



Corruption and the Political Manipulations in the Governance of Nigeria: Implications for Sustainable Development

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Abstract

One of the greatest threats to sustainable development of any nation is corruption. Indeed, this challenge of corruption has remained a major debilitating factor facing Nigeria since the return of the country to civil rule on May 29, 1999. This paper examined corruption as a challenge to sustainable development in Nigeria's fourth republic. To investigate the menace and escapade of corruption, this study adopted documentary method in the gathering of data while the content analytical technique was used for data analysis. The theoretical frameworks that anchored the study were fragile state theory. The results showed that the evil of corruption has greatly contributed to poor economic growth and development, policy summersault, increased level of insecurity and underdevelopment among others. It argued that governance culture in Nigeria has not actually yielded positive result in the fight against corruption and its immediate to pave way for sustainable development. The study, therefore, recommends among other things; strengthening of the existing anti-corruption agencies, effective delivery of good governance and dividend of democracy to the people, establishment of special anti-corruption courts as measures for finding lasting solution to corruption and governance conundrum in Nigeria.

Keywords: Corruption, governance, sustainability, development, democracy.

Introduction

Across the globe, corruption has become a hydrocephalus phenomenon that is orchestrated by enormity of factors basically associated with social and economic conditions and circumstances. In recent times, problems of money in politics are in the headlines everyday somewhere around the world (Pippa & Andrea, 2016). Classic cases-the "Recruit" scandal in Japan, the misuse of "Westminster expenses" in Britain, and "Watergate" in the United States-exemplify long-established democracies rocked by major problems involving financial malfeasance. These well-known examples are far from isolated, however, as political corruption has damaged democratic governance in many Southern European countries, notably in Greece, Italy, France, Spain and Bulgaria

(Haywood & Rhodes, 2002). Again, graft, kickbacks and cronyism commonly plague public affairs in emerging economies such as India, Indonesia, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, Austria, the Philippines and Russia and by extension, all states rated poorly by Transparency International's 2017 Corruption Perception Index. Transparency International 2017 report highlighted that the majority of countries are making little or no progress in preventing corruption.

Apparently, problems of political corruption are widely believed to have serious consequences for democracy, with proponents commonly claiming that reforms can strengthen equitable party competition, principles of transparency and accountability, opportunities for inclusive participation, and the integrity of the political

process. In contrast, flaws in democratic governance are believed to facilitate corruption as well as having broader ramifications undermining citizen's feelings of legitimacy, destabilizing regimes, damaging the delivery of public services and hurting prospects for sustainable development.

Essentially, in the continental Africa, Nigeria is not left in abeyance as she was listed as one of the dangerous countries in Africa with sharp increase in corruption and this no doubts dealt a severe blow to the so-called "Giant of Africa" (Nkwede, Moliki & Dauda, 2017). Nigeria is a country with potentials for development; a large population comprising a dynamic workforce, a growing economy, natural resources, raw materials and oil deposits which make her the largest exporter of crude oil in Africa. Despite these indices for greatness, fifty-eight years after independence, the growing incidence of corruption in Nigeria had continually posed great challenge to governance and inevitably, become a disturbing issue of public concern.

Nigerian people are denied a better state of development and high standard of living as a corollary of corruption in the country. The depths of corruption in Nigeria have essentially threatened the very fabric of the country. Nigeria is already the 15th out of 177 on the list of Failed States Index (2017), sandwiched between Kenya and Ethiopia. Out of the 15 most failed nations, ten were African nations with Somalia (1st), Zimbabwe (2nd), Sudan (3rd), Chad (4th), Democratic Republic of Congo (5th), Central African Republic (8th), Guinea (9th), Ivory Coast (11th), Kenya (14th) and Nigeria (15th). It is obvious that Africa is the home of 15 of the top 20 failed or failing states on the index.

Importantly, corruption pre-dated Nigeria's independence. This is true to the fact that the politics of the colonial era was characterized by the Native Authority system that encouraged the native police to collect bribes and pervert justice. Even after independence, corruption became part of the colonial heritage and was entrenched in the governance and administration process (Nkwede & Aba, 2016). For this reason, there is hardly any administration in the country that has not been found guilty of the corruption. It could be this that made Achebe (1983: 47) to state succinctly thus:

It is totally false to suggest, as we are apt to do that Nigerians were fundamentally different from any other people in the world. Nigerians are corrupt because the system under which they live today makes corruption easy and profitable; they will cease to be corrupt when corruption is made difficult and inconvenient...the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely wrong with the Nigeria character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenges of personal example which is the hallmark of true leadership...

Evidently, successive regimes have enacted and established various institutions to fight corruption in Nigeria viz; the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences (ICPC), established through the ICPC Act 2000, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) vide the EFCC Act, 2004, the Fiscal Responsibility Commission established Vide Fiscal Responsibility Act, 2007, the Bureau for Public Procurement established through the Public Procurement Act, 2007, the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) through the NEITI Act, 2007, and the Code of Conduct Bureau (Idris, 2013).

Against this backdrop, this paper attempts to interrogate the phenomenon of corruption by establishing the following questions; why is the rate of corruption high in Nigeria? What are the roots of corruption in Nigeria? What are the implications of corruption on sustainable development on the country Nigerian? How can the menace and escapade of corruption be ameliorated in Nigeria?

Literature Review

Several efforts have been made by scholars to conceptualize the etymological meaning and nature of corruption depending on their perceptions and orientations. This is because the concept "corruption" to a large extent, provokes a response of interest at mention. Apparently,

some scholars have argued that corruption cannot be easily conceptualized (Egwemi, 2012, Odojin & Omojuwa, 2007).

To Ademola (2011), corruption simply means a dishonest or immoral behaviour which is not in line with the generally accepted norms and standards or perpetration of a vice against the public well-being. In this stand point, corruption is a behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of public roles because of private (personal, close family, groups) pecuniary or status gains of certain types of private influence. Corroborating the foregoing, Nye (1996) asserted that nothing could be regarded as corruption if not when officials take advantages of their offices to acquire wealth or other personal benefits.

