in The Netherlands, tangent in Italy among others²¹.

Corruption is found in the award of contracts, promotion of staff, dispensation of justice, and misuse of public offices, positions, and privileges, embezzlement of public funds, public books, publications, documents, valuable security, and accounts. Corruption can be systematic in nature and affect the whole life of an organization or society. This deadly virus attacks the vital structures that make for a society's progressive functioning.

Corrupt practices span a wide spectrum, ranging from petty corruption whereby bribes are required before normal bureaucratic procedures are accomplished to large scale corruption whereby considerable sums of money are paid in return for preferential treatment or access. It also occurs in the political, economic and administrative spheres. Corruption is worse in countries where institutions, such as the legislature and the judiciary are weak, where rule of law and adherence to formal rules are not rigorously observed, where political patronage is standard practice, where the independence and professionalism of the public sector has been eroded and where civil society lacks the means to bring public pressure to bear.

Obviously, in the case of developing country like Nigeria, where limited resources that are initially allocated for industries, hospitals, road construction, schools and other infrastructure are either outrightly siphoned, embezzled, misappropriated, or otherwise severely depleted through kickbacks and over invoicing by government officials.

The abuse of public office for private gain is rampant in Nigeria, all the necessary instruments for good governance in procurement exists, yet fraud, waste and

²¹ Op.Cit. Pg 5

abuse remain a challenge. Lack of transparency and accountability in public procurement is a challenge to good governance.

The lack of transparency, accountability and fiscal responsibility in the management of government revenues, particularly at the state level, has held back economic development. Nigeria's federal system delegates half of the annual budget and responsibility for the delivery of public services to 36 States and 774 local governments, which generally lack the institutional capacity to handle the money and provide basic social services. Government has also been ineffective at managing threats to peace and security from communal conflict, extremism, and militancy, and conducting orderly and credible elections. Although Nigeria's standing on the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index improved in 2008, corruption remains a fundamental problem. United States Government (USG) assistance aims to improve the rule of law by supporting good governance and electoral reform, without which Nigeria will not have sustainable development. Nigeria's predicament illustrates why an oil-based growth was de-emphasized or ignored²².

Sadly, Nigeria has consistently been classified as a leading icon among the most corrupt nations of the world based on the assessment of the annual Corruption Perception Index (CPI) of the Transparency International (TI). Hence, the pressing need for the government, policy makers, academicians and religious leaders to pay enthusiastic attention to the issue of corruption and its attendant effects in Nigeria. The persistence of indecencies are tantamount to deficiencies in the administration of the country governance leading to deficiencies of good governance. Bad Governance has been understood to reflect a general tendency of a public institution not being able 'to manage public affairs and public resources'²³.

Wikipedia further notes that "Bad governance becomes more pronounced when a state or government fails (abysmally) to meet the needs of the society even though it makes use of the best of all the resources at their disposal²⁴".

²² Ajie, H, Wokekoro, O, 2012, The Impact of Corruption on Sustainable Economic Growth and Development in Nigeria, International Journal of Economic Development Research and Investment Vol. 3, No 1, April 2012. Accessed 9 May, 2015

²³ Ibid

²⁴http://www.academia.edu/34148500/Bad_governance_The_bane_of_peace_security_and_sustainable_development_of_Nigeria. International Journal of Development and Sustainability ISSN: 2168-8662 –www.isdsnet.com/ijds Volume 3 Number 5 (2014): Pages 1121

Broadly speaking, Owoye and Bissessar ²⁵see bad governance as a symptom of institutional and leadership failures, explicitly “manifested by its long list of dictatorial leaders, non-free media and undemocratic elections. ”Citing Jesperson Owoye and Bissessar note: *Africa performed well in the early years of its independence, but failed in its performance tests past 1973 as the region is now characterized by low growth rates, declining agricultural production, stagnating manufacturing, rising imports, and rapidly expanding external debts. ... has had many coups, civil unrest, ethnic violence; and widespread bureaucratic corruption alongside administrative inefficiency, and institutional ineptitude or outright failure*²⁶.

Highly manifest corruption and its related practices have been identified as major constraints on Africa’s economic, political, and social development. The United Nations Economic & Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UNESCAP) confirms that, *Bad governance includes governments that are ineffective and inefficient, not transparent, not responsive to the people, not held accountable for their actions, inequitable and exclusive to the elites, non-participatory; do not follow the rule of law and lacking policies that are consensus driven.*

Further corroborating this position, Owoye citing Calderisi averred persistent problems of inept leadership, institutional failure, and pandemic corruption as factors of bad governance in Africa²⁷.

“Nigeria problem is that it has never known good government because corrupt leaders are always getting ways to leadership position of the country. Nigerian corruption is epidemic among other African nations because of its existence to the long term tenure of their dictators, this is explicit and exposition African dictators most of whom have held on to political power ranging from 30 to 42 years.

The failure of good governance in Nigeria is resulted from the despot that these dictators owe their successes to their effective control on the central bank, civil service, judiciary, the electoral commission, media as well as the security forces. Indeed, corruption remains unabated in the continent because “weak or failed institutions cannot control the excesses of their dictators”, due primarily to the fact that they were built on the unstable foundation of bad governance and pandemic corruption²⁸.

²⁵ Owoye, O. and Bisseddar, N. (1992), *Bad Governance and Corruption in Africa: Symptoms of Leadership and Institutional Failures*, Commission for Africa and Pacific (UNESCAP) 2009.

²⁶ <http://www.ameppa.org/upload/bad%20Goverenance.pdf>.1992:1

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Op.Cit P.7

1.4. Research Questions

This study seeks to investigate and answer the pertinent main questions as follows;

1. What are the causes and consequences of corruption and its impact on the Nigeria?
2. How is Nigeria tackling and combating corruption and the diverse approaches involved?
3. What are the types of Corruption in Nigeria?
- 4- To what extent has corruption impacted the conduct and performance of the 3-arms of government in Nigeria?
- 5- What are the anti-corruption measures available in the country?
- 6- To what extent has the deficiency of good governance impacted Nigeria and the challenges across some selected African countries?
- 7- What are the indicators and characteristics from good governance?
- 8- How is good governance measured and their differentiation?
- 9- What are the characteristics of bad governance in Nigeria?

1.5. Objectives of the Study

The research main aim is to explore the relationship between corruption and deficiency of good governance on the notion of causality and their nexus with the development in Nigeria. The study also has the following specific objectives:

- 1 To review the context and theoretical framework of corruption
- 2 To review the vulnerability of Nigerian anti-corruption measures
- 3 To examine the impact of bad management of the country governance
- 4 To examine the nexus between corruption and deficiency of good governance
- 5 To investigate the direction of causality between corruption and underdevelopment
- 6 To examine how much good governance is important in eradicating corruption
- 7 To examine the effects of corruption on good governance
- 8 And finally, to propose a country free of corruption practices and a model for good governance.

1.6. Significance of the Study

Researches regarding underdevelopment in governance of Nigeria are significance primarily for three reasons. First, existing literature tends to focus on the theoretical causes of corruption rather than the effects on underdevelopment and the development of the country by locating their origins, focusing too heavily on the causes of corruption has overshadow the real tragedy, which is deficiency of good governance. Despite an overview of the causes of corruption, the focus of this study is more on definitions, causes and consequences, for several reasons. Emphasizing the consequences of corruption helps circumvent, to some extent, disputes regarding causes of corruption, which often lose sight of the purpose of corruption research, which is to swiftly find solutions. The longer the crisis is allowed to persist; the more victims it claims. Existing studies also do not seem to differentiate between corruption and other forms of deficiencies resulting from it. Some forms of corruption may have more harmful effects on society than others by paralyzing the efficiencies of good governance. Corruptions involves far more than money issues and is not limited to high level officials, so focusing on this form of corruption first may be less challenging and provide greater benefits in the short term. Reducing corruption first may also create more economic opportunities and benefits in the society. Reducing the overall need for corruption at lower levels will evolve a vibrant government emergence.

Some of the extant research on corruption does not study the negative effect on good governance and underdevelopment but they focus on corruption and economic development, the ubiquitous studies of it over decades, the creation of international and domestic anti-corruption laws, and powerful international organizations to combat it, political corruption in Nigeria not only persists, but is perceived to be increasing according to Transparency International's most recent corruption data. Thus, the existing research on corruption and economic development has failed to be a sufficient deterrence of corruption.

By accentuating the connection between corruption and its dire consequences on deficiency of good governance, this study hopes to encourage a more urgent response to good governance, both in Nigeria and Africa as a whole, foremost among African political leaders, but also by Nigerian citizens, who often have more political power than they realize but has yet to specifically relate corruption with exceedingly

deficient social welfare, governance and society free of corruption which is the purpose of this study. Thus, this study supplements the existing literature.

Second, by keeping corruption in the international discourse pressure is maintained on the Nigerian government to continue working towards a solution. Nigeria, like every country, values its reputation within the international community. International relations are critical for trade and security in the contemporary globalized environment. Nigeria is a member of the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation, and the British Commonwealth.

The more corrupt Nigeria is perceived to be, the less willing foreign investors and international donors are to invest or provide assistance. Smith cites the title of a 1995 television program, “Not in Our Character: Enough is Enough in this Calculated Attempt to Smear Our Image as a People and Nation”, aired by the Nigerian government in response to a 60 Minutes broadcast entitled “Corruption, Inc.” earlier that year as evidence of the importance of Nigeria’s reputation within the international community.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study addresses the relationship between corruption and deficiency of good governance based on the notion of causality. The direction of causality between them and their nexus with underdevelopment are also looked into. The literature identifies different channels such as growth, investment, public revenue and expenditure, competition conditions, trust on public institutions, etc. to show the effects of corruption. This study, however, focuses merely on the relationship and causal link between corruption and deficiency of good governance as well as its indicators, disregarding the channels of the effect. The investigation is confined to Nigeria on the availability of data on all variables of interest.

The researcher faced various challenges in the process of this study. Such challenges are accessing government data on government documented corruptions and underdevelopment, government deficiencies on developmental projects and infrastructural facilities are among the problems. International data sources often

blame corruption on government institutions in Nigeria such as National Assembly, Oil and Gas sector and the general atmosphere.

Particularly, data on corruption and governance are often difficult to collect because of the very nature of the phenomenon. Some sources, however, provide proxies to those variables. The data problems are carefully handled by referring to previous studies and selecting better sources. Despite the appropriate solutions given to the problems, results of some variables have to be interpreted with caution depending on the definitions attached to the variables for this particular study.

1.8. Operationalization Definition of the key terms

Accountability: The notion that individuals who commit crimes against humanity should be held accountable for their actions, either by the state they occurred in or by the international community. Political accountability means the reasonability or obligation of government to act in the best interests of society. Legal accountability concerns the mechanisms by which public officials can be held liable for action that go against established rules and principles²⁹.

Autocracy: A system of government in which a single person has the authority and power to rule over others in a relatively defined boundary or territory³⁰.

Bribery: Bribery is the act of offering someone money, services or other valuables, in order to persuade him or her to do something in return. Bribery is corruption by definition. Bribes are also called kickbacks, baksheesh, payola, hush money, sweetener, protection money, boodle, gratuity, etc.³¹.

Checks and Balances: Usually refer to the institutional mechanisms for preventing power abuse. Often, they are constitutional controls whereby the three branches of government (executive, legislative and judiciary) and other state institutions have powers over each other so that no single branch will dominate³².

Civil Society: A collective term for nongovernmental, mostly non-profit groups that help their society at large function while working to advance their own or

²⁹ A study guide series on peace and conflict for Independent Learners and Classroom Instructors Governance, Corruption, and conflict, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C, 2010. <http://glossary.usip.org/resouce/accountability>

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Op.Cit

³² Ibid, P.11

others' well-being. It can include civic, educational, trade, labour, charitable, media, religious, recreational, cultural, and advocacy group. A strong civil society, or "public space," can protect individuals and groups against intrusive government. Some definitions do not consider the media, most of which is for profit, to be part of civil society but rather a tool that can promote civil Society³³.

Corruption: While there is not a universally recognized definition of corruption, many practitioners in the field use Transparency International's definition, or "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain." In international law, a person commits the criminal act of corruption when he or she "promises, offers, or gives" undue benefits to a public official "in order that the public official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties." If a public official solicits or accepts such an undue advantage that also counts as corruption³⁴.

Democracy: A state or community in which all members of society partake in a free and fair electoral process that determines government leadership, have access to power through their representatives, and enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties. Democracy building or democratization is the exercise of consolidating and strengthening institutions that help to support democratic government. These institutions may relate to rule of law initiatives, political party development, constitution building, public administration development, and civil society education programs³⁵.

Development: In general, development is the process of improving people's lives. Originally, the term focused on the goal of greater economic prosperity and opportunity. But it now typically includes efforts at human development that take into account such issues as governance, education, the environment, and human rights³⁶.

Elections: The process by which citizens typically choose their representatives to the legislature and sometimes to the executive and judiciary branches. Voting systems vary widely, but most are either proportional or majoritarian. It is important to note that holding elections is only one part of democracy building³⁷.

³³ Op.Cit, P.11

³⁴ Op.Cit, P.11

³⁵ Op.Cit, P.11

³⁶ Op.Cit, P.11

³⁷ Op.Cit, P.11

Embezzlement: The misappropriation of property or funds legally entrusted to someone in their formal position as an agent or guardian³⁸.

Failed State: A state that is unable to provide its citizens basic services, often because of war, genocide, corruption, mismanagement, or criminal threats. Some analysts use the term collapsed state to refer to a situation where national structures have essentially dissolved and there is a complete vacuum of authority. Conversely, a weak or fragile state may be on the verge of failure because of instability and weak governance³⁹.

Favouritism: Refers to the normal human inclination to prefer acquaintances, friends, and family over strangers. It is not always, then, a form of corruption. However, when public (and private sector) officials demonstrate favouritism to unfairly distribute positions and resources, they are guilty of cronyism or nepotism, depending on their relationship with the person who benefits⁴⁰.

Foreign Aid: A technique of economic statecraft where aid is used as an instrument of policy in order to achieve certain goals. There are three main types of foreign aid—humanitarian, military, and development⁴¹.

Governance: The exercise of authority to implement rules and policies in an effort to bring order to the social, political, economic, and judicial processes that allow a society to develop. Good governance involves a process that is informed and to a degree monitored by, and ultimately serves, all members of society, including civil society groups. Good governance also implies a level of accountability and transparency, both of which will help to ameliorate the risk of corruption, a corrosive and destabilizing practice⁴².

Good Governance: It is "... among other things participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law." -UNDP

Grand Corruption: High level or "grand" corruption takes place at the policy formulation end of politics. It refers not so much to the amount of money involved as to the level at which it occurs, where policies and rules may be unjustly influenced. The kinds of transactions that attract grand corruption are usually large in scale and

³⁸ Op.Cit, P.11

³⁹ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴⁰ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴¹ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴² Op.Cit, P.11

therefore involve more money and bureaucratic or “petty” corruption. Grand corruption is sometimes used synonymously with political corruption⁴³.

Instability: A situation in which tension and suspicion among parties run high, but violence is either absent or only sporadic. A “negative peace” prevails because, although armed force is not deployed, the parties perceive one another as enemies and maintain deterrent military capabilities. A balance of power may discourage aggression, but crisis and war are still possible⁴⁴.

Nepotism: Usually used to indicate a form of favouritism that involves family relationships. It describes situations in which a person exploits his or her power and authority to procure jobs or other favours for relatives. Nepotism can take place at all levels of the State, from low-level bureaucratic offices to national ministries⁴⁵.

Oligarchy: A system of government in which authority and power over a relatively defined boundary or territory are concentrated among a small group of persons, clan, class, or clique⁴⁶.

Patronage: Refers to the support or sponsorship of a patron (wealthy or influential guardian). Patronage is used, for instance, to make appointments to government jobs, promotions, contracts for work, etc. Most patrons are motivated by the desire to gain power, wealth, and status through their behaviour. Patronage transgresses the boundaries of legitimate political influence, and violates the principle of merit and competition⁴⁷.

Petty Corruption: The everyday corruption that takes place where bureaucrats meet the public directly. It’s a form of corruption which is pursued by junior or mid-level agents who may be grossly underpaid and who depend on relatively small but illegal rents to feed and house their families and pay for their children's education. Petty corruption disproportionately hurts the poorest members of society, who may experience requests for bribes regularly in their encounters with public administration and services like hospitals, schools, local licensing authorities, police, taxing authorities, and so on⁴⁸.

⁴³ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴⁴ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴⁵ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴⁶ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴⁷ Op.Cit, P.11

⁴⁸ Op.Cit, P.11

Political Corruption: The term "political corruption" is conceptualized in various ways through the recent literature on corruption. In some instances, it is used synonymously with "grand" or high-level corruption and refers to the misuse of entrusted power by political leaders. In others, it refers specifically to corruption within the political and electoral processes. In both cases, political corruption not only leads to the misallocation of resources, but it also perverts the manners in which decisions are made⁴⁹.

Post-conflict Recovery: Also known as post-conflict reconstruction and war-to-peace transitions: The long-term rebuilding of a society in the aftermath of violent conflict. It includes political, socioeconomic, and physical aspects such as disarming and reintegrating combatants, resettling internally displaced persons, reforming governmental institutions, promoting trauma work and reconciliation, delivering justice, restarting the economy, and rebuilding damaged infrastructure. The term "recovery" has a broader connotation than reconstruction, which implies an emphasis on physical aspects⁵⁰.

Power: The ability to influence others to get the outcomes one wants. It may involve coercing them with threats, inducing them with payments, or co-opting them. Hard power refers to the use of military and economic means to influence the behaviours of others through coercion or inducements. Soft power refers to the ability to attract or co-opt others through one's values, policies, and performance to "want what you want" in Joseph Nye's words. The term smart power encompasses both hard and soft power, emphasizing the need to employ whatever tools-diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural- are appropriate for the situation⁵¹.

Power Sharing: A system of governance in which all major segments of society are provided a permanent share of power. Traditionally, that has meant coalition governments; protection of minority rights; decentralization of power; and decision-making by consensus. Because of its emphasis on group rights and consensus, power sharing can lead to deadlock, so some analysts argue that it should be seen as a short-term measure that prepares a society for the transition to multi-ethnic parties⁵².

⁴⁹ Op.Cit, P.11

⁵⁰ Op.Cit, P.11

⁵¹ Op.Cit, P.11

⁵² Op.Cit, P.11

Public Official: As defined in international law, a public official is a “person who holds a legislative, executive, administrative, or judicial office” (appointed or elected). It also includes a person who “performs a public function” or provides a public service⁵³.

Rule of Law: A principle of governance in which all persons and institutions, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly announced, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and consistent with international human rights norms and standards. The drafting of laws must be transparent, and they must be applied fairly and without arbitrariness. In addition, all persons must have access to justice- the ability to seek and obtain a remedy through informal or formal institutions of justice⁵⁴.

Social Contract: The notion that individuals and nation-states tacitly agree to a set of mutually binding stipulations and obligations. The social contract has long served as a philosophical foundation for understanding modern conceptions of citizenship and constitutionalism, whereby individuals willingly submit some of their personal freedoms to political authority in return for the general benefit of all members of a given society⁵⁵.

Systemic Corruption: Occurs when corruption is an integrated and essential aspect of the economic, social and political system. Systemic corruption is not a special category of corrupt practice, but rather a situation in which the major institutions and processes of the state are routinely dominated and used by corrupt individuals and groups, and in which most people have no alternatives to dealing with corrupt officials⁵⁶.

Transparency: Visibility or accessibility of information regarding government decision-making and financial practices, such that stakeholders not only have access to the decision-making process but also the ability to influence it. Transparency is considered an essential element of accountable governance, leading to improved resource allocation, enhanced efficiency, and better prospects for economic growth in general⁵⁷.

⁵³ Op.Cit, P.11

⁵⁴ Op.Cit, P.11

⁵⁵ Op.Cit, P.11

⁵⁶ Op.Cit, P.11

⁵⁷ Op.Cit, P.11

1.9. Organization of the research Study

This thesis is divided into five chapters. An indicative overview of the research is presented in this introductory chapter. Drawing on the background of the study and an initial review of the literature, the research aim and objectives were formulated and the research question was identified. Also in this introductory chapter, the research problem was articulated and the overarching philosophy of the study was presented.

In order to ground the research within a sound theoretical foundation, **Chapter Two** provides a detailed review of relevant literature on the current state of the research, ranging across issues of definition of corruption, the various strands of arguments on the subject of corruption and their common nexus in deficiency of good government in Nigeria by critical examination of the literatures available. **Chapter Three** presents a detailed discussion of the choice of the research methodology and the rationale through which the adopted research strategy, approach, data collection techniques and instruments of analysis are justified. The process of designing the research and a presentation on the criteria and process of selecting the case studies are also discussed in this chapter, along with the limitations of the research method and data collection techniques. **In Chapter Four**, the researcher discusses data analysis and results are presented. **Chapter Five** presents the research findings and also contextualises these theoretically to elucidate their implications for the research aim, objectives and question. Furthermore, in chapter five, the findings of the research are summarised in order to bring out the salient issues regarding the study's overall contribution to practice and knowledge and its implications for policymakers.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

In this Chapter, the researcher focused on the reviews of the most relevant literature focusing on Corruption and Deficiency of Good Governance. These reviews are conducted under the objectives of the study comprising governance concepts, definitions, features, causes, and consequences of corruption in Nigeria alongside its negative effect on underdevelopment. The empirical literature includes numerical findings at different times and in different countries regarding corruption and deficiency of good governance nexus as well as the effects of governance and institutional qualities on corruption, accountability and transparency, and characteristic of good governance.

2.2. Corruption

Corruption has become a widespread phenomenon in the world, taking a top priority on the agendas of good governments (both developed and developing countries), development organizations and banks, researchers, economies, and citizens. Corruption has become a common element of the functioning of the administrative and para-administrative apparatus, from top to bottom, in almost all African countries and the global world. The term 'corruption' is used to mean different things in different contexts. It's also range from the decay of society to a single act of bribery. Due to the existence of corrupt practices throughout the world both in developed and developing countries, people attach various practices to corruption differently on the basis of their culture and norms.

The corruption also involves the acquisition of money, assets or power in a way that escapes the public view, is usually illegal and is at the expense of society as a whole either on a 'grand' or everyday level.

Transparency International defined corruption “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”⁵⁸. Arguably, corruption could be said to be both a major cause and result of underdevelopment. However, its manifestations vary considerably from country to country according to the level and style of governance and economic development and a myriad of other factors. Attitudes toward corruption also differ considerably from one culture to another. The nature and dynamics of corruption have also changed over time, with recent manifestations being connected to the influence of factors like liberalisation and globalisation, the use of new information technologies and the increasing role of multinational corporations in rapidly evolving political and economic contexts. The past few years have seen growing public recognition and discussion of the problem of corruption. In the mid-1990s, several major international bodies like the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Organisation of American States, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) like Transparency International, all took turns in denouncing corruption and outlining steps that might be taken to combat it.

2.2.1. Definitional Issues of Corruption

Defining corruption is clearly one of the major challenges of scholars and other stakeholders like the international development agencies that are interested in the anti-corruption discussion. There is no single, comprehensive and universally accepted definition of what constitutes a corrupt behaviour, this to a large extent, may be attributed to the ambiguous nature of what is encompassed under the term.

This is particularly so because the sensitivity of public perceptions about behaviour that is corrupt varies considerably from one country to another and in different cultures and norms. Thus, a particular behaviour that is considered corrupt in one cultural setting may not be labelled as corrupt in another. Furthermore, the complexity of this phenomenon is also underlined by the difficulties involved in gathering data which in most cases are unreliable and disjointed.

Consequently, due to the complexity surrounding what could be defined as a corrupt behaviour, it is often even more challenging to agree on the necessary

⁵⁸ Transparency International 2018. Retrieved from <http://www.transparency.org/what-is-corruption#define>

punishment for a corrupt act. For instance, while those in authority and popular opinion may unanimously condemn and call for punishments to be enacted against certain acts of corruption, there are also other acts of corruption that the authorities may want to punish but segments of public opinion may not object to. On the other hand, public opinion may condemn certain corrupt behaviours which are condoned by the authorities. This scenario makes the process of prosecution and conviction a daunting task.

However, despite the array of controversies surrounding the phenomenon, corruption has been defined and classified in different forms and sub-forms as different authors and agencies have attempted to operationalize the term for practical analyses and actions. Against this backdrop, the attempts of these individual authors and institutions to provide workable definitions of corruption within the context of their understanding of what constitutes a corrupt behaviour have not been without their problems.

Tanzi⁵⁹ indicates the debate on the definition of corruption by a statement: “a few years ago, the question of definition absorbed a large proportions of the time spent on discussions of corruption at conferences and meetings”.

Sardan⁶⁰, emphasizing the moral economy, explained the complexity of the phenomenon particular to Africa. The author argues that ‘The moral economy of corruption in Africa does not merely concern corruption in the strict sense of the word, but rather the 'corruption complex' in a wider sense, which covers a number of illicit practices, technically distinct from corruption, all of which none the less have in common with corruption their association with state, parastatal or bureaucratic functions, and also contradict the official ethics of 'public property' or 'public service', and likewise offer the possibility of illegal enrichment, and the use and abuse to this end of positions of authority (p. 3-4). Despite the complexity of the phenomenon, different observers often agree on whether a particular practice connotes corruption. Most working papers by World Bank, UNDP, and other international organizations define corruption as “the use of public office/authority for private gain”, without denying the possibility for variation in included practices between countries. USAID

⁵⁹ Tanzi V. (1998), “Corruption around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope, and Curse”, IMF working paper 63.

⁶⁰ Sardan J.P. Olivier de (1999), “A moral Economy of Corruption in Africa” the journal of modern African studies, 37: 1, 25-52.

hand book on fighting corruption (1999) as cited in Chetwynd⁶¹, define corruption as “the misuse of public office for private gain including, but not limited to embezzlement, nepotism, extortion, influence peddling, and fraud”.

Corruption as broadly defined by Lawal⁶², is a systematic vice in an individual, society or a nation which reflects favouritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment, amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power, position, and derivation of undue gains and benefits. Corruption also includes bribery, smuggling, fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, evasion, underpayment, deliberate bending of rules of a system, deceit, forgery, concealment, aiding and abetting of any kind to the detriment of another person, community, society or nation (p.2-3). Whenever a public office is abused, the public objective is set aside or compromised. It is only if a public function is unproductive that policy goals are not harmed by corruption.

However, there is another group of scholars that have attempted to define corruption in a narrower sense. These definitions of corruption have had a greater emphasis upon the legal and moral aspects. For instance, Nye⁶³ defines corruption as “behaviour that deviates from the formal duties of a public role” because of private interests or status gains. In a similar vein, Khan⁶⁴ defines corruption as behaviour that deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority. Thus, “corrupt behaviour in this view involves the violation of established rules for personal gain and profit” Sen: 275⁶⁵. This legalistic definition of corruption is often referred to as public-centred corruption. One of the problems with these kinds of definitions of corruption is that frequently what is popularly considered to constitute corrupt behaviour is also found beyond the public sector and may not involve any direct sense of monetary benefit – factors which lay outside a lot of the focus of attention in the dominant anti-corruption literatures. The “efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at the public

⁶¹ Chetwynd E., F. Chetwynd, and B. Spector, (2003), “Corruption and Poverty: A Review of Recent Literature”, Management System International Final report, Washington DC.

⁶² Lawal G. (2007), “Corruption and Development in Africa: Challenges for Political and Economic Change”, *Humanity and Social Science journal*, Vol.2, No.1, 01-07

⁶³ Nye, J. (1967) Corruption and Political Development: A Case-Benefit Analysis. *The American Political Science Review*: 416-427.

⁶⁴ Khan, M, (1996) A Typology of Corruption Transaction in Developing Countries. *IDS Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 5

⁶⁵ Sen, A. (1999) Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The role of the World Bank. Report of the Corruption Action Plan Working Group. Washington DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank.

expense” whether or not the perpetrator works in the public sector according to Lipset and Lenz⁶⁶, could also be classified as corrupt behaviour.

Other scholars have attempted to define corruption in relation to particular state society relationships and a distinction has been made between grand (political) and petty (bureaucratic) corruption. According to Robinson⁶⁷, a distinction can also be drawn between (1) incidental corruption, that is the individual behaviours of politicians and public office holders, (2) institutional corruption, where institutional cultures of corruption may have grown up around an entire institution and (3) systemic corruption, representing the idea of the embedding of corrupt practices as a way of life within a whole society.

The most prominent definition of corruption, however, is the one used by the World Bank and this is worth exploring in a little more detail given how prominent it has been within discussion of corruption within the ‘development’ context.

The World Bank defines corruption as the “abuse of public office for private gain” (World Bank 1997). This definition is also used by Transparency International (TI). Although, this definition may be useful, it is rather too narrow and simplistic, as argued above corruption is also prevalent in the private sector. Thus, for example, in the Asian Development Bank’s (ADB) judgement, the definition provided by the World Bank does not give adequate attention to the problem of corruption in the private sector or the role of the private sphere in fostering corruption in the public sector. Thus, the ADB define corruption as the abuse of public or private office for personal gain (ADB 36 1998). In consonance with the ADB’s judgement, therefore, this thesis would argue that corrupt practices do not only occur in the public sector, but they also occur within and between private business and individuals in society, with or without the involvement of public officials. For instance, domestic firms, multinational corporations and banks have often been implicated for corrupt behaviour. However, because of the huge economic and political implications of public sector corruption, more emphasis is often placed on public sector corruption.

⁶⁶ Lipset, M. and Lenz, G. (2000) Corruption, Culture, and Market. In Harrison, L. and Huntington, S. (eds) Culture Matters. New York: Basic Books.

⁶⁷ Robinson, M. (1998) Corruption and development: An introduction. In Robinson, M. (ed) Corruption and development. London: Frank Cass: 1-14.

Brown and Cloke⁶⁸ point out some further limitations of the World Bank's definition of corruption. They argue that private individuals' gains from corruption are not limited to purely personal and monetary interests and that the abuse of political position (political corruption) to subvert, super-impose, or pursue a particular ideological agenda for personal interest, against the will of the majority of the people, is not adequately considered in the Bank's definition of corruption. Bearing in mind these critiques and the important role of the Bank in developing policy frameworks for addressing corruption worldwide it is worth taking a critical look at World Bank policy in this area in a little more detail in the next section.

2.2.2. Types of Corruption in Nigeria

Corruption is perceived as a cetaceous malaise in all sectors of Nigerian society. It is more noticeable in the public service sectors and cover a very broad range of human activities. In Public offices, it is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public offices can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets, or the diversion of state revenues.

Corruption faces in Nigeria are described as a house hold word in the Nigerian society from the highest levels of political and business elites to the ordinary person in the village. Its manifestations are in various dimensions such as embezzlement of public funds, misappropriation, inflation and indiscriminate re-evaluation of contracts and collaboration with contractors who may later pay kickbacks and percentage commissions to relevant officials and invariably leading to failed contracts and abandoned projects, thereby giving corruption various types as follows;

1. Moral Corruption: This is exhibited in sexual pervasiveness, greed especially in inter-personal relationships, loose tongue i.e. uncontrollable tongue such that leaks secrets or slanders or busy-body, indecent dressing or appearance etc.

⁶⁸ Brown, E. and Cloke, J. (2004) Neoliberal Reform, Governance and Corruption in the South: Assessing the International Anti-Corruption Crusade. *Antipode*, 36 (2): 272-294.

2. Economic Corruption E.g. Manufacturing fake drugs, adulteration of drinks, piracy i.e. copying another person's intellectual work to illegally enrich oneself (Plagiarism), fraud at all levels etc.

3. Political and Bureaucratic corruption: It is illegal, unethical and unauthorized exploitation of one's political or official position for personal gain. It has to do with public affairs – goods, fortunes, agencies and resources. It is therefore corruption against the state or its agencies by a person holding an official position in pursuit of private or personal profit. In practical terms, political and bureaucratic corruption is usually associated with acceptance of bribe, but it is more than that, it involves fraud, nepotism, kickbacks, favouritism and misappropriation by public officials using their official positions for their own advantage⁶⁹.

4. Electoral Corruption: This has to do with electoral frauds such as election rigging, manipulations, ballot stuffing, registration of under age, and many others.

5. Isolated and systemic corruption: Corruption in a society can be rare or widespread. If it is rare, consisting of a few individual acts, it is straightforward (though seldom easy) to detect and punish. In such cases non-corrupt behaviour is the norm, and institutions in both the public and private sectors support integrity in public life. Such institutions, both formal and informal, are sufficiently strong to return the system to a non-corrupt equilibrium. In contrast, corruption is systemic (pervasive or entrenched) where bribery, on a large or small scale, is routine in dealings between the public sector and firms or individuals. Where systemic corruption exists, formal and informal rules are at odds with one another; bribery may be illegal but is understood by everyone to be routine in transactions with the government. Another kind of equilibrium prevails, a systemic corruption "trap" in which the incentives are strong for firms, individuals, and officials to comply with and not fight the system. And there may be different degrees of coordination between those taking bribes, ranging from uncontrolled extortion by multiple officials to highly organized bribe collection and distribution systems. Anti-bribery laws notwithstanding, there are many countries in which bribery characterizes the rules of the game in private-public interactions. Systemic corruption may occur uniformly across the public sector, or it may be

⁶⁹ Ogbonnia C. (2000). "Anti-Corruption" A paper delivered at NYSC Orientation Camp, Awgu, on July 29th, 2000.

confined to certain agencies—such as customs or tax authorities, public works or other ministries, or particular levels of government⁷⁰.

6. Corruption in the private sector: Fraud and bribery can and do take place in the private sector, often with costly results. Unregulated financial systems permeated with fraud can undermine savings and deter foreign investment. They also make a country vulnerable to financial crises and macroeconomic instability. Entire banks or savings and loan institutions may be taken over by criminals for the purpose of wholesale fraud. Popular support for privatization or the deepening of financial markets can be eroded if poor regulation leads to small shareholders or savers withdrawing when confronted by insider dealings and the enrichment of managers. And a strong corporate focus on profitability may not prevent individual employees soliciting bribes from suppliers. Furthermore, when corruption is systemic in the public sector, firms that do business with government agencies can seldom escape participating in bribery.

While noting the existence of fraud and corruption in the private sector and the importance of controlling it, this report is concerned with corruption in the public sector. Public sector corruption is arguably a more serious problem in developing countries, and controlling it may be a prerequisite for controlling private sector corruption⁷¹.

7. Corrupt Practices by Parents of Students: Parents are known to have used unorthodox means to influence their children's or wards' admission to federal government secondary schools, commonly referred to as unity schools. A high JAMB score is critical for admission in to the university in Nigeria, and this has led to cheating by some students and parents. There are expensive coaching centres that charge exorbitant fees to guarantee a minimum score of 300 in the JAMB score, which is been orchestrated by coaching centres through aiding and abetting cheating in the JAMB examination with the connivance of JAMB officials.

8. Corrupt Practices by Lecturers: Within the university system, some students resort to "sorting" (finding ways of purchasing of high and unmerited mark from a lecturer in order to enhance the grade in their final examination.) Such students

⁷⁰ The World Bank Group. Retrieved from <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/corruptn/cor02.htm#note3>

⁷¹ "Listening to Stakeholders' Views about Corruption in Their Countries," Harvard Institute for International Development, January 1997

will then say they have gone into the university and having what they not work for. Lecturers and students print fake receipts, which they use in collecting school fees, and some unsuspecting students are usually discovered by the audit department.

9. Corrupt Practice by Police: The Nigerian Police Force was ranked the nation's most corrupt public institution⁷² In 2006, the Inspector General of the police was convicted on eight charges of theft involving more than \$100 million of public money while in office. When he was convicted, he spent only six months in prison. This example creates a lack of public trust in the government and its enforcement agencies. When the people set up to persecute criminals are criminals themselves, could there be any possible hope for the country?

Enforcement agencies need to be equipped to enforce laws and be given the authority to persecute anybody regardless of his or her position. There should also be an audit of the enforcement agencies to expose all the bad eggs that are corrupt, thus forcing a change to occur in these agencies and leaving the good guys in charge. If these agencies are giving the authority to persecute anymore, it will build public trust in government and also serve as a deterrent to corrupt public officials, that there are, in fact, consequences to their actions.

It has been alleged that some unscrupulous officers rent firearms to criminals who use them to harass the public and engage in highway robberies. The police are also alleged to be collecting an unauthorized fee before granting bail to anyone who is arrested. Some police in traffic control collect a graduated illegal charge on all operators of inter- and intra-city. Some tax officials are alleged to be using two types of receipts to collect revenue. Once receipt is the original, and hence genuine, while the second is usually a false one for the collector's private use, thus depriving government of its legitimate revenue⁷³.

2.2.3. Causes and effects of Corruption in Nigeria

Corruption is a detrimental force that hinders democracy and represses individuals in many countries throughout the world. Nigeria is ranked as one of the world's most corrupt countries, according to Transparency International's Corrupt Practices Index. Corruption is caused by many factors including lack of accountability

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ I.B. Bello-Imam (2005).The war against corruption in Nigeria: Prospects and problems.

among public servants, inequality in the distribution of resources, promotion of ethnicity and lack of nationalism, and lastly, weakness of governmental enforcement agencies. These factors have contributed to existing culture of corruption in Nigeria. This study analyses each of these contributing aspects in detail.

1. Lack of Accountability

A lack of accountability costs any government money due to lax leadership, employee theft and inefficiency in the execution of job duties. In Nigeria, the public sector is not accountable to the people, it seems like there is a divide between what actually goes on in government and what is being reported to the citizens. There is no transparent system where the public is allowed to participate in policy formation and have a say in how these policies should be implemented. Nigeria has a large amount of natural resources but lacks proper accountability measures. In part this could be due to a lack of connective infrastructure like roads, Internet access and electricity which service delivery and social accountability systems depend on. This lack of infrastructure is caused by the mismanagement of resources by government officials, and if these officials are made to be accountable to the citizens, there will be a good response to the delivery of services⁷⁴.

2. Inequality in the Distribution of Resources

Nigeria has substantial natural resources to accommodate its expanding population but only a few people in the country has access to the money generated from the resources. Nigeria ranks 48 with 43.7 on the distribution of family income, the index measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country. The index is calculated from the Lorenz curve, where cumulative family income is plotted against the number of families arranged from the poorest to the richest (CIA Factbook 2013). Furthermore, 70 percent of the citizens are living below poverty line amidst the massive wealth in the country. As a result, when citizens get government jobs they try to amass as much wealth as they can while in their positions. This can be avoided if employees are paid enough to ensure that they will not try to defraud the government because they are underpaid. The Constitution of the Federal

⁷⁴ Shilgba, Kashima. 2009. On salaries of Nigeria's public officials: Stopping the bleeding. *SaharaReports*. <http://mobile.saharareporters.com/article/salariesnigeria%E2%80%99public-officials-stopping-bleeding> [Accessed January 21, 2013].

Republic of Nigeria makes allowance for employees, in that they should have a reasonable living minimum wage. In Section 16(2)d, it states that:

The state shall direct its policy to ensure that suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens⁷⁵.

The constitution makes provisions for its citizens but the politicians are not following through. The citizens are not being supported through their salaries, the current minimum wage is 18,000 naira a month, which is about \$130, this is hardly enough to sustain an individual for a month talk less a family⁷⁶. As a result, public officials tend to find alternate means of raising income to be able to take care of their families. Although this is not an excuse for public officials to be corrupt, it hardly gives them an opportunity to remain honest if they can barely survive on the salary they are receiving.

3. Promotion of Ethnicity and a lack of Nationalism

Societies like Nigeria that are multi-ethnic are more likely to fall prey to corruption as a result of failure to manage ethnic conflict in a ways that are fair to everyone. Before the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 by Lord Lugard, the citizens of present day Nigeria were divided into different ethnic groups with existing customs, laws and leadership (CIA Factbook2013). After the amalgamation, people from different ethnic groups were tossed together to form a single nation which caused ethnic tensions. Nigerians identify themselves along the lines of their ethnicity more so than their nationality resulting in conflict and a lack of nationalism. There are a large number of qualified applicants⁷⁷. Consequently, citizens are more concerned with improving their regions and states, and investing more in these places than in the country as a whole. As a result, there are a lot of underdevelopments in certain parts of the country because public officials are more concerned with diverting resources to their families, relatives and people in their state of origin.

⁷⁵ Op.cit, Pg. 28

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Ibid., Pg. 28

4. Lax Social and Governmental Enforcement Agencies

One of the causes of corruption is the lack of strong government agencies to enforce laws and rules as sternly as they need to. This creates an opportunity for public officials to embezzle funds without fear of repercussion or punishment. Nigeria is degenerating into a society without a discernible legalistic framework for law enforcement agencies or judicial system. In Nigeria, anyone that is favoured in political patronage can basically get away with most crimes, and some of these crimes involve money laundering, uncontrollable theft of government money and other illegal crimes.⁷⁸

5. Lack of a Proper Taxing System

Furthermore, there is a lack of an effective taxing system in the country. This makes it difficult to track down people's financial activities and creates a breeding ground for corruption. Public officials do not file taxes so it is hard to trace their financial activities and how much they are actually making. It is the duty of politicians to make public officials accountable by implementing laws that will enhance an appropriate and effective tax system where people are made to explain their sources of income, through an end-of-the-year income tax filing. This will allow the audit departments to know how much these public officials are making and check for discrepancies⁷⁹.

6. Ineffective Policies that enhance Corruption

Moreover, public officials are discretionally implementing certain policies to allow them divert public funds into their personal accounts. For example, there was a ban on the importation of used cars over five years of manufacture. This policy helped in breeding corruption among public officials because car business owners were unable to import cars into the countries legally, so they resorted to bribing public officials to enable them import these cars. If this policy on the ban of used cars is not reviewed and strict guidelines implemented to avoid corruption, it could negatively affect the economy. Consequently, this policy is also going to negatively affect those

⁷⁸ Omotoye, Richard. 2011. Restoring financial transparency and accountability in Nigeria. *International Research Journal of Finance and Economics* 78: 158-170.

⁷⁹ Okoye, Ejike, Sam. 2005. How to tackle corruption effectively in Nigeria? Retrieved from <http://www.gamji.com/article4000/NEWS4930.htm> [Accessed January 21, 2013].

employed in this line of business, who do not want to give out bribes, they will run out of business, thereby increasing the number of citizens already living in poverty⁸⁰. Such a policy has so many negative effects that can lead to corruption if not properly planned out. For instance, it can result in the loss of state tax revenue and a reduction in importations of cars into the country, and diversion of this business to other neighbouring countries, thus causing Nigeria to lose revenue. In essence, lack of proper planning in the implementation can be a breeding ground for corruption and hurt the country economically.

With unchecked, unbridled, and uncontrolled, power, humans become corrupt. According to Thomas Hobbes, "life becomes solitary, nasty, brutish, and short." Our previous colonial background has been identified by scholars. Our colonial heritage has altered our values and perception of morality; some of the causes of corruption are:

- Trade Restriction. This is Government-induced source of rent a seeking/corruption. The restriction on importation of foreign automobiles are examples of how government officials and politicians can make quick money via rent seeking/corruption.
- Government subsidies. When government allocates scarce resources to individuals and firms using legal criteria other than the ability or willingness to pay, corruption is likely to be the result. Corruption can thrive under industrial policies that allow poorly-targeted subsidies to be appropriated by firms for which they are not intended.
- Price controls. The purpose is to lower the price of some goods below market value. For social and political reason, these are also a source of corruption.
- Low wages in civil service. When public wages are low, public servants may be compelled to use their official positions to collect bribes as a way of making ends meet, particularly when the chances of being caught are low.
- Sociological factors. Multi-ethnic societies may be more likely to fall prey to corruption as a result of failure to manage ethnic conflict in a way that is fair to everyone.

⁸⁰ Op.cit., Pg.30

The causes of corruption are always contextual, rooted in a country's policies, bureaucratic traditions, political development, and social history. Still, corruption tends to flourish when institutions are weak and government policies generate economic rents. Some characteristics of developing and transition settings make corruption particularly difficult to control. The normal motivation of public sector employees to work productively may be undermined by many factors, including low and declining civil service salaries and promotion unconnected to performance. Dysfunctional government budgets, inadequate supplies and equipment, delays in the release of budget funds (including pay), and a loss of organizational purpose also may demoralize staff. The motivation to remain honest may be further weakened if senior officials and political leaders use public office for private gain or if those who resist corruption lack protection. Or the public service may have long been dominated by patron-client relationships, in which the sharing of bribes and favours has become entrenched. In some countries pay levels may always have been low, with the informal understanding that staff will find their own ways to supplement inadequate pay. Sometimes these conditions are exacerbated by closed political systems dominated by narrow vested interests and by international sources of corruption associated with major projects or equipment purchases.

The dynamics of corruption in the public sector can be depicted in a simple model. The opportunity for corruption is a function of the size of the rents under a public official's control, the discretion that official has in allocating those rents, and the accountability that official faces for his or her decisions⁸¹. Monopoly rents can be large in highly regulated economies and, as noted above, corruption breeds demand for more regulation. In transition economies economic rents can be enormous because of the amount of formerly state-owned property essentially "up for grabs." The discretion of many public officials may also be large in developing and transition economies, exacerbated by poorly defined, ever-changing, and inadequately disseminated rules and regulations. Finally, accountability is typically weak in these settings. The ethical values of a well-performing bureaucracy may have been eroded or never established. Rules on conduct and conflict of interest may be unenforced, financial management systems (which normally record and control the collection of

⁸¹ Robert Klitgaard uses the equation C (corruption) = M (monopoly) + D (discretion) - A (accountability). See R. Klitgaard, "Cleaning Up and Invigorating the Civil Service," World Bank Operations Evaluation Department, November 1996.

revenues and the expenditure of budgeted resources) may have broken down, and there may be no formal mechanism to hold public officials accountable for results. The watchdog institutions that should scrutinize government performance, such as ombudsmen, external auditors, and the press, may be ineffectual. And special anticorruption bodies may have been turned into partisan instruments whose real purpose is not to detect fraud and corruption but to harass political opponents.

- 1. The false perception of government** as “they” as opposed to “us” thereby making the people detached from the government. And so, their business is to get as much as from the government as they can without getting into trouble⁸².
- 2. Lust for power:** The struggle by individuals and groups to get position of authority at all cost induces corruption. This usually manifest in bribes, electoral malfeasance.
- 3. Lust for money:** Some individuals have natural greed for money, and so, any position they find themselves is seen as opportunity for them to loot and acquire wealth.
- 4. Legitimacy Crisis:** In Nigeria today, most of the political office-holders assumed power through fraudulent means, which is undemocratic and illegitimate in a democracy. Such leaders tend to suffer identity and legitimacy crisis. And one of their strategies to garner popular support is the free distribution of public funds to influential people who could help them achieve peoples’ support.
- 5. Paying to get a government benefit:** The government buys and sells goods and services, distribute subsidies, organizes privatization of state firms, and provides concessions. Officials frequently have a monopoly of valuable information. These activities create incentives and urge for corruption. When the government is a buyer or a contractor, there are several reasons to

⁸² Op.cit., Pg.32

pay off officials. First, a firm may pay to be included in the list of qualified bidders. Second, it may pay to have officials' structure bidding specifications so that the corrupt firm is the only qualified supplier. Third, a firm may pay to be selected as the winning contractor. Finally, once a firm has been selected, it may pay to get inflated prices or to skimp on quality⁸³.

6. Paying for official positions: When corruption is pervasive, positions in the state bureaucracy become valuable assets, and there will be derived demand for jobs in the state sector. In developing countries there is a lively market for positions in the bureaucracy that generate large bribes.

7. Delay and Red Tapism: Some officials delay unnecessarily so as to induce payoffs. This can happen either in contracting and auctioning or in administering regulatory and tax laws⁸⁴.

Oppression of the civil society from the government officials is another factor that induces corruption. There are many other factors emanating from social, economic and traditional settings.

2.2.4 Effect of Corruption on Nation-Building

Corruption damages political legitimacy: Systemic corruption undermines the legitimacy of government especially democracies. Citizens may come to believe that the government is simply for sale to the highest bidder. Corruption undermines claims that government is substituting democratic values for decisions based on ability to pay. It can lead to coups by undemocratic leaders. Military take-over is frequently justified as a response to the corruption of democratic rulers⁸⁵. The inference from this analysis is that corruption breeds political instability.

Corruption harms society by damaging economic development and reforms and hinders the growth of democratic institutions. It impedes the ability of developing countries to attract foreign investors and distorts capital allocation as well as impedes

⁸³ Susan R. (1997). "The Political Economy of Corruption" in Kimberly A. (ed), *Corruption and the Global Economy*, Washington D. C.: Institute for International Economics, pp184-195.

⁸⁴ Op.Cit.

⁸⁵ Kolawole D. (1997). "Military in Politics" in: Kolawole D. (ed), *Reading in Political Science*, Ibadan: Dekaal Publishers, pp:112-118.

international trade. Corruption also causes financial haemorrhage. It can lead to unhealthy power struggle, loss of social and moral values and unequal distribution of wealth.

Many have noted the effects of corruption on nation-building. Corruption has an adverse effect on social and economic development and also in building a nation. The effects include:

- Diversion of development resources for private gain
- Misallocation of talent
- Lost tax revenue
- Negative impact on quality of infrastructure and public services
- Slowing of economic growth

2.2.5. Institutionalisation of Corruption in Nigeria

The elite are the agents of institutionalising corruption in Nigeria, Nigeria has been an unfortunate nation in terms of the elite that arose to lead it from independence to date. Perhaps with the exception of the first republic and the military junta of General Murtala Ramat Mohammed, most of the administrations that governed Nigeria were paragons of corruption. By mid-1980's, corruption has been singled out as the strategic causative agent of the country's economic crisis⁸⁶). By then, the dominance of private motive in public decisions was assured and institutionalised. Thereafter, people look on behaviour based on any other premise virtually inconceivable or at best un-Nigerian. How does this come to pass? Isomorphism has been advanced as the mechanism through which various types of behaviours, including corruption are spread in a social context⁸⁷. DiMaggio and Powell⁸⁸ had defined isomorphism as a "constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions." Through their rapacious economic policies, the elite have succeeded in constraining the economic space, reducing the vast population to a condition of poverty and forced and restricted

⁸⁶ Ahmed II, H. (1993): "Management and the Challenges of Our Times." *Management in Nigeria*, Vol. 29, No. 3 and 4, July-December

⁸⁷ Venard, B. (2009): "Corruption in Emerging Countries; A Matter of Isomorphism." *M@n@gement*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Pp. 1-27.

⁸⁸ DiMaggio, P. J. and W. W. Powell (1983): "The Iron cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organisational Fields." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 48, No. 2, Pp. 147-160

choice⁸⁹ Thus thoroughly emasculated, both individuals and institutions (private and public) begin to act and behave like survivors of a great disaster, dazed and rudderless. And before long, everyone begins to copy the stronger corruptors. For individuals, this was achieved through coercive isomorphism where individuals are homogenized in attitude by state power—handing out rewards for conformance and punishment for rebellion⁹⁰. The rules of corporate citizenship and societal expectations re thus changed, and people come to learn the most appropriate manners to behave which in the Nigerian case means to engage in deceit, cheating and trickery in order merely to survive. As for organisations, their subjugation was brought about through the process of mimetic isomorphism. Mimeticism is the process whereby organisations copy the ways of their most successful peers even if the ways thus copied are corrupt ways⁹¹. For example, rules will be raised making it easy for pliant institutions to receive favours and hard for those who entertain staying honest. In time, almost all organisations conform in order to survive. Finally, the society got swept away in the gale wind of corruption through normative isomorphism, whereby societal norms and values were changed through state intervention in the form of politicisation of appointment procedures into key public offices, and of economic activities perfected under the garb of correcting market failures in the economy⁹². Laws and regulations were introduced for the sole purpose of wealth acquisition and power mongering. Overall, the whole market system and bureaucracy be-comes deeply compromised by corrupt practices. The ultimate result of the foregoing triple-pronged attack on public morality is the effective institutionalisation of corruption in Nigeria. Corrupt self-interest has now become so common a motive for doing things, public and private, that one finds little or no variations within and among the diverse ethnic nationalities and social classes in the country. Any attempt at policy reversal by any well-meaning person or administration is sooner than later bound to come up against the stiffest of resistance from vested interests. A case to buttress this point is the ordeal of Nuhu Ribadu, Nigeria's former anti-corruption Caesar at the Economic and Financial Crimes

⁸⁹ Ewhrudjakpor, C. (2008): "Poverty and Its Alleviation: The Nigerian Experience." *International Social Work*, Vol. 51, No. 4, Pp. 519–531

⁹⁰ Scott, R. (1995): *Institutions and Organisations*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA

⁹¹ Venard, B. and M. Hanafi (2008): "Organisational Isomorphism and Corruption in Financial Institutions: Empirical Research in Emerging Countries." *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 81, Pp. 481-498.

⁹² Shleifer, A. and R. W. Vishny (1996): *The Grabbing Hand: Government Pathologies and Their Cures*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

Commission (EFCC). His record of meritorious service, internationally acclaimed, under the Olusegun Obasanjo administration was placed round his neck as an albatross by the incumbent Shehu Musa Yar'Adua government. The reason is simple: those he prosecuted under the former regime are now the ones calling the shots in the present regime, and they un-ashamedly went for his jugular. He has since joined his kindred exiled spirits abroad⁹³. The destruction of state institutions through the institution of corruption has far reaching consequences too numerous to mention. On the aggregate, corruption impedes economic growth, exacerbates income inequality and increases the vulnerability of the poor while attenuating their trust in government programmes; constrict political space and undermine democracy, dampens investment, harm international trade and reduce the subjective wellbeing of the people. It has also fuelled war and intensifies the fight for the control of carbon resources in the country. Clearly, a nation facing these and other no less debilitating challenges is a nation that has fallen apart. To such a nation, the imperatives of nation-building cannot be over-emphasized.

2.2.6. Measuring Corruption in Nigeria

Transparency International (TI) is an international governmental organization that began measuring corruption in the mid-1990s. Because data on corruption is scarce, especially in countries with less transparency and oversight, TI measures the perception of corruption through surveys of populations within the countries analysed. Part of the survey includes questions such as how many times a citizen has paid a bribe to a government official within the last year. For this reason, the measure of perceived corruption is more representative of petty corruption than grand level corruption. Because this study focuses on grand corruption, Transparency International's corruption data is not an entirely accurate representation of political corruption in Nigeria. Moreover, annual surveys are done, but the questions asked and people surveyed may change on an annual basis, making comparing their corruption reports over time unfeasible. For example, Nigeria's rank in the corruption index (1 as least corrupt) decreased from 50th in 1996 and 134th in 2010, suggesting corruption increased; however, Nigeria's corruption score (10 least corrupt, 0 most corrupt)

⁹³ Ribadu, N. (2009): "Corruption Has Destroyed the Fabric of Nigeria". Nuhu Rabidu's Testimony before the US House Financial Services Committee, May 19, 2009, and Published in: Desert Herald, Vol. 3, No. 16, 26th May–2nd June.

improved from a 0.69 to a 2.4. Nigeria's rank decreased because the number of countries included in the survey increased from only 50 in 1996 to 178 in 2010. Another weakness of using TI's corruption data is that it does not differentiate between accepted forms of corruption and illegitimate corruption. Since the concept of corruption is so subjective, as stated earlier, what one person considers to be a bribe may be seen as a gift by another. Therefore, the actual incidents of bribery may be over reported or underreported. Despite these weaknesses, Transparency International is the only international organization that publically measures corruption to date. Because corruption data is limited to only one source, which has not been consistent annually, the data produced in attempts to measure corruption perception over time may not be accurate. However, the consensus in the literature that political corruption exists in Nigeria allows for this study to concentrate more on social welfare than proving political corruption.

Systematic methods of measuring grand level corruption have yet to emerge. Corruption at this level is arduous to measure because it involves fewer individuals and is performed surreptitiously. Since the creation of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria, grand level corruption is increasingly being exposed. The first EFCC Chairman, Nuhu Ribadu, reported that more than \$440 billion in national revenues had been stolen since 1960⁹⁴. The EFCC has its own website where it publishes reports for public consumption, as well as pending cases against defendants charged with corruption. Until charges are filed though, grand level corruption remains a covert phenomenon. Grand level corruption can then only be measured by the known instances and the financial amounts they involve. Nevertheless, in the short amount of time that the EFCC has been operating, it has uncovered a substantial amount of grand level corruption that has helped explain why Nigerian society suffers from such inadequate social welfare. Modernization of government processes, such as record keeping, makes grand corruption more difficult to hide. The more data that becomes available on grand level corruption, the easier it will become to derive a systematic methodology of measurement.

Corruption between the private and public sectors are frequently connected. The government awards contracts to private companies for infrastructure construction

⁹⁴ Ribadu, Nuhu. "Capital Loss and Corruption: The Example of Nigeria". May 19, 2009. http://www.house.gov/apps/list/hearing/financialsvcs_dem/ribadu_testimony.pdf (accessed May 14, 2011).

and maintenance. It is often through this procurement process that corruption between the public and private sectors converge. This aspect of corruption transfers wealth from the state treasury to the business elite as well as political officials. Creating transparency in the procurement process should moderate corruption in this area and create more equitable competition in the private sector. Good governance in the public sector would set a good example for corporate ethics policy in the private sector. EITI, as discussed previously, encourages the same diligence in the private sector as governments are committing to in the public sector. Corruption within the private sector, society, and between the private sector and society, however, is beyond the scope of this study, but may be an important area of study for future research in measuring the impact, either positive or negative, that forms of corruption have on each other.

As a result of such conceptual complexities, this thesis strives to isolate political corruption from private sector forms of corruption in an attempt to avoid complications surrounding the operationalization of corruption. For purposes of this research, political corruption will be limited to corruption by high-level government officials including, but not limited to, presidents, state governors, and former military rulers. “Nigerians largely...view that corruption...emanates from bad leadership”⁹⁵. Furthermore, this thesis also distinguishes between grand corruption (which involves larger sums of money) and petty corruption because instances of grand corruption are more often documented by the EFCC.

2.2.6.1. Anti-Corruption Measures in Nigeria

That corruption and corrupt practices are inimical to economic development is a fact not lost on any of the successive Nigerian leaders both military and civilian alike. Virtually every one of these leaders came into office promising to tackle corruption head-on. Surprisingly however, most of them end up being practitioners. From independence in 1960 to date, several measures have been put in place with a view to bring down the level of corruption. Some of these measures are constitutional or legal while others involve the use of propaganda and public awareness campaigns.

⁹⁵ Smith, Daniel Jordan. *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday deception and popular discontent in Nigeria*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007.

