

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Nigeria is rich in natural and human resources, with a population of over 180 million people; the most populous country in Africa¹. At the time of her political independence, on 1st October 1960, Nigeria excelled in production of agricultural produce such as groundnut, palm oil, cocoa, cotton, beans, timber and hides and skins. Then, during the oil boom period of the seventies Nigeria made headlines with her oil wealth, as a country richly endowed with oil and natural gas resources capable of financing a number of important projects to meet basic consumption and development needs².

With per capital income of around \$1,100 during the late 1970's Nigeria was regarded as the fastest growing country in Sub-Sahara Africa². Yet it remains predominantly underdeveloped due to the scourge of corruption that has corroded it. Corruption denies the ordinary citizen the basic means of livelihood, it worsen unemployment and erodes our image as a nation and as individual. Corruption is a persistent cancerous phenomenon which bedevils Nigeria. It has been acknowledged in many quarters that, corruption is Nigeria's worst problem and is largely responsible for its woes, such as the instability in the Niger Delta, the debt overhang, barriers to democratic elections, and impediment to flow of foreign direct investment (FDI)³.

Grand corruption is a cancer that has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian polity. The general global perception about graft in Nigeria is that it is a pervasive phenomenon. It is generally acknowledged that corruption and corrupt practices are endemic and systemic in both public and private sectors of Nigeria. Corruption has had debilitating effects on the country as it has had elsewhere. It is encountered in the routine processes of governance both in public and private sectors, and it pollutes the business environment generally. It

equally undermines the integrity of government and public institutions. Countries high in corrupt practices achieve lower literacy rate, have worse human capital development and higher mortality rates.

Meanwhile, it is very easy to talk about corruption, but like many other complex phenomena, it is difficult to define corruption in concise and concrete terms. The World Bank defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused through rent seeking activities for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe. Public office is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets or the diversion of state resources⁴.

A public official is corrupt if he accepts money for doing something that he is under duty to do or that he is under duty not to do. Corruption is a betrayal of trust resulting directly or indirectly from the subordination of public goals to those of the individual. Thus a person who engages in nepotism has committed an act of corruption by putting his family interests over those of the larger society⁵. Corruption is also the perversion of integrity of state of affairs through bribery, favor or moral depravity. It involves the injection of additional but improper transactions aimed at changing the moral course of events and altering judgments and positions of trust. It consists in the doer's and receiver's use of informal, extra-legal, or illegal act to facilitate matters⁶.

When informal relationships prove insufficient to establish and maintain a desired social order, a government or a state may impose more formalized or stricter systems of social control. With institutional and legal machinery at their disposal, agents of the state can compel populations to conform to codes and can opt to punish or attempt to reform those

who do not conform. Usually, a natural person perpetrates a crime, but legal persons may also commit crimes. It is for this reason that a crime is defined as an action or omission which constitutes an offence and is punishable by law⁷.

Nigeria's inability to consolidate her democracy is blamed largely on the high level of corruption in the country. Corruption generally, has eaten so deep into Nigeria's body politics that its practice is seen more like a societal norm than an exception. People have imbibed the belief that hard work, honesty and integrity are not worthy principles since one can do very little to get or earn so much. Thus, corruption pervades all aspects of human life, beginning from the home to both public and private institutions.

In a report by a non-governmental organization, the money siphoned from poor countries could prevent 3.6 million deaths, pay for about 500,000 school teachers and provide school for all out school children in 16 African countries⁸. Similarly, Global Witness argued that the amount diverted from illicit deals by government agents in one transaction could provide training for over 400,000 midwives to supplement the inadequate midwives in the Nigerian health institutions⁹. This they say can prevent the death of 4,260 women monthly in the process of childbirth. Accordingly, they observed that the amount could provide school for over 1.7 million out of the 5.5 million girls that are out of school in Nigeria.