Far from that, other scholars point to obvious fact that corruption is illegal, exploitative, immoral and illegitimate which any personality of decent nature should stay away from. Corruption comes in various forms as classified by scholars including bribery, favouritism, extortion, fraud, abuse of authority, patronage, theft, deceit, malfeasance and illegality (Svensson, 2005; Tanz, 1998; Nkwede & Abah, 2016; Transparency International, 2015 and 2016). Essentially, corruption involves unethical actions like nepotism, conflict of interest, divided loyalty, influence-peddling, misuse or stealing of government property, selling of favours, receiving kickbacks, embezzlement, disappointment and under or over-invoicing, obstruction of justice, laundering of profits of corruption among others (AAPAM, 1991; Caiden, 1991; Okorontah and Odionye, 2015); Usman, 2013, Nye, 1996; Awojobi, Atelhe and Agada (2014) Obayelu, 2007, Nageri et al, 2013).

For Dori (2016.8), corruption globally does not respect any political or economic system, it is found in democratic, military, capitalist, socialist, developed and developing societies only the level or rate of corruption varies. To this extent, corruption is seen as a universal phenomenon which has long been with every society and thus identified as the bane of most political, social and economic development as well as democratic stability in many countries of the world (Nkwede and Nwogbaga, 2017). As noted by Ademola (2011) that public roles and responsibilities are usually entrusted to the

public office holders by the people, especially in a democratic system, the trust became corrupted when public roles and resources are used for private benefits. It could be this that made Johnston (1996:324) to submit that:

Fraud or corruption occurs when a person in a position of trust and responsibility, in defiance of prescribed norms, suppresses the rules to advance his personal interest at the expense of the public interest he/she has been entrusted to guard and promote.

In agreement with the above, Gboyega (1996:3-12) maintained that corruption is:

Any decision, act or conduct that was perverse to democratic norms and values. It also covers any decision, act or conduct that subverted the integrity of people in authority or institutions charged with promoting, defending or sustaining the democratization process, thereby undermining its effectiveness in performing its assigned roles.

Contemporaneously, corruption occupies the centre- stage of democratic process in Nigeria and it is now magnificent since it has become the nation's economy's biggest problem. In this regard, when corruption has become systematic, the political leadership of a country can hardly deal with it all in one full swoop. This systemic corruption has affected all aspects of governance in Nigeria (Osibajo, 2018).

Another concept that is too critical for operationalization in this study is sustainable development. Sustainable development in this dimension is seen as the development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Usman (2013) however, maintained that while there is a diversity of viewpoints on the concept of sustainable development, as well as a specific policy and practice options for achieving it, there is more agreement on some of its core principles such as; meeting basic human necessities fairly and efficiently; preserving options for both present and future generations to meet their needs; promoting community well-

being based on broad participation and active citizenship; maintaining that diversity and productivity of nature; managing and utilizing resources with prudence and precautions; linking various aspects of sustainability (economic, ecological and social); assuring accountability for all; avoiding or at least minimizing waste having a long-term view; maintaining a holistic perspective; and fostering cooperation and shared responsibility. Adebayo (2012), sustainable development is the efforts at improving the environment or natural resources for the purpose of improving the quality of human life in such a way that the needs of the future generations are not jeopardized.

Sustainable development has to do with participatory development, human development and environmental protection. These are measured by the Human Development Index (HDI). The Human Development Index combines a measure of purchasing power with measures of physical habit and educational attainment. The three components of HDI offer an alternative to Gross National Product (GNP) for measuring the relative socio-economic progress of nations (Udu & Nkwede, 2014). *Ipsos facto*, it enables people and their governments to evaluate progress over time and to determine priorities for policy interventions. Besides, it permits instructive comparisons of the experiences in different countries (UNDP, 1994).

If sustainable development is participatory and human-centred amongst other aspects as noted, its indicators for use in this study as it concerns corruption and the political jiggery-pokery in the governance of Nigeria shall comprise: level of lasting infrastructural facilities, capacity development, job creation, democratic dividends, institution building, conducive environment for education of the youths and wealth creation, since the basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.

Theoretical underpinning

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is the fragile state theory. The major assumption of the fragile state theory is that prolonged instability/crisis in any state structure or institution of the society that arises from ethnic

differences, consistent manipulation of state resources by power wielders, undemocratic regime or social policy failure, if unabated, can predispose the state into a volatile situation that creates avenue for further manipulation of those weaknesses by internal and external forces. *Ipsos facto*, understanding state fragility means understanding when weaknesses exist unabated in a state institution or essential structures of the society. The fragile state theory is associated with scholars like Naya (2013) Naude, (2011), Mwangi. (2010), & Starr, (2009).

Fragile state theory is germane and relevant to this study simply because when a state fails to demonstrate structural capacity to adopt and manage perceived socio-political crisis in any vital state organ/area, or fails to reasonably demonstrate legitimacy, monopoly of use of power and institutionalize law and order for the harmonious existence of its units, it becomes vulnerable to escalators of major conflict who would take advantage of the situation for political and economic *eldorado*. The picture painted here does not only disrupt socio-political order but gives opportunity to corrupt leadership to establish their beehive in such state or region. This is seemingly so because of absence of law and order and state's inability to control its political milieu, citizens and resources. Similarly, the theory is apt for this study because it not only exposed to the internal and external conditions that gave impetus to the fire-spread political corruption and governance failure in Nigeria, but the factors that sustained and fuelled the spread of corruption in the governance system of Nigerian, which is the essence of this study.

Corruption howbeit, established the critical issues in fragile state framework and in relation to understanding the conditions that promoted the deepening fragility of Nigeria as a sovereign nation and the spread of corruption, it becomes crystal evident that the sustained use of old faces that refused to disappear in politics and the repressive regime in power with absence of legitimate central government to coordinate state affairs due to decades of deepened political inclination were instrumental in engineering corruption that produced nothing but violent youths that have no future.

