

MANIFESTATIONS AND IMPACTS OF CORRUPTION ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

OKUNOLA, Muyiwa Olabode

Department of Political Science, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State
Correspondence E-mail: okunolamuyiwa20@gmail.com

UMARU, Ado

Department of Political Science, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State
E-mail: adoumaru1900@mail.com

&

HASSAN, Salisu Inusa

Department of Political Science, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State
E-mail: salisfuk@gmail.com

Abstract

Nigeria is one of the blessed countries in African continent with natural, human and material resources and the second largest economy in Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the Nigeria's huge oil wealth, the country has remained highly underdeveloped, littered with infrastructural decay, insecurity while poor governance and service delivery have hindered economic growth thus leaving the general public in abject poverty. This horrible and pitiable condition is not unconnected with the manifestation and unmitigated level of corruption in the country. It was on this that this paper examined the manifestations and impacts of corruption on democratic governance in Nigeria. The paper made use of secondary data and adopted the elite theory as the theoretical framework for its analysis. It posited that corruption is the bane of Nigeria's underdevelopment such that it has eaten deep into all facets of the Nigerian society. This in consequence placed the wealth of the nation in wrong hands, wastage of scarce resources which disrupts services delivery and high cost of governance. The paper suggested stringent punishment for corrupt acts, reform to be institutionalized to increase transparency, accountability and good governance and implementation of other institutional reforms that would lay solid foundation for economic development.

Keywords: Accountability, Bureaucracy, Democracy, Economy, Institution, Nigeria.

1.0 Introduction

It may not be an overstatement to say that corruption in Nigeria has reached cancerous proportion, so pervasive is this phenomenon in African continent that it has become a threat to good governance, democratic processes and fair business transaction in a competitive environment. As the World Bank (1992:271) admits in its report on *Governance and Development*, the causes of corruption are rooted in particular political and economic conditions of each country and as such, its causes are as complex as the types of corruption are varied. Basically, corruption is the most serious cause of financial crisis experienced by developing nations immediately after independence and indeed part of the causes for military

intervention of January 15, 1966 in Nigeria. The abundance of wealth and resources of the nation has little or no impact on the lives of the people, as majority live in abject poverty. Thus, Mimiko (1998) traces the institutionalization of corruption in Nigeria to the Babangida military dictatorship when he argued that under the eight year-rule of Ibrahim Babangida, corruption was more legalized as government itself took the lead in what became known as the “settlement syndrome”. Corruption as of today has become the norm, the effect of military rule and their civilian collaborators in governance had modernized corruption over the years such that it has become part of the Nigerian society. Basically, any country where corruption became the norm will remain perpetually poor. On this note, Odunuga (2012: 10) posits that with “the way the scale at which this nation’s economy is being sucked dry by the incorrigible kleptomaniacs in the system, it is becoming inevitable that some sort of rules of engagement on corruption would have to be developed in order to save the country from slipping into permanent paralysis”

In fact, corruption in Third World nations has been a global concern and it is receiving serious global attention particularly from Transparency International and other agencies. This is amidst constant call for transparency, accountability and adherence to ideals of democratic principles. The high level of corruption in Nigeria is due to poor leadership and bad governance which in turn make corruption to be endemic. Today, corruption is very rampant in both public and private sectors and it manifests itself through nepotism and favoritism, bribes, fraud, etc. Basically, the ravenous and devastating issue of corruption and corrupt practices touches all in its various forms of gratification, influence and tardiness, etc. (Ogbonna, 2014).

The emergence of new democratic regime in 1999 was a new dawn in the history of Nigeria. This is not unconnected with decades of military rule with its attendant effects on political, social and economic system of the Nigerian state. However, with the establishment of anti-corruption agencies - the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) - to tackle the menace of corruption in Nigerian society, the achievement so far has not been encouraging. Though, a number of high profile cases have been dealt with in recent times, having convicted the likes of Senator Joshua Dariye of Plateau State for diversion of ecological funds and former governor of Taraba State, Jolly Nyame, yet, corrupt practices persist at various levels of governance. The festering tumor of corruption in Nigeria’s political life has no doubt dealt a severe blow to quality of governance and accountability in governance which had impacted negatively by transforming the citizens to abject poverty. In view of this, the paper examines the manifestations and impacts of corruption on governance in Nigeria. This paper is divided into four (4) sections. Section one deals with the introduction and the statement of the problem. Section two discusses conceptual clarifications (i.e. corruption, democracy and governance) and theoretical framework. The third section dwells on manifestation of corruption and why anti-corruption has failed in Nigeria. The last section examines the impact of corruption, while conclusion and recommendations follow.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