Academic research conducted in Nigeria reported the diversion of \$6.8 billion oil subsidy to private pockets and about ₦382 millions of pension fund siphoned by career civil servants¹⁰. These are nothing but the tip of the iceberg, calling proactive efforts towards minimizing incidences of corrupt practices in Nigeria. National and international measures taken by governments to reduce the act of corruption include the ratification of both regional and international conventions, such as the African Union and the United Nations Conventions, designed to prevent and tackle corrupt practices and the creation of an

independent body known as Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACAs)¹⁰. Although a number of these Anti-Corruption Agencies have excelled in many countries, majority are mere shadows of themselves. Singapore's Corruption Investigation and Prevention Bureau (CIPB) and the Hong Kong's Independent Commission against Corruption (ICAC) are among the successful Anti-Corruption Agencies in the world¹¹. However, majority of these bodies have failed, especially in developing countries of Africa.

Nigeria is not significantly dissimilar to many developing countries; corruption has been a multifaceted phenomenon characterizing the global economy. Although most studies of corruption focus on developing countries, there are few studies on corrupt practices, the role of the anti-corruption agency, and the debilitating impact of corruption on Nigeria.

In Nigeria, the creation of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was seen as a genuine government commitment to the fight against corrupt practices and the records have been impressive. Accordingly, it was reported that in its first two years that the EFCC was able to investigate and prosecute cases of corrupt offences and recovered about \$2.2 billion of looted fund from Nigeria¹². Likewise, in its 2013 annual report, the EFCC reported the recovery of over eleven billion Naira, two million US Dollars and forty-five thousand Pounds Sterling from corrupt related offences¹³. With more than two thousand investigation in 2013, the EFCC was able to prosecute 485 and convicted 117 cases of economic and financial crimes.

The analysis of the operations of the EFCC indicate that between 2010 and 2013, the EFCC received 25,522 petitions, investigated 9,410 and convicted 339 cases of corrupt practices in Nigeria¹³. Consequently, looking at the statistics above, the Commission was only able to investigate 36% of the reported cases of corrupt practices and only convicted about 1% of the cases or 3% of the investigated cases. Thus, there is an apparent gap between reported,

investigated and convicted cases by the EFCC. What then are the challenges of the EFCC in fighting these persistent cases of corrupt offences in Nigeria? A search in the literature provided a myriad of factors challenging the effectiveness of the EFCC in fighting corruption in Nigeria. Most studies attributed the ineffectiveness of the EFCC to the legal environment^{14,15}.

According to these studies, there is an apparent delay in the prosecution process largely due to the nature of the Nigerian judicial system. Other have identified absence of political will and political interference while some put it on the EFCC's shortcoming¹². Therefore, the current state of the EFCC remains a paradox needing an in-depth investigation into the successes and the challenges of the Commission. The aim is to tell a story of the Commission's milestone in the fight against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria from the eyes of those within the EFCC. Because they are in most appropriate position to describe the success and challenges so far being encountered and the probable recommendations for improvements.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Corruption has coexisted with human society for a long-time and remains as one of the problems confronting and stalling both developed and developing economies with varying degrees in different countries and with overwhelming consequences on political and socio-economic development. Over the last three decades the most single cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabrics of our society is corruption. This has so deep-rooted and pervaded the nation that it has now appeared to have become a permanent characteristic of the Nigerian polity. It has become completely institutionalized, entered into the realm of culture and the value system; it is now a norm and no longer an eccentricity. Our children are born into it, fed with it, grew up in it, socialize with it, live with it, and possibly die in it.

This is substantiated in the many corruption cases being investigated by the EFCC and its counterpart on high ranking government officials - former governors, cronies of the party in power, politicians, and representatives of corporate organization as well as top business tycoons. In 2002, the Nigerian government created the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to investigate and prosecute cases of corruption and financial crimes.

A search in the literature provided a myriad of factors challenging the effectiveness of the EFCC in fighting corruption in Nigeria. Some studies found that both the rent-seeking and institutional theories offer deeper insights into the systemic nature of Nigerian corruption^{16,17}. Thus, there is a limited gap between crime and corruption. It is for this reason that this research study seeks to fill the gap and provide accurate answers to the question of crime and corruption in Nigeria. It will also critically investigate the causes and consequences of corruption in Nigeria and why EFCC is to some extent being ineffective.