The promulgation of decrees during the military era; Acts of parliament during a democratically elected government and the establishment of institutions empowered by law to arrest and prosecute corrupt officials⁷⁵ are some of the ways Nigerian leaders have tried to fight corruption in the country. A list of some of the very important instruments that have been put in place and backed by law to combat corruption are listed below. The reason for this list is to show that Nigeria has enough laws put in place to tackle corruption if only the leaders were sincere about the fight against corruption. Of course, these laws become a mere formality if the political will on the part of government is lacking. The list includes:

- (1) Corrupt Practices Decree of 1975.
- (2) The Public Officer (Investigation of Assets Decree No. 5 of 1976)/Forfeiture of Assets.
- (3) Decree No. 53 of 1999.
- (4) Failed Bank Tribunal set up by the Abacha military government.
- (5) Code of Conduct Bureau provided for by the 1979 Nigerian Constitution.
- (6) Code of Conduct Tribunals provided for by the 1999 Nigerian Constitution.
- (7) Due Process in all the Federal Ministries and Parastatals.
- (8) Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Commission (ICPC).
- (9) Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).

Political education such as War against Indiscipline (WAI) introduced by the Buhari military government between 1983-85, War against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC) implemented by Abacha 1993-1998 and the National Orientation Agency under the civilian administration of Olusegun Obasanjo have also been used at various times to fight corruption. With his coming back to power again in 2015 as Civilian Head of States, Muhammadu Buhari used the fight against corruption as his campaign slogan “If Nigeria do not kill corruption, Corruption will kill Nigeria”.

2.2.6.2. Why the Measures to Check Corruption in Nigeria?

With all the above measures in place, one would have expected that the problem of pervasive corruption in Nigeria should have been reduced to a minimum level. The reality on ground is far from this; corruption in all ramifications is spreading even more rapidly and threatening to destroy the very fabric of the society. A number of reasons can be given to explain why anti-corruption agencies or bodies are not able to tackle the problem of endemic corruption.

Firstly, the nature of the Nigerian state with its biasness towards tribalism serves as a fertile ground for corruption. The average Nigerian who occupies a federal position sees it as an avenue to give employment to people from his tribe even if some of these people are not qualified. He uses his position to carry out some developmental projects in his community while deliberately refusing to do the same in some other communities. His calculation is that when he leaves office eventually, he will have an appreciative community to retire to. He also uses his position to embezzle as much money as possible. When, if at all he is eventually caught, his appreciative community gives him all the supports he need by using propaganda, intimidation, threat, alleged tribal victimization to force the federal government to drop the charge against him or at least be liberal in punishing the accused. The corrupt individual who should really be in prison returns to his kinsmen a hero and may even be lucky to have a street named after him for his “contribution to the development” of his community. A very good example is that of former governor of Delta State of Nigeria, James Ibori who is in a British jail at the moment facing trail for money laundry and embezzlement of public fund while he was governor of Delta State for eight years. His community back home sees him as a “hero” despite all the financial atrocities he committed in Nigeria⁹⁶.

Secondly, the political will to implement the anti-corruption laws is often lacking among the Nigerian ruling class. Brinkerhoff ⁹⁷ noted that successful anticorruption efforts depend upon a strong political will. He went on to say that both the political will to initiate the fight against corruption in the first place and the will to sustain the battle over time until results are achieved must be present ‘if the fight is truly to be won’. The political will to fight corruption for most Nigerian politicians is

⁹⁶ Ogundiya I.Sarafa (2009) “Amoral Politics, the Fourth Republic and the Future of Nigeria’s Democratic Project”. *African Journal for the Psychological Study of Social Issues*. Vol.12 (1).

⁹⁷ Brinkerhoff, Derick W. with assistance from Nicolas P. Kulibaba. 1996. “Perspectives on Participation in Studies in Comparative International Development. Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 123-151.

simply not there since in the first place, the politicians were themselves products of the corrupt system. They got into their various offices through election rigging, vote buying, by the help of a political godfather, political assassination and outright bribing of electoral officers and security agents. Fighting corruption for such politicians and their bureaucratic counterparts is a sure way of committing political suicide. They will therefore choose to pay lip service to the fight against corruption as against tackling the problem.

Thirdly, there is the problem of poverty among the Nigerian people. The politicians do not really care about the economic wellbeing of the people as they; the politicians are simply in power to serve their selfish interests. The high rate of poverty makes it easy for politicians to bribe the voters with bags of rice, salt and empty promises before each election so as to secure their votes. In the case of Nigeria, corruption breeds poverty and poverty in turn helps corruption to thrive.

The Judiciary in Nigeria can also be said to constitute a big problem in the fight against corruption. The reason for this is that corrupt politicians and their bureaucratic cohorts find it easy to bribe Judges who then go ahead to frustrate prosecutors by unnecessary court adjournments, outright dismissal of corruption cases and granting liberal bail terms to those charged with embezzlement and theft of public funds. Nigerian's former Attorney General Michael Aondoakaa who is known for being the most corrupt Attorney General in the history of Nigeria was famous for interfering in court cases in order to deliberately frustrate corruption charges against politicians and public officer holders. Only recently, the Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission-Mrs. Farida Waziri cried out over the way and manner the courts were frustrating corruption cases against politicians and pleaded with the Federal Government to set up special courts to try corruption cases.⁹⁸

Lastly, the fight against corruption in Nigeria has not really being fought on a sustainable level. This is contrary to the assertion that, the fight against corruption was a challenging long time undertaking⁹⁹. One of the reasons for this apparent lack of a sustainable fight against corruption is due largely to constant change in political power mostly during the military era resulting also in constant changes in anticorruption laws.

⁹⁸ See Punch of Monday 23 May, 2011. (Nigeria Daily News Paper)

⁹⁹ Ibid.

The civilian administrations on the other hand, are not too sincere about fighting corruption except to use anti-corruption agencies as an instrument to witch hunt political opponents.

2.2.7. Impact of Global Corruption on Governance in Nigeria

Today when people think of Nigeria, they tend to think of corruption. Nigeria had almost 30 years of continuous military rule under a variety of dictators who institutionalised corruption and were responsible for massive outflows of funds.

Democracy returned in 1999, but to a country where corruption was now deeply entrenched. On hearing of the then-President Obasanjo's anti-corruption campaign, the speaker of the house declared: 'Who is Olusegun Obasanjo to wake up one day and decide that corruption, which has become a way of people's life in Nigeria, is now an evil?'¹⁰⁰

Obasanjo stood down after two terms in office. The 2007 election to decide his successor was neither free nor fair, and was accompanied by significant violence. As Nigerians wait to see what President Umaru Yar'Adua will do to further the fight against corruption, Obasanjo's record is already being questioned, as Nigeria's House of Representatives asks why the US\$10 billion spent on improving electricity supply was so unsuccessful¹⁰¹.

No doubt, global corruption has negatively impacted on governance in Nigeria economically, socially and politically. Hawley¹⁰² highlights some of the impacts that multinationals' corrupt practices have on developing countries. These include undermining development and exacerbating inequality and poverty, distorting decision-making in favour of projects that benefit the few rather than the many. In addition, they increase national debt by encouraging leaders who they know are fraudulent to take loans which, eventually, will be stolen or wasted. They take actions that will benefit the companies, not the country; they bypass local democratic processes; they damage the environment as in the case of the Niger Delta Region where

¹⁰⁰ Nic Cheeseman, 'Introduction to corruption in Nigeria', a background paper for Christian Aid, May 2008, p4.

¹⁰¹ 'Nigeria recovers graft billions', BBC news, 1 October 2008; 'Panel alleges corruption in Nigeria', BBC news, 18 March 2008

¹⁰² Hawley, S. (2000). *Exporting Corruption: Privatization, Multinationals and Bribery*. The Corner House (cited in Global Issues). Retrieved January 20, 2012, from <http://www.globalissues.org>

lands and waters have been polluted with impunity; they also put smaller domestic firms in a serious disadvantage through unfavourable trade agreement.

Economically, through the giving of bribes, the rich countries of the western world have succeeded in enriching a few individuals in the Nigerian government to the detriment of the rest of the people. By this singular act, poverty is at its peak in Nigeria. Nigeria never seems to have enough money to execute its projects because most of these projects are overpriced, and sometimes the contracts are given to the highest bidder who cannot even perform. The same project is repeated by awarding another contract that may not be executed thus leading to a colossal waste of public funds. The Halliburton case is still fresh in our memory. It was a scandal involving a Houston-based KBR who sent his men to bribe top officials with a whopping sum of \$180bn in order to win contracts for liquefied natural gas facilities.

While three of the foreign collaborators, 2 Britons (74-year old Wojciech Chodan and Jeffrey Tesler) and an American (Jack Stanley) were reported to have been sent to various jail terms by their home governments, nothing was done to the Nigerian partners indicted in the case. That was just one of the numerous foreign businesses that have won contracts through bribery and corruption on the Nigerian soil. If the deal had succeeded, the bribe sum would have been added to the cost of the project and this would have cost the nation more than it ought to be, at least in excess of the amount of \$180bn. The Structural Adjustments Programme (SAP) suggested by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and implemented by General Babangida actually ruined the Nigerian currency and economy. It prescribed devaluation of the Naira while it gave the impression that it would attract foreign investments to Nigeria. Also, Nigeria was encouraged to borrow and it continued to borrow more while the borrowed money was usually siphoned into private pockets instead of its being used for the intended purposes. In his last conversation with Moses Makinde, a Nigerian Philosopher, Obafemi Awolowo, a renowned politician, had made an important point about the evil of external borrowing: "If you borrow too much money you lose your economic independence and self-esteem, and I think losing your economic independence and self-esteem is good for the western countries, and it may very well be their strategy for economic and political domination which we Africans have refused to understand"¹⁰³. The resultant effect of this is economic slavery and poor

¹⁰³ Makinde, T., Popoola, F., & Ologunde, O. (2008). Corruption and its Implications for Social Service Delivery in Nigeria. *Ife Social Sciences Review*, 1(23), 160-175.

social service delivery to the people. The bad economy of this nation has made many of the young brains to have migrated to various countries, even within Africa. The exodus of brains from Nigeria is not restricted to the young ones, even the bad economy has made some highly qualified professionals and businessmen who should be developing Nigeria to have relocated to other countries. America and Europe play hosts to some of these brains, while some countries in Africa like South Africa, Botswana and even our neighbours Ghana and Gambia have followed suit.

Many indigenous firms have folded up their businesses because of some of the regulatory laws, through globalization, which actually do not favour them but only the multinationals. Dunlop Nig. Plc. and Nigerian Bottling Company, producer of coca cola have both relocated to the neighbouring Ghana owing to the exorbitant cost of doing business in Nigeria occasioned by lack of electricity supply and high cost of powering their plants with generators. By folding up or locating to other countries, many jobs were lost and poverty went on the increase. As of today we do not know how many companies would fold up or relocate to other countries owing to lack of necessary infrastructures that industries and companies need for their developments and growths. On the social scene, there is no doubt that there is poor social service delivery system in Nigeria. Government has failed to provide basic necessities of life because of “lack of funds” whereas as an oil rich country there are abundant funds which are only looted and siphoned into private pockets as against the use of the funds for development of the nation. As highlighted earlier, water, electricity, good roads, well-equipped hospitals, well-equipped schools, security and services are highly inadequate, if not almost unavailable, necessitating individuals to provide these things for themselves at exorbitant costs. There is a high level unemployment resulting in poverty, as well as increased crime rates such as kidnapping, ritual killings, armed robbery, prostitution, hired assassinations and other criminal activities. These anomalies can be traced to global corruption which has enabled those in government to steal money meant for the provision of social services while the foreign countries always make provision for a safe place to keep these loots in their foreign banks. Since these basic infrastructures are necessities of life, those who have access to government money sometimes have to help themselves to some amount in order to be able to provide these services for themselves and their families¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.Pg.44

By this, we mean that the inability of government to provide the needed services sometimes lead to corruption. The issue of environmental degradation is another social problem created by global corruption. Perhaps, because of the exchange of money that has taken place between the oil companies and those who are expected to complain and make the oil companies clean the environments where they get oil, nothing is done while the people of the oil producing areas suffer a great deal due to environmental degradation. The waters in the Niger Delta has been polluted and made undrinkable while there are reports of regular loss of fish production owing to the polluted waters. All this is apart from lands devastated by oil spills and consequent air pollution that is dangerous to human life. Yet, the giant oil companies like Chevron and Shell are not doing enough to alleviate the general condition of life of people in the affected areas. Unfortunately, the Federal Government has not come out forcefully in aid of the people in these environmentally degraded areas of Nigeria probably because big foreign companies are involved as culprits. This situation accounts for the sporadic violence in the Niger Delta region. On this matter, we can say categorically that when and where there is no peace, political activities and respect for the government are hard to come by as the whole scenarios hinge on bad governance. Politically, global corruption has impacted negatively on governance in Nigeria. The amalgamation of the Northern and the Southern Protectorates in 1914 was meant to benefit the British and not the people of Nigeria. It was meant for easy administration of the two protectorates - The North and the South. The 1914 “marriage of convenience” of the North and the South has since been one of the major causes of mutual suspicion and political instability in Nigeria. The Western powers have been accused of supporting dictatorships in developing countries¹⁰⁵; it is believed that they also support incompetent rulers so that they (the Western powers) will have their way in such countries. In the case of Nigeria, the British government was accused of supporting the North against the South before the 1960 independence because the Southerners were considered to be too intelligent and sophisticated to handle. That is, perhaps, the reason why it was so arranged that political power should always go to the northern part of Nigeria. It is even suspected that the current political uprising in the north has to do with the current power shift to the south.

¹⁰⁵ Neild, Robert. (2002). *Public Corruption: The Dark Side of Social Evolution*, London: Anthem Press. Nigeria: History and Politics. Retrieved February 19, 2012, from <http://www/oss/cp/za/af/profiles/nigeria/politics.html> of 2/19/2013

Unfortunately, when there is no peace in the nation, governance becomes an impossible task, either at the Federal or State level. There is no way this study will be complete without referring to the role of foreign banks, especially the Swiss Bank where money stolen and looted from most Africa countries are lodged without questioning. In many instances, even after the death of such African leaders, these foreign banks are usually not willing to return the stolen money to their countries. A good example is the foreign account kept by General Sani Abacha and which was detected after his demise. Only a negligible amount was recovered. Having examined the issue of global corruption vis-à-vis governance in Nigeria, it is very clear that Nigeria has failed to exhibit the characteristics of good governance as discussed earlier and that global corruption has contributed immensely to this failure.

1. Misappropriation of Resources

Misappropriation of resources describes corruption where resources are lost enroute to their intended destination (such as from central to regional government, or regional government to a local hospital). It also includes corruption in procurement deals, which can involve huge sums of government money.

In 2005, the Nigerian chief of police, Tafa Balogun, was found guilty of corruption and money-laundering funds for police welfare worth more than N17 billion (US\$144 million). In 2007, DSP Alamiesagha, former governor of Bayelsa State, Nigeria, was found guilty of corruption and money-laundering state resources worth N15 billion (US\$127 million). Some of these assets were traced to the UK and South Africa¹⁰⁶.

2. Private-sector corruption

The private sector is not immune from allegations of corruption. For example, in Nigeria in 2006, hundreds of shareholders in Cadbury Schweppes's Nigerian subsidiary launched a class-action lawsuit over an alleged accounting scandal related to the deliberate overstatement of earnings. There is less information about private-sector corruption than state corruption. However, the chairman of Nigeria's Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission, Justice

¹⁰⁶ International Asset Recovery Centre at the Basel Institute on Governance. Asset Recovery Knowledge Centre available at www.assetrecovery.org

Emmanuel Ayoola, has recently announced that the private sector will be the next target of the anti-corruption agency¹⁰⁷.

3. Poverty

Corruption can mean less money for poor communities. It acts as an unofficial ‘tax’ that most poor people cannot afford to pay – in Nigeria it was found that poor people spend disproportionately more of their income on bribes than wealthier people. And poor people are asked to pay more often¹⁰⁸. There is data available on the amount of bribes paid, but unfortunately there is less data about what it represents as a proportion of people’s incomes, as most of the research focuses on costs to business. State officials may not receive their wages because of corruption, although mismanagement is another cause.

Corruption can also make it more difficult for people to start and run viable businesses. Corruption not only reduces income levels, but it is also at the heart of people’s experience of poverty. The World Bank’s seminal study, *Voices of the Poor*, showed that poverty was not only experienced as a lack of food on someone’s plate, but also as people’s sense of powerlessness – a lack of control over their own lives.¹⁰⁹

4. Services

Poor communities particularly suffer the effects of corruption when accessing services. This happens in a number of ways:

- unnecessary or higher costs because of petty corruption
- reduced quality of services because of misallocation and misappropriation.

According to Human Rights Watch, US\$961,000 of funds allocated for health centre upgrades in Rivers State, Nigeria, were misappropriated by state officials. In response, residents stopped using state health centres or used more expensive private facilities. In Nigeria, many businesses now provide their own electricity (through generators) because they cannot afford the extremely high costs of state owned

¹⁰⁷ Nic Cheeseman, ‘Introduction to corruption in Nigeria’, a background paper for Christian Aid, May 2008, p 2.

¹⁰⁸ Report on the Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer, Transparency International, December 2007.

¹⁰⁹ This study by the World Bank collected the voices of 60,000 women and men from 60 countries. The three resultant reports are all available on the World Bank’s website, with a summary available at [http:// web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/ EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/0,, contentMDK: 20612465~isC URL:Y~menuPK:336998~pageP K:148956~piPK:216618~theSite PK:336992,00.html](http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/0,,contentMDK:20612465~isCURL:Y~menuPK:336998~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:336992,00.html)

electricity in the country¹¹⁰. Evidence from Nigeria has shown how the poor are doubly affected. To access services to which they have a right, they have to pay bribes. If they can't afford the bribes, they go without good services such as electricity, water, political parties, National and State Assemblies, Federal and State Executive Councils, local government services, Traffic police and Federal road services commission, (FRSC), Nigeria Custom Services, Nigeria Immigration, Health sectors and even effective policing and so many other public institutions. The Nigerian police is particularly important to ensure security for the vulnerable, yet in countries such as Nigeria; the police are often avoided by the poorest communities.

5. Governance

The impacts are two-fold. First, it can undermine government efficiency. The people with the required skills are not necessarily in post. Instead, individuals are recruited on the basis of their ability to collect bribes and provide their managers with a cut. They may even have paid money to get a position or a promotion because of the opportunity it provides to access the income from bribery. Budget allocation itself is clearly influenced, with more resources going to areas where elites can siphon funds more easily – such as large infrastructure and defence projects – rather than to services¹¹¹. Where corruption is prevalent, governments are more likely to seek personally to benefit from state-run or privately run services, rather than ensure services are well regulated and meet their objectives.

The second major impact is on democracy and trust. People's trust in their government is weakened not only by inefficiency and corruption experienced in public services, but also by a perception that things can only be achieved through corruption. According to donor anti-corruption network U4: 'Corruption encourages the poor to see government as predatory and oppressive rather than enabling, and their sense of powerlessness and exclusion is reinforced¹¹².

¹¹⁰ Chop Fine: the Human Rights Impacts of Local Government Corruption and Mismanagement in Rivers State, Nigeria, Human Rights Watch, January 2007, p 79 and interview with Christian Aid Nigeria country manager.

¹¹¹ 'Consequences and tracking of corruption in development aid', U4 helpdesk enquiry, www.u4.no

¹¹² What do we know about the causes and consequences of corruption', U4 frequently asked questions, www.u4.no

6. Undermining social and political stability

This sense of powerlessness can drive both apathy and social conflict. In interviews with employed, educated people revealed that this stemmed as much from disillusionment with the political context and worsening corruption in the country as from the economic situation. ‘Brain drain’ – the exit of qualified public sector workers in particular – is a major problem in Nigeria driven in part by the difficulties of working in under-resourced public services where corruption is the norm.

2.2.8. The International Anti-Corruption Campaign

The criminalisation of corruption is relatively new in the global development agenda. In fact, as recently as the 1970s and 1980s corruption and anticorruption discussions was not a major focus of development co-operation or within academic studies of development. Furthermore, corruption was frequently condoned in international business transactions particularly when doing business transactions with developing countries. The phenomenon was often perceived as a necessary business expense and tax deductible expenditure in some cases¹¹³.

The seeming reluctance towards tackling the problem of corruption by the international community is related to the complexity surrounding the definition of corruption. Prior to the early 1980s, corruption was perceived as a crime, unethical behaviour or immoral activity that should be handled by the police at the national level¹¹⁴. This may suggest why there were no specific international law and treaties on corruption until the early 1990s.

However, since the mid1990s, there has been a dramatic increase of international interest in corruption, both in terms of exposing the degree to which corruption exists and in formulating measures by which it could be curtailed¹¹⁵. It is the combination of a range of interconnected factors, like the demise of the Cold War

¹¹³ Pujas, V. (2000) Corruption via Party Financing in France. Working paper prepared for a Transparency International workshop on corruption and political party funding, October: La Pietra, Italy.

¹¹⁴ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2007). The Global Programme Against Corruption: The United Nations Anti-Corruption Toolkit, 3rd edition. The Netherlands and Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Available at: http://www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/publications_toolkit_sep04.pdf (accessed 04/03/2010).

¹¹⁵ Brown, E. and Cloke, J. (2004) Neoliberal Reform, Governance and Corruption in the South: Assessing the International Anti-Corruption Crusade. *Antipode*, 36 (2): 272-294.

era, the expansion of democracy, the increasing free media, the growth in economic and financial globalization, and the spread of free-market economics that seems to have significantly influenced the increasing international interest in anticorruption activities.

Presently, many national and international organizations are taking steps in trying to combat corruption and build more transparent and effective institutions. Nationally, in country after country, efforts are being made to encourage the development of a free and independent judiciary with more effective criminal justice systems that can investigate and prosecute corrupt individuals and organizations alike. As part of the Good Governance reforms discussed in the previous chapter, over recent years developing countries have been encouraged to create effective auditor general offices and more transparent and accountable revenue collection systems. These reforms have been accompanied by civil service reform and the spread of more transparent public procurement processes. However, while these international efforts in curbing corruption may be commendable, many governments and political officials in developing countries have become increasingly defensive over the global anticorruption debate, because of a widespread perceived sense of imbalance that surrounds the development of these campaigns.

Specifically, critics have argued that the international anti-corruption campaigns appear to have focused more on public and political officials' bribery in developing countries and transiting countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, while bribe givers from the North appear to remain unchallenged. Contemporary scandals of corruption involving some multinational co-operations suggest that an important segment of private domestic and multinational co-operations are involved in bribery¹¹⁶. Many multinationals, for example, as discussed in the preceding sections, pay bribes for public procurement contracts in emerging economies. Cases of undue influence peddling by vested interests and attempts at capturing state institutions and regulations by a few powerful corporate entities are numerous.

It is important, therefore, according to recognize that the starting point for any anti-corruption campaign must be to recognise that corruption is a two way street, that

¹¹⁶ Agbo, A. (2009) Halliburton: Nigeria Guns for Co-operators. *TELL magazine*, April 6:30

is, those who demand bribes and those who pay the bribe¹¹⁷. This suggests the importance of both the demand and supply side of corruption, with both sides conspiring to secure their vested interests. Nevertheless, just as much is being done presently to address the demand side of corruption through various anti-corruption reforms already mentioned above, more attention is now also being focused in tackling the supply side of corruption through various international anti-corruption law and treaties. Apart from the United States, which in 1977 passed a law that made it a criminal offence for a company to pay bribes abroad (even if it has led to few legal cases being brought), other international anti-corruption instruments designed to primarily address the supply side of corruption since the mid-1990s, have included but are not limited to the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention, the African Convention against corruption and the Council of Europe's Corruption Law Conventions.

Furthermore, a host of other donor agencies (United Nations Development Programme), United State Agency for International Development (USAID), United Kingdom Department for International, Asia Development Bank, World Bank and International Monetary Fund) are increasingly incorporating various anti-corruption policy reforms in different levels of development cooperation.

Transparency International is the most notable non-governmental organisation that has initiated various tools to tackling the problem of corruption. Although it has no legal powers to criminalise bribery and corrupt behaviours, Transparency International, which came into existence in 1993, is one of the most important anticorruption organisations, particularly through the publication of its annual corruption perceptions index¹¹⁸. The CPI is a poll of polls, which reflects the perception of different experts and businesses over the degree of public sector corruption in selected countries across the globe. However, as respected as TI may have become, its activities have not been spared from criticism for a number of reasons. For example, TI have been criticised for basing their assessments not on detailed independent research, but rather on the opinions of a narrow group of

¹¹⁷Tanzi, V. (1995) Corruption, Arm's-Length Relationships, and Markets. In Fiorentini, G. and Peltzman, S. (eds) *The Economics of Organised Crime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 161-180

¹¹⁸ Galtung, F. and Pope, J. (1999) *The Global Coalition Against Corruption: Evaluating Transparency International*. In Schedler, A. Diamond, L. and Plattner, M. (eds) *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*. London: Lynne Reiner. pp 257–282.

respondents, who are mainly comprised of international and regional business elites, with some countries reports being based on the opinions of a very limited number of individuals. Given the notorious difficulties associated with conducting research on corruption, particularly with regards to its definition and measurement, a more thorough and broadly-based investigation into the subject in each country would perhaps help create more confidence in TI's approach. TI's CPI has also been criticised on the grounds that it is predicated upon the perceived level of public sector corruption within a given country which means that its approach tends to be very state-centred and supply-focused. However, in response to criticism of this nature, the TI is increasingly attempting to draw attention to private sector corruption. For instance, in 2009, the TI produced a Global Corruption Report documenting details of several corruption risks for businesses ranging from small businesses in Sub-Saharan Africa to multinationals across Asia, Europe and North America¹¹⁹. Despite some of the limitations discussed here, the TI has certainly drawn significant international attention to corruption and its measurement. In the wake of the impacts of TI's initiatives in raising the profile of tackling corruption on the international stage, other anti-corruption instruments have gradually emerged.

In particular, the measures taken to criminalise the bribery of foreign public officials by western multinationals (the supply side of corruption) as discussed above. For the purpose of assessing the degree of enforcement and impact of these anti-corruption initiatives, it is worth discussing in a little more detail the specifics of some of the major anti-corruption initiatives that have emerged over this period.

2.2.9. Constitutional Framework to Tackle Corruption and Agencies

The Constitution as the fundamental law or basic law defines the limits of exercise of powers conferred on the organs of government established by it, thus practice of constitutionalism aims at limiting the excesses of government, government officials and elected office holders within the limits of the law, and through governance that is based on legislations, regulations rules and practices developed pursuant to the provisions of the constitution¹²⁰. Consequently, the 1999 Constitution contains several

¹¹⁹ Transparency International (2009) Global Corruption Report 2009 Corruption and the Private Sector: Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

¹²⁰ Mowoe K. M. 'Constitutional Law in Nigeria' (Spectrum Law Book 2005) p. 70

provisions to curb the abuse of power, combat corruption, and subject the government to accountability and transparency¹²¹. However, it must be noted that some of the constitutional provisions have had the effect of protecting some public official from any civil proceedings or criminal prosecution relating to acts or practice of corruption¹²². Most significant in this light is the immunity provisions of section 308 of the constitution, the Fundamental Rights provisions on due process and fair hearing have been sought to be employed by persons accused of corruption, by claiming their constitutional right to remain silent and not to incriminate themselves, the effect of which imposes an almost impossible task for the prosecution to discharge its burden of proving its case beyond reasonable doubt since the accused is presumed innocent until the contrary is established in our adversary Criminal Justice System¹²³. However, the said constitutional rights have been limited by legislations such as the ICPC and EFFCC Acts, in ways that have been interpreted to be reasonably justifiable by the courts. The general scheme of the 1999 Constitution is to adopt several constitutional law principles for the limitation of governmental powers, such as separation of powers, rule of law, federalism, good governance, accountability and transparency, human rights protection, guarantee of free and fair elections, participatory democracy, independence of the judiciary, autonomy of the legislature and press freedom¹²⁴. These are all relevant to combating and preventing corruption.

2.2.9.1. THE ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCIES SUCH AS ICPC AND EFCC

Before President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime of 1999-2007, the police and some related agencies were the only ones fighting corruption. When Obasanjo became president in 1999, the Economic Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences (ICPC) were put in place, they have dealt seriously with the pandemic situation. The EFCC and ICPC have a number of roles in fighting corruption in Nigeria¹²⁵. The ICPC is not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority. The EFCC collaborates with international and local agencies. The former President Olusegun Obasanjo demonstrated the fight against corruption by the establishment of two major anti-graft

¹²¹ Fifth Schedule Part I of the 1999 Constitution.

¹²² Mowoe K. M. 'Constitutional Law in Nigeria' p. 71

¹²³ Ibid p. 72

¹²⁴ Ademola Yakubu 'Nigeria Constitutional Law' (Demyax Law Book 2004) p. 115

¹²⁵ <http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/~mbolin/ayobami.htm>

institutions, the Independent Corrupt Practices (And Other Related Offences) Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2000 and 2003 respectively⁷⁶. The Government's target is zero tolerance for corruption. This, it has pursued through - Promulgation of laws against graft-Independent Corrupt Practices and (Other Related Offences) Commission (ICPC) Act, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Act, Strengthening of Anti-Corruption and other economic crimes Institutions for effective law enforcement, Tracing, seizing and confiscation of all proceeds of crime, prosecution and conviction of high ranking administration officials e.t.c.

The EFCC which is today the arrow-head in the fight against corruption in Nigeria was established in 2003 as part of a national reform programme to address corruption and money laundering and in answer to the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) concerns about Nigeria's Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT) laws⁷⁸. It is in order to further the determination to tackle economic and financial crimes that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act was enacted in 2004, although the Act makes a number of provisions prohibiting certain economic crimes⁷⁹. Its provisions in section 46 which defines economic and financial crime to mean "the non-violent criminal and illicit activity committed with the objective of earning wealth illegally either individually or in a group or organized manner thereby violating existing legislation governing the economic activities of government and its administration and includes any form of fraud, narcotic drug trafficking, money laundering, embezzlement, bribery, looting and any form of corrupt practices, illegal arms deal, smuggling, human trafficking and child labour, illegal oil bunkering and illegal mining, tax evasion, foreign exchange malpractices including counterfeiting of currency, theft of intellectual property and piracy, open market abuse, dumping of toxic wastes and prohibited goods¹²⁶ etc. The implication of this is that these diverse economic activities can be regulated by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission established under section 6 of the Act.

The Commission is given enormous regulatory powers over these activities including the investigation of all financial crimes such as advance fee fraud, money laundering, counterfeiting, illegal charge transfers, futures market fraud, fraudulent encashment of negotiable instruments, computer credit card fraud, contract scam⁸¹

¹²⁶ Section 14(1) and Sec. 15(2) of the EFCC Act 2004

etc. It is also to adopt “measures to eradicate the commission of economic and financial crimes”¹²⁷.

More importantly, the Commission is also to act as the coordinating agency for the enforcement of the provisions of the Money Laundering Act, the Advance Fee Fraud and other Related Offences Act, 1995, the Failed Banks (Recovery of Debt and Financial Malpractices in Banks) Act, 1994 the Banks and other Financial Institutions Act, Miscellaneous Offences Act, and any other law or regulation relating to economic and financial crimes, including the Criminal Code and Penal Code¹²⁸. It can be seen from the above, that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission has enormous responsibilities in ensuring the enforcement of economic crimes in the country. This demands a lot of commitment on the part of the Commission to ensure that the on-going economic reforms of the government are not negatively manipulated and rendered ineffective by incidents of economic crimes. While it may be too early to assess the effectiveness of the Commission, it must be noted that it has taken giant strides in the direction of minimizing the prevalence of economic and financial crimes by the prosecution of a number of notable Nigerians for their alleged involvement in these crimes¹²⁹.

2.2.9.2 THE INDEPENDENT CORRUPT PRACTICES AND OTHER RELATED OFFENCES COMMISSION (ICPC)

This was established in 2000 with a mandate to investigate reports of corruption, review government systems prone to corruption and educate the public about corruption. The ICPC is legally protected from political interference¹³⁰. However according to Global Integrity 2008, the ICPC is sometimes influenced by political incentives, today the ICPC is accredited as a cornerstone in the fight against corruption in Nigeria¹³¹. The ICPC can initiate investigations and does so often.

However only a few high-level prosecutions have taken place, with few or no consequences. Due to underfunding, the commission has a backlog of cases. Its reports are not regularly published and are not available to the public¹³². The ICPC has been

¹²⁷ Ibid

¹²⁸ Okogbule N. S. ‘The regulation of Economic Crimes in Nigeria. p. 12

¹²⁹ Guardian Newspaper June 12, 2005 p. 1

¹³⁰ Azinge E. ‘Globalization, National Development and the Law’ (MIJ Publishers Lagos 2005) p. 20

¹³¹ Ibid p. 20

¹³² Jeaga A. M. ‘Democracy, Good Governance, Development in Nigeria’ (Spectrum Book Ltd. Ibadan 2007) p. 11

acclaimed as the cornerstone in the fight against corruption due to some logistics as adduced by its chairman. It is worth noting that the commission acts mainly upon petition or report of allegation of corruption against a public officer¹³³.

The ICPC Act provides offences and punishments such as Acceptance or attempt to receive or request for gratification by an official directly or indirectly will be punishable for imprisonment of seven years¹³⁴, fraudulent acquisition of property (section 12) etc. to be effective as a deterrent, disciplinary measure must, within the requirements of due process, be prompt, evenly applied and publicized.

2.2.9.3. CODE OF CONDUCT

The imposition of a duty to observe and conform with a Code of Conduct by Public Officers is an innovation of the 1979 Constitution that is retained by the 1999 Constitution¹³⁵. The Code of Conduct prohibited, inter alia, the giving and receiving of bribes, abuse of office by public officers, the operation of private foreign accounts, as well as conflict of personal interest with official duties on the part of public officers¹³⁶.

Pivotal to the Code, is the scheme of declaration of assets required of every Public Officer within three months of the coming into force of the Code or immediately after assuming office and thereafter at the end of every four years, and finally at the end of his/her term of office¹³⁷. A Code of Conduct Bureau is charged with the responsibilities of receiving, retaining custody of and examining assets declaration forms filed by public officers. It is also vested with the duty of receiving and dealing with allegations that a public officer has committed a breach of or has not complied with the provisions of the Code of Conduct Tribunal conducts the administrative adjudication on all allegations of contraventions of the Code of Conduct and imposes any of the punishments specified by the Constitution¹³⁸.

The immunity clauses of section 308 of the Constitution that restricts the institution of civil or criminal proceedings against the President, or Vice-President, Governor or the Deputy Governor have been employed successfully against the Code

¹³³ Ibid p. 12

¹³⁴ Section 8 of the ICPC Act

¹³⁵ Jerry O. O. 'The History and Aetiology of Corruption in Nigeria' (Spectrum Book Ltd. 2005) p.22

¹³⁶ Ibid Ibid. p. 22

¹³⁷ Ibid. p. 23

¹³⁸ Azinge E. 'Law Money and Politics' (2004)

of Conduct Tribunal¹³⁹. Apart from the immunity clauses, several other constitutional lapses in the drafting of the fifth Schedule have been employed to make both the bureau and tribunal ineffective¹⁴⁰.

2.2.9.4. PUBLIC COMPLAINTS COMMISSION

The Public Complaints Commission was smuggled into the 1979 Constitution by way of a Military Decree preserved as an existing law specifically by the Constitution. This has been retained by Section 315(5) of the 1999 Constitution¹⁴¹.

However, it must be noted that the Commission was evidently not primarily designed as an anti-corruption body. As rightly observed by Professor Nwabueze, that the Commission was “designed to check the pervasive incidence of Administrative arbitrariness and injustices” and not necessarily to deal with corruption. Expectedly, the proportion of cases handled by the Commission on corruption and abuse of office, have been minimal¹⁴².

2.2.10. Combating Corruption in Nigeria

Because of its destructive propensity, corruption must be deterred in our society. Although, it is difficult but can still be fought to an insignificant level of existence. Successive governments have initiated various strategies aimed at fighting corruption such as War Against Indiscipline (WAI), Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) among others, yet, corruption continues unabated. It thrives because most of the institutions established to combat corruption are not either constitutionally, legally, organizationally nor financially empowered to be independent in a way to act without external influence in discharging their duties. To genuinely war against corruption, the necessary institutions should be made effective and independent. Importantly, there must be political commitment, will and capacity on the part of the leaders. Legal and institutional frameworks are not enough but appropriate laws are to be enacted to empower them to prosecute law breakers. Corruption cannot be fought by those leaders

¹³⁹ Atiku Abubakar Vs Attorney-General of Federation (2007) 3 NWLR (pt 1022) 546 at 648

¹⁴⁰ Oyelowo ‘Legal Institutional framework for Combating Corruption in Nigeria’ (2002)

¹⁴¹ Nwabueze B. O. ‘Military Rule and Constitutionalism p. 162

¹⁴² Ibid p. 163

who ascended their position through corrupt practices and still thrive in corruption while in office.

Also, corrupt practice must be punished at all levels. Corruption can only be fought effectively when no one is spared. Anybody caught in the act must face the wroght of law, irrespective of his position in the government or status in the society. A “socio-psycho” mechanism for combating corruption should be developed by the civil society. Socio-psycho mechanism is the system of rejecting corrupt people and their assistance in the society. It is high time we stopped respecting their wealth and personality, every donation and form of assistance from them should be rejected. Nobody should be ready to be identified with them so that they can suffer identity crisis even within their primordial constituency. It is also reasonable that government should genuinely alleviate poverty to make this mechanism work¹⁴³.

Another important factor that should be considered in the fight against corruption is the immunity clause. The immunity clause ample judiciary and other anti-graft agencies to work effectively. Because they do not have power to probe, question or sanction some of the political office holders. The clause itself is an attractive object of corruption or to corrupt practices by those that are concerned. Once they know they have become untouchable, then, the tendency to act corruptly while in office becomes so high. Hence, the immunity clause must be expunged from the constitution as a matter of emphasis and urgency.

Unfortunately, the institutions set up by the Federal Government to fight corruption cannot be truly independent e.g. ICPC, EFCC and others. This is because they are agents of federal government. Therefore, they become tools in the hands of such level of government either to witch-hunt opponents or silent critics and mostly the innocent civil servants, who are earnestly waiting to get their entitlement.

Also, the legislature needs to be alive to their oversight functions especially at state level. They should not create unnecessary rapport of conspiracy that will further amputate them from checking the excesses of the executive. Although, a good relationship between the two is important to facilitate effective performance, but a relationship that consolidate democracy and not the one that strengthens patronage.

¹⁴³ International Journal of Academic Research in Economics and Management Sciences August 2012, Vol. 1, No. 4 ISSN: 2226-3624

There must be strict observance of separation of power by the three arms of government. The necessary institutions created for anti-corruption must be adequately funded, independent and their capacity fully enhanced.

Religious, educational and marriage institutions are also to be strengthened for role performance. This is because fundamentally corruption is in the heart and so requires moral approach to deal with it; this moral approach involves education, enlightenment and orientation geared towards attitudinal change of the people, which can be effectively carried out by these institutions.

There should be anti-corruption unit that will be independent in all departments of government ministries, agencies and parastatals. And the anti-corruption should not only focus on fiscal accountability, it should also deal with managerial accountability to ensure that managers utilize public resources and eliminate wastage.

Lastly, electoral corruption is the worst of them all because it gives way to other corrupt practices. There should be strict penalty, if it is possible life imprisonment, for whoever is caught in electoral corruption.

2.2.10.1. Constitutional and Institutional Approach

The issues of legitimacy and effectiveness of the 1999 Constitution prompted several calls for constitutional amendments and reforms. Constitutions do not necessarily guarantee constitutionalism, and the practice of 1999 Constitution has been observed not to foster rule of law and constitutionalism¹⁴⁴. Unfortunately, the whole reform process was corrupted by the “third term agenda” of President Olusegun Obasanjo, and was terminated by the Senate of the National Assembly.

As earlier observed the constitutional framework for combating corruption is weak in practice. The legislative oversight must be enhanced and the independence of the judiciary bolstered to check executive lawlessness and abuse of power.

¹⁴⁴ Oyelowo Oywo, “Constitutionalism and the Oversight Functions of the Legislature in Nigeria.”

2.2.10.2. Corrupt Practices and the Nigerian Electoral System

It is commonly understood that the major functions of political parties in modern democracies include the mobilization of voters in support of political agendas; the selection of candidates for public office; and the organization of election campaigns. To win a majority of seats and control government, parties compete with each other for votes in the country. In Nigeria, election campaigns are costly, and involve a lot of financing. This is because Nigeria as it where, operates a multi-party system, of which the main parties are the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressive Party (APC). Elone J.Nwabuzor describes the electoral situation in Nigeria when he postulates that: During the April 2003 Federal and state elections, 30 political parties were registered following the Supreme Court's ruling on the law governing party registration. Financed partly by government and partly by huge individual donations, party politics and elections have now become both rancorous and corrupt. Allegations of massive rigging attended the recent elections¹⁴⁵.

Corruption is witnessed because, the Parties and their candidates need money to operate, to print posters, brochures and leaflets, or to pay TV and radio commercials to make their agenda or Manifesto publicly known to voters. They have to pay staff, pay for equipment to organize and run campaigns, and finance campaign-related travel of candidates and party leaders. In their struggle to succeed, individual candidates and party leaders are willing to accept payoffs or illegal monies offered by wealthy donors in exchange for promises of future favours. Many of these "money bags" are therefore tempted to spend as much money as possible on party campaigns, often in excess of official campaign spending limits. Therefore, to fill their campaign proposals, some political parties in the country not only accept donations from wealthy donors or from the business community, but often extort money from individual candidates, who need to bribe their way into such parties to be able to be eligible to participate for elections. While the payment of money to one's own party can be seen as a politician's legitimate support for building a strong party organization, and thus investing in the party's future, they come close to corrupt practice and extortion when they are demanded in the context of a prerequisite for a candidate's selection and nomination for national or regional elections or as the "price" for a promising ranking on a party's list of

¹⁴⁵ Odunlami, Tayo. 2004. "Nigeria: Corruption Notebook," Retrieved from <http://www.globalintegrity.org/2004/country.aspx?cc=ng&act=notebook>, visited on 20th May 2015

candidates. Therefore, it is a morally wrong practice, which is always the case in Nigeria, when party leaders extort money from candidates by threatening to remove their names from the party list, or to assign them to a less secure constituency, or if they offer to switch names on the party list in return for bribes. We can also consider it a wrong practice when party leaders demand bribes from party members as a prerequisite for promotion within the party hierarchy or for eligibility for party leadership. A fact to be noted is that, many politicians before being accepted into these parties to be nominated for electoral offices have little or modest income, but when elected they become owners of properties around the world and operators of huge bank accounts all over Europe and America. Income often seen to be accumulated through bribery and other related corrupt practices. This is why in September 2005; a State Governor in Nigeria was caught with close to one billion Pounds (£1b) at the Heathrow Airport in London, in a bid to launder the money. He was remanded in prison and was awaiting trial. News had it that he manoeuvred himself out of the prison by impersonating to be a woman to get himself out of Britain. Till today nothing has been heard about the money and the said Governor even though he was impeached, has not been duly prosecuted¹⁴⁶.

The governor in question is known to be a one-time inspector of police under a meagre salary, before he took up the position as the first governor, of the newly created state, that is still very much underdeveloped judging from the standards of the other states created before it in the country. This man chose rather to exploit the resources of the state, under his leadership. As events unfolded, in 1999, a whopping sum of eight hundred and fifty thousand naira (850,000 naira) about US\$6000 was allegedly given by the President to each of the senators, as bribe in exchange for their votes, for the election of the choice of the President, as the senate president. This president before election lives on pensions from the military an institution he retired from as a head of state. He is alleged to merely own a meagre agricultural farm in a remote village in his home town, but has grown rich serving the country as the President. Again, in the year 2003, a supposedly appointed Minister of the Federal capital territory Abuja, accused the senate of demanding fifty-four-million-naira bribe

146 M Onukwufor - 2006, Political Corruption and Poverty in Nigeria. Retrieved from www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:22033/FULLTEXT01.pdf

money, from him, about US\$393,000, if he wished to be cleared for the ministerial appointment, since he will still recuperate the money when he assumes office. But the investigation into the matter ended with no prosecution.¹⁴⁷

In July 1999, the News of bribery, fraud and forgery came up committed by the speaker of the house of representative, an institution responsible for the making of laws and representation of political constituencies in the country. Through fraudulent practices, like bribery, he amassed wealth working for a governmental public sector, and bribed his way to become the speaker of the House of Representatives, the country's fourth highest position. This politician does not even possess a secondary school certificate and was alleged to have forged a degree certificate from University of Toronto Canada to become a speaker of the house of representative¹⁴⁸.

On the 16th of May 2006, the plans of the President were foiled by the National Assembly, which failed to adopt a bill for the third term bid of the President for the Presidency. It was alleged that the President offered each and every one of the legislators previously a 50 million naira bribe package if the bill is passed to allow him contest for the third consecutive term. On that fateful day, the National assembly rejected the bill and foiled his ambitions to contest¹⁴⁹. Corrupt practices such as these, in the electoral system keep undermining the nascent democracy in that it subverts formal processes. It reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making; and further compromises the rule of law and unfair provision of social justice and welfare. They erode the institutional capacity of the government to provide for the people, the basic necessities of life, as procedures are disregarded, resources are taken out of the country, and bribes are offered for governmental offices.

Election rigging and Vote-buying are also manifestations of corrupt practice in the area of electoral institution. In developing countries, like Nigeria where patronage is an important social factor, voters always expect presents and gifts from parties and candidates prior to elections and then base their decision on the basis of the quality of such gifts. Once such a tradition has been established, voters are always demanding gifts in exchange for votes. In Nigeria vote buying and election rigging has been a major problem for years, and it is still a widespread practice despite repeated reform

¹⁴⁷ Op.Cit, Pg. 61

¹⁴⁸ The News, July 11th 1999: The Face of a Liar visited on 20th April 2016

¹⁴⁹ Daily Sun, 17th May 2006 available at: <http://www.nigeriannewspapers> (Read them online); Nigerian News, World, Africa-Nigeria News Flash.htm visited on 18th May 2016

efforts. In the 1999 and 2003 elections, parties and candidates tried to buy individual votes or votes of whole communities. In return, party representatives would offer cash, sometimes clipped to campaign literature, food, clothing, and other gifts. This is as a result of the fact that, the first elections in Nigeria in 1999 had incredibly high stakes, and accordingly, the temptation for corrupt activities was so high. In that initial stage of the democratic system, the party system was weak, and the relationship between civil society and political parties was not fully established. The parties had every opportunity to exercise their corrupt intentions through acts of bribery. For parties, like the PDP, which is the ruling party in Nigeria, the potential rewards for victory in the first election in 1999 were very high. The gains were seen in their untireless effort for an opportunity to lead the country's political and economic institutions in 2003, thus ensuring future benefits for the party's supporters, and the chance to enter the next elections as incumbents in that year, even though they never fulfilled their promises to the electorates in their first tenure in government. Given these high benefits, many Nigerian political parties faced increased enticements to engage in bribery, as some collaborated with the PDP to take over power at all cost. These other parties' supporters invested as much money as possible to make sure that the winner of the first election which is the PDP will advance their own interests as well.

Consequently, as the promotion of corrupt culture in the electoral sphere, and the influence of party competition and party control over state institutions and society became noticed, the more control for instance PDP had over state institutions and society; and the lower the level of other party competing, the higher the risk became for corrupt behaviour. As PDP had a very strong control over many national and state institutions and even occupy the seat of the Presidency, they are often seen to abuse their influence to secure private gain for party member and supporters. As shown so far, in order to fully understand the weight of corrupt practices in the area of electoral process, we have to address both political party influence and the level of political party control over state institutions and society, and between wealth and power in the country. This is important to understand, because most times we find a situation whereby, these politicians justify their corrupt behaviours as being in the interest of the masses that elected them into power. They often claim that when bribes are given,

they are given in order to achieve a good course, either to consolidate their position in office, or to achieve a quick goal which may not come by easily¹⁵⁰.

Let us now look at the conditions that could be seen in Nigeria, which have proved conducive to corrupt practices in the country and which has put the country into a state of moral dilemma. This dilemma condition has proved as justifying grounds for corrupt practices in the country.

The re-election campaign of Former Nigeria President Goodluck Jonathan reveals new allegations of corruption ever since the departure of President Jonathan on May 29, 2015, including:

1. \$2.2 billion illegally withdrawn from Excess Crude Oil Accounts, of which \$1 billion supposedly approved by President Jonathan to fund his re-election campaign without the knowledge of the National Economic Council made up of state governors and the president and vice president.
2. NEITI discovered \$11.6 billion was missing from Nigeria LNG Company dividend payments.
3. 60 million barrels of oil valued at \$13.7 billion was stolen under the watch of the national oil company, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, from 2009 to 2012.
4. NEITI indicates losses due to crude swaps due to subsidy and domestic crude allocation from 2005 to 2012 indicated that \$11.63 billion had been paid to the NNPC but that “there is no evidence of the money being remitted to the federation account”.
5. Diversion of 60% of \$1 billion foreign loans obtained from the Chinese by the Ministry of Finance.
6. Massive scam in weapons and defence procurements, and misuse of 3 trillion naira defence budget since 2011 under the guise of fighting Boko Haram.
7. Diversion of \$2.2 million vaccination medicine fund, by Ministry of Health.
8. Diversion of Ebola fight fund up to 1.9 bn naira.
9. NIMASA fraud under investigation by EFCC, inclusive of accusation of funding PDP and buying a small piece of land for 13 billion naira
10. Ministry of Finance led by Okonjo Iweala hurried payment of \$2.2 million to health ministry contractor in disputed invoices.

¹⁵⁰ Op.Cit. Pg 63

11. NDDC scams and multifarious scams including 2.7billion naira worth of contracts that does not confirm 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 trainings. ICPC made refund recommendations, but many analyst indicated prosecution was more appropriate¹⁵¹.

2.2.10.3. Public Sector Reforms

The Public/Civil Service in Nigeria has witnessed several reform initiatives that were aimed at addressing several of the problems associated with the service¹⁵². However, the recent reforms in the Public service through the work of the Bureau of Public Service Reforms, including the formulation of the Service Charter (Servicom), is aimed at ensuring “the effective coordination and monitoring of implementation of government policies and programs in all spheres of our national life for the overall development of the country and the benefit of the citizenry”¹⁵³. Though servicom is referred to as the Service Compact of the Public Service with Nigerian citizens upon whom they can expect improved efficient and transparent timely and good quality service delivery, however, this is perceived as “new wine in old wine skin” as the impact of the reforms and Servicom, with all the propaganda accompanying its public presentation, are yet to be felt by the Nigerian citizenry.

2.2.10.4. Privatization

Privatization, a popular concept and process that connotes the transfer of ownership in and control over government property, assets, companies, interests, going corporate concern’s, shares, securities and stakes from the public sector to the private sector of the economy. The Public Enterprises and parastatals in Nigeria have

¹⁵¹ Ibid, Pg 63

¹⁵² Dele Olowu, Eloho Otobo & M. Okotoni supra pp. 1 – 9.

¹⁵³ Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (OSGF) Publication www.osgf.org.ng at pp 5- 12. See also <http://bpsr.org/about-bpsr/mission-vision>.

long been seen as constituting an unnecessary burden on government resources due to their inefficiency, mismanagement, waste and unbridled corruption¹⁵⁴.

From some of the information available to the public, the Nigerian privatization project, aside from riddling thousands of workers, is nothing short of an open robbery as pillage of our collective patrimony. This has been made possible by the privatization beneficiaries and their friends directly linked with the political power brokers and manipulators of the public treasury.

Rises in bureaucratic commerce, predatory extractions, corrupt exchanges, use of public funds for private capital, and illegal privatizations of state enterprise assets began, which continue to be some of the most common and serious forms of corruption in Nigeria today.

Initially, the Party attempted to solve corruption problems through morality education campaigns. However, there were no attempts to change the institutional design of the system that invited structural corruption.

Indeed, privatization, which involves the sale of government owned property, is particularly at risk of cronyism. This is because, those with political connections unfairly gained large wealth, as can be seen in the ongoing Senate investigation of the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE). The Privatisation and Commercialization Decree of 1988 is the legal norm that initiated privatization in Nigeria, followed by the Bureau of Public Enterprises Act of 1993 and the Public Enterprises (Privatisation and Commercialization) Act of 1999¹⁵⁵. The on-going privatization has been slow, lacking in transparency and corruption ridden. It has so far largely been seen as an instrument for transferring public properties and assets into the hands of private collaborators of the present leadership in government. However, the impact of privatization has been to eliminate the employment of the public enterprises and parastatals as vehicle for corruption.

¹⁵⁴ Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (OSGF) Publication www.osgf.org.ng.atpp 5-12. See also <http://bpsr.org/about-bpsr/mission-vision>.

¹⁵⁵ See <http://bpsr.org.IPPs-Project/Project-background>, where it has been acknowledged that apart from the political factors, the weak technical capacity is a key constraint to the government's ability to move quickly and effectively on the reform agenda.

2.2.10.5. Accountability and Transparency

Apart from the constitutional mechanisms for ensuring accountability and transparency, the Administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo established mechanisms for ensuring accountability and transparency, especially, the establishment of “Due Process”, Procedures for Contracts and ‘Procurements’ and investigation of contracts and government expenditures by the ICPC and the EFCC. The “Due Process” mechanism is a government policy which is lacking in any formal legal enactment as a basis of operation. Its operation has also been criticized, as it was often used to keep persons that are in “opposition” to government position on issues from securing contracts.

2.2.10.6. International Support

Nigeria, as a member of the UN, A.U and ECOWAS is a beneficiary of all anti-corruption treaty and international instruments for member states of these organizations. This include; the UN Convention Against Corruption; the African Union Convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption; and the Protocol Against Corruption, adopted by the ECOWAS¹⁵⁶. The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), African peer review mechanism is also aimed at combating corruption¹⁵⁷. More importantly is the support of Transnational Corporations and Foreign Countries in helping African countries, especially Nigeria in dealing with proceeds of corruption laundered through them and lodged in banks in their countries. The assistance of countries like the United Kingdom, Switzerland, South Africa and other European Countries in the repatriation of proceeds of corruption, is not only a boast to the anti-corruption crusade but a preventive measure as it “chills” the corruption tendencies of public officials, especially when there is no readily available haven for their corruption loots. The recent English Court decision on allegations of criminal and civil corruption in the prosecution of former President Frederick Chiluba

¹⁵⁶ M.T. Okorodudu Fubara, *A Legal Appraisal of Privatisation of Public Enterprises* (1988) p.19; Adamolekun, *Public Administration in Africa* supra. Pp.28, 159 and 139.

¹⁵⁷ O.A. Akanle, “Privatization: The Background and the Decree”; *The Gravitas Review of Business & Property Law*, 1988 at p.34.

of Zambia¹⁵⁸ is a laudable decision that gives a clear warning to African leaders that they will not be able to hide away their proceeds of corruption in foreign countries.

2.2.10.7. The Role of Civil Society in the Global Anti-Corruption Crusade

The civil society's involvement in the anti-corruption crusade must go beyond the formal engagement of government and its officers in good governance issues into the area of challenging the cultural practices and values that "communicate" or "facilitate" corrupt practices. In Nigeria, such currently permissible practices such as the giving and receiving of "gifts", conferment of chieftaincy, socio-cultural and religious titles and responsibilities on serving Public Officials and Political Office holders, and payment of expenses and underwriting of costs of activities of office holders and public official (such as endowment of public trust, library, book launch, socio-cultural activities, among others) must not only become socially unacceptable practice but must be prohibited.

The concept of civil society as an agent of change is relatively new in the global development landscape. While a number of community groups like churches and religious groups, the media and political interest groups, may have played an integral role in shaping local and national policies and development for decades, the nongovernmental organisation has only over the past decade or so become more proactively involved in national and international development affairs. Although there is no easy definition of the concept in the global arena, due to differences in forms of social organisation, culture and political tradition, civil society is commonly referred to as a collection of social relations that exist at the interface between the state and private sector¹⁵⁹. It is constituted by such entities as membership-based community organisations, advocacy groups, NGOs, private sector philanthropic associations and also includes religious groups, academic and professional organizations. According to Eigen¹⁶⁰ description of the interrelationships amongst the three sectors, civil society mediates between the government and the people (grassroots), particularly where the

¹⁵⁸ Dr. Aewale Banjo, "Africa: Still on the Anti-Graft Crusade" pp. 1-4. Retrieved from <http://www.ai.org.za/print-monograph.asp?D=20>.

¹⁵⁹ Catherine, B. (2006) Agent of Change: Civil-Society Roles in Preventing War and Building Peace. The Netherlands. European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

¹⁶⁰ Eigen, P. (1996) Combating Corruption around the World. *Journal of Democracy*, 7(1): 158-68

government is not able to reach and where the private sectors sometime operate with unwanted results. Furthermore, he asserts that civil society acts as critic, catalyst, facilitator and advocates of unrepresented or under represented interests. Relating to this, Khan¹⁶¹ argues that one of the most effective ways to advance the fight against corruption is to consider its socio-cultural and political significance, thus further emphasizing the strategic role of civil society in anti-corruption initiatives.

In no small measure, a vibrant civil society, representing the third sector in the development arena could potentially play a key role in the fight against corruption when it partners with the government and private sector. For instance, in relation to some of the limitations and constraints facing the implementation and monitoring of the UN anti-corruption convention, the involvement of civil society, according to Transparency International (TI)¹⁶² could help in a number of ways: (i) civil society organisations can play a key role in encouraging the development and effectiveness of anti-corruption conventions, from initial negotiation process to follow-up reviews, (ii) civil society groups can put pressure on their governments for the ratification and implementation of the relevant international anti-corruption conventions, through research, analyses and advocacy, (iii) they can also help in translating into common languages, legal terminology of conventions and create public awareness of the importance of these conventions for the fight against corruption, (iv) they can play a key role in monitoring the performance of their government and making it public¹⁶³ thus, serving as an independent assessor of their government's progress and in coalition with other stakeholders, they can campaign for tackling particular manifestations of corruption in their country.

History also provides some illustrative examples of how corruption has been curtailed by the increasing interest and ability of people and groups to engage with the system against official abuses and move against unfair advantages of others. For example, in England during the 17th century, as a result of a long struggle with the

¹⁶¹ Khan, Mushtaq (1998) *The Role of Civil Society and Patron-Client Networks in the Analysis of Corruption*. In *Corruption and Integrity Improvement Initiatives in Developing Countries*. New York: UNDP, pp. 111-128

¹⁶² Transparency for Nigeria (2005) *Inspector-General Tafa Balogun Convicted: Jailed For Six Months*. Available at: http://www.transparencynigeria.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=449:-inspector-general-tafa-balogun-convicted-jailed-for-six-months&catid=86:lawcrime-a-judiciary&Itemid=151 (accessed 04/02.2017).

