



JEDA

UNIVERSITY OF PORT HARCOURT

Journal of Education in Developing Areas

Vol. 24, No. 1 March, 2016

PUBLISHED BY
THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF PORT HARCOURT,
PORT HARCOURT, NIGERIA

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING AREAS

(JEDA)

UNIPORT

PUBLISHED BY THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION
UNVERSITY OF PORT HARCOURT
EAST/WEST HIGHWAY, CHOBA
PORT HARCOURT-NIGERIA.

http://www.jeda-uniport.com

VOLUME 24, NUMBER 1, MARCH, 2016.

Copyright © Faculty of Education, University of Port Harcourt – 2016.

ISSN: 0189420X

Produced by the Editorial Board
2016

Editorial Board

Editor-in-Chief: Prof. Lawrence E. B. Igwe

Editor: Prof: Ibitamuno Mitchell Aminigo

Associate Editors:

Prof. (Mrs) P. O. Nwanna-Nzewunwa
Dr. (Mrs) N. J. Okoli
Dr. (Mrs) C. M. Uche
Dr. C. Agbakwuru
Dr. (Mrs) I. C. Kosemani
Dr. I. C. Elendu
Dr. O. F. Mbalisi

Technical Officers:

Dr. A. Oriji
Dr. Mrs. E. Fomsi

Technical & Associate Editor: Dr. Abdulrahman Yusuf Maigida

Consulting Editors

Prof. B. A. Eheazu
(University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.)

Prof. PAI Obanya
(International Education Strategist)

Prof. Tim Spannus
(Wayne-State University, Michighan, U.S.A.)

Emeritus Prof. Otonti Nduka
(University of Port Harcourt)

Prof. S.P.T. Gbamanja
(University of Sierra-Leone, Sierra-Leone.)

Emeritus Prof. O. C. Nwanna
(Imo State University, Nigeria.)

Prof. A. A. Adeyinka
(Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Nigeria.)

Prof. N. E. Dienye
(University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.)

Prof. A. I. Imogie
(University of Benin)

66. **IBRAHIM MUSA** - *Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC), Sheda, Abuja Nigeria.*

67. *Prof.* **L. E. B. IGWE** - *Department of Educational Management Faculty of Education University of Port Harcourt Port Harcourt*

68. **MBA CALLISTUS OKECHUKWU,** *Ph.D - Department of Educational Management Faculty of Education University of Port Harcourt Port Harcourt*

69. **ARABA, AKEEM AYANDA** - *Department of Political Science and Conflict Resolution, Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria.*

70. **LAWAL, AHMAD AKANNI** - *Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.*

71. **ABDULLAHI, MUSA SIDDIQ** - *Department of Arts Education, Faculty of Education University of Ilorin, Ilorin -Nigeria.*

72. **ADEYEMO, AYUBA OLABODE** - *Department of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, Lanlate Oyo State.*

http://www.jeda-uniport.com

29. PERCEPTION OF LADOKE AKINTOLA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY STUDENTS' ON INTEGRATION OF CLOUD COMPUTING INTO LEARNING IN NIGERIA - DEWUMI MICHAEL OLUBUNMI & FALADE AYOTUNDE ATANDA, *Ph.D* 223

30. STUDENT'S FACTORS AS DETERMINANTS OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN HISTORY AT SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL IN KWARA STATE - SALIU, KAYODE A., AGBONLAHOR, A. A. & AWE, OLUSOLA O. 233

31. EMPLOYING TRACKING AS A STRATEGY FOR IMPROVING HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORGANIZATION - STEPHEN TALABI ARODE, *Ph.D* 243

32. SCHOOL BASED FACTORS INFLUENCING ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AMONG SPECIAL NEEDS' SCIENCE STUDENTS IN SOUTH-WESTERN NIGERIA - ISIAKA, TAJUDEEN ONITADA 249

33. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION (TVET) IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS - AHMED CHIROMA AMINU 257

34. KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES OF WASTE DISPOSAL AMONG INHABITANTS OF AKUNGBA-AKOKO: IMPLICATIONS FOR WASTE MANAGEMENT EDUCATION - ADEKUNLE OLATUMILE 267

35. EFFECTIVENESS OF REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES IN THE PRISON AND EX-PRISONERS PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN RIVERS STATE, NIGERIA - OYEBAMIJI M. A., *Ph.D* & YOUNGARNEY, G. A. G. 277

36. *PSYCHO-PERSONOLOGICAL* FACTORS AS PREDICTORS OF SEXUAL ACTIVITIES AMONG SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL ADOLESCENTS IN KWARA STATE, NIGERIA - IBRAHIM MUSA 286

37. REPOSITIONING NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES: IMPLICATIONS FOR EFFECTIVE RANKING AND ACCREDITATION - *Prof.* L. E. B. IGWE & MBA CALLISTUS OKECHUKWU, *Ph.D* 296

38. CORRUPTION AND LAW MAKING IN THE NIGERIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE: 2007 TO 2011 - ARABA, AKEEM AYANDA & LAWAL, AHMAD AKANNI 305

39. EFFECT OF VISUAL RESOURCES ON THE ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF UPPER BASIC STUDENTS IN ARABIC LANGUAGE IN ILORIN METROPOLIS - ABDULLAHI, MUSA SIDDIQ 319

40. CHALLENGES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND REFORMS IN TEACHER QUALITY AND PRODUCTIVITY - ADEYEMO, AYUBA OLABODE 328

Corruption and Law Making in the Nigeria House of Representative from 2007 to 2011

[1]Araba, Akeem Ayanda and [2]Lawal, Ahmad Akanni

[1]Department of Political Science and Conflict Resolution
Al- Hikmah University, Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria)

[2] Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan

[*]**Corresponding Author: arabaakeem1619@gmail.com** +234 8058381111

Abstract

The principal function of the Legislative arm of government is to legislate and make laws for good governance by the provisions of the constitution. The Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives while the Legislative power of a state is vested in the State House of Assembly. But the atrocities of corruption been perpetrated by the legislative arms have redefined the constitutional duties of the law-making bodies. This paper seeks to address the Corruption and Lawmaking in the Nigeria House of Representatives from 2007 to 2011. The paper discusses the synergy between political corruption and leadership. It also investigates the links between financial corruption and national development. The elite theoretical perspective is adopted for the study to determine the problem.