One of the greatest challenges facing Nigeria and her democratic system is corruption. Haruna and Zamfara (2016) assert that Nigeria is blessed with both human and natural resources necessary for development and progress but its citizens are still languishing in poverty due to corrupt practices. Thus, corruption is the major obstacle to the socio-economic and political development in Nigeria for decades. Similarly, the nation’s development is inhibited by corruption which results in slow economic growth, reduced investment, low educational

attainment, etc. Nowadays, corruption is prevalent in the public sector of the Nigeria state and manifests itself primarily through tender, fraud, nepotism, favoritism, lack of accountability and bribes. Corruption, according to Klitgaard (1988) is an ethical and criminal problem which has been discussed throughout history. It is “crime against humanity” (Haruna and Zamfara, 2016:64). Widespread corruption in Nigeria typically signifies a symptom that Nigerian state is functioning poorly and it symbolizes both failure of leadership and good governance. It is not disputable that the vicious effects of corruption today in Nigeria has led to the creation of social tension, ‘brain drain’ of educated people, administrative inefficiency and injustice.

2.0 Conceptual Clarifications

2.1 Corruption

The term corruption is defined as behavioral attitude that is contrary to the rules and agreed norms (Onyeziri, 2004). The definition centered on public office which relates to public duties and deviations from acceptable norms and regulations guiding public office holders. Corruption, as is being witnessed today in Nigeria seems to have become a practical norm since the inception of Nigerian nationhood in 1960. It has indeed become endemic over the years due to some fundamental factors, such as long years of military rule, leadership and institutional failures in the nation’s political system. It is endemic, pervasive and has become widespread, that it appears, as if, it has been acceptable as a norm in Nigeria (Gire, 2010). It was on this note that Achebe (1983:1) lamented that “the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership”. He further argued that Nigerians are corrupt because the system under which they live today makes corruption easy and profitable. Corruption is a wide range of illegal practices. Therefore, corruption is a deviant behaviour associated with gain and is exacted at public expense (Alatas, 1990; Friedrich, 1972). Corruption can take the form of bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, patronage, graft and embezzlement. Thus, Akinyemi (2010:10) argued that the political class in Nigeria has “reduced governance to kleptocratic system, which literarily means rule by thieves”. Similarly, scholars had at various conferences submitted that corruption entered the Nigerian political system when the elites that took over from colonial masters after independence shifted from the bureaucratic administration that emphasized good governance and accountability to one that glorified the sovereignty of politics (Kempe and Bornwell, 2000).

Corruption in Nigeria had permeated Nigerian’s political life such that in 2009, Transparency International (IT) ranked Nigeria 130th position out of 180 countries, as the most corrupt nation of the world (Akinyemi, 2010). Similarly, in February 19, 2018, Transparency International and Corruption Perception Index (TICI) released deteriorating and damaging report on the level of corruption in Nigeria, as the country was ranked 148th out of 180 countries surveyed which were under the grip of corruption. It was estimated (according to the United Nations Offices on Drug and Crime) “that \$400b was stolen from Nigerian treasury between 1960 and 1999” (Akinyemi, 2010). Similarly, on May, 2017, the Independent Policy Institute and Research (Chatham House) reported that \$480b and \$182b were stolen from Nigeria between 1960 and 1999 and between 2005 and 2014 respectively. It is important to reiterate that corruption not only persists in Nigeria alone but all countries that experienced military dictatorship in their political life because they rule with decree and edicts and as such not accountable to the people.

2.2 Democracy

Democracy is defined as a form of government in which supreme power is vested in the majority of the people collectively and is administered by them or by officers appointed by them. Abraham Lincoln offered one of the simplest definitions of democracy “as government of the people by the people and for the people”. It was on this note that Ukase (2014) buttressed that democracy demands that people should be governed on the basis of their consent and mandate, freely given to establish a government which is elected, responsive and accountable to the people.