¹⁶³ Dell, G. (2006) *Anti-Corruption Conversations in Africa: What Civil Society Can Do to Make it Work*. Berlin, Germany: Transparency International Secretariat.

Crown over issues concerning taxation, religion, and crown patronage, Parliament was better able to curtail royal abuses of power¹⁶⁴ Although, while this does not represent a standard model for curbing endemic corruption and official abuses to be adopted by various societies across the world, particularly due to the significance of differences in historical and cultural values, it does draw attention to the key role civil society can play in the fight against corruption.

However, it is important to also consider the undemocratic structure of civil society itself, issues of accountability, transparency, good ethical judgments and compliance with established rules within civil society itself are critical elements that could enhance the legitimacy of greater involvement of civil society within anti-corruption activities. Some civil societies, for example, are clearly established to simply advance the political and economic interests of founders and core staff.¹⁶⁵ Despite their important role in the development arena, however noble these roles may seem, this does not suggest that civil society organizations are immune to corruption. Without international mechanisms to promote transparency and accountability and monitoring and scrutiny by donors and state institutions, civil society may itself also be susceptible to embezzlement of funds, false claims over the execution of ghost social and infrastructure projects, involvement in partisan campaigns during elections, mobilising and contributing to election campaign finance and so on.

Overall, despite the increase in regional and international interest in corruption and anti-corruption, apart from the World Bank and a number of other non-governmental organisations that are now making more efforts in encouraging the active involvement of civil society in their anti-corruption programmes, the majority of other international anti-corruption initiatives, like the UN Convention against corruption for instance, have not done well enough in encouraging people and groups within society to mobilize and act against corruption in ways that may be sustained by their own lasting interests.

¹⁶⁴ Roberts, C. (1980) *The Growth of Responsible Government in Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁶⁵ Independent Advocacy Project (2007) *Nigeria Corruption Index*. Available at: <http://iap-nigeria.org/> (accessed 23/02/2010).

2.3. Governance Definition

Governance has been defined as “the set of processes, policies, laws and institutions affecting the way a country, institution, society, etc. is directed or controlled”. Governance can be good or bad. It is good when the society being governed is free from corruption, that is, when the authority and its institutions are “accountable, effective and efficient, participatory, transparent, responsive and equitable”¹⁶⁶. Such governance will also be consensus-oriented and obey the rules of law. Governance is bad when the society being governed exhibits what is contrary to the characteristics of good governance as described above.

Governance as the process of exercising political, economic and administrative authority, especially over a State. Embodied in governance are also mechanisms, processes and institutions put in place through which citizens articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Governance is said to have evolved from the need to organize society towards the achievement of a common goal. An opinion, worth considering, is that society derives its roots from the solitary man who later got transformed into a family person to fulfil the need for socialization. Within this union, he enjoyed the love, care and company of family members and recognised their inherent and inalienable rights in order to preserve the love, harmony and cohesion within the family. Society later grew out of the family in response to the need to fulfil other higher needs and the collective aspirations of the people, such as security, economic well-being and survival, through negotiations and the formation of social contract between the governors and the governed. Modern States emerged, thereafter, as “the most perfect machinery to be created by man in his intellectual, socio-economic, political and cultural history etc. for his well-being and happiness¹⁶⁷”. This is in recognition that “in a well run and well organised State, the people, individually and collectively, will be prosperous, happy, united, loyal and patriotic to the cause of the State¹⁶⁸”. Accordingly, “the desire of all peoples of this world, from time immemorial, is for them to be governed well. This is

¹⁶⁶ International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). (2012). Governance and Corruption (Internet source, 1/20/2012).

¹⁶⁷ Chief Obafemi Awolowo’s thoughts on the evolution of the state in Chief Obafemi Awolowo’s Socio-Political Philosophy- A Critical philosophy, Rev Francis I. Ogunmodede, Ph.D, Intec Printers Ltd, 1986, pg 108.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, pg 109.

what confers legitimacy on any government for directing the affairs of nation-states¹⁶⁹, underscoring the importance of good governance as an essential foundation for national progress and sustainable development.

2.3.1. Deficiency of Governance in Nigeria

The quest for democracy and good governance has been a major pre-occupation of the Nigerian state since her independence in 1960. This aspiration has remained elusive due to many challenges, which have continued to undermine the democratization process in the country. These challenges include failure of leadership; corruption; Boko Haram insurgency; insincerity of purpose; lack of political will; lack of proper vision by the political leadership; lack of accountability in governance; amongst others.

1. Failure of Leadership:

Since Nigeria's political independence in 1960, the country has not had the opportunity of being governed by a willing and ready leader but those that can at best be described as "accidental leaders". These are leaders whom the mantle of leadership fell on them by default not minding their capacity, experience and in most cases, they were neither prepared nor expectant of such huge responsibility. This has been one of the reasons for the country's failures resulting from visionless policies. Thus, the 2015 election offers Nigerians a good opportunity to vote wisely for a leader who out of personal conviction and preparedness is offering his or herself to serve rather than someone who will get there before beginning to plan. This underscores the fact that most of our developmental challenges are rooted in lack of sound, visionary and result oriented leadership.

The issue of leadership accounts for the problem of Nigeria since independence more than all other speculative and assumed problems often adduced by scholars. Most Nigerian leaders have shown lack of commitment for true nationhood and allowed personal ambitions and ethnic, regional as well as religious persuasions to override

¹⁶⁹ Strengthening African Governance, Ibrahim Index of African Governance, Results and Rankings, 2007, Robert I. Rotberg and Rachel M. Gisselquist, Kennedy School of Government, September, 2007, pg 7

national considerations. As Chimee¹⁷⁰ noted, the three major strands that account for leadership failure in Nigeria are lack of ideology; ethnicity; and corruption. In all the activities of the country's political elites in leadership positions, the three variables played considerable role. Nigeria, today, runs a democratic system of government that is expected to promote democratic values of public accountability; transparency; good conscience; fiscal discipline; due process; amongst others. However, there is lack of credible leadership to enforce these characteristics of democracy and good governance. This is the tragedy of the Nigerian nation, which explains its crawling posture at 55 years of political independence.

2. Corruption:

Another serious challenge to democracy and good governance in Nigeria is the entrenched corruption in all facets of national life. Accordingly, corruption has resulted in catastrophic governance in Nigeria. In view of the deleterious effect of endemic corruption on governance, various governments in the country have embarked on anti-corruption campaigns. For instance, the Obasanjo administration established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to champion the war against corruption¹⁷¹. As noted, the Commission gained such level of notoriety in the country that it is often said that the fear of EFCC is the beginning of wisdom.

Thus, an over view of democracy and good governance in Nigeria with regards to transparency, inclusiveness, and the fight against corruption tend to paint a faint picture of some improvement but the records have much to be desired. While the EFCC, especially, under the Obasanjo administration received much commendation from within and outside Nigeria, it has been selective in focus and alleged to have been occasionally used as an instrument of silencing political opponents.

3. Electoral system:

It has been pointed out that in the political arena, even though elections are gradually becoming part of the political culture in Nigeria, they are typically

¹⁷⁰ Chimee, I. N. (2009), "Ideological Flux, Ethnicity and Corruption: Correlates in Explaining Leadership Failure of Nigeria's Founding Fathers" in Edoh, T. etal (eds.)

¹⁷¹ Osimiri, P. (2009), "Neo-Liberalism and the quest for Good Governance in Nigeria" in Edoh, T. etal (eds),

manipulated and hijacked by “money bags” and incumbents, who deploy all state’s apparatus of power and resources to ensure their re-election. Thus, elections in Nigeria are largely nothing but a charade to perpetuate the reign of the perfidious. Free and fair elections confer legitimacy on the electoral process. The wide spread electoral malpractices, which often characterize elections in Nigeria are inimical to the consolidation of democracy and good governance. In 2011, the outcome of the general elections in Nigeria was followed by the eruption of violence and wanton destruction of lives and property for alleged election fraud. If people are to have faith in democracy, the most cardinal point is that they must be assured that their votes count in determining who will govern; and in getting rid of a government that has failed them.

4. Rise of Insurgency:

Boko Haram has become a disaster of un-imaginable proportion. The terrorist activities of the group has retarded socio-economic and political development of the country, especially in the north eastern region, hence it poses a major challenge to democracy and good governance. Since insurgency is inimical to democracy and good governance, the only way to remedy the situation is to fight it to a stand-still. Thus, mustering the political will to pursue a full frontal attack on Boko Haram is no longer an option, it is the most desirable course of action. Many Nigerians are unable to come to terms with, why a so-called Africa’s best army has been unable to bring to an end this horrendous situation. However, the military approach must be backed by a political solution, which will address the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment of northern Nigeria.

5. Impunity:

This is a threat to democracy, which is not measured by the existence of democratic structures but by the promotion of rule of law. Thus, in Nigeria’s quest for democracy and good governance, the impunity clause must be expunged from the constitution, in order to domesticate the equality of every Nigerian before the law. These challenges are antithetical to the achievement of democratic culture and good governance. They are no doubt, immense and daunting but not insurmountable, once there is the political will to resolve and overcome them for the enthronement of democracy and good governance in the country.

2.3.2. Governance Challenges across Africa

By the end of the last century (20th), most African States including Nigeria, had transited from military rule and other forms of dictatorship, to new forms of democratic governance arising from the “renunciation of military, single party rule and presidency for life¹⁷²”, as well as the wave of globalization. In spite of this significant leap, however, the transformation of African States into modern capable states, anchored on good governance and sustainable democracy, remains a daunting challenge. The key challenges in this regard, across the African continent, have been articulated as including the following¹⁷³:

- (i) Improving the effectiveness and integrity of the electoral system;
- (ii) Strengthening the mechanisms for popular participation;
- (iii) Enhancing parliamentary and local governance processes and systems;
- (iv) Creating sustainable, accountable, transparent and responsive institutions of the judiciary, legislature and the executive;
- (v) Enhancing human rights, human security and the rule of law;
- (vi) Preventing, managing and resolving conflicts;
- (vii) Re-establishing the rule of law and addressing impunity;
- (viii) Investing in social development, particularly education, health, water and sanitation, and housing;
- (ix) Promoting growth and equity by responding to the needs of the socially vulnerable groups;
- (x) Fast tracking infrastructure development, particularly roads, power and telecommunications;
- (xi) Enhancing efficiency and effectiveness in social service delivery;

¹⁷² Extracted from a Key note Address by His Excellency, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, former President of the Republic of Mozambique and Chairperson of the Africa Forum for former African Heads of State and Government on the 7th Africa Governance Forum (AGFVII), 24-26 October, 2007, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

¹⁷³ Extracted from Final Report of the Seventh African Governance (AGFVII), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Regional Bureau for Africa, November, 2007

- (xii) Strengthening economic governance institutions and improving their management
- (xiii) Ensuring effective management and equitable and transparent utilization of natural resources;
- (xiv) Promoting and empowering civil society;
- (xv) Addressing unfair terms of global trade with a view to enhancing a level playing field in international trade and commerce;
- (xvi) Bridging the digital divide through allowing African countries to gain access to ICT innovations in a manner that is fair and equitable;
- (xvii) Attracting foreign direct investment (FDI); and
- (xviii) Promoting gender equity, including domesticating all ratified international conventions related to gender, reforming property laws to remove gender biases, improving access to social and economic resources (e.g. education, land, credit) and halting traditions and cultural practices that hinder women development.

2.3.3. Perspectives on Elements of Good Governance

In the recent past, good governance was almost equated with democratic governance. Today, this is not necessarily so. Accordingly, what is now being emphasized is not the form of government but its essence and deliverables. This, notwithstanding, a military government still remains repulsive to many people around the world because of its non-inclusiveness and arbitrariness. In the same vein, democratic governance is also widely regarded as an essential building block of good governance.

The distinguishing features of good governance include the following:

- (i) Accountability; (ii) Inclusiveness; (iii) Equity and Social Justice; (iv) Observance of the Rule of Law and Due Process; (v) Legitimacy of Political, Economic and Administrative Authority; (vi) Effective Institutions; (vii) Purposeful Leadership and (viii) Security and Order.

Governance effectiveness is also predicated on effective coordination of sectorial interventions which are critical to the objectives and targets of the Government. This requires the right blend of persons, at various levels of authority, with the right mix of technical, conceptual, political and administrative skills and competencies, to effectively drive the engine of governance.

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has further reinforced the elements of good governance under the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy¹⁷⁴. Section 14 (1) of Chapter II, reiterates that “the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice”; and in (2a) further states that “sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government, through this Constitution derives all its powers and authority”. In the same section in 2b&c, it is further stated that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government; and the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution”. Subsequent Sections elaborate on the political, economic, social, educational, foreign policy and environmental objectives of the State, as well as the obligations of the media, the national ethics and duties of the citizens.

The import of these provisions is to promote national integration and participatory governance through inclusiveness, freedom, equality, justice, transparency, accountability, the rule of law, equitable use of the national resources and equal opportunities for all, in order to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of the citizenry. These are core ingredients of good governance which every government, freely elected by the people, is expected to put into effect in the administration of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and its Federating Units. This has also underscored the importance of democratic governance in fostering good governance since an elected government is reasonably expected to keep to both the letters and spirit of the Constitution in exercising its authority in administering the State.

¹⁷⁴ See chapter II of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for detailed elaboration on the Fundamental Objectives and Directive principles of State Policy which is regarded as probably one of the best policy enunciations in any Constitution across the world.

2.3.4. Good Governance Indicators

Last two decades have seen a huge proliferation of perception based governance indicators, measuring a host of aspects of governance. These governance indicators are continuing to proliferate because of their increasing use by the academicians, foreign investors, donor countries and multilateral agencies. In fact, sensitive decisions have been taken based on these indicators to select the aid recipient countries among the pool of developing countries and also to identify the potential location of FDI. The dependence of country selection criteria for aid or FDI on the perception based governance indicators necessitates a closer examination into the available indicators. Any flaws or anomalies in the indicator will create a bias in the governance estimates, and thus, any decisions made based on these indicators will be very misleading with perverse consequences. A poor developing country may unduly miss out of assistance it badly needs because of defective indicators.

A number of indices have been developed as indicative measures of good governance. These include: (i) world governance indicators;(ii)global competitiveness index; (iii) Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance; (iv) Global Corruption Index ; (v) Human Development Index; and (vi) Millennium Development Goals. The world governance indicator is based on six indices of measurement, namely: (i) voice and accountability;(ii) political stability and absence of violence; (iii) government effectiveness; (iv) regulatory quality; (v) rule of law; and (vi) control of corruption. The global competitive report uses twelve indices of measuring the competitiveness of nations, namely: (i) institutions; (ii) infrastructure; (iii) macro-economic environment; (iv) health and primary education; (v) higher education and training; and (vi) goods market efficiency. Others are (vii) labour market efficiency; (viii) financial market development; (ix) technological readiness; (x) market size; (xi) business sophistication; and (xii) innovation`. They are mutually reinforcing indices since the weakness of a factor has a negative effect on the performance of other indices.

The Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance employs five criteria in its judgement namely: (i) Safety and Security; (ii) Rule of Law; Transparency and Corruption; (iii) Participation and Human Rights; (iv) Sustainable Economic Opportunity; (v) and Human Development. Other measures used to assess the progress attained by nations are the Human Development Index, Corruption Perception Index

and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) now Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)¹⁷⁵

1. Ibrahim Index for African Governance (IIAG)

The Ibrahim Index of African Governance of Mo Ibrahim Foundation covers 48 sub-Saharan African nations and is captured by 5 categories, 14 sub categories and 57 sub-sub-categories of ‘political goods’ provided by the government to the citizens. The major 5 categories are:

- Safety and Security
- Rule of Law, Transparency and Corruption
- Participation and Human Rights
- Sustainable Economic Opportunity
- Human Development

The indices are said to capture outcome not the input. Unlike the existing indicators which heavily depend on perception and processes, Ibrahim index is argued to rely on objective standard. This indicator is concerned more about the performance and achievements rather on intention or promise of the government.

Professor Robert Rotberg, Dr Rachel Gisselquist and their team at the Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University are the producers of this index and Mo Ibrahim Foundation funds this project. The first index came out in 2007 when data for 2000, and 2002 and 2005 were also published to provide a benchmark. The most recent one came out on 3rd October 2016 and this index is based on data analysing a decade’s worth of data on African governance from 2006-2015.

Since the launch, the 2016 IIAG has been widely reported as the most comprehensive analysis of African governance undertaken to date, and it certainly is. To construct the 2016 IIAG, the Foundation’s research team collected 166 variables that measure governance concepts from 34 sources. These have been combined to form 95 indicators, 14 sub-categories, 4 categories, and one Overall Governance score. In

¹⁷⁵ The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), 2016. Retrieved from <http://mo.ibrahim.foundation/iiag/>. Accessed on 25/03/2016

total, there are 237 different measures of governance in Africa in the 2016 IIAG. These measures cover 54 African countries, with 16 years of data from 2000-2015 inclusive. 2016 IIAG has been widely reported as the most comprehensive analysis of African governance undertaken to date.

This construction method provides vast amounts of data, and it's therefore vital that users of the Index take into account performance across the different governance concepts in the IIAG. Scores, ranks and trends are available for all 54 countries at all levels of the IIAG (categories, sub-categories and indicators).

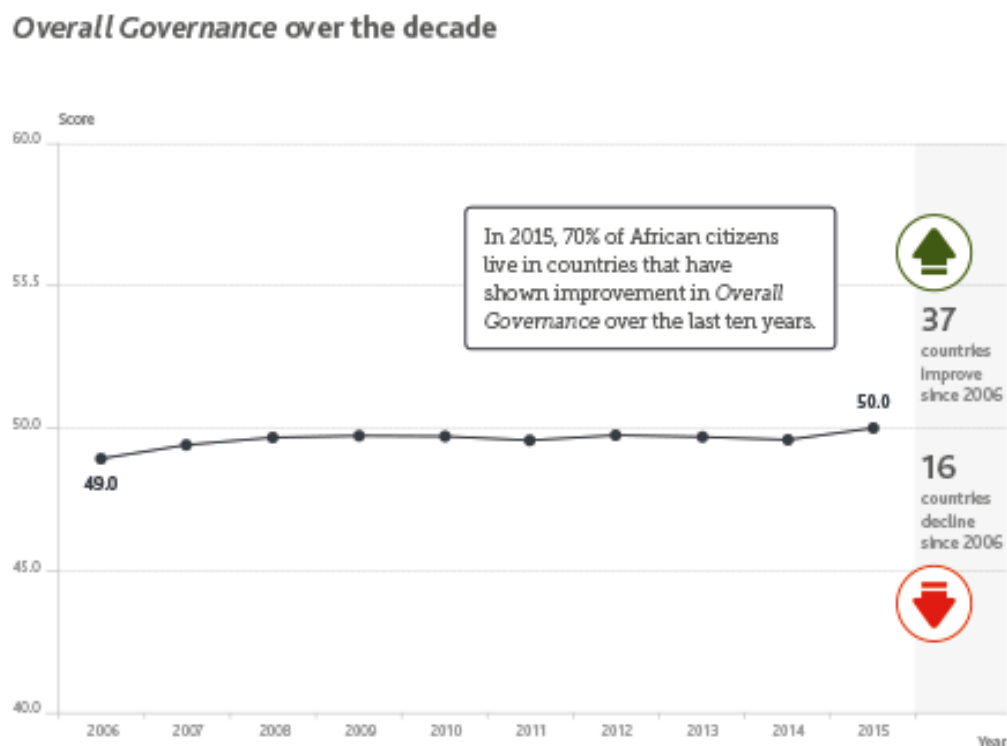
Africa is of course, not a country and the results vary across the continent. In 2015, there is a range of almost 70.0 score points between the highest and lowest scoring country and diverging trends are seen at all levels of the Index.

2. Key findings of this year's Index

70% of African citizens live in a country that has seen improved governance. 37 countries improved their Overall Governance score and the continental average score for Overall Governance has improved by one score point between 2006-2015, from 49.0 to 50.0¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁶ The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG)
<http://mo.ibrahim.foundation/news/2016/progress-african-governance-last-decade-held-back-deterioration-safety-rule-law/>

Table 2.3.4: Examples of Ibrahim Index 2016



This average progress is driven by positive results in three of the four underlying categories of the IAG that make up the Overall Governance score. In order of magnitude, Human Development (+2.9), Participation & Human Rights (+2.4) and Sustainable Economic Opportunity (+1.8) all showed average progress since 2006. There has thus been progress, and it is progress for a majority of African citizens. An increase of one score point at the continental average, however, is not much. As Mo Ibrahim stated at our launch, “we can do better than that”¹⁷⁷.

2.3.5. Characteristic of Good Governance

The Australian government defines good governance as the competent management of a country’s resources and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people’s needs¹⁷⁸. Good governance as fair and equitable allocation of resources for the achievement of the end purpose of the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ <http://www.usaid.govr.au>

state, which is the promotion of common good of the citizens. Good governance provides opportunity for popular participation in decisions that affect the life of people, access to power and transparency as well as accountability of those in power. A system of good governance would consist of a set of rules and institutions, a legal framework for development and a system of public administration which is open, transparent, efficient and accountable. It is devoid of corruption, nepotism, and discrimination¹⁷⁹. Good governance is measured by the level of its performance, its ability to effectively deliver most crucial socio-political goods, beginning with security to citizens, especially human security within which people are able to resolve and manage their differences without resorting to arms or other forms of aggression. It can also be measured through the provision of political and civil freedom i.e. the right to compete for political office, tolerance of dissent and difference, fundamental human rights. These in turn create conducive environment for sustainable development.

Good governance according to UNDP among other things is participatory, transparent, and accountable. It is also effective and equitable and promotes the Rule of Law. It ensures that the voices of poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision making over the allocation of development resources, and that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus among the three stakeholders i.e the states, private sector and civil society. The three, according to UNDP, are important for development in the sense that the state creates a conducive political and legal atmosphere; the private sector creates jobs and incomes, while the civil societies facilitate political and social interaction. The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), note that good governance has eight core characteristics which include participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and accountability.

¹⁷⁹ Adetiba, T.C. & Rahim, A. (2007). good governance and sustainable socio-political development. research in humanities and social sciences. 2(10) 2012 online. Retrieved 12/6/2013.

Table 2: Eight Principles of Good Governance

No.	The Eight Good Governance Principles	The Principles and related text on which they are based
1.	Participation	All men and women should have a voice in decision making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their institutions. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech and capacities to participate constructively
2.	Rule of Law	This involves legal frameworks that are enforced impartially; protection of human rights, especially those of minorities; impartial enforcement of laws, independent judiciary, impartial and incorruptible police force.
3.	Transparency	Decisions taken and their enforcement follows rules and regulations; information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement; information is provided in easily understandable forms.
4.	Responsiveness	Entails responding to the needs of all stakeholders and serving them with a reasonable time frame.
5.	Consensus oriented	Involves mediation of the different interest groups in the society to reach a broad consensus on what is the best of the whole community and how this can be achieved, broad and long-time perspectives on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goal of such development.

6.	Equity and inclusiveness	Here all members of society feel that they have stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society; all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing.
7.	Effectiveness and Efficiency	The process and institutions produce results that meet the needs of the society while making the best use of society resources at their disposal; the concept of efficiency covers the sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment.
8.	Accountability	Governmental institutions, private sector and civil organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

Source: ESCAP 2000 – Human Settlement, a Society’s Wellbeing¹⁸⁰

Basically, good governance is a subset of governance wherein public resources and problems are managed effectively and efficiently in response to the critical needs of society.

2.3.6. Consequences of Corruption on Good Governance

Many studies have been conducted that show the evil or negative consequences of corruption. Corruption has taught Nigerians a dangerous and wrong lesson that is does not pay to be honest, hardworking and law abiding. Through corrupt means many

¹⁸⁰ Ayuba, G (2014). Good Governance, A Key Driver to Sustainable Development in Nigeria, International Journal of Education and Research. Retrieved from <http://www.ijern.com/journal/January-2014/30.pdf>

political office holders acquire wealth and properties in and outside Nigeria and many display their wealth, which is beyond their means, but the society does not blink. This has made politics a big business in Nigeria, because anything spent to secure a political office is regarded as an investment, which matures immediately one gets into office. Thus the evils, negative or effects of corruption could be given as follows¹⁸¹:

1. Corruption breeds nepotism and inefficiency.
2. Corruption leads to possible distortion of information.
3. Corruption can tarnish the image of a country.
4. Corruption makes public policies ineffective.
5. Corruption upset ethnic balance, and exacerbates problem of national integration in developing countries.
6. Corruption reduce private investment.
7. Corruption discourages honest efforts and valuable economic activities.
8. Corruption affects investments, economic growth and government expenditure choices.
9. Corruption is politically destabilizing, as it leads to social revolution and military takeover.
10. Corruption causes and promotes large scale crime and fraud.
11. Corruption destroys ethical and democratic values.
12. Corruption destroys the legitimacy of a government.
13. Corruption promotes wide spread poverty and large scale unemployment.
14. Corruption makes economic planning difficult if not impossible.
15. Corruption creates unfair, unjust and inequitable environment in which the rule of Law is undermined.

2.4. Moral, Ethical and Religious Approach to combat Corruption

The lacking of faiths based doctrines on corruption has impacted the study of corruption as a whole in a narrow minded syndrome. As Bukovansky points out, despite its moral overtones, the bulk of contemporary anti-corruption discourse

¹⁸¹ (Guardian, 2002).

deploys the language and methodologies of economics and rational choice to render diagnostic assessments of the plight of the corrupt and less developed¹⁸². According to Wraith and Simpkins, Corruption is above all a moral problem, immeasurable and imponderable¹⁸³.

Moral definitions of corruption have been centred on Eurocentric, Americanism and are delved of Africanize definitions and religious doctrines. Recently, President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria said; there is no corruption but mere stealing in Nigeria adding another definition to the term Corruption from the Nigerians understanding¹⁸⁴. This is why, decades into the contemporary study of corruption, academicians continue to be faced with dilemmas of definitions. In an effort to strip the debate of any of its moral complexity, it has been rendered problematical at best, nonsensical at worst¹⁸⁵.

Definitively, capitalism is a system where an individual can own and control a lot of wealth and use it to create more wealth for himself¹⁸⁶. It is in sharp contrast with communalism which is the African traditional socio-economic system whereby Africans were their brothers' keepers in matters of economic production and possession. With the advent of capitalism with its associated individualism and private ownership of capital, African communalism with its characteristic extended family system gave way to individualistic struggle for private wealth production¹⁸⁷. This was the condition that gave rise to corruption in Africa, otherwise corruption was not known during the communalist era, therefore, religious holistic approaches needs to come in to combat this pandemic.

¹⁸² Bukovansky, M. (2006) The hollowness of the anti-corruption discourse. *Review of International Political Economy*, 13(2), pp 181-209.

¹⁸³ Wraith, R. and Simpkins, E. (1963) *Corruption in Developing Countries*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

¹⁸⁴ Africa check reports. Retrieved from <https://africacheck.org/reports/is-president-jonathan-right-to-claim-most-corruption-is-just-common-stealing/>

¹⁸⁵ Marquette, H. (2007) Civic education for combating corruption: lessons from Hong Kong and the United States for donor-funded programmes in poor countries. *Public Administration and Development*, 27(3), pp 239- 50.

¹⁸⁶ Giddens, A. (1981) —Power, Property and Statel in *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, Berkley: University of California Press.

¹⁸⁷ Chukwuezi, B. (2000) *Issues in Community Develoment*, Nsukka: Mike Social Press

Islam unlike other religion dictates all behaviour undertaken by Muslims as *sunnah* (practices and approval of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) including commercial relations Islam stresses the importance of the spiritual factor in every realm of human activity, including the economic one, to ensure it is in harmony with the goals and values of Islam.

The term Islamic Law is generally used in reference to the entire system of law and jurisprudence associated with the religion of Islam, including the primary sources of law and the subordinate sources of law, as well as the methodology used to deduce and apply the law (John L. Esposito ed., 1995).

Islamic law is divided into worship (*Ibadat*) rules governing the relationship between an individual and God (ALLAH) and transaction (*Mo'amalat*) rules governing the relationship between individuals and societal norms, which are changeable and develop according to time and place.

Muslim jurists differ in defining corruption. Literally, corruption (*Fasad*) encompasses mischief, abuse, rottenness, spoiled, decay, decomposition, putrefaction, depravity, wickedness, viciousness, iniquity, dishonesty, and perverseness¹⁸⁸. There are numerous definitions among Muslim jurists. Some scholars state that bribery (*Rashwa*) is the principle form of corruption and define it as what is given to invalidate a right (Haq) or to validate a deception or falsehood (*Batil*). Others say that bribery is a gift, whether in real or monetary terms, presented to judges and other decision makers to facilitate a favourable ruling or judgment. Other jurists say bribery is an abuse of judicial or administrative power or of political authority, trust, or financial prowess¹⁸⁹.

From these concepts, we can say that most Muslim jurists see bribery as epitomizing corruption as something given by the briber and received by the bribed irrespective it is a material or a moral thing, money or a benefit. Thus, having canvassed Muslim scholars, we can describe corruption as —covering the matters of governance, decision making, rules through reproaching the abuse of trust placed in officials by the state through acts such as accepting gifts, outright theft of public funds, and undermining rules in exchange for bribes, on recommendation or due to family

¹⁸⁸ Hans Wehr, the Hans Wehr dictionary of modern written Arabic (J.N. Cowan, ed., 3rd ed. 1976).

¹⁸⁹ Aina-Obe Shamsuddin Bolatito, International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR) ISSN (Online): 2319-7064 <https://www.ijsr.net/archive/v5i5/4041603.pdf>

and tribal considerations. Finally, individuals in general are prohibited from making recommendations in exchange for gifts as such behaviour falls under *rashwa*¹⁹⁰.

2.5. Rules Regarding Corruption and Bribery; An Islamic views

The majority of Muslim scholars are in favour of the prohibition of corruption in all its shapes including nepotism, extortion, and bribery and they deduce this rule from various Islamic law sources such as the *Qur'an, Sunnah, and Ijm'a*¹⁹¹.

1. The Prohibition of Bribery in the Qur'an The Qur'an expresses the prohibition of corruption, including bribery, to further the prosperity of the people. Many verses emphasize and confirm this principle. *Surat Al-Baqarah* V188 reads, —And do not eat up your property among yourselves for vanities, nor use it as bait for the judges, with intent that ye may eat up wrongfully and knowingly a little of other people's property. This verse forces an injunction against illegal acts because it prohibits rulers, judges, decision makers, and parties to a conflict from facilitating the unjustified appropriation of the property of others or of public property by obtaining a favourable ruling in exchange for bribes. It calls such behaviour —*Batil* (falsehood or deception) and —*Ithm* (criminal, sinful, inappropriate). Correspondingly, *Surat (Chapter) Al-Mai'idaha* verse 42 states: —They are fond of listening to falsehood, of devouring anything forbidden. This verse refers to certain Jews who had committed the forbidden act of Haram and eating property through bribery. On another occasion, someone asked the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), —What is the *AlSoht*? He (PBUH) said: It is bribery¹⁹².
2. The Prohibition of Bribery in the Sunnah Muslims put considerable weight on events that took place in the early years of Islam, during the life of the Prophet (PBUH) and the early Caliphs. These years provide illustrations of appropriate behaviour. In this respect, the Sunnah embodies the application of the Qur'an to both concrete disputes and hypothetical questions that arose during the Prophet's life. The importance of the Sunnah stems from the relationship

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. pg 65

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² Op.Cit

between it and the Qur'an. The Sunnah may explain the rules and principles in the Qur'an, and it may present new principles and rules to supplement the Qur'an. exchange for bribes. It calls such behaviour *Batil* (falsehood or deception) and *Ithm* (criminal, sinful, inappropriate).

3. Quranic verses and Hadith against bribery and corruption: These are some verses of Quran which forbids us to indulge in bribery and corruption and inspires us to give the orphans and poor. By giving bribery we are unjust to the person who is harmed by it and also to the community and nation.
4. And do not consume one another's wealth unjustly or send it (in bribery) to rulers in order that [They might aid] you [to] consume a partition of wealth of people in sin, while you know (it is unlawful) (Quran 2, verse 188) 'Verily! Allah commands that you should render back the trusts to those, to whom they are due; and that when you judge between men, you judge with justice. Verily, how excellent is the teaching which he (Allah) gives you! Truly Allah is Ever All-Hearer, All-Heaver, All-Seer. (Quran 4, Verse 58.)—O you who believed, be persistently standing firm of Allah, witness in justice, and do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just. Be just; that is nearer to righteousness. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is acquitted with what you do! (Quran 5, verse 8,)
5. Indeed, those who devour the property of orphans and unjustly are only consuming into their bellies fire. And they will be burned in a blaze! (Quran 4, Verse 10,)
6. And the heaven He raised and imposed the balance, that you not transgress within the balance, and establish wealth in justice and do not make deficient the (due) balance. (Quran 55, verse 7 to 10,) —We made them (Abrahams and his son) imams who guided in accordance with our commandments, and we thought them how to work righteousness, and how to observe the charity (Zakat).To us they were devoted worship. (Quran 21:73,). The one who takes bribe and the one who gives it will both be in hell.
7. The Shari'a Attack on Corruption In order to eradicate corruption as an epidemic, Islamic law adopts various strategies on both local and global levels. All Muslim scholars, classical and modern, seek ways to tackle corruption.

One of these strategies takes the form of *Ta'azir* penal sanctions regarding bribery, discussed above. More broadly, the vast Islamic intellectual heritage suggests that education, law, and administrative reform are the three key pillars in the Islamic fight against corruption¹⁹³.

2.6. Summary

This Chapter revealed, among others, that corruption and democratic governance are diametrically opposed to each and thus incompatible. The unethical and immoral socio-economic and political environment in Nigeria has continued to derail attempts to bring about democratic governance. Thus, accountability, legitimacy, responsiveness, people's participation, provision of basic needs, checks and balances, rule of law, opposition, civil society and human rights etc. constituting some essential ingredients for democratization and democratic governance were thrown off. They thus pave the way for authoritarianism and repression, corruption and conflicts, state terrorism and state assassinations, use of force and unethical policies all within the orbit of garrison democracy.

Corruption in Nigeria cannot be exclusively seen as a problem of leadership considering the nature and life style of the average Nigeria citizen by way of silent contribution and partial or proper involvement has tacitly, overtly or covertly endorsed the act of corruption. The menace of corruption stands between our nation and the attainment of its potentials. The fate of our country is too important to be left in the hands of the few citizens presently at the helm of affairs of our political structures and the anti-corruption organizations. We are obviously in too much of a hurry to realize that every act of corruption that we engineer or allow to dictate to us destroys a milestone in the future of our collective psyche. We are our own greatest enemies. It seems all attempts to solving the problem of corruption in Nigeria have not yielded much fruit.

¹⁹³ Ibid. Pg 64

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a research design that underpins the study and provide a full explanation of how the research was to be conducted. This research was grounded in the qualitative tradition, employing a case study method of Grounded theory methodology for theory development and identification of themes. It was developed with the purpose of generating theories and identifying emerging themes and patterns suitable for the purpose of this research. The researcher used a grounded theory design.

In this chapter, the researcher discussed the theoretical approach of inquiry, research sample and population, method of data collection, data management and data analysis, the role of the researcher, ethical considerations and quality.

3.2. Research philosophy

This research is based on the interpretive approach with the to add to the existing knowledge of in the world. There is another approach called the positivist approach. The interpretive approach is the opposite of the positivist approach. Equivalence between the social and natural world can be obtained from the positivist approach and by means of direct scientific and objective enquiry, both can be understood. By positivism, the behaviour of the human beings can be measured objectively and by finding the correlation between the events, the causal explanation can be understood.¹⁹⁴ On the other hand, the objective social reality free of any value is excluded by the interpretive approach. Interpretive approaches seek to understand social behaviours by looking to the actor's intentions and motivations, and to the social rules and conventions that shape those behaviours.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ J. A. Hughes and Wes W. Sharrock, *The Philosophy of Social Research*, vols. (London: Longman, 1997).

¹⁹⁵ M Hollis, *The Philosophy of Social Science an Introduction*, vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Research into the determinants of corruption has recently intensified, with an increasing number of studies devoted to exploring the causes and consequences of corruption at the international level and not examine the causes of deficiency of good governance. However, most of these studies explore corruption at the macro level while only a limited number of studies have investigated corruption at the individual level¹⁹⁶. Despite the increasing interest in the determinants of corruption, the link between good governance and underdevelopment has not yet come under intense empirical investigation. Political interest influences the extent to which individuals go about collecting, processing, and interpreting government matters. A government¹⁹⁷ could operate with impunity if no-one is motivated to analyse the information available regarding government activities. To a certain extent, political interest leads to better supervision and scrutiny of the administration and governance performance and may contribute to a stronger sense of civic awareness among citizens. This increased knowledge possibly augments the ability to acquire political information at lower costs which in turn increases the individual incentive to be informed and to discuss political and government issues.

This descriptive research aims to identify the determinants of corruption and deficiency of good governance at the macro level by using both primary and secondary data analyses to ascertain how corruption hinder good governance thereby causing underdevelopment.

3.3. Research Design

This study is a methodological exploration in the area of using grounded theory for research synthesis. In order to develop an open-minded question or coding instrument that this study tends to explore, the research design was grounded on a research methodology which operates inductively, in contrast to the hypothetical-deductive approach in the qualitative tradition.

A grounded theory research design is a set of systematic, qualitative procedures that researchers use to generate a general explanation (called a grounded theory) for a

196 Mocan, N., 2008. What Determines Corruption? International Evidence from Microdata. *Economic Inquiry* 46, 493-510.

197 Rose-Ackerman, S., 1999. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

process, action, or interaction among people. It is a research designs are used to generate a theory about a process, action, or interaction. The procedures include collecting data through interviews, using multiple stages of analysis to identify and relate categories, and reporting the results by describing the theory in the text, with a diagram, and with predictions (often called propositions) that result from the new theory.

Qualitative research is concerned with understanding the processes that bring about patterns, and measures information based on opinions and values, not on statistical data¹⁹⁸. Yin stated, “research design is the logic that links the data to be collected (and the conclusion to be drawn) to the initial questions of study”. Yin also indicated that a case study is appropriate when one wants to test variables related to a weak theory in a controlled setting¹⁹⁹. This case study was meant to explore and examine variables related to good governance as well combating corruption.

The grounded theory researcher analysed the data using multiple stages of coding. Grounded theory designs are most easily recognized by the data analysis procedures reported in the method section. In a systematic grounded theory design, the researcher uses three stages of data analysis: the development of categories from the collected data (known as “open coding”), the identification of one category that is at the heart of the process and its relation to the other categories (known as “axial coding”), and the development of propositions or hypotheses grounded in the data (known as “selective coding”). More flexible grounded theory approaches may not describe specific stages, but they still provide extensive description of how their data analysis led to the development of a theory.

The important step in any research is the research design in which the limitations of the research like resources and time and idea on data collection are found out. The research design is the structuring of the study and data collection methods by means of which the objectives of the study can be reached.²⁰⁰ For the purpose of collecting the needed data, appropriate method must be chosen to reach the research

¹⁹⁸ Yin R. K. 2009. Case study research: Design and methods. Sage, Newbury Park, CA.

¹⁹⁹ Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research: Design methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc

²⁰⁰ M. Easterby-Smith, R. Thorpe, and A. Lowe, Management Research: An Introduction, vols. (London: Sage Publications, 2002).P.84

objective. The research approaches are classified into two methods qualitative and quantitative.²⁰¹

Qualitative approach is an approach, per Merriam²⁰², in which the perceptions of various people are taken into account, which mean distinctively as per the individuals' experiences. Moreover, qualitative approach pertains to non-numerical data.²⁰³ On the other hand, quantitative approach is a research method that pertains to the numerical data, per Creswell.²⁰⁴ Creswell maintained that qualitative case study strategy enables a researcher to gain a profound understanding about the phenomenon being studied.²⁰⁵ A qualitative case study is noted to be suitable for gaining deeper knowledge about a phenomenon that is not well known.²⁰⁶ The data were collected via interviews and document examination. A face-to-face interview method was utilized to interview 15 to 20 participants purposefully selected. Thematic data analysis was used to analyse the information collected for this study.

Qualitative research is the term that describes "a set of non-statistical inquiry techniques and processes used to gather data about social phenomena". On the other hand, quantitative research describes research that utilizes "strategies of inquiry such as experiments and survey, and collects data on predetermined instruments that yield statistical data"²⁰⁷.

The discrepancy between quantitative and qualitative data in social research is based on numerical and non-numerical data²⁰⁸. The two research methods represent

²⁰¹ J.W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, vols. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994); S. Bell, *Learning with information Systems: Learning Cycles in Information Systems Development*, vols. (New York: Routledge, 1996); K. F. Punch, *Introduction to social research: quantitative and qualitative approaches*, vols., 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2005).

²⁰² S. B Merriam, *Qualitative research: a guide to design and implementation*, vols. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009).

²⁰³ M. Saunders, P. Lewis, and A. Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students*, vols., 5th ed. (Harlow, United Kingdom: FT Prentice Hall, 2009), Available: https://books.google.co.in/books?id=utxtfaCFiEC&source=gbs_book_other_versions.

²⁰⁴ J.W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, vols., 3rd ed. (South Asia: SAGE Publications India Private Limited, 2011).

²⁰⁵ Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

²⁰⁶ Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2005). *Practical research: planning and design* (8th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

²⁰⁷ Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

²⁰⁸ Babbie, E. (2007). *The practice of social research* (11th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

the two major epistemological positions; they respectively represent positive and postpositive traditions²⁰⁹.

The choice of the qualitative research tradition over the quantitative one was informed by a number of factors. First was the quest for deeper understanding of the concept of corruption. It is important to note the empirical complications that govern corruption studies. Given its secretive nature, corruption is inherently an extremely difficult phenomenon to measure, thus presenting a large obstacle for researchers. If corruption could be measured, it could probably be eliminated. It is not surprising that, until recently, corruption research has been largely descriptive rather than empirical.

Secondly, to measure corruption, researchers use subjective data, as it is almost impossible to measure the actual incidence of corruption. Early scholars in corruption attempted to measure corruption based on official police and court records. One measure simply counted the number of arrests and convictions for corruption in a given country²¹⁰.

Thirdly, the qualitative approach provides the ability to gather rich information. Trochim and Donnelly²¹¹ argued that qualitative research methods enable researchers to get at the complexity of the phenomenon and move the researchers to an in-depth understanding of how things work. Qualitative research gives room for flexibility and allows for a broader picture of the social phenomenon rather than a narrower view. This capacity gives qualitative method “its ability to generate very rich data”. Based on these three factors, the qualitative tradition is considered the appropriate research design to conduct this study.

At the preliminary phase of designing this study, time was taken to examine some of the qualitative methods to ascertain the suitable and appropriate method. The lists of the qualitative research methods considered included phenomenology (people who have experienced a phenomenon), grounded-theory (develop a theory from grounded in field data), case study (focus on organization, entity, individuals or event conducted on documents, reports, observation, and interviews) narrative (focus on individual experience and sequence) and ethnography (focus on context or culture on

209 Ibid

210 Jain, A. K. (2001), ‘Corruption: A Review’, *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 15(1), 71–121.

211 Trochim, W. M. K., & Donnelly, J. P. (2008). *The research methods knowledge base* (3rd ed.). Mason, OH: Cengage Learning.

data collection for observations and interviews)²¹². These approaches were seriously considered along with their disciplinary traditions and typical data-gathering methods.

The research utilizing this tradition of qualitative method seeks to investigate everyday behaviours of the group of people under study, with the aim to “identify perception of corruption as it affects deficiency of good governance yielding to underdevelopment.

Another major means of generating data is via case study using both primary and secondary data during the fieldwork involving an observation of the participants to allow the researcher an opportunity to documents and reports findings.

The ethnographic method was equally considered suitable because of the approach, unlike case study, was focused on examining the culture and norms of the people in their daily transactions and human-to-human relations within the government business and non-government business. The qualitative case study was deemed suitable and apposite and used to conduct this study on corruption, deficiency in governance and underdevelopment in Nigeria. The research was not about studying individuals’ experiences of a phenomenon, nor generating or developing a theory, nor studying peoples’ culture. It is learning more about the phenomenon of corruption how its affect the governance leading to underdevelopment.

This study explored ‘Corruption and deficiency of Good Governance in Nigeria’ for a better understanding of the concept as well as its possible outcomes. Creswell²¹³ argued that qualitative case study is appropriate for doing exploratory research. Also, Creswell²¹⁴ observed that qualitative research is appropriate to study a problem or an issue that needs to be explored or when “we need a complex detailed understanding of the issue”.

McNabb²¹⁵ observed that case study is a popular approach in public administration due to its flexibility. McNabb also noted, “case studies can serve as examples of what a public administrator ought not to do, as well as what should be done” (p. 287).

212 Jeff Sauro, (2015). 5 Types of Qualitative Methods. Retrieved from <https://measuringu.com/qual-methods/>

213 Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

214 Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc

215 McNabb, D. E. (2008). *Research methods in public administration and non profit management: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (2nd ed.). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

With all this information on various forms of qualitative research, the researcher drew the conclusion that qualitative case study is apposite for this study. The conviction that, this study will contribute to the body of knowledge concerning combating corruption to promote good governance. The study will contribute to the theoretical literature about war against corruption for sustainable development, particularly in the public sector, where it has received little attention from researchers, especially in Nigeria and other West African countries because corruption is a major challenges facing human race and indeed, it is also the bane on realization of good governance and sustainable development.

3.3. Nature of the Study

The use of qualitative approach to study corruption was based on the following considerations: The first was on the proof that quantitative methodology, like direct surveys, is unlikely to undo the complexity of corruption.²¹⁶ This is because scholars say that corruption is better understood in a specific context that takes into consideration socio-economic and political aspects of the society under study.

As Blundo and Oliver de Sardan explains this: Qualitative studies are necessary (in studying corruption) to make it possible to demonstrate the action logics of the actors involved, the description of corrupt processes and the associated techniques, the analysis of the popular representations and forms of justification and condemnation associated with corruption.²¹⁷

Yin proposed that grounded theory methodology has the same characteristics and strength as a robust research synthesis since Grounded theory is;

1. designed to perform theory-building and identify emerging categories about a subject topic.
2. Emulates normal science and therefore possesses the notion of rigour in review
3. Applies to evidence collected in a library or evidence collected in the field or both.
4. Emphases qualitative data because of the focus on identifying emerging categories.

²¹⁶ Blundo and Olivier de Sardan, "Why should we study everyday corruption and how should we go about it?" in *Everyday Corruption and the State: Citizens and Public Officials in Africa*. Ed. Blundo and Olivier de Sardan, vols. (Zed Books, 2006).

²¹⁷ Ibid. P 2

A grounded theory is a qualitative research design in which the inquirer generates a general explanation (a theory) of a process, action, or interaction shaped by the views of a large number of participants²¹⁸.

Qualitative study is the most useful methodology when a social phenomenon must be analysed because by qualitative approach, the manner in which the social world functions and the perceptions of the society can be found out. As the present study involves a socio-endemic research, the study design of this research belongs to the qualitative methodology to explore the research questions: What are the causes and consequences of corruption and its impact on the country development? What are the anti-corruption measures available in the country? And the indicators and characteristics of good governance.

3.4. Research Approach

The relationship between research and theory can be approached in a distinct way which was explained by Saunders et al.²¹⁹ There are two kinds of research method used in research- deductive and inductive approach. In the deductive approach, a hypothesis is created by past studies and tested by using survey method and it is called as a top-down approach.²²⁰ The inductive approach is involved in generating theory on the basis of observations and results obtained via data collection which is called as a bottom-up approach.²²¹

As researchers review the data collected, repeated ideas, concepts or elements become apparent, and are tagged with *codes*, which have been extracted from the data. As more data is collected, and re-reviewed, codes can be grouped into concepts, and then into categories. These categories may become the basis for new theory. Thus, grounded theory is quite different from the traditional model of research, where the researcher chooses an existing theoretical framework, and only then collects data to show how the theory does or does not apply to the phenomenon under study.

²¹⁸ Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory (2 nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

²¹⁹ M. Saunders, P. Lewis, and A. Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students*, vols., 6th ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2012).p.144

²²⁰ D. Gabriel, "Inductive and Deductive approaches to research," 2013, Available: <http://deborahgabriel.com/2013/03/17/inductive-and-deductive-approaches-to-research/>; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students*.

²²¹ A. Bryman and E. Bell, *Business Research Methods*, vols., 3rd ed. (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2011).

According to Bryman and Bell²²², an inductive approach was applied in qualitative research and a deductive approach for quantitative research. In this case, the present study attempts to explore whether the corruption and deficiency of good governance measures are effective in Nigeria to combat the corruption and underdevelopment consequences in the country. Hence inductive approach is more appropriate to this research.

3.5. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework converges on the idea that corruption and deficiency of good governance has become a salient feature of the Nigerian state and has since became routine in the awarding of government contracts and in the regulation of the economy and official business in general²²³. This is particularly the case with Nigeria where Nigerians see corruption not only as the abuse of state offices for personal or private gain but also as encompassing a whole range of other social behaviours allowing morally questionable deceptions leading to the achievement of wealth, power, or prestige as well as much more mundane ambitions²²⁴. To the Nigerian therefore, corruption entails a wide range of social ills such as: government bribery and graft, election mal-practices, fraudulent business deals (popularly known as 419-named after the particular section of the Nigerian constitution that stipulates sanctions for such crimes), ritual killings, cheating in school, importation and distribution of fake or sub-standard goods, political god-fatherism, politically motivated assassinations²²⁵. The researcher shall however, for the purpose of this study, narrow down the definition to cover systemic (institutionalized) corruption as against the actions of individual players in Nigeria. Not minding the indigenous definition of corruption by Nigerians however, it is important that the researcher highlight some of the definitions put forward by scholars which have gained general acceptability.

According to Svensson²²⁶ “it is the misuse of public office for private gain”. Here, the term misuse connotes applying a legal standard which would capture the sale

²²² Ibid. p 5

²²³ Whitaker, C.S. (1991), “The Unfinished State of Nigeria” in (ed.) Sklar R & Whitaker C.S African Politics and Problems in Development Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder & London, pp.265-284

²²⁴ Smith, Daniel Jordan (2007), A Culture of Corruption-Everyday Deception and popular Discontent in Nigeria. Princeton: Princeton University Press

²²⁵ Ibid

²²⁶ Svenson, Jakob (2005), “Eight Questions about Corruption”. Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 19, No. 3, summer 2005, pp.19-42.

of government property by government officials, kickbacks in public procurement, bribery and embezzlement of government funds. For Mauro²²⁷, “corruption is the abuse of public office for private gain”. It can be deduced from the above, that corruption refers to the abuse of public resources for private gain, through a hidden transaction that involves the violation of some standards of behaviour.

In the Nigerian context, corruption can be viewed from the social, legal, political, economic, institutional and ethical connotations. This is particularly so since corruption in Nigeria comes in various forms and dimensions with every facet of the society corrupt or exhibiting the tendency to be corrupt. For the purpose of this study therefore and in order to be able to adequately focus on the Nigerian situation, corruption will be defined as the “misuse or improper use of power and influence, deliberately and consciously for personal aggrandizement or group advantage²²⁸”.

Power is here used to refer to political power and it is seen from the above definition that such power or political power are entrusted in the hands of a few often called “political agents” by the public usually referred to as the “principal” for the sole purpose of bringing the dividend of good governance to the generality of the people in a given society. It is this trust that is often abused leading to a situation whereby “public good” that ought to be used for the general welfare of all is hijacked as the exclusive rights and property of a few political and public office holders. The role of politics cannot therefore be overemphasized or separated from the above definition since corruption in Nigeria is largely tied to politics though not limited to it.

Since corruption drawback any Government, hurts the poor disproportionately – by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government’s ability to provide basic services, poor quality public services, low salary of civil servants, lack of checks and balances, financial irregularities, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign investment and aid. Hence, Good Governance is integral to economic growth, the eradication of poverty and hunger, transparency, accountability, sustainable development. The views of all oppressed groups, including women, youth and poor, must be heard and acted upon; considered by governing bodies because they will be most negatively affected if good governance is not achieved.

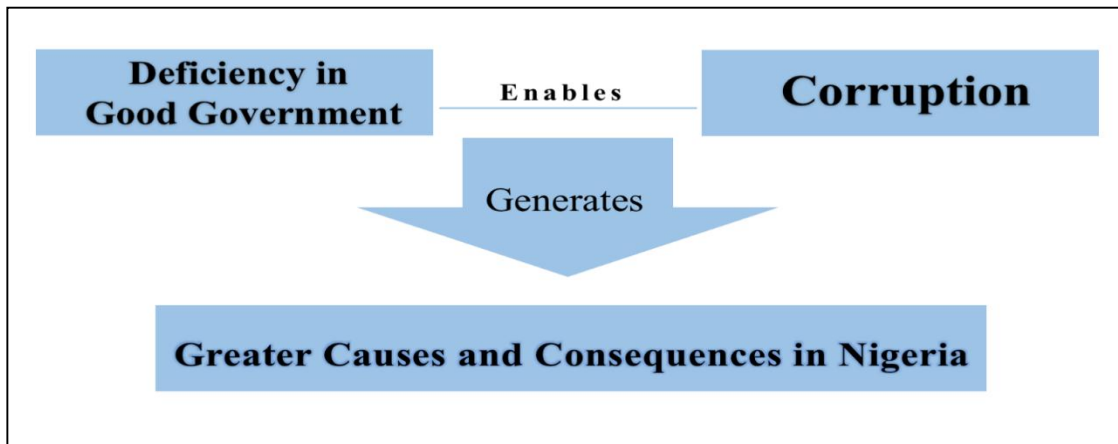
²²⁷ Mauro, P. (1998), “Corruption: Causes, Consequences, and Agenda for Further Research” Vol.35, Number. 1, March 1998.

²²⁸ Ogundiya Ilufoye Sarafa (2009), “Political Corruption in Nigeria: Theoretical Perspectives and some Explanations”. *Anthropologist*, 11(4), 281-292.

To the researcher knowledge, the empirical impact of Corruption on good governance has not been studied yet. So therefore, the present research tries to cover the extent by which corruption enable deficiency of good governance thereby bringing greater causes, hardship and consequences on the governance of the country.

These rationales suggested the following theoretical framework, depicted in figure 3.5.1:

Theoretical framework on Corruption and Deficiency of Good Governance.



Sources: Self developed by the researcher

3.5.1. Description of the theoretical framework

When public funds are squandered in unproductive ways or public officials abuse the authority with which they have been entrusted, citizens will naturally be reluctant to permit expansion in government operations. This situation will be particularly important to people looking to government for assistance. Such conditions, it is argued, puts a strain on governance, and in the end has wider implications for development.

The present research (a) covered the extent to which corruption is endemic and violation of public trust, and (b) the negative behaviour of public officials, either politicians or civil servants, whereby they enrich themselves or their cronies unlawfully, through the misuse of public power which has been entrusted to them. (c) However, there is corruption in the private sector too, which has negative consequences for the whole society.

Overall, the theoretical framework of the study provided a basis for additional empirical studies for ‘Good Governance’ which the world bank²²⁹ refer to how power is exercised in the management of a nation’s economic and social resources for developmental purposes. This involves three applications; “the form of the political regime; the process by which governmental power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources; and government capacity to implement public policies”. Good governance is derived from the concept of governance.

Good Governance is also a process by which public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources, and guarantee the realisation of human rights. Good governance therefore ensures the execution of public duties and obligations in a manner essentially free from abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law. The United Nations Development Programme states that, good governance is ‘the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation’s affairs and includes a complex array of mechanisms, processes relationships and institutions through which citizens manage their affairs involving public life²³⁰’.

From the international conventions framework, the United Nations Convention against Corruption does not describe precisely what constitutes corruption, however article 15(b) of the UNCAC prohibits ‘the solicitation or acceptance by a public official, directly or indirectly, of an undue advantage, for the official himself or herself or another person or entity, in order that the official acts or refrains from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties’. On the other hand, the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption defines corruption as ‘the acts and practices including related offences proscribed in this Convention²³¹’. Article 4 of the AU Convention further broadens the scope of the application to the proscribed acts of corruption and related offences. In terms of this provision, the benefit may be solicited or accepted by ‘a public official or any other person’. It is not clear however who such ‘other person’ may be, since the benefit is solicited or accepted in exchange for any act or omission in the performance of ‘a public function’. Although not clear, it is assumed that the intention is that ‘any other person’ may accept the benefit on behalf

²²⁹ World Bank, (2000), “Can Africa Claim the 21st Century”, World Bank Report, available at <http://www.worldbank.org/wbr/governance>, (accessed on 30 August 2014).

²³⁰ United Nations Development Programme ‘reconceptualising governance’ Discussion paper 2 (1997).

²³¹ African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption article 1.

of the public official in exchange for such public official performing any act or omission in the performance of their public functions²³².

According to UNDP²³³, good governance encompasses the exercise of political, economic, legal, judicial, social, and administrative authority in a manner that meets the aspirations and needs of the citizens. This includes; the government, the private sector and the civil society. It also includes the formulation of policy initiatives that would strengthen institutions and the civil society organisations with the main objective of making government responsible more democratic responsive and accountable.

3.6.2. Theoretical implications

This study examined the relationship between corruption and good governance with underdevelopment causes and consequence as an indicators are a result of the finding generated which were connected with findings from the secondary sources. Besides, some descriptive analyses were made between the findings and the arguments imbedded on the framework of the literature review chapter of this thesis. These analyses were supporting past studies on corruption as impetus to lack of good governance and underdevelopment in the country as having negative impact on the activities and administration of the country as a whole.

As a result of these, the findings are consistent with the theoretical framework of this study since no government can successfully fight corruption without involving the people who are the victims of corruption.

Political corruption and the concomitant corruption of politics undermines institutionalized public affairs, including processes of political change and conflict resolution mechanism²³⁴. A stable political system should be able to settle conflict between itself and society or sections of it and between groups within the state.

Corruption erodes confidence in the application of the rule of law. People then would rather resort to violence instead of the courts and administrative procedures.

²³² Institute for Security Studies, Handbook on comparative analysis SADC Protocol against Corruption (2001) AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (2003) UN Convention against Corruption (2003) (2004) 7.

²³³ UNDP, (1997), "Governance for Sustainable Human Development", United Nations Development Programme, New York.

²³⁴ Failed States Index, <http://www.fundforpeace.org/programs/fsi/fsishowind.php?ind=07>. Accessed on 05/05/2018.

The state itself, unable to resolve conflicts and disputes between itself and groups and also between separate groups in the state, will then resort to the use of force, most often illegal, to enforce order. The over-reliance on the use of force as a means of resolving conflict would often lead to the segment of society that has access to the use of force to challenge the legitimacy of the state through violence.

