

## EFFECTIVE CORRUPTION FIGHT: A PANACEA FOR SOLID ENDURING CHANGE IN NIGERIA

**Goluwa, Shadrack Ezekiel & Jimmy, Vincent Gambo**

Department of Economics

Plateau State University Bokkos, Nigeria

*Email:* [vincentgambo@gmail.com](mailto:vincentgambo@gmail.com)

**Corresponding author:** Jimmy, Vincent Gambo

### ABSTRACT

*The paper attempts to expound on effective corruption fight: a panacea for solid enduring change in Nigeria. The survey method under the descriptive methodology was used to source for primary data through the production of questionnaires. It was discovered that corruption is endemic in Nigeria and that it can stop the achievement of solid enduring change which Nigerians are clamoring for. It was also discovered that even though there have been efforts in place to fight corruption which are yielding some results, there are still some weaknesses in the process. The problems affecting the corruption fight include lack of political will to fight corruption on the part of the leaders, lack of full independence of the anti corruption agencies, inadequate sanctions for corrupt individuals and the immunity in the Nigerian constitution. Other problems include a weak judicial system, a weak legal and institutional framework and inadequate financing and staffing of the anti corruption agencies. The paper recommends that there is need for a strong political will to fight corruption, ethical reorientation, full independence of the anti corruption agencies and expunging the immunity clause from the constitution. Other recommendations include strengthening the judicial system, adequate funding and proper staffing of the anti corruption agencies and adequate sanction for corrupt individuals.*

**Keywords:** *Corruption, Solid-enduring change.*

### INTRODUCTION

The history of corruption in Nigeria can be traced to the pre-colonial times, according to Pierce (2006) as quoted by Anadozie (2016) ascertains that as "British authorities complained about governmental corruption from the very beginning of the colonial period". The problem continued during the colonial days as Storey (1953) as quoted by Ogbeidi(n.d) ascertains that "before independence, there have been cases of official misuse of resources for personal enrichment". Over the years, Nigeria has seen her resources used up with little or nothing to show for it in terms of growth, development and in the living conditions of the citizens due to high-level mismanagement and corruption in the public sector. The administrations that came after the colonial masters left also soiled their hands in corrupt practices. With the coming of the military into power, the problem of corruption became worse in Nigeria. Prominently, the massive looting of the public treasury by former military

president General Ibrahim Babangida who is yet to account for the sum of US\$12.67 billion earned during the Iraq/Gulf war exceptional oil boom (Agbibo, 2013) as quoted by Anadozie (2016) and late General Sani Abacha, his family and accomplices who looted the treasury of Nigeria to the tune of about US \$50 billion is typical evidence of military institutionalised grand corruption (Ezeani, 2005) as quoted by (Anadozie 2016). With the return of democracy in Nigeria, the existing problem of corruption was further escalated by the leaders. The inability of the civilian administrations of Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo, Umaru Yaradua and Goodluck Jonathan to tackle corruption, further escalated the already volatile situation leading to prominent corruption scandals including: the Halliburton affair, Alamieyeseigha's case, Ibori's case (Ayogu and Agbor, 2014), Tafa Balogun's case (Human Rights Watch, 2005), the missing \$20 billion dollar petroleum revenue case (Financial Times, 2015) and the recent looted National security funds by Colonel Sambo Dasuki running into billions of dollars (BBC News, 2015) are just a few of the numerous corruption cases that have challenged Nigeria's transparency and integrity. The cases mentioned above and numerous others are the incidences of corruption that seem to impede Nigeria's growth and development. Sometimes in 2006, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) accused almost all the state governors in Nigeria of corruption and mismanagement. But the commission could not proceed to prosecute them because of the immunity they had as state governors. In 2012, a former governor of the oil rich Delta State, James Ibori was convicted by the Southwark Crown Court in London of money laundering offences involving USD \$67 million after extradition from the United Arab Emirates to stand trial in the United Kingdom (Albin-Lackey, 2013). Ibori was sentenced to 13 years in prison in the United Kingdom on 17 April 2012 (Anadozie, 2016)

