



CORRUPTION AND NATIONAL SECURITY

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Abstract

The paper focused on the origin and consequences of corruption on the Nigerian national security which was done by tracing the history of corruption in Nigeria. The paper discovered that during past and present period corruption was caused due to a number of factors. Some of them are: poverty, lack of job security, weak institutions of government and extended family problems. Some of the consequences of corruption on Nigerian national security are: unemployment (human security challenge), misapplication and mismanagement of scarce resources, low international esteem and confidence; ethnic and religious bigotry, poor and un-purposeful leadership quest for self-recognition. It also creates tensions and conflicts between the wealthy and the less wealthy or poor in the society leading to social upheavals which sometimes destabilizes a Nigeria, coups d'états and poverty. For corruption to be ameliorated from Nigeria so that national security can take place, political leaders must lead by example, accountability should be a constant and regular affair in Nigeria.

Keywords: *Corruption, Security, Law, Globalization, Politics, Greed*

Introduction

Corruption is an aged long global phenomenon that is not exclusive to any particular continent, region or country and can be found in different forms of government and economic systems including religious groups, except that the

frequency and magnitude of occurrence and how it is tackled differs by countries. Ancient civilizations such as Egypt, Rome, Greece, down to the present such as Britain, America and China all have traces of widespread illegality, indiscipline and corrupt practices. Lipset and Lenz (2000) opined that corruption cut across all nations including religious faiths such as Christianity, Muslim, Hinduism, and Buddhism etc. It is also found in different political systems such as democracies, monarchy, feudal and authoritarian regimes as well as different economic systems such as capitalist, communist and socialist system.

There is a predominant impression worldwide that Nigeria has high reputation for corruption and that it is infested with serial looters and fraudsters that are suffering from pathological mental and psychological disorder associated with irresistible compulsion to steal public funds with impunity, and manipulate rules, procedures and processes to their advantage. There are also other issues that paint a gloomy picture and give the country a bad image. It includes the activities of those who have no access to loot from the public treasury but need to survive so indulged in heinous and bizarre crimes such as ritual killings, kidnapping, terrorism, scammers, and armed robbery (Udama, 2013).

Also there are those that vandalize and steal important government vital properties and installations. Peter Eigen, a former World Bank official, and equally the founder and Chairman of Transparency International pointed that the political elites and their cronies continue to take kickbacks at every opportunity. They are hand in glove with corrupt business people, and have trapped the whole nations in poverty and hampering sustainable development (Transparency International Report, 2002). What makes Nigeria's case peculiar and irksome is that it is endowed with enormous natural and human resources and should have no reason to be poor. However, all these have not translated into a better life and high standard of living to a greater majority of its citizens. The exploitation of these enormous natural resources deposits beneath its surface and the standard of living of the greatest number of citizens are inversely and disproportionately related.

Corruption in Nigeria is pervasive and has remained deeply entrenched and robust despite the seeming wars declared by successive regimes since its independence in 1960. Its enormous natural resources beneath the surface have encouraged the skewed socio-economic and political arrangement that induces

corruption. After many years of independence, the different ethnic entities are still not fused together into one indivisible entity but remained diverse and competing forces that seek power to dominate, oppress, and exploit one another to satisfy personal and clannish interests. They also compete for cultural superiority; struggle for land and citizenship, and the quest to impose one religion on others. It is this attitude to outsmart one another that is also reflected in appropriating public funds and not seen as an unethical behaviour. Corruption is a cancer that has eaten deeply into the fabric of Nigeria polity. The general global perception about graft in Nigeria is that it is generally acknowledged that corrupt practices are endemic and systemic in both public and private sectors of Nigeria. From the forgoing it is evident that corruption undermines the country's integrity and security. It also poses serious developmental challenge being responsible for the poverty of the populace. Public resources meant for the development of all ends up in few hands, the nation pays the price. This has resulted to absence of social amenities such as portable water, electricity and good roads. The populace becomes demoralized and become willing tools to be used as sabotages to the state (Ngwube, 2017). This has led to high level of insecurity thereby threatening the national security of the nation. Under such condition; the country cannot attract foreign investment. Corruption is a major societal problem in the 21st century.

The impact of corruption on our national economy and national security has manifested in different kinds of political, social, and economic vices. These issues have generated substantial interests particularly regarding its meanings, nature and dimensions. The issue of corruption and national security in Nigeria is a matter of urgent concern. Governments all over the world, particularly those of the developing countries, are increasingly recognizing that threats to national security are more likely to stem from internal than external sources. Arguably, corruption is one deadly scourge that adds a complex layer in the matrix of growing security challenges facing most developing countries, Nigeria inclusive (Ogo, 2015).

Yet the two issues have remained major challenges in contemporary Nigeria. To this extent, this paper merely asks two questions. First, what do we mean when we say corruption and national security? Is there a single meaning or are there multiple meanings?

Conceptual Clarifications

As the social scientists would say, concepts do not have universally accepted definitions. For instance, what constitutes corruption in a particular society may be termed “gratification” or “gifts” in another. Similarly, while some societies prescribed capital punishments for corruption, some other societies promote lesser punishments including systematic forgiveness for corrupt public officials. Hence, this simple differentiation in understanding explains the multiplicity in definitions of both corruption and national security. It must therefore be stressed from the beginning that both corruption and national security are very flexible and multidimensional concepts but a number of efforts have been made to explain both concepts.

Corruption

Corruption is a universal phenomenon that has been variously defined by different people from all fields of endeavor. Such as free thinkers, scholars, journalists etc. There are many notions of corruption but it seems that the phenomenon is better described than defined (Igwe, 2010: 88). Perhaps, the easier way is to explain the reality of corruption in any society or system from its degrees of manifestations and recurrences. According to Stople (2008), United Nations Convention against Corruption, recognized corruption as a multi-faceted, dynamic and flexible phenomenon, and therefore does not define, but describe corrupt practices. Thus, this paper in its approach to the phenomenon, adopts the following conceptual insights.

The word corruption is originally from the Latin verb ‘rumpere’ which means to break. Going by this definition, corruption means the breaking of certain code of conduct for the personal benefit of the perpetrator. This connotes the breaking of normal or societal norms or practices (Ifesinachi, 2003:25).

According to Transparency International(2008) Corruption is the misuse of entrusted power for private gains. TI went further to differentiate between “according to the rules” Corruption and “against the rule”. Corruption facilitates payments where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute the former. The latter on the other hand is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing.

The World Bank defines corruption as:

The abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts edicts or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs through patronage and nepotism, the thereof state assets or the diversion of state resources.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in its “Action against Corruption and Economic Crime” declares as follows:

Corruption is a complex social, political and economic phenomenon that affects all countries. Corruption undermines democratic institutions, slows economic development and contributes to governmental instability. Corruption attacks the foundation of democratic institutions by distorting electoral processes, perverting the rule of law and creating bureaucratic quagmires whose only reason for existing is the soliciting of bribes. Economic development is stunted because foreign direct investment is discouraged and small businesses within the country often find it impossible to overcome the “start-up costs” required because of corruption.

Sen (1999) and Atlas (1968) perceive corruption especially from the sociological viewpoint as the violation of established rules for personal gains and profits. It is a dysfunctional system of the relationship between the state and the people, characterized by bribery, extortion and nepotism. These dimensions of the phenomenon have negative influence on the people, including leaders and followers.

According to Igwe (2010: 88), corruption perhaps occurs in any organized, interdependent system in which parts of the system is either not performing their dues as ethically expected or are performing them improperly to the detriment of the system’s original scope. Corruption embraces a broad spectrum of activities ranging from fraud (theft through misrepresentation), embezzlement

(misappropriation of corporate or public funds) to bribery (payments made in order to gain an advantage or avoid a disadvantage).