Introduction

The country's picture and identity are that replete with confused, factionalized, and extremely corrupt elites with a limited sense of nationhood. These elites lacking a strong and viable base in production, turn the state into a primary instrument of primitive accumulation. In the end, the state is mangled and rendered impotent in the quest for nationhood, growth, and development, much less than democracy (Ihonvbere,1999).One of the main factors militating against the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria since independence is elite corruption which arguably is one of the inherited colonial practices and ethos.

Corruption, an ethical and moral problem that varies from place to place, time to time, culture to culture, and with the level of economic development (Aluko, 2008) is a global phenomenon that affects developed, developing, and underdeveloped nations of the world. Corruption is the major cause of poverty around the world. It occurs at all levels of governance, that is, local and State. All over the World, the perception of corruption especially in public places is very high. This is because, corruption undermines every aspect of national development among which are, political development, economic development, social development, and so on. It should be emphasized here that it is not just only in governance that corruption is found; it is equally noticeable in every human society.

Specifically, the high rate of corrupt practices in the post-independence period in Nigeria is noticeable in various government (civil and military) occasioned by mismanagement and misappropriation of funds, lack of transparency and accountability, arbitrary award and inflation of contracts, embezzlement, bribery, diversion of found and so on. Corruption has assumed the

status of a hydra-headed monster gnawing on the vitals of the Nigeria State. Its tentacles have permeated every facet of the economy. It is interesting to note, however, that corruption is not limited to Nigeria. It has been observed that corruption is not a recent development; its existence has a long history (Wilson, 1999, Usman, 2001)

Moreover, Mbeki (1999), Akanbi (2004), and Ogbonna (2004) among others, averred that corruption is a product of social, political, economic, and historical circumstances. The festering tumor of corruption has taken a toll on the quality of governance and accountability (Ogbonna,2004). Corruption is antithetical to progress and development as it breeds inefficiency, incompetence, mediocrity, unethical value, and other base instincts in man such as greed, avarice, and rapacity, (Atoyebi and Mobolaji 2004). This is why the country has been variously rated by some international organizations as one of the topmost failing states in Africa as noticeable in the high rate of poverty, dearth of infrastructure, the prevalence of criminality, insurgency, youth restiveness among others.

Statement of the problem

One of the greatest threats to the economic and political development of any nation is corruption. Therefore, the challenges of corruption remain a major devastating issue facing Nigeria since the colonial period, although, this phenomenon has become a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabrics of our system. Nevertheless, its solution rests in our hands and cannot be put off to another day. That is why many countries have put in place different mechanisms for checkmating the spate of corruption. In Nigeria for example, the menace of corruption has been discussed at different levels. Yet this ugly incident keeps surviving with us at all facets of our endeavors. Aiyede (2006) posits that "corruption poses a serious development challenge. In the political realm, it undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting the formal process. Corruption in elections and legislative bodies reduces accountability and distorts representation in policymaking; corruption in the judiciary compromises the rule of law and corruption in public administration results in the unfair and inefficient provision of services. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. Thus, corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance"

Corruption undermines human and capital development in any society or nation. Corruption also generates economic distortions in the public sector by diverting public investment into capital projects where bribes and kickbacks are more plentiful. Corruption slows down the pace of economic development through the manipulation of funds for projects; it destroys or weakens the efficiency and effectiveness of public services; it detracts the government from giving priority to the areas of income and social inequality, poverty, malnutrition, and other areas of need. The net impact of corruption on society is negative.

In the course of carrying out this research the following objectives were set: to examine the analysis of corruption in the legislature, identify the synergy between political corruption and leadership, assess the linkage between financial corruption and national development, and cross-examine or assessing the legislature' performance in anti-corruption crusade.

This work is divided into eight sections. The first section is set to give an introduction to what we intend to do. The second section explains the conceptual clarifications while the next section explores the theoretical framework. The fourth section examines an overview of corruption in the national assembly. The fifth section discusses the nexus between political corruption and leadership. The sixth section looks at the link between financial corruption and national development. The seven sections discuss the legislature's performance in the anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria, the eight sections contain conclusions and recommendations.

Conceptual Clarification

For clarification and limit the level of ambiguity, which as a result is the hallmark of academic research, it is important to examine some of the concepts and terms that are used in this paper.

Corruption

Although there is no widespread or comprehensive definition as to what constitutes corrupt behaviour, the most prominent definitions share a common emphasis on the abuse of public power or position for personal advantages. A simple dictionary definition of the phenomenon refers to it as "an impairment of virtue and moral principles" (Lewis,2006). According to the World Bank and Transparency International (WBTI), a leading global anti-corruption watchdog, corruption is the abuse of public office for private gains for benefit of the holder of the office or some third party. Viewed from these definitions, political corruption can be broadly understood as unethical behaviour, which violates the norms of the system of political order (Heidenheimer and Johnston, 1993:6). Political corruption can be for private and group enrichment and power preservation purposes. Political corruption usually encompasses abuses by government officials such as embezzlement and cronyism, as well as abuses linking public and private actors such as bribery, extortion, influence peddling, and fraud, to mention but a few. In this regard, corruption threatens good governance, sustainable development, a democratic process, and fair business practices. Corruption involves the injection of additional but improper transactions aimed at changing the normal course of events and altering judgments and positions of trust. It consists of the doers' and receivers' use of informal, extra-legal, or illegal acts to facilitate matters.

The concept can also be described as the wanton craze for illegal, unethical, and often the criminal acquisition of wealth or benefits by individuals whose main motive is ego bossing and self-aggrandizement with its attendant negative consequences on the rest of the society. Put differently, corruption is a general concept describing any organized, interdependent system in which part of the system is either not performing duties it was originally intended to, or improperly performing them, to the detriment of the system's original purpose (Aiyegbayo, 2007; Otite, 1986). Kobonbaey (2004) defines corruption as the abuse of formal rules of the game by actors for their private gains. Although Kobonbaey notes that this definition is inexhaustive, it nevertheless captured all types of actions and organizations (public, private, and non-governmental). By this, any individual, either a public officer or private operator who deliberately refuses to follow due process in the course of carrying out his or her assigned

responsibility for personal gain is engaging in corrupt practices. At the center of corrupt behaviour, therefore, is the motive for private gain, either as a private citizen or public officer.

