

Analyzing Corruption and Developmental Conundrum in Nigeria

Aishatu Morido Yanet

Centre for Strategic Research and Studies
National Defence College, Abuja

&

Ugwumba EGBUTA

Research Fellows, Centre for Strategic Research and Studies
National Defence College, Abuja

Abstract

The ultimate goal of every nation state is to create a stable and secure environment for progress and development. This is made possible through good governance that is free of corrupt tendencies. Corruption destroys institutions of government thereby under-developing the nation. Some of the indicators of the institutionalized corruption are unemployment, social unrest, injustice and depreciating national value, prestige as well as collapse of basic infrastructure such as power, transportation and education. These concerns translate into conflicts and criminality that undermine the country's national development. Accordingly, in the Nigerian context, the Federal Government has been responding to the ravaging corruption in the country through anti-corruption initiatives and institution building. This notwithstanding, corruption has continued to hinder development in Nigeria. This paper, therefore, seeks to interrogate the underlining factors hindering the development of the country. It focuses on corruption as it affects Nigeria's development. Utilizing development as a concept as well as theory, it aims at examining the interplay of factors that promotes corruption and underdevelopment thereby fanning the embers of conflict. Using both primary and secondary data, the paper finds out that constitutional deficiencies, weak institutions and deteriorating economic conditions are factors that promote conditions for corruption to thrive and a major setback in the effort towards curbing corruption in the country. The paper recommends among other things, that there should be a commitment to the Pursuit of Economic Self-reliance, Investment in Anti-Corruption Infrastructure and Technological Development and Political Will to Enforce Existing Legislations on Corruption.

Keywords: Corruption, Underdevelopment, Institution building, Unemployment, Conflict

DOI: [URL:https://doi.org/10.36758/ijpamr/v7n2.2021/06](https://doi.org/10.36758/ijpamr/v7n2.2021/06)

Introduction

The ultimate goal of every nation state is to create a stable and secure environment for progress and development. This is made possible through good governance that is free of tendencies such as corruption that impedes development. While it is difficult to give corruption a global or national narrative and consensus, it remains a major obstacle to achieving group, organizational or governmental goals and objectives. Corruption is a world-wide phenomenon that has no defined boundary and with devastating effect on national development. For instance, in the United States of America, President Trump was alleged to have used state power and resources to finance private businesses, though the investigative panel did not find him culpable of the allegation. (Aljazeera News, 2019).

In Africa and many other developing countries of the world, increasing corruption-related cases, supported by weak institutions frustrates efforts at dealing with such issues which, have remained a factor hindering development. Babalola (2007) posits that some African leaders such as late Mobutu Sese Seko of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Omar Bongo of Gabon were examples of state corruption. For instance, the DRC under Mobutu, from 1965 to 1998, witnessed a sustained institutionalised corruption and misappropriation of resources (Babalola, 2007). These corrupt propensities have continued to undermine national development in the DRC decades after the demise of Mobutu as witnessed by the ongoing crises in the country.

The independence of Nigeria in 1960 and the enthronement of Western-modeled democracy was a welcomed development, though this was short-lived as a result of military intervention in politics. Successive military interventions in Nigerian politics were all carried out on the pretext of coming to weed the nation from the ruins of corruption by political leaders (Iniye, 2018) (insert reference). paradoxically, the military institution have severally been fingered for the worsening state of the nation (insert reference). The institutionalization of corruption cuts across ethnic, religious, as well as political affiliations. Aloba (2006) asserts that there is hardly any institution of government that is not affected by corruption, citing strategic institutions such as: The Presidency, National Assembly, Public Services, the Judiciary and even the anti-corruption agencies that were created to deal with corruption-related offences. Institutions such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Crimes (ICPC) are all perceived by many to be ineffective, parochial, weak and in other occasions, perceived as a political tool used by political leaders to hunt or silence opposition (Aloba, 2006). It has been established that the prevalence of corruption in the country has created concern to the state of the underdevelopment of the country. Some of the indicators of institutionalized corruption include the level of unemployment, social unrest, injustice and depreciating national value and prestige as well as collapse of basic infrastructures such as power, transportation and education (Babalola, 2007). These deficiencies translate to conflicts and criminality which undermines the country's national development.

