

CORRUPTION AND THE CRISIS OF DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

SHAWAI JOSEPH
marshalgreat123@gmail.com
08038122168

&

WILLIAMS ISHAYA KAMALE
08059575752

Department of Political Science
Nassarawa State University, Keffi

ABSTRACT

There is no doubt that corruption is poisonous to long term development and democracy, corruption may undermine society's capacity to provide opportunities for citizens to meet the basic necessities of life, to this, it is detrimental to social, political and economic development of any nation. In this paper, attempt is made to conceptualize corruption, development and economic growth. It examines the consequences of corruption on development. The broad aim is to provide a nexus between lack of good governance and crisis of development in Nigeria. Sources of data for the paper are mainly secondary information. The rental state theory is utilized as framework of analysis. This paper revealed that corruption, because of its pervasiveness in Nigeria, has affected investment, development and government expenditure choices. Its consequences on ordinary Nigerian citizens are artificial discomfort and increasing unfold hardship, deepening suffering and misery and rising poverty profile, galloping unemployment and underdevelopment. Absent and collapse of socio-economic services and infrastructures, and insecurity that are undermining democratic governance. The paper therefore recommend among others that: A paradigm shift on Nigeria's political landscape should be advocated as tremendous changes in the politics and leadership of Nigeria is needed such that

mediocrity will give way for meritocracy (achieved vs ascriptive values) as democratic good governance will ensure economic prosperity for all and at the same time ensure a peaceful, strong and virile economy based. In trying to fix our problems, Nigeria leaders should invest in their home countries. This is necessary because without investment, unemployment thrives; poverty, hunger and starvation looms large and most importantly, underdevelopment soars higher than the eagles. The Billions of Dollars stashed away in foreign banks are what is supposed to established industries; recruit people; services their payment; provide essential amenities that will make life worth living. Without these monies on the Nigerian soil, Nigeria can never develop. Therefore, if Nigeria must develops, they most develop themselves by investing all their monies in their land, Nigerian leaders should repatriate those monies lodged in foreign Bank accounts and use them to develop their land.

Keywords: Corruption, Development and Development crisis

Introduction

Arguably, corruption is one of the greatest obstacle to development of poor countries. It is one of major challenges of the time, a challenge that not only leads to impoverishment and loss of lives but also threatens the stability of the society. Therefore, the challenges of corruption remain a major devastating issue facing Nigeria since the colonial period, although this phenomenon has become a cankerworm that has eating deep into the fabrics of our system. Development experiences in Nigeria has shown that in -spite of the various development policy put in place by successive government since political independence in October 1st 1960, the development challenges in the country is yet to be attained. The living conditions of the citizens have remained in comatose. Although Nigeria has had a good basket of policies and programmes, their implementation suffered major defects which have resulted in policy and programme failure. Bad governance epitomized by corrupt practices in government accounts for the policy failure and crisis of development in Nigeria. Fully conscious of the negative impact of corruption on the country's development and the damage it had inflicted on her international image, it is imperative to state that government must

eradicate all corrupt practices and abuse of power. To this therefore, Alanamu, et al (2009:34) observed that:

it is instructive to note that while the federal government and the President in particular have been consistent in the fight against corruption and have also set up anti- corruption bodies such as the EFCC and ICPC to combat this social problem, there is not yet enough by the way of concrete results indicating a drastic drop in corrupt practices at least in relative terms

From the observation of Alanamu (2009) stated above, eight years after the Nigerian crisis has continued to be manifested in the inability of these reforms to address the fundamental contradictions on which the Nigerian economy is built. This crisis is however not merely economic in nature, but involves a profound rupture of social structures and inherited political institutions. The true position is that the Nigerian economy has always been in crisis and her underdevelopment is mainly attributed to poor leadership and corruption. It is of note that the Nigeria state have failed to efficiently manage her huge natural resources and to put to good productive use of the huge revenue from its natural endowment. The waste and corruption in Nigeria has created a huge gap between the wealth of a few political elite that have held public offices and the mass poverty of the majority of Nigerians. As stated by Ogbeidi (2012) that "it is incontrovertible fact that corruption has been the bane of Nigeria's development and that, without mincing, words the phenomenon has ravaged the country and destroyed most of what is held as cherished national values".

Unfortunately, the political class saddled with the responsibility of directing the affairs of the country have been the major culprit in perpetrating this act. As observed by Achebe (1983:1)

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely, a failure of Leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigeria land and climate or water or air or anything else the Nigerian problem is the

unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility or to challenge of personal examples, which are hallmarks of true leadership

It is clear from Achebe's observation that the common man looks up to the ruling elite to learn and be directed to avoid corruption. But such expectation from the leadership in Nigeria has failed. Democracy which supposed to be the government of the people, has failed in Nigeria. It is therefore widely contended that owing in large part to the pervasiveness of corruption, at whatever level is that every wealth stolen or misappropriated linked to unprecedented underdevelopment. This is because when development is obstructed, poverty, inflation and unemployment are created and spread. It would therefore be correct to assume that our government at all levels organize, control, and centralize official corruption due to the monopoly of power they enjoy, thereby entrenches underdevelopment instead of development and good governance. Be that as it may sound about the danger and level of corruption in Nigeria, this ugly phenomenon cut across borders and regions of the world.

Against the ugly backdrop of corruption in Nigeria, this paper is designed to investigate corruption and the crisis of development in Nigeria. In other to achieve this, the paper was divided into six sections; section one is the introduction; section two conceptualize corruption and development, section three is concerned with theoretical framework of analysis while section four deals with the causes of corruption in Nigeria; section five focus on crises of development in Nigeria and finally section six dwell on the conclusion and recommendations.