For Kunhiyop (2008: 165), corruption is making someone morally corrupt or becoming morally corrupt by indulging in bribery, extortion, fraud, nepotism, outright theft, match-fixing, examination fraud, kickbacks, illegal awarding of contracts and the like. Also, in the political sphere, corruption occurs in vote rigging, the purchase and sale of votes, and the falsification of elections results. Furthermore, from a legal standpoint, Nigeria's *Anti-Corruption Law of 2010 (12)*, defines corruption as "Gratification by an official", any person who corruptly:

- (a) Asks for, receives or obtains any property or benefit of any kind for himself or for any other person
- (b) Agrees or attempts to receive or obtain any property or benefit of any kind or for himself or for any other person, on account of:
 - i) anything already done or omitted to be done, or for any favor or disfavor already shown to any person by himself in the discharge of his official duties or in relation to any matter connected with the functions, affairs or business of government department, or corporate body or other organization or institution in which he serving as an official
 - ii) anything to be afterwards done or omitted to be done or favor or disfavor to be afterwards shown to any person, by himself in the discharge of his official duties or in relation to any such matter as aforesaid, is guilty of an offence of official corruption..."

Although many useful definitions of corruption, varying in their emphasis, have been posited above, however; this paper adopts the one given by the anti-graft law as indicated above

National Security

National security is multi-dimensional concept and in many developing countries like Nigeria, much emphasis is given to the armed forces at the expense of other dimensions of security, especially the domestic aspect which is not directly linked to armed forces. These internal dimensions of national security, which among others comprises of corruption, drug addiction, poverty

and unemployment which pose more potent threats to national security than the perceived armed forces/territorial integrity's defense. National security is therefore defined as the ability of states to ward off all forms of threat to the survival and sustenance of a State and its people as well as the ability of a state to protect its legitimate interests with all measures including war. It is also defined as any measure aimed at balancing all instruments of foreign policy particularly in terms of arms, diplomacy, information, economics, and other measures of foreign and domestic policy (Samuel, 2015).

Obasanjo (1999) conceives national security as the aggregate of the security interest of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups and the entire political entity. He contends that the primary objective of national security shall be:

To strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to advance her interest and objectives, to contain instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, and improve the welfare and well-being and quality of life of every citizen.

Omand (2010), states that “national security today should be defined as a state of trust on the part of the citizen that the risks to everyday life, whether from man-made threats or impersonal hazards, are being adequately managed to the extent that there is confidence that normal life can continue”.

Until recently and as noted above, national security in Nigeria has been defined from a narrow, militaristic perspective. However, within the context of this paper, national security refers to “the capacity of a state to promote the pursuit and realization of the fundamental needs and vital interests of man and society, and to protect them from threats which may be economic, social, environmental, political, military or epidemiological in nature” (Onuoha, 2008a:265). These threats are numerous, diverse and complex. It could take the form of pervasive poverty, violent conflict, natural disasters such as flood and earthquake, terrorist attacks, external aggression, and infectious disease (HIV/AIDS), among others. In this sense, national security has both *qualitative* and *dynamic* dimensions. Qualitatively it encapsulates the unending drive of the state for improvement in the safety, and protecting the lives, property and resources within its defined territorial boundary. It is dynamic in the sense that its contours oscillate with emergence of new threats or the transformation of old threats, which may come

from within or outside of its territorial boundary (Onuoha, 2008b: 103). Just as the political, economic, military and social causes of threats change, so does the national security posture of a country change (Okodolor, 2004).

Thus, national security in Nigeria is an ensemble of two broad focal elements: human security and state security. It entails the preservation of the welfare and safety of Nigerians at home and abroad (human security) and the protection of the sovereignty of the country and the integrity of its assets (state security). Thus, a country (including Nigeria) is secured to the extent that the political leadership is able to anticipate, recognize and respond effectively to these threats, using the available national resources to ensure the safety of life and property of the citizens, and guarantee the integrity of its territorial boundaries as well as its strategic assets, both within and outside of its territory. Viewed from this perspective, corruption holds out serious threat to national security in Nigeria to the extent that it undermines the welfare and safety of Nigerians and the integrity of national assets. Nigeria's handling of national security has been poor and negligent of many strategic components as noted by Ekoku and Vogt (1990:226) that Nigeria has been a victim of security issues approach through (conservative and coercive approach to internal security management) as distinct from the positive non-coercive plan and response which tries to remove the causes of threats and internal strife through minimizing socio-economic hardship and inequities.

This paper examines these other internal dimensions of national security that are neglected by the Nigerian state and various regimes which are equally or more important than the conventional approach to national security largely centered on the conventional armed forces and external threats to Nigeria at the expense of other domestic security aspects as Ekoku and Vogt, (1990:226) lamented that "no nation can boast of credible security and defence plan if its home base is first not in order".

Nature and Manifestation of Corruption in Nigeria

Manifestations of corruption in Nigeria could be traced back to the pre-colonial era when for the sake of self-preservation and glory, Nigerians accepted 'bribes' to sell out their brothers into slavery (Mathew, 2013). It was manifested also when the forerunners to colonial masters created Afro-European conservations that were premised on falsetto. In fact the colonialists established its empire in

Nigeria on the foundation of scam and fraud through its “carrot and stick” approach which was itself manipulative and deceptive (Anene, 1966). Manifestations of corruption had also found right footing in Nigeria even before independence and kept assuming different dimensions after independence. For instance, NnamdiAzikiwe as Premier of Eastern Nigeria was exposed by the Foster Suffon Tribunal of Enquiry of 1956 into the African Continental Bank (ACB) to have abused his office and divert huge sums of Eastern Nigeria’s government funds into his own bank, the ACB. Similarly, the GBA Coker Commission of Inquiry of 1962 revealed how ObafemiAwolowo diverted huge sums of money and shared it with his colleagues and party members (Osoba, 1996). The desire rid Nigeria of ‘corruption’ was part of the justifications the military gave for intervening in the democratic governance of Nigeria in 1966. Yet its anti-graft war was such that “corruption was used to check corruption by corrupting the system all the more” (Mathew et. al., 2013). For instance, in 1974, under the watch of Gen. YakubuGowan, 16.23 million metric tons of cement was imported at the rate of \$115 while it official market price was \$25. This means that someone stood to gain \$75 per ton for 16.23 million tons (Nwaobi, 2002).

On assumption of office in 1975, Murtala Muhammed set a panel that probed the assets of all the former governors, the administrators of Eastern and Western states and some federal commissioners. The confiscated assets stood at about N10 million (Nwaobi, 2002). Olusegun Obasanjo who emerged as Head State in 1976 following the assassination of Murtala Muhammed stimulated corruption manifestation by promulgating the Decree No.11 of 1976 (Public Officer Protection Against False Accusation). Public officers were now protected and shielded with the decree to exhibit their corrupt potentials. Obasanjo himself, inflated the cost of contracting the international trade fair complex in Lagos from N45,212,000 (which Murtala his predecessor considered to be inflated) to N95,820,000 and further revised it to N116,257,893. Obasanjo’s regime was also enmeshed in the scandal surrounding N2.8 billion missing from the coffers of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). This said money was refunded from al London bank to the coffers of the federal government of Nigeria three years later (1977-1980) without interest (Nwaobi, 2002). President Shagari, who began his tenure

in 1979, paid deaf ears to the ills, scandals and manifestations of corruption that defaced his predecessors' regimes.

President Shagari's tenure was "marred by intrigues, smear campaigns, thuggery, violence and widespread rigging, repositories of power, the teaming citizens were cajoled, and brazenly bribed as the politicians took their campaign message to the people...the Shagari scorecard was a parchment of corruption and iniquities, a shocking and sad commentary on how unpatriotic leaders will sink a nation into an irredeemable abyss of perditions" (Nwaobi, 2002:34). The Shagari regime (1979-1983) earned and squandered N40.5 billion, depleted external reserves of N2.3 billion and further incurred N10.21 billion as debt without anything to show for it. Shagari's rule was terminated by Muhammadu Buhari who through Decree 2 and others tried several politicians and recovered public funds and properties (Nwaobi, 2002).