Accordingly, and in the Nigeria context, the Government at various levels have been responding to the growing call to rid the nation of corruption or at least contain it through targeted measures. Some of these measures, in the recent years include the creation of anti-corruption institutions, such as the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), ICPC (2000) and EFCC (2002) (Lowery-Derreck, 2005). This notwithstanding, corruption has continued to “fight back”, in the word of Nigerian Government, thus, hindering development. This paper therefore seeks to interrogate the underlining factors hindering development in Nigeria with specific emphasis on corruption. It focuses on the effect of corruption on Nigeria's development. The paper will be limited to the period between 2000 and 2019 when the FGN anti-corruption campaign was more pronounced. The paper is divided into five sections. The section that follows provides a conceptual context for corruption and development and also show the relationship between the concepts. Section three is the Nigerian context of corruption in retrospect. Section four presents the factors that propel corruption in Nigeria. The final section offers concrete suggestions on the way forward for Nigeria's Drive for Development and ways to curb corruption for national development.

Defining and Deconstructing Corruption and Development

This paper will review the concepts of corruption and development used in the work. This is with the aim of establishing a relationship between them to facilitate better understanding.

Corruption:

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) defines corruption as “the abuse of entrusted authority for private gains” (Lowery-Derreck, 2005). This definition views corruption from the perspective of misuse of entrusted powers without looking at other sectorial corruption. This, perception alone does not reflect the entire premise of the paper as it does not form enough yardstick for measuring underdevelopment, conversely, aggregate of multi-sectorial corruption leads to chronic underdevelopment.

Odekunle (2007) on the other hand argues that:

Corruption encompasses unilateral abuses by government officials such as embezzlement and nepotism as well as abuses such as bribery, extortion and fraud. Corruption arises in both political and bureaucratic offices and can be petty or grand, organized or unorganized. (Odekunle, 2007: 41)

Odekunle’s definition is more inclusive and it captures the essence and aspects that explains the term ‘corruption’ as denoted in this paper. Additionally, corrupt practices refer to acts of abuse of diverse forms whereby persons take advantage of their positions, to engage in illegal, dishonest, unwholesome acts while rendering services. It refers to those behaviours or actions that work towards breaking certain moral or social codes of conduct or administrative rules (Tanzi 1996; Lawal, 2006) cited in Uche, 2014).

Scholars such as Azi (2017) tries to make a distinction between what constitutes modern corruption and the ancient one. Early writers such as Aristotle and Plato traced the societal decadence of their time to the excessive concentration of power in the hands of few who in turn used all measures within their reach to retain power. However, in modern time, the spectrum of corruption has expanded beyond power relations to encompass even private life of individual members of the society. The paper compares the moral meaning of corruption to what is applicable to Nigeria because of the soaring level of moral decadence in the society. Transparency International (TI) defines corruption as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”. This definition represents a broader perspective where private agents also share responsibility with public servants.

Development:

The concept of development has been variously discussed in literature especially in the social sciences such that its definition has negated a single generally accepted definition. Development in human society is a many-sided phenomenon. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing (Rodney, 1972). Okoli and Onah (2002) averred that development involves progression, movement and advancement towards something better. Hence it is improvement on the material and non-material aspects of life involving actions, reactions and motions. They also observed that development goes beyond economic and social indicators to include the improvement of human resources and positive changes in their behaviour. Thus, what is missing in this definition of development is increase in citizens’ access to basic means of survival such as food, water and shelter; access to technological innovations; healthcare delivery; good education, and justice among others. This is what could be termed citizens-focused development or human development. If these are put in place, there will be an increase in the level of individual’s happiness thereby increasing their value perception. This is probably why Todaro (1982) defined development as a “multi-dimensional process involving the reorganization and re-orientation of the entire economic and social system.

This process of improving the quality of human life is dependent on the three important aspects of social; political and economic. This assertion reveals that development is not one directional in nature

Abuiyada (2018) sees development as comprehensive, with myriad of stages of growth. It is however not focused on a particular direction of growth. That is, it focuses on the different aspects of social, economic and political betterment of the people. Development is often confused with economic advancement, in the increase per capita income or gross national product. According to Offiong (2001), what many African states have experienced over the years is growth without development. Seers (1972) argue that development itself is the condition of realization of human personality. From a generic point of view, development is said to be achieved when there is undisputed evidences of a low level of poverty, high standard of living, provision of the basic necessities of life and preponderance of industrialization activities.