Conceptualizing Corruption and Development

There is no universally acceptable definition of corruption. There is divergence of opinion on what really constitute corruption. This position was echoed by UN Anti-Corruption tool Kit Conventional wisdom is that there is no single, comprehensive, universally accepted definition of corruption... Attempts to develop a definition

of corruption invariably encounter legal, criminological and, in many countries, political problems. It was reported that when the negotiations of the United Nations Convention against corruption began early in 2002, one option under consideration was not to define corruption at all but to test specific types of acts of corruption” (UN Anti-Corruption Tool Kit P. 111)

The widely used definition of corruption given by the World Bank (2008) is “The abuse of public office for private gain”. Transparency International (TI, 2007), the global anti-corruption watchdog, has defined corruption as “the misuse of entrusted power for private gain. However, to me these two definitions are too simple to encompass the complexity of the phenomenon. The term entrusted power illustrates the political primacy in theories of corruption.

However, there are several problems with these definitions, one of which is that they are from a Western perspective, not necessarily consistent with the situation in Nigeria. Both definitions are also too broad and vague. Nwabuzor (2005) accepts multiple definitions of corruption to include: the abuse of public trust for private gain. Also put forth by Todaro and Smith in 2003, a violation of established rule and ways of doing things with the aim of obtaining private gain (profit). Goldsmith defines political corruption similarly “as the abuse of public positions of trust for private gain, including theft of public funds (embezzlement) extortion and bribery, and nepotism” (1999, 867).

Because the concept of corruption is interpreted so diversely, it is often unclear what is meant when the term corruption is used. For example, references to corruption in Nigeria could range from simply paying local police for passage on a roadway to the embezzlement of billions of dollars by high level political leaders. Actions that are perceived to be corrupt likely vary from country to country and culture to culture. That is not to say that any one country or culture is inclined to corruption. Political corruption will exist in any government to the extent it is not prevented by (or able to circumvent) the law. The view in this paper is that Nigeria is no more prone to

political corruption than any other country; it simply lacks sufficient institutional mechanisms to inhibit political corruption. In the view of Sardan (1999:27), corruption is the act of nepotism, abuse of power, embezzlement and various forms of misappropriation, influence peddling, prevarication, insider trading and abuse of the public purse. All contradicts the official ethics of public property or public service and likewise offer the possibility of illegal enrichment, and the use and abuse of these positions of authority.

On his own part, Otite (2000) describes how corruption takes place between two or more parties. According to him, corruption is the pervasion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity. He further pointed that "corruption takes place when at least two parties have interacted to change the structure or processes of society or the behavior of functionaries in order to produce dishonest, unfaithful or defiled situations". Similarly, According to Nye (1967), corruption is a behavior which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. This include such as bribery, use of a reward to pervert the judgment of a person in a position of trust; nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private uses)". No wonder Ebenezer [1986] in his book *Corruption in a Neo-Colonial State: The Nigerian Experience*, tried to pose the question what causes corruption and why various policies that are against corruption in Nigeria have failed? In his answer, he maintains that our leaders failed to comprehend the real causes of corruption. He emphasized that "corruption is a clear cut product of neo colonization which bases its economic program on the capitalist form of development". Stretching further, he examined the efforts of past administrations to bring to an end, the act of corruption and explained why they were defective. According to him, they failed because corruption is often a symptom of deeper difficulties in the societies where it is prevalent, and usually operates within the broader context of other social problems.

Deducing from the above definitions and from which ever perspective one wants to argue the negative effects of corruption in Nigeria, it would not be farfetched from these, slow economic growth, poor investment, and feeble property and contract rights, ineffective and inefficient institutions, limited social interaction and weak rule of law, poor socio-economic competitiveness, deep rooted ethnic divisions and conflicts, low or complete absence of popular participation in politics, weak protection of civil liberties and human rights, poor education, and closed economic and political systems. Ironically, the heart of the crises of development in Nigeria is corruption. Nigeria is plugging deeper into the mire of corruption with passing year, she is one of the most dishonest countries, not just on Africa continent but on the face of the earth. Affirming this, the corruption perception index, 2016 released by transparency international note that, Nigeria failed to achieve an improvement over last six years. And when its corruption perception index was released, it was revealed that Nigeria came 130th out of 176 countries that were assessed in 2009, 134 out of 189 in 2010, 143 out of 183 in 2011 139 out of 170 in 2012, 136 in 2014 and 136 in 2016.

Development

The term Development, is also a multi-dimensional concepts. It is concept which is contested both theoretically and politically, and inherently both complex and ambiguous. Its multi-disciplinary nature no doubt made it so contested among scholars and professionals of diverse background. In the postulations of Anyebe as cited in Obiagbaoso (2011) "development is used to refers to the total transformation of a system, thus when used to describe a nation, in fact, development implies a progression from a lower and often undesirable state to high and preferred one " To Rogers (1976) "development is a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about social and material advancement for the majority of the people through gaining control over their environment. 'Rogers stressed the endogenous dimension of development, He viewed it as a process whereby the people whom this development is for participated in the decision that affects their lives and environment. Nnoli (1990) posits that, "development is a

process of progression” “it is a man's unending quest to conquer his natural environment using his creative endowment in order to fashion tools and create other things necessary for good living”. This definition by Nnoli, equates development as actually a continuum such that the so called developing and developed nations are all in the process of developing; that is to say no nation can fully be developed. To Buttressed the argument on development further was Seers (1969) who posed the most fundamental question relating to the meaning of development when he wrote:

The question to ask about a country's development is therefore: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned; if one or two of these controls problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result “development” even if per capital income is high.