Democracy as a system of government means the rule of the people as contrasted with one man or group of people rule. This means the people are both rulers and the ruled. This is in sharp contrast with all other forms of government (i.e.) monarchy, dictatorship and oligarchy. The core principle of democracy is self - rule. The word itself comes from the Greek (demokratia), which means rule (Kratos) by the people. It was on this note that Bello and Yusuf (2012) defined democracy as a political system that exists to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers selected through fair, honest and periodic elections which candidates freely compete for votes.

2.3 Governance

World Bank (1994) defines governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development. There is no single answer to the question of what is good governance. Governance refers to the “relationship between civil society and state, between rulers and the ruled, the government and the governed” (Ismail and Pierre- Land, 1991). Governance does not only “occupy the central stage of development discourse but it is also considered as the fundamental component to be incorporated in development policy of the developed and developing Nation” (Hye, 2000). Governance can be used in several contexts, such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance (Benson, 2010). However, governance does not only embrace issues, such as transparency, accountability and probity but also all aspects of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Therefore, good governance is the ability of government to judiciously use the nation’s resources to uplift the life of her citizens, zero tolerance for corruption and accountability. Akanbi (2014:154) simplifies good governance as “effective and efficient usage of public administration, good policies and best management of nation’s resources on the right channels”.

The core characteristics of good governance according to Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1994) are as follow:

--The political rulers and government officials are both held accountable to the ruled for their processes and more particularly that the legitimacy of government is regularly established through some well - defined open process of public choice, such as elections, referendum, etc. (Article 21).

--The safety and security of citizens is assured (Articles 3 and 5) and the rule of law prevails, such that contracts can be fairly enforced both among private operators (individual or enterprises) and between a private operator and the state.

--Citizens should be legally protected from arbitrary and capricious action by public authorities (Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 28).

--The ready availability of information that will permit accountability to be practices, laws to be correctly applied, markets to function and people to be creative and innovative (Article 19).

-- Public agencies are responsive to the need of the public and social and economic development is promoted for the benefit of all citizens in an equitable manner (Articles 22, 23, 24 and 25).

--Freedom of association and expression of opinions (Article 19).

The above characteristics fundamentally described idea of good governance, especially as it relates to dimension of governance

2.4 Democratic Governance and Manifestation of Corruption in Nigeria: An Overview

The key elements of democracy are full participation of citizens in government, accountability, transparency and rule of law. All these elements are fundamental tenets of good governance and where they are not available, it results to bad governance. However, with the resurgence of democratic rule in 1999, the link between corruption and democratic governance had become strong and these include electoral malpractice, lack of intra-party democracy, grand corruption, impunity and reckless over ambition of political elites among others. Therefore, in an attempt to link democratic governance and corruption, Uduigwomen (2007:202) advanced seven (7) typologies of corruption in most democratic system in the world. These are:

--**Autogenic corruption** This involves just the perpetrator himself, as most of the times he/she capitalizes on the ignorance of others at the time to excel;

--**Defensive corruption** It arises whenever an individual faces an unpleasant situation and is looking for a way out? In this case, bribery comes in;

--**Exotic corruption** When a person coercively, methodically demands for something in exchange of services;

--**Incentive corruption** This involves the act of ‘watering the ground’ in anticipation of future favor;

--**Nepotistic corruption** It entails unjustified appointment of friends, relations, party sycophants to public offices in violation of the accepted guidelines;

--**Supportive corruption** This involves actions taken to protect the existing corruption; and

-- **Trans-active corruption** It involves two or more corrupt minds who will willingly agree to be parties in crime provided they are at advantage.