The conceptualization of development in the aspect of the state of national economy is referred to as the economic development but when it is mixed with other aspects like socio-economic, it definitely should be looking at the totality of the wellbeing of man hence the social or societal progression of man alongside his economic wellbeing completely defined a developed man.

Dudley (1969) wrote on the need to focus every development programme on uplifting the wellbeing of man. He wrote that 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 of these 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 central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubles (Eme & Emeh, 2012).

One would assume that Dudley was following Walter Rodney's assertion that development is universal because conditions leading to economic expansion were universal; hence everywhere, man was faced with the onerous task of survival by meeting some fundamental material needs; and better tools for production. These tools are materials for the exploitation of man's environment. This leads to Marx conception of development. The Marxists conceived development as: the ability of the people to exploit, manipulate and control their physical environment, as well as themselves and other individuals outside of themselves for the betterment of everybody and that of humanity. Marxists warned against the exploitation and manipulation of man by man.

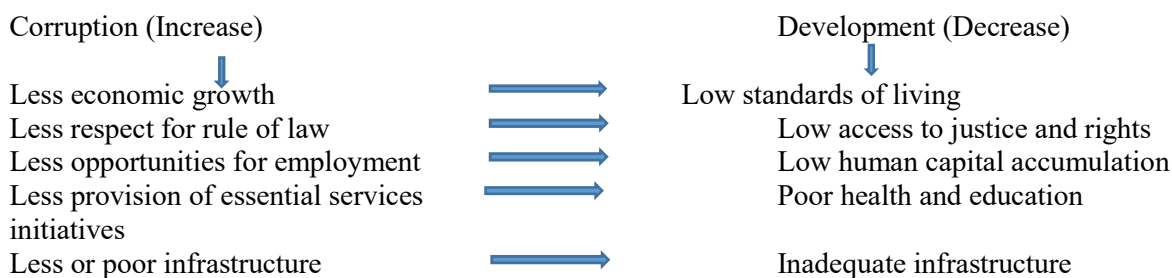
Nnadozie (2004) posits that man is viewed as both the subject and object of development hence development is taken as the ability and capacity of man to adequately interact with his physical environment and other individuals to constantly improve himself and humanity. This idea was succinctly captured by Nnoli (1981) when he wrote:

Development, first and foremost is a phenomenon associated with changes in man's humanity and creative energies, not in the capacity of the individual and society to control and manipulate the other individuals and societies for their own benefits and that of humanity at large. It is a process of actualizing man's inherent capacity to do things.

From the above review of the concept of development as a theory, it is clear that development of states takes place within interplay of factors such as: social, political and economic. In other words, by nature and focus of the study, corruption and development are measured from social, political and economic dimensions.

Relationship between Corruption and development in Nigeria

The concepts of corruption and development are divergent and they manifest differently from one environment to the other. While corruption constitutes a moral and ethical issue, it affects individuals, institutions and governance and it remains a bane to sustainable development in our clime. The relationship between the two concepts have been argued by different scholars to be either effective where strong institutions of government exist and negative where same institutions are weak. The conceptualisation from the perspectives presented above indicate that corruption affects development negatively in Nigeria, that is to say that increase in corruption causes development setbacks which indicates an inverse relationship with a direct effect. The illustration below further sheds light on the relationship between corruption and development in Nigeria:



Corruption denies the average citizen opportunities to improve the quality of their life hence putting the future of the majority of citizens in jeopardy.

Corruption versus Development in Nigeria Context

Up until the 19th century, Nigeria and other African states experienced different forms of social organization; ranging from regimented societies to centralized ones. The shape of political government instilled democracy, with full participation of citizens (Tangie, 2008). The system ensured unity, order and defensive mechanisms, by protecting its territories from internal or external attacks. However, during the period of colonialism, African states witnessed repatriation of produce, forced labour, and over taxation. Unfortunately, Belluci (2010: 12) argued that at the declaration of it's independence from colonial masters;

The State appeared as a modernizing force; a transformer of traditions that hampered development; strong and centralized, when not dictatorial; capable of defining and executing public policies and actively participating in all fields of the social and economic life of society.