Going by Seers assertion, one would be tempted to say that, for development to take place in any society, the level of unemployment, poverty and inequality must be reduce by government. In a situation where the aforementioned indices increase astronomically it would not be wrong to call such a society as underdeveloped or developing. According to Inayatullah (cited in Soola 2003) “development is change toward patterns of society that allow better realization of human values, that allow a society greater control over its environment and over its political destiny, and that enables its individuals to gain increased control over themselves.” In this context, development means positive transformation or change of the people's ways of living, attitudes and behaviours. If people's ways of living is to be transformed for the better then there is need for them to have access to information and be sensitized through the appropriate channels of communication. But what if their condition is not transformed for the better? Can this be referred to as development? However, it is a belief that for any development to take place there

must be an inner change of people to be willing to participate just like the position of these scholars. But the question is, what kind of change are they talking about? Chambers' (2004) added the notion of 'good change', although this raises all sorts of questions about what is 'good' and what sort of 'change' matters, as Chambers shows concern about the role of values, and whether 'bad change' is also viewed as a form of development. A common theme within most definitions is that 'development' encompasses 'change' in a variety of aspects of human condition. Although the theme of 'change' may be overriding, what constitutes 'good change' is bound to be contested as Kanbur (2006) states, because *'there is no uniform or unique answer'*. So the views that may be prevalent in one part of the development community are not necessarily shared by other parts of that community, or in society more widely. Whatever it is, when change is expected, it means a good change, a better one. There are three objectives of development as postulated by Todaro and Smith (2003):

- ii. To increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and protection;
- iii. To raise levels of living in addition to higher incomes, the provision of more jobs, better education, and greater attention to cultural and human values, all of which will serve not only enhance well-being but also to generate greater individual and material national self-esteem;
- iii. To expand the range of economic and social choices available to individuals and nations by freeing them from servitude and dependence, not only in relation to other people and nation-states but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is hinged on the theoretical prism of the rentier state theory. The concept of the rentier state was first postulated by Hossein Mahdavy with respect to the pre-revolutionary Pahlavi Iran in 1970 and in its broadest sense holds that rentier states are those countries that receive on a regular basis substantial amounts of external economic rent. The theory of the rentier state contends that when governments gain most of their revenues from external

sources, such as resource rents or foreign assistance, they are freed from the need to levy domestic taxes and as a result become less accountable to the societies they govern (Collier, 2003:1; Shales, 2005:1; Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian, 2003:5-6 and Ross, 2001:8-9). Theories of the rentier state come in different forms and emphasize different causal links between resource rents and poor economic governance.

Mahdavy who first advanced the rentier state concept argues that resource rents make state officials both myopic and risk-averse. Upon receiving large wind-falls, he suggests, governments grow irrationally optimistic about future revenues and devote the greater part of their resources to jealously guarding the status quo instead of promoting development. Others like Shambayati (1994), Chaudhry (1989), and Anderson (1987) take a more institutional approach. Specifically, Anderson argues that rentier states adopt policies that are exceptionally risk-averse, favouring 'egalitarian current consumption' over development policies that, while furthering social and economic transformation, risk provoking social conflict. Schwarz (2007:10-11) submitted that the importance of this rentier effect on state-formation is threefold. Firstly, excess oil revenue in the hand of the state reduces the state necessity to extract resources from its own population (taxation). Rentier states have secondly the privilege to distribute and allocate excess oil revenue according to political considerations and without reference to economic consideration.

Thirdly, a high level of rentierism has a negative effect on the human, social, and economic development of a country. While the economic benefit from oil revenues may be only short-lived, the long-term consequences are market distortions, corruption, unproductive economic sectors and the absence of autonomous social groups. All three considerations underline that rentier states differ drastically from states whose role is to collect taxes (Schwarz, 2007:10-11). Meanwhile, Obi (2009) further explained that the rentier thesis characterizes states that receive external economic rent or unearned income that is not related to entrepreneurial, innovative or meritorious activities. Such states, he said, are defined by being part

of an enclave of externally-oriented oil industry that alienates them from the society, making her aloof from the people, partly because she does not rely on their taxes and is therefore not accountable to the people, and also because externally earned rents are concentrated in a few hands (the political elite), making for a particular kind of political economy that feeds corruption and subverts democracy and development.

In the specific case of Nigeria, this paper holds that its rentier character has fed into the post-colonial characteristics arbitrariness and absolutism that undergird the Nigerian state to produce an ultra-rentier mentality which has resulted in the pervasive corruption that characterizes Nigeria's political economy and the consequent dismal performances in all the major development and governance indicators. With all truism, one cannot but agree that the major challenge or cog to the movement of development wheel in Nigeria is the issue of corruption; especially that of public office holders. It is in the light of this, that this paper used the tables below to buttress this argument.

Table 1.1

S/N	Amount	Cases
1	\$2.2 Billion	Illegally withdraw from excess crude oil account
2	\$11.6 Billion	NEITI discovered
3	\$13.7 Billion	60 million barrels of oil stolen
4	\$1 Billion	Diversion of 6% foreign loans obtained from Chinese
5	3 Trillion Naira	Scam in weapons and defense procurements
6	\$2.2 Million	Vaccination medicine fund, by ministry of health
7	1.9 Billion Naira	Diversion of Ebola fund
8	13 Billion Naira	NIMASA Fraud
9	\$2.2 Million	Ministry of finance payment to health ministry contractor in disputes invoices
10.	2.7 Billion	NDDC scams
11.	150 Million	Police Service
12	\$250 million	The Purchase of BMW car by Stella Oduah

Source: Premium times Nigeria 8, August 2015

Table 1.1 above depicts the many cases of corruption leveled against the Jonathan led administration; deducing from the above table, which shows the level of corruption under Jonathan administration and also previous administration one would easily understand why Nigeria is in serious development crisis; for instance how do we explain the 1.9 billion naira Ebola funded diverted, which was meant to tackle the break of Ebola? Also, how do we account or explain the sorry act of diverting 3 trillion naira meant for the purchase of weapons as indicated in table 1.1? What would have happened if these fund were adequately utilized for its purpose? Indeed, instances of corrupt cases like these explains better why Nigeria has remained a developing state years after independence..