These (corruption) typologies aptly described the current situation in Nigeria with regard to its democratic governance where corrupt practices unfold in various ways. This however informs the current three manifestation of corruption in Nigeria that include the following:

2.5 Political corruption

Political corruption has become a significant feature in Nigeria politics and has been used not only to acquire wealth and status but as a method of accumulating and retaining political power. Basically, the advent of multiparty system since 1999 in Nigeria has introduced new dimension to the scale of corruption in Nigeria. The transition to democracy has begun with bold promises made by former President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999 after decades of military rule and failed transitions programme. However, since 1999 to date, there have been several elections and transitions from one government to another, of which have been marked by controversies, widespread corruption and irregularities in electoral process. It may be difficult to measure the extent of political corruption, however, Charles (2000) asserts that there are several indicators which can reveal the extent to which corrupt practices impeded the smooth transition to a more accountable, transparent, competitive political and economic system. According to him, there is a crisis of legitimacy resulting in political instability that has discouraged investment. More disturbing nowadays are vote-buying, abuse of electoral rules, gross misuse of public funds and

state facilities for partisan campaign has become an integral part of contemporary Nigerian democratic practice. Similarly, inducing the electorates with money on the queue during election hours, exchange of material gifts for political support has become the norm. It is a fact that majority of Nigerian past leaders, governors, and National Assembly members are either under EFCC probe or on court cases over corrupt practices. Not surprisingly, there have been cases of ‘Dasukigate’ scandal, Diazzani A. Madueke and the diversion of \$20bn oil revenue, Maina saga and many more. These days, it is common for Nigerian politicians to cross from one party to the ruling party with the tendency to escape prosecution from anti-graft agencies. This scenario has cast doubts on the desirability and sincerity of government in the fight against corruption.

2.6 Bureaucratic corruption

Fundamentally, a general perspective of Nigerian bureaucratic corruption must begin with some understanding on structural formation of the country which was obsession with high centralization of both political and fiscal powers at the centre. It is a federal state but unitary in practice, as the largest percentage of resources resides in the central government. This had in consequence encouraged corruption, profligacy and abuse of office in various forms. It is therefore argued that the Nigerian administrative bureaucracy evokes the images of an old ox that refuses to move without prodding through bribes (Charles, 2000). With the current lamentation on the worsening economic situation in the country, the temptation for public servants to enrich themselves through dubious means is very strong. It is not an overstatement that democratic rule has changed the pattern of corrupt practices in Nigeria. Politicization of bureaucracy by past administrations in Nigeria has worsened the level of bureaucratic corruption in Nigerian public service and has been deeply infiltrated by political appointments and political consideration which in turn influence how it operates (Charles, 2000). He observed further that, “in a system like this, where political corruption is the mainstay of the regime, this is bound to spill over into the bureaucracy”. For instance, it was revealed that EFCC made a discovery of \$9.8m from ex- NNPC GMD, Andrew Yakubu from a slum in Kaduna state (Nigerian Daily Post 11th May, 2018). The dismissal of former Secretary to the government of the federation, Babashir Lawal, over abuse of office is another reference point on level of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria.

2.7 Electoral corruption

Electoral corruption has always been a feature of Nigerian politics for several decades and has been used not only for accumulation of wealth but also the method of acquiring power and perpetuating it. Politicians tend to use bribes to buy votes during and after election. While it is one thing for the electorates to collect money from politicians and another thing is to vote for the politicians. In fact, Humphrey Nwosu, the former INEC Chairman under former President Babangida military regime once lamented that Nigerian voters are corrupt because they would take money from one candidate and vote for another (Ibrahim and Odekunle, 2001). They (politicians) offer bribes to manipulate electoral results. Rivers state is a pointer where some INEC officials were allegedly involved in manipulating electoral results during 2015 general elections. In fact, it was revealed that EFCC arrested the Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) of Rivers state over #650m bribes for manipulation of electoral results (Nigerian Daily Post, 27th July, 2015). It is therefore not surprising, the beginning of the Fourth Republic was marred with allegations of corruption, fraud and other abuses of power at various levels of governance. In the just concluded Ekiti and Osun States’ governorship elections, there were

alleged cases of electoral fraud, vote buying and alterations of electoral result sheets. This ugly scenario had exposed the pattern and dimension corruption plays out in Nigerian political system.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