Corruption also weakens state governance and reduces government revenues available to provide services, thus promoting state weakness and fragility. At the same time, failing, failed and recovering states operate within conditions that usually promote corruption; in fact, the use of corrupt practices may be the only way to get things done within a state that is incapacitated²³⁵. This happens due to the breakdown of the rule of law and lack of avenues for redressing complaints relating to corruption. To that extent, the celebration of criminality by the media has to stop. Religious, traditional and educational institutions have to stop honouring men and women of questionable pedigree or has been indicted for corruption and corrupt practices in all ramifications.

The below table shows Institutional link between Corruption, Deficiency of Governance and causes are summed up in the table below:

Table 3.6.2:
Corruption, Deficiency of Good Governance and Causes/ Consequence

Corruption, Deficiency of Good Governance and Causes/Consequence Table		
Institutions	Effects/ Causes	Consequence
State Bureaucracy (Education, Health and other Public services)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to state service is denied the poor who cannot pay bribes. • The cost of doing business increases • Abuse of state resources. • High transaction cost. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Government loses control over economic plans, Infrastructural development and decision making. • Weakens State institutions.

²³⁵ 7 USAID, Corruption Assessment Handbook – Draft Final Report, Washington May 2006 p. 18. Accessed on 01/05/2018.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduces government effectiveness. • Reduces investment and economic growth. • Lack of accountability. • Undermines the rule of law and legal certainty in the state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rule of law becomes ineffective. • Increased public grievance against government. • Increase in organized crime
Judiciary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undermines the mediatory role of the judiciary • Undermines judicial independence, impartiality and neutrality. • Lack of public confidence in the judiciary. • Conflict resolution becomes impossible due to lack of confidence in the legal system. • Promotes impunity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of violence to settle disputes. • Legitimacy of the state is challenged.
Executive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State capture and predation leading to distorted public policy making. • Unhealthy competition for state power. • Lack of separation of powers because Executive can buy influence from other arms of government (i.e., Legislature and Judiciary). • Authoritarian tendencies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced confidence in the legitimacy of political leaders. • Violent political change • Increased political tension.

<p>Security Agencies (Police, Customs, Armed Forces, Military, and Other Para security Agencies)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Command structure within the security agencies is weakened. • Indiscipline within the security services. • Abuse of Human Rights. • The rise in private security. • Material and training needs of the security agencies are ignored. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminal gangs collaborate with corrupt security personnel to challenge authority of the state. • Armed rebellions receive support from the general public. • The state monopoly over the use of force is challenged.
<p>Legislature</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of confidence in the legislature. • Laws enacted in the legislature may not be in the interest of the public but the elite. • Reduces the capacity to manage and resolve conflict • Reduces public participation in governance. • The oversight responsibility of the legislature is easily ignored. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Call for political change. • Lack of confidence in the political process. • Failure of democratic transitions.
	<p>Lack of Good Governance →</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failed State • State fragility • Economic Instability • Political Violent • Tribal conflict • Collapse of State

3.7. Research Methodology

This part of the chapter three focuses on the method that the researcher used to collect data and analyse it. It's dealt with the general outlines and most significant interconnections in the thematic development of the thesis and culminated in the elaboration of the research questions which have oriented the development of the thesis throughout. It greatly concerns with methodological techniques which have been employed to tackle the issues posed by the research questions. The research was grounded in the qualitative tradition, employing a case study method of inquiry. Yin²³⁶ stated, "research design is the logic that links the data to be collected (and the conclusion to be drawn) to the initial questions of study" (p. 19). Yin also indicated that a case study is appropriate when one wants to test variables related to a weak theory in a controlled setting. This case study was meant to explore and examine variables related to good governance as well combating corruption. The chapter also explores how the data produced through these techniques were analysed.

Finally, there is a discussion of questions of positionality and ethics in research and how such issues have been addressed within this research project: factors which took on even greater significance within the contexts of the notorious ethical, legal and methodological difficulties associated with the study of corruption.

3.7.1. Research Population

The study considered studying people's perceptions, perspectives, and understanding the characteristic of endemic corruption, how it's affected the 3-arms of government (the executive, legislature and the judiciary). Studying such a large population is rarely feasible and efficient, hence the importance of choosing samples in research²³⁷. It is difficult to have access to all the entire arms of government and develop an apt sampling plan for the study.

Trochim and Donnelly²³⁸ suggested that the study population should be based on accessibility. Studying such a population enables the researcher to gain a deeper knowledge and insight about the population being studied.

²³⁶ Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc

²³⁷ Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13, 522-525.

Retrieved from www.spa.hust.edu.cn/2008/uploadfile/20099/20090916221539453.pdf

²³⁸ Op.cit

The population of this study was 80 employees of Federal Government of Nigeria comprising the 3-arm of government, Federal and State civil servants. The selection of this population was based on accessibility and proximity. The reason for using the 3-arm of government, Federal and State civil servants i.e. (The Nigerian Police Force) for this case study was to identify variables that inform the endemic corruption within the system which is invariably discharge of efficient and effective governance in relation to development of the country. The insights gained from this particular case study were very useful in studying the deficiency in governance and, in fact, in the causes of underdevelopment in Nigeria as a whole.

3.7.2. Sampling Process

A purposeful sampling strategy was adopted for this study. This sampling strategy is common in a qualitative study²³⁹. Regarding sampling, Berg²⁴⁰ noted that the reason for using a sample of a population in research is to draw conclusions about the larger population from the sample. Using sampling strategies makes the gathering and handling of research data easier than gathering data from the whole population, especially when the population is large. The key is to choose a sample size that can provide the researcher with sufficient information about a population being studied.

The purposeful sampling strategy entails that researchers select the participants, sites, or documents based on their ability to “inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study”²⁴¹. Also, the researcher argued that purposeful sampling enables researchers to “intentionally sample a group of people that can best inform the researcher about the research problem under examination”. A purposeful sampling strategy was used to select a sample size between 20 members of the executive arm of government and civil servant employees, who had worked at the Federal Secretariat Abuja, Nigeria for not less than 5 years and above and who were able to provide the information needed to address the topic being studied in an open ended questionnaire. The researcher was granted audience to conduct a focus group discussion of 15 sample size of senior legal practitioners at the Federal Judiciary Council, Abuja and onward to Lagos State Police Command, Lagos,

²³⁹ Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

²⁴⁰ Berg, B. L. (2009). *Qualitative research methods: for the social science* (7th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon
²⁴¹ Ibid

Nigeria where 20 senior police officers were interviewed. The researcher sojourn journey to the legislative arms of the Government opted for open ended questionnaire which were distributed to 15 sample size legislators representing the 6 geo-political zone that made of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

On the issue of the appropriate size of a research sample, there is no common agreement among the scholars²⁴². However, Leedy and Ormrod suggested determining a sample size by the use of mechanical means so that the sample selected would present an adequate representation of the population. This approach is proper in quantitative research, the aim of which “is to draw a representative sample from the population, so that the results of studying the sample can then be generalized back to the population”²⁴³. Marshall argued that in qualitative research, “the nature and number of participants cannot be mechanically determined beforehand or by formula”. He “insisted that an appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question”. Similarly, Wertz²⁴⁴ maintained that the bottom line is for the qualitative researchers to make use of any sample size that enable them to collect data “until ‘saturation,’ that is, redundancy of findings that fulfil the research goals, is achieved”. Wertz suggested that much attention should be paid to collecting the required data that could help researchers achieve their inquiry goals. The following table (3-2) provides the representation of the sample size.

Table 3.7.2: Sample Size Representation

Categories	Total	%	Sample Size
Executives Arm of Government	20	100	20 Respondents
The Judiciary	15	100	15 Respondents
The Legislators (MPs)	15	100	15 Respondents
The Nigerian Police	20	100	20 Respondents
Total	70		70 Respondent

Sources: Self developed by the researcher.

²⁴² Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2005). *Practical research: planning and design* (8th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

²⁴³ Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13, 522-525. Retrieved from www.spa.hust.edu.cn/2008/uploadfile/20099/20090916221539453.pdf. Access on the 20/02/2018

²⁴⁴ Wertz, F. J. (2005). Phenomenological research methods for counselling psychology. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 52(2), 161-177. doi:10.1037/00220167.52.2167. Access on the 20/02/2018

3.7.3. The Role of the Researcher

Donnelly²⁴⁵ noted that interviewers have vital roles to play to get high quality information from interviewees, and one of the interviewer's tasks is "locating and enlisting cooperation of respondents". During the research period for this study, the researcher collated data from the participants via questionnaire which were open ended face-to-face and conducted Focus Group Discussions were found necessary.

The researcher also related with documented report of corrupt cases which were managed, analysed, and communicated into the findings for the research. To prevent bias in the study's outcomes, the researcher strictly employed the standard protocol in a qualitative study to analyse and interpret the data and allowed results to emerge. The protocol of the qualitative case study of inquiry was adhered to; to maintain the required academic standards.

3.7.4. Data Collection Procedures

In a qualitative research approach, data for a case study are usually collected from multiple sources. McNabb²⁴⁶ stated that most of these data exist in some sort of narrative form. Yin²⁴⁷ identified six major sources from where the case study researchers may draw their evidences or data, including "documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participation-observation, and physical artefacts".

However, McNabb²⁴⁸ identified three major sources, interviews, simple observation, and analysis of internal and external documents, often used in public administration. The data used for this study were from main previous literatures and interviews.

Polkinghorne²⁴⁹ posited that the data needed to study a phenomenon are usually "derived from an intensive exploration with a participant and that the aim of collecting data in qualitative research is to provide evidence for the (phenomenon) it

²⁴⁵ Trochim, W. M. K., & Donnelly, J. P. (2008). *The research methods knowledge base* (3rd ed.). Mason, OH: Cengage Learning.

²⁴⁶ McNabb, D. E. (2008). *Research methods in public administration and nonprofit management: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (2nd ed.). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe

²⁴⁷ Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc

²⁴⁸ Ibid

²⁴⁹ Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005). Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative research. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 52, 137–145. doi:10.1037/00220167.52.2.13. Access on the 20/02./2018

is investigating”. The researcher interviewed participants to find out how the government is promoting good governance and combating corruption and its practices. The information gathered from these sources were diligently analysed and reported.

The information obtained from literatures on corruption are fairly large and therefore the researcher will try to concentrate on the interpretation of most relevant materials on the topic. Further secondary source was obtained from published reports of the various journals, Newspapers and official websites of Federal Government, the databases maintained by various courts in Nigeria, published tribunal reports, and research institutions.

The semi structured interview conducted through the telephone with the four selected high court judges. Telephonic interviews were conducted with 4 Judges wherein their inferences were recorded. The recorded data were once again transcribed and coded thematically. The transcripts of the interviews were provided in Chapter 4.

3.7.5. Interview Techniques

In this study, interview function as a preliminary data collection technique providing explorative analysis in this study. Yin²⁵⁰ observed that interviewing is one of the most vital sources of gathering data in a case study. Interviewing “can yield a great deal of useful information”. Polkinghorne²⁵¹ cited Potter as having defined interviewing as a “technique of gathering data from humans by asking them questions and getting them to react verbally”. Polkinghorne also remarked that the reason the researchers conduct interviews is to obtain a detailed and comprehensive information from an informant concerning the phenomenon under study. Rubin²⁵² as quoted by Myers²⁵³ maintained that “qualitative interviews are like night goggles, permitting us to see that which is not ordinarily on view and examine that which is looked at but seldom seen”.

²⁵⁰ Op.cit

²⁵¹ Op.cit

²⁵² Rubin, R. S., Dierdorff, E. C., & Brown, M. E. (2010). Do ethical leaders get ahead? Exploring ethical leadership and promotability. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 20(2), 215-236. Google Scholar. Access on 25/02/2018

²⁵³ Mayer, D. M., Kuenzi, M., Greenbaum, R., Bardes, M., & Salvador, R. (2009). How low does ethical leadership flow? Test of a trickle-down model. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 108(1), 1–13. doi: 10.1016/j.obhdp.2008.04.002. Access on 25/02/2018

3.7.6. Interview Questions

Generally, in qualitative studies, particularly in a case study, the depth of information a researcher collects are dependent on how questions are framed. Usually unstructured open-ended questions are suitable for generating the in-depth data needed in qualitative research²⁵⁴. Open-ended questions were utilized for the interviews, which allowed the respondents to express their views freely on the issues.

Anfara²⁵⁵ observed “that research questions provide the scaffolding for the investigation and the cornerstone for the analysis of the data, researchers should form interview questions on the basis of what truly needs to be known”. The interview questions were framed to be relevant to the research questions. Creswell²⁵⁶ suggested that the interview questions be few in number and framed in such a way that they are able to elicit the interviewees’ views and opinions about the issues. Probing is meant to elicit further information from respondents when they provide a brief or incomplete response.

During the interviews, a probing technique was used to get more details and complete information from the respondents. The questionnaire was adopted and modified for the purpose of this study. This modification was necessary to collect appropriate data that answered the research questions. The interview questions can be found in Appendix A.

3.7.7. Gaining the Confidence of the Participants

Gaining the confidence and trust of participants is very crucial for effective interviewing. Fontana and Frey²⁵⁷ stressed the need for the interviewer to establish trust and maintain good rapport with the participants; therefore, researcher worked hard to gain participant trust and confidence. The researcher met each participant privately to introduce myself, the topic and the need for the study, and the benefits for society. The participants were assured that nobody would use their responses against them. They were assured that the interview would be private, and their identities would

²⁵⁴ Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (2005). The interview: from neutral stance to political involvement. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

²⁵⁵ Anfara, V. A., Brown, K. M., & Mangione, T. L. (2002). Qualitative analysis on stage: Making research process more public. *Educational Researcher*, 31(7), 28-38. doi: 10.3102/0013189X031007028. Access on the 25/02/2018

²⁵⁶ Op.cit

²⁵⁷ Op.Cit

be confidential; also, they were informed of going through the questions beforehand and their right to withdraw any time during the course of the study. The participants provided their contact details at which the researcher met them in their offices during their leisure time to choose the day, time, and place of the interview; though some of them could not keep their appointments and had to be rescheduled, some more than once. They were informed that the interview would be about 35 minutes or less.

3.7.8. Documentation Examination

Document inquiry was the secondary source of data gathering for this study. Though Yin²⁵⁸ argued that documents should consist of major data sources in a qualitative case study; however, McNabb²⁵⁹ insisted that the study of document for data collection in a case study is usually for supplementing information acquired by interviews or observation. Cases of documented government reports were examined to seek for data that portray how the institution's administrative values and policies encourage good governance and combating corruptions.

3.7.9. Strategy for Data Analysis and Interpretation

A thematic data analysis strategy was used to in this study. All interviews were transcribed verbatim as soon as possible following the interview. Transcripts were reviewed by the interviewer for accuracy. Once transcription was completed, a narrative style of analysis was conducted manually. This process involved several readings of the transcripts to capture initial impressions. More focused codes were then developed as ideas surfaced from the narratives. The code list was continuously revised to accommodate new perspectives and to collapse overlapping categories. The focused code list guided the analysis, and more abstract themes evolved from the transcribed stories. Attention was paid to both the content of the story and the way in which it was told²⁶⁰.

²⁵⁸ Op.cit

²⁵⁹ Op.Cit

²⁶⁰ Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998). Narrative research: Reading, analysis, and interpretation. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, and Davidson²⁶¹ posited that data analysis is a process of analysing and interpreting for better understanding of the phenomenon under study. In the same vein, Anfara et al²⁶². noted that the aim “of analysis is to bring meaning, structure, and order to the data”. This section provides a detailed explanation of how the data for this study were analysed. The data were collected from multiple sources, which is typical of a case study,²⁶³ which resulted to having a volume of data for analysis. McNabb²⁶⁴ stated that data are always in their raw forms with little or no meaning at all, and they need to be processed, analysed, and interpreted before they make meaning. The raw data collected for the study were subjected to a data analysis procedure observing qualitative case study standards.

3.7.10. Coding Strategy

The primary qualitative data analysis strategy utilized in this study is thematic analysis strategy. This qualitative analytic strategy permits the researcher to sort the data into codes and then categories them. There is no one best way to conduct qualitative data analysis. Saldana²⁶⁵ however stated that scholars concur that qualitative analysis “is an ongoing, iterative process that begins in the early stage of data collection and continues throughout the study²⁶⁶. The first step toward the analysis and interpretation of qualitative data is to bring the whole data into some level of order, “create and organize files for data” with names for easy identification. Benbasat²⁶⁷ noted that qualitative data analysis is dependent on the integrative ability of the investigator. The data collated for this study were organized into electronic-file documents with identification names for easy recognition.

The researcher generated the initial codes in terms of words, phrases, and concepts that summarized and captured the essential ideas, or elements in the raw data

²⁶¹ Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F., & Davidson, L. (2002). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 36, 717-732. Retrieved from www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/12406114. Access on the 25/02/2018.

²⁶² Op.Cit

²⁶³ Benbasat, I., Goldstein, D. K., & Mead, M. (1987). The case study strategy in studies of information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 11, 369-386. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/248684. Access on the 25/02/2018.

²⁶⁴ Op.cit

²⁶⁵ Saldana, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

²⁶⁶Bradley, E. H., Curry, L. A., & Devers, K. J. (2007). *Qualitative data analysis for health services research: Developing taxonomy, themes, and theory*. Health Research and Education Trust, 42, 1758-1772. Retrieved from www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17286625. Access on 25/02/2018.

²⁶⁷ Ibid

that identified with characteristics of good governance with crucial effort to combat corruption and uphold development of the country. According to Braun and Clarke²⁶⁸, the initial codes attempt to identify the basic elements of the data “that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding” the topic under study and, also, to identify any traits in the raw data that attract the researcher as important to the study (p. 88).

The themes or categories from which interpretation and meaning were constructed were drawn from the initial codes. McNabb²⁶⁹ posited that coding process enables the researcher in “sorting and resorting data to identify patterns, from which meaning and definition can be constructed” (p. 361). Saldana quoted in arguing that coding process allows data to be “segregated, grouped, regrouped, and relinked to consolidate meaning and explanation” (p. 8). Saldana²⁷⁰ observed that coding allows the researcher “to organize and group similarly coded data into categories ... because they share some characteristics” (p. 8). The coded data were sorted out by comparison, identifying correlations and differences, and assembling those that showed resemblance into themes. The themes that emerged from this process were informed by the attributes of ethical leadership in relation to good governance. Some of the initial codes ended up as main themes, while some were merged with others to form new themes.

The discrepant coded data were appropriated, evaluated, and discarded because they did not provide any new insights into the subject being studied. The selection of the theme or category was based on frequency of occurrence of the theme “within each data item and of prevalence across the entire data set”. It is suggested that the popularity of a code within data shows the level of participants’ interests in the code. The preponderance of a category portrays the significance of the category to the subject being studied. Braun and Clarke²⁷¹ also opined that a theme may be selected if “it captures something important in relation to the overall research question” (p. 82). The themes or categories selected were reviewed. This review involved re-evaluating and refining the categories that emerged. The data extracts for the individual category

²⁶⁸ Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101. doi: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa. Access on the 25/02/2018

²⁶⁹ Op.Cit

²⁷⁰ Op.Cit

²⁷¹ Op.Cit

were re-evaluated to ensure that they “form a coherent pattern” (p. 91). Some themes were modified and readjusted for the issue of incoherent patterns²⁷².

3.7.11. Data Interpretation

Data interpretation involves describing and making sense of the findings from the data. Creswell²⁷³ stated that qualitative case study data analysis involves detailed description and analysis of several data to establish evidence for better understanding of the case. Creswell concurred with Stake’s²⁷⁴ four types of data analysis and interpretation in a case study: categorical aggregation, which entails drawing meaning from several pieces of evidence from the data, direct interpretation, which involves drawing meaning from a single instance; patterns, which involves establishing correspondence or similarities between two or more categories and trying to draw meaning from them; and naturalistic generalization, which involves reaching generalizable claims and conclusions that can be informative to other people.

The final analysis of research data usually leads to creating a narrative report or discussion that presents the complex story of the data in a manner that is convincing and portrays dependability of the analysis²⁷⁵. In this study narrative report, the researcher sought to capture the various viewpoints of the respondents regarding ethical leadership as a means for enhancing good governance in Nigerian as well fighting corrupt practices for attainment of development in all forms of the governance of the country through data that were collected by the use of semi structured interviews and analysed the data using an inductive approach to data analysis.

The narrative account analyses and synthesizes the findings from the data and relates them to the research questions and findings from the reviewed literatures regarding promoting good governance and combating corruption. The overall objective of this process is for the researcher to make sense of the database by dividing it into many text or image segments, labelling the segments with codes, examining codes for

²⁷² Op.Cit

²⁷³ Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

²⁷⁴ Ibid

²⁷⁵ Op.Cit

overlap and redundancy, and grouping these codes into broad themes. This is why qualitative data analysis is considered to be an inductive process because the researcher starts with lots of data segments and builds up from the data to several codes and then to a few themes.

3.7.12. Quality Issue

A good-quality research requires a systematic and rigorous approach to ground the findings. A particular method or procedure does not necessarily guarantee the quality of research, the criteria for evaluation must be consistent with the philosophical paradigm, and must aim at informing the research method²⁷⁶. Inductive content analysis was used to code and categorize emerging themes. Strategies were incorporated to ensure data trustworthiness because the researcher works from all the detailed data (e.g., typed interview texts or observational field notes) up to a few general patterns (e.g., codes and themes).

Recently, debate has ensued among some scholars in qualitative research methodology about the relevance of the validity concept in a qualitative study²⁷⁷.

This controversy arose because validity as applied in quantitative studies is used in relation to accuracy and reliability of measurement; conversely, in qualitative research, the aim is “not to measure but rather to understand, represent, or explain something, usually some fairly complex social phenomenon²⁷⁸”. This understanding does imply that the concept of validity as it is used in quantitative positive tradition does not fit in well in the qualitative research paradigm. Despite this fact, some qualitative researchers still are in favor of using the terms. However, Creswell²⁷⁹ noted that Lincoln and Guba contended that terms like credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability, and confirmability adhered more to qualitative study (p. 202).

²⁷⁶ Op.Cit

²⁷⁷ Pyett, P. M. (2003). Validation of qualitative research in the “real world”. *Qualitative Health Research*, 13, 1770-1177. Retrieved from www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/14556426. Access on 25/02/2018.

²⁷⁸ Ibid

²⁷⁹ Op.Cit

Leedy and Ormrod²⁸⁰ provided quite a few strategies to ensure quality management in a qualitative study. Among them are triangulation, using multiple source of data collection; thick description, providing rich and comprehensive detail description of the event; feedback from others, getting peer review from colleagues; and respondent validation, checking back with research participants for validation of the study conclusion.

Fossey²⁸¹ remarked that the key issue in determining the value of a qualitative study is “whether participants’ perspectives have been authentically represented in the research process and the interpretations made from information gathered (authenticity) and whether the findings are coherent in the sense that they ‘fit’ the data and social context from which they were derived” (p. 723). The requisite quality control measures appropriate for qualitative study was observed in this study. The data for this study were collated from multiple sources.

3.7.13. Ethical Issues

Even though the aim of this research was not to study humans as such, human participants were involved in the study, which necessitated the consideration of ethical issues. Scholars distinguished four classes of ethical issues in research, among which are protection from harm, informed consent, and the right to privacy.²⁸² Protection from harm means that researchers should not expose individuals participating in a research to any unwarranted physical or psychological injury. The general rule here is that the risk involved should not be greater than those involved in normal everyday living. The researchers must reveal any information that may cause any embarrassment or loss of self-esteem, or the risks of losing life, jobs, and others.

In this study, some human participants were engaged in interviews in which they expressed their views about effort of the government to instil good governance and combat corruption. The participants were assured that their involvement was not to be used against them. Another ethical issue considered was informed consent, which

²⁸⁰ Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2005). *Practical research: planning and design* (8th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

²⁸¹ Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F., & Davidson, L. (2002). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 36, 717-732. Retrieved from www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/12406114. Access on the 25/02/2018

²⁸² Babbie, E. (2007). *The practice of social research* (11th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

implies that participation by individuals must be voluntary and not of compulsion. The study participants freely volunteered to be part of the study. They were duly informed about the nature and the purpose of the study and of their right to drop out from the study at any time. Each participant were given copy of the interview question to seek their consent for the interview before the date to be conducted. Leedy and Ormrod²⁸³ insisted that research participants should be given the option to participate or not to participate and that they should be informed of their right to withdraw any time they want to do so.

Another ethical issue considered was right to privacy principle, which requires researchers to “respect participants’ right to privacy”. Principles of confidentiality demand that no identifying information about participants in a research be revealed to anybody except those directly involved in the study. The principle of anonymity, on the other hand, entails the participants remaining anonymous all through the study period. The right to privacy principle adopted in this study was the confidentiality principle. The participants were assured that their names and responses would be strictly confidential; that codes would be used to represent their identities in the study to avoid identification.

3.8. Summary

In this chapter, the research methodology and procedural process that was utilized in conducting this study were presented. A qualitative case study approach was identified as the research strategy used to conduct the study as well as the reasons for the choice of this particular strategy. Described in the chapter were also the methods for data collection and data analysis. The methods chosen for data collection and data analysis were considered suitable for conducting qualitative case study. Also, discussed were the question of research ethics, quality issues, and the full account of how this study was conducted along with the procedure used to analyse the data.

In chapter 4, the account of how the study was conducted, the data analysis, and findings will be presented.

²⁸³ Op.cit

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

In this Chapter, the researcher focused on procedure of data analysis, and the findings of the study with the main purpose of gaining an in-depth understanding concerning the perception of corruption and how it could foster and sustain good governance in Nigeria. The study proposition was that development and transparency are viable means for achieving good and effective governance and rule of law. These were presented in sections.

The first section shows how interviews were used for data collection which recognises corruption as an issue. The second section reveal how corruption impacted socio-welfare of the people and governance. The third section described challenges confronting good governance, accountability and rule of law, final section four is the ethical issues and reflections.

4.2. Response Rate

The data collected for this research were obtained through primary and secondary research methods. A research survey was created in November 2017, and it distributed manually at the four focus areas which the Executives Arm of Government, The Judiciary, The Legislators (MPs) and The Nigerian Police.

The researcher distributed 10 open-ended-questions at the Executives Arm of Government in Abuja to senior level Government officials to gain exclusive information on how corruption impacted accountability in Government dealings and conducted 10 focus group discussion (face-to-face) at the Federal Secretariat.

The Judiciary were served with open-ended-questionnaire at the National Judicial Council in Abuja to 15 Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) to obtain fresh information on the topic under investigation, they assisted the researcher by referring him to an online news²⁸⁴ report which is attached in the appendices while the

²⁸⁴ Evelyn O, (2017), Nigerian judiciary not as corrupt as NBS report shows – NJC. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/240878-nigerian-judiciary-not-corrupt-nbs-report-shows-njc.html>

Legislators responded accurately to the 10 open ended questionnaire served them and conducted 5 focus group discussion (face-to-face) at the National Assembly, (The lower-Chamber).

The Nigeria Police at the Police Service Commission in Lagos State of Nigeria were distributed with 20 open-ended questions to obtain top hand information on the topic under researched.

The researcher analysed 70 responded rate which was 100 percent of the total conducted interview on open-ended questionnaire based on focus group discussions and distribution of open-ended questionnaire.

4.3. Interview Approach

Interviews are the most commonly used method of qualitative research²⁸⁵ unlike questionnaires they allow an investigator to produce a rich and varied set of data in a less formal setting. They allow for a more thorough examination of feelings, aspirations, experience and opinions that questionnaires cannot capture²⁸⁶. Interviews can be conducted in many different forms, ranging from structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Against this background, semi-structured interviews were decided upon as the most appropriate methodology for addressing the research questions.

4.3.1. Semi-Structured Interviews

The use of semi-structured interviews for this study provided ample opportunity for participants, in terms of time and scope, to express their views and discuss their experiences of governance and corruption in Nigeria. Semi-Structured interviews provide rich description and detailed accounts of participant's experiences and perspectives²⁸⁷. The interviews were comprised of a set of open-ended questions that encouraged spontaneous responses from a total of 129 interviewees. The choice of this research method was informed by the need to understand and explore the respondents' points of view (relating to their specific roles and expertise) rather than

²⁸⁵ Kitchine, R. and Tate, N. (2000) *Conducting Research into Human Geograpy: Theory, Methodology and Practice*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.

²⁸⁶ Valentine, G. (2005) *Tell me about Interviews: Using Interviews as a Research Methodology*. In flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for a Student doing Research Project*. Harlow: Longman: 110-126.

²⁸⁷ DiCicco, B. and Crabtree, B. (2006) *The Qualitative Research Interview*. *Medical Education*, 40: 314-321.

trying to generate generalized assumptions on the subject. These types of research methods have in more recent years constituted a major part of investigations by geographers, representing a broadened geographical focus of the research away from the spatial science agenda of the 1960s²⁸⁸.

Prospective interviewees were contacted and asked if they were able to participate in the study. When they agreed, appointments were then scheduled for interviews in their preferred locations within their working arena. Within the interview of the members of the Executive arm of Government, the researcher attempted to build a good line of communication with the respondent and the interviews were conducted as a conversation for academic purpose. This conversation was comprised of a set of open-ended questions (contained in a schedule of questions consisting of similar questions for members of the same interview groups) aimed at capturing the required information for addressing the research questions, but questions that occurred to me during the interview (arising out of responses from the interviewees), were also asked when I felt it was necessary.

Each of the interviews lasted on an average of 1 hour. Due to the significant issues of anonymity, many of the participants (particularly those from the top Government sectors and Civil servant) declined from having their interviews tape recorded, a clear case of the notorious difficulties associated with studying a sensitive subject like corruption in Nigeria. In addressing the problems posed by concerns over anonymity, participants agreed to verbal conversation in a closed door meeting room without tape recording but only to write down and note taking of responses relevant to the research, which were further developed within 24 hours after each interview.

4.3.2. Focus Group Discussions

In addition to the semi-structured interviews described in the preceding pages, it was also decided to carry out focus group interviews to explore the issues raised in the research with a somewhat wider range of Nigerian citizens. This was deemed necessary since the majority of the research involves interviews with key actors and stakeholders in government and other parastatals. Thus, whilst the research could not hope to conduct a detailed exploration of the views of the wider Nigerian society on these issues, it focuses attention on the three arms of Government and the Nigeria

²⁸⁸ Robinson, G. (1990) *Methods and Techniques in Human Geography*. Chichester: John Wiley.

Police Force where the researcher tried to broaden the approach to encompass the views of a wider range of social groups through the conducting of a number of focus groups with key sectors.

The focus group method involves a small group of people in an informal setting discussing a topic or issue defined by the researcher. Interaction between members of the group is a key characteristic of the research method²⁸⁹; one comment for instance can trigger a chain of responses. For example, in a focus group at the National Judicial Council, the discussion was deeply in the executive arm of the Government crusade on the Judicial corruption cases involving senior lawyers and corruption in Nigeria in general, to the specific role of individuals cases involved in endemic corruption.

4.3.2.1. Focus Group Interview for the Executive Arm of Government

Nigeria Government and academic scholars have all agreed and confirmed a causal relationship between corruption and economic development²⁹⁰ but have yet to explore the impact on social welfare. However, close examination of the data implies a correlation between corruption and social welfare taking cognizance look into the country governances and anti-corruption policy reforms that were initiated and executed at the federal level by the executive arm of Government.

The expression of key senior staff officials at the Executive Arm of Government were considered essential for this analysis. They were interviewed because of their internal knowledge of the Nigerian government experience. Eleven principal senior staff at the Presidency agreed to verbatim interview and eight directors of ministries and parastatals noted that corruption in the country had become a hydra-headed monster because it had become pervasive and culturally entrenched and advocate that the country anti-corruption agency “Economic and Financial Crimes Commission” (EFCC) are to devise “mechanisms for tackling institutional corruption at the conception stage and to better management of their investigation resources and personnel to provide a more enabling environment for them to carry out their responsibilities as the Government mouth piece against all forms of corrupt practices

²⁸⁹ Rubin, A. and Babbie, E. (2010) *Essential Research Methods for Social Work*. New York: Brook/Cole Cengage Learning.

²⁹⁰ Nwabuzor, Augustine. "Corruption and Development: New Initiatives in Economic Openness and Strengthened Rule of Law." *Journal of Business Ethics* 59, no. 1/2 (June 2005): 121-138.

and tendencies with members of the Executive Arms of Government and the general public. They advocate and urged the commission to use advocacy campaigns to change the mind-sets of individuals who worked in Government organisations and ministerial parastatals to regard corrupt tendencies and practices as social evils in order to guaranteeing a secured post-service life.

It was reported in the online media that “Osinbajo²⁹¹ (Vice President of Nigeria) said corruption had become a cankerworm which had eaten deep into the fabrics of the society. According to him, all segments of the society, including the three arms of government, are victims of the malaise. He said: “Corruption as we all seem to agree, is an existential threat to Nigeria both as a nation and as a viable economic entity. Clearly, there is no doubt whatsoever whether every one arm of government can excuse itself, every part or arm of the society can excuse itself. But the truth of the matter is that we all know that corruption in Nigeria is systemic. “It doesn’t matter whether it is the executive arm of government, the judiciary or the legislature, every arm of government is involved in this systemic and life-threatening social anomaly called corruption. “So, I think we should leave the finger pointing, because the finger pointing is unhelpful. What is important is that we recognise that there is a major problem here. What I’d like us to do if that is possible in the course of this dialogue, is to look at models that have worked elsewhere and to see whether these models are somewhat applicable here. To look at best practices.

4.3.2.2. Focus Group Interview for the Judiciary

Fifteen Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) of the most experienced legal luminaries in the country expressed the view that it is true that this question is about alleged corruption in the judiciary but they must situate the judiciary within the context of the larger Nigerian society. In other words, the judiciary in a country that is internationally reputed to be “fantastically corrupt” cannot be expected to smell like roses.

²⁹¹ Levinus N. Jimitota O. (2017) truth of the matter is that corruption in Nigeria is systemic – Osinbajo. Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/03/truth-matter-corruption-nigeria-systemic-osinbajo/>

No battle against corruption in the Nigerian judiciary can be successful unless it is holistically waged in the larger Nigerian society. While acknowledged that there are some corrupt judges, it is wrong to stigmatize the entire judiciary as corrupt. Those who stigmatize the entire judiciary as corrupt are not helping matters at all.

So when the judiciary is stigmatized as corrupt, a lot of disservice is being meted out to these courageous and honest judges who toil both night and day to dispense justice without fear or favour, affection or ill will. They opined that condemning the entire judiciary as corrupt lies in the fact that it erodes confidence in the system. And the destruction of confidence in the judiciary is a direct invitation to anarchy and self-help. So, the Executive arm of Government should direct their efforts at getting rid of the corrupt few who are giving the system a bad name. There is a pressing need to reform the institutional framework for fighting corruption in the judiciary. The National Judicial Council needs total reformation and retooling to fight corruption in the judiciary. Unfortunately, people view corruption only from the prism of bribery of judges to pervert the course of justice.

As observed and reflected in the interview, those involved in corruption are relatively few. The more serious form of corruption is appointing those who have very little knowledge of the law, as judges. When that is done, they pollute the system. An ignorant judge is as dangerous as the judge who takes bribes to pervert the course of justice because neither of them will deliver justice in the end.

All along they have been talking about the judicial system. They added and noted that the government is duty bound to respect the judiciary of the country. An independent and fearless judiciary is the very foundation of democracy.

They claimed that the Executive arm of Government has very little or no regard for the judiciary. They demonstrated this in no small measure when about a year ago, they raided the houses of seven judges of Superior Courts of Record in the middle of the night, treating them like common criminals. The Judiciary corruption practices and tendencies argued that the raid they were a direct attack on the integrity and independence of the judiciary of the country.

They advocate that judges should be above the laws of the land. All they are saying is that due process was not followed in carrying out that raid. It is another shame on this administration. Subsequent events have since proved that the raid was calculated to intimidate the judiciary and cow them into submission so that they will dispense justice in accordance with the whims and caprices of the Executive arm of

government. It should be remembered that after almost one year of zero action on part of the government, the National Judicial Council had to recall some of the affected judges to work. Incalculable harm had already been done to their hard earned reputation by the time of their recall. What of the emotional trauma that they went through during the period? Please let us respect the judiciary they advocate.²⁹² When the judiciary is rubbished, they will go back to the state of nature where life was nasty, brutish and short. The researcher was referred to an online news media where a categorical statement was made by the NJC obtained below;²⁹³

The Nigeria Judicial Council (NJC) added that the judiciary is the only arm of government that investigates and disciplines its officials, adding that the council has made several recommendations for dismissal of judges found culpable following investigations into allegations of crime.²⁹⁴ Members of the general public are also aware that the NJC has been recommending Judges found guilty of corrupt practices to the appropriate security agencies for prosecution.

It is unfortunate that this orchestrated allegation is coming at a time the current Chief Justice of Nigeria and Chairman of the National Judicial Council, Hon. Justice W.S.N. Onnoghen, GCON, is making frantic efforts to stamp out corruption, restructure the Judiciary and also give the Nigerian Legal System a new lease of life for the Rule of Law to take its firm roots in the Country.

“The Judiciary calls on the general public to disregard the foretasted allegation as it is untrue, baseless, unfounded and a figment of the Agencies’ imagination”.

“The National Judicial Council as usual calls on members of the public to forward written petitions against any Judicial Officer found soliciting or receiving bribes or otherwise engaging in conducts unbecoming of a Judicial Officer to the National Judicial Council for appropriate action.”²⁹⁵

4.3.2.3. Focus Group Interview for the Legislators (MPs)

National Assembly is sad to be involved in majority of the huge mis-governance and corruption issues that characterised the governance in Nigeria. The lawmakers are overprotective of criminal suspects identified as key suspects in the

²⁹² Ibid.P5

²⁹³ Op.Cit

²⁹⁴ Ibid. p 5

²⁹⁵ Op.Cit

notable cases of graft and outright stealing. “The current National Assembly, especially the Senate, may be the worst in the recent history of Nigeria. In terms of the battle against corruption, the National Assembly has not only taken the back seat, they have become a potential willing tool in the hands of those who want to keep Nigeria on the dark spot of maladministration²⁹⁶.”

There are corruptions scandal regarding padding of the 2016 and 2017 budget by principal officers of the House of Representatives appears to have confirmed a belief that Nigeria’s lawmakers are not serving the interest of the masses. Corruption has been the greatest bane of the Legislative Branch since the return of democracy in 1999. As the branch of government saddled with the duty of financial appropriation and supervision of the execution of the budget, it is worrisome that the lawmakers cannot seem to stand up to their call to duty.

“The national assembly cabal of today is worse than any cabal that anybody may find anywhere in our national governance system at any time. Members of the national assembly pay themselves allowances for staff and offices they do not have or maintain. “The national assembly budget process is not only carried out in opaque and corruptive manner but also in grossly unconstitutional manner. Hence, our lawmakers are lawbreakers. They are the accused, the prosecutor, the defenders and the judge in their own case’’.²⁹⁷

“We should not continue to live with the impunity and corruption of the national assembly. Yes, I believe that something can and should be done. The president should ride on the crest of the popularity of what is happening in the judiciary to set up a highly technical team of incorruptible investigators to look into the so-called constituency projects of the past and the present and bring culprits to book. The president has overall responsibility and accountability for any fund appropriated under his watch. There would be many of such projects and the national assembly would try to frustrate such necessary investigation. But the project sites are known and magnitude of funds voted for them are known. The investigation will reveal the true situation.”

296 The Cable, (2016). Obasanjo: National assembly is a den of corruption occupied by unarmed robbers. Retrieved from <https://www.thecable.ng/obasanjo-nassembly-den-corruption->

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

“The House on a number of occasions have been providing a safe haven for corrupt officials, giving orders to unfreeze the accounts of suspects and even issuing orders to undermine investigations of anti-corruption agencies. All these suggest that the National Assembly is handed in gloves with many corrupt individuals and institutions.” The Civil Liberty groups also listed the following:

- The sponsorship of the NGOs Regulation bill
- The proposal by some lawmakers of the immunity clause for members of the National Assembly
- The orchestrated plot to scuttle the trial of the Senate President by the Code of Conduct Bureau
- The refusal to confirm the Chairmanship of the EFCC
- The suspension of Senator who called attention to public perception of member of the Senate
- An attempt by the Senate to summon the Code of Conduct Tribunal over the Trial of Senate President, Bukola Saraki
- Summon and attempt at embarrassing the Controller General of Customs impounded unauthorised armoured bullet proof vehicle allegedly imported by the Senate President.
- Directing the EFCC to unfreeze an account belonging to a suspect, Patience Jonathan, in a matter that is before a competent Court of Jurisdiction.
- Conspiring with a fugitive, Abdur-Rasheed Maina, to falsely accuse EFCC of mismanaging phantom 222 recovered properties.

The groups frown at the surreptitious attempt of the Parliament to constitute itself into a shield and safe haven for suspect in the name legislative interventions²⁹⁸.

“Once you are a member, you are co-opted and your mouth is stuffed with rotteness and corruption that you cannot opt out as you go home with not less than N15 million a month for a senator and N10 million a month for a member of the house of representatives. The national assembly is a den of corruption by a gang of unarmed

298 SAHARA REPORTERS, NY, (2017). Nigerian Groups Accuse National Assembly of Frustrating Anti-Corruption Campaign. Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2017/12/21/nigerian-groups-accuse-national-assembly-frustrating-anti-corruption-campaign>.

robbers’’. “Most of them conduct themselves and believe that they are not answerable to anybody. They are blatant in their misbehaviour, cavalier in their misconduct and arrogant in the misuse of parliamentary immunity as a shield against reprisals for their irresponsible acts of malfeasance and/or outright banditry”.²⁹⁹

Under the present dispensation, the oversight power of the legislature was not judiciously exercised to guarantee Nigerians the dividends for electing their representatives. There were clear cover-ups and lack of political will to bring a lot of the cases to closure. Even when it issues reports on certain important national issues, such as the fuel subsidy scam, the National Assembly lacked the firepower to compel the executive execute its recommendations. As nothing almost always get done after individuals, agencies and corporations are indicted by either the House of Representatives or the Senate, the billions spent yearly on either public hearings and oversight functions have turned out to be mere drains on national resources. Below are just a few of the scandals the National Assembly may not resolve before the end of their term at the Assembly.

1. The Maina Pension Scam: There was a probe into pension funds that affected about 141,790 pensioners. Abdurashed Maina, the Chairman of Pension Reform Task Team, was accused of looting N195billion.

The Senate set up a committee to investigate the matter. During investigation, Mr. Maina alleged that Aloysius Etuk, representing Akwa Ibom State, demanded \$100,000 dollars from him as bribe. A former director of pension in the office of the Head of Service of the Federation, Sani Shuaibu Teidi, who was prosecuted along with 31 others, also alleged that Mr. Etuk and other members of the committee collected a bribe of N3 billion from him. Although the Senate seemed furious about the allegation, it did not take decisive steps to investigate. The National Assembly also did not push the executive hard enough to implement its report on the pension scam and punish offenders.

2. Kerosene subsidy scam: The kerosene scam is considered monumental fraud by the average Nigerian. Kerosene, which is supposed to be sold for N50 to consumer, sells for between N100 and N120 per litre. Many years after a presidential

²⁹⁹ Ibid. P8

directive ended subsidy for kerosine, the NNPC claimed it had continued to subsidise the product.

Yet, Nigerians are not benefiting from the subsidy as the product sells for far above the official price at the pumps. Several billion naira are believed to have been stolen under the guise of kerosine subsidy. The National Assembly made a feeble attempt to get to the root of the matter. But it issued no indictment and did not take concrete steps to resolve the matter. No official of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, and the petroleum ministry have been sanctioned over the matter.

3. Police Pension Fund Fraud: Five people, including a former Director of Police Pension Fund, Esai Dangabar, were accused of misusing N32.8 billion from the Police Pension Fund. Mr. Dangabar accused some committee members of the Senate of benefiting from the loot. The senate denied the allegation without ordering an investigation. The world may never know whether indeed the Senate joint Committee on Establishment and Public Service Matter, and State and Local Government Affairs indeed took bribes from the pension thieves.

4. Stella Oduah: Before her removal as Aviation Minister, Stella Oduah was embroiled in a N255 million armoured car scandal. She was accused of abusing her office by compelling an agency under her ministry to buy her expensive cars. The House of Representatives has so far failed to release a detailed report of its investigation into the matter. Although Ms. Oduah was later dropped as minister, other officials involved in the matter remained untouched till date. Recently, a Federal High Court in Abuja granted Media Rights Agenda (MRA) leave to apply for an order to compel the House to furnish it with transcripts of the proceedings of the House Committee on Aviation at the hearing of the Committee on the procurement of the two bulletproof BMW cars by the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority (NCAA) through Messrs Coscharis Motors Limited.

5. Missing N20 billion Naira oil money: In 2013, a former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Lamido Sanusi, alleged that the NNPC failed to remit billions of naira in oil proceeds to the state. This caused a huge rift between the CBN governor and President Goodluck Jonathan, leading to the president suspending Mr. Sanusi from

office. The National Assembly investigated the matter but was unable to bring it to closure.

6. \$15million private jet/arms scandal: A private jet conveyed \$15million in cash to Johannesburg for a purported arms deal between Nigeria and a South African firm. That deal seriously embarrassed Nigeria, but the National Assembly failed to investigate. Attempts by lawmakers of the All Progressives Congress to table the matter at the House of Representatives were frustrated by their Peoples Democratic Party's counterparts.

7. Abba Morro Immigration Scandal: Despite the death of over 15 individuals who went to write entrance examinations into the Nigerian Immigration Service on March 13, 2015, the Minister of Interior, Abba Morro, has remained in office. Before the entrance test, candidates were made to pay N1, 000 for application forms. A private company, Drexel Nig Ltd, was also implicated in the recruitment scam. Although federal lawmakers commenced investigation into the incident, nothing has been heard of the matter ever since. Nigerians suspect cover-up, especially because the minister involved, Mr. Morro, is a core loyalist of David Mark, the President of the Senate, who doubles as the Chairman of the National Assembly.

8. Malabu Oil Scandal: This was one of the biggest oil scandals that did not receive the kind of attention it deserves. It involves a former Petroleum minister, Dan Etete, who was convicted in France for money laundering. His illegal company, Malabu Oil, received an illegal \$1.1million from the Nigerian government as proceeds for the sale of an oil block. Upon receipt, the money was immediately disbursed to certain individuals. The National Assembly is yet to bring this matter, which involves officials of the presidency, ministers and business people, to closure. There appears to be attempts to cover up the matter.

9. Ekiti Gate: A leaked tape of the alleged electoral malpractices during the gubernatorial election in Ekiti State caused a major stir in the country. Four principal characters were heard discussing how to manipulate the election. The voices were those of former Minister of State for Defence, Musiliu Obanikoro; the Minister of Police Affairs, Jelili Adesiyun; former Deputy governor of Osun state, Iyiola Omisore,

and the eventual winner of the election and current governor of Ekiti state, Ayo Fayose. Despite the huge evidence in the public domain, the Presidency said it would not investigate the matter. The National Assembly has failed to investigate the matter, which is clearly a major assault on our democracy. Mr. Obanikoro indeed went ahead to receive a National Assembly approval for ministerial appointment.

10. Farouk Lawan: House of Representatives member, Farouk Lawan, was caught on tape collecting \$620,000 out of a \$3million bribe while his committee investigated the fuel subsidy scam. He was seen collecting the money from oil mogul, Femi Otedola. The House of Representative referred the bribery allegation to its committee on ethics. But no report has been issued till date³⁰⁰.

4.3.2.4. Focus Group Interview for The Nigerian Police

It is a common slogan and parlance that the police are your friends in Nigeria. But in a country like Nigeria, the ordinary citizen thinks the policeman is anything but a friend.

The challenges of Nigeria police are many. Besides poor remuneration, living in squalor, the presence of a policeman scares a Nigerian rather than gives confidence. About four out of every ten Nigerian will always have a bitter story or a bad experience to share about the police. Many slang terms, often considered derogatory or offensive, exist for police officers. These terms are rarely used by the police themselves and instead are used by criminals, prisoners, or by the general public Ask the bus driver, taxi driver, traders, and shopkeepers who are accosted on a daily basis by armed police officers who demand bribes and commit human rights abuses against them as a means of extorting money.

A typical Nigerian would rather not have anything to do with the police. Some call them all kinds of names and would avoid them like a plague. Right or wrong, the police should be worried if the public has no confidence in them. Reports abound of high-level police officials who embezzle staggering sums of public funds meant to

³⁰⁰ Joshua O. Richard A. and Chinenye U. (2015). Top 10 Corruption Scandals Nigeria's National Assembly Hasn't Resolved. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/182111-top-10-corruption-scandals-nigerias-national-assembly-hasnt-resolved.html>

cover basic police operations. Extortion, embezzlement, and other corrupt practices by Nigeria's police undermine the fundamental human rights of Nigerians³⁰¹.

The police are alleged to frequently extort money from the public at taxi stands, in marketplaces, or from people going about their daily lives. The police stations are extortion camps. Even victims of robbery or other types of crime pay "homage" before their cases are handled. Popular for its check-point activities, most extortions occur at police roadblocks, ostensibly put in place to combat crime. These checkpoints are a lucrative venture for the police who routinely demand bribes from drivers and passengers alike. On many occasions, the check-points were abolished but several illegal check-points abound. Some officers would say theirs are not check-points but 'stop and search'. No matter what it is called, the stop and search or the checkpoint is like a two-edged sword. Tail, the officer wins, head the ordinary citizen loses. Should things continue to be that way? Only last Thursday, the news media were agog with the report computed by the National Bureau of Statistics, (NBS).

According to this report, the highest incidents of bribery occurred during encounters with the police. The report said police officers are the public officials to whom bribes are most commonly paid in Nigeria. It stated: "Of all adult Nigerians who had direct contact with a police officer in the 12 months prior to the survey, almost half (46.4 per cent) paid an officer at least one bribe, and in many cases more than one since police officers are also among the three types of public officials to whom bribes are paid most frequently (5.3 bribes per bribe-payer over the course of 12 months) in Nigeria. "At the same time, the average bribe paid to police officers is somewhat below the average bribe size.

Although fewer people come into contact with judiciary officials than with police officers over the course of the year, when they do, the risk of bribery is considerable: at 33 per cent, the prevalence of bribery in relation to prosecutors is the second highest, closely followed by judges and magistrates, at 31.5 per cent. The experience of corruption in encounters with public officials whose duty it is to uphold the rule of law can lead to the erosion of trust in public authority," said the report³⁰².

³⁰¹ Chioma G. (2017) Corruption: Nigerian Police under scrutiny Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/08/corruption-nigerian-police-scrutiny/> Accessed 21/07/2018

³⁰² Ibid

1. The media in Nigeria have reported corrupt enrichment by senior officers in the Nigeria Police Force.

In 2005, former Inspector General of Police (IGP), Mr. Tafa Balogun was sentenced by a Federal High Court, Abuja to a six months' imprisonment for concealing vital information to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) over his alleged business concerns and interests in some companies amounting to over N17.7 billion. The former police boss had pleaded guilty to eight of the 56 count-charges directly affecting him and was convicted for six months in each of the charges. The court verdict was believed to be the culmination of the series of plea bargain being worked out by Balogun's lawyers and those of EFCC for two months. He was directed by the court to pay N500, 000 on each of the eight counts charges totalling N4 million. The court had also directed that Balogun forfeited all his assets while ordering the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) to strike out names of his companies from its register. The number of properties he forfeited as listed by the EFCC totalled 14. They were located in choice parts of Lagos and Abuja.

In 2012, former Inspector General of Police, Sunday Ehindero faced trial for embezzling money meant for the police force. An Abuja High Court judge said Ehindero, in his capacity as Inspector General of Police embezzled N16 million, meant for the police. Attempt by Ehindero to quash the charges against him were dismissed by the judge, Mudashiru Oniyangi. ICPC had said Mr. Ehindero, and a Commissioner of Police in charge of Budget at the Force Headquarters, John Obaniyi, connived to embezzle the funds. While Mr. Ehindero was retired from the police, Mr. Obaniyi was suspended.

Some of the embezzled funds included N567 million, donated to the Nigeria Police for the purchase of arms, ammunition and riot control equipment, during the tenure of Mr. Ehindero as police chief by the Bayelsa State Government. The money was deposited in a bank from which it yielded an interest of N16 million. The interest disappeared between Mr. Ehindero and Mr. Obaniyi, according to ICPC. Ehindero was also later cleared. He was not guilty of the charges. In 2016, a former Director of Police Pension Fund reportedly moved N24 billion into different accounts³⁰³.

An investigator for the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission witness (EFCC), Mr. Mustapha Gadanya, told an FCT High Court how the ex-director, Esai

³⁰³ Op.Cit. Pg 134

Dangabar and others scammed the scheme. Dangabar alongside Atiku Kigo, Ahmed Wada, Veronica Onyegbula, Sani Zira, Uzoma Attang and Christian Madubuke were standing trial for complicity in the over N24 billion scam in the police pension office. Gadanya, who was led in evidence by the EFCC counsel, Mr. Rotimi Jacobs (SAN), told the court that the bank analysis revealed that Dangarbar fixed some amount in the bank to yield turnover. He said about N320 million was deposited in Skye Bank between May 2008 and July 2009 for his companies. The turnover accrued to the suspect was said to have amounted to N249.8 million and N241 million respectively, which was later sent to the Federal Government after it was discovered.

In August 2015, one of Nigeria's anti-corruption agencies alleged that another former Inspector General of Police disbursed millions of naira of public funds in fraudulent payment of air fare for Abuja-based staff of the commission who attended training in Abuja, Nigeria's capital. In a report that alleged the former IGP's profligate waste of public funds, the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) revealed that the ex-police boss paid N11, 750,000 to the staff of the police commission to cover their supposed air flight tickets and airport taxi fares to attend training that took place in the Federal Capital Territory.

The ICPC chairman, claimed that irregular and fraudulent payments in the report showed corruption, abuse of office and fraudulent act through which the former IG allegedly swindled the Police Service Commission. ICPC investigators also alleged that the ex-police boss misspent more than N275 million of the commission's funds. But the report dated August 6, 2015, did not call for criminal prosecution of the former IGP. It only ordered the officers who received the payment to refund the money to the government.

The former IGP was eventually cleared of all allegations. New trends in corruption Police bulletins and releases are replete with reports and allegations of inappropriate behaviour amongst officers. Allegations of citizens being sexually assaulted or shot for refusing to give bribe abound. Corruption in the Nigerian police force, from armed officers extorting money at checkpoints to top officials embezzling public funds, has led to the beating and even killing of innocent civilians, according to a report by Human Rights Watch. Institutionalised extortion, lack of political will for reform and impunity mean Nigerians are more likely to encounter police threatening

them and demanding bribes than enforcing law, Human Rights Watch (HRW) said in a 102-page report³⁰⁴.

In major cities in Nigeria, including Lagos and Abuja, Human Rights Watch said armed police set up checkpoints at evenings ostensibly to control high levels of crime, including armed robbery and kidnapping. “But the checkpoints are in reality illegal and tolls at which officers attempt to force motorists to pay money, but frequently becoming more aggressive. “Extortion-related confrontations between the police and motorists often escalate into more serious abuses,” the report, based on interviews with more than 145 victims, said. “The evidence suggests that police officers have on numerous occasions severely beaten, sexually assaulted, or shot to death ordinary citizens who failed to pay bribes demanded.” But Nigerian police spokesman Emmanuel Ojukwu said the report contained “largely embellished innuendos”.

But the new face of the Nigerian police is evidently saying that enough is enough to corruption in the force. On July 24 2017, the Lagos Police command sacked three officers for extortion from the public. The three officers found guilty of illegal arrest and extortion were: Okelue Nkemeonye, Braimoh Sunday and Yusuf Olukoga. Assistant Commissioner of Police, Abayomi Shogunle of the Public Complaint Rapid Response Unit (PCRRU) in Abuja said the dismissal followed an internal trial at which the men were found guilty, under the Police Act, of corrupt practices and discreditable conduct. In a major image-makeover effort, the PCRRU sent to the public such messages as: “Remember, Bail is Free, PCRRU says NO TO IMPUNITY and our quick response will put a smile on your face.” The complainant in his message to the PCRRU, told the horrendous story of how he was abducted by a team of policemen that morning as he came out of a bank to transact business and held all day until about 6 p.m. Not only was he beaten by the policemen, they used his ATM to withdraw money from his account, and transferred money into another account provided by one of them.

According to ACP Shogunle, “Upon the receipt of the complaint, a case with Tracking Number PCRRU637624 was registered and acknowledgement of complaint sent to the complainant. PCRRU Investigation team was dispatched to Ikorodu where

³⁰⁴ Op.Cit Pg 134

all the three dismissed policemen including AP No. 98199 ASP Bayo Obadia who led the team were apprehended.

PCRRU preliminary investigation reveals that all the allegations contained in the WhatsApp message actually happened.” He said the four police officers who were armed on the day of the incident had falsely paraded themselves as operatives of Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) despite not being posted to SARS by police authorities³⁰⁵.

On July 9, 2017, the Inspector General Of Police, Ibrahim Idris sacked four officers of the Ogun State Police Command over extortion and bribery. The sacked officers are: Insp. Mufutau Olaosun, Sgt. Adebayo Temitope, Cpl. Bakare Taiwo and Cpl. Adesoye Ayokunlehin. Police authorities said the officers were charged, tried and found guilty in an Orderly Room conducted at the Area Command Headquarters, Ijebu-Ode for two offences against discipline as provided for in Paragraphs E (iii) Discreditable Conduct and C (ii) Corrupt Practice, under the First Schedule of Police Act and Regulations Cap. P19. Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004.

The Inspector-General of Police, IGP Ibrahim K. Idris, while reiterating his stand on zero tolerance for corruption after the sack of the officers vowed to “flush out those tarnishing police image” from the Force. The IGP also impressed it upon the PCRRU to ensure that all allegations of professional misconduct against the police are promptly investigated and officers found wanting in any proven case be made to face appropriate sanctions as stipulated by relevant laws.

On June 20, 2017, the Nigeria Police authorities dismissed two traffic wardens, Shuaibu Suleman and Musa Muktari three weeks after they were found to have extorted N15,000 from a motorist in Abuja. The Inspector General of Police, said the two traffic wardens, Musa Muktari, Force Number; 394120 GDI and Shuaibu Suleman, Force Number; 10627 GDII, attached to Wuse Police Division, FCT Abuja Command were dismissed from service for corrupt practice.

