Corruption and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: Challenges and Solutions

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Abstract: Corruption has beyond reasonable doubt retarded the growth and development of a nation full of potential like Nigeria. As one of the major challenges confronting the Federal Republic of Nigeria, it has not only degraded the moral values of the country, it has also permeated its politics, economy and the security apparatuses necessary for the peace, unity and development of the country. Consequently, corruption has been overwhelmingly identified as one of the major factors in the socio-economic and political underdevelopment of Nigeria. The recognition of the fact that corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian society has motivated successive administrations since independence to embark on series of reforms in public administration with the view of achieving greater efficiency, discipline and productivity in the Nigerian public service. Although the intended reforms were brilliantly crafted and widely publicised, the anticipated gains were never realised due to the absence of a political will and also in-built corrupt mechanisms within the committees put in place to rid Nigeria of corruption. To be candid, the inability of successive governments to tackle corruption cum the lackluster response to corrupt practices perpetuated by government functionaries tend to give members of the public the impression that corruption has been legitimized because it has somewhat become a national way of life in Nigeria. Thus, this paper intends to examine the relationship between corruption and underdevelopment, and to x-ray the challenges corruption poses and the possible solutions to the menace of corruption in Nigeria.

Key words: Corruption, Underdevelopment

I. INTRODUCTION

The inextricable relationship between corruption and underdevelopment in Africa had long been established by scholars of repute interested in the political economy of the continent. This is because the resource endowed continent of Africa widely expected to achieve meaningful socio-economic and political development is currently wallowing in abject poverty with hopes of a rapid transformation gradually fading away. Therefore, continental Africa represents one of the ironic reversals in human history where there exist no concrete relationship between available human/natural resources and the state of development. The fact of the matter is that expectation for independent Nigeria was very high given its abundant natural and human potential. However, the accumulation of the wealth of the nation, and the desperate and determined attempt by its leaders to circulate it amongst friends and family members has undermined the advancement of the nation, and its ability to maximize its potential to the fullest.

Hence, Nigeria has been ranked high in corruption by Transparency International and other notable organizations that monitor corrupt practices around the world. It is the contention of this paper that the level of corruption in Nigeria, which is now beyond proportion, is a corollary of gross mismanagement and maladministration.
II. CORRUPTION AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The concepts of corruption and underdevelopment had already been over flogged in avalanche of scholarly works since the beginning of Africa’s postcolonial history (see Rodney, W, 1972; Ake, C, 1981; Ofiong, D.A., 1980; Achebe, Chinua, 1983, etc). Scholars concentration on corruption and development could be understood in relation to the yearnings of the citizens of the continent for an improved standard of life, which they hoped would mark a tremendous departure from the years of colonial exploitation, oppression, suppression and underdevelopment blamed on colonialism.

It is very important to note that the phenomena of corruption and underdevelopment lack universally acceptable definitions. The major reason for the conceptual problem hinges on the fact that corruption and underdevelopment are multi-faceted; they may be political, socio-economic, etc. However, according to section 8 (1) of the anti-corruption law of Nigeria (2004), it involves the act of asking for, receiving or obtaining any property or benefit of any kind for oneself or for any other person. Similarly, the World Bank (2010) sees corruption as the abuse of public office for self-aggrandizement or private benefits. From these definitions, corruption may be summarized to mean illegal acts characterized by unlawful payments and financial transactions such as bribes, embezzlement and money laundry, inflation of contracts, abuse of public property, lodging government funds in private accounts, examination malpractice, among others. It also involves the abuse of general rules of public offices, absence of accountability and the under-utilization of public funds for self-aggrandizement.

On the other hand, underdevelopment does not mean the absence of development. As a concept, underdevelopment makes sense only in comparative terms. Hence, the unanimous assertion by prominent scholars in the field of underdevelopment/dependency theorists such as Ander Frank (1975) and Walter Rodney (1972) that development and underdevelopment are two sides of world historical movement between the First World nations and Third World nations. Thus, these underdevelopment theories viewed underdevelopment in Third World countries as the outcome of the centuries of unequal relationship between the center (First World nations) and the periphery (Third World nations), which resulted in the development of the First World and the underdevelopment of the Third World. In Nigeria, while the periphery is represented by the masses, the center is represented by the ruling class. As a result of the unequal relationship deeply entrenched in Nigeria, the country has witnessed the exploitation of the masses by the few who show no interest in the development of the country, except in areas that benefit their elitist interest. Therefore, unequal relationship in Nigeria has been sustained by corrupt practices because corruption thrives on it. In a nut-shell, underdevelopment means backwardness in all spheres of a country’s national life, which results from the inability of a country to deal with its environment. It is also characterized by lack of indigenous industries, inadequate production of food, unscientific agriculture, etc. No doubt, Nigeria fits into this category of nations.
III. CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