1.3 Aim and Research Objectives

The aim objective of this research is to investigate the activities of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission while the specific objectives are to:

- i. investigate the causes of corruption in Nigeria.
- ii. Investigate the achievement and challenges of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria.
- iii. Examine the weakness of EFCC in the fight against corruption in Nigeria.
- iv. Examine the implications of the activities of EFCC on the democratic consolidation of Nigeria.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions were formulated to guide the study:

1. What are the causes of corruption in Nigeria?

2. What are the achievement and challenges of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria?
3. What are the weakness of EFCC in the fight against corruption in Nigeria?
4. What are the implications of the activities of EFCC on the democratic consolidation in Nigeria?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The crux of the study is to investigate crime and corruption and the activities of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission in Nigeria. A study of this nature is expected to improve performance of the EFCC in Nigeria economy and reduce fraud. This means that the organization including other sectors of the economy will be better perceived. The government and its officials will learn to be accountable for their various offices, also adopt new measures to ensure a total sanity in the country.

However, the general public will understand that nobody is above the law and no matter the position or status foreigners also will benefit from the research work put together. They will no longer see Nigeria as one of the most corrupt nations of the world. Rather they will appreciate the effort of the Nigeria government through EFCC to restore the last integrity of the country and returning to them that money stolen by fraud stars. They can as well start to invest in Nigeria never to panic about the safety of their investment; for students and the academia, it will be a stepping stone for further research on the issue, thus acting as think tank information for students.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Evidence abound that the rate of corruption especially financial crimes like advanced fee fraud (419) and money laundering committed in Nigeria is alarming. Nigerian's are treated with suspicion in all business dealings. Majority of honest Nigerians suffer as the result. The research study is about corruption and crime and the activities of EFCC in fighting

corruption. Specifically, the study will cover the period of nine years, that is, from 2010 to 2019.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Corruption: Corruption is a form of dishonesty or criminal offense undertaken by a person or organization entrusted with a position of authority, to acquire illicit benefit or abuse power for one's private gain. Corruption may include many activities including bribery and embezzlement, though it may also involve practices that are legal in many countries. Corruption is the illegitimate use of public power to benefit a private interest. Corruption can occur on different scales. Corruption ranges from small favors between a small number of people to corruption that affects the government on a large scale, and corruption that is so prevalent that it is part of the everyday structure of society, including corruption as one of the symptoms of organized crime.

Anti-Corruption: Anti-corruption comprise activities that oppose or inhibit corruption. Just as corruption takes many forms, anti-corruption efforts vary in scope and in strategy. A general distinction between preventive and reactive measures is sometimes drawn. In such framework, investigative authorities and their attempts to unveil corrupt practices would be considered reactive, while education on the negative impact of corruption, or firm-internal compliance programs are classified as the former.

Administration: Administration refers to a method of tending to or managing the affairs of some group of people. In other words, it is a group of individuals who are in charge of creating and enforcing rules and regulations, or those in leadership positions who complete important tasks. "Administration is determined action taken in pursuit of conscious purpose. It is the systematic ordering of affairs and the calculated use of resources, aimed at making those things happen which we want to happen and simultaneously preventing developments

that fail to square with our intentions. It is the marshalling of available labour and materials in order to gain that which is desired at the lowest cost in energy, time and Money.

Crime: In ordinary language, a crime is an unlawful act punishable by a state or other authority. It is an action or omission which constitutes an offence and is punishable by law.

Nigeria: Nigeria is a country in West Africa. The country comprises 36 states and 1 Federal Capital Territory, where the capital, Abuja, is located. The constitution defines Nigeria as a democratic secular state. Nigeria is often referred to as the 'Giant of Africa', owing to its large population and economy. With 186 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seventh most populous country in the world. Nigeria has the third-largest youth population in the world, after India and China. Nigeria is divided roughly in half between Christians, who live mostly in the southern part of the country, and Muslims, who live mostly in the north. A minority of the population practice religions indigenous to Nigeria, such as those native to the Igbo and Yoruba ethnicities.