The fight against corruption in Nigeria suffered a setback when the former governor of Delta State was granted a state pardon by the former President Jonathan. Human Rights Watch (2014) as quoted by Anadozie (2016) stated that this act was a "a major setback in ending impunity for corruption among political officeholders" in Nigeria. Alamieyeseigha was the only governor to have served a prison term in Nigeria for charges of corruption. The presidential pardon granted to Alamieyeseigha not only sent the wrong signals locally and internationally, but confirmed the reasoning that certain Nigerians are untouchable and has cast serious doubt on the sincerity of the state to combat grand corruption. In addition, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi a former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria now the Emir of Kano, alleged that the sum of about \$20 billion Dollars was unaccounted for by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). To this effect, the federal

government was pressured to hire the services of Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC) to conduct a forensic audit and it was discovered that US\$1.48billion was truly misappropriated thereby giving credence to Sanusi' sallegation, even though this fell short of Sanusi's initial projection of US \$20 billion (Uwugiaren, 2015). Again, the dissipation of the \$32 billion dollars meant for arms procurement in order to fight the threats of Boko Haram terrorism by the former National Security adviser, Sambo Dasuki, has reinforced the firm grip of corruption in Nigeria (BBC News, 2015). The recent discovery of huge amounts of money belonging to a former Managing Director of the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) Andrew Yakubu and the election fraud discovered in the elections in Rivers State are still fresh. On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> October 2017, between the hours of 10 pm and the wee hours of the next day, the Department of State Security (DSS) invaded the homes of some selected justices of the supreme court of Nigeria in Abuja, Judges of the Federal High Court in Port Harcourt and Abuja and the State High Courts in Gombe and Kaduna States (Thisday, 2016). The DSS was able to recover some incriminating evidence in the Judges' residences. Some of the Judges were arrested and made to face trial for corruption. This shows that even the judiciary in the country is not immune to corruption.

In order to stem the tide of corruption in the country, there was a National Dialogue on Corruption organized by the Presidential Advisory Committee Against Corruption (PACAC) at the Presidential Villa in Abuja on the 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2017 (NAN, 2017). At the dialogue, Prof Itse Sagay accused the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) of being reckless with funds meant for development. He explained further that the NDDC spent 141 million naira on cars and Lexus Jeeps from funds meant for the provision of water, hospitals, schools and infrastructure development in the region. NAN (2017) also reported that Prof Sagay also accused the Nigerian Customs Service of charging fees to physically examine goods at the ports and the borders. Today, corruption is a common word used by both adults and children because it is found in every aspect of Nigeria. This monster called corruption has now been nick named in most Nigerian languages especially in the three major languages! Ndokwu (2004) as quoted by Tambuwal (2017) stated that the Igbos call it 'Igbuozu', the 'Yorubas' call it 'Egunje' while the Hausas call it 'Chuachua'. People no longer frown or feel ashamed to engage in corrupt practices! Chuachua/Egunje or Igbuozu is now acceptable and it is possible to hear someone openly complaining that there is no Chuachua, Egunje or Igbuozu at his or her place of work and as such a person might quickly resign if he or she finds another work where there is opportunity for Chuachua. It is as bad as that! (Tambuwal, 2017) The prevalence of corruption in Nigeria has made Nigerians to believe that corruption is

only peculiar to Nigeria. But this is as not true because corruption is a global phenomenon and that it is not the exclusive preserve of any nation, race or section of the world but transcends national boundaries and frontiers and symbolizes phenomenal universal unwholesomeness politically, Aluko (2009) opined. This menace has led to situations like slow movement of files in offices, police extortion of toll fees, port congestion, queues at passport offices and petrol stations, ghost workers syndrome, election irregularities, among others (Dike, 2005, Ihenacho, 2004, Oliyide and Odeku, 2002 and Oloja 2002 in Aluko, (2009). Corruption is a cancer that has eaten deeply into the fabric of Nigeria's 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 foregoing it is evident that corruption undermines the country's integrity and security. The cost of corruption has knocked a negative effect on all aspects of economic and social activities in the country, as both foreign and indigenous investors shy away from legitimate business opportunities in Nigeria. It also poses serious developmental challenge being responsible for the poverty of the populace. Billions of Naira is fritted away through the awarding of frivolous contracts public resources meant for the development of all ends up in few hands, the nation pays the price. According to the Executive Director, Office of Drugs and Crime at the United Nations, Dr. Antonio Maria Costa, about US \$400 billion was stolen from Nigeria and stashed away in foreign banks by past corrupt leaders before the return to democratic rule in 1999 (Igbuzor, 2008).