Statistic on Looted Fund Recoveries In 2017

Table 1.3

S/N	ITEMS	NAIRA	US DOLLAR	GB POUNDS	EURO
1	EFCC cash at hand	39,169,911,023.00	128,494,076.66	2,355	11,250
2	Royalty/Tax Payment To FGN Account In JP Morgan Account New York	4,642,958,711.48	40,727,235.65	--	--
3	ONSA funds account in CBN	5,665,305,527.41	8,000,000.00	--	--
4	VAT recovered funds from company	5,29,588,293.47	--	--	--
5	EFCC recovered funds account in CBN	19,267,730,259.36	455,253.80	--	--
6	ICPC revenue collection recovery in CBN office of the Attorney General	869,957,444.89	--	--	--
7	DSS recoveries	5,500,000,000	5,500,00		
8	ICPC cash assets	47,707,000.5	1,943,000.5	3,506,000.46	--
9	Asset recovery	2,632,196,271.71	--	--	--
	TOTAL	78,325,354,631.82	185,119,584.61	3,508,355.46	11,250

Source: Premium times, Monday, April 3, 2017

Table 1.3 above shows the federal government made cash recoveries of funds traced to and recovered from corrupt former government officials. cash recovers totaling # 78,325,354,631.82(seventy eight billion, three hundred and twenty five million, three hundred and fifty four thousand, six hundred and thirty one naira and eighty two kobo); & 185,119,584.61(one hundred and eighty five million, one hundred and nineteen thousand ,five hundred and eighty four us dollars, sixty one cent); 3,508,355.46 Pounds Sterling (Three million, five hundred and eight thousand, three hundred and fifty five pounds and forty six pence) and 11,250 Euros(Eleven thousand, two hundred and fifty Euros) from 29 may 2015 to 25 may 2016.

Funds Awaiting Return from Foreign Jurisdiction

Table 1.4

S/N	Jurisdiction	US Dollar	GB Pounds	Euro
1.	Switzerland	321000000	--	--
2.	UK	--	6900000	--
3.	UAE	310501	--	11826.11
4.	USA	6225.1	--	--
5.	TOTAL	321,316,726.1	6,9000.000	11.826.11

Source: Premium times, Monday, April 3, 2017

Table 1.4 above focused on the funds awaiting return from foreign jurisdictions total \$321,316,726.1 (Three hundred and twenty one million, three hundred and sixteen thousand, seven hundred and twenty six Dollars, One Cent); 6,900,000 Pounds (six million, nine hundred thousand Pounds) and 11,826.11 Euros (Eleven thousands, eight hundred and twenty six Euros, 11 Cents). Base on the interim reports on the financial and assets recoveries made by various government agencies from 29 may 2015 to 25 may 2016.

NON CASH RECOVERIES

Table 1.5

S/N	Items	Quantity		
		ICPC	EFCC	ONSA
1.	Farmland	22		
2.	Plot of land	4		
3.	Uncompleted building	1		
4.	Completed building	33	145	4
5.	Vehicles	22	3	
6.	Maritime vessels		5	
	Total	82	153	4

Source: Premium times, Monday, April 3, 2017

Source: Premium times, Monday, April 3, 2017

Table 1.5 above Showed that non cash recoveries (farmland, plots of land, uncompleted Buildings, completed Buildings, vehicles and maritime vehicles) during the period total 239.

Causes of Corruption in Nigeria

It no longer make headline about the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria.

Nigerian's Corruption Perception Index Rankings 1999 2016

Table 1.1

YEARS	RANKING
1999	98 out 99
2000	90 out of 90
2001	101 out of 102
2002	132 out of 133
2003	144 out of 146
2004	152 out of 158

YEARS	RANKING
2005	150 out of 163
2006	132 out of 147
2007	121 out of 150
2008	121 out of 150
2009	130 out of 178
2010	134 out of 189
2011	143 out of 183
2012	139 out of 170
2013	144 out of 175
2014	136 out of 174
2015	136 out of 167
2016	136 out of 176

Source: Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index 2016

Deducing from the above table, the most outstanding issue in the report by Transparency International regarding corruption in Nigeria from 1999 to 2016, which covered a period of seventeen years, showed that the level of corruption continues to varies.. Suffice it to say that, from the reports that, corruption in Nigeria is very high; while the perception of government fight against corruption most often than not as been seen as political witch-hunting by the political apparatchik and opposition parties in Nigeria. Most Nigerians especially the masses who are at the receiving end over the dangerous impact of corruption on developement, prays daily for a government that can fight it to standstill. Be that as it may, there is unanimity of views and opinions about why Nigerians engage in corruption and to who's benefit. The main reasons for the high level of corruption in Nigeria includes but not limited to the following:

ii. Weak Government Institutions: The presence of weak political and legal institutions can be viewed as the major reason for

the high level of corruption in Nigeria. As noted earlier, the Obasanjo's administration (1999-2007) showed some level of political will to fight corruption evidenced in the vigour that the two anti-corruption commission ICPC and EFCC were put in place to fight the scourge only little was achieved

There was no gainsaying the obvious that a former EFCC Chairman (Nuhu Ribadu) once stated that thirty three (33) out of thirty six (36) state governors were corrupt. According to Zanna (2008:23):

Former EFCC Chairman Nuhu Ribadu having conducted thorough investigations into their affairs had then said that he Governors were found to have corruptly abused power; personalized their state treasuries thereby enriched themselves and were therefore liable to face prosecution. However, Ribadu was constrained in moving on to prosecute them because the 1999 Nigerian constitution gave them immunity against being dragged to any law court for civil or criminal breaches. He however, promised to arrest them on May 29, 2007 as soon as they handed over to their successors. Some of the unlucky Governors were arrested and arraigned before various Federal High Courts across the country. Their cases are being handled by those courts. Unfortunately, that was not to be for some of the Governors indicted by the EFCC for reasons best known to Ribadu.