The Babangida's administration (1985-1993) was indicted by the Pius Okigbo led panel to have embezzled \$12.4 billion from the "Dedication and other Special Account" and dumped it in the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), a bank for drug barons and money launderers worldwide. The full details of Babangida's worldwide investments will never be known. While he is perhaps the richest Nigerian alive today with assets in excess of \$30 billion, proxy holds much of his holdings...the effect was clear (as) more than 3,000 officials now have Swiss Amounts totaling about \$90 billion and in Britain £75 billion (Nwaobi, 2002:38-39).

General Sanni Abacha's administration remains the most notorious in terms of corruption manifestations and autocracy. Abacha, through the Chagouri and Chagouri (an international consortium owned by five Lebanese brothers) embezzled Nigeria's funds and deposited in banks across the world. His loot is valued at over \$20 billion dollars (Nwaobi, 2002). General Abdulsalami Abubakar who succeeded the Late Sanni Abacha is reported to have spent few weeks in power when the chairman of National Economic Intelligence Committee (NEIC) Prof. Aluko made the disclosure that \$50 million was missing in the national coffers. Gen. Abubakar awarded N15 billion for the construction of CBN headquarters and spent N19 billion hosting the World Youth Championship. He quickly privatized Nigeria's firms and used looted funds to purchase them through proxies. This is more so as these deals were consummated in utter negation of transparency and accountability

(Nwaobi, 2002). General Abdulsalami Abubakar's administration which lasted for just eleven months corruptly utilized about N650 billion. During this period, he awarded 4072 new contracts, granted 576 new licenses, made 807 new appointments, gave 111 approvals and made 807 awards and honours (Edo, 2006).

Olusegun Obasanjo on his second coming to office as an elected president in 1999 pledged to fight corruption but yet, could not hesitate to share the N10 billion he voted for poverty reduction with his party members as booty (Edo, 2006). Under the disguise of hosting the Eight All Africa Games, Obasanjo is alleged to have inflated the cost of constructing the new ultramodern stadium to N60 billion but still owed the contractors N500 million. In Edo's words, "there is no gain saying the fact that more than 50% of the cost of hosting the games was really fictitious" (Edo, 2006). Obasanjo was also alleged to have bribed the Nigerian Senate to further his Third Term quest. His government was also involved in the scandalous Harliburton bribe case in which about \$579 million was given as bribe to some top government officials to secure contracts in Nigeria. Other cases include the Siemens \$1.6 billion settlement scandal, Sillbro's \$32 million, Panalpina's Nigeria's National Identity Card Scheme scandal, and Segem giving about \$200 million as bribe to senior government officials (Mohammed, 2013).

Manifestations of corruption were also rampant in state and local government levels. For instance, the Bayelsa state governor Chief D. S. P. Alamiyesiegha was on September 15, 2005 arrested in London on arrival from Germany where he had gone to undergo surgery on tommy tuck. He was found to have about £2 million in his house. Similarly, Governor Dariye of Plateau was arrested and tried for money laundering in London in 2004 but he jumped bail before his next court appearance and travelled back to Jos as a Gambian (Edo, 2006). The list is inexhaustible.

Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration appears to have paid no attention to corruption and its scandalous manifestations. Jonathan's quest and ambition for second term in office beclouded his sense of judgment and totally bamboozled his political will from fighting corruption to cementing loyalists in all regions of the country through dubious transactions. Scandalous cases of embezzlements, misappropriation, and diversion of public funds characterized his tenure in office. Jonathan was known to have pampered corruption and had

once vindicated his cronies by stating that “stealing is not corruption”. Between May 6, 2010 when Jonathan stood in for late Yar’adua and 2012, over N5 trillion of government funds were stolen. According to the NuhuRibadu led Petroleum Task Force Report, Nigeria lost 250,000 barrels of crude oil daily at the cost of \$6.3 billion (N1.2 trillion) a year. This puts the total amount lost through oil theft in the two years of Jonathan government at over \$12.6 billion (N2 trillion). In July, 2012, The House of Representatives Committee on Environment discovered a tree seedling fraud worth N2 billion awarded by Ecological Fund Office. In the Nigerian telecommunication sector, the 450MHz frequency which was valued at \$50 million, was allegedly sold for less than \$6 million (a difference of \$44m or N6.9b) by Nigerian Communication Commission. Corruption manifested in Jonathan’s first two years in office such that KPMG, a global audit and financial advisory firm, resolved that Nigeria accounted for the highest number of fraud cases in Africa in the first half of 2012 (Adeyemo, 2012).

Despite the evidence to prove the scandalous allocation of N255 million for two bulletproof BMW cars by the Aviation Minister Ms. Stella Oduah, nothing was done and the ‘honourable’ minister completed her tenure. Under Jonathan’s watch, AlhajiMaina misappropriated N195 billion worth of pension funds which he claimed to have recovered from pension thieves. The NNPC also collaborated with the Independent Petroleum Marketers to fraudulently sell Kerosene to Nigerians at N170-250 when it was subsidized by the government to sell for N40-50. According to former Central Bank Governor Mr. LamidoSanusi, over \$100 million was lost this way every month. Moreso, the Nigerian Parliament Report has disclosed that \$6 billion has been defrauded from the fuel subsidy fund between 2013 and 2015. In February, 2014, one MuhammedAbacha was accused of unlawfully receiving about N446.3 billion from the coffers of the federal government between 1995 and 1998. The accused kept absenting himself from court but was present on the day a private prosecuting counsel, Daniel Enwelum, informed the court of Attorney General of the Federation’s instruction to discontinue with the case (Naij.com, 2015). Still under the Jonathan’s tenure, the former governor of Central Bank LamidoSanusi disclosed that \$20 billion dollars generated from oil sales were not remitted into the treasury. The federal government promptly sacked him,

covered its tracts, yet, a staggering \$1.48 billion was disclosed to be missing by a foreign auditing firm.

With such manifestations, is it not folly or foolhardy to address high public functionaries as “Excellencies” or “Honorable”? Yet, the shamelessly insist that their subjects continue to be loyal. Several probes and trials are ongoing by the MuhammaduBuhari led administration aimed at recovering stolen public funds of which the most intriguing remains the \$2.1 billion arms deals scandal which led to the arrest and continuous detention of former National Security Adviser, Col SamboDasuki (Retired) to former President GoodluckEbele Jonathan.

After taken over the reign of power in 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari inaugurated a Presidential Advisory Committee against Corruption in August 11, 2015 to advise his administration on how to reform the Nigeria’s criminal justice system, and steps needed to fight corruption. This committee is (and is still) headed by Professor ItseSagay, a prominent professor of law and a civil rights activist. With a novel advisory body like this, Nigerians expected new strategies, techniques and legislations which will not just tackle the manifestations of corruption but deter further exhibition of such traits which according to our framework, is inherent in every man. However, the Buhari’s anti-corruption fight tends to rather place more emphasis on fighting the manifestations of corruption, thereby negating the root and the vector of this germ. Just like his predecessors, the modus operandi of his anti-corruption war is to arrest suspected looters with any of its intelligence agencies, employ the antics of its anti-graft agencies for general probing and investigation, then charge the suspect to court for prosecution. Buhari has slightly deviated from his predecessors by placing utmost priorities on recovering looted public funds and even generating more funds through compromised court judgment and bail charges; while the much anticipated fight against corruption is negated. For instance, several top government officials of the Jonathan administration indicted in the \$2.1 billion arms purchase scandal have been arrested by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). Some adamant ones like Colonel Dasuki (former National Security Adviser) and OlisaMetuh (Publicity Secretary of the People’ Democratic Party), were tried and remanded on several count charges. OlisaMetuh, though, accused of benefiting N400 million from the arms deal scandal was granted bail with the tone of N700 million by two

separate courts. On the other hand, LawalJafaru Isa (former military governor of Kaduna State) who was accused of receiving N170 million from the arms deal was set free without trial when he returned N100 million and promised to return the remaining N70 million. Similarly, the presidency has advised those who looted public funds to quietly return them for “soft landing”. It has also been made clear that a quota of the proposed 2016 budget will be funded with recovered looted funds (Moyosore, 2015).