He (Igbuzor) went further to say "But according to the Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, Nigeria's previous leaders stole about 64 trillion naira (about US \$507 billion) from public coffers." When these stolen moneys are benchmarked against the 2017 budget of ₦7.298 trillion, this translates into more than 8 years budget. This implies had this money not been stolen, Nigeria would need not worry about raising revenue to finance a budget as large as that of 2017 for the next 8 years. This trend of corruption has resulted to absence of social amenities such as portable water, electricity and good roads. The people have become demoralized and become willing tools to be used as sabotages to the state. It has led to the extinction of institutions of national significance and pride such as Nigerian Airways, National Shipping Lines, Steel Rolling Mills, Nigerian Telecommunication Limited, car assembly plants etc. The government of change had promised to provide employment, homes, stable power and social welfare benefits. Other things promised include adequate security, infrastructural facilities, good health services, establish new universities, diversify the economy through heavily investing in the non-oil sectors (agriculture, tourism,

manufacturing, etc) among others. However, Ilaḥ(nd) posited that “corruption is a threat to good governance, peace, political stability and socio-economic development. It is also a threat to any positive progress, success, nation building, unity and national prosperity. This implies that corruption can stand on the way of achieving any meaningful development by any government. For this promised solid and enduring change to be attained in Nigeria, it is sacrosanct and pertinent for the fight against corruption to be highly effective. If the tide of corruption cannot be stemmed by the government of change, the solid enduring change they promised will continue to elude Nigeria as a country.

This paper seeks to address the following research questions:

1. What is the state of corruption in Nigeria?
2. Can corruption stand in the way of achieving solid enduring change in Nigeria?
3. How effective is the current fight against corruption in Nigeria?
4. What are some of the weaknesses of the current anti corruption fight in Nigeria?
5. What solutions can be proffered?

## THE LITERATURE

Corruption is generally defined as an abuse of (public) office for personal or private gain. It includes behavior that may involve fraud, theft, misuse of position or authority or other acts that are unacceptable to an organization and which may cause loss to the organization, its clients or the general public; and dishonestly putting personal interest above those of the people and whose ideals one has pledged to serve. Defining corruption is not so simple because it can take various forms. Corruption is defined by the World Bank (2001) as “the misuse of public office for private gain for the benefit of the holder of the office or some third party...” As such, it involves the improper and unlawful behavior of public-service officials, both politicians and civil servants, whose positions create opportunities for the diversion of money and assets from government to themselves and their accomplices. For Agbese(1982) as quoted by Philips & Akpokighe (2014), “corruption is a phenomenon so difficult to define, yet it percolates every structure of the society. It affects the military as well as it soils the hands of the civilians”. He Agbese (1982) as quoted by Philips & Akpokighe (2014) went further to define corruption as follows ... “When we use our position in society to secure certain advantages like jumping a queue, being waved off at the checkpoint or making others bend the rules to accommodate our demands ... by whatever means even if it is just ‘thank you’ our action however innocent, however well-intentional, however unthreatening to others, has corrupted a system or a convention or some rules and regulations in application.” In this regard,