In net, the propositions of this framework shall be instrumental in guiding this study in analyzing and understanding the nexus between

corruption and governance that made Nigeria a fragile state. The fragile state theory is further summarized and explained in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Some Basic Notions and Assumptions of Fragility

Fragility	- In simple terms, fragility is understood to refer to ineffective states, those that cannot or will not fulfil minimal functions of government. The term is used interchangeably. - The features of weakness combine in different ways and can change overtime, but include the following: state collapse, loss of territorial control, low administrative capacity, political instability, conflict, pervasive corruption, and low acceptance of the rule of law.
Political instability	- Political instability is a contested, broad term that means different things to different people. it is often used to refer to political violence in a given country, be it severe (coups d'état, assassinations, constitutional or regime changes, state failure) or more moderate (government crises, riots). - Political instability is here understood as any process by which a state is fundamentally challenged, be it through violent conflict, or regime change. The assumption is that the state is a crucial element of stability.
Drivers	- A driver is a factor in a process, and relates to how a new circumstance comes about. For purposes, it includes structural features (natural and human resources, economic and social structures), institutions (see below), and agents (individuals and organisations pursuing particular interests). - A driver can move in either a positive or a negative direction or both: a driver is often self-reinforcing, so that it can cause another event, but in turn be influenced by that event as well.
Political Institutions	- Political institutions are the frameworks of rules structuring the behaviour of, in this case, political actors that exercise, distribute and enforce political power. They can be formal (national police) or informal (customary legal courts), state (parliaments and non-state (NGOs) institutions, and informal state institutions. - Political institutions vary across countries and overtime. Political institutions will be shaped by a wide variety of factors, including geography, economic development, history, culture and social norms, and by the states interactions with its neighbours and the wider world. - Strong political institutions are those that can effectively constrain abuse of power by those in political office. Weak institutions are those that cannot. Strong institutions should not be equated with repressive, but rather well-functioning.
Legitimacy	- The most authoritative governments are those that are legitimate in the eyes of citizens because they are in some way accountable and responsive to the people they represent. - Legitimate regimes are those that can induce compliance without resorting to force and are less likely to be confronted with violent challenges.

Source: Vallings and Moreno-Torres (2005.6) Drivers of fragility: what makes states Fragile? PRDE working paper, No.7.

Methodology

Documentary design was employed in the study. Data were elicited from documentary instruments especially from secondary sources through the review of relevant texts, journals, newspapers, official publications, direct observation, media commentaries, and scholarly writings on corruption and governance process in Nigeria and internet materials. The study

employed content analytical methods wherein data collected through secondary sources were analyzed. This approach was germane because it ensures gaining insight from the analysis of corruption and Nigeria's governance conundrum in recent times. *Ipso facto*, the content analytical technique was relied upon to evaluate the data generated in the course of this study. For all intent and purposes, content analysis is a research technique adopted primarily for

objectivity, systematization and qualitative analysis and interpretation of information.

Findings/Discussion

Nigerians are currently forced to watch a show of shame by the ruling party of today and the ruling party of yesterday. Such are accusations and counter-accusations of looting that Nigerians find it difficult to differentiate between the accuser and the accused.

Huge sums of money belonging to the people of Nigeria obviously got into wrong hands and for the wrong reasons. It is clear from pandemonium that the looting that took place cut across party lines. It should be noted that the two leading parties 'PDP and APC' finance their political campaigns using public funds both in the past and the present dispensation (Secondus, 2018).

Nigerians are treated by the two parties to a theatrical display of politically-motivated compilation of lists of looters. The political class and the ruling elite are essentially threat to the country's security and sustainable development. It can and it ought to be said that Nigerian political leaders constitute the greatest threat to security in the country, not armed robbers nor kidnappers, nor Boko Haram nor herdsmen. Nigerians are impoverished by those who are put in charge of her enormous resources while her political leaders live in affluence (Okogie, 2018).

The standard of living continues to nosedive. And while politicians display ill-gotten wealth at birthday and wedding parties, there is widespread dilapidation of infrastructure. The immoral electioneering propaganda that has replaced good governance, and the vicious fight over whose turn it is to capture the pot of honey that Nigeria's wealth is, Nigerian politicians across party lines would stop at nothing in ensuring that youths are impoverished and denied their fair share of democratic dividends

and good governance. Due to poverty, Nigerians, especially the nation's youths, are easily recruited by all kinds of militia groups as another season of elections approaches and this leads to unending season of insecurity to another (Nkwede, Nwori & Edigbo, 2012).

Nigeria with a total dependence on oil revenue is doomed because resource wealth often flood governments with more revenue than they can effectively manage, thereby providing incentive for corruption (Dietz & Eric, 2005). Oil revenues in Nigeria tend to be collected by governments in ways that are usually difficult for citizens to track and unusually easy for crooked officials to divert; hence some revenue end up in off-budget accounts or the pockets of government officials and never heard of again (Ross, 1999; Ogbewere, 2015).

In view of the increasing incidence and pervasiveness of corruption in contemporary Nigeria and the recognition of its debilitating economic, political, socio-cultural, moral and reputational costs to the nation, a major thrust of the civilian and democratic regimes in Nigeria since 1999 is its declaration of war on the problem. But what baffles scholars and most Nigerians is that the more the war rages, the more corruption multiplies and flame to the nooks and crannies of the nation.

Axiomatically, Nigeria ranks 136th out of 176 countries with score of 28 out of 100 on the 2016 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) released in 2017 while in the recent release of the 2017 CPI, Nigeria is ranked 148th out of 180 with a score of 27 out of 100 which suggests that Nigeria is the 32nd most corrupt country in the world (TI, 2018). Tables 2 and 3 below shows the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) on Nigeria since 1996 and High Profile cases of corruption, financial crimes and economic sabotage being prosecuted by the Federal government of Nigeria.