This study focuses on manifestations and impacts of corruption on democratic governance in Nigeria. In view of this, the paper made use of elite theory in analyzing the topic. The pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria has to be examined from the nature and character of the ruling elites that emerged after the country's independence. Fundamentally, the position of elite theory runs contrary to tenets of democracy (equality of individual). The elite groups believe that there are the chosen minority elements of the population who by virtue of their education, wealth, economic and political status must dominate and rule perpetually. The elite groups cut across all facets of human endeavor and their goal is to dominate and create two sets of classes in a society. The position of contemporary Nigerian elites is at variance with fundamental tenets of democracy which prescribed equalities, liberties and fundamental human rights among other attributes. This however, explains the self-centered orientation inherited by Nigerian elites in post-independence period. It is therefore, not surprising that many theorists of African politics trace the problem of political corruption to debauchery of colonial rule (Ekeh, 1975). The first generation of Nigerian elites that took over state apparatus of governance from the colonial masters was heavily dependent on western countries for economic support and political mentorship. As the country's economy became a rentier one, the structure of neo-colonialism was thus established. With little or no idea on art of governance, Nigerian elites assumed power but lacked material base to develop. The new elites took over power, developed and propagated all forms of primitive accumulation; through kickbacks, looting of state treasury and other forms of corrupt practices. This in consequence led to series of contradictions into political life of the first Republic which translate into systemic corruption and pillage of state resources and among other factors culminated into the collapse of the Nigerian first Republic. Therefore, the struggles of emerging elites for state power and primitive accumulation are the underlying factors for grand corruption in Nigeria. Odinlilu (2010) observed that political mentality in Nigeria presently is that politics is a means of acquiring wealth and that the end justifies the means. Thus, corruption is rampant at the corridors of power than private establishment with several Governors, Permanent Secretaries, Senators and House of Representatives members are under the watch list of EFCC. On this note, Ibrahim and Odekunle (2001) observed that the Nigerian state has been transformed into a patrimonial and rentier one in which those who are in control of state power and strategic bureaucratic offices used their positions for private gains.

3.1 Factors Responsible for Corruption in Nigeria

There are many factors responsible for corruption among Africa countries including Nigeria. Adedeji (1995) argues that "lack of real accountability has been regarded elsewhere as a major bane of Africa which has bred irresponsibility among public officials and has further led to resistance and cynicism among the citizenry". Other factors include:

- Lack of political will and commitment from the political leadership: Nigerian corruption is directly linked with leadership failure. Politicians and allies are always found wanting because of corrupt practices. Foreign exchange earnings from oil proceeds are not remitted fully into national coffers or not at all. The various Nigerian governments have

not been so active in the fight against corruption due to several factors including political interest, ethnic and religious sentiments.

- **Politicization of bureaucracy:** Politicization of the civil service escalated during the past military administrations and their civilian counterparts in Nigeria. It is not an overstatement to argue that civil servants in Nigeria play partisan politics and openly campaign for the government in power. Therefore, the politicization of ethnic, cultural and religious division of the country has been exploited by the corrupt patronage, favoritism and nepotism system. This is not unconnected with the centralization of administrative system in Nigeria. Thus, in return for their loyalty, civil servants were often shielded, pampered and allowed to increase their powers and pursue opportunities for enrichment with impunity (Sahr, 2000).
- **Poverty:** Poverty level is on the high side in Nigeria. This occurs due to harsh economic condition. In view of international community, Nigeria though is rich in oil and gas and other precious resources but yet remains one of the poorest nations in the World. A recent report by the World Poverty Clock (WPC), a Vienna based Non- Governmental Organization (NGO) revealed that Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with extreme poor people in the World. This organization early this year revealed that 86.9 million Nigerians now live in extreme poverty which represents 50% of the country's estimated 180 million population. Thus, the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) remarked that Nigeria's poverty index currently stood at 53.7 percent.
- **Poor pay and service conditions:** The wide disparity in salaries and other emoluments between political office holders and public servants is encouraging culture of systemic corruption in Nigeria. The disparity in pay and allowances, leads to high rate of temptation to involve in corrupt practices. Public servants under the aegis of Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC) had in recent times drawn a battle line with the federal government over better welfare package for government employees and reduction in over bloated salaries and other emoluments for political office holders. In fact, most cases of corruption in Nigeria usually take place substantially at higher levels of governance. This is common among the ministers, permanent secretaries and senior cadres, who are believed to involve in corrupt practices than their junior counterparts.

3.2 Corruption and Its Impacts on Political Institutions

Corruption, according to Gumede (2011:9), has "a disproportionate impact on the livelihood of the poor". Corruption acts as obstacle to the credibility of democratic system; it weakens ordinary people's confidence in government and subverts the rule of law and other tenets of democracy.