The dismissal of the two wardens came after a motorist (name withheld) filed a complaint to the Public Complaint Rapid Response Unit, PCRRU, Force Headquarters Abuja on May 30. The complainant stated that while driving his vehicle on May 29, at about 12:30pm along Wuse Market road, he was accosted by the two Traffic Wardens who accused him of “beating traffic light” despite the fact that he did

³⁰⁵ Op.Cit P Pg 134

not. The wardens led him to an Automated Teller Machine (ATM) not far from the scene where he was forced to make a withdrawal of Fifteen Thousand Naira (N15, 000) from his account which he gave to the traffic wardens. One of the wardens forgot his mobile phone in the victim's car. The extorted N15, 000 was recovered from the wardens (N7, 500 each, as the money was already shared)³⁰⁶.

On April 6, 2017, Inspector General of Police, IGP Ibrahim Idris decorated Mr. Akinbayo Olasunkomi Olasoji, the Area Commander, Mushin in Lagos, with the rank of Assistant Commissioner of Police. The decoration of ACP Olasoji and eleven other Commissioners was based on special recommendation for exemplary service at the time families of 112 police officers who lost their lives or suffered life threatening injuries while tackling criminality in different parts of the country were given Police life assurance benefits totalling N180million by the IGP.

On February 11 2017, the Police Service Commission (PSC) promoted six senior police officers for rejecting huge sums of money offered as bribe to compromise them in the course of doing their duties. The Commission in a statement explained that the promotion was imperative because the officers displayed rare and exemplary courage to resist corruption. Those promoted were: "CSP Sulaiman Muhammad Abdul, CSP. Olusoji Akinbayo, Inspector Sunday Idowu, DSP Mu'awuyya A. Abubakar, Inspector Eheziokia Abiona and Sergeant Ogunbiyi Agbabu. In a statement, the PSC said: "The Police Service Commission has promoted six senior police officers who have shown rare and exemplary courage to resist corruption.

The Commission approved the promotion of CSP Sulaiman Muhammad Abdul to the rank of Assistant Commissioner of Police for his outstanding performance in the fight against corruption." Sadly, though, eighty-seven years after its birth, members of the force are viewed more as predators than protectors, and the Nigeria Police Force has become a symbol in Nigeria of unfettered corruption, mismanagement, and abuse. Poor remuneration, bane of Nigeria police Except something is done to tackle poor remuneration and living conditions of the personnel in the police force, there may never be an end to corruption in the Force The poor take-home package contributes directly to the alarming rate of corruption in the security organisation and rampant attack on and extortion of civilians by personnel.

³⁰⁶ Op.Cit Pg 134

A police constable, according to reports earns between N22, 000 and N27, 000, depending on his length of service and accommodation plan; a sergeant earns about N30, 000, after deductions of tax, accommodation allowance and others; while an inspector now earns at least N50, 000 monthly. Among senior officers (SPO), an assistant superintendent of police earns a little above 80,000 after deductions have been made.

On the issue of corruption, the Nigeria Police Force is not left out. The truth is even that, the synonym of corruption is the Nigerian Police Force. The whole system seems to be very corrupt. Even, if corruption is the ‘yolkiest’ of the Nigerian nation that does not mean it should eat so deep into the fabric of the Nigeria Police³⁰⁷.

When those meant to fight ‘corruption’ are also very corrupt, what is expected of such body? To deliver the expected goods? What even amazes me the most is that, the process of recruiting candidates into the force is corrupt and that is a more reason why the force is having the serious problem today – corruption.

Many of the men who are into the force are there, not because of the passion they have for the job, but for the extra gain that comes from it. Look, if they are to start lynching daylight robbers in Nigeria, the highway policemen needs to be lynched first. This is highlighted not to promote jungle justice but to showcase how the policemen have been causing harm to the citizens.

The policemen seem to have metamorphosed the force to a business concern. Their main aim is no more to do their job but to make financial profit into their tattered pocket. They extort vehicles drivers and even give serious threat on vehicles owners. They delay the precious time of the people without any good reason. What they need is just a token of fifty or hundred naira. In fact, our roads have been ‘nairaised’. No naira, no thoroughfare – this is just a total sorry case!

Whether we believe this or not, that is the way the Nigerian police operates. To keep your soul from trouble, one just need to ‘settle’ these men. If not, things funny can happen. There have been series of cases where police that are meant to fight criminal activities in the society are caught involving in the same ridiculous act. It is no more news to anybody, it is known to all and sundry. We have heard news of how

³⁰⁷ National Daily, (2017). Nigeria Police Force, corruption and human rights violation. Retrieved from <https://nationaldailyng.com/nigeria-police-force-corruption-and-human-rights-violation/>

policemen cut-short the lives of those that have refused to bribe them. Uncountable cases of how the police have been colliding with criminals; all because of money. Many a times, criminals have been operating successfully due to the corruption spirit in the police. Once they are ‘settled’ they forget about the main purpose why they are on duty.

The police stations are the home of corruption too. No one visits the police station without dropping something. In fact, to get matter settled in your favour, the only thing to do is to be the highest bidder. Where your bid is lower, even if the case in the real sense is in your favour, the highest bidder will always be favoured. Virtually all the DPOs are aware of these corrupt acts – they all share the profit in their business; and this is the reason why the police can never be trusted by the common man. This indicates the fact that the Nigeria Police Force looks very much like a business concern with the way things are done.

While submitting a report on how to improve the welfare of the Nigerian police personnel in 2012, a former chairman of the Nigeria Police Service Commission, Parry Osayande, told the then President Goodluck Jonathan that the police in Nigeria were the worst paid in the West African sub-region. Reacting to the recent report by the National Bureau of Statistics, NBS, a retired Police Commissioner, Alhaji Abubakar Tsav said: ‘I am not surprised because the level of corruption in that era was so much. It was a period when the issue of corruption was not taken seriously. With that kind of attitude, it is therefore, not surprising that people paid that much in bribes’³⁰⁸

Severally, the Federal Government has been urged to address the issue of poor salary for police officers and men to boost their morale and bring an end to corruption in the sector.

4.4. Data Coding

Qualitative data analysis involves organizing and putting order to the collected amorphous data and condensing data into themes via the means of coding procedure and eventually producing a narrative that portrays the analysis³⁰⁹. It is an enterprise of instilling “meaning, structure, and order to data, in which the researcher must translate

³⁰⁸ Ibid. P. 18

³⁰⁹ Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc

what has been learned into a body of textual work that communicates the understanding to the readers³¹⁰”.

The generated data from both the interviews and documents were carefully coded and assembled according to the emerging patterns to establish “meaning and explanation³¹¹”. Scholars maintain that coding process in qualitative analysis is iterative and involves multiple cycles or levels³¹².

Inductive content analysis was used to code and categorize emerging themes. Strategies were incorporated to ensure data trustworthiness. The further process of analysing text in qualitative research begins with coding the data. Coding is the process of segmenting and labelling text to form descriptions and broad themes in the data. Using a visual model; the coding process is to make sense out of text data, divide it into text or image segments, label the segments with codes, examine codes for overlap and redundancy, and collapse these codes into broad themes. Thus, this is an inductive process of narrowing data into a few themes³¹³. Data coding in this study took multiple cycles or levels.

Tables 4.4.1 show the cycles of codification of the raw data. From the raw data phrases and concepts that captured attributes of endemic corruption that inform deficiency of good governance were filtered out.

The emerging concepts were constantly compared and further coded into themes or categories that showed affinity and displayed patterns that informed meaning. There were discrepant coded data, which were carefully evaluated before they were discarded because they did not provide useful information about the subject being studied.

³¹⁰ Anfara, V. A., Brown, K. M., & Mangione, T. L. (2002). Qualitative analysis on stage: Making research process more public. *Educational Researcher*, 31(7), 28-38. doi: 10.3102/0013189X031007028

³¹¹ Saldana, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

³¹² Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101. doi: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

³¹³ Igo, L. B., Bruning, R., & McCrudden, M. T. (2005a). Encoding disruption associated with copy and paste note taking. In L. M. Pytlík-Zillig, M. Bodvarsson, & R. Bruning (Eds.), *Technology-based education: Bringing researchers and practitioners together* (pp. 107-119), Greenwich, CT: Information Age.

Table 4.4.1 shows

First Cycle Coding: Phrases/Concept from the Raw Data

Coded Concepts/Phrases from Interviews	Coded Concepts/Phrases from Documents
Honesty, truthfulness	Discipline
Concern for People	Integrity
Altruism, public interest	Dishonesty
Selflessness	Bribery
Showing good examples	Abuse of Office
Reward and Discipline Measures	Corruption
Codes of Conduct	False Claims
Just wage	Financial Embarrassment
Good salary	Disobedience of Lawful Order
Fraudulent, dishonesty, corruption	Exploitation
Salary	Insufficient income
Information access	
Hunger	
Involvement	
Anti-corruption	
Participation	
Corruption	
Stewardship	
Exploitation	
Accountability	
Competency	
Income	
Open administration	
Bribery	
Transparency	
Ethics training	
Rule of Law	

Table 4.4.2. Shows Second Cycle Coding: Emerging Themes and Patterns

Coded Categories/Themes and Emergent Patterns from both the Interviews and Documents

Honesty, Concern for People, and Corruption
Ethics Infrastructure and Ethics Training
Participation and Access of Information
Anti-Corruption, Salary
Corruption, Income
Exploitation, hunger, bribery
Accountability, Transparency, Rule of Law, and Competency
Autonomy

The themes developed and analysed in the study were derived from the coded categories. Saldana³¹⁴ held that research theme is not coded as such, though it “is an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection”. Also, the researcher noted from the extensive literature review on the utilization of theme in qualitative research that many writers often did interchange the term theme with such words as category or phrase.

Even though there is no consensus among the qualitative methodologists on the definition and analytic function of a theme, there is a general consensus that the term identifies the essence of a unit of data³¹⁵. Braun and Clarke³¹⁶ argued that a “theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (p.82). The themes that emerged captured the salient concepts expressed in the data, which were identified with endemic corruption that ensure under development leading to deficiency of good governance.

4.5. Recurrent Themes

From the data analysis, relevant themes that are significant and captured elements that are important to the subject matter were identified. Coding is a procedure used in qualitative data analysis where the researcher identifies segments of text or images,

³¹⁴ Op.Cit

³¹⁵ Ibid

³¹⁶ Op.Cit

places a bracket around them or highlights them, and assigns a code that describes the meaning of the segment of the themes. Themes (also called categories) are the results found during qualitative data analysis where the researcher aggregates similar codes together to form a major idea about the central phenomenon in the database. Researchers also interconnect themes into a sequence of relationships, such as when qualitative researchers generate a theoretical model in grounded theory studies. These interconnections convey how certain themes are found to influence or relate to other themes and researchers often develop a visual model to depict the connections³¹⁷.

The themes identified portrayed the relevant elements of endemic corruption that are capable of ensuring deficiency of good governance at all levels of government in Nigeria. The themes are shown in Table 4.4.1 above, and the frequency of each is identified in Table 4.4.2. Although ethics training and autonomy maintained low frequency in contrast to others, they were chosen because of their importance toward understanding and promoting the subject under study.

Ethics training is vital for fostering ethics practice and ethical dealings in any Governmental organization, particularly in the public sector. Braun and Clarke³¹⁸ argued that a theme may be chosen if it portrays something significant in relation to the overall research question.

4.5.1. Respondents' Perception about Support-Honesty Theme

The prospect of any type of good leadership is to provide good governance in any country depends largely on ethical or moral integrity of its officials. All the respondents emphasized the imperative of honesty in any genuine leadership. They believed that leadership's honesty goes a long way to build peoples' trust and confidence in their leaders and government. The participants maintained the need for men and women of moral integrity in political leadership to ensure democratic good governance in all the three levels of government in Nigeria, especially at the grassroots level. They believed that leaders with moral integrity will appropriately utilize the

³¹⁷ Creswell, J. W. (2012). Educational research. Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

³¹⁸ Op.Cit

public resources for the provision and development of social and economic needs of the people. According to all respondents, honesty is very important in leadership.

A true and a good leader must be honest and truthful if he or she were to gain the trust and confidence of the people. Such a leader can ensure good governance by utilizing the public funds to provide the people with amenities such as, portable drinking water, good and affordable healthcare system, good education system that is affordable, good housing system, and good transportation system. An honest and ethical leader will not misappropriate the public fund for private interest or involves in other forms of corruption; his or her conscience will never accommodate such a wrong behaviour. Nigerians need leaders who are morally sound at all level of Government in Nigeria if we were to achieve good governance.

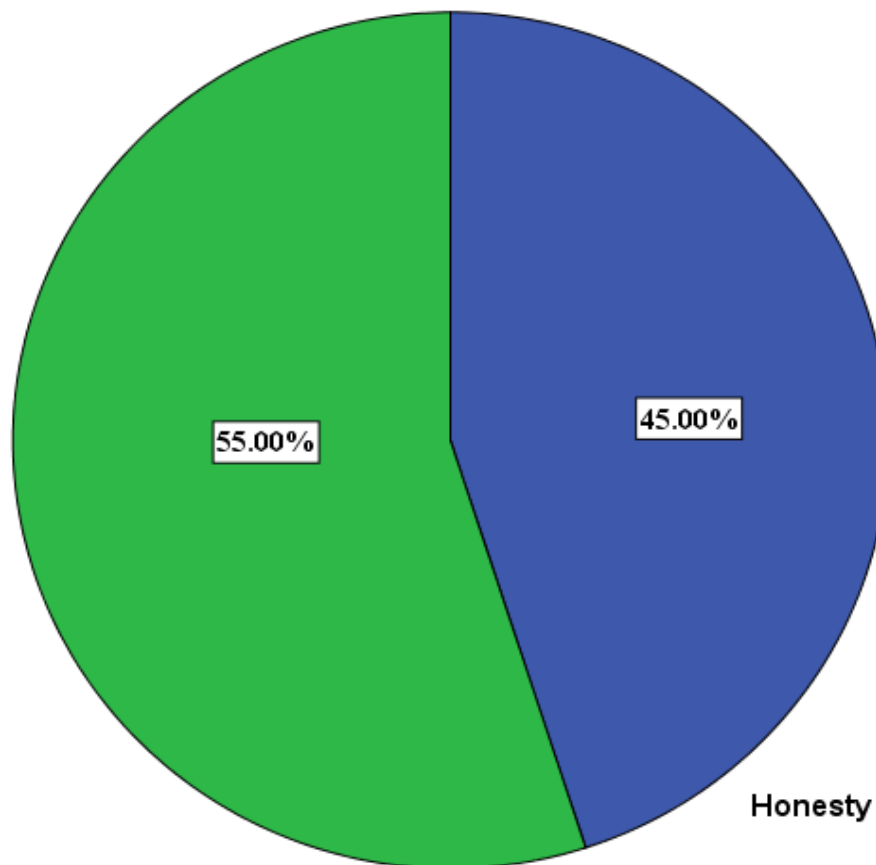


Figure 4.5.1 shows the participants' perception of Government official's about honesty.

The respondents' view about honesty of Government officials; out the 70 respondents of the study, 55% believed Government officials are dishonest in their services to the Nation while 45% are partially honest. Apparently, most of the individuals in positions of leadership in the country are not honest people as their hands have been tainted with

corruption or corrupt practices such as collecting bribe for favourism. This implies that in Nigeria today, it is hard to see any purely honest person because everybody wants to get rich overnight. Our political leaders, elected and appointed, and career public officials in all levels of government are not honest with the public money. Most of them get rich via corrupt practices of embezzlement of public funds; they are much after their selfish interest and not after the public interest.

4.5.2. Theme on Concern for People

Honest and ethical leaders have a concern for their followers and do sacrifice their self-interests for the welfare of the followers but dishonest leaders do not. Most of the respondents observed that a good number of Government officials elected on the platform of elections are there to pursue their personal agenda and not for the common concerned of the people. They use their leadership positions to amass wealth and fortune from the public resources. R-17 commented, “To be honest with you, in Nigeria today, Police system and oil sectors of the economy are regarded as a place of bribery and epitome of corruption because most of the officers are corrupt; they lack honesty and integrity”. In corroboration, R-45 stated, “Legal system is notorious for corruption enabled by the Police; some of the seniors Judges are all corrupt”.

The respondents all believed that good and effective leaders should have the concern for their followers for effective provision of good governance. Having the interests of the people will enable the officials to use their given power and resources to push for the agenda that serve the interest of the people as a whole rather than serving personal interest or interest of their tribes and regions.

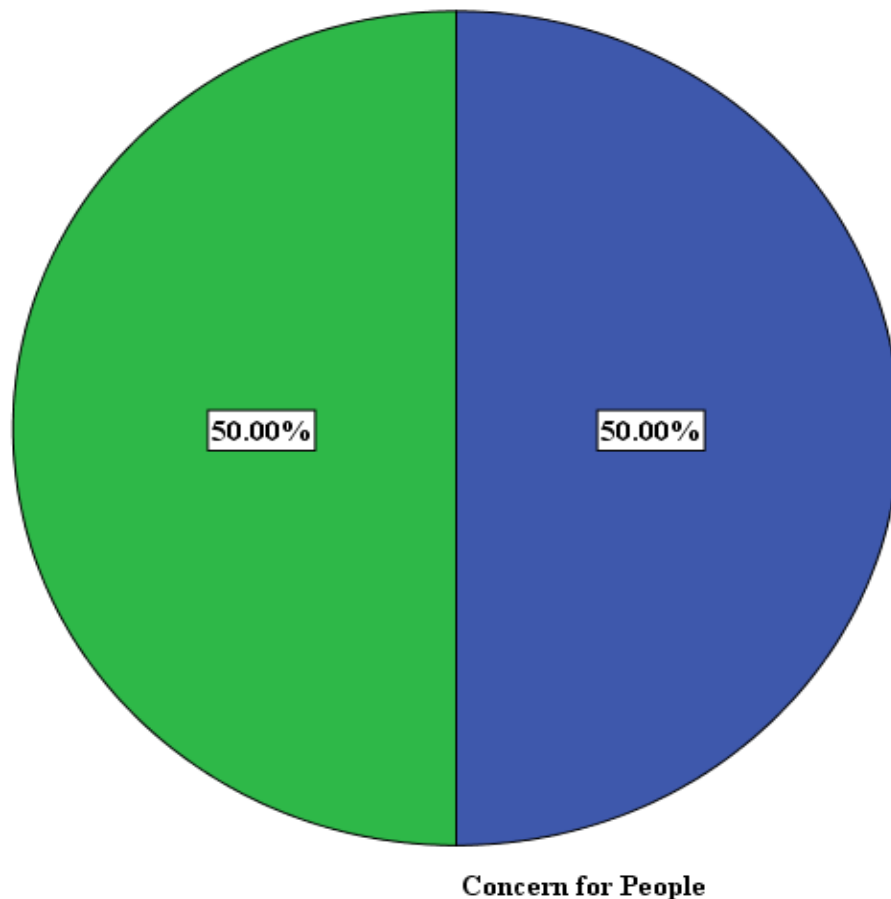


Figure 4.5.2 shows the respondents perception of Government official’s concern for the people. Figure 2 above indicates the respondents view about concern for the people, it is an aggregate of 50% for those in favour of Government officials are concerned with another 50% disagreed. However, the respondents agreed that Government officials are needed to have a concern for people and to commit to meaningful and effective governance. When the public interest fails to be the key focus of public administration, it leads to unethical behaviours and corruption.

4.5.3. Theme on Ethics Infrastructure

Good governance is possible and attainable only in an organization where there is a strong sense of good ethics and practice. Ethical leaders have the potentials to influence the organizational environment where ethical practice is paramount. Aware of the importance of ethical practice in promoting good governance, ethical leaders must establish and enforce ethics infrastructure, which includes but not limited to, good example of the leaders, code of conduct, ethics coordination body, supportive

public service condition, effective legal framework, and effective accountability mechanism³¹⁹.

Recognizing the critical role ethics plays in enhancing good governance, the Government officials are not demonstrating its importance in their actions but lack ethical practices which is a reflection of the underdevelopment in the country. A great number of the respondents acceded that the existence of effective ethics infrastructure is seriously an environment problem within the Government officials.

Figure 4.5.3 portrayed the view of the respondents regarding the need of ethical infrastructure for creating an environment for ethical practices.

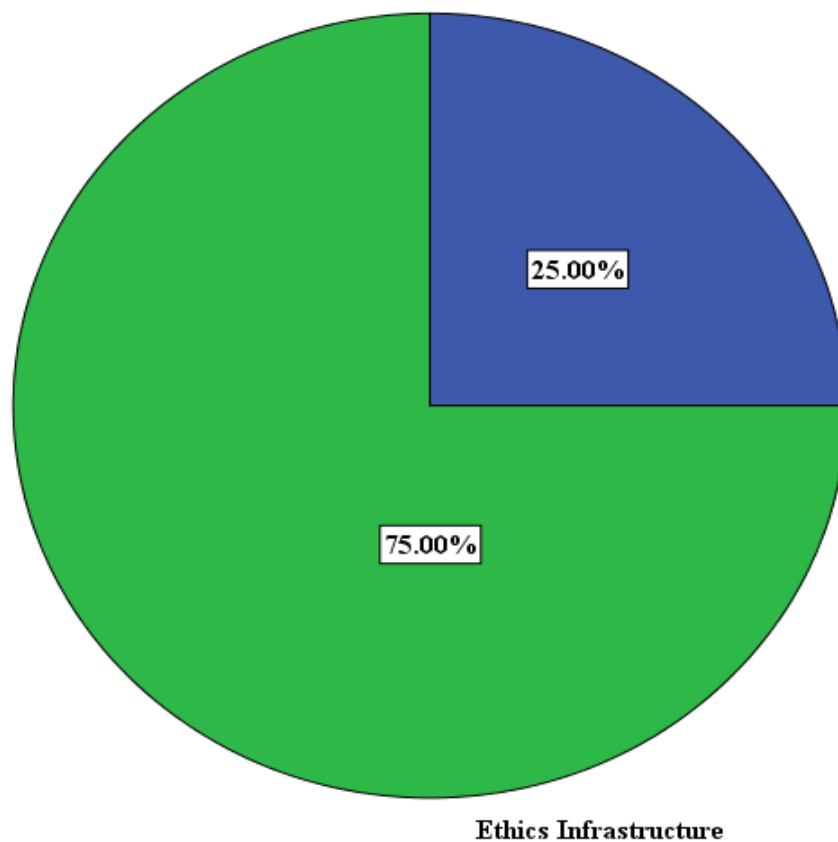


Figure 4.5.3 shows the respondents sensitivity of Government official's about ethics infrastructure on the importance of ethical infrastructure's capability in creating a good environment for ethical practice in government's institutions. The respondents

³¹⁹ Bartholomew O. (2011). Ethical Leadership and Good Governance in Nigerian Local Governments. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?>

acknowledged the existence of some of the elements of ethical infrastructure in the system, though 75% of respondents observed that officials do not demonstrate model ethics and practice through their actions and behaviours while the rest 25% observed that few of the officials are modelling good conduct for the emulation.

The inability of the officials to lead by demonstrating the appropriate practice and conduct helps to create the culture of anything goes in the government administration. R-19 and 57 opined that “good examples by the public officials have tremendous influence in moderating the attitudinal behaviours of the Government employees”.

The leaders’ actions must be informed by the rules, principles, and regulations of the public service; they must lead by modelling the appropriate conduct in consonant with the public service ethics.

4.5.4. Theme on Ethics Training

Another salient topic that emerged from the data was ethics training and education. This theme preponderant occurrence in the data setting calls for encouraging ethical practice in Government organizations. Ethics training is a vital, strategic way to inculcate ethical values to people and equip them with the necessary skills for making ethical decisions. A number of the respondents scored the importance of and the need for ethical training for all Government officials at all level of Governance. According to R-39, “I believe that training in ethics and morals will help public servants to acquire good moral values, which will enable them to make ethical decisions and to do the right things for our country development”.

Some respondents observed that seminars and workshops are to be organized to teach officials about ethics and practice in the public service (R05; R-10; & R-70) all both observed, “The need for government organizing seminar, workshop, training, and campaign to create awareness on the importance of ethical practice. I believe that training in ethics will enhance the practice in the system and help combat corrupt practices”. Ethics training helps employees to be aware of rules and regulations and provides them with the skills for making right decisions when confronted with the ethical dilemma. Ethics training helps to reinforce the message that violation of ethical codes or rules is not tolerated in the Governing system.

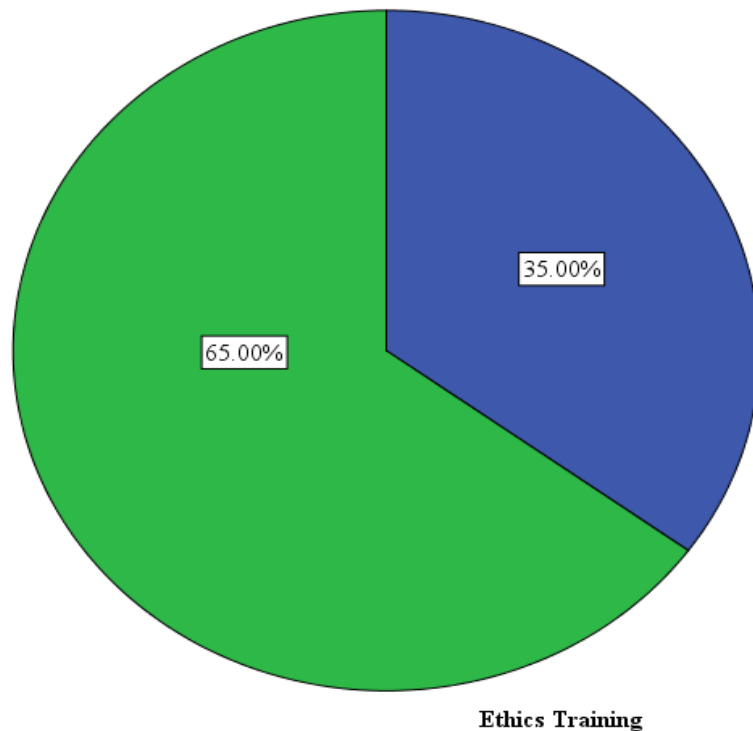


Figure 4.5.4 shows the respondents compassion for ethics training and education with 35% preponderant occurrence while the rest 65% are silent.

4.5.5. Theme on Citizens' Participation

Citizens' participation in combating corruption, good governance and infrastructural development of the country recorded consensus theme agreement from the study data of respondents. The participants opined that the involvement of the citizenry in the fight against corruption should not be ignored but encourage to secure and gathered useful information on hidden cases of high level bribery, financial fraud, and corrupt practices at the arms of Government. This theme also voiced support for good governance and infrastructural development of the country.

The study data of respondents believes that government on its own cannot win the war against corruption without the input of the citizens. Accordingly, all respondents focused on mobilizing citizens as the critical factor of success in the anti-corruption campaign through whistleblowing without harassment and intimidation.

Whistleblowing is encouraging “Nigerians people to expose corruption and other crimes through by blowing the whistle³²⁰”.

Corruption Anonymous seeks to do three basic things (1) to build confidence and support for the whistle-blower initiative of the federal government; (2) advocate for proper implementation of the policy, and institutionalization of the guidelines; (3) reinforce the safety and protection of citizens who dare to blow the whistle on acts of corruption. But Corruption Anonymous will do more. Apart from serving as a platform for citizens to engage in whistleblowing and interrogating the workings of the whistle-blower policy, CORA would provide the tools for the media to enhance its investigative work³²¹.

In view of the foregoing; some highly placed officials of the government have been indicted by whistle-blower the body in charge of the whistle-blower policy of the Federal Government should not be warehoused in the Federal Ministry of Finance or any other ministry. To ensure the success of the policy the whistle-blower body should be manned by accredited representatives of credible Civil Society Organisations assisted by officials of the anti-graft agencies. To institutionalise the policy the national assembly should be mobilised to pass the Whistle Blower Protection Bill into law³²².

While all state and local governments should be tasked to adopt the whistle-blower policy the funds and assets stolen and recovered by the Federal Government in the on-going anti-corruption crusade should not be channelled toward the funding of the budget. A special body, like the former Presidential Trust Fund headed by General Buhari, should be set up to manage the funds for the revitalisation of public hospitals, fixing of roads and schools in all the states of the federation.

³²⁰ Chido O. (2017). Tackling corruption in Nigeria through whistle blowing. Retrieved from <https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2017/10/13/tackling-corruption-in-nigeria-through-whistle-blowing/>.

³²¹ Ibid

³²² Op.Cit

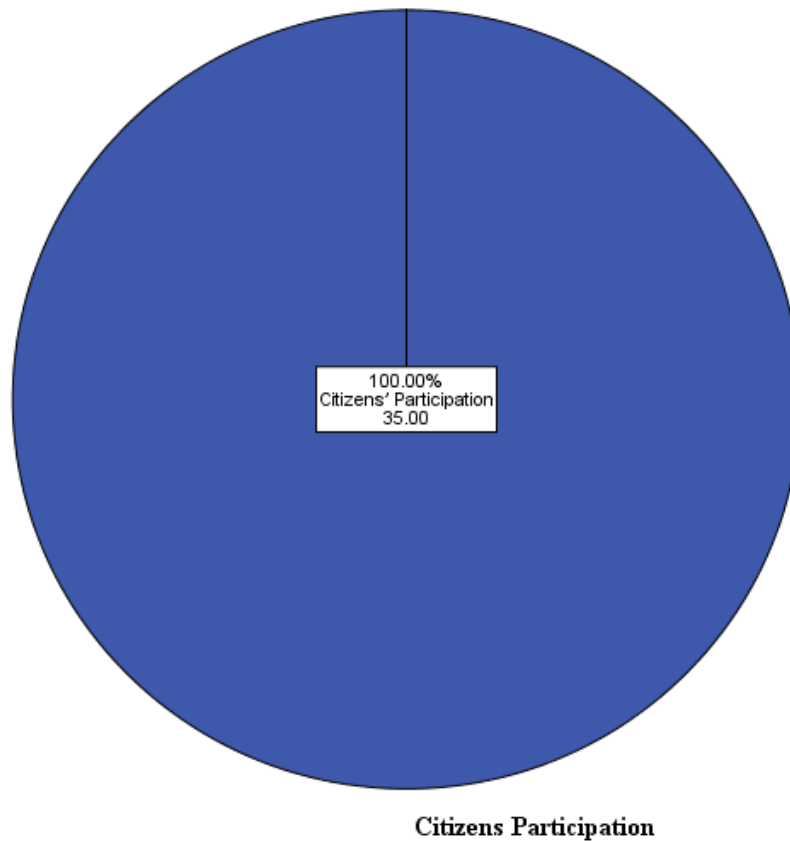


Figure 4.5.5 demonstrates 35 or 100% of the participants interviewed believed that citizens' participation in combating corruption, good governance and development of the country will facilitate useful information to tackle corruption and its practices.

4.5.6. Theme on Access to Information

Access to Information was identified from the data as one of essential factor for good governance, which ethical leadership will guarantee. The respondents believed that the availability of information to the public regarding how the officials run the business of the Government is essential for enhancement of good governance and development of the country. According to R-23 and 57, "Access to information is important in democratic government because democracy is the government by the people and for the people; it is vital that people should have access to knowing what is going on in their government; the citizens have the right to access information about their government, which will enable them know what their officials are doing. One of the advantages of access to information is that it enables people to keep an eye on their government officials and prevent them from syphoning public fund which is vital for ensuring good governance".

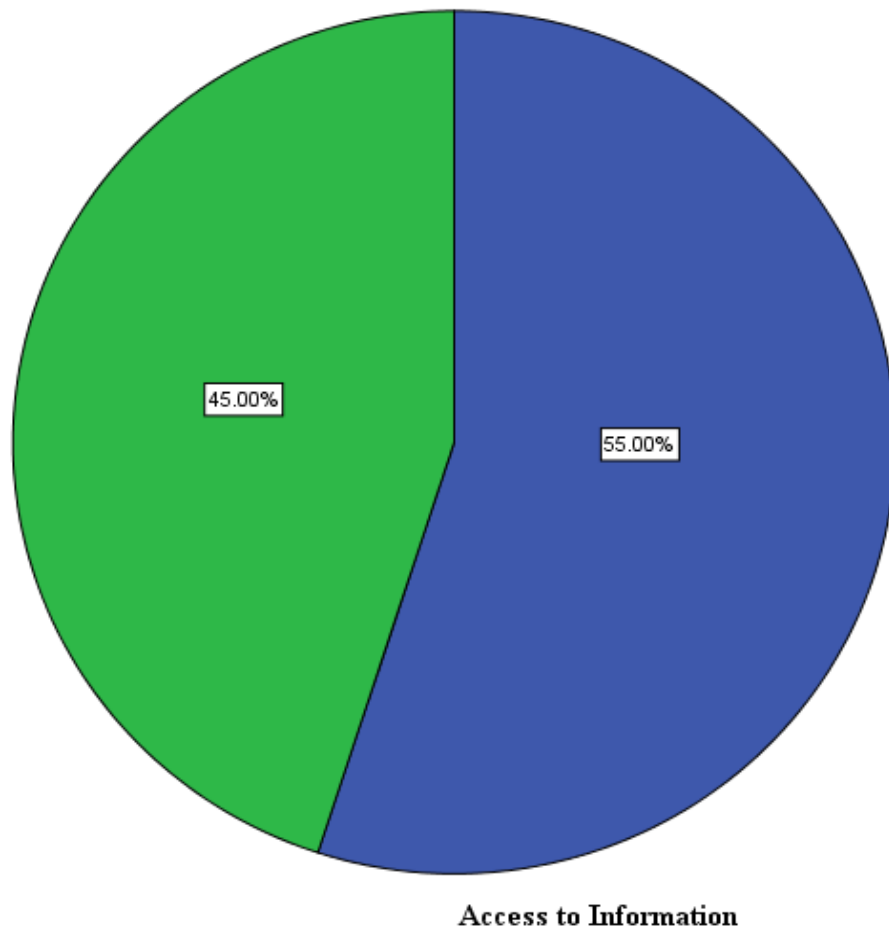
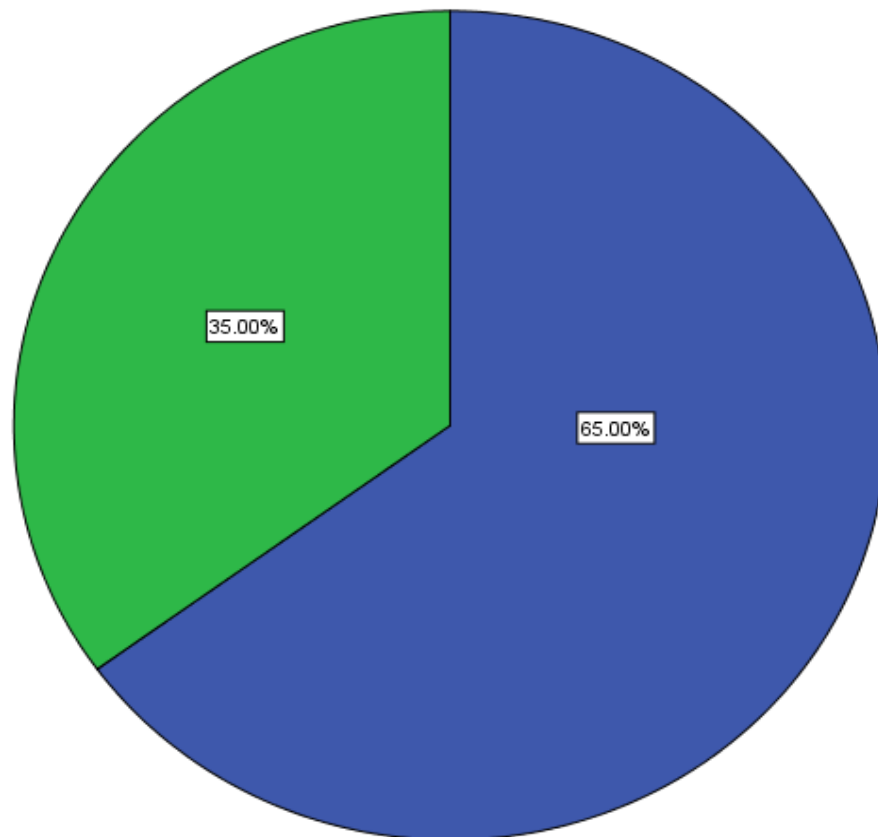


Figure 4.5.6 shows the respondents' compassion for access to information at 55% preponderant for ensuring good governance while the rest 45% are silent.

4.5.7. Theme on Accountability

The study data described accountability to ensure good governance at all arms of government. The respondents believed that good leadership has the potentials to guarantee and sustain good governance which is a means of holding government officials accountable to the citizens and to combat corruption, is critical for promoting good governance, particularly in the public sector. In Nigeria most public offices holders do see themselves as lords of the masses and not as servants of their people. This is one of the reasons it is difficult for public officials to be accountable to the people.

Accountability of public officials entails the duty they have to inform or explain or justify to the public what have done or failed to do with resources entrusted to them. To ensure good governance and development of the country, citizens must be able to hold their public officials accountable for actions, and this may not happen immunity granted government officials at all level remain binding and active (R-39).



Figure

Accountability

4.5.7 shows that 65% of respondents wants public officials to be accountable to the citizenry. They should be numerically open to the public and provide people with what goes on in the government, how their money is being spent on capital projects and in running the administration while the rest 35% are silent.

4.5.8. Theme on Rule of Law

The rule of law is supremacy of law; that is the law is above all. The rule of law is very crucial for fostering good governance and It is their conviction that adherence to the rule of law will guarantee good governance outcomes because it will

help to prevent and reduce corruption among government officials and civil servants. Had corrupt practices in many public levels of government in Nigeria been exposed, they would have never been its regular repetition because only the less privileged people got been convicted to face the legal consequences.

The well to do people looted public money to build mansions and buy expensive luxury cars for themselves, spouse, and friends and, yet, they are living in the society as innocent people (R-041). Most of the public leaders, elected and appointed, particularly those at the top echelons of leadership, use their pen to loot the public treasury and go free and unapprehend but when an ordinary person steals a small amount of money, he or she is locked up in prison for years (R-59).

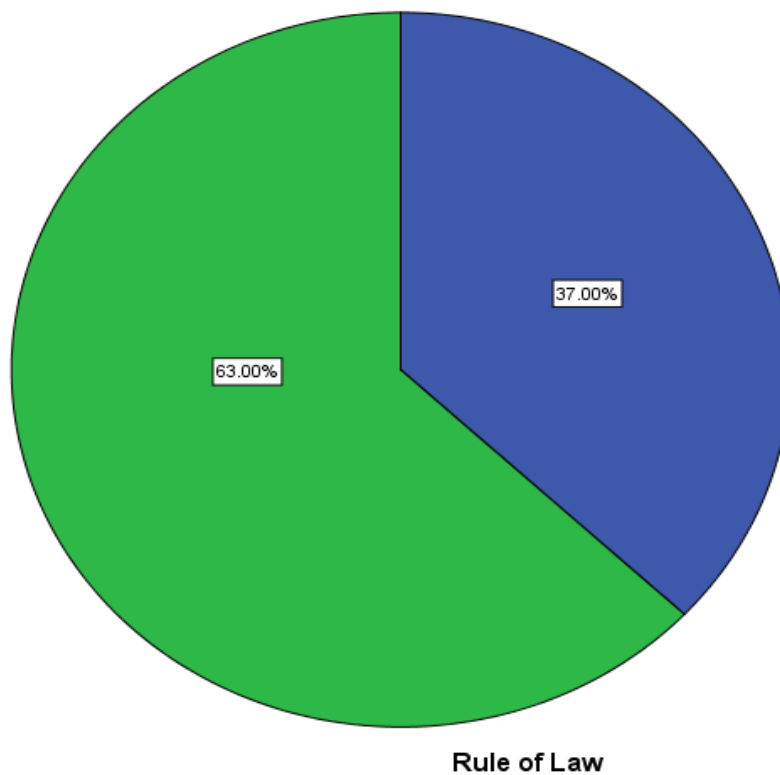


Figure 4.5.8 portrayed the view of the respondents regarding the rule of law at 63% of the participants agreed that the rule of law is very crucial for fostering good governance and development of the country while 37% were silent. Respondents' impression about the importance of the rule of law toward promoting good governance. It is their conviction that adherence to the rule of law will guarantee good governance because it will help to prevent and reduce corruption among government officials and the civil servants as a whole. In actual sense, everyone can face the verdict of the law.

The respondents expressed that the crisis in the governance of the country, as whole, is largely due to lack of effective enforcement of the rule of law. Some of the

respondents commented that Nigeria is a land of lawlessness; anybody with some connections and or with some political or financial clout can and do engage in unlawful behaviour, including criminal activity, without queries and call to order because they have the capability of circumventing the law (R-05; R- 11; & R-41). Many Senators (Members of Parliament) are taking an undue advantage as the law makers to abuse their power and engage in corrupt practices by failing to declare their financial assets before and after leaving office. The Judiciary council and the Police Forces abuses their immunity by taking advantages of the culture of impunity to abuse their power in various ways without worries (R-01 & R-68).

4.5.9. Theme on Competency

Good governance cannot thrive without effective enforcement of the rule of law. The data indicated the importance of competency of personnel in running efficient and effective government administration. Competent government officers stand a better chance to provide efficient and effective services than incompetent officers. Governance system in Nigeria has been noted for its inefficiency and ineffectiveness because of its inability to employ skilled and qualified personnel³²³.

Meanwhile, the Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC), the national contact of TI, says it is “seriously worried” about the new but unfavourable trend in the fight against corruption in the country, as buttressed in the newly published CPI. “This fresh setback in the fight against corruption confirms that grand-corruption, political corruption, nepotism, favouritism and bribery persist in Nigeria at all levels. It is CISLAC’s view that the negative perception is mainly a consequence of the inability to combat grand corruption and astronomical plundering of public coffers costing the Nigerian tax payers around 25% of annual GDP³²⁴”.

³²³ Op.Cit

³²⁴ Nigerian Current, (2018). Corruption Getting Worse In Nigeria’ — Transparency International Releases 2017 index. Retrieved from <https://nigeriancurrent.com/2018/02/22/corruption-getting-worse-in-nigeria-transparency-international-releases-2017-index/> Access on 10/04/2018

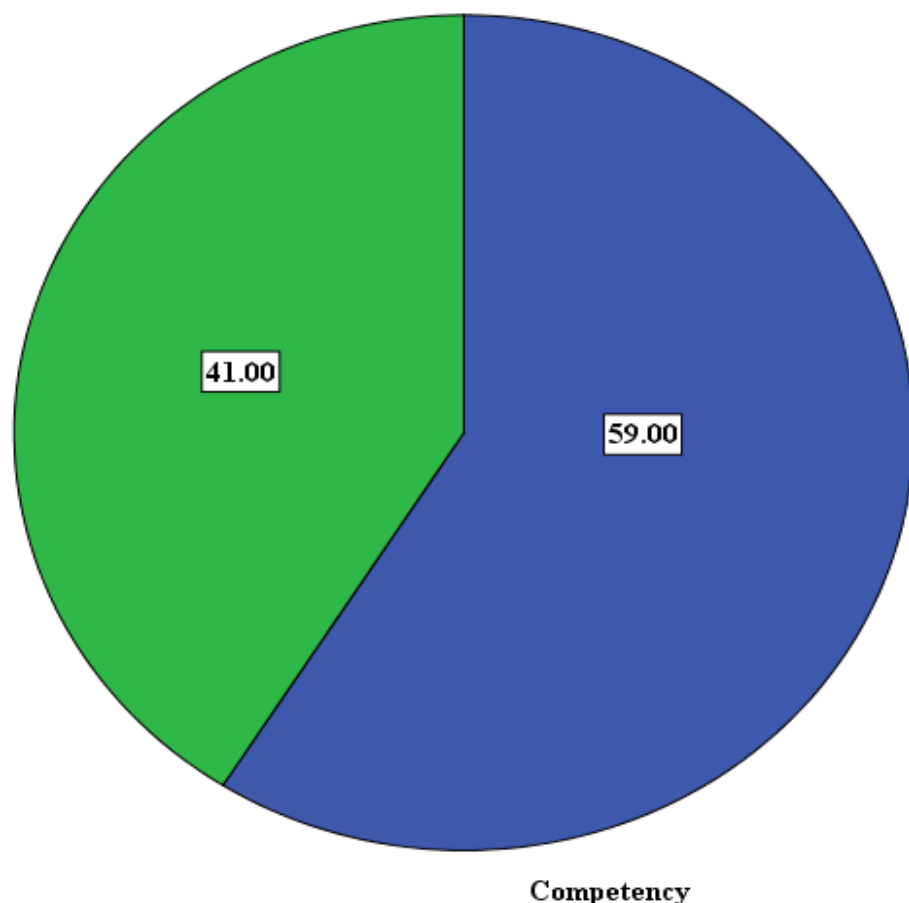


Figure 4.5.9 shows that 59% of respondents wants Government official to be more competent in their administrative duties and in the war against corruption, 41% of the respondents felt not concerned. As seen in Figure 4.5.9, 59% of the respondents believed that Government officials need to be more competent in discharge of their duties, while 41% felt that officials of anti-corruption agencies are incompetent in combating legislative corruption, the judiciary and the policing agent of the country. A good number of the respondents observed that most of the officials of the anti-corruption are not skilled professionals in combating the endemic syndrome. (R-25)

4.5.10. Theme on Autonomy

The EGMONT Group is a network of 152 member countries that share information relating to criminal intelligence and financial information. The group threatened to expel Nigeria permanently by March 11, 2018 if the Nigerian

government failed to grant the unit the autonomy it required to be a member of the EGMONT group³²⁵.

The Speaker, House of Representatives, Yakubu Dogara, has stated that any move to give autonomy to the Nigeria Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU) from the country's anti-corruption agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) is dangerous, declaring that the move may harm fight against corruption. While passing the bill, the Senate moved the agency, which is currently a department in the EFCC, to the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN).

The Senate said the bill was aimed at giving autonomy to the NFIU, which helps in tackling money laundering and monitoring financial flows, to pave the way for Nigeria's re-admittance into the Egmont Group of Financial Intelligence Units after the country's suspension.

The group, whose member units share intelligence concerning international financial and illicit flow among themselves, had on Wednesday, July 5, 2017 at its 24th plenary in Macao, China, suspended the Nigeria for its failure to provide legal framework that will make the NFIU autonomous³²⁶.

As indicated, autonomy was not popular within the data set but was picked up because of its relevance to the researcher investigation at the National Assembly if possible for the Federal Government to give autonomy to Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to fight and investigate financial crimes in the country.

³²⁵ Yemi I, (2018). Senate receives report to grant Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit autonomy. Retrieved from <http://dailypost.ng/2018/03/06/senate-receives-report-grant-nigerian-financial-intelligence-unit-autonomy/>

³²⁶ Saliu G. (2018) NFIU Autonomy May Harm Anti-Corruption War —Dogara As Reps Vow To Resist Autonomy. Retrieved from <https://www.tribuneonlineng.com/104723/> Access on 19/04/2018.

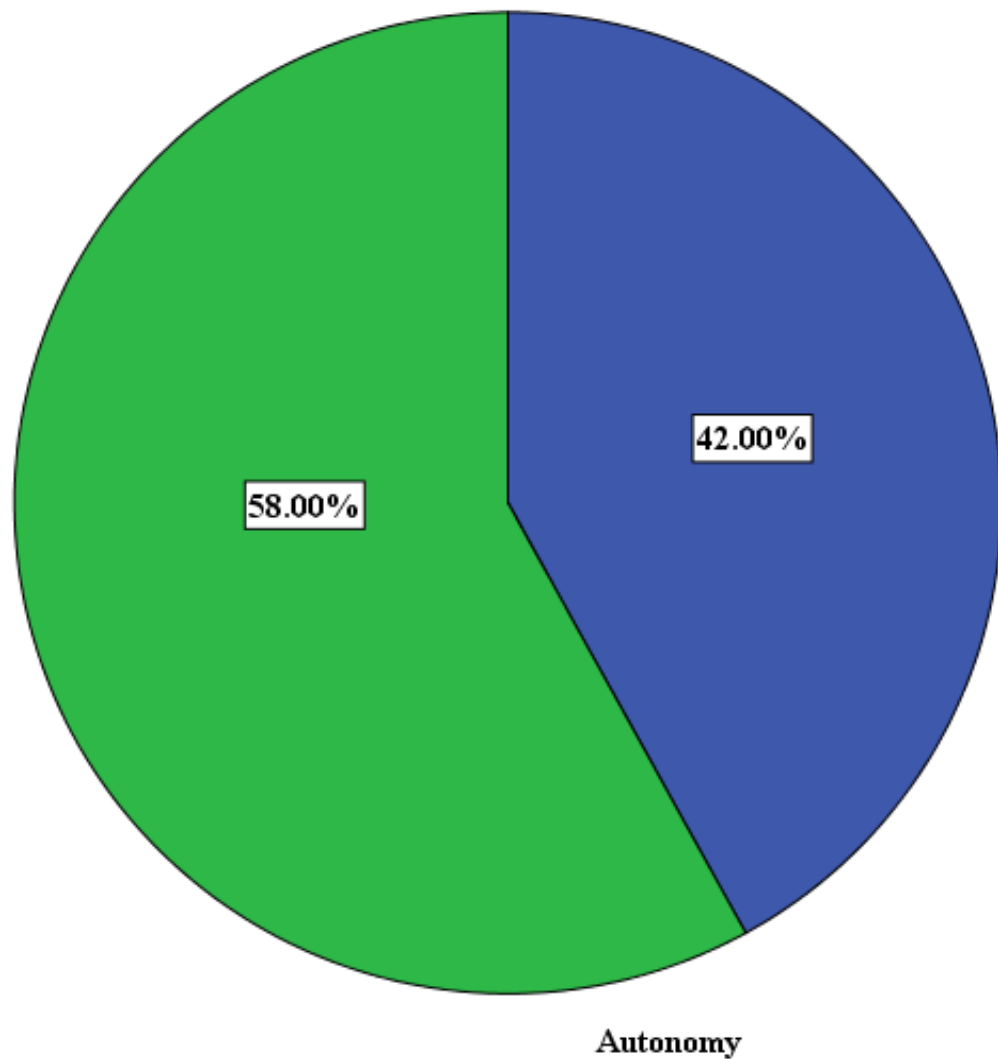


Figure 4.5.10 shows that 42% of respondent's wants autonomy for investigation of financial crimes and related offences to the EFCC while 58% felts the anti-corruption agency is not active enough in combating corruption in the country.

4.5.11. Theme on Anti-Corruption

The respondents believed that the anti-corruption embarked upon by the current President Muhammadu Buhari administration (2015 till date) will help promote good governance and by contributing to Nigeria's efforts in enhancing transparency, accountability and combating corruption. This is a war against all forms of corruption in Nigeria. This anti-graft war was backed by the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as explains below;

A. The 1999 Constitution

The Constitution is the most important law in the country. In the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution (the Code of Conduct), it prohibits public officers from accepting property or benefits of any kind for him/herself or any other person on account of anything done or omitted to be done by him in the discharge of his duties.

B. The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) Act

The EFCC Act is the Act which established Nigeria's anti-fraud agency. Section 46 of the Act defines "economic crime" as a – nonviolent criminal activity committed with the objectives of earning wealth illegally. The Act mandates the EFCC to combat financial and economic crimes and empowers it to prevent, investigate, prosecute and penalise economic and financial crimes. Apart from establishing the agency it has several sections which deal with financial crimes and corruption, and provide penalties for breach of those sections.

C. The Corrupt Practices & Other Related Offences Act

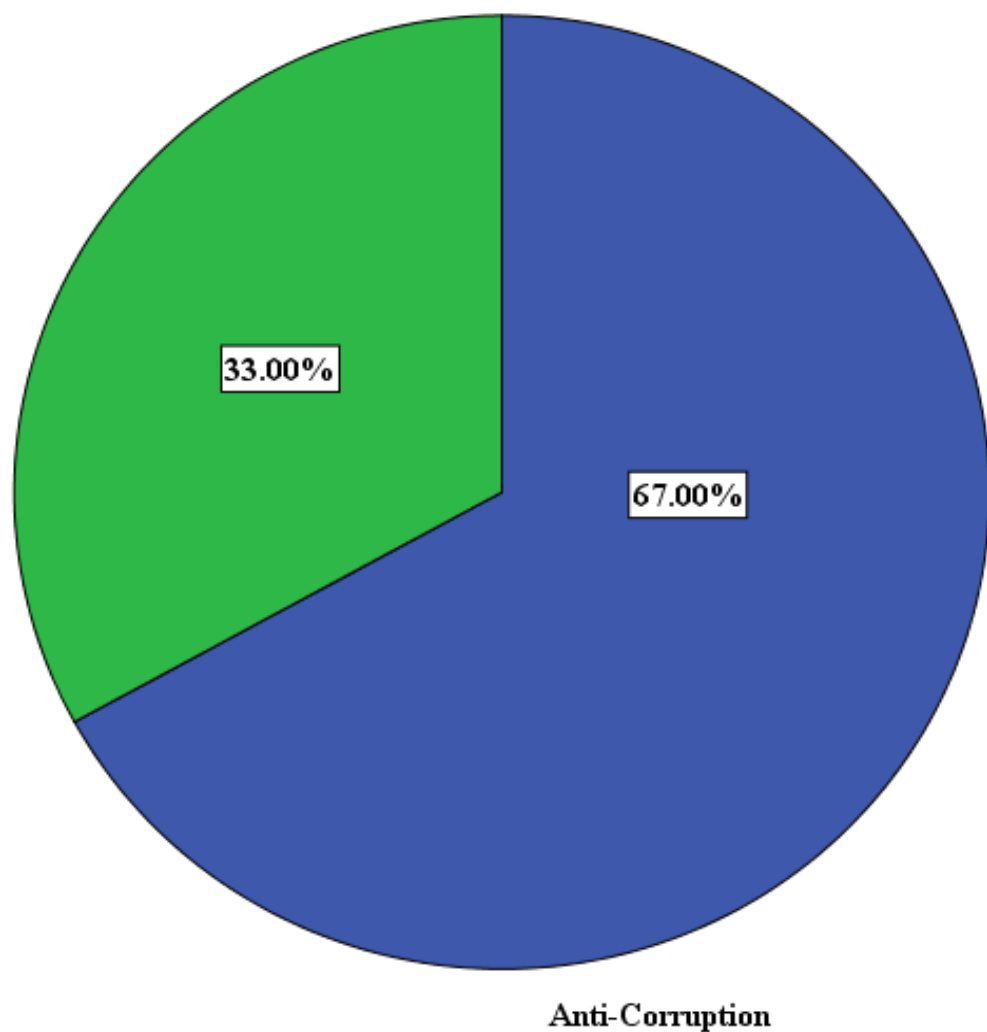
The act seeks to prohibit and prescribe punishment for corrupt practices and other related offences. It established the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) vesting it with the responsibility for investigation and prosecution of offenders thereof. The Act generally prohibits the various perceived acts of corrupt practices arising from interactions or transactions involving public/government officers and the general public or private individuals. The main aim of the Act is prohibition of corrupt practices and bribery; however it also seeks to curb corrupt practices in private business transactions and inter personal relationships among individuals and persons.

D. Criminal Code

The Criminal Code is applicable in most of the States in Southern Nigeria, and has several sections which deal with corruption and unjust enrichment, specifically by public officials. For instance, Section 98 of the Criminal Code deals with the offence of corruption by defining what it is and prescribing an offence for corruption and its related offences.

E. Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act

Money laundering according to the Act is when any person in or outside Nigeria directly or indirectly conceals or disguises the origin of; converts or transfers; removes from the jurisdiction; acquires, uses, retains or takes possession or control of; any fund or property, knowingly or which he/she should reasonably have known that such fund or property is, or forms part of the proceeds of an unlawful act. In a nutshell, it is when an individual intends to legitimise proceeds from criminal activities. The Act prescribes penalties for money laundering related offences³²⁷.



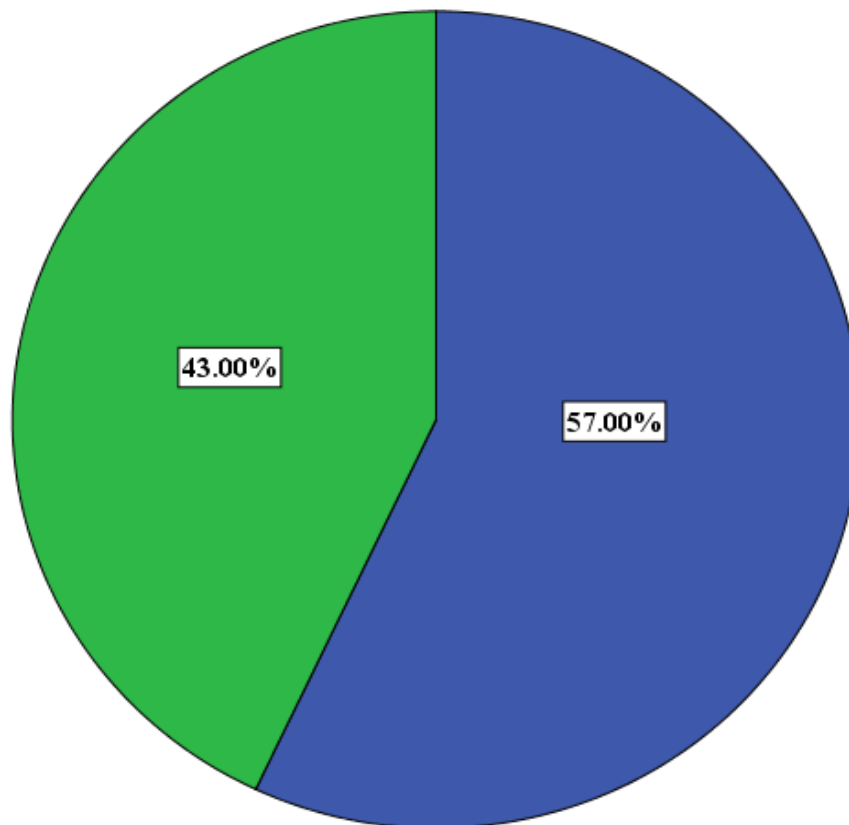
³²⁷ Lawpadi (2018). 5 Laws on Corruption in Nigeria. Retrieved from <https://lawpadi.com/5-laws-corruption-nigeria> Access on the 27/04/2018.

Figure 4.5.11 shows that 67% of respondent's wants the anti-corruption war to keep on until there is sanitation in the Governance system another 33% feels the anti-corruption agency is not active enough in combating corruption in the country instead the government should focus on infrastructural development of the country.

4.5.12. Theme on Exploitation

The researcher conceptualized exploitation to be the act of making use of and benefiting from resources of public position, resources and power for private gain. It is an effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense. It covers a broad spectrum of activities ranging from fraud (theft through misrepresentation), embezzlement (misappropriation of corporate or public funds) to bribery (payments made in order to gain an advantage or to avoid a disadvantage).