At post-independence, Nigeria and other African states became victims of maladministration that were monumental in proportions, suppression of rudimentary freedom, vicious and destructive conflicts, political instability and corruption (Economic Report on Africa, 1994: 1). This is with emphasis that;

the economic news coming out of Africa has been one of unrelieved gloom. The 1980s have repeatedly and emphatically been described as a lost development decade, and the 1990s have not made a more auspicious beginning. In fact, while economic growth rates averaged to merely 2 per cent per annum during the 1980s, the regional GDP grew at an

even lower average annual rate of only 1.3 per cent, causing per capital incomes to fall by 1.8 per cent annually during the first four years of the present decade.

Again, this situation of underdevelopment transcended to the 21st century. Quoting Belluci (2010: 13), he argues that; in the second decade of the 21st Century, African states are still being suffocated by the effects of low production, economic and political crisis, civil wars, endemic health issues and the destruction of school systems. Despite some signs of recovery of economic indicators in recent years and having found new international partners such as China, India, Brazil among others, Nigeria is yet to discover a model with which to underpin its rebirth. Corruption has remained a major setback in the search for a path to anchor the nation's development drive.

History and Dimensions of Corruption and Development in Nigeria

Corruption predates the modern Nigerian state. The autocratic nature of colonial administrations as seen in its different policies implemented in different colonies suppressed any form of resistance against perceived injustice that manifest in maladministration. Such unrestrained injustices received full support from their home governments. The colonial officials also created internal collaborators that aided and abetted the external forces in under developing the developing world. These categories of people are the people Frantz Fanon described as *fantom bourgeoisie*. These people allowed the resources of underdeveloped world to be exploited while they got enriched by the proceeds.

Thus, colonialism brought with it some kind of authoritarian reign whereby the colonized people were only engaged in menial kind of labour while the few elites occupied dignified positions. This is what Dudley (1973) described as a kind of praetorian or military rule that sort to accumulate capital for the development of their home country. The colonial authorities and their collaborators within the colonies presided over a fraudulent and predatory system that corruptly syphoned the resources of the colonized people. This corrupt system was inherited by Nigeria and by extension, Africa, at independence. The period of decolonization witnessed the colonial masters progressively transferring formal authority to rule to the 'petty bourgeoisie' in Nigeria and elsewhere. It is these set of successors that progressively followed the legacies of their defunct colonial masters in institutionalizing practices that aided the sustenance of corruption.

Hence this practice of looting and accumulation was perfected by early political leaders after independence, a practice that drew various countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Mali among others into deep economic crisis. The drive to take these countries out of economic misfortune for national development compelled the leaders into accepting various stringent aides from their erstwhile colonial masters, furthering the institutionalization of corruption and underdevelopment. This is what was later termed as neo-colonialism that has continued to condition Africa's socio-political, economic and cultural life as an appendix of Europe (Austine, Charles and Raymond, 2013).

Thus, corruption began to take deeper root in the country beginning from 1956 when the first probe panel, headed by Justice Stafford Foster-Stuton was set up to probe Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe for allegedly investing £1 million of public funds in the Africa Continental Bank (Ifionu, Ajimatanrareje, Oyego and Madueme 2005). The Panel observed that Dr Azikiwe's conduct in the matter fell short of expectations. Similarly, shortly after independence, a corruption allegation probe was instituted against Chief Obafemi Awolowo in 1962. Awolowo was alleged to have unlawfully authorized loans of about £7.2 million to the National Investment and Properties Corporation (NIPC). Other notable political leaders such as Anthony Enahoro and Bisi Onabanjo were alleged to have benefited from the Corporation's funds for private use as against the law. The Commission set up to investigate the

alleged corrupt act, headed by Justice GB Coker found many notable public officers in government wanting in various acts of corruption (Iroanusi, 2006).