Also related is the issue of delay or non-payment of salaries of civil servants for months. This development had increased the level of corruption among the civil servants in Nigeria. More concerned in this area is no other person than President Buhari who in a remark at the second National Executive Committee of the All Progressive Congress (APC) dispassionately states thus:

It is no records that many of the governors hardly present themselves as models of good governance with lifestyles that are flamboyant or too extravagant

for comfort. It is rather unfortunate indeed that some of the governors who are too quick to plead helplessness and seek understanding on the sliding fortunes of the country's economy due to falling oil prices had enough fund to pursue their political ambitions and even donate to parties' purses during the campaigns. They have also always found enough to charter private jets for their travels and sustain a luxurious lifestyle. (Guardian Newspaper, 08 June, 2015, p.3)

That these group of unpaid public service workers are not to embark on any form of industrial action but expected to continually be on their duty post begs more questions than answers as to the issues of corruption. Another area of concern related to weak government institutions is the observed weak legal institution in Nigeria. For instance despite the vigorous war on corruption, the Obasanjo's administration (1999-2007) could only secure two high profile convictions (D S P Alamieyeseigha late governor of Bayelsa state and TafaBalogun former Inspector General of Police) as other high profile cases especially many ex-governors are either pending in courts or have been indefinitely adjourned.

It was in the light of this that President Buhari sees the judiciary as his main headache in his anti-graft war. While addressing the Nigerians living in Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia in a town hall meeting on December 31st 2015, the President states "on the fight against corruption vis-à-vis the judiciary, Nigerians will be right to say that is my main headache for now". (Vanguard Newspaper, 01 February, 2016, p.8).

ii. **Poverty:** Poverty is one ailment that had defiled all scientific proven treatment in Nigeria. Great majority of Nigerians especially those living in the rural areas are wallowing in abject poverty. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in her 2014 report opines that a staggering 112.519 million Nigerians live in relative poverty conditions. This figure represents 69 percent of the country's total population estimated to be 163 million. More worrisome is the fact

that the poverty rate is rising at a time the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate is put at 7.75 percent, (Nigerian Insight Newspaper, 03 Feb. 2014, p.8). This nexus between increased growth in country's GDP and the resultant increased poverty among the citizenry is inexplicable. This development has led to the multiplier result in the overall increase in the level of corruption in Nigeria. Poverty and corruption are competing head to head in the Nigerian environment as no sector of the economy is immune from the pawn of corruption.

iii. Its tacit approval by the people: The tacit and unarguably the Nigerian society approval of corruption which seems to be in the DNA of majority of Nigerians especially those opportune to be in leadership positions. The high approval rating of corruption and corrupt individuals in the Nigerian society has made the phenomenon to be best described as a way of life. When individuals enrich themselves with the common wealth of the entire citizenry, the society reward them with chieftaincy titles and honorary doctorate degrees, as a pat on the back for the courage in stealing public fund. Consequently, in another scenario, when any person especially when opportune to serve the government refuses to steal, the society instead of commending such a character usually malign such an individual and in some extreme cases, the community where such honest person came from usually disown him and call such person unprintable names such as “unworthy ambassador; a weakling; a sell-out; a community misfortune; etc”. As a consequence of this established culture of the Nigerian society giving accolades to corrupt individuals while at the same treating with disdain honest individuals that most account for the high rate of corruption especially among political office holders as they strive to be good representatives of their immediate community in government service.

iv. Greed and Ethnic Cleavages: There is this indubitable fact that greed remains one of the major factors that drive most Nigerians to engage in corruption. This is against the backdrop of the realities that most corrupt steal more than is necessary for themselves, their

children and grand-children. Most of these greedy corrupt Nigerians owe landed properties in almost all the major cities in the country and in other countries of the world. They acquire many expensive goods even the one they may not use till the end of their sojourn on earth whereas their nearby neighbour suffer hunger and deprivation. What is even most annoying about the whole scenario is the support which these groups usually get from their ethnic group of origin as attempts at bringing certain corrupt people to justice will be greeted with ethnic colouration and sentiments that keeps the government helpless in fighting the scourge.

v. High Level of Illiteracy: The high level of illiteracy among the people of yet another reason why corruption is thriving in Nigeria. Majority believes that government resources belong to the government and not the people. As a result of this obvious erroneous belief, corrupt leaders are praised because they courageously stole government money and not public money. This also makes resistance against people who loot public resources not existent. The apparent paradox here is that the few literates in the society are mostly the people that engage in this corrupt activities and to that extent, there exist safe havens as those who should have led the war on corruption are on the front page of the corrupt citizens.

Corruption and Crisis of Development in Nigeria

It is imperative to state that, development crisis has become a reoccurring issue in Nigeria coupled with the series of contradiction inherent in every epoch and episode of the present day Nigerian society; the country has passed through different stages ranging from an uglyprimitive life to slave society, colonialism, decolonization and neocolonialism, military rule and democratic experiments. Today, the most dangerous crisis the country is passing through is the issue of development. Paradoxically, Nigeria remained largely underdeveloped despite the huge mineral and human resources, several decades after the end of colonialism, most parts of Nigeria is still fighting with the problems of basic infrastructure facilities, insecurity of live and property.

The question still begging for answers is why is Nigeria still underdeveloped despite her huge human and natural endowment? How has the Nigerian leadership steer her development ship? For how long shall Nigerians continued to blame colonialism for her woes, considering how our leaders had failed us in the past? In other to understand why Nigeria has been battling with development crisis this paper in this section shall discuss how corruption prelude or serve as a catalyst to development crisis in Nigeria. It is in this light that, this paper in this section revealed how corruption has affected the various sectors of the Nigerian state like health, education, job creation, networks of roads etc. These negative impact of corruption in Nigeriashall be discuss in sequence: in other to achieve this objective, the paper try to investigate the level of corruption amongst public office holders from former President Obasanjo down to the Present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, this shall help to give a more clearer picture of the crisis of development in Nigeria administration down to Indeed, corruption has remained so rampant at all levels of government in the post-colonial Nigeria. For instance, Ribadu (2006) gave a graphic summary of the situation. He termed the period between 1979 and 1998 "the darkest period" in Nigeria's history of corruptregimes. The civilian administration of 1979 - 1983 was bedevilled with profligacy, "wantonwaste, political thuggery and coercion...disrespect for the rule of law...bare faced, free for alllooting of public funds through white elephant projects" He further stated that:.