Table 2: Corruption Perception Index (CPI) Rankings and Scores, Nigeria (1996-2017).

Year	Ranking by countries	Scores (scale of 10/100)
1996	54 of 54	0.69/10
1997	52 of 52	1.7/10
1998	81 of 85	1.9/10
1999	98 of 99	1.6/10
2000	90 of 90	1.2/10
2001	90 of 91	1.0/10
2002	101 of 102	1.6/10
2003	132 of 133	1.4/10
2004	144 of 146	1.6/10
2005	152 of 158	1.9/10
2006	150 of 163	2.2/10
2007	147 of 179	2.2/10
2008	141 of 180	2.7/10
2009	130 of 180	2.5/10
2010	134 of 178	2.4/10
2011	143 of 183	2.4/10
2012	139 of 176	27/100
2013	144 of 177	25/100
2014	136 of 175	27/100
2015	136 of 168	26/100
2016	136 of 176	28/100
2017	148 of 180	27/100

Source: Transparency International, 1997-2017; compiled by the authors.

From table 3 it is obvious that corruption has continued to grow unabated. There is the horrendous depletion of Nigeria's scarce capital and investible surplus through systematic and official looting of the treasury for corrupt enrichment abroad. This form of primitive accumulation of stipendiary capital is what is euphemistically called "capital flight" in the political discourse of the sedate and the debutante on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, corruption has reached a staggering dimension in Nigeria between the years 2010 and 2018 because it is not only that official are corrupt, but corruption is official and *lootocracy* has become a new diatribe for governance in the country. Since 2012, the estimate of this haemorrhage of looted capital from Nigeria is put at over \$400 billion. In recent times, it was reported that Nigeria lost \$174 billion to corruption at the end of 2015 (Okojie, 2018).

Nkwede *et al.* (2017) observed that the Nigerian experience since 1999 indicates that corruption has become a norm with newspapers inundated on daily/weekly basis with news on political bureaucratic corruption. The high level of moral decadence was exemplified in the presentation

of the 2016 budgets to the National Assembly, which brought the term "budget padding" into Nigeria's political dictionary.

Table 4, however, shows some manifestations of the major cases of corruption in Nigeria between the years 2010 & 2018.

From table 4, it is evident that all the three arms of government and other state institutions are immersed in corruption. Corruption has also rocked the hallowed chambers (the National Assembly) where the likes of Chief Evans Enwerem, Chuba Okadigbo and Adolphos Wabara were all impeached on grounds of corruption (Ogundiya, 2012). In the case of Senator Chuba Okadigbo, it was found that he inflated street light project to the tune of 173 million Naira; Okadigbo again authorized the payment of 372 million naira to furnish his residence with a sum estimated above 25 million and equally installed and commissioned a 100KVa Generator set of the Senate President residence at an inflated amount of 15 million naira (Usman, 2013).

Table 3: High Profile cases of Corruption, Financial Crimes and Economic Sabotage being prosecuted by the Federal Government of Nigeria

NO.	PARTIES	CASES/CHARGE NO	BRIEF SUMMARY OF FACTS AND NATURE OF OFFENCE(S)	YEAR CASE WAS FILLED IN COURT	COURT	STATUS
1.	FRN V ALAHAJI DANUMA GOJE 4 OTHERS	FHC /GM/CR/33C/2011	The 1 st accused was the Executive governor of Gombe state. He is facing trial alongside others for corrupt practices and money laundering allegedly committed while he was the Governor	2011	Deral High Court, Gombe	Trial is ongoing. Prosecution is yet to close its case.
2.	FRN V JOLLY TEVORU NYAME	FCT/HCT/CR/82/2007	The accused who was the Executive Governor of Taraba State is standing trial on a 41-count charge of criminal misappropriation of public funds, embezzlement, and criminal breach of trust.	2007	High Court of the FCT	Trial is ongoing. Case at the stage of trial within trial.
3.	FRN V JOSHUA DARIYE	FCT/HC/CR/81/07	The accused who was the executive governor of plateau state is standing trial on a 23-count charge of criminal misappropriation of public funds, embezzlement, and criminal breach of trust.	2007	High Court of the FCT	Trial to commence in January 2016 after the loss of interlocutory appeal at the Supreme Court by the defence, and return of the presiding judge from election petitions tribunal.
4.	FRN V ORJI UZOR KALU & ORS	FHC/ABJ/CR/56/07	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Abia State is standing trial alongside others for money laundering allegedly committed by him when he was the Governor of Abia State.	2007	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Case still pending at the Supreme Court forthe determination of interlocutory appeal by the defence.
5.	FRN V. SAMINU TURAKI & ORS.	FHC/ABJ/CR/86/07	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Jigawa was charged for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed by him while he was the Governor of the State.	2007	Federal High Court Dutse.	Defendant has ascended. Bench warrant issued for his arrest.
6.	FRN V. AUDU ABUBAKAR & ANOR.	Cr/115/2013	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Kogi State was charged for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed by him while he was the Governor of the State.	2013	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Trial was ongoing before the demise of the defendant