The fall of the First Republic was blamed largely of institutionalised corruption by the early political leaders of different regions in the country. The young revolutionists who led the first military coup in Nigeria were very uncomfortable with the turn of events in the nation. Even the populace had hope in the military taking over the affairs of governance in order to weed the nation of decadence (Ademoyega, 1981). Since then; Nigeria has recorded series of military interventions that aimed at ridding the nation of corruption. For instance, Nigerians placed their hope on the Second Republic under President Shehu Shagari as an opportunity to turn the economic fortune of the country. However, this did not happen, rather, the nation experienced another endemic corruption that spiralled into another military intervention, thereby stalling the development drive of the nation. Though the military regime that toppled the second republic made effort to restore discipline and curb corruption in the nation, that regime did not last and the succeeding regimes led by Babangida and Abacha could not sustain that agenda. The Babangida regime was equally alleged to have corruptly appropriated USD 12.4 billion from the 1991 Gulf oil windfall saga (Iroanusi, 2006). Similarly, decades after the death of General Abacha, discoveries of the magnitude of looting that took place under his regime continues to unfold.

Not until the coming of fourth republic that Nigeria began to implement policies that focus on changing the negative narratives. The result of this was the establishment of two key anti-corruption institutions. To this effect, the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) was established in 2000 while the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was established in 2002 by the same Administration (Etiebet, 2012). These anti-corruption institutions have tried to give good account of themselves over the years by prosecuting very high profile corruption cases though without muscling enough political will conclusively make those high profile cases to serve as deterrent. There have been similar cases against former Heads of States of other countries such as Jacob Zuma of South Africa who was found guilty of official corruption and is currently serving a prison term in his country.

Factors that fan the Embers of Corruption in Nigeria

There are a number of factors that make corruption to thrive in the country. These include: weak institutions, criminal justice system, deteriorating economic conditions, constitutional deficiency

a. Weak Institutions

Not until recently, Nigeria did not have strong institutions that would discourage acts of corruption. Anti-corruption agencies such as the ICPC, EFCC and the CCB established to strengthen governance and sanitise the system by bringing to justice every act of looting, embezzlement, misappropriation and any other act of official corruption have not lived up to the expectation of the average Nigerian. Some have alleged that these institutions are systematically manipulated by politician to witch-hunt those in oppositions and send them out of the political space. However, where the institutions of government are strong enough to deal with any national question, there will be every possibility of not having a single individual or group of political figures that would exercise more powers than those enshrined in the constitution.

b. Nigeria's Criminal Justice System

Any nation that wants to achieve the desired development must have a good and acceptable criminal justice system. Functional criminal justice system results in the institutionalisation of social justice and socio-economic stability. These are the indicators of development. Paradoxically, Nigeria is still far from boasting of a social justice system where the greater majority are not safe in their own home. Dike (2008) opined that Nigeria, in this 21st Century is utilising obsolete legal frameworks in dealing with criminal justice. He argued that the two main legislations in Nigeria, the Criminal Code (applicable to the states in the south) and the Penal Code (applicable to the states in the north) were all promulgated by the colonial system 1902 and 1960 and their provisions do not reflect the existing and current realities in present day Nigeria.

The setting up of anti-graft agencies such as ICPC, EFCC, CCB were done to investigate and prosecute financial and related crimes but this system has not lived up to expectation and have helped to weaken the judicial and justice system (Lamorde, 2007), (Osibanjo and Ajayi, 2010). High profile cases such as that of former Inspector-General of the Nigeria Police, Tafa Balogun who was accused of stealing over 17 billion naira of Police funds and was only jailed for 6 months after a plea bargain for return of some of the misappropriated funds and properties. (Akintola, 2010). Nigeria's criminal justice system lacks enforcement mechanism, or rather, political will, especially when it involves very high-profile cases. This remains a critical factor in the fight against corruption in Nigeria.

c. Deteriorating Economic Condition:

Economy is central in the affairs of humans. Nigeria's economic indices have consistently been rated low in terms of per capital income and other economic and development indicators. This has had an adverse effect in the area of job creation, wage labour, unemployment, out-of-school syndrome and over all, low standard of living. Hence, with pressure on families for survival (though this is not enough argument to engage in illegitimate activities) many found this as ground to indulge in corrupt practices. Other pull factors such greed has pushed many others into financial crimes.

d. Constitutional Deficiencies:

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is perceived by many as constituting a major set-back to the fight against corruption thereby impeding development efforts. Constitutional experts have made case for a major review of the constitution, however, this has not happened. For instance, certain categories of public office holders such as the President, Vice President, State Governors and their Deputies among others enjoy a sort of immunity that hinders the smooth operation of the justice system in event that such officer is involved in corruption related crimes. For instance, section 308 of the 1999 Constitution exempts them from prosecution while in office. (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999). Other high profile government officials that are not covered by this provision have access to human and financial resources including state security to protect them from being treated like every other person. This results in executive recklessness, abuse of power and tyranny of the minority.