Corrupt public servants and others in the private sector bestrode the nation, masquerading as captains of business and power brokers with tainted and stolen wealth and demanded the rest of us to kowtow before them. The period of military regime was pathetic. Under them, corruption became the sole guiding principle for running affairs of state. The period witnessed a total reversal and destruction of every good thing in the country (cited in Fagbadebo 2007:31).

Apart from Ribadu's observations, flagrant abuse of public office and misuse of public fund climaxed in the military regime of the mid-90s. As a result, between 1996 and 1997 Nigeria won itself unenviable position of the World's most corrupt Nation for the two consecutive years in Transparency International, 2009. With the return to civilian rule in 1999, the Obasanjo administration established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). The Ribadu led EFCC was reputed for the trial and conviction of former Bayelsa State Governor, Depriye Alamiesiegha and former Inspector General of Police Tafa Balogun and other high profile prosecutions especially among the ruling elites. It is important to note that in spite of the EFCC's efforts, a return to civil rule is fraught with massive official corruption especially by the governors and other political collaborators and there were incidences of selective prosecution (as the case mentioned above).

For instance, while Obasanjo was engaged in sanctimonious sermons of anticorruption, his government was hugely mired in impropriety over privatization of public enterprises (Iyare 2008:47) and other situations. Iyare further explained that enterprises were sold to friends and acolytes of the regime in shady circumstances. In follow-up to this, Ndibe declared that:

Obasanjo has a lot to answer for. How was Nigerian's oil blocks sold during his watch? Can he affirm that the Nation's largesse was never conferred on foreign and local agents fronting for him, his relatives or friends? Where did he afford the huge cost of building his private university? How did his farm which was in a feeble financial state in 1999 turn into a juggernaut and cash mint, making a reported monthly profit of N30 million? How about the large farmlands he acquired in other parts of the country, how did the cash materialize? (Emphasis added, cited in Iyare 2008:47).

A Global Financial Integrity Report (2013) summed up the administration of Goodluck's, whom fortunately was the vice President under late President Yar 'Adua, Nigeria appeared to have been bedeviled with corruption. This report stated that Nigerian Leaders from 2000 to 2010 have stolen 3.047 trillion Naira placing the country 7th in the world's money laundering index(see Daily Sun February 15, 2013). Similarly, on the gross level of corruption and public mismanagement under Jonathan, an Editorial report on the Punch Newspaper of April 28, 2017 argued that:

As he left a limping economy and wide scale corruption behind, Jonathans five years at the helm were unmitigated disaster for Nigeria, the effects of which 170 million Nigerians are experiencing today. He ran the economy aground, failing like his predecessors to diversify effectively and entrenching what the Economist of London labelled "a rentier state". His government despoiled all fiscal buffers, foreign reserves hardly rose despite persistently high oil prices until August 2014. In its defense, his finance minister claimed it was \$43.13 billion that was inherited, yet, despite oil price averaging \$90-\$103 billion per barrel up till mid-2014, reserves move barely perceptively, while the Excess Crude Account had crashed from \$22 billion to only \$2.2 billion when Muhammadu Buhari took over by mid-2015. Jonathan left no major new signature infrastructure project; only inflated repair projects which are mired in controversy.

The Nigeria's corruption perception index has remained high even under democratic governance. it could be asserted that though the military junta of General Abacha in the opinion of Ribadu (2006) appears to be described as the "darkest" period in history of corruption in Nigeria, we emphasise that even the civilian administrations of Obasanj, Jonathan and even that of the present government of Muhammadu Buhari with all their pretences performed below expectation in the fight against

corruption. Haranguing Nigerians without exemplary character could not have been enough to checkmate the spread. The implication is that persistent increase in corrupt practices has also given rise to increasing poverty, crimes and instability making development virtually stagnated or even elusive. To this therefore, we argue that corruption also generates economic distortions in the public sector by diverting public investment into capital projects where bribes and kickbacks are more plentiful, officials may increase the technical complexity of public sector projects to conceal or pave way for such dealings, thus further distorting investment.

This argument was furthered by former UN Secretary General Kofi Anan cited in Adesina (2016:12)

This evil phenomenon (corruption) is found in all countries big and small, rich and poor but it is in the developing world that its effects are most destructive. Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government's ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign investment and aid. Corruption is a key element in economic underperformance, and a major obstacle to poverty alleviation and development.

It is against these catalogue of blatant corruption in Nigeria from 1999 to date has observed above; that this paper argued that corruption leads to abandonment of project that could have served as a catalyst to national development. Examples of such abandoned project in Nigeria today is the Ajeokuta steel company in Kogi state, the Itakpe Iron, the inland rolling mills and machine tools in Ososho. Other similar project abandoned in Nigeria due to corruption include, the paper mill in Akwa Ibom and Aluminum Flat Sheet in Cross Rivers state. In a related development, on a report on Vanguard Newspaper on December 28, (2016) a serving member representing Zaria Federal Constituency, Dr. Abbas, observed that, more than #5 trillion government projects were abandoned across Nigeria. He further

buttressed “deep worry” over the situation and said the country was incurring huge losses due to the abandonment.

An important area that has been affected by corruption in Nigeria is the educational sector; the question this paper is tempted to ask is has the standard of education fallen? Or Nigerians have failed to catch up with global standard? From 1999 to date, both previous and present government campaigned to provide free quantitative and qualitative education to the masses; ironically decades after, our education sector has remained in total comatose due to corruption and mismanagement of public fund that should had been utilized in the development of this sector. What would have been the place of Nigeria in the world map in terms of qualitative and quantitative educational development, if the money stolen in the past and stashed in foreign banks or homes as revealed earlier in this paper are invested in the education sector? This paper is of the opinion that, since public office holders can afford to send their children abroad to study, they tend to neglect everything that has to do with the sector. More so, in a situation where miraculously money is budgeted for education, those responsible for the project syphoned it into personal use and sometimes using it to build private schools that the child of a common man cannot attend. Whether we like it or not our education sector is in a sorry state and if care is not taken, as corruption continue to increase sporadically amongst public office holders, the sector will soon come to its feet begging for survival as the Nigerian state from 1999 to date has failed to meet up with the 26% budget on education recommended UN; in the 2017 budget proposal as observed by Premium Times December 16, 2016 #448,01 billion was allocated to education, representing about 6% of the #7.30 trillion budget contrary to the recommendation by UNESCO. The global organisation recommended the budgetary benchmark to enable nations adequately cater for rising education demands. The low budget on education and the gross mismanagement has led to decrepit facilities in the sector, general poor learning environment; in fact to underscore the worrisome situation as observed in Premium Times of December 16, 2016, no Nigerian University is ranked among the top 800 in the world or among the top 10 in Africa.