7.	FRN V. TIMIPRE SYLVA & 6 ORS	FHC/ABJ/CR/280/2015	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Bayelsa State was charged for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed by him while he was the Governor of the State.	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Case dismissed as an abuse of court's process. Measures have been taken to appeal against the decision.
8.	FRN V. ESAI DANGABAR & 7 ORS	FCT/CR/64/2012	The accused persons are facing breaching of trust and misappropriation of Police Pensions funds.	2012	FCT High Court, Abuja.	Trial ongoing.
9.	FRN V MURTALA NYAKO & ORS	FHC/ABJ/CR/293/2015	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Adamawa State is facing trial alongside others facing trial for corruption related money laundering.	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Trial has commenced in the case.
10.	FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA V SULE LAMIDO & ORS.	FHC/KN/CR/116/2015	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor Jigawa State is standing trial alongside others for corruption related money laundering.	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Trial is ongoing.
11.	FRN V. DR. SANI TEIDI SHAIBU & 10 ORS	FHC/ABJ/CR/82/2013	The accused persons are standing for pensions scam in the office of the Head of Service of the Federation.	2013	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Trial is ongoing.
12.	FRN V. TEMISAN OMATSEYE (NIMASA)	FHC/L/482/2010	The accused was the Director General of NIMASA is facing for offences under the Public Procurement Act.	2010	Federal High Court, Lagos.	Trial is ongoing.
13.	FRN V. OTUNBA ALAO-AKALA	1/5EFCC/2011	The accused who was the executive governor of Oyo state is facing corruption and money laundering charges.	2011	High Court, Ibadan.	Trial is yet to commence. Case is on interlocutory appeal at the Supreme Court.
14.	FRN V. STEVE OROSANYE	FHC/ABJ/CR297/2015	The accused is facing trial for corrupt practices during his regimes as the Head of Service of the Federation.	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Trial is yet to commence.
15.	FRN V. RACHEED LADOJA	FHC/L/336/08	The accused person who was the Executive Governor of Oyo State is standing trial for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed while in office.	2008	Federal High Court, Lagos.	Case on interlocutory appeal up to the Supreme Court.

16.	FRN V. CHIMAROKE NNAMANI & ORS	FHC/L/09C/2007	The 1 st accused person who was the Executive Governor of Anambra State is standing trial with others for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed while in officer.	2007	Federal High Court, Lagos	Trial has been delayed by the alleged illness of the 1 st defendant.
17.	FRN V. SANI LULU ABDULLAHI & 3 ORS	ABJ/CR/147/2010	Accused persons are standing for alleged fraud in relation to the fund earmarked for the 2010 world cup.	2010	Federal High Court, Abuja.	Trial ongoing.
18.	FRN V. BABAWALE BABALAKIN	ID/143C/2015	Money laundering	2015	High court of Lagos state	Trial yet commence after the striking out of the initial charge.
19.	FRN V. GBENGA DANIEL	AB/EFCC/01/2012	The accused person, the former Executive Governor of Ogun State is standing trial for corruption committed allegedly committed while in office.	2011	High Court of Ogun State.	Trial ongoing.
20.	FRN V ENGR. SAMUEL IBIGEKPE & 5 ORS.	FCT/CR/39/2009	Charges bordering on criminal breach of trust in the sum of N5billion in the purported award of rural electrification contracts.	2009	High Court of FCT.	Trial ongoing.
21.	FRN V. ALIYU AKWE DOMA & 2 ORS	FHC/LF/CR/34/2011	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Nassarawa State is standing trial with others for corruption related money laundering.	2011	Federal High Court, Lagos.	Trial ongoing
22.	FRN V. ATTAHIRU BAFARAWA & ORS	SS/33C/2009	1 st accused was the Executive Governor of Sokoto State. He was charged alongside others including his companies for misappropriation and embezzlements of the funds of Sokoto State Government.	2010	High Court, Sokoto.	Trial ongoing.
23.	FRN V. ABDULLAHI ADAMU & ORS.	FHC/LF/CR8/2010	The 1 st accused was the Executive Governor of Nassarawa State. He was charged alongside others for corrupt practices and money laundering while being the Executive Governor of the State.	2010	Federal High Court, Lafia.	Case on interlocutory appeal. Trial yet to commence
24.	FRN V. NASAMAN OIL SERVICE LTD & ORS		Oil subsidy scam in the sum of more than N4mb	2012	High Court of Lagos State	Trial has commenced.
25.	FRN V. ABDULLAHI ALAO & ORS.	1D/119C/12	Oil subsidy scam in the sum of N2.6bm	2012	High Court of Lagos State	Trial has commenced.

26.	FRN V. ODDIAH EMMANUEL; OLANIRAN MUNIRU ADEOLA; SALAMI IBRAHIM	FHC/IB/35C/2015	Stealing of naira currencies meant for burning or destruction at the Central Bank of Nigeria.	2015	Federal High Court, Ibadan	Case on interlocutory appeal following an objection to the charge and ruling thereon.
27.	FRN V. THOMAS ISEGHOHI & 2 ORS	FHC/ABJ/CR/86/2 009	Defendant are standing trial for money laundering with respect to the sale Transcorp shares	2009	Federal High Court, Abuja	Trial is ongoing
28.	EFCC V. IKEDI OHAKIM		N270m	2015	FHC ABUJA	Trial ongoing
29.	EFCC V STEVE OROSANYE	FHC/ABJ/CR/297/ 20165	N190,000,000	2015	FHC ABUJA	Case adjourned
30.	EFCC V OLISA METUH	FHC/ABJ/CR/05/2 016	B4000 million	2016	FHC ABUJA	
31.	EFCC V FEMI FANI KAYOED, NENADI USMAN		N46 Billion	2016	FHC LAGOS	Case adjourned till Dec 5 2017
32.	EFCC V. RASHIDI LADOJA		N4.7 Billion	2016	FHC LAGOS	
33.	EFCC V. OLUSOLA OYEWOLE; ADESEYE OGUNLEWE	AB/EFCC/03/2016	N800 Million	2016	HIGH COURT ABEOKUTA	PW 12
34.	EFCC V. JUSTICE RITA OFILI AJUMOGOBIA	1D/3671C/16	\$793,800	2016	IKEJA HIGH COURT, LAGOS	Continuation of Trial
35.	EFCC V RICKEY TARFA; JOSEPH NWOBIKE	LD/2516C/2016	Bribery and gratification to public official N2 Million, N750,000	2016	LAGOS HIGH COURT	Part heard for adoption of Final address
36.	FRN V PATRICK ZIADEKE AKPOBOLOKEMI	LD/2181C/2015	N1.6 Billion	2015	LAGOS HIGH COURT	Part heard
37.	EFCC V. SAMINU TURAKI	FHC/ABJ/CR/86/0 7	N36 Billion	2017	FHC DUTSE	
38.	ICPC V FARUK LAWAL		\$620,000	2013	FCT HIGH COURT.	
39.	EFCC V. ADEBAYO ALAO- AKALA; OLUDEMI BABALOLA	1/5EFCC/2011	N11.5 Billion	2011	OYO STATE HIGH COURT	
40.	MINISTRY OF JUSTICE; EFCC V MAMMAN TUKUR & 13 ORS.	1D/120C/13	\$6 Billion	2013	HIGH COURT LAGOS	Trial
41.	FRN V AHMED RUFAI SANI YERIMA & 2 ORS	ZMS/GS/53C/201 5	Diversion of over 1 billion Naira vote for dam to other purposes	2015	HIGH COURT	Adoption of written address on No Case Submission