Though the president has displayed the political will to combat corruption, his objective and intention appears to be misguided. Recovering stolen funds from corrupt public officials is not a fight against corruption but rather a fight against the manifestations of corruption. This can only culminate in public officials adopting more stringent measures aimed at covering their tracks while they keep on raping the country dry. In fact, Buhari’s strategy can only encourage more manifestations of corruption as politicians will continue to loot public treasury hoping to go scot free if they are not caught or return such funds if they are caught. In other words, the reward overwhelmingly outweighs the punishment. Buhari’s decision to continue with the EFCC as his investigatory and fund recovery agency, in its obsolete and nontransparent structure has only enmeshed more woes on his ill-defined anticorruption strategy. For instance, the immediate past EFCC chairman Mr. Ibrahim Lamorde was dismissed by Buhari in November 9, 2015, for allegedly diverting N1 trillion of recovered funds. When summoned by the Nigerian Senate, Lamorde refused appearing before the senate and subsequently disappeared from the country without trace. Similarly, the Senate has in January, 2016 summoned the current EFCC chairman Mr. Magu to come and give a financial statement sum or of what recovered so far. The structure of the EFCC is so vague and ill designed such that there is little or no accountability. The irony is that this is the same agency which Buhari has depended so much on, in fighting “corruption” to a standstill (Udama,2013).

Types of Corruption

To know and identify the types of corruption is to remove the veils that shroud corruption in mystery. There are several types of corruption depending on the direction and scholars. Below are some of main types:

- 1. Systematic/Endemic Corruption**

2. Political Corruption
3. Grand Corruption
4. Petty Corruption
5. Individual/Sporadic Corruption

Systemic/Endemic Corruption: This type of corruption is integrated into the structure of the society, as all the society's aspect had been compromised with the state major institutions and processes as a willing tool. This form of corruption is at the level of the system. Systemic corruption is not a special category of corrupt practice, but rather a situation in which the major institutions and processes of the state are routinely dominated and used by corrupt individuals and groups, and in which most people have no alternatives to dealing with corrupt officials. Bribery and embezzlement are the most common forms of corruption in this type and they undermine developmental efforts in all ramifications as public funds are diverted into private pockets. It scares investors due to increase cost of doing business. It also induces mediocrity which has been responsible for the poor public civil service delivery, and also induces anger, bitterness, and hatred in those that have been alienated from the scheme of things, and has played a vital role in deteriorating law and order.

Political Corruption: Political corruption means the abuse of political power by the government leaders to extract and accumulate for private enrichment, and to use politically corrupt means to maintain their hold on power. However, abuse of political power for other purposes, such as repression of political opponents and general police brutality, is not considered political corruption. Political corruption takes place at the highest levels of the political system. Political corruption is any transaction between private and public sector actors through which collective goods are illegitimately converted into private regarding payoffs. Nepotism in this type of corruption is the most common form usually committed by the political leaders (the executive and the legislature) by appointing their relatives and friends in their leadership at the detrimental of those who have all the requirements.

Grand/High-Level Corruption: This type of corruption is not materialistic as it is in ideas as it exists in the sphere of policymaking. It can be synonymous with Political corruption but not limited to it. Grand corruption mostly occurs in large procurement projects such as the building of roads, dams, hospitals,

airports, mining, oil/gas concessions, construction projects and in arms and defense contracts, in new weapons technology, aircraft purchase, warships, and artillery pieces. It involves substantial amounts of money and usually high-level officials. This could be in a form of designing policies in favor for the policy maker rather than the general public. Grand corruption involving public officials is referred to as kleptocracy. Rent seeking could be viewed to be an example of this type of corruption.

Petty Corruption: Petty corruption is bribery in connection with the implementation of existing laws, rules and regulations, and thus different from “grand” or political corruption. Petty corruption refers to the modest sums of money usually involved, and has also been called “low level” and “street level” to name the kind of corruption that people can experience more or less daily. On the other hand, petty corruption is the low level corruption that citizens will face every day in their encounters with corrupt public officials, in the struggle to obtain public services such as health care, education, paying taxes, and obtaining licenses. This type of corruption is referred to as petty because the amount of money required in petty corruption is lower. However, even though the sums are low in stand-alone cases, petty corruption will often add up to quite a large sum of money. So even in case where there is very little grand corruption with the elite, a large amount of petty corruption in the lower offices of government or outside of government can do just as much harm, if not more.

Sporadic/Individual Corruption: Sporadic corruption occurs in an incidental manner though it has the capacity to alter socioeconomic calculus due to its devastating powers that diminish morale and create inequality among the people. Sporadic corruption could cripple any of the social or religious systems. Sporadic corruption “threatens the economy of a country, dampens the morale, and saps the resources of the society, if not contained. Again, sporadic corruption creates a short or a long term ground and graduates to the next level of systemic corruption” (Igwe, 2010: 90). This pattern of corruption is integrated into the social fabric. In other words, it essentially forces individual or corporate persons to follow what otherwise would be termed unacceptable ways, and actually punishes those who resist. It is a situation in which major private and individual institutions and processes of the state are routinely dominated and used by corrupt individuals and groups, and in which most people have no alternatives in dealing with the problem. This type of corruption

is one usually committed by academia at the ivory tower through admission racketeering and by way of sorting (giving unmerited scores to students after examinations) after collecting gratification from the students). It is individualistic because not every lecturer engages in that corrupt conduct. Of all the types of corruption aforementioned above, systemic corruption is the most intractable amongst countries and societies around the globe due to its mode of operation and manifestation. In view of this, it could be viewed that Nigeria is presently suffering from this type of corruption which manifests itself in a near-decay of social infrastructure as well as a meteoric rise in a number of corrupt persons in the country, across all institutions. However, the essay in the paper does not approach corruption in Nigeria from the above other categories. The paper cited them to illustrate the multifaceted nature of corruption in any society, including the Nigerian society.

Causes of Corruption in Nigeria

Without gainsaying, a lot of reasons are deduced for corruption and corrupt practices in Nigeria. In fact, corruption in Nigeria has passed the alarming and entered the factual stage. Corruption flourishes as luxuriantly as the bush and weeds, which it so much resembles, taking the goodness from the soil and suffocating the growth of the plants which have been carefully and expensively bred and tended (Moyosore, 2015). Below are some the causes of corruption in Nigeria:

- a. Poverty
- b. Lack of Job Security
- c. Greed
- d. Society's Attitude towards Pecuniary Success
- e. Bad policies

Poverty: Political corruption is one of the major causes of poverty, unemployment, degradation and deprivation. Inspire of man, material and abundant financial resources, Nigeria was categorized as one of the poorest countries in the world with many Nigerians living below the poverty line of & per day, owing to corruption. (World Bank, 2005, TI, 2015). This poverty state of the nation results from the selfish diversion and misappropriation of funds, leaving the downtrodden suffering in improishment (Adebanjoko&Okorie, 2014).

Poverty has been one of the major causes of corruption in Nigeria. Apart from urbanization and westernization, poverty has succeeded in eroding roles and values in most families in Nigeria. A good example is the poverty-thesis of the Boko Haram which speaks loudest in terms of its self-professed quest for the “cleansing” of the Nigerian State. While accepting the various explanations for the emergence of the group, it is pertinent to stress that the issue of Boko Haram is political just as it is economic. Particularly from the instrumental point of view, violence which is often made easy when there is large scale; poverty has been adopted by the Boko Haram ideologues to show their distaste for the happenings in the country. Even as their methodology remains condemnable and to say the least wicked, the point must be made that its foot soldiers are mainly from the poorest of the poor. With wide spread poverty in the North, it becomes easy for unscrupulous politicians and religious fundamentalists to hijack the army of unemployed youths and employ them for the most unholy of all human endeavors.