EFCC record has it that from 1999 till date, over 12 former State Governors have been investigated for corrupt practices by the anti-graft agency (EFCC Report, 2012), however, it is not clear if the cases were conclusively carried out and appropriate punishment meted on them. While immunity covered them when the offences were committed, the long period spent in office before commencement of trial is enough to alter the expected justice in an already weakened justice system.

This has provided a kind of cover for such officials to loot resources that would have been channelled into development thereby promoting corruption and underdevelopment. This has made politics a big business in Nigeria, where it has become easier to steal and get caught and use the proceed of the ill-gotten wealth to buy your freedom than to do legitimate business (Genyi, 2019). Anything spent to secure a political office is regarded as an investment, which matures immediately one gets into office.

Way Forward for Nigeria's Drive for Development

From the study, addressing the development conundrum in Nigeria occasioned by corruption requires a comprehensive approach that is all inclusive promoting transparency and accountability. These could be seen in the following ways:

i. Pursuit of Economic Self-reliance: Over reliance on revenue from oil has made Nigeria a monolithic economy. The management of the resource and finances that accrue from it has been daunting. Corruption in the oil sector has provided a gateway for siphoning of huge resources that would have been channeled into development. Nigeria can strengthen the potential of other sectors like the extractive industries which has the potential to generate enormous development finance. Even though efforts have been made in this area, it is germane to reduce the risk of illicit financial leakage which the industry is associated with by promoting transparency and accountability within government and private multilateral corporations in the extractive sector. Another area is to strengthen support to small and medium scale enterprises, which also generate humongous resources for development. The dwindling economy has place pressure on prices and profits which affects the quality goods produced and services rendered.

ii. Investment in Anti-Corruption Infrastructure and Technological Development: Investment in anti-corruption infrastructure that is technological based is vital for the anti-corruption drive if Nigeria must attain her goals of development. Technology and innovation are driving development globally.

iii. Political Will to Enforce Existing Legislations on Corruption: To pave way for development, Nigeria must ensure proper implementation of legal and normative frameworks on anti-corruption like the United Nations Convention against Corruption and the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, as well as regional and national instruments. At the national level, Governments can also activate legislative reform or policy review that will enhance the fight against corruption with robust enforcement and remedial measures to serve as deterrence to would be violators.

iv. Education: this is an indispensable knowledge for growth in Nigeria. Through constant research and development, Nigeria will have the chance to compete for growth with other powers. Without appropriate education, the country will remain static, as claimed by Eurocentric scholars. Mass illiteracy in particular is the bane of Nigeria's development and this has the potential to dwarf every effort at development.

v. Government of Nigeria should establish special courts for the trial of corruption cases to avoid unnecessary delay.

vii. The government should eliminate the duplication of mandate between EFCC and ICPC for more effective implementation of anti-corruption policy, should also ensure full independence from political interference on theses anti-corruption agencies;

Conclusion

Corruption has proven to be a critical factor undermining governments ability to serve its citizens right. The corruption and development conundrum in Nigeria is just one example out of many that have consistently put the nation in a backward trend with very disturbing indicators that are threatening sustainable development. It was expatiated that a relationship between corruption and development exists because the former has a direct effect on the latter. Utilizing development as a concept and theory, the paper examined the factors that promote corruption and under development which are determined by social, political and economic dimensions rooted in a particular environment. It was discovered that corruption affects every facet of life in Nigeria and curbing it would require a comprehensive approach that is all inclusive promoting transparency and accountability. Conclusively a way forward was proposed for addressing the development conundrum in Nigeria propelled by corruption.