It is incumbent to examine some of the reasons why corruption thrives in Nigeria. According to Achebe (1983:1), the problem of underdevelopment in Nigeria is strictly leadership because the human and natural resources of the country are sufficient for a phenomenal development. Deducing from the assertion of the late erudite scholar whose understanding of Nigeria is unquestionable, it is safe to argue that leadership failure has eroded the place of responsibility and accountability in the process of governance necessary to stamp out corrupt practices. Apart from the problem of leadership, some scholars have argued that petty corrupt practices mostly carried out by the less privilege in Nigeria can be blamed on the level of poverty in Nigeria (Uzochukwu, 2017). The proponents of this school argued that the inability of many families in Nigeria to enjoy the basic necessities of life entices many to corrupt practices. Hence, some people engage in corrupt practices not because they actually want to but because they see corrupt practices as a way of bridging the gap that exists between the poor and the rich.

Although this theory appears plausible, it is important to note that there is no level of poverty in any part of the world that can be used to justify corrupt practices, because some corrupt practices are due to the degeneration and shaky foundations of our moral upbringing. This explains why corruption transcends nearly every structure of Nigerian society. Therefore, the political economy of Nigeria appears to be built on corruption, and in fact, thrives on it, such that even our religious and traditional institutions cannot claim to be completely free from it.

Corruption has featured prominently throughout Nigeria’s post-colonial history. This is in spite of the fact that the Nigerian nationalists confronted the British colonialists as a result of their heinous corrupt practices, described by many as man’s inhumanity to man, and the exploitation of labor, resources and markets for the development of Britain and the underdevelopment of Nigeria. This palpable contradiction emerged as a result of the inbuilt division that characterized the nationalist struggles after the Second World War and the legacy of the Richards constitution of 1946, which introduced three regions in Nigeria and subsequently consolidated ethnic and regional politics in the country (Aloko & Usman, 2014: 2). Thus, it may be apt to argue that part of the motives of the struggle for independence was the desire to control the rich resources of the country at the expense of one region or the other. It was in order to achieve dominance in the political economy of the country that politicians from the three regions resorted to corrupt practices to serve their elitist interest as against the interest of the general public. Therefore, independence was achieved on a faulty foundation, and development by contradiction inevitably ensued.

Flamboyance distinguished the lifestyle of politicians of the First Republic (1960-1966). Although corruption in this period was minimal compared to what we have today, regional rivalry and inter-party wranglings were the dominant challenges of the First Republic (Akinola, 2015). Corruption in this period may be categorized as political in nature because politicians engaged themselves
in political squabbles such as the census crises of 1962/63, 1964 general elections and the 1965 Western Region elections for the purposes of dominating the political spectrum and the allocation of the rich national resources of the polity. Indeed, the coup plotters pointed out corruption as one of the major reasons for the overthrow of the administration.

The oil boom era (1971-77) added impetus to corrupt practices in Nigeria. The period brought enormous wealth to the country but the extravagant and reckless spending of the administration brought doom rather than blessing to the country. A good example of such extravagant spending was FESTAC 77. In a flagrant demonstration of gross incompetence and financial cluelessness, Gowon uninspiringly declared that money was not the problem of Nigeria but how to spend it. Although General Yakubu Gowon was not found guilty of any corrupt practices, it has been argued that 10 of his state governors were indicted for corruption and self-aggrandizement by the corrective administration of Murtala Muhammed/Olusegun Obasanjo (Akinola, 2015).

To be candid, Gowon lacked the political will and other necessary qualities to tackle the enormous challenges corruption posed to his administration. Hence, corruption under his administration brought untold hardship to the country as top government officials acted more and more as though they were laws unto themselves while Gowon appeared more and more unable to check and discipline them and offer solutions to the nation’s ever-mounting corrupt practices. The historical lesson which successive governments in Nigeria ought to have learnt but for want of self and penchant for ostentatious lifestyle refused to is that, corruption ultimately led to the fall of General Yakubu Gowon.

The reformist administration of Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasanjo (1975-79) had realised the scale of corruption in the country. Determined to rid the country of corruption, so many indicted civil servants of the Gowon administration were dismissed. However, some scholars are of the view that although corruption was minimal during this period, the Operation Feed the Nation Program, and the associated land grab under the Land Use Decree implemented by Olusegun Obasanjo was used as conduits to reward cronies, and that the famous Otta Farm of Nigeria (OFM) was supposedly a project borne out of this scandal (Ogbeidi, 2012).

The pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria’s Second Republic (1979-83) has been documented in a plethora of scholarly works (See Okonkwo, 2007; Ribadu, 2007; Shettima, 2009, among others). The administration of Shehu Shagari was characterized by mismanagement and the embezzlement of public funds. The treasury was unscrupulously looted in a way that worsened the already poor state of the economy. It was claimed that over $16 billion in oil revenues were lost between 1979 and 1983 during the reign of President Shehu Shagari. It became quite common for federal buildings to mysteriously go up in flames, most especially just before the onset of ordered audits of government accounts, making it impossible to discover written evidence of embezzlement and fraud (Dash, 1983).
It was amidst these circumstances that the December 1983 coup which ousted the Second Republic was hailed in some sections of the country as a legitimate action to oust a corrupt government. The extent of corruption in the Shagari led administration explains why the then Head of State, General Muhammadu Buhari went as far as sentencing the politicians of the Second Republic to ridiculous jail terms of a minimum of 100 years and a maximum period of 340 years (Ogbeidi, 2012). And also, the failed adoption, doping and subsequent crating of master fugitive, Umaru Dikko, a transport Minister under Shagari, accused of embezzling $6 billion.

The draconian administration of General Muhammadu Buhari was abruptly brought to an end by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, whose administration was accused of institutionalizing corruption in Nigeria. Under his watch, loyalty was rewarded with cash and gifts which eroded discipline and professionalism in the Nigerian Armed Forces. Till date, the administration is yet to give account of the gulf war windfall, which had been estimated to be about $12.4 billion (Adewumi, 2015). It has been established by scholars that General Ibrahim Babangida used his ill-gotten wealth to reward his friends and cronies, which played an indisputable role in the emergence of a new elite group in Nigeria. In his thought provocative scholarly piece, Maduagwu succinctly encapsulated the gamut of Babangida’s legalization of corruption when he averred that:

Not only did the regime encourage corruption by pardoning corrupt officials convicted by his predecessors and returning their seized properties, the regime officially sanctioned corruption in the country and made it difficult to apply the only potent measures, long prison terms and seizure of ill-gotten wealth, for fighting corruption in Nigeria in the future (Maduagwu quoted in Gboyega, 1996: 5).

It is instructive to note that the administration of the late Gen. Sani Abacha skyrocketed corrupt practices to a new dimension. The new dimension was marked by the blunt looting of Nigeria’s treasury by family members and friends. Revelations about his ill-gotten wealth saved in foreign banks have not ceased. In June 2014, $227 million was returned to Nigeria from Liechtenstein and on the 17th of March, 2015, the Swiss government concluded plans to return $380 million to Nigeria which is part of the money stashed in Swiss bank by the former dictator (Fedotov, 2017). In defiance to allegations and recoveries of stolen funds from the family, Maryam Abacha has boldly claimed that ‘no matter how much they recover from them, they can never be as poor as Dangote’ (Onwuka, Azuka, 2017)!

Sarcastic as her statement may seem, it tells us the magnitude of the looting of Nigerian resources under Abacha’s watch.

For although the administration of Abdulsalam Abubakar will go down well in the anal of Nigerian history as the second military administration to successfully hand over power to a democratically elected leader, the government was also found wanting of corrupt practices meant to enrich himself and his close associates. This is because the Christopher Kolade inquiry established during the Fourth Republic indicted the Abubakar administration over award of contracts and some financial transactions that were hastily carried out between 1998 and 1999 (Akinola, 2015).
Since the beginning of the Fourth Republic (1999), attempts have been made to tackle the menace of corruption in Nigeria. Some of the major attempts include the establishment of anti-corruption institutions such as the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) on 29th September 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2004 by the Olusegun Obasanjo administration (see The Corrupt practices and other Related Offences Act, 2000; EFCC Establishment Act, 2004). However, despite the institutional mechanisms put in place to fight corruption, the fourth republic has witnessed increased cases of corrupt practices from 1999 to 2017.

It is pertinent to note that, the man who established these two institutions to fight corruption in Nigeria has also been accused of numerous corrupt practices. To mention just a few, he was involved in the Transcorp shares scandal which contradicts the standards for public officers. He has also attempted to manipulate the constitution of Nigeria in order to secure a third term by unscrupulously bribing the legislature (Fedotov, 2017). Hence, it is safe to argue that the unconstitutional actions of President Olusegun Obasanjo to undermine our democratic institutions have deepened corrupt practices at the highest level. Most importantly, critics observed that he judiciously used the two anti-graft commissions (EFFCC AND ICPC) he established as potent weapons to fight his political enemies, which implies fighting corruption with corruption.