Legislature

The concept of legislature has been defined in several ways by scholars. It is seen as the branch of people with the singular purpose of articulating and expressing the collective will of the people (Okoosi-Simbine, 2010).To Anyaegbunam (2010) the concept encapsulates the activities of the organ charged with lawmaking, reversing, amending, and repealing to advance the well-being of the citizenry that it represents. Stapenhurst, Ulrich, and Strohal (2006) identify; law-making, oversight, and representational roles as three legislative prongs with which to combat corruption in a democratic society (cited in Alabi and Fashagba 2010). Similarly, Mathekga (2008) postulates that the onus to ensure accountability of the executives and administrative agencies falls squarely on the shoulder of the parliament. John Stuart Mill (cited Anyaegbunam, 2010:7) avers that: The proper office of the legislature is to watch and control the government; to through the light of publicity on its acts, to compel a full exposition and justification of all of them, which anyone considers questionable and; if the men who compose the government abuse their trust to expel them from office.

The above position is not different from that of the former Chief justice of the Federation Katsina Alu. In one of his judgments, he reiterated that:

> *It is also my view that item 60 (a) of the exclusive legislature list read together with section 4 (2) of the 1999 constitution not only imposes a duty on the Federal Government to abolish all corrupt practices, and abuse of power but also impose a duty of making law through the National Assembly for that purpose (cited in Anyaegbunam 2010:84)*

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts Elite theory for its analysis. The elite concept gained a wider currency within academia towards the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century through the works of classical Italian political theorist-Vilfredo (1935), Gaetano (1939), and Robert (1911). This group of people (a privileged minority) is imbued with or characterized by organizational skills, leadership abilities, knowledge and information, drive, and ambition. Thus, elites are the societal agents through whom broader forces such as ethnicity, class, and religion are filtered to ordinary people. They play a significant role in defining or recognizing important policy issues and deciding which and what should receive priority concerning others. In other words, when elites uphold a clear picture of what should be done, the public tends to see events from that point of view, suggesting therefore that the society is elite directed.

As Ihonvbere (2009) puts it, the elite not only controls and dominates the commanding heights of the economy, exercises a legal monopoly over the means of coercion, dominates the structure and institutions of politics and economy but also shape the ideological and philosophical direction of society. The genesis and development of the Nigerian elite are as interesting as the generic rooting of the Nigerian state. The new Nigeria elite which took over power from the departing colonial authorities also took over from them the development ethos of

the colonial administrations. This could be stated as the self-interested exploitation of the people and the country. The self-serving ethos which had been the foundation of the colonial state had ingrained in the mentality of emerging Nigeria elite. The devastating effect of this formed the basis of development orientation in the post-colonial Nigerian state (Coleman,1958; Ayandele,1974; Post and Vickers,1973). Though the elite is meant to play a central role in promoting and designing democratization trends. They see democracy or governance more as a means to an end and tend to 'pious material wooliness and self-centered pedestrianism' (Achebe, 1983)

Consequently, the group remains just like its colonial progenitor an instrument of exploitation and suppression of the hegemonic groups. In other words, the few who control the system have access to all imaginable perks while the many who are excluded are victims of all forms of abuse. Perhaps, it is for this reason, the struggle to attain and retain power has become a veritable war fought without restraint and outright disregard for democratic ethos (Emenuo and Momoh, 1999).

Analysis of Corruption in the Nigeria House of Representative

In established liberal democracies it is the norm that heads of political institutions, the (parliament/legislature inclusive) exit the office, either because they have reached a constitutional limit to their tenure, or for personal or political reasons (such as loss of health or party support), or because they have lost the election (Roger et al.,2005). It has been revealed that the constitutional mandate of the National Assembly made up of the House of Senate and the Federal House of Representatives is to make law, promote good governance, and curb social vices in the country.

It has become necessary to note that the politics of impeachment are not new in Nigeria. This is about the impeachment of Governor Balarabe Musa of Kano State in the Second Republic (1979-1983). But in post-1999 politics, the impeachment/resignation of Alhaji Salisu Buhari, erstwhile Speaker of the Federal House of Representative in 1999, opened the floodgate of impeachment which eventually extends from local councilors to Senators. As Jide Ajani, a political editor (Vanguard 29 May 2003) rightly observed 'perhaps, if there was one thing the Nigerian legislators took seriously in the first year of the Fourth Republic it was the case of impeachment or removal from office. That was one area where the constitutional provision was given accommodation with an unbridled tempest.

Patricia Etteh Nigeria's first female speaker of the House of Representatives was removed for corrupt charges. She became speaker after the House inauguration on June 5, 2007, and was ousted in November of the same year. It was alleged she approved over N600 million for the purchase of body massage machines (Sulaimon, 2011). She was equally accused of approving N238 million for the renovation of her official quarters without going through due process (Demola 2011). Bankole took over from Patricia Etteh on 1st November 2006. In his inaugural speech, he promised to nudge the House towards a new direction of transparency and

accountability (Desmond, 2011). Evidence on the ground, however, portrayed that he did exactly the opposite. The House grew bad to worse under him. In 2008, the House purchases about 380 Peugeot 407 cars. The process for the purchase of the cars for the standing committees of the House generated huge controversy and protracted crisis in the House to the point that EFCC was alerted (Demola, 2011).In short, Demola (2011) detailed the activities of the speaker (Dimeji Bankole) in the car deals in which the country lost about 2.4 billion to sharp practices. It was noticed that the actual cost of 380 Peugeot 407 cars direct from Peugeot Automobiles Nigeria, PAN, Kaduna was N1,938,000,000, the house leadership paid the supplier N2,359,486,500. A breakdown of the transaction revealed an overpayment of N417,486,500. Also, going by the number of cars that were purchased from the manufacturers, the house was entitled to at least a 10 percent discount of N235,948,650 which did not reflect in the purchase.