even whatever form of seasonal gifts, free air tickets, lunch or dinner – “kola” is no longer exempted, since these are likely to influence future courses of action and transactions the giver or receiver is thus corrupting protocol or breaching some rules and regulations in the society (Philips & Akpokighe, 2014). Theoretically, Folarin (2009) quoted (Chinnoy) 1967 to have posited that corruption has been closely linked to the ‘social responsibility’ paradigm in the functionalist model. Naturally, as status changes or increases, social responsibilities are bound to increase as more expectations, like pressures and demands, are coming from people. An elected House of assembly member is not only expected to “deliver” at his ward and local government, but also to “take care” of a growing number of political associates, friends, political thugs, concubines or wives, and retinue of personal staff (Folarin, 2009). A little inflation of contracts and figures here or there may thus be considered not be out of place for the non-public office holder may become desirable not to lose his status. Among the forces that cause corruption in Nigeria theoretically, poverty is identified as the most fundamental. In a study of an average Nigerian society by Ogbunwezeh (2005), it was discovered that the fear of or the quest to quit poverty has been the driving force behind acts of corruption. Those in high places do not want to return to abjection after service. In a similar vein, people seek public office to initiate a change of financial state or fortunes. The escalating rate of poverty in the country caused by poorly implemented economic policies, misappropriation of funds, among others, culminate in state and mass poverty the fear of which drives people to capitalize on opportunities for enrichment. Other acts such as 419, drug peddling and laundering are ‘private’ manifestations of the poverty mentality syndrome.

The enormity of social or societal pressures on public office holders or an affluent individual imposes a burden that could compel acts of corruption. Merton (1957) as quoted by Folarin (2009) notes that there seems to be pressure on elected or appointed political office holders or individuals in the corridors of power from members of his nuclear or extended family to assist them in one way or the other that compels them to perpetrate acts of corruption. This is as a result of the fact that a public office such as Local Government Councilor, Chairman or Senate President or Accounts Manager, or Director-General or Chief Accountant is considered as a goldmine and proximity to the ‘national cake’ that should be wisely shared among family members, who could either be sent to school, or for whom businesses could be set, or rehabilitated, among other pressures. These encourage tendencies toward official and political corruption, in the same way individuals considered wealthy may be tempted to engage in fraud, money laundering or drug peddling in order not to disappoint their kinsmen (Ekeh, 1997) as quoted by (Folarin, 2009).

## METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this paper is to expound on effective corruption fight; a panacea for solid enduring change in Nigeria. The study was carried out in Nigeria and it covered the six geo-political zones found in the country. The methodology used in this research is the descriptive method. The survey method under the descriptive methodology was used to source for primary data through the production of questionnaires. A total of 270 questionnaires were produced and distributed and 45 questionnaires were sent to each state that the respondents were sampled from. The respondents were sampled randomly from six states in each of the six geo-political zones. The states sampled randomly include Toro Metropolis in Bauchi State (North-Eastern Nigeria), Jos Metropolis in Plateau State (North-Central Nigeria) and Oshogbo Metropolis in Osun State (South Western Nigeria). Other areas also sampled include Umuahia North and South metropolis in Abia State (South Eastern Nigeria), Uyo Metropolis in Akwa Ibom State (South-South Nigeria) and Saminaka and Zaria Metropolis in Kaduna State (North-Western Nigeria). Three research assistants were hired to assist in distributing and retrieving the questionnaires in Kaduna, Akwa Ibom and Osun States. 270 questionnaires were produced and distributed but 259 were returned. This means that only 11 were missing. The Statistical Software for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data and the results are presented below.

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Out of the 259 respondents, 161 representing 62.2% percent were males while 96 representing 37.1% were females. Of all the respondents, 115 representing 44.4% were between the ages of 18-25, 103 representing 39.8% were between the ages of 26-35, 31 representing 12% were between the ages of 36-45 and 10 representing 3.9% were of the ages from 46 and above. Based on marital status, 188 representing 72.6 % were single, 69 representing 26.6% were married and 2 representing 0.8 were divorced. Based on educational qualification, 4 representing 1.5% had primary education, 19 representing 7.3% had secondary education and 234 representing 90.3% had tertiary education. On occupation, 102 representing 39.4% respondents were students, 117 representing 45.2% were civil servants, 2 representing 0.8% were farmers, 36 representing 13.9% were business men and women and 2 representing 0.8% were retired. Almost all the respondents 245(94.6% of them) agreed that corruption in Nigeria is endemic, 1.4% were undecided while 3.8% disagreed. The respondents went further to state that Corruption can hinder the achievement of solid enduring change in Nigeria as agreed by 253(97.7%) of the respondents. This reveals how serious the problem of corruption is in the country. Even though the current fight against corruption in Nigeria is to some extent effective and is yielding significant

**Effective Corruption Fight: A Panacea for Solid Enduring Change in Nigeria**

results as agreed by 135(51.6%) and disagreed by 75(28.9). However, there are still weaknesses in the current fight against corruption as agreed by almost all the respondents 243(93%). The problems are presented in the table below with frequencies and percentages.