Lack of Job Security: One of the causes of corruption in Nigeria is lack of job security. Though many Nigerians are high achievers and oriented people, however, they have relatively low access to economic opportunities. Lipset and Lenz, (2000) pointed that many people goes through the back door (corrupt system) to achieve their objectives because they have little or no access to opportunity. This could be as result of race, ethnicity, lack of skills and capital. These conditions are incentive for criminal and corrupt practices in the country. The culture that stress economic successes as an important goal, nevertheless, strongly restrict access to opportunity will have high levels of corruption. Hindrance of economic opportunities could induce one to commit crime.

Greed: Greed is the major malaise plaguing Nigeria since its independence in 1960. Nigeria has for decades been characterized by predatory and rapacious behaviour of the elites whose attitudes have been based on parochial mindedness which hinges on ascriptive values such as filial or clannish relationships thereby subordinating collective interests to narrow personal and tribal interests. When the desire for accumulation of wealth becomes widespread then corruption is eminent. Political positions are often tagged as been associated with power and wealth due to the huge amounts of funds allocated to political office holders. Therefore, a greedy individual perceives the attainment of a political post as a means to more wealth. The desire to continue

holding the political office is high and they would often result to do anything possible to maintain that position. This includes engaging in corrupt practices.

Society's Attitude towards Pecuniary Success: The decay and collapse of family and societal value systems, and the get-rich-quick syndrome without hard work is responsible for corruption in the Nigeria. The quest for wealth is overwhelming, so much so that the daily struggle by Nigerians is towards money. In present day Nigeria, success is not measured by one's inventions, or on services rendered to humanity or advancing society's development but by the number of expensive cars, houses and other material wealth a person owns. The desires and aspirations of many average citizens is the craze for ostentatious life style, cravings for conspicuous consumption of expensive (foreign) goods, owning (expensive) Sport Utility Vehicle (SUV) as a sign of status symbols. In the country today, the society's socio-economic and political arrangement is where the social norms, custom and attitudes of the people are geared towards wealth and materialism, and is deep.

Nwaobi (2004) posited that Nigeria must be one of the very few countries in the world where a man's source of wealth is of no concern to his neighbour, the public or the government. Wealthy people who are known to be corrupt are regularly courted and honoured by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and other private organizations. This implies that people who benefit from the largesse of these corrupt people rarely ask questions. In Nigeria, although traditional values of gift giving and tributes to leaders often lead to what Berger (1983) describes as "Polite Corruption", the extent of such corruption is relatively small. Dadajo (2008) revealed that traditional Chieftaincy titles and membership of boards of directors of government – owned corporations are only for the influential individuals in the society who have made it economically or politically. Most of these people made it through enriching themselves fraudulently, but enjoy public respect and accolades. The most annoying thing is that honest and dedicated public servants, who have not accumulated dirty wealth, do not command much respect from the society. These attitudes serve to encourage a new breed of public servants who engage in corrupt practices.

Bad Policies: This can have a negative influence and act as a source of corruption in the society. For example, when President Olusegun Obasanjo during his regime banned the importation of used cars above five years from their year of manufacture and banning of importation of rice in recent time

under present regime of President MuhammaduBuhari without viable option to cater for people's need, this led to negative impact on the fight against corruption. Businessmen (importers) were forced to bribe the Nigeria Custom officials to allow cars of that categories enter into the country. Equally, the activities of border runners and illegal routes increased and became lucrative causing the state to lose huge revenue through import duties.

Nigeria's Responses to Corruption

Corruption in Nigeria is not a new phenomenon. It has been one of the main reasons for coup d'état and counter coup. Every successive governments that came to power experimented and put various measures through policies and programmes geared towards eradicating corruption in Nigeria but ended up to be more corrupt that the preceding one. The primary legal instruments used in fighting corruption in Nigeria include the Criminal Code used prior to 1966 when Nigeria went into the civil war. However, due to its narrow nature in dealing with corruption cases such as criminalizing the conduct of bribe-taking by the public servants only leaving the private citizens involved, it was replaced by the Criminal Justice (Miscellaneous provision) Decree in 1966. This however, failed to stem the tide of corruption because the rules had loopholes and people were escaping punishment on technical grounds. It was then that the Code of Conduct was thereafter enshrined in the 1979 constitution where complaints on corrupt practices are referred to Code of Conduct Bureau Tribunal (Udama, 2013).

There were other programmes and policies such as the Judicial Commission of Inquiry; the Code of Conduct Bureau; Public Complaint Commission; Mass Mobilization, Social Justice, and Economic Recovery (MAMSER). National Open Apprenticeship, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) create in 1989, and money laundry act of 1995 re-enacted in 2005, Advance Fee Fraud (419), and Related Offences Act of 1995, to prosecution and convicting of high ranking administration officials. But none seems to have yielded the desired results. In 1970s, the Murtala/Obasanjo military regime declared war on corruption with the introduction of Jaji declaration and many reforms in the civil service were carried out. Particularly noted was that which encouraged political office holders to be of low profile, and prohibiting the use of government vehicles except for official functions and time only. The crusade made much

impact, but was short lived with the assassination of the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the army General Murtala Mohammed. In 1979, elections were conducted and power was handed over to AlhajiShehuShagari who introduced the Ethical Revolution in 1981. His administration was accused of being inept with high magnitude of corruption in his government, besides lacking policy direction (Suberu 1994). Unbridled corruption among the political class continued in grand style which led to military takeover by the duo of Buhari/Idiagbon in 1984. This brought to an end abruptly the second attempt of the republican government. The hallmark of their regime was the introduction of the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) in their quest to ride the country of corruption. Their stern approach on the issues of indiscipline arouses public consciousness, fear and good behaviour in public life (Moyosore, 2015). However, some members in the military circle were not comfortable with this new development and once again, a coup was hashed which led to their overthrow. In 1985, Ibrahim Babangida took over power and set up committees on corruption and other economic crimes, but his administration never declared any outright war on corruption. Notably, he created the Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), National Open Apprenticeship (NOA), the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) in 1989. However, he was perceived and alleged to have institutionalized corruption in Nigeria.

In 1994, Abacha took over power in a bloodless palace coup and introduced War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAI-C). At the end he was reputed to have stolen more money than his predecessors. He stacked money in foreign bank accounts. These anti-corruption campaigns did not achieve any significant changes as they remained at the level of rhetoric.

General AbdulsalamAbubakar took over power after death of General SaniAbacha in a mysterious circumstance in 1998 and could not address the issue of corruption as he retained most of the military officers who looted the national treasury with General Abacha. He was alleged to have looted funds in trucks but was overlooked because he quickly conducted election that brought General OlusegunObasanjo (Rtd). On assumption of office in May 1999, Obasanjoin his inaugural speech vowed to fight corruption to a standstill. He noted thus: ‘corruption will be tackled head-on. No society can achieve its full penitential if it allows corruption to become a full-blown cancer it has in

Nigeria”. He equally promised that there will be no sacred cow to be spared as he fights corruption in Nigeria. Consequently, his government put in place different anti-corruption initiatives to deal with the problem. These include the establishment of anti-corruption institutions and legal frameworks such as the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other related Offences Act (ICPC) in 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) created in 2003 was charged with the responsibility of investigating, arresting and charging any offenders with corrupt practices either economic or financial crimes in Nigeria to court (Abiodun2007). He also established the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiatives (NEITI); the Public Procurement Act; the Fiscal Responsibility Act, and Due Process (Aderonmu, 2000).