Shortly after then, the speaker (Dimeji Bankole) and the body of principal officers approved the purchase of four units of Range Rover (V8), three units of Mercedes Benz S-600 cars for the speaker and his deputy at N335.5 million. It was discovered that the prices of the vehicles were overinflated. Desmond, (2011) alleged that there were claims that the contracts for the supply of the cars did not pass through any competitive bidding process before they were awarded to Wadata Global Company. The purchase of the Toyota Lexus vehicle for the use of the chief whip at 13.7 million also sparked controversy. There were claims that the vehicle had been supplied at s cost of N12.5 million in the previous month before it was again awarded to another company the cost of 13.7 million. The car deal scandal was investigated by EFCC and subsequently indicted all the principal officers of the House for the colossal fraud. Hence the report was sent to the presidency although without being published (Demola,2011). Other allegations against the speakership of the House (Dimeji Bankole) include the purchase of LCD 40 inch Samsung LNS 341 for members at N525,000 each against the open market price of N180,000 per unit. Bankole also authorized the purchase of 400 units of another type of television for N210million instead of N97.2million market price, resulting in a loss of N12.5million to the country treasury. Other items procured at over-inflated prices include one unit of sharp copier 5316 at N270,00 as against the open market price of N160,000; 80 units of Desktop (HP Compaq disc 5700) at N330,000 instead of N160,000 about N172.8million was fleeced from the nation's treasury on computer items alone (Demola,2011). But more damaging is the scandal that the House leadership squandered N9 billion capital votes and obtained an N10 billion loan from the United Bank for Africa which was shared by the member to prosecute their election campaigns (Suleiman,2011). Scandalously enough, the loan was to be repaid in a bit from allocation to the House in the 2011 budget, which has been well padded by the legislators. It was the refusal of president Jonathan to sign the budget that exposed the scandal (Suleiman, 2011).

Apart from the above avenues for sharp practices, Chris (2011) noted that the lawmakers milk the nation dry through jumbo allowances they approve and pay themselves without following due process. It was also discovered that the embattled speaker Dimeji Bankole at a time after obtaining a loan of N40 billion, jacked-up his annual salary from N8million to

N400million which was a violation of the approved remuneration package for political, public, and judicial office holders by the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC). Tambuwal, speaking immediately after he was sworn in as the new speaker of the House (after Bankole failed in his election bid) said "we acknowledge that the dignity and integrity of this House have been called to question" (The News 2011:16 editorial comment). He reminded his colleagues later that:

When we were elected to pursue the entrenchment of probity, accountability, and transparency in the conduct of government business as a cardinal legislative agenda, we advised ourselves never to expect that it will be an easy task. Accordingly, I have had cause to occasionally sound a note of warning and reminder that our constitutional task is inescapably hazardous requiring total commitment, diligence, transparency, determination, and sacrifice (cited in Anayochukwu 2012:48).

Despite this warning, Farouk Lawan, a former member of the integrity committee in the house and chairman of the oil subsidy probe committee, admitted collection from oil marketer, Femi Otedola $620,000 bribe to delist his two companies Zenon Oil and Gas and Synopsis Enterprises Limited on the list of companies that corruptly got subsidy payments without importing the products (Anayochukwu, 2012).In lawmaking, it has been observed that the lawmakers have not been leaving to expectation. Ita Enang Chairman House Committee on the rules, disclosed at a time that out of 489 bills introduced into the House, only 187 has been passed leaving about 302 bills, no matter how important. For example, the lawmakers were alleged to have been given $10million to pass the Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB) (Suleiman, 2011). Nasiru Dantiye, a former House of Representative member from Jigawa said many of the legislators were ignorant about legislation while those who know were not committed. He added that most of the lawmakers, most especially in the lower chamber do not know the essence of legislation as they see their business in the House as money sharing (Suleiman,2011). Hence, the coinage "legislooters" and "representatives" (Oluokun and Desmond,2011).

Political corruption and Leadership: The Synergy

It is an incontrovertible fact that corruption has been the bane of Nigeria's development. Thus, without mincing words the phenomenon has ravaged the country and destroys most of what is held as cherished national values. Unfortunate, the political class saddled with the responsibility of directing the affairs of the country has been the major culprit in perpetrating this act.

History has shown that no nation of the world grew and enjoyed steady development in virtually all spheres of its national life without experiencing good and selfless political leadership. This is largely because qualitative growth and development have always been an outcome of good governance. Commenting on the experience of the Nigerian nation, Chinua Achebe insisted that the root cause of the Nigerian predicament should be laid squarely a failure at the foot of bad leadership. **"The Trouble with Nigeria,"** Achebe argued, is simply and squarely a failure of

leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land, climate, water, air, or anything else.

The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to their responsibility, to the challenge of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership (Achebe, 1984: 1) Consequently, the state of Nigeria's pitiable socio-economic development has been a direct consequence of the actions and inactions of the leadership class that has managed the affairs and wealth of the country since independence.

Political corruption in broad terms is the misuse by government officials of their governmental powers for illegitimate, usually secret, private enrichment. All forms of government are susceptible to political corruption-bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, patronage, graft, and embezzlement (Gyekye, 2003). Interestingly, political corruption can flourish under weak political leadership since political leaders or top public officials who are weak can hardly be expected to control their subordinate officers who succumb to the temptation. Klitgaasrd's (1991) explanation of the concept followed a similar pattern. According to him, corruption is the misuse of office for private ends. These definitions, however, narrow corruption to the public sphere because they are concerned with political corruption as against corruption in the private sphere. Buttressing this view, Obasanjo (1994) remarked that corruption holds sway in situations of non-accountability, relative anonymity and it is exacerbated by absolute discretion. It pushes whatever limits there maybe if there are no checks and controls. Thus, a corrupt regime is the one most likely to abuse human rights to repress accountability and transparency. What is more, its pernicious effects are debilitating, oppressive, corrosive, and more of a hindrance to democracy, good governance, and development in Africa than elsewhere. The Transparency Index (TI) used by Transparency International has consistently put Nigeria on top of the ladder of corruption rating from 1998-2001. Since independence in 1960; no administration has been declared corruption-free in Nigeria. What has been the notable difference is the degree of corruption. For instance, the first Republic collapsed in early 1966 when the military intervened ostensibly to stop, among others things, the spate of corruption with which regional and national governments had been associated. In essence, corruption and disrespect for the rule of law which feeds on and reinforces each other remain the biggest impediment to Nigeria's quest for sustained growth, development, peace, stability, and security. However, if the government and political processes are corrupted, the country cannot tackle its developmental challenges effectively and also take advantage of the opportunities offered by the emerging globalized economy.