**TABLE 1: Problems of the Fight against Corruption in Nigeria**

QUESTION	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
Lack of political will on the part of the leaders is a problem facing the fight against corruption in Nigeria.	103 (39.8%)	102 (39.4%)	38 (14.7%)	14 (5.4%)	2 (0.8%)
Lack of full independence of the anti-corruption agencies is another problem facing the anti-corruption fight in Nigeria.	122 (47.1%)	81 (31.3%)	27 (10.4%)	23 (8.9%)	6 (2.3%)
Inadequate sanction for corrupt individuals to serve as a deterrent to others is a problem facing the corruption fight in Nigeria.	167 (63.3%)	79 (30.5%)	10 (3.9%)	4 (1.5%)	2 (0.8)
The immunity clause in the Nigerian constitution is a constraint militating against the effective fight against corruption in Nigeria.	110 (42.5%)	94 (39.3%)	35 (13.5)	16 (6.2%)	4 (1.5%)
A weak judicial system is another challenge facing the fight against corruption in Nigeria.	123 (47.5%)	92 (35.5%)	20 (7.7%)	22 (8.5%)	2 (0.8%)
A weak legal and institutional framework is a problem facing the effective fight against corruption in Nigeria.	95 (36.7%)	121 (46.7%)	22 (8.5%)	19 (7.3%)	2 (0.8%)
Inadequate financing and staffing of the anti-corruption agencies is a problem facing the fight against corruption in Nigeria.	54 (20.8%)	69 (26.6%)	32 (12.4%)	72 (27.8%)	32 (12.4%)

**Source: Field Survey 2017**



**TABLE 2: Solutions to the Problems**

QUESTIONS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
A strong political will to fight corruption can lead to solid enduring change in Nigeria.	122 (47.1%)	110 (42.5%)	17 (6.6%)	10 (3.9%)	
Ethical reorientation is a preventive measure that can curb corruption in Nigeria.	96 (37.1%)	105 (40.5%)	36 (13.9%)	16 (6.2%)	6 (2.3%)
Full independence of the anti-corruption agencies can promote an effective fight against corruption in Nigeria.	80 (30.9%)	104 (40.2%)	40 (15.4%)	25 (9.7%)	10 (3.9%)
Expunging the immunity clause from the constitution of Nigeria will go a long way in stemming the tide of corruption in Nigeria.	103 (39.8%)	118 (45.6%)	32 (12.5%)	2 (0.8%)	4 (1.5%)
Strengthening the judicial system, legal and institutional framework will help in checking corruption in Nigeria.	115 (44.4%)	127 (49%)	10 (3.9%)	5 (1.9%)	2 (0.8%)
Adequate funding and proper staffing of the anti-corruption agencies can help in checkmating corruption in Nigeria.	82 (31.7%)	119 (45.9%)	22 (8.5%)	23 (8.9%)	13 (5%)
Adequate sanction for corrupt individuals will go a long way in effectively fighting against corruption in Nigeria.	185 (71.7%)	59 (22.8%)	11 (4.2%)	2 (0.8%)	2 (0.8%)

**Source: Field Survey 2017**

The results above show the problems facing the corruption fight in Nigeria: These problems include the following: A good number of the respondents (72.2%) agreed that the lack of political will is a problem facing the corruption fight in Nigeria. This result goes in line with what Kpundeh, Johnson & Leikan(1998) stated that “ It is the lack of political will that makes the government to be unable to fully empower the anti-corruption agencies and fully implement anti-corruption laws”. Oko (2002) also concurred with them that the lack political will is a problem facing the anti-corruption fight in Nigeria. The results also show that the lack of full independence of the anti-corruption agencies is a problem facing the corruption fight in the country as agreed by 78.4% of the respondents. This is further corroborated by