President Obasanjo’s government also established anti-corruption departments in some of the federal ministries and parastatals. He rounded up his anti-corruption initiatives with the establishment of the Technical Unit on Governance and Anti-Corruption Reforms (TUGAR) (Ibrahim, 2003). It was expected that all these will sanitized the country and offenders would be grossly punished. Regrettably, all these beautiful programmes, policies, and strategies made no impact in the fight against corruption in Nigeria. For three consecutive years 2000-2003, Transparency International Perception Index continue to ranked Nigeria 2nd highest on corruption in the world. Aderonmu (2000) opined that the unimaginable greed, obtuse and prodigious in theft, arbitrariness, contempt for the rule of law and fundamental human rights, selective investigation of corrupt allegations, and poor handling of the economy were only a few of the woes that Nigerians experienced under Obasanjo’s administration. Surprisingly, at the end of his administration, investigations revealed massive acts of corruption against him. For instance, he waived due processes in awarding contracts to his friends, family, and political allies. About US\$16 billion dollars was sunk in power projects without any result, N200billion was allocated for road construction and rehabilitation as the case maybe, but nothing came out of it. Worst was when he shocked the world by pardoning SalisuBuhari who had amass wealth (fraudulently) working for NEPA and come to head the lower chambers of the Parliament with forged certificates and perjury despite his apparent campaign to transform Nigeria free from corrupt (Dike, 2002).

Former/late President Umaru Musa Yar'adu was inaugurated as the 13th president of Federal republic of Nigeria on 29, May 2007. Yar'adu faced the enormous task of maintaining the developmental and war against corruption policies and programmes begun by his predecessor. He maintained the EFCC and ICPC as the fighting tools for corruption under his administration and promised that major reforms would be introduced in the anti-corruption war to correct perceived lapses. Exactly three years after he took office, President Umaru Yar'adua passed on, following a protracted illness, paving the way for the emergence of his deputy, Goodluck Jonathan, as President and Commander-in-Chief. Although President Yar'Adua was in office for less than three years, his reign still witnessed significant changes in Nigeria's fledging campaign against corruption. These changes included shake-up in the leadership of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Nigeria's most powerful anti-corruption agency; increased emphasis on respect for the fundamental human rights of accused persons and greater respect for rule of law and due process. However, Yar'adua was alleged to have compromised his campaign against corruption as some corrupt politician or their relatives alleged to have involved in corrupt practices were free or not investigated at all. For instance, the daughter of his predecessor, Former President Obasanjo in person of Senator, was never been investigated for siphoning the some money as the chairperson of Health community of house of representative (Enweremadu, 2017).

Former President Jonathan also maintained most of the programmes and policies on war against corruption as inherited by his predecessor and further established Treasury Single Account (TSA) and Bank Verification Number (BVN) to check and reduce corrupt practices in the public services. Treasury Single Account is a public accounting system using a single account or a set of linked accounts by government to ensure all revenue receipts and payments are done through a Consolidated Revenue Account (CRA) at the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). The pilot TSA scheme commenced in 2012 using a unified structure of accounting for 217 Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) for accountability and transparency in public fund management (Udo, 2017). This policy has been adopted from the previous government. The policy has helped the present government to curb hitherto excesses in government income and expenditure in the MDAs. However,

former President was also alleged to have favour some corrupt politicians under his leadership. For instance, what can we say about the \$2.1 billion arms deal? The money that was budgeted for the purchase of arms in the fight against Nigeria's Boko Haram insurgency group suddenly disappeared. Whether the fund developed legs and ran away is what the Federal Government of Nigeria could not explain to its citizens. The stain of corruption did not spare anti-graft agencies, as former Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC, Ibrahim Lamorde, was accused of fraudulently diverting N1tn proceeds from corruption recovered by the agency (Adeyemi, 2016). This is incredible, as those who were appointed to fight corruption in the country are also found to be victims of the same problem they fight (Udama, 2013).

It is pertinent to begin by stating clearly that President MuhammaduBuhari possesses the desire, inclinations and political will to combat corruption to a standstill in Nigeria. It has become exceedingly glaring that anti-corruption, as part of the All Progressive Congress' (APC) manifesto, was solely the brainchild of President MuhammaduBuhari. He had averred in his campaign tours the ills of corruption and as well pointed out why it is pertinent to put an end to such menace that has for decades perplexed Nigeria's growth. In fact, his election campaign speeches were incomplete without a mention of how 'corruption' had debilitated the country and its institutions and how he (Buhari) will turn things around. He never hesitated to warn Nigerians that "if Nigeria does not kill corruption, Corruption will kill Nigeria". After his victory at the polls, he was sworn in, as the President on 29 May, 2015. On assumption of duty, he maintained all the policies on fight against corruption already established by the past regimes and established Presidential advisory committee on fight against corruption to enable him fight it to the fullest and later established whistle blowing policy (Adagbabiri, 2018). The policy has achieved a level of success although it is not backed up by law. However, the policy in recent times has suffered abuse due to administrative red-tapism and counter-claim by whistle blowers themselves as well as the questionable involvement of officials of the agencies in anti-graft cases.

However, some Nigerians perceive the anti-graft war to be targeted at the members of the former ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). This insinuations is made more germane by the fact that several petitions written against top members of the Buhari led All Progressive's Congress (APC) such

as RotimiAmeachi (former governor of Rivers State) and Babatunde Raji Fashola (former governor of Lagos State) have fallen on deaf ears. Instead, the president has appointed this duo into his cabinet as ministers and as such shielded them with interesting portfolios. It will therefore not be wrong to assert that Buhari's anti-corruption strategy in his eight months has been a misguided objective. Instead of tackling corruption, he has been busy running after the manifestations of corruption with so much enthusiasm that such actions will deter others from exhibiting such traits.

Factors for the Failure of Fight against Corruption in Nigeria

There have also been anti-corruption shenanigans of the various administrations in the fight against corruption over the years in Nigeria without adequate positive result (Udama, 2013). Here are some of the reasons why the fight against corruption failed to adequately reduce the occurrence of corruption in Nigeria:

1. Constitutional Constraints
2. The Lack of Political Will
3. Jurisdiction limitation of the Anti-graft Agencies
4. Lackadaisical attitudes of Some Personnel
5. The Negative Use of Law enforcement Agents
6. Globalization

Constitutional Constraints: In Nigeria, many people have attributed some constitutional constraints inhibiting the prosecution of some political office holders such as the immunity clause in the constitution. They alleged that it has prevented some political office holders from prosecution while they are still in office. This may be true in part because they have not explained why those people could not be prosecuted after leaving offices. For instance, many politicians were investigated and accused of massive corruption but none of them have been prosecuted or called to answer questions in the mismanagement of their states' finances in the past especially under the leadership of former EFCC chairman, Mal NuhuRibadu. Most of the corruption cases are swept under the carpet after the initial storm. Again, the attitude of the defence lawyers in frustrating corruption trails by using court injunctions and counter injunctions as delay tactics to stall or forestall trails resulting in congestion of corruption

cases, slow pace of court proceeding, or forgetfulness as the issue lost stem by the public needs to be factored into the calculus.

The Lack of the Political Will: This can be seen in the manifestation of corruption as illustrated above where almost all the past leaders were either seen to have compromised or even involved in the corrupt practices themselves. For instance, former Chairman of the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission, (ICPC) Mr. EkpoNta lamented that the political authority whose duty is to fight corruption lack the political will to fight corruption because the commission has been perennially under-funded hence there has not been anyone convicted for any corruption act (Daily Trust, 2013).