42.	FRN VS SENATOR ADOLPHUS WABARA, SENATOR IBRAHIM ABDULAZEEZ, PROFESSOR FABIAN OSUJI & ORS (FORMER SENATE PRESIDENT, MEMBERS & STAFF OF NASS, MINISTER OF EDUCATION)	FCT/HC/CR/31/2005 CA/A/7C/2006 SC2327/2010	Demand for a payment of gratification of 5 million to pass Ministry of Education's budget	2010	FCT HIGH COURT/SUPREME COURT	Case remitted back by the Supreme Court for trial at the high court.
43.	FRN VS PROF. KAYOED CARROLL ONI & 1 OR (DG NATIONAL CENTER FOR AGRICULTURE MECHANIZATION, ILORIN)	KWS/ICPC/1/2007	Virement contrary to S. 22(5) of the ICPC ACT 2000	2007	HIGH COURT KWARA	Accused application to quash the charge was overruled. Further appeal to the Supreme Court.
44.	FRN VS. DR. AUGUSTINE LAHA ZEVE (FORMER CHAIRMAN OF BENUE STATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS MANAGEMENT BOARD)	MH/43C/2007	Virement Contrary to S.22(5) of the ICPC ACT 2000	2007	HIGH COURT OF BENUE STATE, MARKURDI	Case on Interlocutory Appeal
45.	FRN VS JOSEPH AGEJE ALI (FORMER DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE NIGERIAN BUILDING AND ROAD RESEARCH INSTITUTE (NBRI))	CR/32/2009	Virement Contrary to S. 22(5) of the ICPC ACT 2000	2009	HIGH COURT FCT	Matter on appeal at the Court of Appeal
46.	FRN VS SUNDAY GABRIEL EHINDERO AND ANOR. (FORMER INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE)	FCT/HC/CR/92/2012	Using position to confer corrupt advantage. Making false statements to officers of ICPC.	2012	HIGH COURT OF FCT	Appeal challenging ruling of the trial court on no case submission at the court of appeal was dismissed upholding the ruling of the trial court. Further appeal to the Supreme Court.

47.	FRN VS. GETRUDE ALOH, SAM AGBO, DR. HENRY ALOH (FORMER COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH EBONYI STATE, AND HIS SPOUSE AND THE BRANCH MANAGER OF MESSRS INTERCONTINENTAL BANK Ltd)	FCT/A1/58C/2013	Money laundering contrary to Section 3 of the Money Laundering (prohibition) Act 2004	2013	FEDERAL HIGH COURT OF EBONYI STATE, ABAKALIKI	For defence
48.	FRN VS HON. PHILIP SHAIKU (FORMER MEMBER OF HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, EDO STATE NOW THE DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF EDO STATE)	B/ICPC/1/2013	Charged for giving false information to officers of Edo State Inland Revenue Services	2013	HIGH COURT, EDO STATE, BENIN CITY	Adjourned sine die while applying for CTC with which he vied for election into the House of Assembly and uttering of documents
49.	FRN VS DAVID IORNE & 2 ORS PROPRIETOR AND OPERATOR OF ILLEGAL DEGREE AWARDING INSTITUTION (FIRST ACCUSED IS A FORMER SENATOR)	FCT/ABJ/CR/169/2013	False assumption of authority to offer admission to Students and obtaining over 100 million for award of Honorary Doctorate Degrees of Commonwealth University Belize under false pretence that the school is a foreign university based in Belize	2013	HIGH COURT FCT	For continuation of Cross Examination after vacation
50.	FRN VS PROF. AUSTINE OBASOHAN AND 3 ORS FIRST ACCUSED WAS CMD OF UBTH	B/ICIPC/1/2003	Virement Contrary to S. 22(5) of the ICPC ACT 2000	2003	HIGH COURT OF EDO STATE, BENIN	Case to start De Novo following dismissal of interlocutory Appeal
51.	F.R.N VS. MICHAEL ADENUGA & ORS	ID/494C/2015		2013	Lagos High Court	On going trial
52.	FRN VS REGISTERED TRUSTEES OF SYNAGOGUE CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS	1D/1759C/2015		2015	Court 1	Part heard
53.	FRN VS SIEMENS A.G. AND 7 ORDS	FCT/HC/CR/119/10		SINE DIE	COURT 19	Appeal
54.	FRN VS FRANCIS ATUCHE	ID/76C/13		2013		Address
55.	FRN VS FRED C. AJUDUA	ID/354C/2013		2013		Hearing
56.	FRN VS ADENIKE GRANGE & 11 ORS	FCT/HC/CR/48/08	FINANCIAL CRIMES	2008	COURT 2	Stayed pending appeal