Folarin (2009) when he stated that the “anti-corruption agencies by their acts of omission and commission appear to lack complete independence”. He went further to say that “the close affinities the Independent Corrupt practices commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) have with the presidency that created them in the first place have made them to appear like instruments of state coercion and victimization of perceived and real enemies of the civilian administration”. It was agreed by almost all the respondents (93.4%) that inadequate sanctions for corrupt individuals is a problem militating against the fight against corruption in Nigeria. Anaedozié (2016) agreed with this conclusion when she posited that the sanctions available for most corruption cases are a parody of the legislative and executive commitment to tackle the menace in the country. An example of this is the penalty of ₦750, 000 given by Justice Talba’s Judgment in the Police Pension Fund case of ₦ 23 billion which made a mockery of the judicial system in the country (SERAP, 2015). Inadequate financing and staffing was agreed by 44.7% of the respondents to be a problem facing the corruption fight in Nigeria. However, 40.4% disagreed with this position. All the same, Magu (2015) as quoted by Anaedozié (2016) argued that the problems facing the effective fight against corruption in Nigeria include budgetary constraints and issues that have to do with funding. EFCC has also been criticized for lacking staff with the necessary expertise in prosecuting corruption offenses (Obua, 2010). He went further to say that cases abound where the technical lapses from the EFCC has defeated or prolonged cases unduly.

A good number of the respondents (83%) agreed that a weak judicial system is a problem facing the corruption fight in Nigeria. Olaniyan (2014) also criticizes the system as paying lip service to the prosecution of corruption in Nigeria and corruption cases that are taking to court proceed at a snail’s pace. An example that shows the weakness in the Nigerian Judiciary is the case of the former governor of the oil rich Delta James Ibori. Ibori was convicted by the Southwark Crown Court in London of money laundering offenses involving 67 million United States Dollars and was convicted to 13 years in prison (Fombad & Fombad, 2015). The major issue that comes to mind about the case is the question of why a Nigerian Court previously absolved him of the charges on the same offenses. Another problem facing the corruption fight in Nigeria is a weak legal and institutional framework as agreed by 83.4%. Olaniyan (2014) argues further that the fight against corruption in Nigeria fails because the laws are often approached from a criminal law and enforcement dimension devoid of human rights ingredients. Despite all these challenges bedeviling the corruption fight in Nigeria, all hope must not be lost as 77.6% of the respondents agreed that it is still possible to achieve solid enduring change in

Nigeria. As important as achieving solid enduring change is to Nigeria, it is pertinent for appropriate measures be taken in curbing corruption in the country. The appropriate measures to serve as solutions to the problems include a strong political will on the part of the leaders to fight corruption as agreed by 89.9% of the respondents, full independence of the anti-corruption agencies as agreed by 71.1% of the respondents and expunging the immunity clause from the constitution. Other solutions include strengthening the judicial system, legal and institutional frameworks as agreed by 94.4% of the respondents, adequate funding and staffing of the anti-corruption agencies as agreed by 77.6% of the respondents and adequate sanctions for corrupt individuals as agreed by 94.5% of the respondents. Another solution is ethical reorientation as agreed by 77.6% of the respondents. Ogbeyi (2012) argues in favour of ethical reorientation that there is the need for education in good character in order to curb corruption in Nigeria. This underscores the point that ethical reorientation is an effective tool that can be used to stem the tide of corruption. It is necessary for schools, religious organizations Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) and everyone to be a part of this ethical reorientation.

## CONCLUSION

This paper from its findings revealed that corruption is endemic in Nigeria and it can hinder the attainment of solid enduring change in Nigeria. Even though there seem to be efforts put in place to fight corruption which are yielding some results, there are still some loopholes in the process. It was also discovered that it is possible to achieve solid enduring change in Nigeria. However, for this sought after change to be achieved, corruption has be fought to a standstill.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper recommends the following:

1. The leaders in the country need to have a strong political to fight corruption. This political will should be strong enough to prosecute not only corrupt individuals in the opposition party but also corrupt individuals in the ruling party.
2. Ethical reorientation should be used to educate people on the need to abstain from corrupt tendencies.
3. The anti-corruption agencies should be given full independence for them to be able to initiate and prosecute corruption cases independent of the executive arm of government.
4. The immunity clause should be expunged from the Nigerian constitution as it encourages corrupt leaders to loot the treasury without fear of immediate arrest and prosecution.