It encourages inefficiency and waste. It is an undeniable fact that in a corrupt political system where bribes and kickbacks reign supreme, contractors and suppliers always prefer to offer bribe as against efficiency and high productivity. In other words, they prefer to do hasty job against good delivery of work. Delivery services are not working as expected, roads are bad, infrastructures and institutions are in a deteriorating condition. Today religious and ethnic origin determines what you get in the Nigerian system as all the institutions have been tainted by trials and settled bribes.

Similarly, corruption aggravates the Budget deficit. In fact, ever since corruption has reached unimaginable level in Nigeria, the story has been Budget padding during annual Budget debate at the National Assembly. Countless of ghost workers are alleged to be on government

payroll. The ghost workers could be fake, retired or dead persons whose names continue to appear on the payroll for fraudulent officials to claim their wages at the end of the month. Taxes are evaded or not remitted in full to government coffers.

An economy marred with corruption has the effect to scare foreign investment and aids donors. This will consequently result in shortage of money for development project.

Corruption leads to depletion of national resources, as money meant for development of the country is being taken out of the economy and kept somewhere in another country. The effects have been job losses and significant reduction in foreign investment in the economy.

4.0 Conclusion

High level of corruption has transformed the character of Nigerian state into rentier one which has in turn led to political and economic backwardness of the country. Indeed, corruption has been identified as a major hindrance to the realization of good governance in Nigeria. Therefore as discussed in this paper, “the current epidemic of competitive corruption and excessive greed amongst the political class and our elites in appropriating national resources to themselves must be stopped” (Asiodu, 2012). Thus, any credible anti-corruption strategies must seek to reduce opportunities that give way to corruption to the barest minimum. This indeed calls for radical reforms in many areas. Basically, tackling corruption requires ethical behaviour, political will and leadership with outstanding character. Therefore, ‘lip service’ alone would not reduce or eliminate corruption in Nigeria, but strict and effective system of administration of justice and involvement of mass media to expose corrupt practices in both government and private realms to achieve accountability and transparency. This would in addition instill discipline in governance.

4.5 Recommendations

Political and institutional reforms: The structure and institutions of political system is a strong determinant step in fighting corruption. This requires ethical political leadership with vigor and determination to succeed. It is unrealistic to expect that the fight against corruption can be successful with ‘old approach’ and faulty institutional structure, thus, the need for total overhauling. The internal restructuring must include all anti- corruption agencies in the country (ICPC, Code of Conduct Bureau, EFCC, etc.) by giving them total autonomy to operate.

- To fight corruption, Nigeria needs a strong judicial system that is devoid of material temptation, political favoritism, and abuse of professional ethics. Part of the measures to improve the judicial system is to improve their working conditions and entrenchment of judicial autonomy. Similarly, there must be establishment of separate tribunal for quick adjudication and dispensation of corrupt cases.
- Compulsory removal of immunity clause (section 308) from the nation’s constitution would no doubt arrest the scourge of corruption. In fact, immunity clause promotes corruption in Nigeria, as it shields some categories of elected office holders: President, Vice President, Governors and their Deputies, etc. from prosecution while still in office. It is undeniable that immunity clause for these set of political office holders in Nigeria creates a convenient way of looting public treasury with ease.
- There is need for stiffer sanctions against corrupt acts or persons and group of persons. Thus, punishments for corrupt practices must be made to reflect the gravity of the crime committed adjudicated by a competent court or tribunal.