Furthermore, billions of dollars have been lost by Nigeria to corrupt leaders, resulting in the livelihoods of millions of people stolen and expatriated by corrupt leaders to foreign havens. The executive director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Antonio Maria Costa once remarked that 'Nigeria lost close to $400 billion between 1960 and 1999 to corruption. Consider the millions of vaccinations that could have been bought, the thousands of kilometers of road that could have been paved, the hundreds of schools, hospitals, and training centers that could have been built with such money' (The Punch 14 November 2007). In effect, the

cankerworm (corruption) breeds inefficiency, diminishes productivity, discourages investments, fuels inflation and capital flight, and institutes a regime of poverty and unemployment. According to Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu, "The Revolutionary Council aims to establish a strong, united and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife….our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, and the men in the high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10%, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as minister and VIPs of waste; the nepotists, those that made the country look big-for-nothing before the international circle; those that have corrupt our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds" (First,1970; Janowitz,1968; Ademoyega,1981).

According to Ike (2010), it was estimated that by 1999 past Nigerian leaders had stolen or misused $407 billion. This amount is equal to all Western aid given to the continent of Africa. He also mentioned that the immediate former chairman of Nigeria Economic and Financial Crimes Commission disclosed that 220 billion pounds were squandered between independence from Britain in 1960 and the return to democracy in 1999. This stolen fortune tallies exactly with the 220 billion pounds of western aid given to Africa between 1960-1997.This amount to six times the American help given to post-war Europe under the Marshall Plan for the Reconstruction of Europe. Ike also cited the World Bank's list of Nigeria's fund by depositors in four Western countries in 1999 and submitted to the then President of Nigeria. From that list, five of the depositors alone were responsible for much of the stolen funds in the World Bank list of 21 heavy looters. The total amount deposited in western banks by the heaviest 21 looters is the equivalent of 150 billion dollars. He concluded that on balance, the leaders of the first and second republics were relatively not corrupt as evidence in third and fourth republics has gradually shown the byzantine kleptomania and "lootocracy" by those supposedly entrusted with the national till. Thus corruption in Nigeria has both entangled the entire public and private sector matrix and deepened its vice-like grip on society. In twenty-first-century Nigeria, elite corruption is demonstrated in various dimensions, namely, presidentialism, clientelism, and rent-seeking. Presidentialism implies the systematic concentration of political power in the hands of one individual who more often resists delegating all but the most trivial decision-making tasks. This concept is likened to patrimonialism or personalized rule, where an individual rules by dint of personal prestige and power. It can emerge from either the army or a dominant political party, whichever way; the point is that power is consolidated by asserting total personal control over formal political structure thereby making ways for corruption (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997).

Financial Corruption and National Development: The Link

There is a correlation between financial corruption and national development in Nigeria. The essence of financial corruption is bribery and illegal and greedy acquisition of public funds into private pockets, which otherwise would have been invested for the public good. Financial corruption undermines democracy and the legitimacy of the state, reduces the potential for

economic growth, and threatens the freedom and security of citizens, all together constitutes hindrances to national development.

The high rate of financial corruption in Nigeria has affected her image in Africa and the world. Since the birth of the fourth republic, the country has variously been rated by Transparency International (TI) as among the most corrupt nations of the world on one hand; and by another international organization like Fund for peace as one of the top failed states in both Africa and the world on the other hand due to mass poverty, corruption, insecurity, and unemployment. In its 2001 report on worldwide corrupt practices, Transparency International (TI), considered Nigeria to be the most corrupt, country, failing from the fifth position in 1998 to the first position, in 2001. In the 2003 corruption indices of 93 of the 193 member countries of the world,191 of which are members of the United Nations (excluding Taiwan and the Vatican City-The Holy see). Nigeria becomes the second most corrupt, country after Bangladesh, even though Nigeria's score fell from 1.9, in 1998, to 1.4, in 2003. Several of the countries x-rayed in 1998 were not ex-rayed in 2003.No country scored 10 marks in 2003, the highest score, Finland, being 9.7, indicating that every one of the 93 countries, including Denmark that was most clean in 1998 with 10 marks, had a degree of corruption.

In 2004, Transparency International (TI) survey covered 146 countries. In that report, Nigeria has rated the third most corrupt country, beating Haiti and Bangladesh to the second and last positions respectively. (TI Report 2004).In the 2006 rating on the TI Corruption Perception Index, Nigeria moved to the eleventh (11^{th}) position out of 50 selected countries (Aluko,2008). Despite the reduction in the rating of Nigeria from corrupt in 2001 to the 11^{th} position in 2006 of which could be as a result of the few activities of EFCC and ICPC between those periods, the rate of increase in the per capita incomes and human development indices was very low and very small. The reason behind this was that the rate of corruption was still high. This was noticeable; her corruption perception index scoring 2.2. It would be very difficult for countries whose perception index was below 5 to increase their per capita incomes. For example, most of the countries that have more than 5 corruption perception indexes in 2006 Botswana (5.6), Barbados (6.7), Denmark (9.5), Sweden (9.2), Finland (9.6), among others increased their per capita incomes between 1998 and 2006 by over 50 percent, despite their initial high incomes in 1998. These countries equally have the least incidence of corruption and the highest human development indices, because they provide elaborate welfare facilities for their citizens from the cradle to the grave. Their respective governments constitute the engine of the growth of their economics. They do not roll back their governments as is the vogue in Nigeria. They do not privatize public utilities and properties, nor do they enrich private people at the expense of their citizens, and, income differentials among persons are reducing from time to time to ensure national economic harmony (Aluko, 2008)

Corruption undermines the legitimacy of the state. It is the lack of legitimacy that creates fertile soil for corruption to grow. It is a known fact that when the citizens of a state see how financial corrupt practices continue to engulf every arm of governance, they are tended to lose faith in that government, and thus conclude that such a government is incapable of working for

the interest of the majority of citizens. This could be corroborated by the submission of Eigen (2002). He says that when this happens, the citizens have at least three choices to make. First, they could force the resignation of the corrupt officials. For example, in 2002, protesters demanded the resignation of President Estrada of the Philippines on allegations of corrupt practices when they discovered that the legislature failed to act on evidence of his corruption (Eigen, 2002). Second, they could find alternate avenues to gain the access needed to the government such as creating an underground economy. Third, they could accept the costs associated with a corrupt judiciary. For example, citizens in Guatemala are discouraged from using the legal system because of the ease with which criminals can benefit from the corruption (Scott and Welna, 2003). Therefore, if the chosen avenue becomes too much of a threat to the government it will become politically unstable.