5. The judicial system and the legal and institutional frameworks in the country should be strengthened.
6. The anti-corruption agencies should be adequately funded and staffed for them to function effectively.
7. There should be appropriate sanctions for corrupt individuals, which will serve as a deterrent to those who may want to tow in the same line.

## REFERENCE

Agbese, D. (1992) Corruption, the Palm Oil that stains the fingers of the Giver and the Receiver *Newswatch* March 9, vol. 15, No. 109 – 115. pp. 9 – 15.

Agbibo, D. (2013). One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: The Political Culture of Corruption and Cleanups in Nigeria. *CEU Political Science Journal* 8(3): 273-295. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/SSRN-id2352352.pdf.

Albin-Lackey, C. (2014) Corruption, Human Rights, and Activism: Useful Connections and Their Limits. In S. Dustin, (Eds.), *Justice and Economic Violence in Transition* (pp. 148-155). NY: Springer.

Aluko, Y. A. (2009): Corruption in Nigeria: Concept and Demission in Anti corruption Reforms in Nigeria since 1999: issues, challenges and the way forward. *IFRA special Resources issues*, vol. 3.

Anaodozie F.(2016). Is Grand Corruption the cancer of Nigeria? A critical Discussion in the light of an Exchange of Presidential letters. *European Scientific Journal* 12/5/doi:10.19044/esj.2016.v124n5p11

Ayogu, D. M. & Agbor, J. (2014). Illicit Financial Flow and Stolen Assets Value Recovery. In Ibi, S.A and Leonce, N. (Eds.), *Capital Flight in Africa, Causes, Effects, and Policy Issues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BBC News(2015). Nigeria's Dasuki arrested over \$2bn arms fraud. 1 December 2015. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-34973872>. Retrieved on the 4<sup>th</sup> April 2017

Chinnoy, F. (1967) *Society. An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Random House

- Ekeh, P.P. (1997) "A Case for Dialogue on Nigerian Federalism" Keynote Address to the Wilberforce Conference on Nigerian Federalism.
- Ekott, I. (2015, January 26). Soludo Grade Jonathan "F" on Economy. *Premium Times* 2015.
- Ezeani, E. O. (2005). Corruption in Nigeria Implication for National Development. *African Renaissance* Vol 2. No.2. Retrieved from <http://reference.sabinet.co.za/document/EJC10094>. Retrieved on the 13<sup>th</sup> April 2017
- Folarin, S. (n.d) Combating Corruption : The Role of the EFCC and ICPC. Lecture notes Senior Lecturer and Head of Department Political Science and International Relations Covenant University, Canaanland, Ota. Retrieved on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2018 by 7:03 AM from [https://eprints.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/id/file/36925&Sa=U&ved=2ahUK Ew158e5\\_gp\\_aHhX024MKH5oZD8cQFjADegQrABAB&usq=AovVaw1 XMJZYtWzImaza-R1mbQG9](https://eprints.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/id/file/36925&Sa=U&ved=2ahUK Ew158e5_gp_aHhX024MKH5oZD8cQFjADegQrABAB&usq=AovVaw1 XMJZYtWzImaza-R1mbQG9)
- Fombad, M. & Fombad, M. (2015). Rethinking Anti-Corruption Strategies in Africa: Constitutional Entrenchment as Basis for Credible and Effective Anti-Corruption Clean-Ups. In Chernor, Jallor & Olufemi Elias (Eds.) *Shielding Humanity: Essays in International Law in Honour of Judge AbdulG Koroma* (PP.726-773). doi: 10.1163/9789004293137\_032. <https://www.nan.ng/photonews/osinbajo-attends-corruption-dialogue>. Retrieved on 1st May 2017 by 9:21pm
- Human Rights Watch. (27 July 2005). Rest in Pieces: Police Torture and Deaths in Custody in Nigeria. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2005/07/27/rest-pieces/police-torture-and-deathscustody-nigeria>.
- Igbuzor, O.(2008), Strategies for Winning the Anti-Corruption War in Nigeria, Abuja: *Action Aid*.
- Ilah A.K.(n.d) Effective measures to prevent and combat corruption and to encourage cooperation between the public and private sectors. A report of a senior Investigating officer in the anti corruption Commission in Namibia. Retrieved from <http://www.accnamibia.org> on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2017 by 12:03 PM.