Jurisdiction Limitations of the Anti-graft Agencies: The Independent and Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and its sister organization, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, (EFCC), giving the fact that the laws establishing them have been intentionally skewed to have very limited application so as to adequately protect some corrupt individuals. Besides, they cannot initiate prosecution except an allegation is made by another with overwhelming evidence. The anti-corruption agencies are docile which merely bark without biting. It is not surprising because they operate under the apron of the same leaders who created them and are the same people that stole and are stealing with reckless abandon. So, the ability of the organization has been deliberately hamstrung with limited judicial powers and scope in operations. The hands of the agency are tied together behind its back. One of the limitations for the agencies (ICPC & EFCC) is that, they have no power to investigate public officers who served before June 2000 and 2004 when it was created no matter the weight of evidence against them. According to the leadership of the agencies, they noted that even if the commission receives complaints about these people who had earlier held offices in the past, there is little or nothing the commission could do because it cannot investigate any corrupt practices that occurred before the commission was established. (Ihenacho, 2012).

Lackadaisical Attitudes of Some Personnel: Lukewarm attitude of the enforcers of the law (police, judges etc) forced some officials to be corrupt because they believe they could go unpunished and get away with their unwholesome acts. Those in this group are called the sacred cows, the untouchable, the cabals etcetera. It goes with varied appellations. Those who

design anti-corruption war are the very ones involved in the acts and so do not mean business when they say they are fighting corruption. Osoba (1996) noted that all measures against corruption have failed because they have operated at the level of symbolism. Those waging the war on corruption are themselves corrupt. It is difficult to find leaders who can change the moral tone of the country. Government domination of the economic sphere significantly enhances opportunities and ability to seek rents. Moreover, the officers who are responsible for the handling of corruption cases are hopelessly more corrupt than any other agency in Nigeria and made worst with the corrupt and opaque judicial system. The complicated nature of judicial process, counter accusation which is a cobweb like litigations that are difficult to disentangled. In most instances, the judiciary even challenges the legality of the anti-corruption agencies. They have been muzzled through the skewed statute establishing it and bogged down by the corrupt and chameleon-like Nigerian judiciary. For instance, former chairman of EFCC, Ibrahim Lamorde was accused of have embezzled money from the agency for his personal interest.

The Negative Use of Law enforcement Agents: Within the Nigeria society there is polarization between the elitist class which have the economic, political, and bureaucratic power, and then, the ordinary citizens who are constantly losing whatever they had favorable to the elites. Nigeria practice political bourgeois democracy system where state resources are appropriated by a handful of persons at the expense of the masses, the proletariats. In bourgeois democracy, the poor are deliberately created to continue to sustain the rich. There is also the comprador bourgeoisie who serve as cronies and fronts to protect foreign interest even at the expense of the domestic economy. This system generally encouraged the use of state police to ruthlessly quell any uprising and clampdown on the defenseless poor protesting corruption of the elitists' class and ensure they do not attempt it again. Such brutal uses of force instill fear on the poor.

Globalization: Globalization has equally compounded the problem because large sums of money can easily be laundered through the new financial banking system which can be operated in any part of the globe. This makes it difficult for this money to be tracked. Besides, the banks do not cooperate by reporting most of these people because they survive on this illegal money which is usually huge that keep them afloat.

The Connectivity between Corruption and National Security

The relationship between corruption and national security is causal in a number of ways. While some have attempted to argue that corruption is not necessarily de-developmental or anti-development, in the long term, none of the functionalist proponents of corruption would say corruption is developmental. Corruption among other things reduces foreign direct investment (FDI) as international businesses who operate under global good business practices would try to avoid such markets. Second, corruption encourages violence in the sense that those that benefit from the process would do all they could to sustain their hold on political power. This sit-tight syndrome would mean that politics becomes a do-or-die affair. With this, all other bad governance feature would materialize providing the grounds for political instability which could easily take an ethnic dimension (Ogo, 2015).

Apart from the attendant political instability which may also be characterized by politically motivated killings, corruption also generates unemployment. Funds that ordinarily should have been used to create employment are being siphoned and kept by infinitesimal group of individuals who lodge the same funds in foreign banks, generating employment in foreign countries. The youths and the employable are therefore cheated and their future either mortgaged or encumbered. While some are frustrated and manage to live within the sphere that they have created for themselves, others embrace crime and criminality as represented by armed robbery, cultism, prostitution and stealing by false pretense among other vices while a sizeable percentage are also indoctrinated to embrace extremism and terrorism (Ogo, 2015).

It is also pertinent to ask certain questions that speak to the role of corruption as a threat to national security. Why should custom officers clear illegal imports such as bombs and other contrabands into the country after receiving a token as bribe or gratification? Why should immigration officers at the country's border posts allow illegal immigrants into the country after receiving bribes? What explains the escape of notorious criminals and kingpin of terrorist groups or militants from police custody? The fact that these unfortunate incidents happen from time to time demonstrate that extortive and institutional corruption poses serious consequences for national security in Nigeria. This paper therefore highlights the following as some of the major threats of corruption to national security in Nigeria.

Corruption and State Security: In relation to State security, corruption constitutes a threat to national security when the actions and/or inactions of certain individuals or organizations, particularly security personnel, are oriented towards the satisfaction of personal gains in a way that subverts or undermines the integrity and effectiveness of persons, institutions or authorities charged with the responsibility of protecting lives, property or assets within or belonging to the country. From this angle, the security agencies (the Police, Military, State Security Services, Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps, Immigration, and Customs, among others) are saddled with the primary responsibility of maintaining law, order and security in Nigeria. Thus, the actions and inactions of their personnel as a result of corruption greatly and negatively impacts on national security. The Nigerian experience shows that different forms of corruption percolate through the security sector, leading to the existence of ill-equipped, poorly remunerated, and ill-trained personnel incapable of rising to the demands of ensuring the security of lives and properties. Armed robbers and militants easily overrun our security agents primarily because corruption in the sector has contributed in creating security challenges in Nigeria.

For instance, Tafa Balogun, the 21st Inspector General of Police (IGP) in Nigeria was convicted on 17 November 2007 by Justice Binta Nyako of the Abuja High Court for misappropriating over N17 billion (naira) of Police fund. The story may not be very different for the men of the armed forces, who may not be able to defend the territorial integrity of the country owing to the strings of corruption. Some corrupt officers have seriously compromised national security in the quest to enrich themselves. In 2006, for instance, seven admirals and three captains were retired from the Nigerian Navy because of their complicity in the disappearance of the oil-laden ship, *NV African Pride* (Ojiabor, 2007:8). Of grave national security consequences is the revelation that many of the arms and ammunition that militants were using to kill soldiers of the Joint Task Forces in the Niger Delta were purchased from the Army's Central Ordnance depot in Kaduna (Iriekpen, Mamah, and Oji, 2008).

Corruption and Human Security: Corruption has rendered state institutions prostrate, dysfunctional and some moribund. It has been responsible for the weak institutions that cannot function effectively, resulting to Nigeria slow social development and economic growth. It has shackled the economy which leads to the inflation, unemployment, abandoned projects, epileptic electricity

supply, road accidents, and lack of portable drinking water, absence of and affordable health care system, poor infrastructures. It has also denied millions of Nigerians access to the most basic health and education services and greatly reduced the life expectancy of its citizens. In other words, this malady has brought lots of havocs and destructions to the people in such that the malady is threatening the individual and collective well-being of the people of the country. Below are some of the ways through which corruption threatens human security:

Corruption and Human Rights: Corruption is a social danger because it feeds organized crime; it destroys nation-states; it imperils opportunities, particularly for women and girls; it facilitates environmental degradation; it contributes to human trafficking; and it undermines whole communities. Corruption plays an important role in facilitating human trafficking. Transparency International refers to corruption as the “currency” of trafficking. Corruption is a big part of why slavery continues to exist despite the fact that human society has rejected slavery as a legitimate form of labor (Mathias and Raman, 2018). Corruption impacts human rights in four ways:

- a. It affects the poor more than the rich, limiting the ability of the poor to achieve a range of economic and political rights.
- b. It limits the ability of the state to garner revenue and spend on the needs of its citizens.
- c. Illicit money may be tied to illicit activities such as modern slavery and trafficking.
- d. The design of institutions, laws, and policies benefit the powerful at the expense of the poor.