Economically, financial corruption hinders economic development both internally and externally. It is a major paralysis of the economy. Internally, corruption prevents competition and causes the government to operate inefficiently. Externally, corruption inhibits foreign direct investment both by diverting aid into corrupt hands and increasing the cost of doing business in the country (Thurow, 2003). It is very pathetic when a certain Australian national who came to Nigeria for a particular project was prevailed upon by his Nigerian principals who were then in government to inflate a contract by an increase of a sum of N5.5 billion. He however portrays Nigerians as people who hold down the horns of our parent's cow for others to milk (Ekwueru & Daminabo, 2008). Corruption not only contributes immensely to the problem of mass poverty and but has rendered millions of Nigerian youth unemployed. The poverty profile of Nigerians has continued to worsen year by year. For example, the UNDP Development Report 2001 places Nigeria at no 148 out 173 countries surveyed. The situation worsened in 2003, which put Nigeria at 152 among the 175 countries covered. The Fund for peace in 2012 report for the year 2011 ranked Nigeria as one of the tops failed states in Africa and the 14th in the world.

The computation of the 2011 ranking of about 178 countries in the world as revealed by this international organization involves a lot of factors which are issues of poverty aggravation, security, economic development, public service, and so on. Meanwhile, in the 2011 report for the year 2010 data, Nigeria was ranked 8th considering the heightened level of insecurity, corruption, growing poverty, and unemployment (The Punch, July 2012). The report of this international organization can be corroborated with the nation's reports on the level of poverty in the country. According to the Federal Republic of Nigeria-Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan 2008, about 70% of Nigerians are living below the poverty level. Also, Dr.Yemin Kale, Statistician-General of the Federation at a Press Conference in Abuja on the high rate of poverty in the country as of December 2011, said that North West and North East geo-political Zones recorded the highest poverty rate in Nigeria with 77.7% and 76.3% respectively, South-South and South-East with 60%, while the South West recorded the least percentage with 50% *(Nigerian Tribune*, Tuesday 14th February 2012).

More importantly, corruption undermines democracy. It is a major factor responsible for the failure of governance, democratic values, rule of law, and the prevalence of poor leadership.

This view was supported by the former President of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. He succinctly put it in a speech at the public procurement Bill Workshop (Abuja, July 12, 2004) that "evidently, a corrupt economic arrangement can never produce a political system that is stable, just inclusive, and democratic". According to Eigen (2002), corruption circumvents the workings of democracy in three ways. First, many acts of corruption undermine human rights by fostering discrimination; second, it undermines political and civil rights, such as free speech and fair elections, which are important to the development and perpetuation of democracy; and third, democracy is more likely to be successful in a wealthy country. He asserts that corruption is more likely to occur in underdeveloped countries. Aluko (2008) supported this view by saying that where incomes are less unequally distributed (developed nations) the incidence of corruption is lower than where there is a high degree of inequality in income distribution (underdeveloped nations). Thus, more socialist and more welfarist economies tend to be less corrupt than capitalist or market-oriented, individualistic economies like Nigeria. It, therefore, follows that corruption will make it harder for a country like Nigeria to sustain its democracy.

Assessing Legislature's performance in an anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria

Assessing the Nigerian legislature based on law-making; the legislature appears weak and incapable of effectively utilizing its law-making power to curb corruption. The legislature appeared bereft of an initiative to tackle corruption. This is evident in the dearth of ideas as well as the ineffectiveness of the legislature to push its initiative on anti-corruption through. For instance; the Freedom of Information Bill 2007 which was passed by the fifth assembly was vetoed by the former President. The bill, from all intents and purposes, would have granted the public, especially the mass media and civil society, and unfettered access to information in government establishments. The inability of the legislature to override the presidential veto, or re-pass the bill since it was represented in 2007, does not portray the assembly as having the political will to stamp out corruption in the society. Indeed, how the legislators have handled the bill is a further indictment on the capability of the Nigerian central legislature to provide the required platform to combat corruption under the fourth republic. Despite the seeming popular consensus among media practitioners, civil society groups, and members of the public that the freedom of information bill, pending in the national assembly, has the potential to entrench accountability and transparency in governance, political consideration appeared to have an over-ridden reason, perhaps, because of the source of the bill. The bill is a private member bill with the lead sponsor (Hon Abike Dabiri from Lagos) being a member of the Action Congress. Hence, the bill appeared to have been undermined by party politics, irrespective of whatever benefits the nation stands to drive from its passage. Free information access and flow are strongly believed to be capable of reducing corruption in any society. According to Pope (2006), although making anti-corruption laws may not by itself stamp out corruption, but focusing laws on specific areas might help curb corruption. Thus, freedom of information laws which has, as a

component, a requirement for disclosure of assets by public officials as well as giving unfettered access to information, especially on public spending and resources may likely reduce corruption.

Conclusion

Evident in Nigeria since the country returned to democracy in 1999, is that the executive was a lone ranger and the only major visible anti-corruption crusader among the organs of government. The legislature has failed in providing a serious commitment to the anti-corruption crusade of government because individuals' motives appear to contrast with the service and responsibility which the office demanded and the public expected. The absence of institutional and functional support from an important institution like the legislature cannot but weaken the attainment of a corrupt-free society. The implication of the absence of visible legislative support to complement anticorruption efforts of the President, especially between 1999 and 2013, was the deepening culture of national cake sharing syndrome. Even among people recruited into the executive arm, the corrupt tendency of the legislature served as a psychological boost, which explains the inability of the executive to stem or control corruption in the arm. Largely, the anti-corruption crusade appears only potent on paper but in reality, only little has been achieved. Occasional flashes of an anti-corruption posture of the legislature usually have a vendetta undertone. Most anti-corruption agitations of the legislature have been in response to executives' attacks or insinuations against certain legislative misconduct. Consequently, rather than scrutinizing the executive to ensure accountability, the legislature is constantly on the defensive trying to clear itself over one form of scandal or the other.