**Effective Corruption Fight: A Panacea for Solid Enduring Change in Nigeria**

- Kpundeh, S.J., Johnston, M. and Leiken R. (1998). Combating corruption in developing and Transitional countries. Developing Alternatives Incorporated (DAI)
- Lamido, S. (2015, May 13). Unanswered Questions on Nigeria's Missing Oil Revenue Billions. *Financial Times*.
- Merton, R.K (1957) *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Ndokwu, J.N. (2004): Corruption, corrupt practices and Honest leadership in Nigeria. Retrieved from <http://www.corruption,newscorrupt.org/printer> on the 16<sup>th</sup> April 2017
- Obua, E. (2010) Combating Corruption in a "Failed" State: The Nigerian Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). *Journal of Sustainable Development*. Volume 12 No 1.
- Ogbeidi, M.M.(2012). Political Leadership and corruption in Nigeria since 1960: A Socio-economic Analysis. *Journal of Nigerian studies*(1/1). Retrieved on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2017 from [www.unh.edu/nigerianstudies/articles/issues2/political\\_leadership.pdf](http://www.unh.edu/nigerianstudies/articles/issues2/political_leadership.pdf)&5a=U&ved=2ahUKEwi8xKFtazaAhUFKAKHTBIAaoQFjAAegQ1CBAB&usq=AOvVaw22UTidoNBalESB54FEZa9
- Ogbunwezeh, F. (2005) "Poverty, Development and the Burden of Governance in sub-Saharan Africa".
- Okigbo Panel Report(1994), 12.4billion Windfall Profit Missing. Panel on the Re-Organisation and Reform of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Abuja, Nigeria.
- Oko, O. (2002). Subverting the Scourge of Corruption in Nigeria: A Reform Prospectus. *N. Y. U Int'L. & Pol.*
- Olaniyan, K. (2014). *Corruption and Human Rights Law in Africa*.UK: Hart Publishing.
- Philips, O. O. & Akpokighe, O.R.(2014). Corruption in Nigeria: The Possible way out. *Global Journal of Human-Social Sciences: F political Science* Vol. 14

No.7. Retrieved on 9<sup>th</sup> April 10, 2018 from:  
[www.globaljournals.org/GJHSS\\_Volume14/4-corruption-in-nigeria-the-possible.pdf&sa=u&ved=2ahUKEwIUqobo7aAhUOLiAKHX75BH0QFjAAegQICRAB&usg=AOvVawKwo2mleFycL8CGCnWCR3m](http://www.globaljournals.org/GJHSS_Volume14/4-corruption-in-nigeria-the-possible.pdf&sa=u&ved=2ahUKEwIUqobo7aAhUOLiAKHX75BH0QFjAAegQICRAB&usg=AOvVawKwo2mleFycL8CGCnWCR3m)

Pierce, S. (2006). Looking Like a State: Colonialism and the Discourse of Corruption in Northern Nigeria. *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*.

*Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP)*(2015) Retrieved from <http://serapnigeria.org/seraps-paper-the-international-anti-corruption-conference-bangkok-thailand>. Retrieved on the 24<sup>th</sup> April 2017

Storey, B. (1953). *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of Lagos Town Council*. Lagos: Government Print.

Tambuwal M.U.(2017) Education, Corruption and issues of Security Challenges in Contemporary Nigeria. A paper presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> Annual National Conference of school of Education, Federal College of Education Zaria. Retrieved on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2018 from <http://oer.udusok.edu.ng:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/530>.

Uwugiaren, I. (2015). NSA Funds: Jonathan Abused the Public Trust says Buhari. *This Day* December 10 2015.

World Bank.(2001). *World Development Report (WDR 2000/2001): Attacking Poverty*. Geneva: World Bank