Another area that is not left out of the ugly effect of corruption in Nigeria is the sorry state of health facilities and manpower personnel to take care of over 170 million Nigerians adequately; corruption in Nigeria has almost crippled the health sector, as most often than money budgeted for medical facilities and drugs are looted by those responsible for procurement. Sometimes in a situation where drugs are bought, they turn out to be substandard lacked quality to cure the headache not to mention Malaria; our inability as a country to manage the outbreak of disease as seen in the recent outbreak of meningitis which the Present Zamfara state governor Yari, attributed to fornication is a total mockery of our resources and potentials as a country. We must not forget in a hurry, that, those who govern us had in the past and present failed to utilize public health facilities in the country, instead they travel to countries like Germany, Britain, and India for medical attention all to detriment of the masses that are left to die in primary health cares that almost if not completely synonymous with abattoirs where lives are lost daily due to corruption and mismanagement of public fund.

The most pertinent and critical question in the lips of Nigerians has always been why are the *crème de la crème* in Nigeria always seeking for medical tourism abroad? The answer is not farfetched, we cannot give what we don't have... the Nigeria health sector has suffered in the midst of plenty due to corruption and management of fund that should have been invested in the sector. Furthermore, as the crisis of development continue to flourish in past and present administration in Nigeria; unemployment growth, especially amongst the youths has become too worrisome. According to Amaize (2016) there are about 68 million Nigerian youths and to put that in context, it is about twice the population of Ghana; more than the population of South Africa and bigger than the entire population of the United Kingdom. If the Nigerian youth population were to constitute a nation, it would be the fourth biggest in Africa and 19th in the world.

To further shared the sentiment of Amaize (2016) in regards to unemployment crisis, was the APC Manifesto (2015) which observed that, the most serious threat to our collective well-being is

the crisis of our youth. An estimated 70% of our collective population is under the age bracket of 40 years. With 121 Universities, 18 million children in primary schools, 25,000 graduates emerging from various Universities, albeit poorly trained, but graduates all the same, we face a serious challenge because the jobs are not there for these young persons. we see our greatest assets as a nation, not the oil and gas or the solid minerals, but this massive human capital currently under untiled, living in pain and penury with no hope in sight and no dream of bright future soon to come. What would have happened if the billions of dollars stolen from the nation's treasury from 1999 to date has been invested in industries that would employ few percentage of these youths?

The past leaders however, prefer to loot our treasury, take it out to Swiss banks, Siberia and other Caribbean countries where only they and their cronies would leave comfortably at the very detriment of the masses. In fact, unemployed youth numbered about 11.1 million in 2012. Unemployment rate in Nigeria increased to 10.40 percent in the fourth quarter of 2015 from 9.90 percent in the previous years. The number of unemployed persons went up by 518,000 to 8 million and labour force population rose by 1 million to 76.95million (Aduge-Ani and Opaluwa, 2016) this indeed is a staggering and rather intimidating statistics, the simple question to ask is, has the present and past government put in the mechanism to check these worrisome crisis before us, devoid of corruption, nepotism and financial mismanagement?

Finally one area that has been completely neglected in the past by government as a result of corruption is good roads and communication networks in Nigeria; a practical example is the Niger bridge that has become a serious point of campaign by almost all government that comes to power in Nigeria from 1999 to date with a promise to complete the bridge, yet decades after the bridge has continued to struggle for survival, our roads are now sought of death traps, where even available have been un motor -able, death traps, disconnecting rural areas and an oil that lubricates the wheel that neglects the rural areas due to the persistent corruption and mismanagement of funds allocated to infrastructure in Nigeria.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This paper has discussed the correlation between corruption and crisis of development in Nigeria. The paper revealed that, despite the presence of abundant resources for development in the country, corruption has made it impossible for the government to translate these abundant resources to impact on the standard of Nigerians, which has led to increasing poverty level and decayed infrastructure in the country. The ICPC and EFCC remain the public face of government's war on corruption although other government measures, strategies and agencies against corruption abound. Interestingly, despite, the presence of these two anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria, corruption has been almost illegally legalized by those occupying public office and as such public funds meant for development purposes like the building of schools, roads, hospitals, industries and employment creation are syphoned by those in charge of procurement and these project are thereby abandoned, neglected and allowed to decay at the detriment of the masses. Therefore it behooves the government and the people that the two agencies, EFCC and ICPC are strengthened and invigorated so that they can fulfil their responsibilities effectively and efficiently.

The paper, therefore recommends that as a way out of Nigerian development crisis; The first step is for the government to strengthen the ability of the anti-graft agencies and at best make them independent from the influence of political elites and the executive so that these agencies will be able to perform their functions without the influence of government and will not be seen as a witch hunting agencies of the government anymore. Similarly, the anti-graft agencies should be equipped technologically with the data base information of Nigerians which can always be updated in order to encourage accountability of earnings and spending of Nigerians. The public should be oriented about the problems that corrupt practices create for the economy and the society at large, and be discouraged from participating in corrupt practices. The media and civil society groups have an important role to play here, the government should encourage access to information with the freedom of information laws that is in place.