References

- Abuiyada R., (2018). Traditional Development Theories Have Failed to Address the Needs of the Majority of People at Grassroot Levels with Reference to GAD. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*. Volume 9(9)
- Ackerman, S. R. (2009). *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences and Reform*, (Berlin: Alderman Press), p.2.
- Odekunle, F. (2007). *Corruption in Development: Definitional Methodological and Theoretical Issues*, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books), p.41.
- Ademoyega, A. (1981). *Why We Struck*, (Ibadan, Evans Brothers), p.87.
- Akintola, A. (2010). "Crime and Nigeria Criminal Justice System" *The Nigerian Punch Newspaper* (Lagos), 30 June 2010, p.51.
- Alobo, J. (2006). *Corruption in the Rock*, (Abuja: Josim Publishing House), p. 8.
- Austine, E.; Charles, M.V & Raymond, A.O.(2013). *Corruption in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective*. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol.3, (16)p1-9
- Azi, F.A. (2017). *An Evaluation of Nigerian National Anti corruption Strategy*. *European Journal of Research in Social Science*, Vol5 (5) p 1-9
- Babalola, E. A. (2007). *Transparency Yesterday and Today*, ICPC Monograph Series No.4, (Abuja: First Regional Solution Ltd, 2007), p.18.
- Belluci B. (2010). *The State in Africa. The Perspective of the World Review*. Volume 2 (3)
- Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) as amended, Section 308.
- Daudu, B. (2014), "Meeting the Humanitarian Challenges of Internally Displaced Persons Generation: Case Study of Selected African Countries". In Uche M. Nwankwo et el, (Eds) *Towards Peace, Security and Sustainable Development in Africa*. Mediateam IT Publishers, Berlin. Pp 287
- Dike, E. (2008). *Corruption in Nigeria: A New Paradigm for Effective Control*, (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press)
- ECA, *Economic Report on Africa* (1994). Addis Ababa, April 1994.p:1
- Elaigwu, J. I. (2011). *Nigeria: Yesterday and Today for Tomorrow*. Essay in Governance in Nigeria, (Jos: Aha Publishing House Ltd)
- Eme, O. I., & Emeh, I. E. J. (2012). "Bureaucracy and Rural Development; the Role of Public Administration in National Development: The Nigerian Perspective". *Global Journal of Management and Business Research*. Volume 12 Issue 4 Version 1.0 March 2012. Pp.19-40.

- Ifionu, O., Ajimatanrareje, Y., Oyego, S., and Madueme, E., (2005) (Eds), "Nigeria: Corruption in High Places 1960 – 1986", Special Feature Report, Newswatch Magazine (Lagos), 7 September 2005, p. 10.
- Interview (2021). Edwin-Ezeh Ruth Amarachi, Research Fellow, National Defence College (NDC). "Corruption and Development Challenges in Nigeria". Conducted at the CSRS, NDC, Abuja on 9 Sep 2021.
- Iroanusi, S.O. (2006). Corruption: The Nigerian Example, (Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications).
- Lamorde, I. (2007). "The New offensive," Zero Tolerance, a Magazine of the EFCC, (Abuja), January, 2007, p. 14.
- Lowery-Derreck, V. (2005). Corruption as a Development Challenge, (Washington: US Agency for International Development Publications), pp.1-2.
- Nnadozie, O.U. (2006) External Forces, Democracy and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: A Prognosis. A paper presented at Two-Day International Workshop on global and Regional Hegemonic dilemmas in the South held in Bangkok Thailand between 29th and 30th.
- Nnoli, O (1986). "Introduction to Politics", Lagos, Longman Groups Ltd.
- Odekunle, F. (2006). Fighting Corruption and Organized Crime in Nigeria: Challenges for the New Millennium, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd), p.123.
- Offiong, D.A., (2001). Globalisation: Post-Neodependence and Poverty in Africa. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers
- Orogun, M. (2011). Good Governance and Freedom of Information Act an Analytical Overview (Lagos: SESCO Publications), p. 29.
- Osibanjo, Y. and Ajayi, O. (2010). Money Laundering: Perspectives on Corruption and other Economic Crimes in Nigeria. (Lagos: Animashaun Publishers), pp. 58 – 82.
- Rodney, W. (1972). How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Washington: Howard University Press
- Todaro, M. (1992) *Economic for a Developing World: An Introduction to Principles, problems and Policies for Development*". London, Longman Group Limited.
- Saliu, H. A. (2010). Perspectives on Nation-Building; and Government Transparency Initiative: Political and Legal Issues, (Ed). (Lagos: Concept Publication Limited), p. 244.
- United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Index Report, (2018).