References

- Achebe, C. (1983). *The trouble with Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Adedeji, A. (1995). "The challenge of pluralism, democracy, governance and development. *The Courier*, No. 150, March-April: 93-5.
- Akanbi, M. A. (2000). Corruption, accountability and good governance, in H. A. Saliu (eds). *Nigeria under democratic rule, 1999-2003*. Ibadan: University press.
- Akinyemi, B. (2010). "How to combat corruption." *The National Newspaper May 3rd*, p 69-71.
- Alatas, S. H. (1990). *Corruption its nature, causes and functions*. Aldershot: Amesbury.
- Asiodu, P. (2012). "Nigeria suffers from lack of vision, national goals". *The Nation*, October, 9.
- Bello, S. and Yusuf, M. M. (2012). *Popular participation and democratization in Nigeria under the fourth Republic*. African Research Development Agency, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.
- Benson, S. (2010). Governance and accountability in Nigeria, in Kolawole (eds). *Governance, politics and polices in Nigeria*. Benin Republic, Port Novo.
- Charles, F. (2000). Endemic corruption in Cameroon: Insights on consequences and control, in Kempe Ronald Hope, Sr and Bornwell, C. Chikulo (eds). *Corruption and development in Africa: Lesson from country case- studies*. Great Britain: Macmillan press ltd.
- Ekeh, P. P. (1975). Colonialism and the two republics: A theoretical statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17 (1): 91-12.
- Fredrick, C. (1972). *The pathology of politics*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Gire, J.T. (2010). "A psychology analysis of corruption in Nigeria" *Journal of Sustainable Development*. Retrieved 4 September 2010 from [http //www.j.safrika. Com Jsda/summer 1999/article pdf/ ARC % A %20](http://www.j.safrika.com/Jsda/summer1999/article/pdf/ARC%20)
- Gumede, W. (2011). Tackling corruption. *Journal of the Helen Suzann Foundation*, Issue 60, January 10
- Hadi, H. (1999). The detrimental effects of corruption in developing countries, *Journal of Social Sciences* 10 November.
- Haruna, M. O. and Zamfara, M. I. (2016). Combating corruption in Nigeria: A collective responsibility. *Bayero Sociologist: A Journal of Sociological Studies (SOJOSS)*, 2 (1): 64-71.
- Hye, H. A. (2000). *Governance, South Asia perspective* Dhaka, University press limited.
- Ibrahim, L. and Odekunle, F. (2001). *Fighting corruption and organized crime in Nigeria: Challenges for the new millennium*, Ibadan Spectrum publisher.

- Ismail, S.G. and Pierre Land Ell- M. (1991). Governance and external factor, the World Bank. *A Conference on Development Economics April 25-26.*
- Klitgaard, R. (1988). Controlling corruption, Berkeley: University of California press.
- Mimiko, O. (1998). "From neo-regulation to guided deregulation: The Nigerian economy in transition, 1993-1998" in D. Kolawole and O. Mimiko, (eds), *Political democracy and economic deregulation in Nigeria under Abacha administration 1993-1998*, Ondo-State University, Ado- Ekiti.
- Odinilialu, C. A. (2010). *Corruption and governance in Africa: How do we break the cycle in Nigeria?* Abuja: Clean Publication.
- Odunuga, Y. (2012). Democracy and nation's dismal rights record, *'The Nation*, May 19.
- Ogbona, M. I. (2004). The ICPC and the fight against corruption, in Saliu H.A (ed). *Nigeria under democratic rule (1999-2003), volume one.* Ibadan: Kembin press.
- Onyeozuri, F. (2004). Tackling corruption in Nigeria. *Unpublished seminar paper delivered at Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan.*
- Robert, S. (1996). "Controlling the global corruption epidemic." Foreign Policy number, 105 BP.55-73, Van Rijekenghen.
- Sahr, J. K. (2000). Controlling corruption in Sierra Leone: An assessment of past efforts and suggestions for future, in Kempe Ronald Hope Sr & Bornwell, C. Chikulo (eds). *Corruption and development in Africa: Lessons from country case-studies.* Great Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Transparency International (TI) (1997). *The fight against corruption: Is the tide now turning?* Berlin: TI.
- Uduigwomen, A. F. (2006). *Introduction to ethics: Trend, problem and perspective.* Calabar: Lachrymose publishers.
- Ukase, P. (2014). "Interrogating the nexus between minority agitations and democracy and good governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic," in V. Egwemi et al. (eds). *Federalism, politics and minorities in Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Professor G.N, Hembe.* Lagos: DAHITI and DALILI publishers.
- UNDP. (2007). United Nations Development Program. *Governance indicators, A user's guide.* New York: Documentary Library.
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) Was adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly Resolution 217 (111), December.
- World Bank (1994). *Governance: The World Bank http:// documents World Bank Experience,* Washington D. C.
- World Bank (1992). *World Development Report 1992.* Washington, DC.