The government should be ready to take a bold step to serve as an example by practicing good governance, transparency, accountability with economic issues so that Nigerians will begin to believe in the system of government. Unnecessary government spending on duplications of offices, and bureaucracies should be reduced to its bearable minimum. The fund should be used for developmental purposes to foster equal distribution of incomes, and the execution of developmental capital projects, etc.

New law that specifically deals with corrupt practices in all its facets should be enacted to stem the tide of judgment that were perceived too lenient, and be followed strictly when prosecuting corrupt offenders irrespective of their caliber or position in the society, double standard should be discouraged when dealing with the rich or the poor.

A paradigm shift on Nigeria's political landscape should be advocated as tremendous changes in the politics and leadership of Nigeria is needed such that mediocrity will give way for meritocracy (achieved vs ascriptive values) as democratic good governance will ensure economic prosperity for all and at the same time ensure a peaceful, strong and virile economy based on harmonious co-existence where tolerance will be the watch word. Such will put an end to this perennial religious violence, political and ethnic strives, alongside the fatalistically exalted political trend- corruption.

Finally, in trying to fix our problems, Nigeria leaders should invest in their home countries. This is necessary because without investment, unemployment thrives; poverty, hunger and starvation looms large and most importantly, underdevelopment soars higher than the eagles. The Billions of Dollars stashed away in foreign banks and homes are what is supposed to established companies; recruit people; services their payment; provide essential amenities that will make life worth living. Therefore, if Nigeria must develops, they most develop themselves by investing all their monies in their land.... Therefore, Nigerian leaders should repatriate those monies lodged in foreign Bank accounts and use them to develop their land.

References

- Achebe, C (1983). *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Enugu: (4th Edition) Publishers.
- Adesina, S O (2016). Nigeria and the Burden of Corruption in Canadian Social Science Vol. 12, No. 12, 2016, pp. 12-20
- Aduge-A. and Opaluwa, T. (2016), "What hope for Nigeria's Legion of Unemployed Youth"? Retrieved from <http://leadership.ng/features/526729/hope-Nigeria's-legion-unemployed-youths>
- Alanamu, A.S, etal (2009) "The Role of Religion in Combating Corruption in Nigeria". In Enweremadu D.D. and Okafor E.E. (eds), *Anti-Corruption Reforms in Nigeria Since 1999: Issues, Challenges and the Way Forward: IFRA Special Research Issues*, Vol.3, 2009 Chambers, R. (2004) *Ideas for Development*. IDS Working Paper 238. Sussex: ID
- Amaize, O (2016). "Buhari Should Focuses on Youth Development" Retrieved from <https://www.naija.com/466255-buhari-should-focus-on-youth-development.html>
- Fagbadebo, O. (2007). Corruption, Governance and Political Instability in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 1 (2): 028-037
- Ghana Centre for Democratic Development, (2001). *Governance, Democracy and Development in Africa: A Cultural Approach*. A Paper Present at the International Conference on the Cultural Approach to Development in Africa: Darkar. December 10-14.
- Igbuzor, O. (2008) Strategies for Winning the Anti-Corruption War in Nigeria. ActionAid Nigeria briefing Paper No 2

- Iyare, T. (2008). Corruption and the Crisis of National Values”, in Oyovbaire (ed) *Governance and Politics in Nigeria, The IBB and OBJ Years*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Nnoli, O (1990) *Path to Nigerian Development*: Enugu, Fourth Dimension Publishing Company.
- Nwabuzor, A. (2005). Corruption and Development: New initiatives in economic openness corruption and political development: A case-benefit analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, 417-427.
- Nye, J. (1967). Corruption and Political Development. *American Political Science Review* 61 (2): 417-427.
- Ogbeidim, M.M. (2012). “Political Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria Since 1960: A Socio-Economic Analysis” *Journal of Nigeria Studies*, 1(2).
- Ogundiya, S. (2010). Democracy and Good Governance: Nigeria's Dilemma. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 4 (6): 201-208.
- Premium Times Sunday, April 30, (2017) 2017 Budget: Again Nigeria Fails to Meet UN Benchmark on Education
- Premium Times February 12, (2017) EFCC Arrests Andrew Yakubu for Hiding #3.04 Billion Cash in Kaduna Slum
- Ribadu, N. (2006). *Corruption: the Trouble with Nigeria* <http://www.gam-ji.com/article5000/NEWS5530.htm>.
- Seers, D (1969). *The meaning of development Eleventh World conference of the Society for International Development* (pp.10-12). New Delhi.

- Rogers, E (1976) *"Inquiry in Development Communication"* in Asante, M. And Gudykunst, W.(eds.) *Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication*, Newbury Park, California: Sage PP. 67- 85
- Suberu, R.T. (1994). "The Democratic Recession in Nigeria Current History". May 1994. Pp. 213 & 216.
- The Guardian Newspaper*, 03 June (2015.) Buhari's war against Corruption
- The Nation Newspaper, October 16, (2016)
- Punch Newspaper, April 28, (2017) Jonathan's Pathetic Apologetics
- Todaro, M.P (1977) *Economics for a Developing World* (pp.43-49). London: Longman Group Limited.
- Transparency International (2004), Introduction to Political Corruption. Global Corruption Report, January.
- Transparency International (2013), Transparency International Calls on Nigerian President to Rescind Controversial Pardon of Corrupt Politician.
- Transparency International (2016), Transparency International Calls on Nigerian President to Rescind Controversial Pardon of Corrupt Politician.
- Uwakwe, O (2003). *Communication and National Development: Owerri: Africa Link Books*. PP 23-28 various editions of *Thisday* and *Daily Trust* newspapers were reviewed within this period (2011)
- Vanguard Newspaper, December 28, (2016) Over #5Trillion Projects Abandoned Across Nigeria

World Bank, (1999). *Compendium of African Government Performance: Good Governance and Conflict Management for Durable Peace and Sustainable Development*", UNDP.N.YVol. II. Liberia.

Zanna, H. (2008). EFCC: Where are the 23 Corrupt Governors? info@abujacity.org culled Sept. 03, 2008).