Apparently, this exploitation of people for private gain encourages corruption, a situation where the Government are incapacitated to provide goods and services to the people. "To the best of my knowledge, every capitalist society is built on corruption, fraud and exploitation" (R-41).



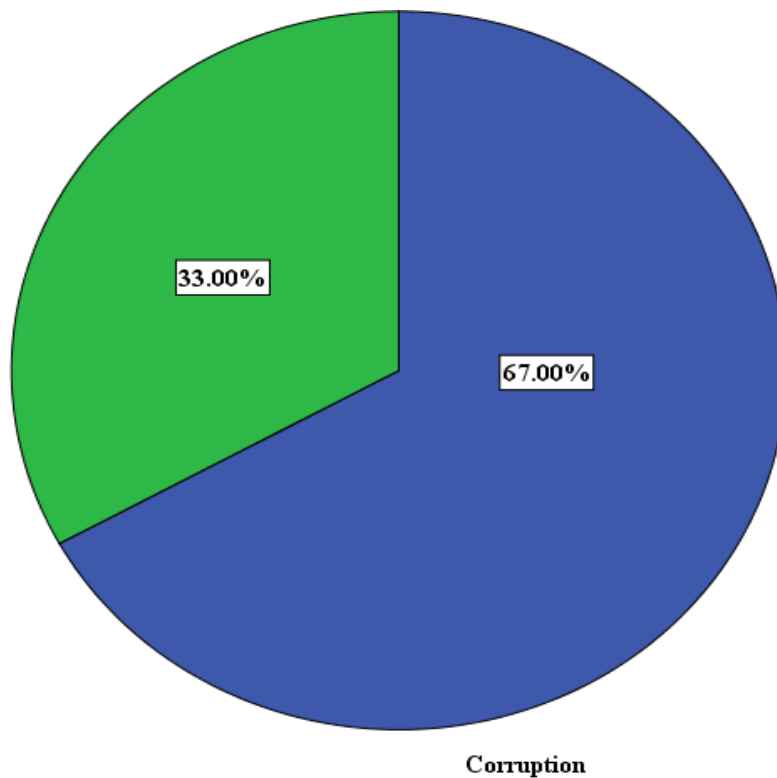
Exploitation

4.5.13. Respondents' Theme on Corruption

Corruption is Nigeria's biggest challenge. It is clear to every citizen that the level of corruption in the country is high. It's found in every sector of society. Be it a small or big sector, there is every possibility of observing corrupt practices when critically examined.

The dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery. It is the illegitimate use of power to benefit a private interest³²⁸. Corruption is the giving of a bribe to an official so that the truth will not be told. It involves the embezzlement of public fund for personal use and any act which is considered to be criminal act according to the law of a particular society. Corruption is potent cancer that has mercilessly eaten Nigeria to a state of stupor.

“Corruption is the bane of Nigerian socio-economic development, which threatens the existence of Nigeria as a political entity. It is therefore imperative that all and sundry should engage in anti-corruption struggle. Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon and there is hardly any society without one form of corruption or the other. Corrupt practices did not begin today; history is as old as the human race. The menace called corruption is a big problem in Nigeria’’. (R-65)



³²⁸ Morris, S.D. (1991). *Corruption and Politics in Contemporary Mexico*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa

Figure 4.5.13 shows that 67% of respondent's affirmed that corruption is household name in Nigeria. It is indeed a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian society. It is a monster that all and sundry blame for the economic woes facing the country. This is because corruption is seen as one of the major impediments to the economic development of the nation. With this, another 33% said Nigeria is not that fantastic corrupt country compared to other countries.

4.5.14. Theme on Hunger

Hunger is becoming commonplace next to starvation in the land blessed with abundant natural resources that has not been able to successfully harness to the benefit of its teeming population. Poverty still remains significant at 33.1% in Africa's biggest economy. For a country with massive wealth and a huge population such as Nigeria, to support commerce, a well-developed economy, and plenty of natural resources; the level of poverty remains unacceptable³²⁹. Nigeria is the world's largest producer of cassava, yam, and cowpea; yet it is a food-deficit nation and depends on imports of grains, livestock products, and fish (IFAD 2012). Of an estimated 71 million hectares of cultivable land, only half is currently used for farming; there is similar potential for an expansion of irrigation, which now only covers 7 percent of irrigable land. Most of the rural population farms on a subsistence scale, using small plots and depending on seasonal rainfall. A lack of infrastructure such as roads further exacerbates poverty in rural areas by isolating rural farmers from needed inputs and profitable markets (IFAD and World Bank 2012). Pressure from growing populations is also impacting already diminished resources, further threatening food production. Over-farmed land, deforestation, and overgrazing are severe in many parts of the country. Drought has become common in the north, while erosion and flooding is a major problem in the south. To further worsen the situation, insurgency in the north-eastern part of the country has led to increase suffering and poverty with people unable to live in their homes and their sources of income destroyed³³⁰.

³²⁹ "[Nigeria - Country Brief](#)". Retrieved from *Web.worldbank.org*. 2011-09-23.

³³⁰ Tayo, (2014). New Hunger Index Shows Nigerians Are 'Seriously' Hungry Read more at: <https://economicconfidential.com/2014/11/new-hunger-index-shows-nigerians-are-seriously-hungry/>. Retrieved from <https://economicconfidential.com/2014/11/new-hunger-index-shows-nigerians-are-seriously-hungry/>

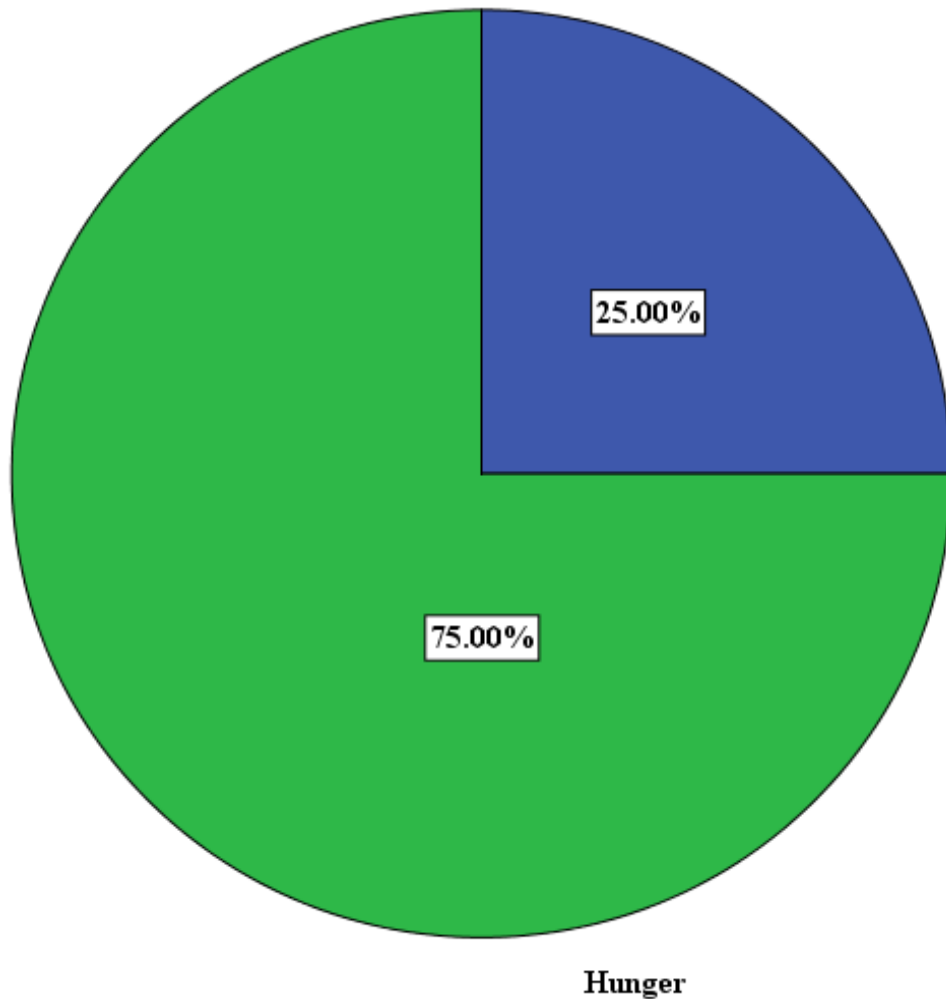
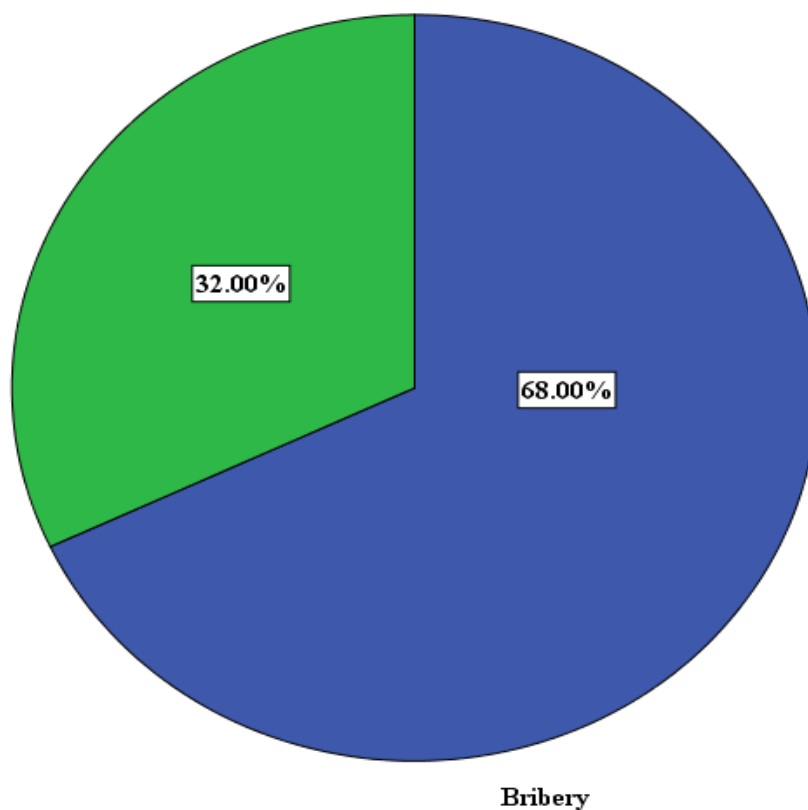


Figure 4.5.14 shows that 25% of respondent's acknowledged hunger as a factor to corruption despite pressure from growing populations which is impacting diminished resources and further threatening food production. The rest 75% still sees corruption as a result of dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power.

4.5.15. Theme on Bribery

Almost a third of Nigerian citizens (32.3 per cent) who had contact with a public official between June 2015 and May 2016 had to pay, or were requested to pay, a bribe to that public official. The magnitude of public sector bribery in Nigeria becomes even more palpable when factoring in the frequency of those payments, as the majority of those who paid a bribe to a public official did so more than once over the course of the year. According to the survey, Nigerian bribe-payers pay an average of some six bribes in one year, or roughly one bribe every two months.

By combining the total number of people who paid a bribe to a public official with the frequency of those payments, it is estimated that a total of roughly 82.3 million bribes were paid in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the survey. This results in an average of 0.93 bribes paid per adult, or almost one bribe paid by every adult Nigerian per year. Taking into account the fact that nine out of every ten bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria are paid in cash and the size of the payments made, it is estimated that the total amount of bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the survey was around 402 billion Nigerian Naira (NGN), the equivalent of \$4.6 billion in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). This sum is equivalent to 39 per cent of the combined federal and state education budgets in 2016³³¹. The average sum paid as a cash bribe in Nigeria is approximately NGN 5,300, which is equivalent to roughly \$61-PPP.



³³¹ Frauds & Scandals (2016) Corruption in Nigeria - Bribery as Experienced by the Population. Retrieved from <https://www.proshareng.com/news/Frauds%20&%20Scandals/Corruption-in-Nigeria---Bribery-as-Experienced-by-the-Population/36004>.

Figure 4.5.15 portrayed bribery as significant factor before a service is rendered and 68% respondents agreed to have paid bribes to public officials 'paid in cash', the payment of money is by the far the most dominant form of bribe payment in Nigeria. With such a large portion of public officials initiating bribery episodes, "it seems that many public officials show little hesitation in asking for a kickback to carry out their duty and that bribery is an established part of the administrative procedure in Nigeria" (R-03) while 32% of respondents shows that other forms of bribe payments exist, such as gift items, the provision of food and drink, handing over valuables or the exchange with another service or favour.

4.5.16. Theme on Income Inequality

"Income inequality is one of Nigeria's most serious but least talked about challenges, it is disparity between rich and poor, more than poverty itself, that generates anti-government sentiment and tends to encourage poverty." (R-55). "The rich do not pay you well but they make you work endlessly," (R-63). While the rich stay in their mansions, those who work for them will be given a very small space in the boys' quarters – sometimes two or three workers are made to share one small room. "The rich don't want the poor to make progress," he concludes. "If you are a poor man working for them, they prefer that you stay poor for the rest of your life. They think if they enhance your life and you become rich, you may refuse to work for them again. They want only them and their families to be rich forever." (R-27).

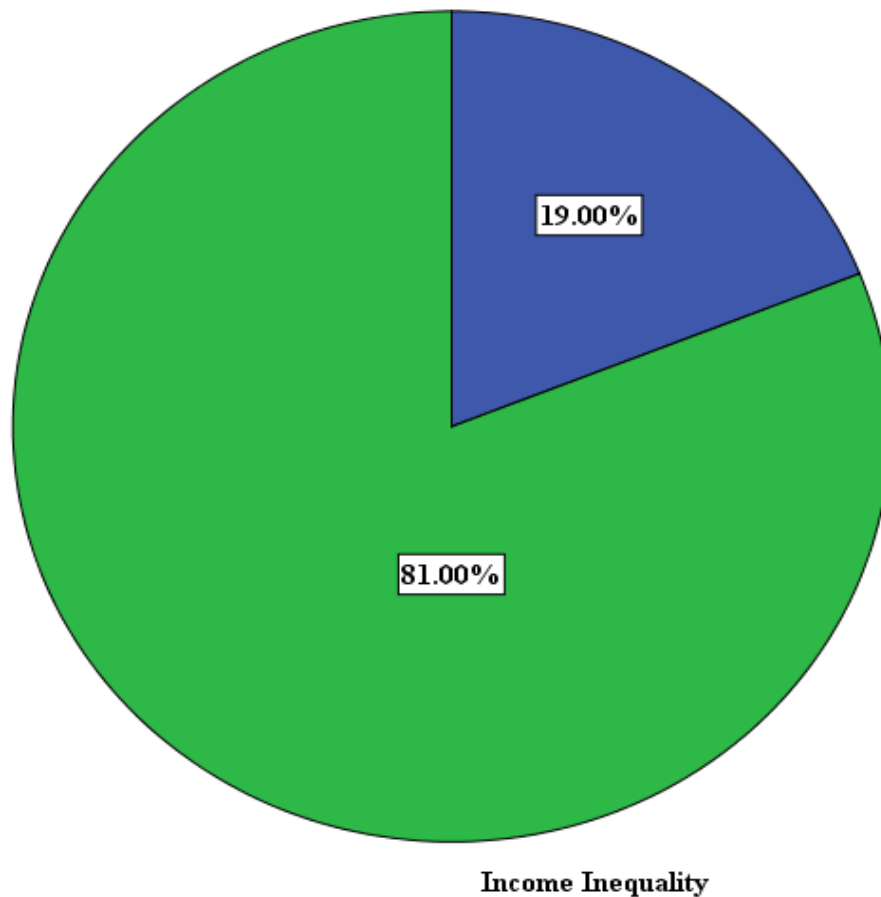


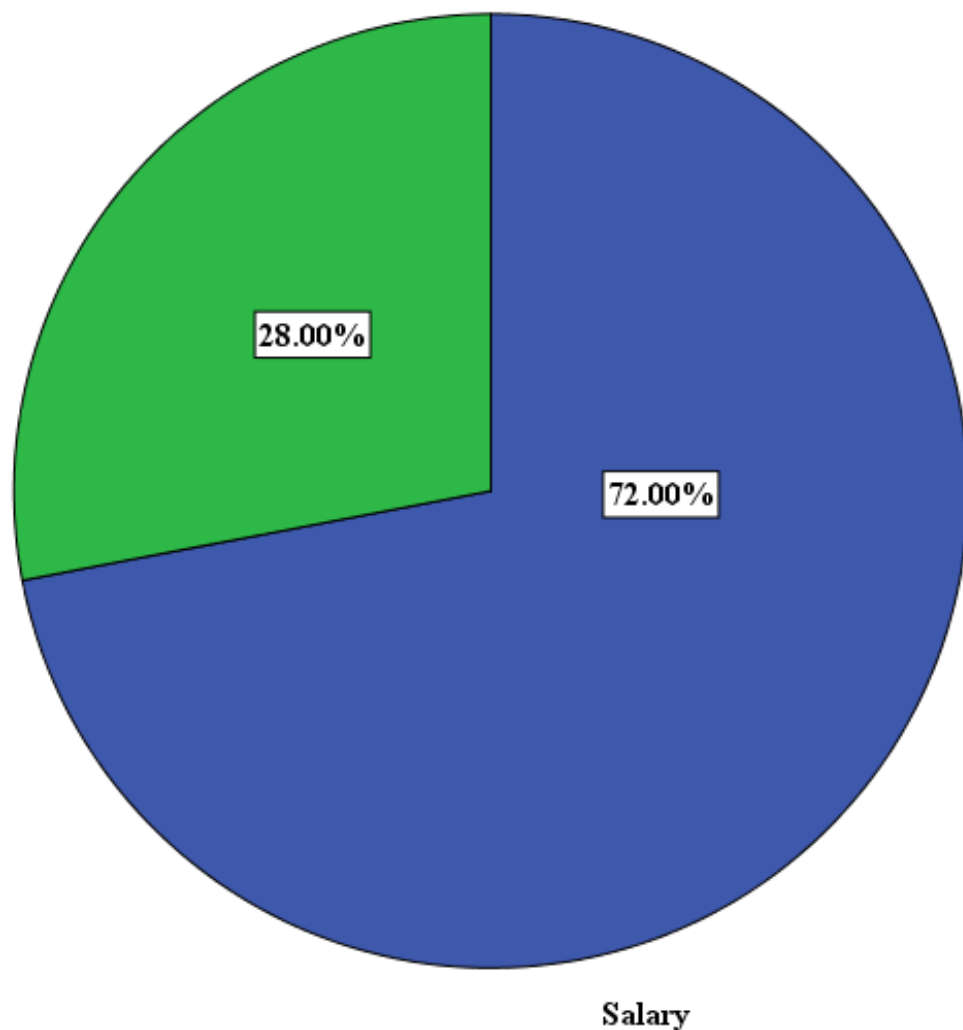
Figure 4.5.16 shows that 19% of respondent’s acknowledged “income inequality as a factor to enable corruption despite Nigerian hard working but the rich has taken over everything” (R-51) while the rest of 81% have divergence opinion that income inequality should not make a people to be corrupt but lack of contentment make them corrupt. “Corruption is the number one factor that brings about the gap between the rich and poor in Nigeria. Many of the rich became extremely rich due to corruption.” (R-11).

4.5.17. Theme on Salary

“The non-payment of *salaries* deepens *corruption* in the civil service because work or no work, I must collect my salary.” (R-01). The civil service in Nigeria is expected to be professionally competent, loyal and efficient. Nonetheless, it is now denounced, for being corrupt, poorly trained and poorly attuned to the needs of the poor. Civil servants are the least paid group of workers in Nigeria. Wages in private manufacturing are, for example, much higher than those in the public sector. There is

a growing consensus that low government wages combined with weak monitoring systems are breeding grounds for corruption and misuse of public resources. In the past two decades, public service wages have been declining at rapid pace in Nigeria as a consequence of fiscal adjustment policies in stabilisation programmes. Evidence further indicates a common trend of growing wage differentials between the public and the private sector over substantial periods of time.

As underpaid civil servants are forced to develop individual coping strategies to compensate for their declining purchasing power, it is generally agreed that low wages provides incentives for corruption³³².



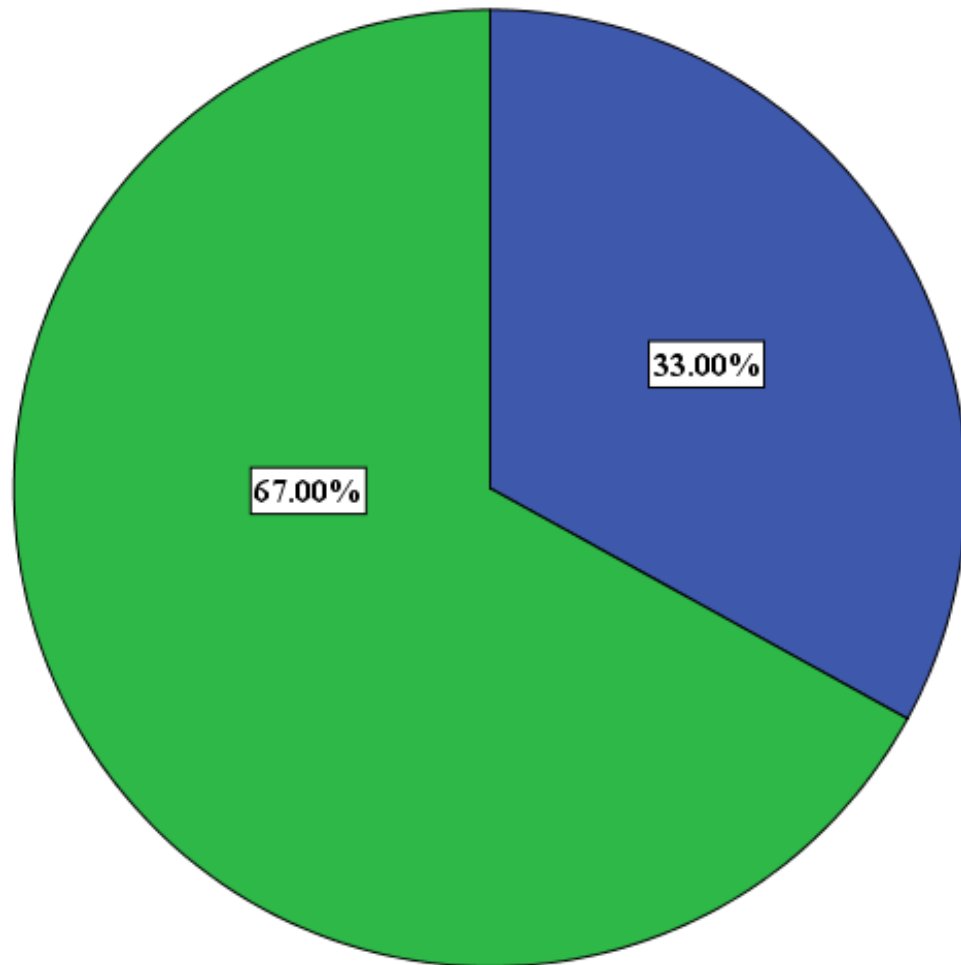
³³² Essays, UK. (November 2013). Corruption in Nigeria's Civil Service. Retrieved from <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/economics/low-wages-and-corruption-in-nigerian-public-service-economics-essay.php?vref=1>

Figure 4.5.17 shows that 28% of respondent's confirmed low government wages systems are breeding grounds for corruption while 72% preferred Federal Government should "unified salary structure, while workers who do extra tasks and overtime should be paid allowances." The disparity among workers on the same grade level and under the same employers, whether federal, state or local governments could not be justified; only a harmonised salary structure would boost productivity and promote industrial harmony, nevertheless, "low salary could lead to abuse of work ethics and induce corruption in public service" (R-17). "It's unfair and not justifiable for civil servants with the same certificate and patronising the same market to be collecting different salaries". (R-67).

4.5.18. Theme on Transparency

Transparency is vital for good governance. A leadership that is transparent is committed to providing good governance to the people it serves. There is not much transparency here because the subordinates do not always know what the officials are doing. They keep the masses in the dark about what is going on. That's an indication that they have something to hide from the public. Honest and ethical officials are transparent in conducting the public affairs because, as ethical persons, they follow ethics standards and principles in their actions. When public officials involve in bribery and corruption such officials will not be open to public, lest their illegal behaviour will be exposed.

Transparency will promote and sustain good practice and good democratic governance in Nigeria if adhered to. The respondents believed that ethical leadership has the potentials to guarantee and sustain transparency, accountability, and the rule of law for good governance in Nigeria. It was the belief of all the respondents that transparency, which is a means of holding government officials accountable and to combat corruption, is critical for promoting good governance, particularly in the public sector. Transparency entails that government business, meeting, budgets and financial statements, and the decision-making process are open both to the public and the press.



Transparency

Figure 4.5.18 indicates 67% of the respondents believed that transparency is vital for the achievement of good governance, and they concurred that the presence of ethical leadership will foster transparencies at the three arms of Government while 33% are not concerned but want to keep their work for various reasons.

Stressing the need for transparency at the judiciary, (R-13) stated: “Government is not a personal property of any individual; therefore government officials need to be transparent and open in handling government business”. The citizens have the right to know what the government officials are doing with power and resources given to them. The officials are not the owner of the local government; the people who elected them to power.

4.6. Impact of Corruption on Social Welfare of the People

The impact of corruption on the social welfare of Nigerians continues to be devastating. Administrative corruption “misallocates social welfare and education program spending by redirecting that spending from those who are truly in need to those who are inside the patronage network³³³. While political corruption affects many economic and environmental aspects of welfare in society, the strongest evidence of its impact on social welfare is the overwhelming majority of Nigerians that live in poverty. It is scarcely possible to look at a news website in Nigeria or pick up a news that does not carry a story about a corruption scandal. Corruption is responsible for many of Nigeria underdevelopment particularly the poverty and inequality that typify so much of developing the country. Its scale is huge, notably where political regimes are seeking to extend their term in office. Most lucrative financial sectors of Nigeria sources of revenues are blatantly affected such as the oil sector, defence and construction where market share can be won by bribes; or in the total breakdown of health services where counterfeit drugs dominate a health system. More often that corruption in those sector are unchecked as vast fortunes have been accumulated illegally at the expense of society as a whole, creating huge pools of unregulated money that cycle in and out of formal economics.

Income inequality among the people is associated with poverty given that poverty is measured (in part) by level of income, and income inequality involves a ratio of low income population percent to high income population percent. Income inequality is the measure of the difference in incomes within a country and between countries. As a measure of social welfare, this study looks only at income inequality within the country of Nigeria. A country with a high percentage of poor people but substantial national wealth and corruption is likely to have high income inequality. For example, since 2000 Nigeria has averaged a much higher economic growth rate (6 percent), than ever before, but has yet to experience any significant reduction in its poverty level, while income inequality has increased (U.N. Human Development Report 2008/2009).

³³³ Chang, Eric. Political Transition, Corruption, and Income Inequality in Third Wave Democracies. November 2007. Retrieved from www.afrobarometer.org

4.7. The impact of Corruption on Good Governance

Good governance is a fundamental right in a democracy and it implies transparency and accountability³³⁴. Good governance entails “an administration that is sensitive and responsive to the needs of the people and is effective in coping with emerging challenges in society by framing and implementing appropriate laws and measures. It includes strict rules of accountability.”³³⁵ Corruption exists in both democratic and non-democratic states, but it develops “into an automatic by-product of the latter system and the chances for corrupt practices to be exposed, protested against and punished become much diminished under it”. Therefore democratic governance is a necessary requirement to fight corruption³³⁶. Corruption undermines the rule of law, democratic governance, accountability and sustainable development. It breaches the contract between citizens and public officials, and this has grave consequences for successful government. Moreover, it is a consequence of a collapse of governance and is a cause of its continued failure.

There can be no gainsaying that corruption threatens to fell at the knees virtually everything we hold dear and precious in our hard-won constitutional order. It blatantly undermines the democratic ethos, the institutions of democracy, the rule of law and the foundational values of our nascent constitutional project. It fuels maladministration and public fraudulence and imperils the capacity of the state to fulfil its obligations to respect, protect, promote and fulfil all the rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights. When corruption and organised crime flourish, sustainable development and economic growth are stunted. And in turn, the stability and security of society is put at risk.

Corruption is therefore an antithesis to democracy and the rule of law. Corruption diverts resources that are needed to improve the lives of citizens to enrich a few, at great cost to many. Corruption prevents the state from fulfilling its constitutional obligations, erodes the legitimacy of our democratic government and subverts the rule of law. It gnaws away at the ethical fabric of our society, and stifles

³³⁴ Santosh Hegde, Effect of Corruption on Good Governance, First CIPS Foundation Day Lecture, P1, accessed at http://www.cips.org.in/public-sector-systems-government-innovations/documents/NS-Hegde_CIPSFDL_ed20May11.pdf, Access on 08/04/2018

³³⁵ Ibid

³³⁶ 5 Patricia Carrier, “Corruption as a Threat to Human Rights: A Proposal for Reform of the International Corruption Legal Regime,” p 7, available at <http://www.duo.uio.no/publ/jus/2008/83391/Finalxthesis.pdf>. Access on 08/04/2018

economic growth. It has a powerful negative effect on foreign investment by destroying investor confidence³³⁷.

Moreover, Corruption presents a threat to democratic gains, impinges on development and worsens the gap between rich and poor³³⁸ by reducing the level of social services for the poor. It also creates incentives for higher investment in capital-intensive projects and lower investment in labour intensive projects.

This in itself leads to a loss of confidence in public institutions which can undermine the rule of law, security of property, respect for contracts, civil order and safety and ultimately, even the legitimacy of the state itself. Legitimate state activities may be undermined by this lack of public confidence.

Good governance largely depends “on the extent to which the general citizenry perceives a government to be legitimate, i.e. committed to improving the general public welfare ... deliver public services ... and equitable in its conduct, favouring no special interests or groups.” Therefore, corruption is “the antithesis of good governance³³⁹.”

Unjust access to limited social and political goods caused by corruption may cause social and political unrest, and corruption, at least in the public sector, is inherently undemocratic, since it involves “the exercise of a public duty contrary to the wishes of the electorate which has determined that duty, and employs the relevant official to perform it properly.”³⁴⁰ It is argued that corruption has a particularly negative impact on political and economic institutions that are already fragile and contributes to failures in development.

“Corruption in both the public and private sectors poses important socio-economic, governance and values and ethics challenges in contemporary in Nigeria. Corruption is detrimental to the soul of the nation, the institutions of democracy and the values and ethos of a young democracy like in Nigeria.

Fighting corruption is a necessary foundation for good governance and the rule of law, which are the building blocks of sustainable development in a country³⁴¹. In

³³⁷ Casac, “Corruption: Towards a Comprehensive Societal Response, available at <http://www.casac.org.za/wpcontent/uploads/2011/03/corruptionfullreport.pdf>. Access on 08/04/2018

³³⁸ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Department of Public Service and Administration, p. 85

³³⁹ Lala Camerer, Poverty and Corruption in South Africa: Government Corruption in Poverty Alleviation Programmes, ISS Monograph No. 15, Costly Crimes, September 1997

³⁴⁰ Ibid

³⁴¹ TNV, (2014), “Corruption: The Bane of Good Governance in Nigeria”, available at www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/.../corruption-bane-of-good-governanc... (accessed on 12/04/2018)

Nigeria, public roles and responsibilities are usually entrusted to the public office holders by the people in a quest for good governance, especially in the current democratic system. Most of the times, this trust has been corrupted whereby these public roles and resources were used for private benefits. Taking a holistic look, the World Bank³⁴² has identified three distinct aspects of governance, which are hereby used as indicators in analysing the effects of corruption on good governance in Nigeria. These are;

- i. The form of political regime, which refers to the degree of democratization in the country;
- ii. The degree of accountability in the management of the nation's economic and social resources for national development;
- iii. The capacity of governments to identify, formulate and implement development policies. This relates to the competence of government.

4.7.1. The administrative facet of Corruption

Since nearly all corruption is clandestine³⁴³, it easily escapes detection by investigation agencies. Its illegality is more controversial: the mispricing³⁴⁴ of export and import many not contravene a specific law, though it will contravene formal accounting standards, which require traded products to be valued at world market prices. The risks taken in the banking sector in principle is illegal as they deliberately misrepresented by the originators of mortgage packages sold one bank to another. So, while corruption is usually illegal, there are also form of corruption that are technically 'legal' but which most of society regards as corrupt. The cost of this failure to curb corruption on a national basis is very high; its impact is profound at the level of individual livelihoods, national economic progress, the environment and the credibility of political System.

Where corruption is endemic, it is the poorest that pay the highest price. Corrupt behaviour at the top, which is often recognised and identified by the public, is

³⁴² World Bank, (2000), "Can Africa Claim the 21st Century", World Bank Report, available at <http://www.worldbank.org/wbr/governance>, (accessed on 12/04/2018)

³⁴³ Laurence Cockroft, Global corruption, Cape Town, South Africa, BestRed, 2014, page 3

³⁴⁴ Transfer of profits by price manipulation from a sale in one country where tax rates are deemed too high, to another location where rates are low or non-existent.

readily used to justify corrupt behaviour at the lowest level. Without a bribe, policeman may hold a vehicle at a road block for half a day, an electricity manager may deny electricity to the community, while such behaviour is frequently excused by reference to abjectly low incomes, it is fact often the outcome of elaborate scams, orchestrated at a high level, where a condition of the job is the payment of commission at a higher level. When governments change, such mutually dependent relationship can easily survive under a new regime.

Administrative instability, economic backwardness, widespread social ills, declining moral values and lack of development, all are the progeny of corruption. Corruption is like a cancer that eats up the very social, political and economic fabric of a society. Nepotism, cronyism, favouritism, disregard for merit, soaring unemployment rates and poverty become rampant and an acute sense of mistrust in state institutions is created among the people. Since it erodes the economy, a country becomes dependent on foreign aid and internal and external debts, high inflation, low per capita income and low savings and investments frustrate all efforts on economic revival.

In political arena, it creates political instability, worsens law and order situation, gives way to military interventions and causes an acute leadership crisis. In a situation where a society socially, politically and economically remains disturbed, countless hurdles are created in the way of good governance. Thus, it can be said that corruption is the mother of all these evils. In order to eradicate this evil, there is a pressing need to have zero tolerance against corruption besides ensuring rule of law and making state institutions strong and apolitical. And, in this regard dissemination of education through media campaigns can play a pivotal role.

To make drinking water a killing stuff, only a drop of poison is needed. Corruption plays the same role in destroying a society, or more rightly a state. With his corrupt actions and deeds, a corrupt man inflicts miseries on the people as they have to resort to using unfair means for doing, having or achieving something³⁴⁵. That's why it is said that a corrupt man corrupts the whole society. In its meanings, 'corruption' is a broad term; it is not limited to bribery only; rather it permeates moral,

³⁴⁵ Bashir S,(2017). "Corruption and Its Impacts on Good Governance". Retrieved from <http://jworldtimes.com/jwt2015/magazine-archives/jwt2017/march2017/corruption-and-its-impacts-on-good-governance/>

social, political and economic spheres as well. The evil of corruption is found in many forms and manifestations with moral, political and economic forms being the most prominent ones. Corruption impacts, by and large, each and every aspect of a society or a state. There is hardly any field of life that could stay immune to its adverse impacts that range from social to political to economic spheres. It can be said that corruption is the mother of all ills. It destroys the administrative fabric of a society. This is the virus that makes dysfunction the whole structure of the state.

4.7.2. The economic facet of Corruption

In Nigeria, corruption is a key or determining factor in the national economy, the cost to economic growth have also been high. The consequences of corruption on a nation's socio-political and economic development are myriad. The foremost effect of corruption is that it not only leads to a reduction in economic growth and development by lowering incentives to invest, it also leads to a divestment in such economies. Serious investors are always wary of offering bribes before being allowed investment rights or operational licenses. This is due to the fact that there is no guarantee that greased officials may keep their side of the agreement, and with no official cover the address in case of contract breach, the fleeced investor is on his own³⁴⁶.

Applied to the above is the fact that foreign investors are also prone to withdraw their capital from a country with high incidence of corruption of corruption because the risk involved in doing business such nations sometimes far outweighs the benefits. Granted that it has been argued that corruption provides both local and foreign investors the leverage to surmount bureaucratic impediments, yet the number of such successful deals is a far cry from the avalanche of investors that have stripped off their hard earned money.

Corruption also alters the pattern of government expenditure. Experience has shown that in highly corrupt countries, officials through government funds more into large and hard-to-manage projects, such as airport so highways than on social services like health and education. It has been a stumbling block to people enjoying the social

³⁴⁶ Epele, A. (2006). Corruption and the Nigerian society: Causes, effects and the futility of solutions. The Politics Magazine. University of Benin. Benin City, Nigeria.

fruits of good governance³⁴⁷. Corruption contributes immensely to inhibition of economic performance; it negatively affects investment and economic growth, which is antithetical to national development. If corruption discourages investment, limits economic growth and alters the composition of government spending, I unconsciously hinders future economic growth and sustainable development³⁴⁸. Corruption contributes to the problem of mass poverty and rendered millions of Nigerian citizen's unemployed and uneducated. The poverty profile of Nigerians appears to be worsening.

Corruption encourages tax avoidance, resulting in a lower tax base for government revenue collection. For example, corruption has been condemned the majority of people to an income of less than \$2 per day in a country that has had an average income per year from oil of US\$30 billion since 1970. This direct costs from the corrupt management of natural resources such as timber, marine fisheries and oil, which have implications well beyond the frontier of the country where they are found. It's eliminate any serious investment in health, education and basic infrastructure. Foreign investments will simply go somewhere else to avoid red tapes and official extortion. Domestic capital, although unable to move abroad in case of capital control, will simply refrain from investment if there is too much hassle to start a new business. In contrast, the modernization approach asserts that corruption is a product of rapid socio-economic change. Hence, countries with high levels of economic growth may also have higher levels of corruption. However, the costs of corruption go beyond the individuals, the coffers of the state and the performance of the economy.

Corruption "denies development and quality of life to the most vulnerable members of society on a very negative effect on both the growth of income and distribution. It is especially harmful in development of the country, which have fewer resources and thus are more vulnerable if those resources are wasted or not used effectively and equitably. It's impact the individual and may destroy a family's livelihood, through the combined effect of the cost of small-scale bribery, the distortion of poverty-relief programmes, the absence of recourse to justice, the cash cost of 'free' education, the failure of counterfeit medical drugs and agricultural supply system rigged against the small farmer. The dramatic effect is much higher proportion

347 Ibrahim, J. (2003). "Corruption in Nigeria: Transition, Persistence and Continuity" The Nigerian Social Scientist Vol.No.2

³⁴⁸ Op.Cit. Pg. 177

of corruptly gained assets were held overseas worsening the burden of arbitrary embezzlement.

Soaring levels of corruption have the potential to lead to high poverty for two reasons. “First, evidence suggests that a higher growth rate is associated with a higher rate of poverty reduction and that corruption slows the rate of poverty reduction by reducing growth. Second, income inequality has been shown to be harmful to growth and if corruption increases income inequality, it will also reduce growth and thereby limit poverty reduction”. Several recent high-profile instances of service delivery failures have been linked to allegations of corruption.

Economic corruption is another manifestation of corrupt practices. Taking bribes, making underhand deals and receiving kickbacks and commissions; all fall under the economic corruption category. Corruption impacts, by and large, each and every aspect of a society or a state. There is hardly any field of life that could stay immune to its adverse impacts that range from social to political to economic spheres³⁴⁹.

Insofar as the matter of social impacts of corruption is concerned, the chief among them is to the social life; it creates in public resentment against state institutions and distrust in government. Moreover, due to the ills of nepotism, cronyism and favouritism, and with an utter disregard to merit, a society plunges into an abyss where it has to face perpetual crises of unemployment, backwardness and poverty, which are the basic causes of radicalisation and terrorism. When corruption becomes a part of system or, in more appropriate words, becomes a system in itself, people lose trust even in their elected representatives. They believe that such a system serves the interests of only a few privileged ones, and not the public at large.

Moreover, nepotism and favouritism are like a death blow to merit. In such an environment, meritocracy can never come by. Here, it is pertinent to say that the death of merit is the death of talent and the death of talent is the death of a progressive, developed society.

Furthermore, a system wherein the relatives and friends of some influential people are favoured effects an increase in unemployment because the deserving people

³⁴⁹ Op.Cit. Pg. 177

are discriminated against and crème de la crème of a society is rendered jobless. Such crisis of unemployment has deleterious ramifications for the society.

Thus, lack of trust, evils of nepotism and favouritism, disregard for merit and crisis of unemployment generate chaos and anarchy which further gives rise to suicides, targeted killings, religious or ethnic hatred, enmity and crimes, hence, become the order of the day.

However, the impacts of corruption are not limited to social sphere only; it has political offshoots too. It not only disturbs the social fabric of a society but also devastates the political structure, as it leads to political instability, precarious law and order situation and military interventions as there is an acute crisis of a true, farsighted and visionary leadership.

The cancer of corruption also plagues the economic sphere of a country. It won't be an exaggeration to say that the good of one is the good of all, and vice versa. Impacts of corruption on economic spheres include more and more dependency on foreign aid, rising internal and external debts, skyrocketing inflation, lack of economic opportunities, low per capita income and meagre savings and investments.

In a state, where political bigwigs, influential bureaucrats and even those doing ordinary jobs are involved in corruption, progress and economic development remains an elusive dream. Huge spending on protocols and luxurious lifestyles of government functionaries eats up the budget that would otherwise be spent on public welfare. Thus, the governments have no option but to borrow from international financial institutions and other countries in order to meet their development expenditures. This raises a country's dependency on foreign aid.

And, in order to pay back the internal and external debts, governments resort to raising taxation rates and the poor segment of society gets hard hit by this as inflation becomes uncontrollable. In this way, a vicious circle of poverty is created. Now, it has become evidently clear that corruption is the root cause of all evils in a society.

4.7.3. The Socio-Political facet of Corruption

Corruption dominates political contest through the use of money and favours in politics which undermines democratic processes and the rule of law. Political corruption cause public disillusionment with democracy and its capacity to limit corruption. Corruption undermines the rule of law when it is interwoven in the political

development. Its effects are reflected in the political instability of the government as its legitimacy is challenged hence compromising the process of national development. It follows therefore that in such a scenario there can be no effective long-term planning and hence the construction of democracy is threatened.

Corruption in Nigeria manifest itself in virtually all aspect to include national life; it has cripple the attainment of good governance and underdevelopment encumber at the local; state and federal government. This involves the exploitation of poor and very poor people by those who are often only two or three notches higher on the income scale than those they are exploiting.

Table 4.7.3

Sociological impact:

It has sapped the moral of the public servant.	Honest is no more the best policy
Public servant exhibit nonchalant attitude to work	It has cripple individual talent and creativity within the society
Integrity and dedication is no more within the public sector system	Decline in productivity
Loss of revenue	Reduction in Gross Domestic produce
Anarchy in society	Nepotism, favouritism and Lack of trust
Low savings and investments	Low per capita income
Perfection of election rigging	Money as the ultimate aim
Dependency on foreign aid	Military interventions and leadership crisis
Impeded economic activities	Burden of debt and high inflation
Reckless exhibition of political power	Violence and destruction
Underline the political stability of the nation	

Sources: Self developed by the researcher

Political instability, economic backwardness, widespread social ills, declining moral values and lack of development, all are the progeny of corruption. Corruption is like a cancer that eats up the very social, political and economic fabric of a society.

Nepotism, cronyism, favouritism, disregard for merit, soaring unemployment rates and poverty become rampant and an acute sense of mistrust in state institutions is created among the people. Since it erodes the economy, a country becomes dependent on foreign aid and internal and external debts, high inflation, low per capita income and low savings and investments frustrate all efforts on economic revival³⁵⁰. In political arena, it creates political instability, worsens law and order situation, gives way to military interventions and causes an acute leadership crisis. In a situation where a society socially, politically and economically remains disturbed, countless hurdles are created in the way of good governance. Thus, it can be said that corruption is the mother of all these evils. In order to eradicate this evil, there is a pressing need to have zero tolerance against corruption besides ensuring rule of law and making state institutions strong and apolitical.

And, in this regard dissemination of education through media campaigns can play a pivotal role. To make drinking water a killing stuff, only a drop of poison is needed.

Corruption plays the same role in destroying a society, or more rightly a state. With his corrupt actions and deeds, a corrupt man inflicts miseries on the people as they have to resort to using unfair means for doing, having or achieving something. That's why it is said that a corrupt man corrupts the whole society. In its meanings, 'corruption' is a broad term; it is not limited to bribery only; rather it permeates moral, social, political and economic spheres as well. The evil of corruption is found in many forms and manifestations with moral, political and economic forms being the most prominent ones.

As regards the matter of moral corruption³⁵¹, it's a combination of two terms i.e. 'moral' and 'corruption'. When these two terms are combined, several definitions of 'moral corruption' pop up; first is that one's view of what is right and good is simply upended or does not remain in line with the agreed standards and ethical practices of a society. Second aspect is that one tries to achieve some goals that may be moral but the ways and means for achieving it are illegal or unfair. Third, a person is an outright

³⁵⁰ Ibid, Pg.177

³⁵¹ Ibid, Pg.177

corrupt in terms of morality. For instance, a student who doesn't do his homework with honesty is morally corrupt; a citizen who shows disloyalty to the state is also a morally-corrupt individual. In fine, to be moral is to have a sense of what is right, good and trustworthy, and a corrupt person has no morals as he is dishonest and untrustworthy in his conduct. Under the term political corruption, also fall the actions of those in the political arena. They may be politicians or state functionaries or government employees who seek illegitimate gains by making an unfair use of their positions. In this form of corruption, favouritism, misuse and abuse of public office, disregard for merit are the oft-seen phenomena. When politicians make laws for their own personal gains and interests, they do also commit corruption, as they fail to perform the duty for which they have been elected and sent to the corridor of power³⁵².

4.7. The Challenges of Good Governance in Nigeria

It is obvious that governance issues are the bane of national development and political instability in Nigeria. The authoritarian leadership faced a legitimacy crisis; political intrigues in an ethnically-differentiated polity became the cover-up for corruption and profligacy. Immunity from accountability and transparency, accentuated by the enormous oil revenues, further impoverished the inhabitants of the oil producing areas. Thus, the underdevelopment or no development syndrome became cyclical. In order to break this cycle, accountability and transparency have to be guaranteed and the people have to be involved in issues that affect their lives and immediate environment³⁵³.

In this regard, the position of Chief Okrika, on the problems in the Niger Delta region is pertinent. "But the issue is that the people are aggrieved. They want to have a direct involvement in the development of their region. The people are sitting on top of oil yet they are poor. That is why we, the oil bearing communities, are agitating for the quick passage of the oil Revenue Formula Bill at the National Assembly, which would give communities direct access to certain percent of monies accruing from the oil derivation fund. When the oil communities become directly involved in the management of funds emanating from oil got from their backyard, they become

³⁵² Op.Cit

³⁵³ Omololu Toluwanimi Omololu, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, Corruption, Governance and Political Instability in Nigeria, 2007. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.864.6180&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

partners and would put structures in place to protect the oil facilities allegedly being destroyed by militants. They do so because they are not benefiting anything from such facilities, which only pollute their environment (The Guardian, 09/09/06)".

Transparency and accountability in governance will increase the sense of national community as well as the level of system affect. Ake³⁵⁴ has rightly suggested that "democratization of considerable depth" would be necessary to halt the impediments created by the problems of poor governance. To ensure more and better government responsiveness, civil society actors who have all the capacity to compel their leaders to be accountable to them should brace up for the challenge. Sadly enough, the civil society has been largely disempowered, and invariably had lost its positions to the international donors and development agencies, the neo-colonialists, who define and determine what democratization entails. While they insist on good governance, they shy away from the core value of accountability and transparency. As the president of Transparency International, Peter Eigen, alleged, the ravaging corruption in the developing world was contracted through the developed world³⁵⁵.

A failed, corrupt and inept leadership coupled with inclement domestic socio-political environment have plunged development performance in Nigeria into the abyss. Development is no longer what the people desire, but what the creditor nations and international financial institutions dictate. The domestic policy-making process is now imported from abroad, perhaps, to further the interest of the international hegemons in a desperate scramble, for the second time, of the "newly" found state. This has to be resisted with an active participation of the civil society in the oversight function within its sphere. Deliberate and conscious efforts, borne out of patriotism, are needed to ensure the emergence of a virile civil society. An informed civil society is necessary to balance the power of the Nigerian State. This could be a solution for ending the brazen abuse of powers and privileges by public officials and stimulate a psychological reorientation towards meaningful development. A genuine monitoring

³⁵⁴ Ake C (1995), "Socio-Political Approaches and Policies for Sustainable Development in Africa", a paper delivered at the Annual Meeting Symposium of the African Development Banks, Abuja, May, 25, 1995.

³⁵⁵ Mr. Eigen, in August 2005, alleged that foreign citizens imported corruption into Nigeria through their business dealings. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/07/international/africa/o7lagos.ex.-html?>

of government policies and programmes could lead to the detection of corrupt practices.

The consequence is the near possibility of alteration in the perception of government as the instrument of the elites to acquire and retain power at the expense of the people. In the long run, novelties could come to the realization that the ruling elites owe their positions to the mandate of their constituents for the purpose of good governance. Thus the state could be seen as the servant of the public, rather than the preserve of the elites. This would create a high level of system affect. Moreover, the public would be reconnected to the elite-dominated, neopatrimonialism state. By the time the public interest is reasserted in governance, the polity would exhibit the potential for growth and stability.

4.8. Bad Governance-Corruption Nexus in Nigeria: The Reform

The unbridled corruption has negatively impacted all spheres of activity in Nigeria and the whole fabric of the society seems at stake. Corruption, done at far away and much higher places from the common citizens, has a direct and deep impact on their lives from petty bribery or nepotism to large-scale larceny and kickbacks, has had a devastating impact on Nigeria's economy as it has undermined the country's development, has destroyed public trust and has burdened the lives of the masses.

All in all, corruption's reach is insidious and its effect destructive. The law of the land lays down many rules and regulations necessary for good governance, including basic rights of expression and association. Many of these dispositions have not been however fully implemented, and are manipulated to sustain an authoritarian regime that ends up serving its own individual interest at the expense of the people of Nigeria through the abuse of power which involves a public servant using his/her vested authority to improperly benefit another public servant, person or entity (or using the vested authority to improperly discriminate against another public servant, person or entity). Example: During a tender process but before actual selection of a successful contractor, the head of department expresses his/her wish to see the contract awarded to a specific person (The Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy of 2002).

To the extent that addressing corruption falls within the general mechanisms of good governance, constitutions that adhere to some certain principles (like rule of

law, clear separation of powers, accountability and transparency of the state, primacy of the public interest, basic individual and collective rights of equality, freedom of expression and association, access to information, participation, independent and accountable judiciary and control mechanisms of the different state branches, etc) have in place a basic set of tools to prevent corruption. Corruption allows for government expenditure in vested interest rather than public interest which is therefore, resulting in a lack of provision for public goods such as infrastructure for businesses; and education and healthcare for households. It's encourages hiring based on nepotism, cronyism and patronage, not merit, therefore, reducing the quality of the public institutions and public distrust in the institutions of state, leading in turn to weakening of the state's capacity to deal with corruption. Questionable integrity of the political leadership is the core issue behind dysfunctional political systems giving rise to administrative corruption and state capture. A precarious outcome of this trust deficit is increasing criminal activity. Organized crime as well as street crime increase with greater perception of political and administrative corruption. There is a nexus between state capture and public trust erosion with deepens and entrenches the social and economic problems in Nigeria thereby leading to inefficient of the capacity of governments to design, formulate, and implement policies, discharge functions, deliver services and respect for human rights and rule of law.

The realities of which the government activities has been characterised by profligacy and mindless dissipation of public funds, Oghi³⁵⁶ stated that public facilities in Nigeria has virtually collapsed, causing serious hardship on the people due to corruption. Funds, which have been budgeted, meant facilities such as; refineries, power generation, hospitals, roads, schools etc. are diverted to private bank accounts, through either direct misappropriation or the award of phony contracts to cronies.

4.9. Summary

This descriptive study was to investigate the potentials of corruption in affecting good governance and underdevelopment in Nigeria. It is known that corruption runs riot through the Nigerian society, it has infected greatly and many Arms of Government departments, workers and civil servant whose wages and salaries

³⁵⁶ Oghi, N. (2013), "Corruption in the Matrix of Development in Nigeria", European Scientific Journal, Vol. 9 No. 7, pp. 57- 74. Access on 15/04/2018

are no longer adequate for their daily needs, are being exploited by enterprising adventures of who want to get rich quickly. This affected all arms of Governance in Nigeria; a social endemic has infiltrated the morals aspect of life which is constantly setting back development and a detriment of the country.

However, many Nigerians are disappointed with the governance administration at all levels because the system has little to show for both funds earned from the rich oil wealth of the country and its internally generated revenues.

Further analyses was shield on impact of good governance and how bad governance affect the public sectors, especially in a democratic government setting such as that of Nigeria, this requires that individuals of ethical integrity should manage the affairs of the government. It is clear that democratic values and principles are possible and can be sincerely implemented by an administration that is headed by officials who are ethical and committed to ethical leadership. Ethical leaders will eschew personal interests for the public interest. Such leaders in government institutions will engage in policy decision-making and policy implementation that will enhance the public interest.

This study finding underlined the importance of Good Governance and Development in promoting democratic governance. It accentuates the need of honest and ethical, public officials, particularly in the position of leadership for the delivery of good governance at all arms of government in Nigeria and, in fact, in the developing of the country as a whole. It can be a catalyst for social change not only national development but also in the Nigerian society at large when the public officials imbibe the knowledge, ideas, and suggestions enunciated in this study regarding the ethical leadership, and begin to put them into practice. The outcomes will be that the public officials will be ethical in their decisions making and actions as they pilot the public affair, which will go a long way to improve and sustain the general well-being of the citizenry.

This now lead to the conclusion of the research work in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussions, Conclusions and Recommendation

5.1. Introduction

The final chapter covers the conclusion of the research work; a qualitative study undertaken to explore a deeper understanding of corruption and how it affected good governance leading to underdevelopment in Nigeria with the primary purpose of bringing to light the means to enhance good governance and development of the country. Finally, it discusses the recapitulation of the major findings, discussion of the results of the findings, managerial implication and recommendation.

5.2. Recapitulation of the major findings

This section is summary of the major findings of the study and relates to the findings of previous studies. This study was basically proposed to identify the nexus between corruption and good governance which leads to underdevelopment of the country.

Further studies discovered corruption as the bane of Nigerian socio-economic development, which threatens the existence of Nigeria as a political entity. It is therefore imperative that all and sundry should engage in anti-corruption struggle. Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon and there is hardly any society without one form of corruption or the other. Corrupt practices did not begin today; it is old as history, old as the human race so therefore the menace called corruption is a big problem in Nigeria and in human race.

The research main aim is to investigate the relationship between corruption and deficiency of good governance on the notion of causality and their nexus with the development in Nigeria. The study also has the following specific objectives: 1-To review the context and conceptual framework of corruption, 2-To review the vulnerability of Nigerian anti-corruption measures, 3-To examine the impact of bad management of the country governance, 4- To examine the nexus between corruption and deficiency of good governance, 5-To investigate the direction of causality between corruption and underdevelopment, 6-To examine how much good governance is

important in eradicating corruption, 7-To examine the effects of good governance on corruption.

These findings depicted the menace called corruption which is a big problem in Nigeria. M.Watts affirms that “effects of corruption in the Nigerian society cannot be overemphasized”. Corruption is indeed a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian society. It is a monster that all and sundry blame for the economic woes facing the country. This is because corruption is seen as one of the major impediments to good governance and economic development of the nation. It is perhaps, the only reason why nothing seems to be working. In fact, corruption is threatening the existence of Nigeria as an entity. Nearly every sphere of human endeavour is affected by corruption. And no profession is spared either.

Interestingly, successive governments pursued policies against corruption and it was the main reason why the military made incursions into politics. Despite various policies adopted by governments, corruption is ever increasing in the country. Nigeria is said to have generated huger revenue during this current political dispensation than at other times of her history. This is so because of the rising price of crude oil in the international market since 1999.

Categorically, Nigerian government show it is prepared to fight corruption at all arms of government and the civil servants, when it started the fight from the justice administration system (the Judiciary), some judges are stopped from being corrupt and they do not have the moral capital to be justice. By the structure and composition of the Judicial System, the professionals there have more to lose when scandals break out and trials commence. If there is nothing to gain, the judiciary can be relied on to deliver justice. Right now, the professionals in the judiciary are relying on the cooperation of their cohorts in the executive and legislative arms to hide them.

If the search light is turned on the judiciary, it will easily turn a new leaf. The same applies to the police, State Security Services (SSS) and the ministries of justice. Consider this statement common to the police: "no one is a saint"; it is just an apologia for their own corruption³⁵⁷.

Has Nigeria today is a nation at crossroads, struggling against all forms of vices. The country's media practitioners had at one time struggled for the political

³⁵⁷ Watts. M. (2008): “The Rule of Oil:Petro-Politics and the Anatomy of an Insurgency” Proceedings of the International Conference on Nigeria State, Oil Industry and Niger Delta. European Scientific Journal January 2013 edition vol.9, No.1 ISSN: 1857 – 7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857- 7431, pg. 199

emancipation of the country, at another time, the media fought for the unity of the nation during a devastating 30-month civil war. One of the major issues that should engage the attention of the media today is the anti-corruption war. There is therefore no gain saying the fact that all hands need to be on deck so that the anti-corruption war could be won.

How much Nigeria would succeed in the current battle depends largely on how effective the media would be. The media profession is expected to be above board so that journalists could confidently champion the anti-corruption campaign. Though some media outfits realized this demand and some efforts have been channelled towards this in recent times, it is pertinent to know how the corruption and underdevelopment issues are being handled in most media organizations in Nigeria.

5.3. Discussions on Corruption

Etymologically, corruption is derived from a Latin word “corruptus” which means to break or destroy. Literally, corruption means to break away or depart from morality, ethics and civic virtues. Further explanation of each of these words will give us better understanding and insight,

1. Morality implies: morals, principles, values, goodness, decency, probity, honesty, integrity etc.
2. Ethics means: moral code, belief, tradition practices, habits, conventions, customs, laws rules, regulations, commandments, decrees.
3. Civic virtues: public opinion of merit and quality. Going by the above definition corruption is a break away from what is good and right.

The Word Bank defines corruption as “the abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public offices can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets or the diversion of state revenue³⁵⁸.”