57.	FRN VS BASHER YUGUDA & 5 ORS	Cr/42/2015	CRIMINAL BREACH OF TRUST	2015	COURT 4	Hearing
58.	FRN VS RAYMOND DOKPESI	FHC/ABJ/CR/380/2015	Money laundering	2015	Federal high court, Abuja	Further trial adjourned
59.	FRN VS ALEX BADEH	FHC/ABJ/CR/46/2016	Money laundering	2016	Federal high court, Abuja	Continuation of trial adjourned
60.	EFCC VS OLISA METUH	FHC/ABJ/CR/05/2016	N400 million	2016	FHC Abuja	Case adjourned till 22 nd January 2018
61.	EFCC VS JOSHUA DARIYE	FCT/HC/CR/81/07	The accused who was the Executive Governor of Plateau State is standing trial on a 23-count charge of criminal misappropriation of public funds, embezzlement, and criminal breach of trust.	2007	High Court of the FCT	Case closed on October 10, 2017. Justice AdebukolaBanjoko to pass Judgement on December 7, 2017
62.	FRN VS STEPHEN OROSANYE	FHC/ABJ/CR/297/2015	N190,000,000	2015	FHC Abuja	Case adjourned till December 5, 2017.

Source: Nwachukwu, J.O.(2017),EFCC,<http://media.premiumtimesng.com/wp-content/files/2017/12/final-copy-of-the-compiled-list-of-high-profile-corruption-cases>.

Table 4: Manifestations of cases of corruption in Nigeria, 2010-2018

s/n	Corruption cases	Actor(s) involved	Amount (\$/N)
1.	Fuel subsidy scam	Mamman Ali, Mahmud Tukur and Others	\$ 6 billion
2.	Fraud at the federal civil service	Stephen Oronsaye	N123 billion
3.	Police pension fund fraud	John Yusuf, Uzoma Cyril and others	N32.8 billion
4.	Bullet proof car scandal/NCAA operational vehicles	Stella Oduah (Minister of Aviation, 2010-2015)	N255 million and N643 million
5.	NNPC Missing fund	NNPC officials	\$ 20 billion
6.	Private Arm Scandal	Goodluck Jonathan administration	\$ 15 million
7.	Immigration Recruitment scandal	Abba Morro (the then Minister of Interior)	N/A
8.	Malabu Oil Scandal	Dan Etete, Yerima and Others	\$1.1 billion
9.	Arms Procurement Scandal	SamboDasuki and others	\$15 billion
10.	Defence contract scam	Arthur Eze	\$500 million
11.	Bribery scandal	Farouk Lawan and others	\$ 3 million /\$620,000
12.	Alleged links with know-front	Kola Aluko, Diezani Allison-Madueke and others	\$ 1.5 million
13.	Bribery scandal to Christian religions leaders	Goodluck Jonathan administration	N6 billion
14.	Prison fund scame	Adbulrasheed Maina	N195 billion
15.	Kerosene subsidy scam	Top PPMC officials	\$ 30 million
16.	NIMASA scam	Patrick Z. Akpobolokemi and 5 others	N2.6 billion
17.	JAMB scandal of mysterious snake swallowing money	PhilominaClieshe (sales clerk, Makurdi office) and others	N36 million.

Source Ajomole (2015),Nkwede et al (2017); compiled by the Authors.

Similarly, Senate President Adophos Wabara was guilty of receiving bribe of 55 million Naira from Prof. Fabian Osuji, (the former Education Minister) to inflate the budgetary allocation to the Education Ministry. More so, Senator Chimaroke Nnamani was reported to have faced 124 count charges of fraud, conspiracy, concealment and money laundering amounting to about 5.4 billion naira (Usman, 2013).

Relatedly, the first female speaker of the House of Representatives Madam Patricia Olubunmi Eteh was forced to resign following an allegation of misappropriation of public funds in multiple contracts of 628 million naira for the renovation of her official residence and purchase of 12 official cars (Ogundiya, 2012).

In the judicial sector, the Supreme Court Judges in recent times have been caught in the web of corruption.

Justice Nwali Ngwuta and others of the Supreme Court were arrested and detained on grounds of wanton corruption through plea bargaining and flagrant abortion of justice. Table 5 showcases the top 20 most corrupt Nigerians and their loots.

Table 5 is a testimony that the political class in Nigeria is more committed to the politics of spoils than to democratic ways of political interaction. Political and economic entrepreneurs turn from rent seeking to productive accumulation and from political thuggery to democratic modes of political action when the cost of those forms of activity becomes too high. The challenge with corruption in Nigeria is the impunity state officials have enjoyed for so long. As long as corrupt state officials are not made to pay a high price for the corruption deals, they are likely to continue and go unpunished.

Table 5: Top 20 most corrupt Nigerians

S/n	Name	Period in government	Amount (USD)
1.	OlusegunObasanjo	1999-2007	16.4 billion
2.	Ibrahim Babangida	1985-1993	12.4 billion
3.	AbdulsalamAbubakar	1998-1999	9 billion
4.	SaniAbacha	1993-1999	7 billion
5.	Ahmed Bola Tinubu	1999-date	6 billion
6.	Theophilus Y. Danjuma	Enriched himself through oil blocks from the Niger Delta	20 million
7.	SanusiLamidoSanusi	CBN Governor 2008-2014	1.2 billion
8.	BukolaSaraki	2003-2011	1.1 billion
9.	Nasir El Rufia	2003-2007	1 billion
10.	TunderFashola	2007-2015	900 billion
11.	ChubikeRotimiAmeachi	2007-2015	850 million
12.	AtikuAbubakar	1999-2007	500 million
13.	James Ibori	1999-2007	150 million
14.	Amina Mohammed	1994-1998 (founder of Afri-Project consortium in charge of all PTF projects under Abacha's regime)	125 million
15.	DSP Alamieyeseigha	1999-2007	120 million
16.	SuleLamido	2007-2015	110 million
17.	RabuiKwankwaso	Former Governor Kano State	100 million
18.	KashiumShettima	Former Governor	80 million
19.	RaufAregbesola	Osun State Governor	60 million
20.	KayodeFayemi	Former Governor Ekiti State	40 million

Source: Naija on point (<http://www.ayaantuu.net/the-list-top-s0-most-corrupt-nigerians-deadlive/>)

Implications of Corruption on Sustainable Development

Corruption has become so excessive that it seriously disrupts the normal functions of the state. Essentially, implications of corruption on sustainable development are tremendous and ranges from political, social to economic life of the Nigerian citizenry.