The administration of Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015) has been described by many as the most corrupt government in the history of Nigeria. While some Nigerians accept this argument as real, others are of the opinion that that this view is largely imaginary. Those who reject this claim argued that it was part of the ploy adopted by the ruling party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) to oust the former ruling party, the People’s Democratic Party (PDP). Be that as it may, corruption continued under the watch of Goodluck Jonathan. For example, the BMW purchase by his aviation minister, $250 million plus security contracts to militants in the Niger Delta, massive corruption and kickbacks in the Petroleum Ministry including accusations of sweetheart deals with select fronts and business people to divert wealth (The Storey Report, 2016). A very good example of embezzlement of public funds during the Goodluck Jonathan administration was the discovery of nearly $10 million in cash at a property in Kaduna, own by a former Group Managing Director of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Andrew Yakubu. It is disheartening to note that very little or perhaps nothing has been done to sincerely stamp out corruption from Nigeria’s national life.

The conclusion that could be drawn from the history of corruption in Nigeria is that politicians only pay lip service in the fight against corruption. Similarly, the institutions set up to fight corruption are in themselves very corrupt, and are symptomatic of a dysfunctional political system which thrives on the sharing of ‘the national cake’ by the most privilege class at the expense of the less privilege.

The Challenges Corruption Poses to the Development of Nigeria
Underdevelopment is one of the progenies of corruption in Nigeria. This is because it breeds so many negative values that retard the development of Nigeria. The challenges corruption poses to the development of Nigeria are enormous, and beyond reasonable doubt, explains the underdevelopment of the country. In fact, it has reached a dangerous point where by ethnic groups now defend their corrupt persons convicted of corruption charges, and insist that they are only being persecuted because they are not the only corrupt persons in Nigeria. The above reality, more than ever before, calls for a thorough examination of some of the challenges corruption poses to the development of Nigeria.

In one of his speeches on corruption in Africa, the executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Yuri Fedotov, has observed that about $400 billion was stolen between 1960 and 1999 in Nigeria. He further noted that Gen. Sani Abacha alone is estimated to have embezzled the equivalent of 2 - 3 per cent of the country's GDP for every year that he was President (Fedotov, 2017). Similarly, an examination of fifty-five major cases of corruption charged to the court by the EFCC between 1999 and 2012 involved a total sum of one trillion, three hundred and fifty four billion, one hundred and thirty-two million and four hundred thousand Naira (N1,354,132,400,000:00) (Corruption and poverty in Nigeria: A Report, 2015). It is instructive to note that had it not been for want of self on the part of the Nigerian elite, that staggering amount of money would have been invested into developmental projects in the interest of all. Such projects could have included millions of vaccinations for children, thousands of kilometres of roads, hundreds of schools, hospitals and water treatment facilities needed for all round development in the country.

Similarly, the investment of funds looted by heartless persons in Nigeria could have been used in the creation of job opportunities for the millions of unemployed youths roaming the streets with their minds opened to deviant behaviors in order to survive. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that both local and foreign investors wanting to invest in the country have been discouraged from doing so because they fear the negative impact of corrupt practices on their businesses. No doubt, corruption is at the heart of the unemployment crises facing 21st century Nigeria, and in fact threatens the economic prosperity of the country (Aloko & Usman, 2013: 469). This is because unemployment not only affects the quality of life one lives but also reduces ones standing in the society.

Researchers in the social sciences have established the relationship between corruption and poverty (See Corruption and poverty in Nigeria: A Report, 2017; Ogbedi, 2012; Ekundayo, R, et al, 2013, etc.). In its 2010 report, the World Bank observed that corruption has a negative impact on economic performance, employment opportunities, poverty reduction, and access to public health and police services. Furthermore, the Bank (2001: 102) noted in a report published in 2001 that corruption affects the lives of the poor through several channels, including the diverting of resources from vital social services that benefit the poor, such as education and health clinics. Scholars keen interest in the relationship between corruption and poverty was borne out of the fact Nigeria is one of the fastest
growing economies on the African continent and in the world at large. But ironically harbors some of the poorest people in the world with as many as 69% of the population, which is about 112.47 million Nigerians, living below the poverty line (NBS, 2010).

Apart from its growing economy, it is particularly puzzling to see a country with enormous resources, having such a huge portion of its citizens living in poverty. It is this vast incidence of poverty in the midst of plenty that justifies the unending attempts by scholars to establish the nexus between poverty and corruption, as it involves the massive stealing of resources that would have otherwise been invested in providing wealth-creating infrastructure for the citizens.