Microsoft Encarta Encyclopaedia defines it as “wrongdoing by those in a special position of trust. The term is commonly applied to self – benefiting conduct by public officials and others dedicated to public services”.

³⁵⁸ Op.Cit. Pg. 189

Section 2 of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission Act 2000 defines corruption to include “bribery, fraud and other related offences”. The most common type of corruption by this definition is bribery – which refers to the giving or taking of money or any kind of favour in return or exchange for undue advantage over other people. Other types include: abuse of power in any form or degree, extortion, embezzlement, inflation of contracts, kickbacks, diversion of funds, falsification or suppression of record, perversion of justice, electoral malpractices, examination malpractices, drug trafficking, money laundering, abuse of selection processes, nepotism, sexual exploitation, gratification and so on.

Corruption is caused generally by greed, lack of positive values, porous system, weak enforcement and oversight mechanisms, excessive materialism, societal pressure, lack of virile welfare structures, insecurity of employment tenure, indiscipline, Inordinate desire for wealth accumulation (get-rich-quick-syndrome), poverty of the mind, nepotism (partiality, favouritism, preferential treatment, bias, discrimination etc.), and lack of genuine fear of God. Corruption has indeed robbed Nigerians the benefit of economic development because scarce available resources that should have been deployed to execute development project have gone into private foreign accounts.

Corruption is widespread in Nigeria, not because the people are different from other parts of the world, but because the conditions are ripe for it. There are many reasons why this is so. The motivation to earn income from among the populace is relatively stronger; exacerbated by poverty, unemployment and low wages. In many developing countries Nigeria inclusive, accountability is generally weak. Political competition and civil liberties are often restricted. Laws and principles of ethics in governance are poorly developed and the legal institutions charged with enforcing them are ill-prepared.

Effects of corruption to the nation in general, to the port system in particular and to us as a people is colossal; for example:

- It undermines the national image- a corruption ridden country stinks in the comity of nations and meaningful investments cannot be attracted nor developmental cooperation can be established because every Nigerian is viewed as corrupt and dubious outside. For instance, Nigeria has been consistently ranked among the most corrupt country in the world by Transparency International.

- It threatens the very survival of a nation as it prevents the provision of basic social amenities for the citizenry. The money meant for development is often pocketed by a few thereby making good governance impossible. It has affected our health sectors not to talk of our educational institutions. As at today, not even one of the Universities in Nigeria is rated among the first 200 in the world and none is rated among the best in Africa. Corruption generally erodes standards to abysmal levels. Quality of goods and services cannot be guaranteed in a corrupt society.
- Corruption aggravate unemployment and under development which engenders mass poverty that thwart efforts to overcome it.
- Most infrastructural decay and unsatisfactory provision of amenities can be traced directly or indirectly to corruption. There is a total collapse of power and road network in the country today due to corrupt attitude of past leaders.
- It erodes the ethical base of society: -as due diligence, excellence, honesty, merit and integrity are discouraged.
- It breeds all kinds of crimes and vandalism – arm robbery, kidnapping, youth agitation and massive brain drain – a great number of Nigeria best brains have been driven to other part of the world where they now spearhead developmental and scientific exploits.

5.4. Discussions on Governance

Governance refers broadly to the exercise of power through a country's economic, social, and political institutions in which institutions represent the organizational rules and routines, formal laws, and informal norms that together shape the incentives of public policy-makers, overseers, and providers of public services³⁵⁹. Governance in Nigeria dates back to the colonial period. However, good governance is a much recent and novel idea of democratic governance that found expression in the detailed provisions of the 1979 Constitution that contained the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy. Good governance became the reducible criteria for assessment of government under the 1999 Constitution, due to

³⁵⁹ Governance for Sustainable Human Development, A UNDP Policy Paper, UNDP 1997 p 2 – 3 For global perspectives on Governance see: (i) UNDP at <http://magnet.undp.org/policy/default.htm>.; (ii) Commission on Global Governance. Retrieved from <http://www.cgg.ch/welcome.htm>.

the negative effect of military rule, the activities of civil society and the pressures of international financial institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and UNDP³⁶⁰. Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable, effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources³⁶¹. In its report, *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*, the UNDP acknowledges the following as core characteristics of good governance:

- 1) Participation
- 2) Rule of Law
- 3) Transparency
- 4) Responsiveness
- 5) Consensus Orientation
- 6) Equity
- 7) Effectiveness and Efficiency
- 8) Accountability
- 9) Strategic Vision³⁶²

The above highlighted characteristics of good governance were glaringly deficient in governance under the different military administrations that governed Nigeria from 1966-1979 and 1984 – 1999. Thus to talk about good governance under those regimes will be a misnomer or at best an undue elastication of a term that will ill-fit dictatorial and absolute regimes.⁵⁵ Hence it can be affirmed that good

³⁶⁰ B.O. Nwabueze, *Constitutional Democracy in Africa Volume 4* (2005); Dr. Adewale Banjo, "Africa: still in the Anti-Graft Crusade", Wednesday, April 28, 2004 (Print Monograph). Retrieved from <http://www.ai.rg.za/printmonograph.asp?ID=20>; Adamolekun, "Are Nigeria's governance institutions 'hollow'?" Vanguard Wednesday, Marcy 07, 2007 at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/articles/2002/columns/Adaolekun/had07032007.html>; "Fighting Corruption to Improve Governance" a publication of Bureau of Development Policy UNDP 13 November 1998; Hyden Goran & Dele Olowu (ed), *African Perspective on Governance* (Africa World Press, 2000). Access on 01/05/2018.

³⁶¹ Adel. M. Abdellatif, "Good Governance and its Relationship to Democracy and Economic Development" a paper presented at the Global Forum III on Fighting Corruption and Safeguarding Integrity, Seoul 20 – 31 May 2003. (GF3/wa/iv – 3/S1). Pp. 4 – 6. Access on 01/05/2018.

³⁶² *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*, A UNDP Policy Paper UNDP 1997, pp. 2 – 3; Retrieved from http://www.adb.org/Documents/Policies/Governance/gov_300.asp?p=policies. Access on 01/05/2018.

governance as an element of constitutional government is in its infancy in Nigeria constitutional history and development. Good governance has been acknowledged as the term that symbolizes the paradigm shift of the role of governments. There has definitely been a paradigm shift in the role of government under the 1999 constitutional democracy of President Olusegun Obasanjo and the challenges of corruption in governance³⁶³.

Corruption is no doubt a major serious and acute problem facing Nigeria today and of course one of the biggest constrained in the efforts to create good governance. In spite of this, for several years, the effort of the government to fight and combat corruption continues to gain momentum. However, there is no concrete evidence that the rampant menace of corruption could be totally solved soon in the nearer future because of the weakness of governmental enforcement mechanism and less effective government mandate to effect efficient means to curb corrupt practices and effect good governance.

The researcher equally found the followings;

- **Bad Leadership Precedents:** This is a crucial obstacle to good governance in Nigeria as the political mentality presently is that politics is a means to amassed wealth and that the end justifies the means. Indeed, the highest corruption in Nigeria is in the corridors of power as indicated by the number of state Governors and Local Government Chairmen that have so far been investigated. At this level, corruption is carried out in over-inflated contracts with selfish motives, contracts are executed and re-executed countless times, monies given to public officers for their respective populace, organizations and sectors are diverted to personal accounts and most times, laundered to foreign accounts. This mentality has invariably permeated to the common man who seeks every means legal or illegal to make his own wealth or in the popular slogan “have his share of the national cake”. It therefore falls on the leadership to take a stand against corruption by living by example which would in a multiplier effect, also assure enforcers of laws that they can perform their

³⁶³ Noel Kututiwa, “African Anti-Corruption Commitments: A review of eight NEPAD Countries”, African Human Security Initiative, AHSI Paper 7. 1 January 2005 pp 3 – 7. Retrieved from <http://www.ISS.org.za/pubs/other/ahsi/Paper 7 Jan 05/Kututiwa pdf>.

duties without fear or favour and that nobody is above the law. This stance will be a major blow to corruption in Nigeria.

- Inadequate funding of law enforcement and anti-corruption agencies in addition to high technology crimes, corporate and bureaucratic corruption would be fatally erroneous to assume that the current government can effectively win the fight of the magnitude of the past administration corruptive tendencies in government as a mean to achieving good governance without adequate eradication of the get rich syndrome in joining politics and government.
- Lack of transparency and the great inequality in the distribution of wealth along with low salaries and poor working conditions, with few incentives and rewards for efficient and effective performance will make it impossible to attain good governance.
- The need for reforms in the Public Sector- The public sector contributes more than 70% of the corruption in Nigeria. Countries where corruption is the exception rather than the norm have achieved this by reforming their public institutions such as the Civil Service, the Parliament and the Judiciary. Reforms in these sectors will greatly reduce the challenges of combating corruption.
- Political or grand corruption takes place at the highest levels of political authority. It is when the politicians and political decision-makers (heads of state, ministers and top officials), who are entitled to formulate, establish and implement the laws in the name of the people, are themselves corrupt. With grand corruption we are dealing with highly placed individuals who exploit their positions to extract large bribes from national and transnational corporations, who appropriate significant pay-offs from contract scams, or who embezzle large sums of money from the public treasury into private (often overseas) bank accounts. Political corruption is furthermore when policy formulation and legislation are tailored to benefit politicians and legislators. Political corruption can thus be distinguished from bureaucratic corruption, which is corruption in the public administration, at the implementation end of politics. This “low level” or “street level” corruption is what citizens will experience daily,

in their encounter with public administration and services like hospitals, schools, local licensing authorities, police, customs, taxing authorities and so on. The sums involved are rather modest (adjusted to local conditions), and therefore bureaucratic corruption is frequently referred to as routine or “petty”. Even so, the sums involved may be considerable in particular cases and in aggregated terms.

- Nigeria has the most populous country in Africa with a diverse cultural heritage and a population of about 200 million with not less than 250 ethnic groups with several years of military dictatorship, Nigeria found herself again in the mainstream of civil governance. While this development was seen by some people as an avenue to explore dividends and goodies of democracy, others saw it as an opportunity to express grievances. This had re-affirmed the poser that over the past several decades, Nigerians have sought to build a stable multi-ethnic nation. However, nation building has been complicated by Nigeria's tremendous diversities, thus, making the management of diversities to be more central than ever as a problem in Nigeria’s political process. The interactions within the State have led to the formation of innumerable structures of sub-nationalism and recurrent skirmishes which have greatly increased since the return to civil rule in 1999³⁶⁴.

Since the re-emergence of democracy in May 1999, not less than one hundred politically, ethnically and religiously motivated conflicts have occurred in Nigeria. The democratic opening presented by Nigeria's successful transition to civil rule in May 1999 unleashed a host of hitherto repressed or dormant political forces. Unfortunately, it has become increasingly difficult to differentiate between genuine demands by these forces on the state and outright criminality and mayhem. Post-transition Nigeria is experiencing the rise of conflicts borne out of various agitations by a plethora of movements purportedly representing, and seeking to protect, their ethnic, political or religious interests in a country which appears incapable of providing the basic welfare needs of its citizens. Different reasons and circumstances leads to

³⁶⁴ Ayodele, B (2004) „The Nigerian State and Conflict Management in the nascent Democratic project“ in Agagu, A.A and Ola, R.F (eds) Development Agenda of the Nigerian State, Ibadan: FIAG Publishers Azinge, E (2004) Law, Money and Politics, Epiphany Press.

these conflicts and violence in Nigeria. Some of the reasons are „the weak character of the Nigerian State and the inability of its equally weak institutions to engender order and security and poverty, military intervention in politics, citizen’s apathy to the State, elitist greed and manipulation³⁶⁵.

5.5. Discussions of the Major Findings

The discussion of the findings begins by addressing corruption, good governance and underdevelopment in Nigeria. Next is to explore the correlation of the themes according to respondent’s views in relation to effects of corruption on the nation’s economy. A nation inundated with corruption cannot be viable economically; neither can the system generate enough support and affection required for the survival of democratic system. This is a situation in Nigeria where corruption has become part and parcel of the political culture.

The consequence is to improve the quality of life, which generally calls for higher incomes. But it involves much more. It encompasses, as ends in themselves: Better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, a cleaner environment, more equality of opportunity, greater individual freedom, and a richer cultural life³⁶⁶. While the consequences of corruption on a nation's socio-political and economic development are myriad. The foremost effect of corruption is that it leads to a reduction in economic growth and development by lowering incentives to invest, it also leads to a divestment in such economies.

Serious investors are always wary of offering bribes before being allowed investment rights or operational licenses. This is due to the fact that there is no guarantee that greased officials may keep their side of the agreement, and with no official cover they address in case of contract breach, the fleeced investor is on his own³⁶⁷, the fact that foreign investors are also prone to withdraw their capital from a country with high incidence of corruption because the risk involved in doing business in such nations sometimes outweighs the benefits. Granted that it has been argued that corruption provides both local and foreign investors the leverage to surmount

³⁶⁵ Olu-Adeyemi, O. (2008) Ethno-National Identities and the Crisis of Nation Building in Nigeria, Unpublished PhD Thesis.

³⁶⁶ The World Bank, The World Development Report 1991, The Challenge of Development, (Oxford University Press, 1990) p.4. Accessed on 01/05/2018.

³⁶⁷ Epele, A. (2006). Corruption and the Nigerian Society: Causes, Effects and the Futility of Solutions. The Politics Magazine. University of Benin. Benin City. Accessed on 01/05/2018.

bureaucratic impediments, yet the number of such successful deals is a far cry from the avalanche of investors that have stripped off their hard earned money³⁶⁸.

Corruption also alters the pattern of government expenditure. Experience has shown that in highly corrupt countries, officials throw government funds more into large and hard-to-manage projects, such as airports or highways than on social services like health and education. It has been a stumbling block to people enjoying the social fruits of good governance. Corruption contributes immensely to inhibition of economic performance; it negatively affects investment and economic growth, which is detrimental to national development. If corruption discourages investment, limits economic growth and alters the composition of government spending, it automatically hinders future economic growth and sustainable development. Corruption tarnishes the image of a nation; perhaps, Nigeria suffers more than most societies from an appalling international image created by its inability to deal with bribery and corruption³⁶⁹.

Corruption contributes to the problem of mass poverty and rendered millions of Nigerian citizens unemployed and uneducated and to decaying infrastructure, inadequate medical services, falling educational standards, mismanagement of foreign loans, bloated imported bills and public expenditure, reduces production capacity, distortion of the economy through waste and misallocation of resources.

5.5.1. Discussions on Finding of the Themes

1. Theme for Level of Support-Honesty

The prospect of any type of good leadership is to provide good governance in any country depends largely on ethical or moral integrity of its officials. The participants believed that the ethical value of honesty is crucial and inevitable in any organization, particularly in public organizations, for the achievement of the organizational objectives. They concurred that it is necessary to have men and women of integrity, who are able to sacrifice their personal interests for the common good, in the positions of leadership to run an effective and efficient government that is capable of providing good governance to the people. The implication is that virtuous public

³⁶⁸ Keeper (2010): Systemic Corruption in Nigeria: A Threat to Sustainable Development. Proceedings of the 1st International Technology, Education and Environment Conference (c) African Society for Scientific Research (ASSR), Co-Published By: Human Resource Management Academic Research Society. www.hrmas.com/admin/pics/224.pd. Accessed on 05/05/2018.

³⁶⁹ Ibrahim, J. (2003). Corruption in Nigeria: Transition, Persistence and Continuity. *The Nigerian Social Scientist*, 2. Accessed on 05/05/2018.

officials are essential for both good policymaking decisions and policy implementation in government; they are capable of enhancing the well-being of the people.

The findings indicate that many government officials lack honesty and compassion for the plights of citizens. The major concern of local officials is not how to utilize the public resources to foster social, economic, and human development of the local citizenry but how to use them for their personal interests. Governance crisis in the Nigerian governance system is strongly connected with dishonesty and selfishness of the public officials. Government jobs are considered to be very lucrative business, not necessary because of the attractive salaries, but because officials of all ranks and files know how to manipulate the system for their personal interests. For example, every election in Nigeria is always taken very seriously because politicians and their supporters see politics as a quick way to get rich.

2. Theme for Concern for People

Honest and ethical leaders have a concern for their followers and do sacrifice their self-interests for the welfare of the followers but dishonest leaders do not. Most of the respondents observed that a good number of Government officials elected on the platform of elections are there to pursue their personal agenda and not for the common concerned of the people. Public leaders need to be persons who care for the interests of the people they are leading. Having a profound attitude of concern and compassion toward the citizens will enable government officials to make policies and use the public resources in manners that serve the interest of all citizenry and not for any personal interest. However, the data indicated that the government officials were more engaged with their personal interests than they were with the people's interest. This often led them to selfish behaviour, which involved misappropriation of Government funds and other unethical decisions that led to a lack of good governance delivery apparent in all arms of government. Ethical leaders are people-oriented; they make decisions and choices based on moral principles that have significant and positive impacts on people. Ethical leaders are transforming leaders; they motivate and mobilize their followers to shoot for higher ethical values for the achievement of the common good. They are cognizant of the fact that when everybody is working toward achieving a common good the outcome is beneficial for all the people. As a transformational leadership, ethical leadership has the capacity of challenging the status quo and breaking down barriers, which have been set up by a small clique inside

Government and their allies to prevent the citizens from knowing what is happening inside the government.

Ethical leaders' strong moral orientation enables them to be honest, compassionate, and people-oriented; they are committed to carrying people along as they focus on building up a society or an organization that is ethical and just. Leadership that is grossly deficient of ethics and practice cannot rise up an ethical and just society. All the participants strongly believed that the public officials' dishonesty and corruption was the major debilitating factors for the achievement of good governance at all arms of Government systems and in the Nigerian public sector at large.

3. Theme for Ethics Infrastructure

Good governance is possible and attainable only in an organization where there is a strong sense of good ethics and practice. Ethical leaders have the potentials to influence the organizational environment where ethical practice is paramount. Aware of the importance of ethical practice in promoting good governance, ethical leaders must establish and enforce ethics infrastructure, which includes but not limited to, good example of the leaders, code of conduct, ethics coordination body, supportive public service condition, effective legal framework, and effective accountability mechanism³⁷⁰.

Recognizing the critical role ethics plays in enhancing good governance, the Government officials are not demonstrating its importance in their actions but lack ethical practices which is a reflection of the underdevelopment in the country. A great number of the respondents acceded that the existence of effective ethics infrastructure is seriously an environment problem within the Government officials.

The inability of the officials to lead by demonstrating the appropriate practice and conduct helps to create the culture of anything goes in the government administration. The respondent opined that “good examples by the public officials have tremendous influence in moderating the attitudinal behaviours of the Government employees”.

³⁷⁰ Op.Cit, Pg. 149

The leaders' actions must be informed by the rules, principles, and regulations of the public service; they must lead by modelling the appropriate conduct in consonant with the public service ethics.

4. Theme for Ethics Training

Another salient topic that emerged from the data was ethics training and education. This theme preponderant occurrence in the data setting calls for encouraging ethical practice in Government organizations. Ethics training is a vital, strategic way to inculcate ethical values to people and equip them with the necessary skills for making ethical decisions. Ethics training is very crucial for creating awareness and promoting ethical practice. Ethics training guarantees that everyone in an organization is on the same page as regards ethical standard of the organization³⁷¹ noted poor attention given to ethics training in Nigerian governmental system despite the rate of ethical misconduct in the system. However, the finding from the study indicated that ethics training is receiving some positive attention; government has started creating awareness and organizing seminars on ethics and practice in public administration. Training in ethics and values in public administration enhances the capacity of the public officers to make right decisions.

5. Theme for Citizens' Participation

Citizens' participation is a fundamental index of democratic governance. In a true democratic society, citizens must have unrestricted opportunity to be actively involved in electing leaders of their choice in free and fair elections. Nigeria's struggle to establish a democratic state continues to be a difficult task; the electoral processes are marred by lack of credibility and transparency due to rigging, fraud, violence, and killing that always follow each election. The outcomes of political elections do not often represent the wish of the citizens, which they expressed via their votes. The late president Umaru Yar'Adua, after his inauguration, publicly expressed that the election that produced him as the president of Nigeria was defective and promised to fix the electoral process. Vanguard Newspaper editorial (2011) noted that the local council's administration was the most abused institution in the current constitution of Nigeria;

³⁷¹ Dibie, R. (2003). Local government public servants performance and citizens participation in governance in Nigeria. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 26, 1061-1084. doi: 10.1081/PAD-120019360. (accessed on 18/04/2018)

also, it noted that only the insignificant number of states held local council's elections despite constitutional mandate for council elections.

Active participation in the electoral process necessitates that citizens must know what their officials are doing and what goes on in the government. The finding showed that the government officials are not transparent and that citizens' access to information is very limited in scope. The citizens have access to only the information the officials want them to have. To be transparent entails that the internal processes and decisions of government must be open to the public. The citizens have the right to know what government is doing; their rights are grounded in the non-negotiable rights to know stated in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights³⁷².

The study data of respondents believes that government on its own cannot win the war against corruption without the input of the citizens. Accordingly, all respondents focused on mobilizing citizens as the critical factor of success in the anti-corruption campaign through whistleblowing without harassment and intimidation. Whistleblowing is encouraging "Nigerians people to expose corruption and other crimes through by blowing the whistle"³⁷³.

6. Theme for Access to Information

Access to Information was identified from the data as one of essential factor for good governance, which ethical leadership will guarantee. The respondents believed that the availability of information to the public regarding how the officials run the business of the Government is essential for enhancement of good governance and development of the country. A respondent stated that "Access to information is important in democratic government because democracy is the government by the people and for the people; it is vital that people should have access to knowing what is going on in their government; the citizens have the right to access information about their government, which will enable them know what their officials are doing. One of the advantages of access to information is that it enables people to keep an eye on their government officials and prevent them from syphoning public fund which is vital for ensuring good governance".

³⁷² Pasquier, M., & Villeneuve, J. (2007). Organizational barriers to transparency: A typology and analysis of organizational behaviour tending to prevent or restrict access to information. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 73, 147162. doi:10.1177/0020852307075701. (accessed on 18/04/2018)

³⁷³ Op.Cit. Pg. 152

7. Theme for Accountability

The study data described accountability to ensure good governance at all arms of government. The respondents believed that good leadership has the potentials to guarantee and sustain good governance which is a means of holding government officials accountable to the citizens and to combat corruption, is critical for promoting good governance, particularly in the public sector. In Nigeria most public offices holders do see themselves as lords of the masses and not as servants of their people. This is one of the reasons it is difficult for public officials to be accountable to the people.

Accountability of public officials entails the duty they have to inform or explain or justify to the public what have done or failed to do with resources entrusted to them. To ensure good governance and development of the country, citizens must be able to hold their public officials accountable for actions, and this may not happen immunity granted government officials at all level remain binding and active (R-39).

8. Theme for Rule of Law

The rule of law is supremacy of law; that is the law is above all. The rule of law is very crucial for fostering good governance and it is their conviction that adherence to the rule of law will guarantee good governance outcomes because it will help to prevent and reduce corruption among government officials and civil servants. to promote national integration and participatory governance through inclusiveness, freedom, equality, justice, transparency, accountability, the rule of law, equitable use of the national resources and equal opportunities for all, in order to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of the citizenry. These are core ingredients of good governance which every government, freely elected by the people, is expected to put into effect in the administration of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and its Federating Units. This has also underscored the importance of democratic governance in fostering good governance since an elected government is reasonably expected to keep to both the letters and spirit of the Constitution in exercising its authority in administering the State.

9. Theme for Competency

Good governance cannot thrive without effective enforcement of the rule of law. The data indicated the importance of competency of personnel in running efficient and effective government administration. Competent government officers stand a better chance to provide efficient and effective services than incompetent officers. Governance system in Nigeria has been noted for its inefficiency and ineffectiveness because of its inability to employ skilled and qualified personnel³⁷⁴.

There has been a lot of improvement with regard to the competency of local government personnel and they can accomplish any task needed in the council as far as competency is concerned. All I have been saying since is that ethical leadership will have tremendous impacts on the governance of our local government and in state and federal governments, as well. If we have ethical leadership in all levels of our government, we will go a long way in developing our socioeconomic infrastructure and our political system.

10. Theme for Autonomy

As indicated in Chapter Four, autonomy was not popular within the data set but was picked up because of its relevance to the researcher investigation at the National Assembly if possible for the Federal Government to give autonomy to Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to fight and investigate financial crimes in the country.

Lack of autonomy system is identified as one of the factors responsible for leadership crisis in Nigeria. The respondents observed that the control of all forms of governments at the federating unit has lost its constitutional status as the third tier of government that should have its own elected officials to run its administration are now control by the ruling party at the Federal level. The situation has given states government opportunity to lambast how the federal structure manipulate affairs of the government at all the tiers of governance hence Nigeria needs free government system from undue meddling by the affairs of all arms of government at the state government and local government levels. This will help the elected officials to exercise the mandate given to them by the people to pilot the public affairs of their tiers of government and the government structures that be.

³⁷⁴ Ibid

11. Theme for Anti-Corruption

This is a war against all forms of corruption in Nigeria. This anti-graft war was backed by the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to reform of the Public Service which is a key element of the on-going reforms. The rebuilding and transformation effort is being undertaken in five key areas of public finance management, transparency, accountability and anti-corruption, operation and systems, human resource management and value re-orientation, ethics and integrity. In this connection, a National Public Service Reform Strategy (NSPSR) has been developed and aligned to Vision 20:2020, which provides a long-term framework for rebuilding and transforming the Public Service to a world class institution by 2020. The NSPSR articulates what the Public Service has to do to achieve Vision 20:2020. Over the past years, the capacity of the Public Service has been significantly enhanced through renewed and sustained efforts of training and re-training of officers. With the introduction of the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) in key segments of the Federal Civil Service, Government has reduced avoidable losses associated with the ghost worker syndrome and other malpractices such as double dipping and record falsification.

12. Theme for Exploitation

The researcher conceptualized exploitation to be the act of making use of and benefiting from resources of public position, resources and power for private gain. It is an effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense. It covers a broad spectrum of activities ranging from fraud (theft through misrepresentation), embezzlement (misappropriation of corporate or public funds) to bribery (payments made in order to gain an advantage or to avoid a disadvantage).

Apparently, this exploitation of people for private gain encourages corruption, a situation where the Government are incapacitated to provide goods and services to the people.

13. Theme for Corruption

Corruption is Nigeria's biggest challenge. It is clear to every citizen that the level of corruption in the country is high. It's found in every sector of society. Be it a

small or big sector, there is every possibility of observing corrupt practices when critically examined.

The dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery. It is the illegitimate use of power to benefit a private interest³⁷⁵. Corruption is the giving of a bribe to an official so that the truth will not be told. It involves the embezzlement of public fund for personal use and any act which is considered to be criminal act according to the law of a particular society. Corruption is potent cancer that has mercilessly eaten Nigeria to a state of stupor.

“Corruption is the bane of Nigerian socio-economic development, which threatens the existence of Nigeria as a political entity. It is therefore imperative that all and sundry should engage in anti-corruption struggle. Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon and there is hardly any society without one form of corruption or the other. Corrupt practices did not begin today; history is as old as the human race. The menace called corruption is a big problem in Nigeria”.

This discovery of ghost workers was indicative of the widespread corruption starving the oil-rich West African nation, Nigeria of its resources. The report of ghost workers sent shockwaves through most Western media outlets; but as shocking as this piece of news was to the western world, the issue of ghost workers in Nigeria is not a surprise to Africans. The current regime of President Muhammadu Buhari has tried to curtail the incidents of ghost worker by introducing TSA (Single Treasury Account) of which the Federal Government has saved huge funds.

Corruption does not stop at government offices, but extends to foreign investors venturing into and operating businesses in Nigeria. They find themselves caught in the quagmire of corruption and political greed which can work to the benefit or detriment for the foreign investors. There are numerous examples of corruption been used to the benefit of investors such as is the case of various oil sectors in Nigeria and Telecommunication.

14. Theme for Hunger

Hunger is becoming commonplace next to starvation in the land blessed with abundant natural resources that has not been able to successfully harness to the benefit of its teeming population. It is a major cost of corruption which is; the inefficiency

³⁷⁵ Morris, S.D. (1991). *Corruption and Politics in Contemporary Mexico*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa

imposed on society by the vast and ever growing morass of rules, regulations, controls and norms established to contain and control corruption but never quite successive because hunger still occupied major societal pedigree. If a magic-bullet was found for corruption, the resulting rise in trust and fall in transaction costs would likely spawn a socio-economic and cultural Renaissance by freeing most of humanity from the spectres of hunger, poverty, and privation.

15. Theme for Bribery

Almost a third of Nigerian citizens (32.3 per cent) who had contact with a public official between June 2015 and May 2016 had to pay, or were requested to pay, a bribe to that public official. The magnitude of public sector bribery in Nigeria becomes even more palpable when factoring in the frequency of those payments, as the majority of those who paid a bribe to a public official did so more than once over the course of the year. According to the survey, Nigerian bribe-payers pay an average of some six bribes in one year, or roughly one bribe every two months.

By combining the total number of people who paid a bribe to a public official with the frequency of those payments, it is estimated that a total of roughly 82.3 million bribes were paid in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the survey. This results in an average of 0.93 bribes paid per adult, or almost one bribe paid by every adult Nigerian per year. Taking into account the fact that nine out of every ten bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria are paid in cash and the size of the payments made, it is estimated that the total amount of bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the survey was around 402 billion Nigerian Naira (NGN), the equivalent of \$4.6 billion in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). This sum is equivalent to 39 per cent of the combined federal and state education budgets in 2016³⁷⁶. The average sum paid as a cash bribe in Nigeria is approximately NGN 5,300, which is equivalent to roughly \$61-PPP.

376 Frauds & Scandals (2016) Corruption in Nigeria - Bribery as Experienced by the Population. Retrieved from <https://www.proshareng.com/news/Frauds%20&%20Scandals/Corruption-in-Nigeria---Bribery-as-Experienced-by-the-Population/36004>.

16. Theme for Income Inequality

Income inequality is one of Nigeria's most serious but least talked about challenges, it is disparity between rich and poor, more than poverty itself, that generates anti-government sentiment and tends to encourage poverty. Low wages encourage individuals whose main role is to perform administrative duties seek to supplement their incomes with bribes or to dally in the performance of their duties due to chronic poverty as seen as natural breeding grounds for systemic corruption due to social and income inequalities and perverse economic incentives.

“Inequality fosters a norm of corruption as acceptable behaviour that corruption is likely to reinforce or widen existing inequalities, and that vicious circles of inequality corruption-inequality are thus likely to manifest³⁷⁷.” Income inequalities enable government officials to engage in abuse of power for private gain as the person has to look for another means to augment what is lacking in his/her income, which may lead to unethical behaviour; one has to make ends meet, definitely.

17. Theme for Salary

The insufficient salaries deepen corruption in the civil service in Nigeria, where ordinary government employees and other common people in the street are struggling to put food on their family tables, the elected and appointed officials in government are taking home fat salaries and allowances to buy series of luxury cars, build mansions within and outside the country, and using the public money to make frequent overseas trips that have nothing to do with their official jobs. This kind of attitude by the public officials is a manifestation of their lack of compassion and concern for the plight of the common man in the street. It overtly portrays poor leadership qualities from the leaders which encourages unethical behaviours and corruption in the public service and ultimately infects the other members of the society at large. This is why some Nigerians sees Government jobs to be very lucrative business, not necessary because of the attractive salaries, but because officials of all ranks and files know how to manipulate the system for their personal interests. However, one of the respondents stated that poor salary condition is not enough excuse for a public servant to engage in corrupt behaviour.

³⁷⁷ J.-S., and Sanjeev, K. (2005, February). A Comparative Study of Inequality and Corruption. *American Sociological Review*, 70(1), 136-157.

18. Theme for Transparency

Transparency is vital for good governance. A leadership that is transparent is committed to providing good governance to the people it serves. There is not much transparency here because the subordinates do not always know what the officials are doing. They keep the masses in the dark about what is going on. That's an indication that they have something to hide from the public. Honest and ethical officials are transparent in conducting the public affairs because, as ethical persons, they follow ethics standards and principles in their actions. When public officials involve in bribery and corruption such officials will not be open to public, lest their illegal behaviour will be exposed.

Transparency will promote and sustain good practice and good democratic governance in Nigeria if adhered to. The respondents believed that ethical leadership has the potentials to guarantee and sustain transparency, accountability, and the rule of law for good governance in Nigeria. It was the belief of all the respondents that transparency, which is a means of holding government officials accountable and to combat corruption, is critical for promoting good governance, particularly in the public sector. Transparency entails that government business, meeting, budgets and financial statements, and the decision-making process are open both to the public and the press.

5.6. Managing Implications

Based on practical contributions, this study found out that economic development are the ends to be achieved in a sustainable way, and this cannot be guaranteed without the greasing and conditioning process of good governance. Despite all conflicts and dilemmas hovering above corruption and lack of good governance and its linkage to underdevelopment, the fact remains that combating corruption and achieving good governance must be built on appropriate institutions.

To enable Nigeria rise to the challenge of its development, the governance of Nigeria must be practiced as enshrined in the constitution. The development strategies earmarked in the Vision 20:2020 must be pursued vigorously. To achieve this, the following measures would need to be addressed.

- The electoral process right from the party level must be addressed to ensure true democracy. The selection process at the party level, in many cases is undemocratic. Often times the highest bidder and not the most popular

candidates are fielded to contest elections. Similarly, at the general election level, instances exist where figures have been falsified. This has resulted in the declaration of unpopular candidates as winners:

- Candidates should be strictly screened by all the relevant agencies to ensure that only people of high reputation contest elections and most people occupying political positions appear religious but lack the fear of God. Efforts should be made to ensure credible people who are conscious of the mortal nature of man and judgement of God, come to power.
- Corruption at all levels of the Nigerian society should be addressed more vigorously. Rule of Law must be enforced to ensure people become accountable while Civil societies should become more proactive in mobilizing and sensitizing the populace to pursue and enforce their rights.
- Efforts must be made to ensure reconciliation at communal, state and national levels. Similarly, reconciliation efforts should be embarked on at the party levels. This will minimize the amount of sabotage by aggrieved members. Similarly, it will minimize incidences of crises, communal and religious conflicts in the country.

5. Management policies:

- a. Clear procedures, guidelines, and contract requirements;
- b. Ethical codes of conduct and encouragement of ethos and improving the effectiveness and integrity of the electoral system.
- c. Hire those with good ethical behaviour (less likely to offend) and with good governance in Nigeria, bribery and corruption, embezzlement of public funds will become strangers in Nigeria. This in turn will ensure that the right people are placed in the right positions. With embezzlement nipped, the monies meant for development projects will be judiciously used. Thus money voted for electricity, roads, agriculture, education health, water resources, industrialization, poverty alleviation etc. will be spent fully and adequately in the relevant areas. This will put Nigeria on a progressive and sustained path of development.

- d. Be aware of networks that enable co-operation to create ‘corruption structures’ such as using vertical authority-based networks or horizontal peer networks – and be aware of recruitment out of external social groups;
- e. Investigate suspicions – if it looks dodgy it very probably is (the ‘Swan’ effect – most of the interesting activity is below the surface);
- f. Suspect round numbers; g. Educate employees – misfeasance and malfeasance prosecutions should be publicised; compliance training and separate clearly designated reporting officers with responsibility for money-laundering problems, etc.

6. Environmental deterrents to corruption

- a. Legal requirements for transparency – recording and publishing information on decisions processes, and outcomes.
- b. Court ‘efficiency’ – juries and judges are not susceptible to bribery.
- c. Participation of NGOs in oversight activity with an independent media to inform stakeholders of abuse.
- d. Limit structural reforms, which permit large ‘one-off gains’ in bribes to administrators, and should be avoided or highly transparent, e.g. privatisation.
- e. Fast-tracking infrastructure development, particularly roads, power and telecommunications
- f. Specialist units to gather evidence and prosecute with penalties that must be proportionate.
- f. It is time to fight for the soul of Nigeria. And it must, of necessity, start from its primary custodians: the justice administration system stakeholders. This is necessary in order to invest our justice delivery system operatives with the moral capital required to effectively do their jobs.
- g. An enabling environment will be created for effective participation in governance by the entire population. This will enable the poor, the rich, literate and illiterate, men and women,

young and the old, people of diverse religions and tribes to have a say in the affairs of the nation. In the long run there will be trust and confidence in both the government and the process of governance.

5.7. Limitations of the study and suggestions

This study has some limitations; which future research should improve upon. It is limited in its scope due to the fact that the respondents were drawn from only arms of government and the Nigeria Polices Forces. A longitudinal study should expand the scope to generate more meaningful outcomes most especially from the civil servant, workers in the oil sector, and university lecturers and students.

Future research may compare Good Governance and Corruption under democratically elected officials and public servants' administration to find how each model fosters or debilitates the promotion of good governance at the Federal and States level.

The development and thriving of democracy in Nigeria and its governance, which is anchored on the ethical leadership, cannot be successful unless it takes grip at the grassroots.

Also, future research may want to engage politicians to get their perspectives regarding the good governance and ethical leadership as viable means to combat corruption in the country.

There is still much room for future research by analysing Nigeria with other similar countries that have been successful in reducing corruption as an effective solution for anti-corruption policy. Continued research on corruption will keep the issue in the public eye as will its connection to the numerous other critical social issues it causes.

This study suggests that attempting to fix these social problems while not first addressing corruption may be a terrible waste of resources. The lack of progress over the last three decades to resolve endemic corruption and underdevelopment often caused aggravated gross corruption has evidenced in the previous administration before the year 2015.

Good governance is mandatory for the proper functioning of a society. If potentially effective solutions can be developed to resolve the corruption dilemma in

Nigeria, then those solutions may serve as a framework for resolving corruption worldwide. In turn, stemming the tide of corruption worldwide may result in better living conditions for billions of people who deserve, at the very least, the opportunity to live with dignity and respect.

5.8. Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, it is therefore recommended that the government in power should develop the political will to prosecute anyone irrespective of tribe, religion or party affiliation found guilty to serve as deterrent to others. There is the need to entrench good governance in every sphere of government activity which is a sine-qua-non for poverty reduction in every Nigerian society. It is not enough for political office holders and other government functionaries to preach that the government has zero tolerance for corruption. They should visibly exhibit accountability, transparency, fiscal responsibility and respect for the rule of law while carrying out their official responsibilities. It is important to note that instituting good governance entails replacing the existing weak institutions in the country with strong ones. Positive transformation of Nigeria can only occur through addressing the root causes of corruption and through effectively implementing the legal mechanisms already in place.

There is the need to strengthen institutions such as the civil service, parliament and the judiciary, which in turn will create interlocking systems of oversight and self-regulation. All of these institutions have to be free of corruption themselves and active players in the fight against corruption. Rule of law is also important to guarantee protection of human rights, ensure governmental predictability and Court rulings have to be protected from political interference and judicial independence has to be assured. A functioning and professional legal system and access to justice are also necessary. Reward system should be equitable enough where hard work should be adequately compensated and recognized in all facets of our national life. Poverty and unemployment must be seriously tackled.

Government must create more equitable income distribution. The anti-corruption agencies such as EFCC and ICPC should be adequately staffed, funded and devoid of political interference. To check corruption which has assumed epidemic

proportions in the public services of this country, it is imperative for the National Assembly to amend the CCB Act to provide that:

- a. All political appointees should declare their assets annually by making annual asset returns every January, (ala tax returns) because the extant provision that requires assets declaration every four years have several loop holes that are being exploited by public servants.
- b. The CCB should create a unit within it for the continuous tracking of assets returns of politicians holding public office, senior civil and public servants, etc, similar to what the CBN does to check money laundering through the banks;
- c. Divisive politics based on ethnicity, religion and regionalism should be underplayed in the country.
 1. The judicial system should be strengthened and the rule of law entrenched. There cannot be progress in the fight against corruption as long as there is so much impunity and injustice in the system, with many seemingly operating above the law and the legal leadership should not only be very responsive to the yearnings and aspirations of the Judges, but should be accountable and transparent in all their activities.
 2. Make it mandatory for the police to release everyone arrested without warrant within 12 hours. Remove their discretion to detain anyone beyond 12 hours except for crimes such as treasonable felonies and murders. This is vital because abuse of human rights and "sale of bail" is a lucrative practice in ALL divisions and units of the police. What obtains now is that the report of a crime in any neighbourhood is an invitation for the police to line their pockets through indiscriminate arrest of everyone in that neighbourhood for "bail rent".
 3. Creating a special court for trial of corrupt public servants. Due to the menace and widespread of corruption in the public administration in Nigeria, this study recommends that the Congress should provide an enabling law to create a special court system for the anti-graft bodies, the EFCC and ICPC, for quick and effective war against corruption in the public service. The lack of cooperation of the judiciary with the anticorruption bodies has made this special court pertinent. Also, the volume of other cases in the normal courts delays the trial of accused public officials and when such case is delayed it may never come up again. Usually the culprits use the delay period to ensure

that the case is killed behind the closed door. Wagging the war against corruption, which has debilitated public officials from providing good governance, will never be successful unless the culprits are punished according to law to serve as a lesson for others.

4. Government at all levels should create more job opportunities for the ever-increasing armies of the unemployed. This will substantially provide gainful activities to them, rather than wasting away in unprofitable ventures with attempts to strengthen the political, economic, social and other institutions of governance in order to sustain effective policy making and implementation.
5. Nigerians need a social safety net, which would cater for the vulnerable in the society such as the unemployed, the disabled, the aged, etc. Together, these measures will help these Nigerians to find some dignity in earning a legitimate living and Governments at all levels in the country should ensure that they uphold a minimally acceptable standard of good living for the people by ensuring the availability of their basic needs and enlightened followership is an imperative force for good governance, peaceful, developed and nonviolent society to be desired in Nigeria. Sycophancy should be discouraged in the nation's statecraft.
6. Ensuring good governance should attract a conducive business environment will be created and sustained. This will in turn not only encourage local investors to invest in any part of the nation but will attract foreign investors into the nation. With encouraging political and economic policies, with the assurance of the security of their investments, and with a sure large market in Nigeria, investors will pull their resources to invest and there will be peaceful co-existence within and between communities, within and between political parties, in and between religious groups, in and between the different arms of government. Besides, there will be ease of movement in different parts of Nigeria with a harmonious co-existence, ideas will be shared in honesty. Objective and constructive criticisms will be offered and the nation will be better of.
7. Civil society organization should be actively be engage in the fight against corruption in Nigeria by putting pressure to bear upon the government over the need to implement reforms effectively. Civil society organizations can also monitor the performances of government and its agencies (particularly

the major anti-corruption institutions) and make findings public, thus, acting as independent assessors of their governments“ progress in the fight against corruption in Nigeria. In a similar vein, organizations can also work in partnerships with other stakeholders in focussing and directing action on particular manifestation of corruption in Nigeria and ensuring the long-time sustainability of anti-corruption reforms.

8. There should be need for anti-corruption activities in Nigeria to develop more effective awareness and enlightenment campaigns in order for citizens to know about the socio-economic and development impacts of corruption. Such campaigns must be targeted toward instilling attitudinal changes and re-orienting Nigerians on their civic rights and moral responsibilities to facilitate change. Given the level of illiteracy in Nigeria, such campaigns would have to go beyond the conventional print media to include radio programmes and lectures in public places like the market and religious centres. The social media (such as the use of the internet and other mobile technology for sharing and discussing information) is another effective tool that is increasingly changing the way people engage with each other. These types of tools are particularly useful for sharing alternative opinions and information that encourages collaboration in a socially and politically hostile environment, accessing groups who are often excluded by the conventional media outlets and mobilising and building coalitions amongst like-minded individuals and organizations.
9. Reformation of the National Orientation Agency (NOA): the government should reform the agency to include special program to create national awareness about the importance of ethics and practice in achieving of good governance. In the past a similar program, war against indiscipline (WAI), was introduced by Buhari/Idiagbo military junta to curb the menace of corruption in the society. Despite all its deficits, both in planning and execution, WAI yielded some positive outcomes, which were lost immediately when the administration was toppled by another military junta but if a section of the constitution enacted to include standing order for war against indiscipline (WAI), the whole society would be reoriented on the importance of ethical values and practice for the achievement ethical and just society free of corruption and its practices and ensuring good governance.

This will also help to curb the nepotistic and tribalistic attitudes and foster attitudes that promote the national interest and the common good.

10. There should be reforms in the law enforcement agencies to ensure a highly motivated workforce, who are efficient in managing cases of corruption. Only well-educated young men should be recruited into the police force. Nigeria has many unemployed graduates to fill this space. Nigerians must work hard to eradicate ethnic bigotry, which has boosted the acts of corruption in the country. Corrupt officials hide behind ethnicity to defraud the nation. Unfortunately, this is supported by their kith and kin who argue that past corruption cases by other tribes be punished before theirs is considered.
11. The Government should re-establish the rule of law and addressing impunity with a view to creating sustainable, accountable, transparent and responsive institutions of the judiciary, legislature and the executive.
12. Enhancing parliamentary and local governance processes and systems through efficiency and effectiveness in social service delivery.
13. Promoting growth and equity by responding to the needs of the socially vulnerable groups through strengthening economic governance institutions and improving their management by ensuring effective management and equitable and transparent utilization of natural resources;
14. Attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI); and addressing unfair terms of global trade with a view to enhancing a level playing field in international trade and commerce;
15. Promoting gender equity, including domesticating all ratified international conventions related to gender, reforming property laws to remove gender biases, improving access to social and economic resources (e.g. education, land, credit) and halting traditions and cultural practices that hinder women development.

5.8. Summary

The analysis has shown that good governance is based on eight fundamental principles of participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability. Such principles have been enshrined in Nigeria's 1999 Constitution and have been reflected in various

development plans and programmes, especially the Vision 20:2020. Nigeria as an independent nation has drawn various development plans and the current one, Vision 20:2020 embraced in full the principles of good governance and national development. It was observed that, the problem with Nigeria's development is not the lack of plans and initiative but that of governance. Although provision have been made for effective national development, the governance is corrupt, inefficient, not responsive and therefore has been unable to deliver the benefits of good governance to Nigerians.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the fight against corruption in Nigeria needs real patriots, men and women who are committed to the Nigerian project, not immoral personalities who want to serve their own or narrow group interests. It takes high moral rectitude to exercise the moral strength required to be an anti-corruption crusader in this country. That is why we say that given the high level of corruption in the Nigerian police, the Immigration Service, the Customs Service, the Prisons Service, the SSS, the Courts, etc., they cannot effectively fight corruption and other crimes.

5.9. Conclusion

To effectively address the issue of corruption, the basic value system in the country must also be visited. Many Nigerians erroneously believe that the evil of corruption is solely that of leadership. Corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of society and feeds on a warped value system. Despite this a number of developments in the last four years have given some hope that at least at the level of governance some foundation has been laid that would trigger off a process of genuine change in the country. The attitude of the judiciary over corruption and the abuse of the judicial process also send signals that unlike in the past, judges would be held accountable for judgements and that any abuse of the process would be investigated. These are all positive signals, which should be appreciated at home and abroad. Granted the political class has a propensity to make nonsense of positive development in the country, Nigeria cannot at this stage of laying the foundation for a sustainable democratic order afford not to go above such antics. It is important for Nigerians and the world to appreciate what modest advancements have been made and to support efforts to

strengthen these developments. That is how a democratic culture can grow and genuine development be promoted.

Combating corruption, especially in a country like Nigeria where it is endemic, pervasive, and deep-rooted, must involve much more than promulgation of laws and setting up an independent commission. To be effective, an anticorruption regime must involve multifaceted strategies that address the underlying structural and social problems that spur corruption. Solutions should focus on the promulgation of effectively implementable laws with the potential to affect the causes of dysfunctional behaviour; economic and administrative rule changes that eliminate or at least reduce opportunities for corruption; and revamping the mechanism for detecting, exposing, and punishing corruption. Corruption will decline if the law is used to change the social and economic conditions and institutions that perpetuate corruption. The biggest challenge for Nigeria is not just to punish corrupt behaviour, but also to reverse the prevailing culture in which corruption is viewed. The Nigerian government and civil society must seize the opportunities offered by democracy to push for institutional and economic reforms to induce the behavioural changes necessary to overcome years of problematic, corrupt behaviour. A programme of economic and socio-political reforms is a desideratum in any polity. Thus the reform attempted by the President Muhammadu Buhari administration as engendered by globalization is commendable. However, by far the most important variable in a reform agenda is the extent to which it identifies with the aspirations of the people and the extent to which they are undergirded by democratic ethos and principles. Combating corruption requires pursuing the following objectives simultaneously: mounting effective mechanisms for detecting and punishing corruption; reforming the economic system in ways that limit opportunities; and risk-free incentives for corrupt behaviour and encouraging a skeptical society to set its face sternly against corruption. Any departure from this approach will set the country back several decades and it is the Nigerian people that shall be worse for it.

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- Section 14(1) and Sec. 15(2) of the EFCC Act 2004
- Section 8 of the ICPC Act
- See chapter II of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for detailed elaboration on the Fundamental Objectives and Directive principles of State Policy which is regarded as probably one of the best policy enunciations in any Constitution across the world.
- See <http://bpsr.org>.IPPrs-Project/Project-background, where it has been acknowledged that apart from the political factors, the weak technical capacity is a key

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APPENDIX A:
Corruption and Deficiencies of Good Governance; Causes and Consequences in Nigeria



Faculty of Commerce,
 Dept of Public
 Administration,
 Sudan University of
 Science and
 Technology.

21th Jan, 2018

Dear Respondent,

My PhD. thesis research focuses on ‘**Qualitative and Exploratory study of Corruption and Deficiencies of Good Governance; Causes and Consequences in Nigeria**’ which aimed at evaluating the causes and consequences of corruption on governance systems and its relevance to the country underdevelopment.

It will also be analysing the factors affecting the efficiency of public services and socio-economic and political aspect of the country. We solicit your participation in this study because of your recognized knowledge of Nigerian administrative and governance system.

Therefore, we deeply value and seek your opinion on the issues raised; however, there will be no details included in the project or presentation which you could be identify. We will appreciate if you could answer these questions in a focus group discussion of up to 15 participants and answers should be the way things are and not the way it ought to be.

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation and response.

Aina-Obe, Shamsuddin Bolatito.

(PhD Student)

**APPENDIX A2: Focus Group Discussions Questions
Interview Questions**

1. How would you describe your experience of governance in Nigeria?

.....
.....

2. How would you describe corrupt practices at the executive arm of Government?

.....
.....
3. How is corruption perpetuated by the executive members of Government?

.....
.....
4. How would you describe corrupt practices at the Judiciary?

.....
.....
5. How would you describe the attitude of the officials of the Judiciary regarding corrupt practices?

.....
.....
6. What is your opinion about transparency and accountability at the executive arms of Government?

.....
.....
7. How is corruption perpetuated by the judicial members of the council?

.....
.....
8. What is your view about corruption at the Nigeria police force?

.....
.....
9. How would you describe corrupt practices at the Legislative arm of Government?

.....
.....
10. How is corruption perpetuated by the Legislative members of Government?

11. How would you describe the attitude of the red chambers to war against corruption and corrupt practices?

.....
.....

12. How widespread do you think is bribe taking in this country?

.....
.....

13. Do you think public official gives and receive bribe?

.....
.....

14. Why?

.....
.....

15. What is your impression regarding the citizens access to information about governance and corrupt practices in Nigeria?

.....
.....

APPENDIX A3: Field Pictures

A.

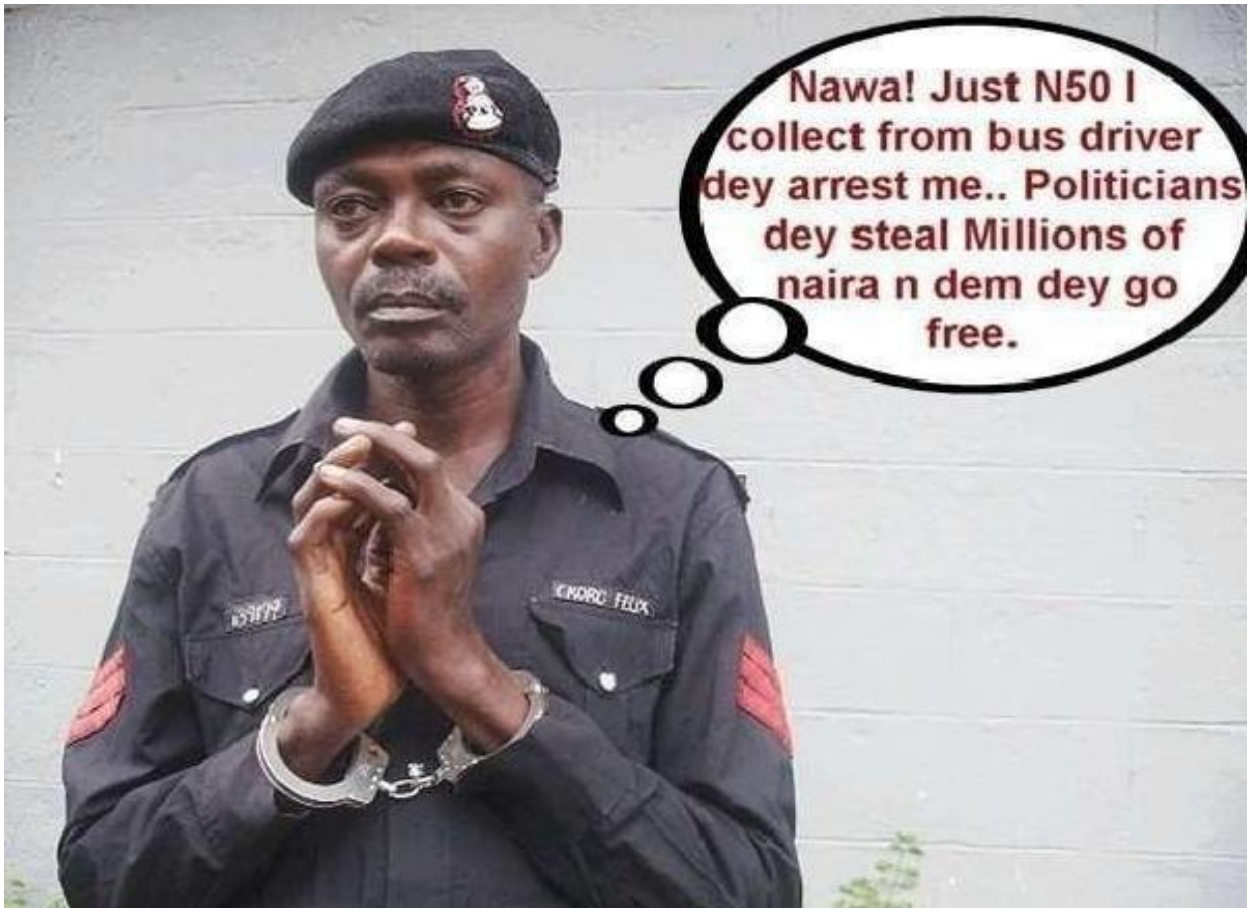


Nigerian Police Officer Collecting bribe from a motorist

B.



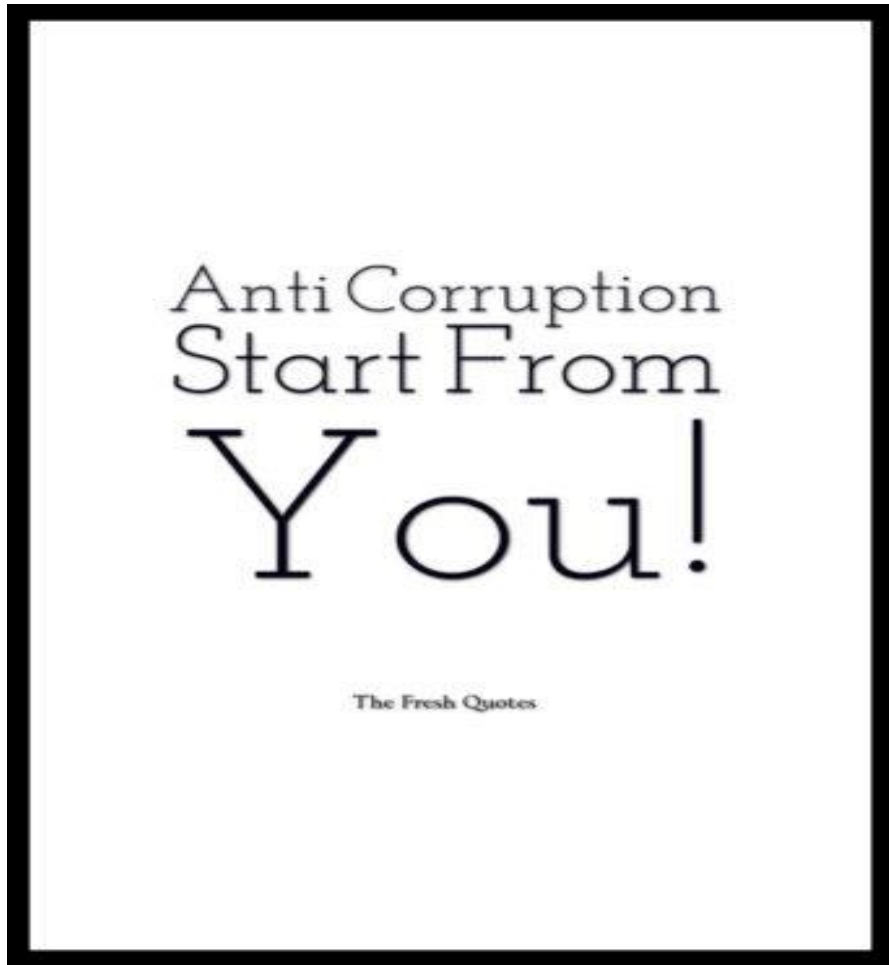
C.



D.



E.



F





G.

H.



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Appendix A4: Publication 1

International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR)
ISSN (Online): 2319-7064
Index Copernicus Value (2013): 6.14 | Impact Factor (2015): 6.391

The Muslim-Ethical Norms Combat against Corruption; Are Islamic Perspective been Met in Practice?

Aina-Obe Shamsuddin Bolatito

(PhD Candidate), Department of Public Administration, School of Business Studies, Sudan University of Science and technology, Khartoum

Abstract: *The principal objective of this paper is to research the Islamic position on corruption and to employ a variety of terminology and narration to elucidate and condemn a broad category of behavioral digressions involving corruption including bribery and nepotism. Corruption is seen to stem from the abuse of administrative power of any kind, judicial power, political authority and financial dominance. Further, all corrupt acts are construed as lacking in virtue from religious and moral perspective and unjust in relation to the principles that safeguard rendering to everyone their due, thereby undermining communal harmony. Accordingly, this paper will analyze the Islamic perspective on corruption, in particular bribery as a common form of corruption in the religio-society. As all heavenly religions condemns corruption as a severe threat to proper social, economic, and ecological balance. Corruptions in Islam are taboo in Sharia law because they are considered grave criminal offenses and a great sin. However, Muslim nations have been deficient in addressing the issue in their national laws and have failed to meet the lofty standards of Islam. As this paper will uncover, the needs to combat corruption has brought all state holders much closer together by setting up various anti-corruption agencies. It recommends developing a firm belief in transcendent accountability and stresses character building through practicing moral virtues and shunning vices.*

Keywords: Islam, Corruption, Sunnah, Quran, Wealth, Muslim, Punishment, development.