On the part of the state, a lot of normal state functions can no longer be performed in Nigeria. Even something as basic as the distribution of fuel has been consistently disrupted over the past decades due to excessive corruption in the sector. Many basic facilities such as water and electricity supply, health and education are not working efficiently, mainly because of the excessive corruption of state officials who regularly steal much of the financial allocations to their parastatals. It should be mentioned here that high-level corruption transforms the character of the state. The Nigerian state has been transformed into a patrimonial and rentier one in which those who are in control of state power and strategic bureaucratic offices use their positions for private appropriation. Patrimonialism and rentierism create structural constraints that erode the impersonal state based on the rule of law that is necessary for democratic process. Essentially, the patrimonial state does not feel the need to promote the common good and its logic is primarily limited to the

distribution of prebendal offices and limiting the access of the people to power wielders.

In a rentier state, the creation of wealth is centered on a small fraction of the society, and the rest of the society the rest of the society being engaged only in the distribution and utilization of the wealth so created. The rentier state is oriented away from the conventional role of providing public goods that have been extracted from the people through taxation.

On the political realm, grand and systematic corruption undermines democracy, good governance and the rule of law. It even subverts formal processes, undermines the legitimacy of government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance. It is this lack of legitimacy that creates enabling environment for insecurity to burble and burst. The treacherous political situation in Nigeria has indeed, made most people lose confidence in the government but now seek for self-protection rather than depend on the government apparatus.

Empirically, research has shown that it is only in Nigeria that we still find pupils in many parts of the country sitting on bare floors because there are no furniture or classrooms where they can learn especially where the internally displaced persons are located as a corollary of insecurity. Paradoxically, those that have accumulated wealth through politics are seen sending

their children to foreign countries to study, leaving the poor at the mercy of teachers who embark on strike regularly to protest the poor state of the educational sector.

Evidently, corruption has led to series of political violence in Nigeria ranging from military coups and counter-coups to ethno-religious conflicts and insurgency. To this end, political instability as a result of Niger Delta militancy, Boko Haramism, Herdsmen etc being experience in Nigeria in contemporary times are blamed on corruption. This of course has undermined democracy, good governance, rule of law, socio-economic and political development, democratic stability and national integration.

More so, corruption is basically responsible for “budget padding” perversion of justice, ineffectiveness of the anti-graft agencies, contradictory judgments by judiciary on electoral matters, delayed justice, electoral fraud, pervasive poverty and poor service delivery by public officials, inter alia.

Economically, corruption has fueled capital flights as many foreign investors are reluctant to invest in Nigeria for fear of losing their money to swindlers and fraudsters. Many foreign investors have been grossly discouraged from doing business with the country. Only in Nigeria that many people have died and continue to die from lack of medical care for factors that could easily have been averted. The high rate of deaths arising from unnecessary surgeries and administration of fake drugs are reasonably attributed to corruption. Furthermore, many roads in Nigeria are impassable and accidents are common features in the roads. It will not be a misnomer to state that traveling by air is sometimes unsafe as aircrafts that should have been grounded are often bought and put to use in Nigeria. While millions are suffering and cannot boast of three square meals a day, individuals who have made money through corrupt practices now own private jets.

Nigerian workers are hungry and the middle class has been largely pauperized. The national cake has been concentrated at very few sites and in the face of this ugly situation sustainable development is just for the asking.

A country such as Nigeria has shifted in the space of two decades from a situation where there has been no political will but low capacity to reduce corruption and poverty. There is lack of both capacity and will and the resultant effect is this brazen and pervasive corruption coupled with open conflicts. While increasing levels of economic development can have substantial effects in reducing the risk of various crises, the centrality of political institutions remains paramount. Economic

development is not a requirement for stability, even if conditions of development and trade are favourable, the relative odds of state fragility can remain high in areas where state institutions are weak.

Policy Alternatives

In the face of the current problems and difficulties posed by corruption in Nigeria, the following recommendations were made: First, the future success in curbing corruption lies in an emphasis on prevention rather than repression, and where necessary, administrative or civil penalties rather than a penal approach. Awareness must be raised among citizens, business and employees of the dangers of corruption. Second, a moral commitment to and demand for integrity in government and private enterprise must be generated and encouraged. Public sector reforms, private sector initiatives and law reform efforts should emphasize prevention as well as prosecution. Third, the anti-graft agencies especially EFCC should make use of advocacy campaigns to change the mind-sets of individuals, who work in organizations and regard corrupt tendencies and practices as their preferred way of guaranteeing a secured post service life. Fourth, dealing with a problem that had become a culture requires a lot of resolve on the part of the public officials and the anti-agencies and commission. Fifth, government should develop strong and robust institutions that will deal decisively with the issue of corruption in the country as nobody has ever been tried and jailed in Nigeria on account of corruption. Sixth, government should pass and implement strong anti-corruption legislation by strengthening anti-corruption laws and ensuring that they are fully implemented to the later. Seventh, immediate review of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is hereby advocated to checkmate the level of impunity among the political office holders. Finally, reduction on the cost of governance in Nigeria is equally recommended. The jumbo package for the politicians inevitably promotes corruption in the country. Until cost of governance is trimmed down, corruption will not be decisively dealt with in the country.

Conclusion

This paper concluded that governance culture in Nigeria has not actually yielded positive result in the fight against corruption and its immediate to pave way for sustainable development. The challenges posed by corruption in Nigeria have to be tackled as regular institutional agenda, considering its staggering dimensions in the nation with its debilitating effects on the citizenry via; economic, political, socio-cultural, moral and reputational consequences.

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