Consequently, if the legislature must demonstrate an acceptable level of effectiveness in the anti-corruption crusade, the process must ensure that there are means by which the legislature could be made accountable. The legislature under the present legal framework is vested with the power to sanction erring executive and any of its officers as well as the judicial officials. However, there is no specific institution to control the legislature, except the weak and poverty-stricken populace, to which the legislature is accountable. The question then is who monitors the monitor? The EFCC has been cautious in handling issues or allegations relating to or affecting members of the legislature. This, perhaps, is because EFCC as a body was the creature of the legislature. For the fight against corruption to succeed, therefore, the legislature must make up its mind to be committed to an anti-corruption war. Furthermore, the Nigerians, especially the masses, needed to be educated on the need to vote people with integrity into the assembly, without basing the voting decision on the ability to squeeze money from contestants.

Recommendations

Nigeria is one of the states in Africa that have been identified as being corrupt, the corruption percentage degree continues to grow. Virtually, every administration professes and swears to control corruption yet the problem continues unabated. Corruption's under the military

reaches a high echelon and weakens the fabric of the nation. The present civilian administration has also embarked on anti corrupt crusade, how successful this would be only time can tell. However, this hydra cancer needs to be controlled to save the remedies are being suggested as means to reduced or curb corruption and corrupt practices.

- Stiffer punishment should be meted out to corrupt political office holders, like a seizure of ill-gotten properties and a long prison term for offenders.
- Political office holders should be compelled to declare their assets at the point of entry and exit from political office.
- The work of legislation should be based on a part-time basis, so that they should be paid a moderate allowance for their efforts after then they can go back to their places of work.
- Nigerians masses should be sensitized towards holding their leaders accountable.
- A separate body should be set up to be in charge of contract awards at the various government institutions.
- The anti-corruption agencies should start employing more innovative and effective operational techniques in countering corruption. For example, use of massively pasted large posters, in each Local Government Area (LGA) on every occasion of fund disbursement from Federation Account on the amount disbursed and the project approved for execution with such funds (roads, clinic, school-rooms, boreholes, etc) to encourage the direct participation of the local population in the anti-corruption fight-by enabling them to "question" their local authorities (Odekunle,2015)
- In virtually every prosecution of cases of corruption, the agencies should endeavour to locate the trial in the offender's "place of origin" or known domicile. For the class of people who are opportune and/or disposed to perpetrate corruption, the risk of public shame/disgrace and the associated decline in social status for them and their families is a serious deterrent (Odekunle, 2015).
- Instead of waiting to receive "reports" before commencing an investigation, the anti-graft agencies should start applying this formula randomly but "routinely" to both retired and serving political and government office holders as well as their collaborators in the private sectors: CG+CS+VA-LI=PC (for investigation). Where CG=Consumed Goods, CS=Consumed Services, VA=Verified Assets, LI=Legitimate Income, PC=Presumed Corruption (for investigation). Even if the random but "routine" application of this formula captures only one percent of the population at risk, the deterrent effect will not only significantly curb corruption in the present and henceforth, it will also result in retributive punishment and recovery of funds/assets that should enhance the image of the agencies as doing their work effectively (Odekunle,2015)
- There should be naming to shame public policy for any public officers indicted for corruption with a stated and publicized reasons for dismissal.
- A separate body should be set up to be in charge of contract awards at the various government institutions.

- There is a need for societal re-orientation towards appreciating honesty, probity, and rectitude while frowning at every form of dishonesty behaviour.

References

Achebe, C (1983).The Trouble with Nigeria. Fourth Dimension Publisher, Enugu.

Ademoyega, A (1981).Why we Struck. Evans Brothers, Ibadan

Aiyede, R.E (2006) "The Role of INEC, ICPC and EFCC in Combating Political Corruption" in Money, Politics, and Corruption in Nigeria. Abuja: Garkida Press.

Aiyegbayo OA (2007). 'Corruption endangers National Security'. In ICPC NEWS. 2: 6, October

Akanbi, M.I (2004). "Corruption, Accountability and Good Governance in Saliu, H.A (ed) Nigeria Under Democratic Rule (1999-2003) Vol. one. Ibadan: University Press PLC

Alabi, Mojeed. Olujinmi. A. and Fashagba, Joseph. Yinka. (2010). The Legislature and Anti-corruption Crusade under the Fourth Republic of Nigeria: Constitutional Imperatives and Practical Realities, International Journal of Politics and Good Governance, 1(1.2) Quarter II: 1 – 39.

Aluko, S.A (2008) Corruption and National Development: A Lecture delivered at the Centre for Democratic Development Research and Training, Zaria as part of the Activities of Professor Bala Usman Annual Memorial Lecture, on Saturday 31 st May.

Anayochukwu, A (2012) "The Rots Deepens" Tell July 2, pp46-48

Anyaegbunam,E.O (2010) The Legislations Companion. A Handbook for the National Assembly, State House of Assembly, and Local Government Legislative Council. Ibadan: Bookbinders

Atoyebi,G.O and Mobolaji, H.I (2004). "Corruption, Accountability and Good Governance in Saliu, H.A (ed) Nigeria Under Democratic Rule (1999-2003) Vol. one. Ibadan: University Press PLC

Ayandele EA (1974). The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society. Ibadan University Press, Ibadan.

Bratton M, Van de Walle N (1997). Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Chris, A (2011). "A Nation's Big Burden" Newswatch May 30.pp 14-19

Coleman, J.S (1958).Nigeria: Background to Nationalism. University of California Press.