1. Introduction

The way in which corruption has been defined in recent years moved the discursive arena away from corruption as a social pandemic that needs an urgent attention of religious, ethical and norms of personal believes or faiths. This is because various anti-corruption agencies and human rights bodies are yet to find a lasting antidote to this socio-economic pandemic. The World Bank defines corruption as "the abuse of public office for private gain" (World Bank, 1997).

Ethics are loosely implied in this definition of corruption but are certainly not made explicit. Discourse analysis of the World Bank's literature on corruption has revealed a process that established a particular definition that limits the study of corruption to public office holders and economics (Marquette, 2003; Polzer, 2001). This was done to meet the needs of a particular organization but not indicating faiths based institutions doctrines.

The lacking of faiths based doctrines on corruption has impacted the study of corruption as a whole in a narrow minded syndrome. As Bukovansky points out, "Despite its moral overtones, the bulk of contemporary anti-corruption discourse deploys the language and methodologies of economics and rational choice to render diagnostic assessments of the plight of the corrupt and less developed" (Bukovansky, 2006). According to Wraith and Simpkins, "Corruption is above all a moral problem, immeasurable and imponderable" (Wraith and Simpkins, 1963). Moral definitions of corruption have been centered on Eurocentric, Americanism and are delved of Africanize definitions and religious doctrines. Recently, President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria said "There is no corruption but mere stealing in

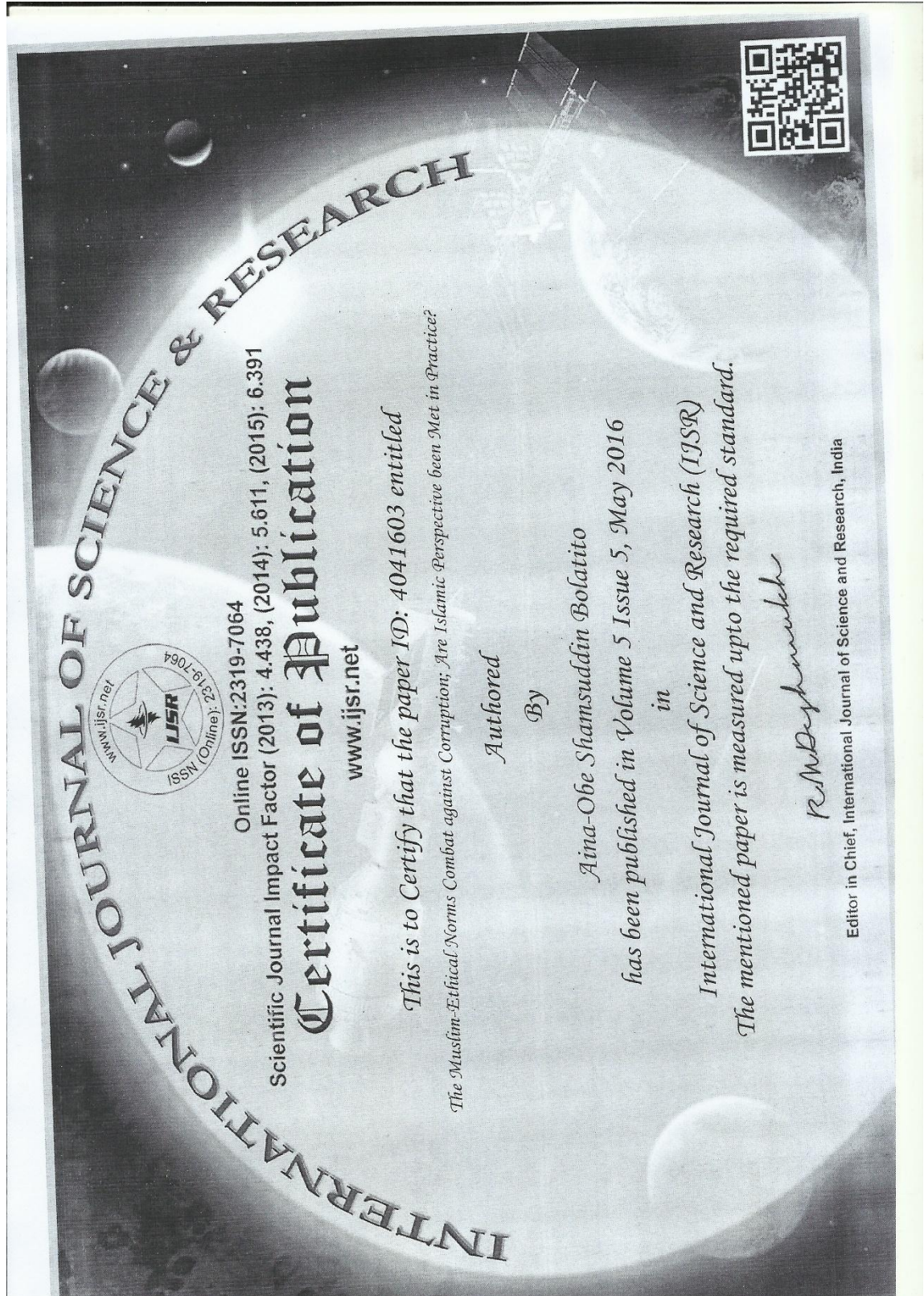
Nigeria" adding another definition to the term "Corruption" from the Nigerians understanding.

This is why, decades into the contemporary study of corruption, academicians continue to be faced with dilemmas of definitions. In an effort to strip the debate of any of its moral complexity, it has been rendered problematical at best, nonsensical at worst (Marquette, 2007). Benjamin and Nkechinyere 2014 argued that Corruption in Nigeria is a product of capitalism. In other words, capitalism is the mother of corruption in Nigeria and Africa in general, while materialism is her "elder sibling". When Karl Marx predicted that capitalism will sow the seeds of its own destruction, he meant that capitalist societies will create the necessary conditions that will give rise to revolutions (www.sociology.org.uk). Such conditions include corruption, exploitation, mass unemployment and dehumanization of the working class by the owners of the capital, thereby giving rise to frustration and depression (Giddens, 1981). Definitely, capitalism is a system where an individual can own and control a lot of wealth and use it to create more wealth for himself (Giddens, 1981). It is in sharp contrast with communalism which is the African traditional socio-economic system whereby Africans were their brothers' keepers in matters of economic production and possession. With the advent of capitalism with its associated individualism and private ownership of capital, African communalism with its characteristic extended family system gave way to individualistic struggle for private wealth production (Chukwuezi, 2000). This was the condition that gave rise to corruption in Africa, otherwise corruption was not known during the communalist era, therefore, religious holistic approaches needs to comes in to combat this pandemic.

Volume 5 Issue 5, May 2016
www.ijsr.net

Appendix A4: Publication 1

Certificate




Appendix A4: Publication 2

Letter


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An International Open Access Journal | Approved By ISSN and UGC


 **Ref No : IJCRT/Vol 6 / Issue 2/ 110**


To,
Aina-Obe Shamsuddin Bolatito

Subject: Publication of paper at International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts Manage by IJPUB
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 **Dear Author,**
With Greetings we are informing you that your paper has been successfully published in the International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts - IJCRT (ISSN: 2320-2882). Thank you very much for your patience and cooperation during the submission of paper to final publication Process. It gives me immense pleasure to send the certificate of publication in our Journal. Following are the details regarding the published paper in www.ijpub.org.


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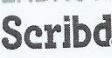


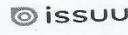
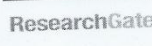

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Paper ID : IJPUB1802110
Title of Paper : COMBATING CORRUPTION: AN ETHICAL CHALLENGE TO GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA.
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Authors : Aina-Obe Shamsuddin Bolatito

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Combating Corruption: An Ethical Challenge to Good Governance in Nigeria

Aina-Obe Shamsuddin Bolatito

Phd Candidate,
Faculty of Business Studies, Dept. of Public Administration
Sudan University of Science and Technology, Khartoum-Sudan

Abstract: Nigeria under President Muhammad Buhari is been seen as Africa proponent of war against corruption which has become an endemic and an ugly facet of every societal and political life. It has been identified as one of the banes of the country's economic growth, good governance and administrative advancement of the country. Corruption undermines the fulfilment of the great potentials of the people of Nigeria who are the victims of mal-administration, poor quality of good public service and societal fabrics unquestioned and unassailable.

The paper is based on the hypothesis that there is a strong link between endemic corruptions in Nigeria which is hitherto hindering the ability of the country to enjoy good governance at all arms of government. It is the main responsibility for inability of the government to provide good services and infrastructural development leading to lack of deficiency in good governance and performance of the Nigerian political talents.

This work delves into the factors promulgating corruption as well as obstructing economic growth, administrative lapses and frustrating attainment of good governance. Lastly, the paper addresses some public sector and government initiatives that have been taken to induce ethical government and contest the endemic corruption in governance, socio-economic fabrics of the society and finally restoring hope in Governance and the administrative processes.

Keywords: Corruption, development, governance, public services, and Societal fabrics

1. INTRODUCTION

Corruption is endangering the giant of Africa; debarring the country to rape her immense potentials from the huge human and natural resources for development, creating huge inequalities in income, lacking economic development, dishonest gain, exploitation, denying of good useful potentials to grow, and squandering of the common wealth of the country or possession of the common wealth by the few who were once in government of in government. Joining politics and been appointed as political office holder is now entangle as a mean of securing wealth and becoming rich over a period of time.

Despite Nigeria huge oil wealth, the masses are largely poor because previous regimes have milked the resources of the state, corruptly extracted the countries' resources, and apportioned themselves with oil blocks thereby making public services delivery and infrastructural growth a nightmare. Chinua Achebe, was even more emphatic in his excoriation of Nigerian leaders for the troubles in the country. In his words, "the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leader ship" (Achebe 1983, p. 22).

2. METHODOLOGY OF THIS PAPER


Corruption no doubt encompasses a range of behaviours such as embezzlement, bribery, and nepotism, but in general refers to the type of behaviours that officials use public offices for private gains. To realize these objectives and for easy analysis of this paper, it adopted qualitative research method to gain an insight into the nature and character of corruption and governance in Nigeria and the categorical data collection involves interview, observation, and interpretational analysis of archival documented corruption cases and newspaper reports.

The researchers used descriptive analysis to examine the issues of corruption as an ethical challenges to good governance in Nigeria. The theoretical paper draws its argument and roots basically from primary and secondary data sources which include relevant literature reviews, seminar papers, observations, surveys and focus groups discussions. It's also focuses on journal publications, cases studies and internet sources.

To improve on the reliability and validity of the paper, multiple secondary sources were used to minimize risk of error. The paper is structured into eight sections. Section one serves as the introduction. Section two examines the methodology of the paper, Section three looks at the definition and literature review. Section four discusses the conceptual framework while section five explains the manifestation of corruption. Section six look into the anticorruption campaigns as if it is a rhetoric. Section seven describes the concept of good governance and finally section eight is the conclusion and recommendations.

Appendix A4: Publication 2

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Appendix A6: 2nd Seminar Announcement

Appendix A7: 3rd Seminar Announcement

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

جامعة السودان للعلوم والتكنولوجيا

كلية الدراسات التجارية

إعلان سمنار

سوف يعقد بإذن الله تعالى سمنار الثاني لنيل درجة دكتوراة الفلسفة في الإدارة العامة بعنوان : -

**" الفساد ونقص الحكم الرشيد في نجيريا
سبباً في التخلف "**

**"Corruption and Deficiency of Good
Governance in Nigeria; A Cause on
Underdevelopment"**

الدارس: أعينا شمس الدين بلاتينو

المشرف الرئيس: ب. احمد ابراهيم ابوسن

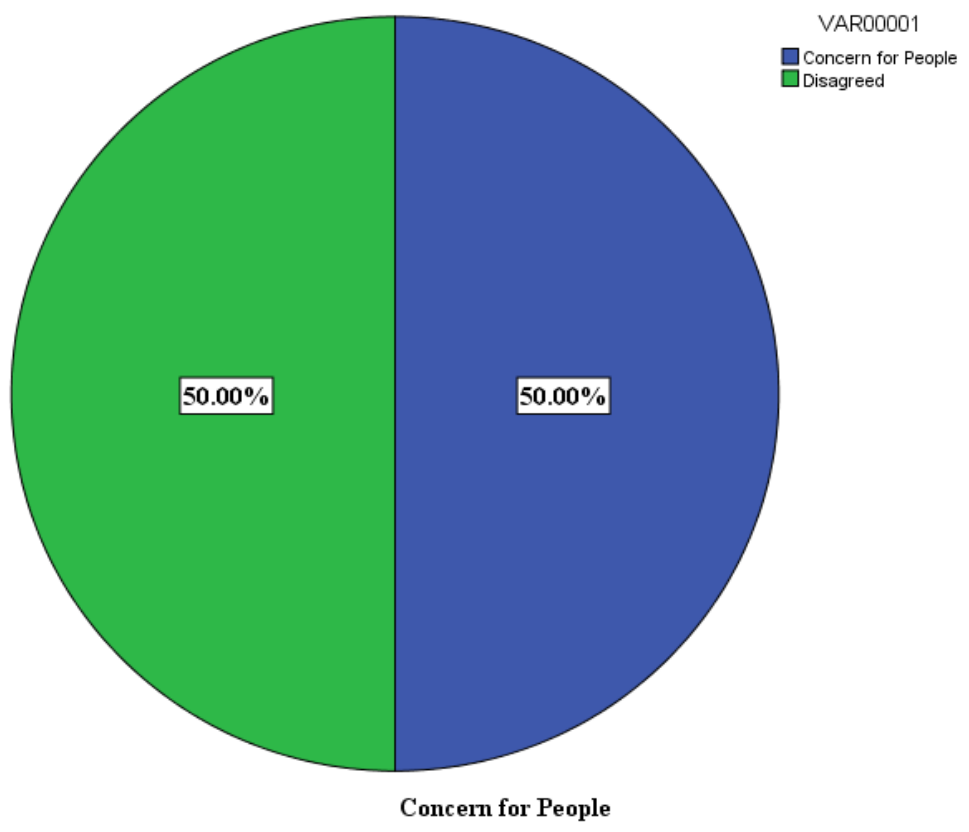
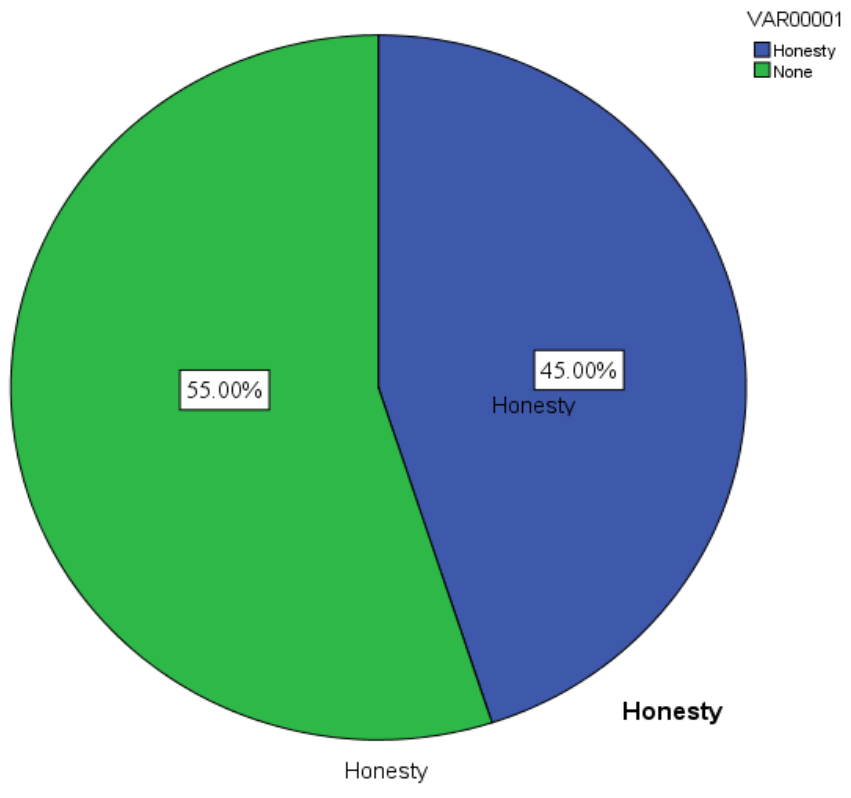
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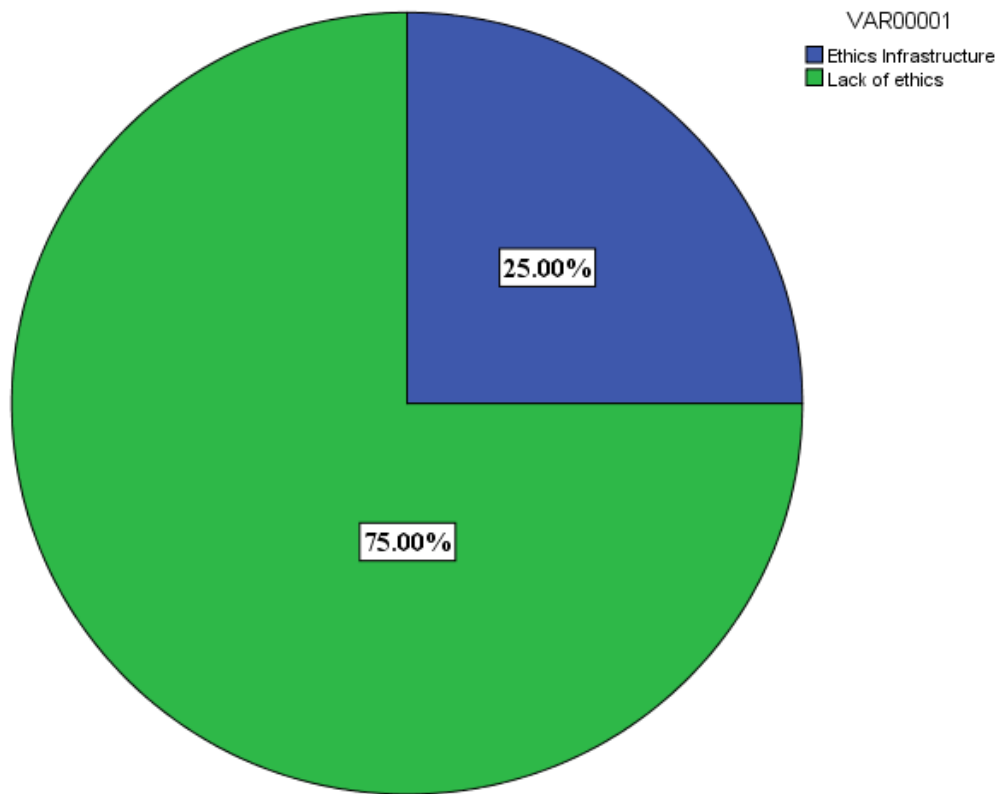
الزمان : الساعة : 11 صباحاً

المكان: قاعة السمنارات بكلية الدراسات التجارية - الطابق الأول

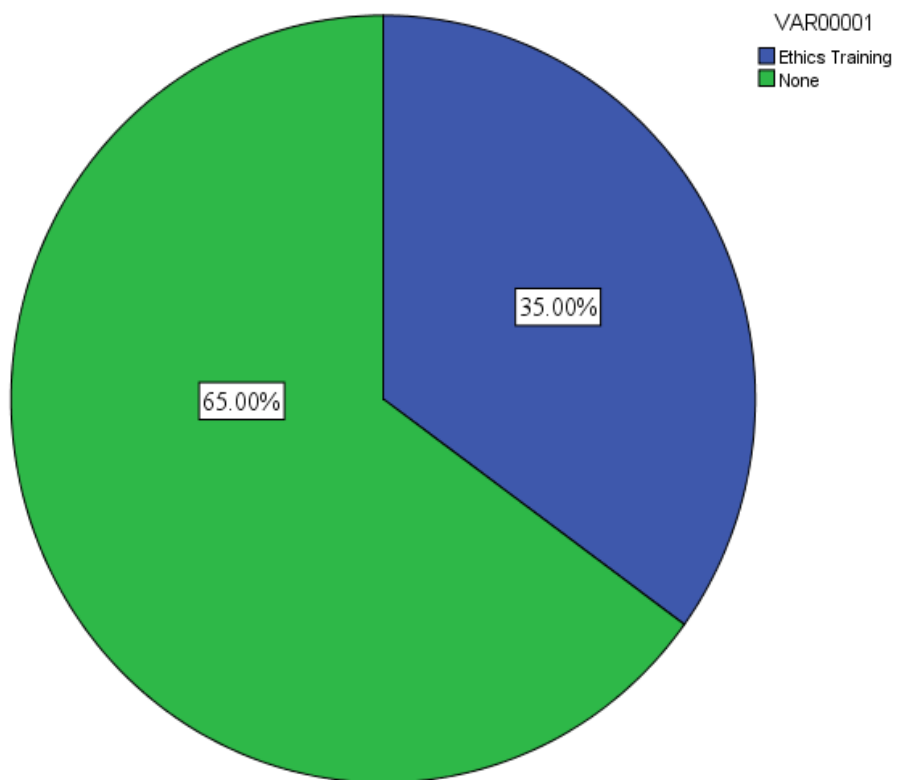
والدعوة عامة لكل الطلاب والمهتمين ،،،،،،،،،،،،

Appendix B: Themes Pie chats

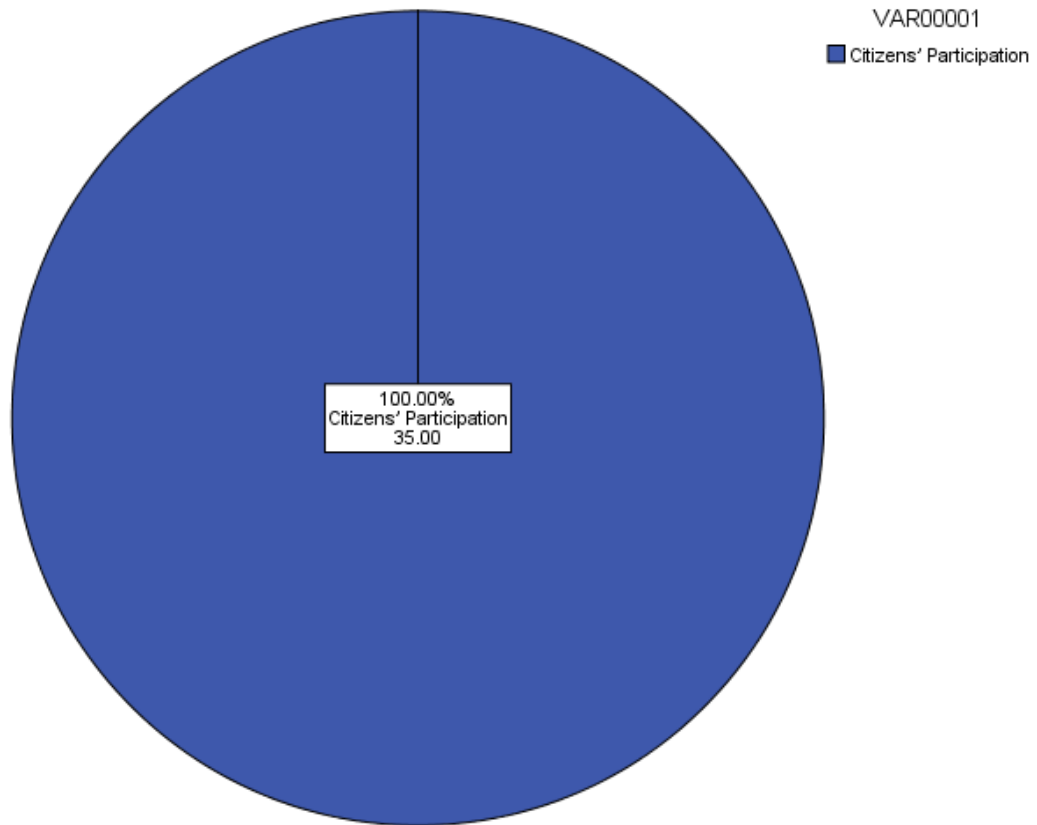




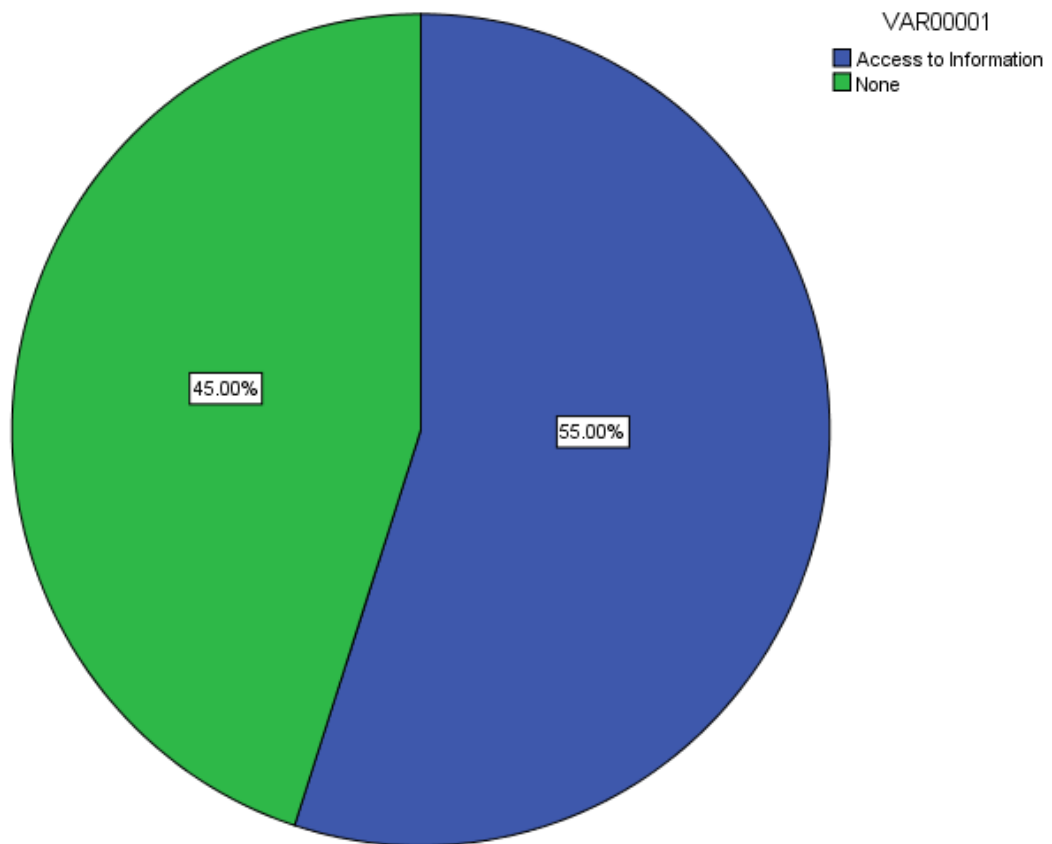
Ethics Infrastructure



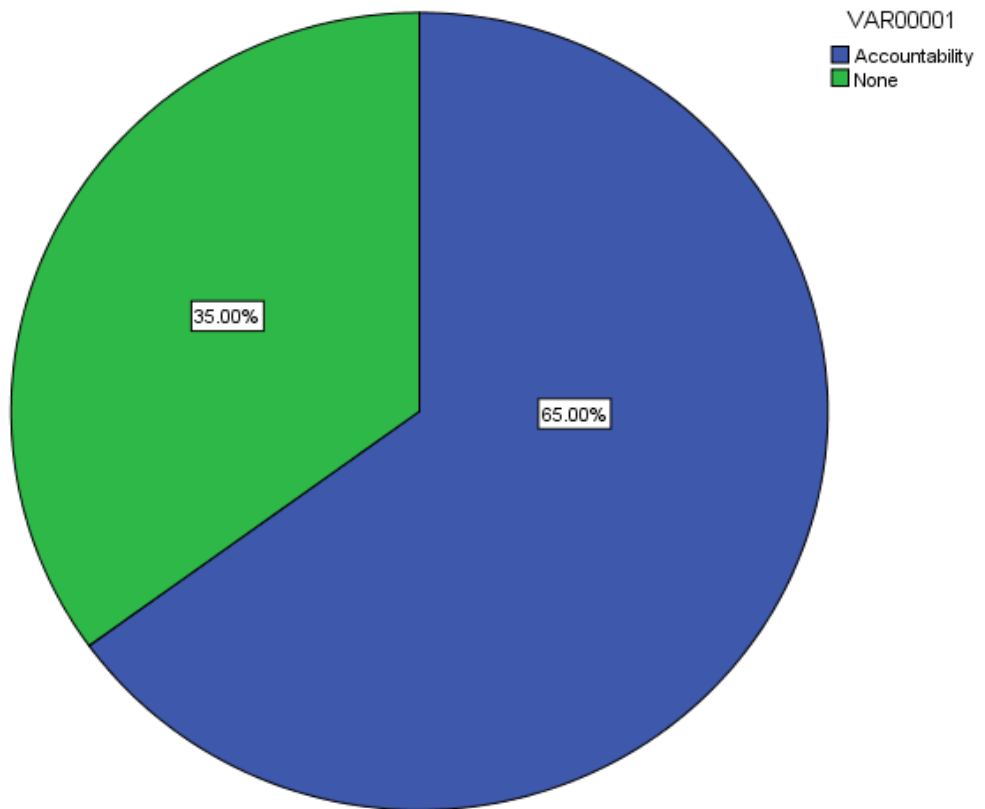
Ethics Training



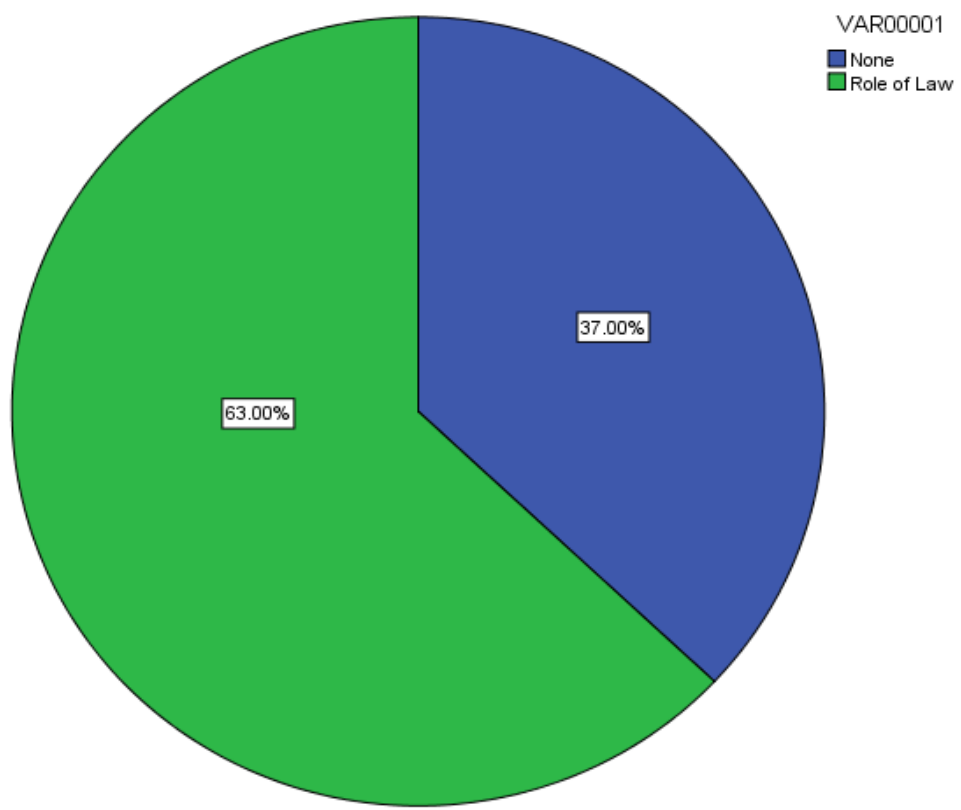
Citizens Participation



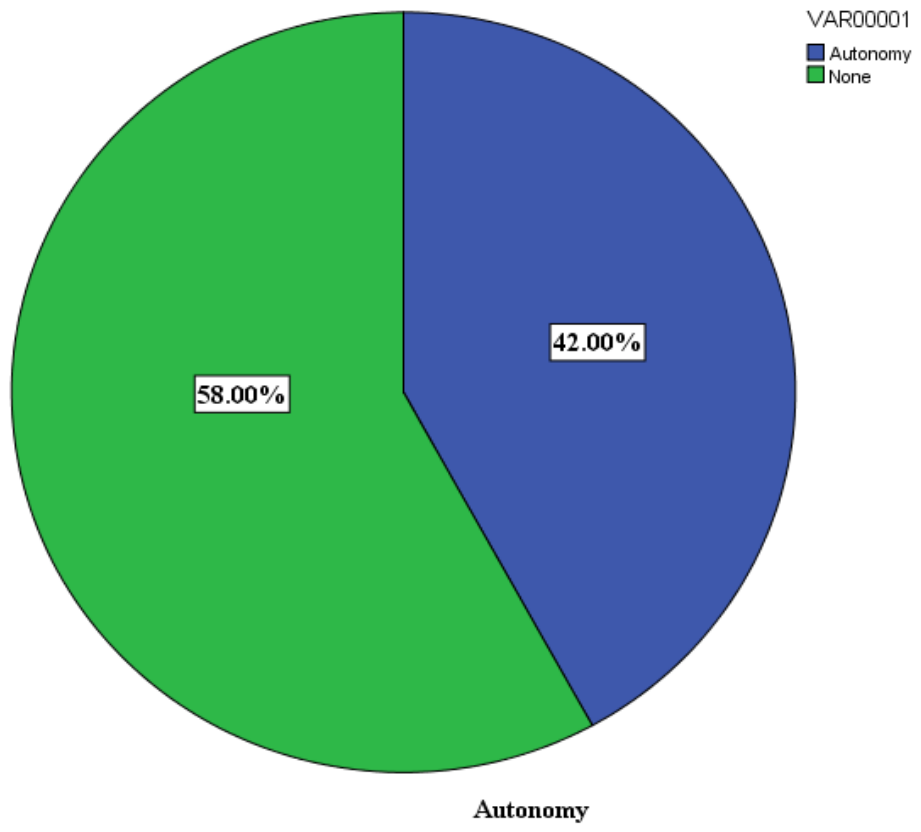
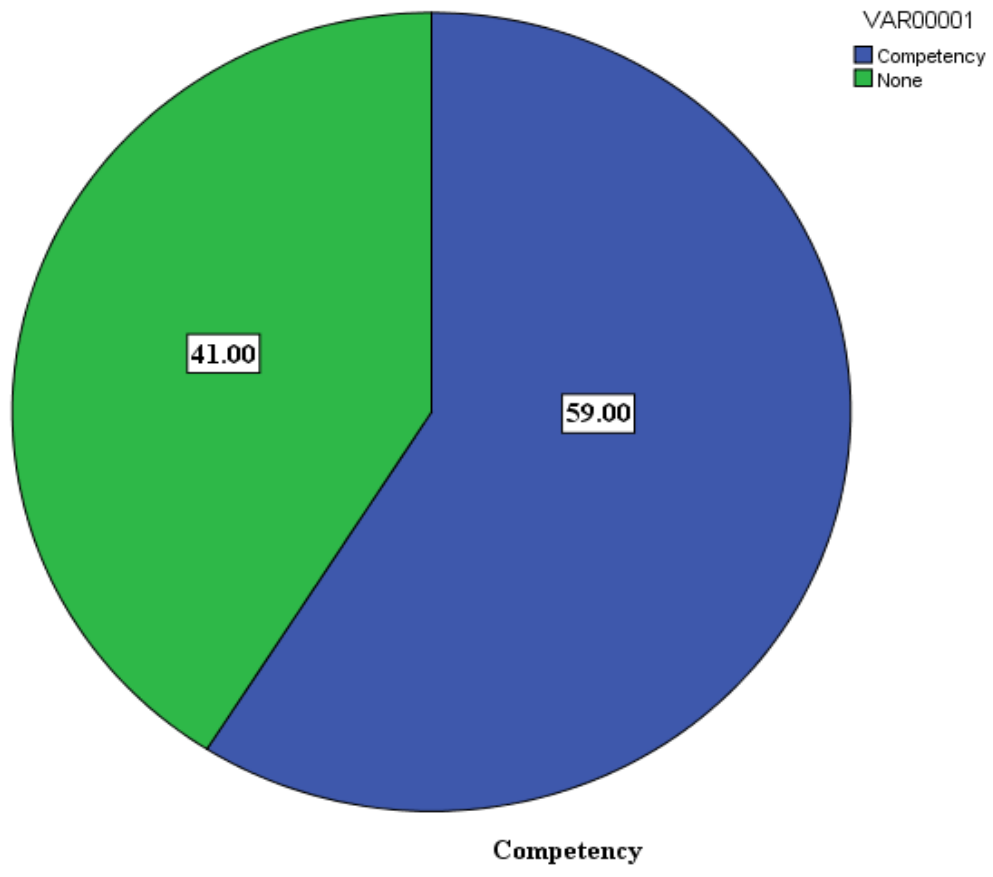
Access to Information

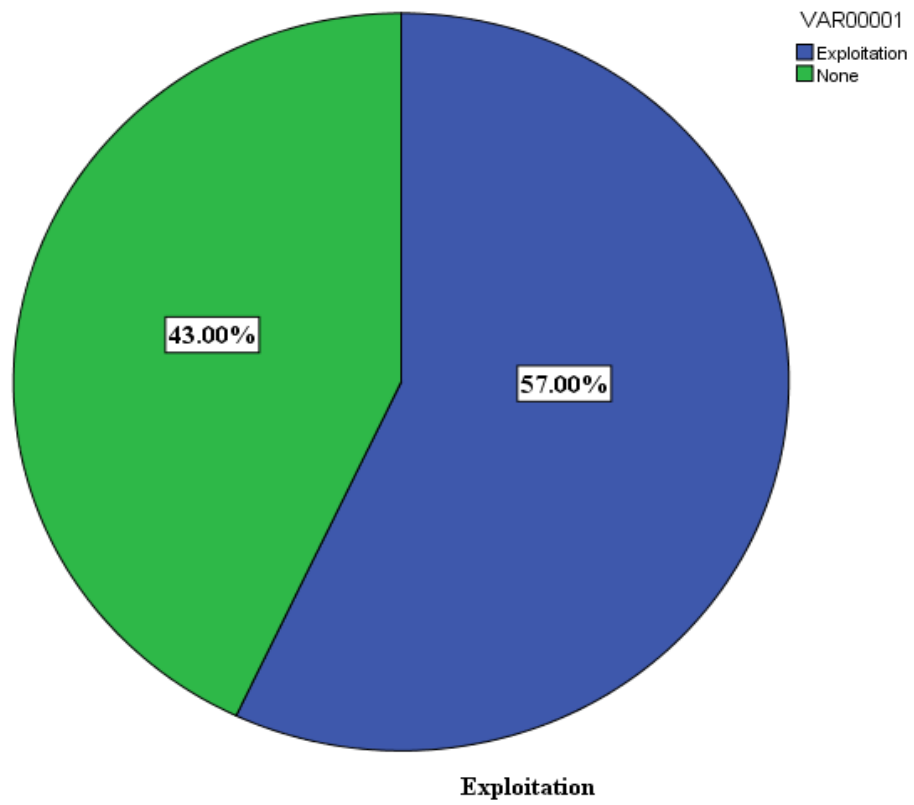
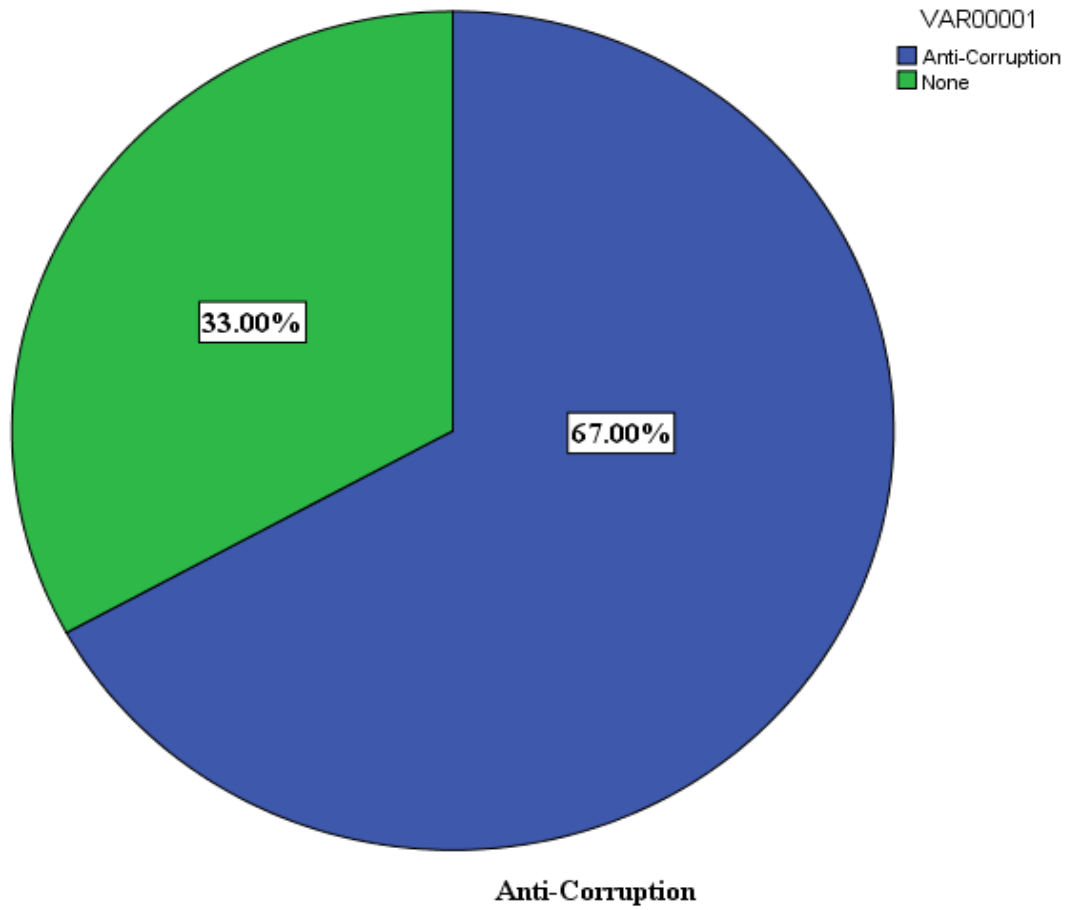


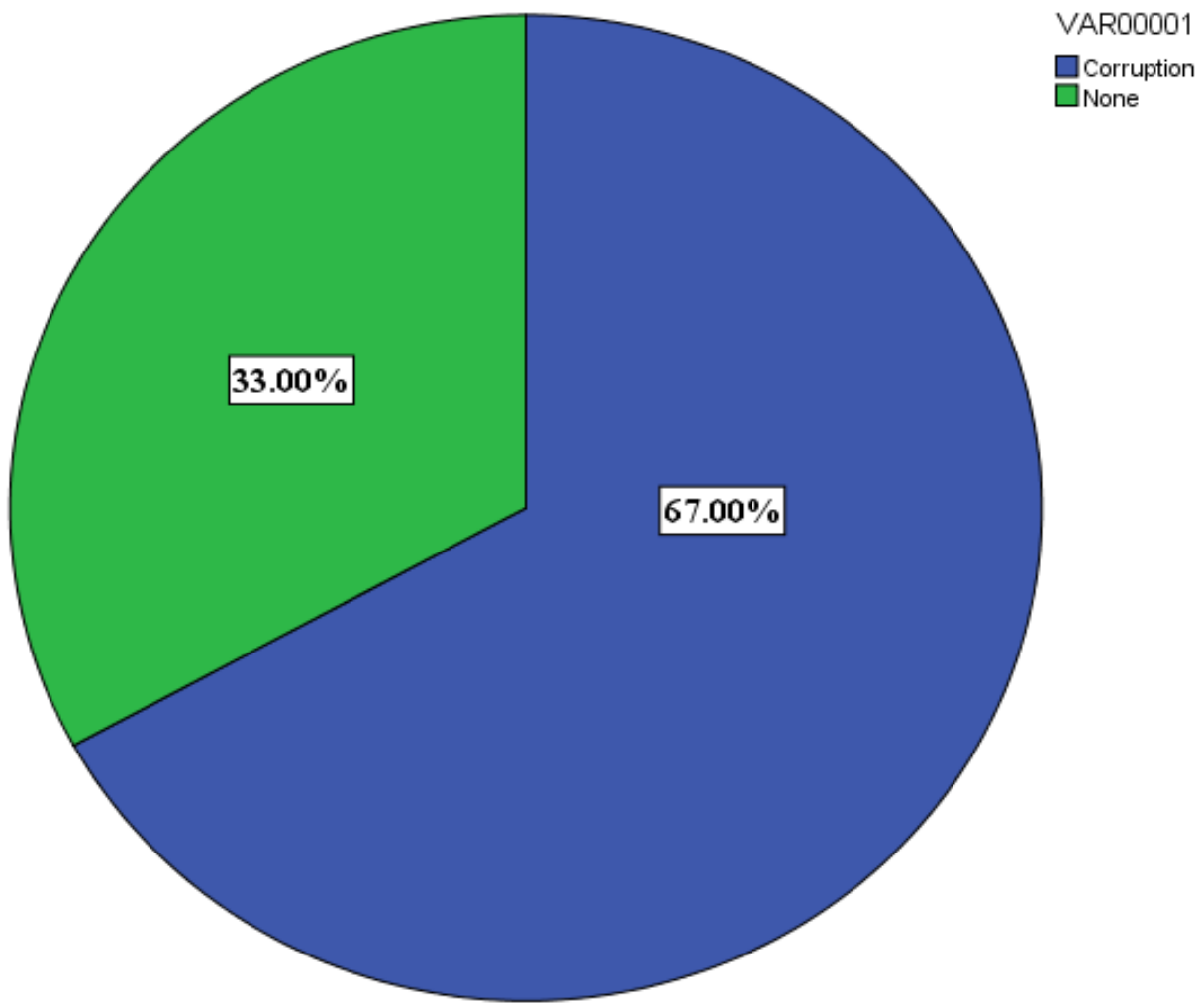
Accountability



Rule of Law



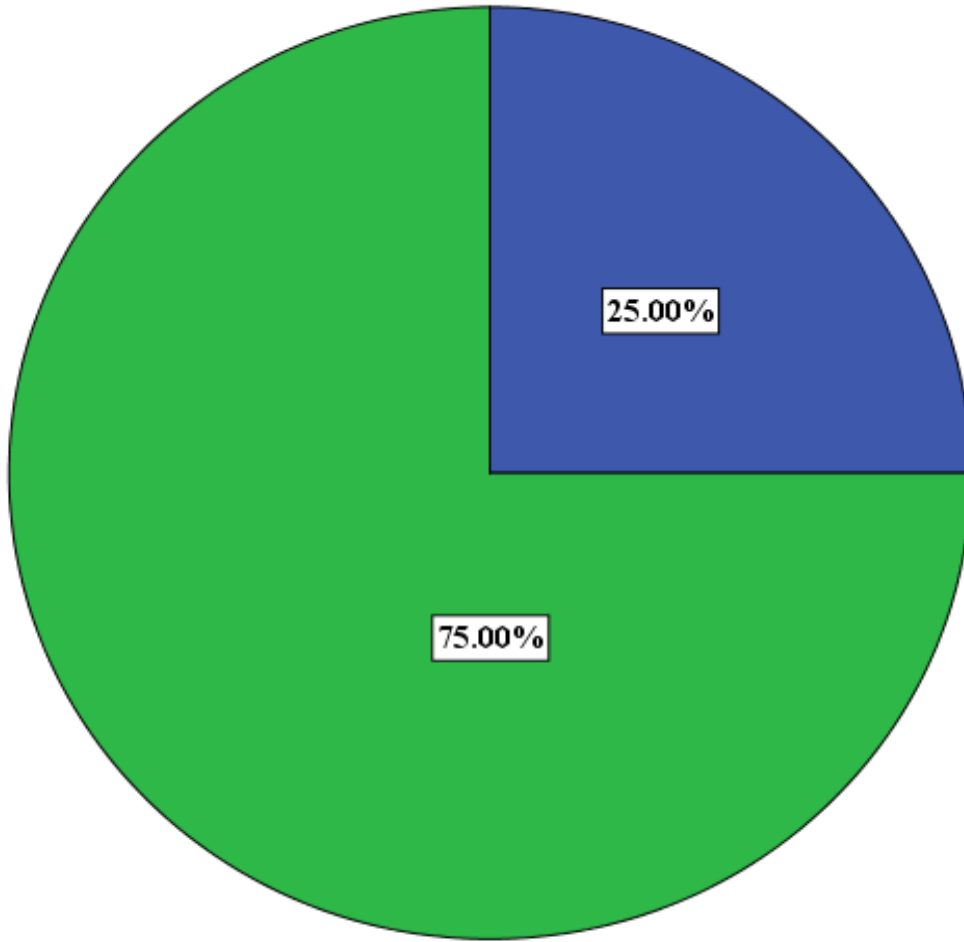




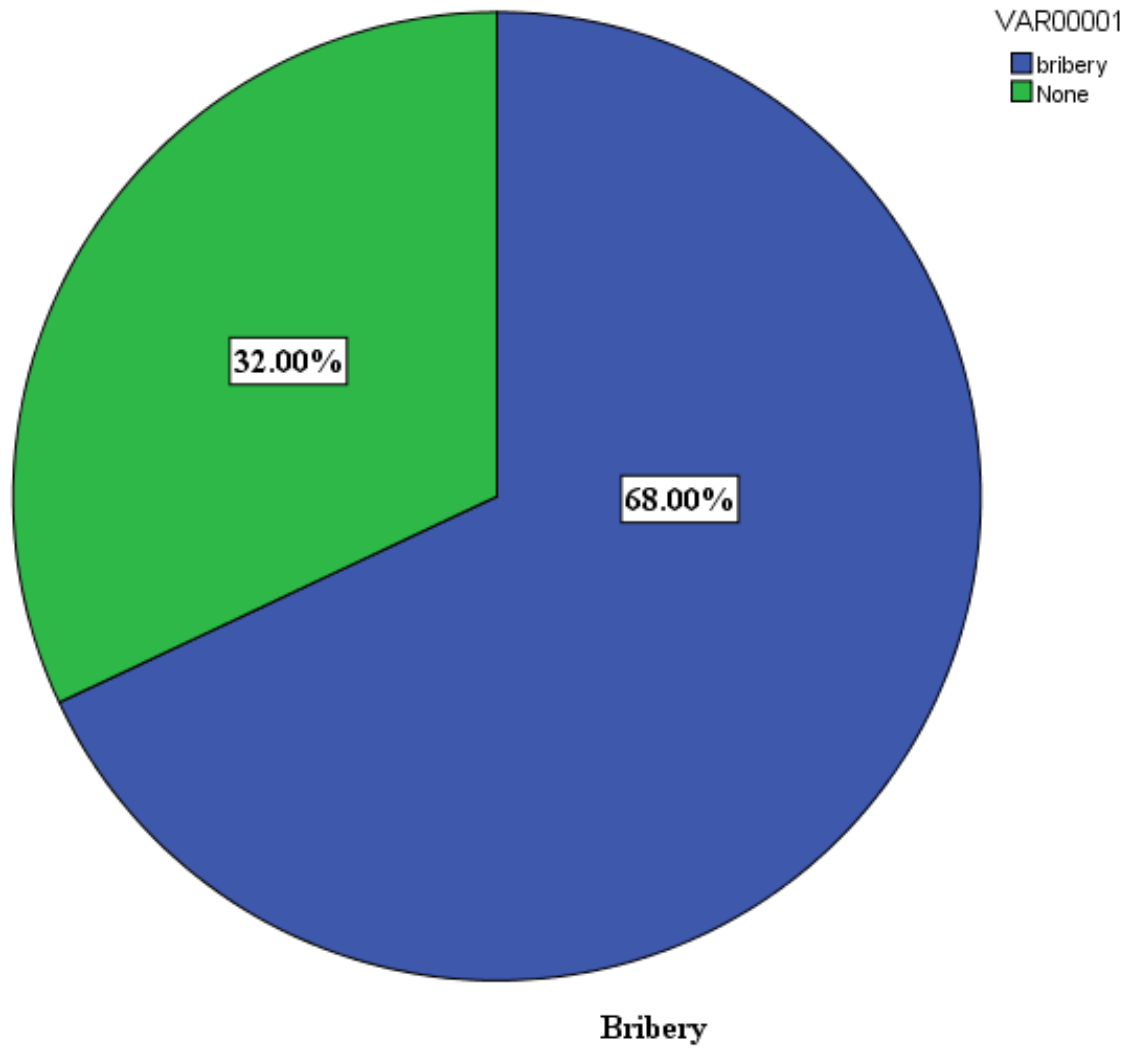
Corruption

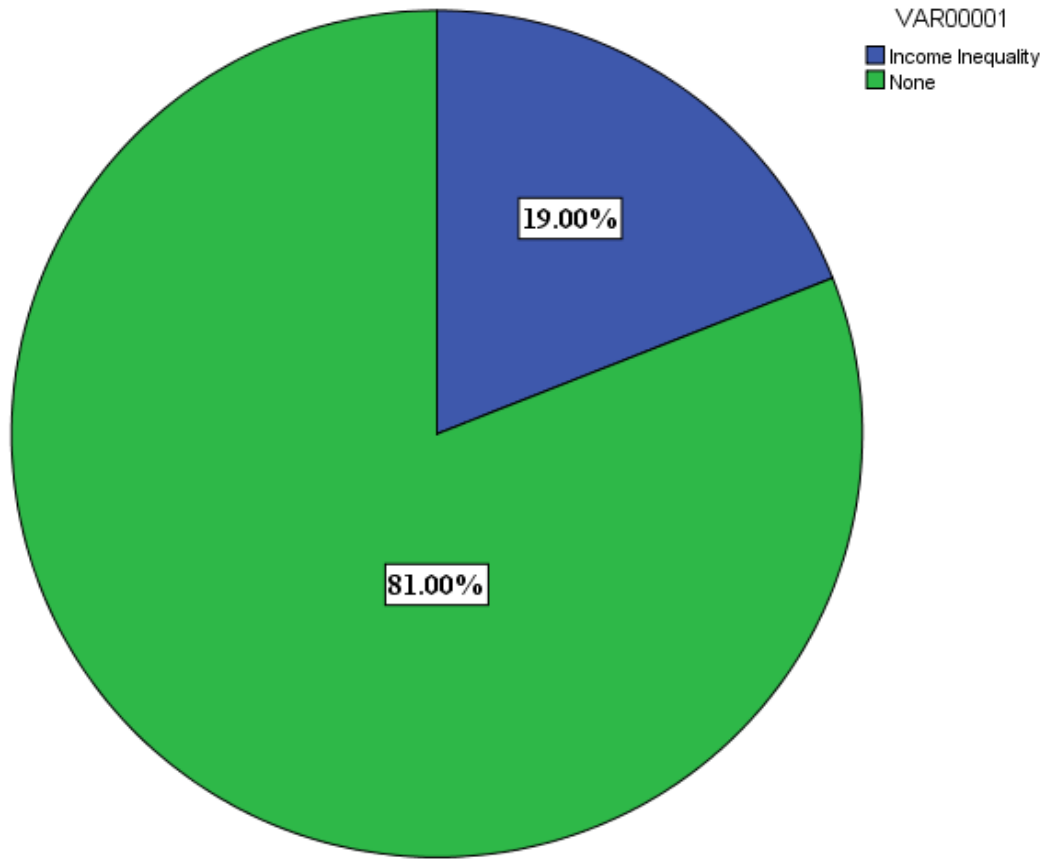
VAR00001

- hunger
- None

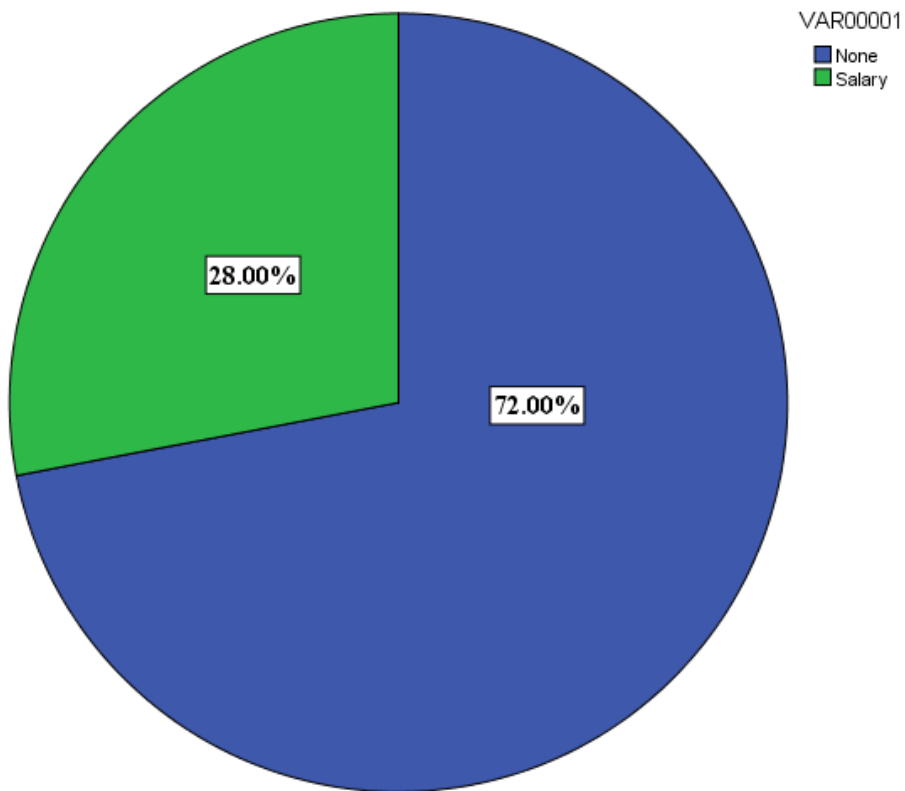


Hunger





Income Inequality



Salary