Corruption and Basic Infrastructural Facilities: Infrastructures are those social amenities which make life easier for the people of the society which if not provided would hinder human security of that nation. Conventionally, the provision of these facilities is always one of the basic duties of government and it has been established that the level of infrastructural development of a society is one of the yardsticks of measuring the level of development of that country. In other words, when infrastructures of a country are not developed, such countries are been regarded as an under-developed and unsecured society. This is because infrastructures are required for personal wellbeing and societal

general development. It is highly regrettable that Nigerian government has failed in the provision of these basic social infrastructures because of some corrupt elements in the government and these have been a source of havoc and an instrument of mass destruction of the people of Nigeria. Furthermore, most states and federal roads in Nigeria are not in good shape despite the huge amounts of money allocated for their construction and maintenance. The bad states of these roads have made them a death trap as accidents have become an everyday occurrence on the roads and the roads are recording higher number of casualties (Adegbabiri, 2018).

Corruption and Health Sector: Health facility is another infrastructural facility which corruption has severely affected in Nigeria. Provision of good health facilities is another important function of government the world-over, this is because good health is un-doubted the foundation of good living and every other activities of man depend on his/her state of health (Metoboba, 2011). That is why it is often said that health is wealth, in other world, a healthy individual is a wealthy one, similarly, a healthy nation is a wealthy nation and vice versa. However, it is important to know that one of the ways by which good health could be promoted among the populace is by providing quality and standard health facilities for the people of the society. However, the reverse is the case in Nigeria as corruption has brought about a situation whereby money meant to equip hospitals so that adequate facilities could be available to take care of people's health has been embezzled by some few individuals in the health sector thereby making health issues to be an internal threat to the lives of the citizens (Soyombo, 2006).

Destructions caused by Chronic Unemployment Problems: High level of youth unemployment is one of the major consequences of high level of corruption in Nigeria. Unemployment is a serious social problem in Nigeria due to the catastrophic effects it has on the present and the future of Nigeria. Generally, some of the reflection of the high level of un-employment in Nigeria is manifested in the numbers of criminal activities carried out by the youths in the country; that is the reason many have tied the cause of Boko-Haram uprising to the problems of high rate of unemployment in the country (Ogo, 2015).

Corruption perverts fairness and justice and has played a pivotal role to deteriorate law and order in the country. It is responsible for fuelling hatred and bitterness which resulted in violent crimes such as assassinations, attack on the

security agencies especially the police. When people are denied access to justice and fair hearing, they resort to self-help project to address their grievances. It is believed in many quarters that the activities of Boko Haram, and Niger Delta Militants that has threatened the unity of the country is as result of injustice, and marginalization.

Corruption induces mediocrity and has been responsible for the poor public civil service delivery in the country. This is because those that have the required qualification and experience for employment are not given jobs for lack of either lack of money to pay for such jobs or lack of godfather to assist them. Equally promotions and appointments are not given to those that merit it because do not play by the 'rules' of the game. This has induced anger, bitterness, and hatred among those that have been alienated from the scheme of things and favour especially when they feel they are qualified or entitle to it. This applies to persons, ethnic groups or among individuals working in the same organization. Many people that have been affected negatively by this phenomenon feel so alienated and lose any sense of belonging. The consequence is that it has further widened the ethnic divide, increase political tension that is threatening the unity of the country. The agitation and attempt to divide this country is because many people are having no sense of belong in a country where there is so much to go round. At the end rogues and criminals can be sponsored for such jobs and the implications are better imagined.

Solutions/Recommendation

For corruption to be drastically reduced, it has to be viewed from the national security perspective and given the needed attention that it deserves. Although this archenemy of productivity called corruption has eaten deep into the values of our nation, all hope is not lost as we can fight this universal phenomenon to the barest minimum (Onouha, 2009). Various governments in Nigeria have in the past experimented with different policies and programmes to fight the endemic disease called corruption which has eaten deep into the social fabrics of Nigeria. But to no avail (Yecho, 2013). To this end, this paper suggests the introduction and strengthening of more preventive, punitive and cooperative measures. Set below are some useful ways of tackling corruption in Nigeria:

- a. Any serious fight against corruption must start with the political leadership who must lead by example. This can be achieved by

the enthronement of genuine democracy where political office holders are freely elected by the masses at periodic elections. This will compel leaders to be accountable, transparent and honest and enable the electorate to vote out dishonest leaders, an honest leadership will curtail avenues for corruption, thereby creating wealth where employment will be provided, hunger will be tackled, and the masses will be mobilized and galvanized for national development. The overhaul of our value system through the introduction and implementation of a robust merit and reward system in public and private life

- b.** There is the need to give the anti-corruption agencies new impetus by broadening its scope and amend its statutes, and most importantly, remove all constraints and obstacles hampering their operations. Furthermore, it is said justice delayed is justice denied, since the regular courts have failed, there should be special courts like tribunals with the sole responsibility to handle corruption cases. This will expedite action on corruption trials which are often forgotten with the rise of new issues. In addition, efforts should be made by the legislators that the appointment of heads of these bodies should be independence and free from undue influence by the executives.
- c.** The implementation of a new framework to ensure accountability and transparency in the public sector in the form of Nigerian Public Sector Transparency and Accountability Initiative (NPSTAI) to subject the public sector to more scrutiny by the civil society. To ameliorate the scourge of corruption, accountability should be a constant and regular affair. In this regard, Nigerians mostly politicians and public officers should be held accountable for their actions. These categories of people should make public declaration of their assets from time to time and breaches of government code of conduct should be published immediately through effective judiciary and law enforcement activity. Those found guilty of corruption should be made to face stringent and effective sanction.

- d. The development of a robust framework that could enhance inter-agency cooperation at the local, national, regional and international levels to prevent, detect and punish corrupt practices. The Western countries have a role to play especially in monitoring funds laundered into their banks. Freezing of assets of known criminal politicians and businessmen will be a welcome development.
- e. Whistle blowing is an important and internationally accepted weapon in fighting corruption. For whistle blowing to be fully effective there is the need for proper organization and dissemination of facts exposed by whistle blowers in Nigeria. The weapon of information which is provision of facts should be used in every office and on all to bring about prudence, transparency and accountability in all aspects of existence in Nigeria. It is also recommended that whistle blowers should be protected against retaliation and victimization by any corrupt practitioners.
- f. There should be a War Against Individual Corruption (WAIC). As President Buhari uses to say that for corruption to be completely eradicated from Nigeria, each individual must start the fight with him/herself. The slogan he (President Buhari) calls “change begins with me”.

Conclusion

Conclusively, the paper focused on the origin and consequences of corruption on the Nigerian national security which was done by tracing the history of corruption in Nigeria. The paper discovered that during past and present period corruption was caused due to a number of reasons. Some of them are: poverty, lack of job security, weak institutions of government and extended family problems. Some of the consequences of corruption on Nigerian national security are: unemployment (human security challenge), misapplication and mismanagement of scarce resources, low international esteem and confidence; ethnic and religious bigotry, poor and un-purposeful leadership quest for self-recognition. It also creates tensions and conflicts between the wealthy and the less wealthy or poor in the society leading to social upheavals which sometimes destabilizes a Nigeria, coups d'états and poverty. For corruption to be

ameliorated from Nigeria so that national security can take place, political leaders must lead by example, accountability should be a constant and regular affair in Nigeria.

Furthermore, it is evident that the converging forces of the capability gap that corruption creates in Nigeria directly and integrally constitute threats to national security; whether defined in terms of human security or state security. And lastly the paper was able to establish that the only way to get out of corruption or reduce it to the barest minimum level is by Nigerians being self-disciplined and morally up right in all we do, i.e change begins with me.

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