Corruption is also taken as having the tendency to exacerbate and cause conflicts, promote poverty, and impact negatively on the best use of human and natural resources. In fact, some previous studies have shown that corruption remains a major hindrance to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. (Transparency International, 2010; World Bank, 2010).

It may be apt to sate categorically that any country where corruption has become a national way of life must experience developmental bankruptcy as is the case not only in Nigeria but in the entire continent of Africa. That is the problem with Nigeria, a country where the elite keeps on shifting the country’s currency to foreign countries, with no consideration for the developmental needs of the people who deserve to enjoy the wealth of their nation. In addition to the already discussed challenges which corruption poses to our country, we must also tackle the lack of accountability in the process of governance, inadequate funding of programs that benefit the citizens of the country, diversion of public resources for private ownership, ethno-religious discrimination, lack of competence, inefficiency, etc. which corruption has also brought to our country.

IV. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO CORRUPT PRACTICES IN NIGERIA

Azuka Onwuka has brilliantly elucidated the need for urgent solutions to the challenges of corruption in Nigeria. He argued that:

The action and inaction of Nigerians at all levels show that it pays to be corrupt in Nigeria. And if corruption pays, it is logical that corruption will worsen in Nigeria. Integrity hardly pays here. If it ever does, it pays in trickles. But corruption pays in billions of naira, which are used to make donations to churches, mosques, communities and universities, to “cleanse” the corrupt money and acquire prayers, titles, awards and honors (Onwuka, A, 2017).

His observation clearly shows that Nigerians at all levels are in one way or the other involved in corrupt practices, and that it is found in every sector of our society.

To a large extent, two major issues contributed to the triumph of APC in the 2015 general elections. The two issues were corruption and insecurity in the country, especially in the North-East of the country. In the run up to the elections, President Muhamadu Buhari had rightly warned Nigerians to either kill corruption or corruption will kill the country (Vanguard Nigeria, 2015). For although the validity of President Buhari’s assertion is not in doubt, what he obviously failed to realize is the fact that Nigeria is fantastically
corrupt as rightly observed by the former Prime Minister of Britain, David Cameron. No wonder his war on corruption has been characterized by all talk but no concrete action to kill corruption before it finally kills the Federal Republic of Nigeria as he had warned his supporters before the 2015 general elections. In fact, his selective anti-corruption campaign has left the country more divided like never before.

It is our contentions that until strong and sustainable institutions to combat corruption are put in place, any attempts to fight corruption in Nigeria will amount to effort in futility, meant to address the symptoms of corruption rather than the root cause of it. Systemic attempts should focus on reforming the judiciary which has performed very poorly in the war against corruption. A good example of judicial failure in Nigeria’s war against corruption was the decision by the leadership of the House of Representatives to obtain a bank loan and increase the running cost of each legislator from 27 million naira to 42 million naira per quarter. The Justice in charge of the case, Suleiman Belgore of Abuja High Court insulted the sensibilities of Nigerians and made us a laughing stock of the world, by that ridiculous judgment which stated that ‘although what Speaker Dimeji Bankole and his deputy, Usman Bayero Nafada did was morally wrong, it constituted no criminal offence’ (Premium Times, 2012).

The way forward is to strengthen the anti-corruption laws of Nigeria in a way that aids the war on corruption. It is our contention that long jail terms devoid of bail options or life sentences rather than the usual charge and bail corruption cases noisily circulated in the media be adopted. In contrast, those who steal a goat worth N5, 000 or a motorcycle worth N30, 000 are sentenced to up to 10 years in prison. The strengthening of the anti-corruption laws in the country will serve as deterrence to corrupt persons who loot the resources of our country with impunity. It is perhaps interesting to note that the war against corruption in countries such as China, Indonesia, and Malaysia has been successful because of the death penalty for such crimes.

V. CONCLUSION

A successful war on corruption must go beyond the apparent into the essence of the matter. National interest must override party loyalty. The government must recognize the fact that corruption is not peculiar to a political party but rather a national phenomenon that must be confronted wholeheartedly at all levels, across all parties and most importantly within the ambit of the law. In other words, persons accused of corruption should be guaranteed the right to fair hearing in an open and transparent manner that complies with the basic principles of the rule of law as enunciated by Professor A.V. Dicey. Finally, the independence of the judiciary must be totally ensured and respected by the executive arm of Government so that justice can be dispensed in accordance to the anti-corruption laws of the country. This is because until our anti-graft institutions treat those accused of corruption equally, with no preferential treatment on ethnic, regional and party lines, and also consider individuals accused as innocent until proven guilty in the
court of law, anti-corruption war will only succeed in ending the corporate existence of Nigeria due to the fact that it will deepen the ethno-religious and regional sentiments already gaining ground in the country.

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