Demola, A (2011) "A House of Fraud" Newswatch May 30, pp 14-21

Desmond, V. (2011) "Bankole's Dirty Legacy" The News, May 30.pp 14-18

Eigen, P (2002).Corruption in a Globalized World. SAIS Review 22, pp 45-59

Ekwueme, E.G, and Daminabo, A.F.D (2008) Corruption in Education: The Nigerian Experience. Journal of Vocational Science and Educational Development 8(1) pp 109-110

Enemuo, F.C, and Momoh.A (1999).Civil Associations. In Nigeria: Politics of Transition and Governance 1986-1996.Oyediran,O and Agbaj, A (eds).Russell Press Limited, Great Britain

First, R (1970).The Barrel of a Gun: Political Power in Africa and the Coup D' Etat. Anthen Lane, London

Global Integrity 2004 country reports download fro www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2004/country on 24/2/2001

Gyekye, K (2003).Political Corruption: A Philosophical Inquiry into a Moral Problem. In Philosophy and Politics: Discourse on Values, Politics, and Power in Africa. Maduabuchi D (ed).Malthouse Press, Lagos

Heidenheimer,A. and Johnston,M .(eds.) (1993).Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts. London: Transaction Publishers.

Ihonvbere, J.O (1999). Federalism, Power Sharing and the Politics of Redistribution in Nigeria: A paper presented at the International Conference at Sintra new Lisbon Portugal, September, 21-25, 1999.

Ihonvbere J.O (2009). Leadership and the Future of Nigeria. Vanguard 19th March 2009.

Ike, D. N. (2010). Combating the dinosaur syndrome: The scourge of corruption; the greatest threat to the survival of the Nigerian nation. A public lecture at Covenant University, Canaan Land, Ota.

Janowitz, M (1968). The Professional Soldier. The Free Press, London.

Joshua, S and Oni, S (2014).The Nigerian House of Representatives and Corruption (1999-2014) Mediterranean Journal of Social Science MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy E-ISSN 2039-2117 ISSN 2039-9340 Vol 5 No 2 pp561-567

Klitgaard, Robert (1991). "Gift and Bribes" in Richard Zeckhauser, ed., strategy and choice Cambridge, M.A: MIT Press.

Lewis, A (2006). "Corruption" In word web. Princeton: Princeton University

Mathekga, R (2008) The ANC "Leadership Crisis" and the Age of Population in Post Apartheid South Africa. In Praetorian's J. (ed.) Africa Politics: Beyond the Third Wave of Democratization. Cape Town, Juta and CO Ltd.

Mbeki, T. (1999) Address of the President of South Africa to the 9th IACC. Durban, South Africa. October 10-15 online: http://www.transperancy.org/iacc9thiacc/papers.htm/links (Retrieved March 1, 2005).

Mosca, Gaetano (1939 [1896]), "Elementi di scienza politica", volume one, in G. Mosca, (ed.), The Ruling Class, Chapters 1- 11 New York, McGraw Hill.

Odekunle, Femi (2015). Tackling Corruption in Nigeria: Strategic and Operational Options for the Buhari Administration. The 5th Convocation Lecture at The Al-Hikmah University Ilorin, Nigeria.

Ogbonna,M.I (2004) "The ICPC and Fight Against Corruption in Saliu, H.A (ed) Nigeria Under Democratic Rule (1999-2003) Vol. one. Ibadan: University Press PLC

Okoosi-Simbine, A.T (2010) "Understanding the Role and Challenges of the Legislature in the Fourth Republic: The Case of Oyo State House of Assembly "Nigeria Journal of Legislative Affairs,3 (1-3):pp1-27

Oluokun, A and Desmond, U (2011) Crazy Cost of Running Nigeria, The News June 27.

Oni, Samuel (2013) "The Legislature and Constituency Representation in the Fourth Republic of Nigeria's Democratic Governance". Ife Psychologies (An International Journal of Psychology in Africa. Volume 21 (2). pp: 232-241

Otite, O (1986).On the Sociological Study of Corruption. In Nigeria: Corruption in Development. Femi, O (ed).Ibadan University Press, Ibadan.

Pope, J (2006).Parliament and anti-corruption legislation. In: Stapenhurst,R.,Johnston,N.,& Pelizzo,R.(eds).The Role of Parliament in Curbing corruption. pp 51-67, Washington, The World Bank Institute.

Professor Talla. Re: Nigeria: One of the Top Failed State. The Punch 12 July, 2012.p 10

Poverty in Nigeria. Nigeria Tribune 14 February 2012. Pp 1-2

Roger, S Neo S, John D (2005).Leadership Change and Former Presidents in Africa.

Scott,M and Welna,C (eds) (2003).Democratic Accountability in Latin America: New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 20-24

Stapenhurst,R.,Ulrich,M.,& Strohal,S. (2006).Parliamentarians fighting corruption In Stapenhurst, R., Johnston, N.,& Pelizzo, R.(eds).The Role of Parliament in Curbing corruption. pp 1-12, Washington, The World Bank Institute.

Suleiman, T (2011) "This House Has Failed" Tell June 6, pp.22-24.

Suleiman, T. (2011) "Between Facts and Fictions" Tell June 27, pp. 44-45

The Transparency International Corruption Index, 1998, 2001, 2002, and 2003.

The Punch 14 November 2007

Thurow, L. C. (2003). Fortune favors the bold: What we must do to build a new and lasting global prosperity. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Transparency International Corruption Perception Index. Retrieved December 2003. http:/www.transparency.org/pressreleases_archive/2003.10.07.cpi.en.html

Usman, Y.B. (2001) Some observations on the Historical Perspective. Paper at the National Conference on the Problems of Corruption in Nigeria. Nigeria Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, Abuja, Nigeria. 26-29. March 2001. Online: http//www/ceddert.com (Retrieved 2nd March 2005).

Vanguard 29 May, 2003.p.3

Vilfredo, Pareto (1935).The Mind and Society. Jonathan Cape, London

Vickers, M.Post K, (1973).Structure and Conflict in Nigeria 1960-1966.University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Wilson, R.(1999) International Business and the Return on Integrity, Part at the 9th LACC. Durban, South Africa. October 10-15 online: http://wwwtransparency.org/iacc/9th /iacc/paper.htm/links (retrieved March, 2005)

World Bank (2011).World Development Indicators Database (July and August)