Endnote

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Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Corruption

Corruption is efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of public power for private benefit. Corruption as a phenomenon, is a global problem, and exists in varying degrees in different countries¹. Corruption is not only found in democratic and dictatorial politics, but also in feudal, capitalist and socialist economies. Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist cultures are equally bedeviled by corruption². In Nigeria, it is one of the many unresolved problems that have critically hobbled and skewed development. It remains a long-term major political and economic challenge for Nigeria³. It is a canker worm that has eaten deep in the fabric of the nation. It ranges from petty corruption to political / bureaucratic corruption or Systemic corruption.

Corruption as a term is uncertain and indeed devoid of any strait jacket definition. It depends on who is defining and from what perspective. What is corruption? Etymologically speaking, corruption is said to have originated from two Latin words namely, *Corrumpere* and *Corruptio* which means an act of bribe, destroy or decay. It is an act of being guilty of dishonesty involving bribery⁴. Some people see 'corruption' as a conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. Then to others, it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash⁵.

The Collins English Dictionary for Advanced Learners define corruption as the dishonest and illegal behaviour by people in positions of authority or power⁶. Corruption occurs when an official transfers a benefit to an individual who may not be entitled to the benefit, in

exchange for an illegal payment called the bribe. By taking the bribe, the official breaks a legally binding promise he or she gave to his principal or employer (usually the state government or a private company) to allocate the benefits to those entitled to it.

Given this, the elusiveness of the definition of corruption depending on the definer and perspective within the parameter of intellectual discourse on Nigerian State and beyond, was eloquently evoked by as thus:

Corruption involves the giving and taking of bribe, or illegal acquisition of wealth using the resources, of a public office, including the exercise of discretion. In this regard, it is those who have business to do with government who are compelled somehow to provide inducement to public officials to make them do what they had to do or grant undeserved favour. It is therefore defined as official taking advantage of their offices to acquire wealth or other personal benefit⁷.

The above quotation was corroborated by McMullan when he defines corruption in the following way:

A public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do or exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons⁸.

In his own explanation, Otite sees corruption as:

Perversion of integrity or state of affair through bribery, favour or moral depravity. It involves the injection of additional but improper transaction aimed at changing the normal course of events and altering judgments and positions of trust. It consists in doers and receivers' use of informal, extra-legal or illegal act to facilitate matter⁹.

In addition to the above, Nwabueze in his own contribution to the conceptual review of the definition adopted a sociological approach of corruption. He conceptualized corruption in the following way:

A form of social deviance in some cases, of criminal deviances, the result of failure or lack of will to respect the norms of social interactions. It is

an extra-legal or normative approach to gaining access. It is a form of mal-adaptation involving the acceptance of society's cultural goals and the rejection of the socially approved means of attaining the goals. It is an indictment on the ineffectiveness of society's socialization function; a sign of some defects in the development of citizen's personality system. It indicates the existence of weakness in agencies of social control which should punish rather than reward the perpetrator of corruption ¹⁰.

Corruptions, according to him take several forms on one hand, if a public officer embezzles public funds kept in his trust that is corruption. In the same view, if he does unauthorized spending or exceeds approved limits for dubious ends, this is corruption. If he, in defiance of the rules, allocates government land to himself, his wife, his child or friends or otherwise appropriates his position to his or other person's unfair advantage it is corruption. If he over values a contract so that he could earn a kick-back, this is corruption¹⁰.

Corruption may be defined as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. Transparency International uses this definition. It captures three elements of corruption:

1. Public and private sectors: Corruption occurs in both the public and private sectors. This includes media and civil society actors. Actors can be individuals, companies, or organizations such as a political parties.
2. Abuse of power: Corruption involves abusing power held in a state institution or a private organization.
3. Benefit: Both sides involved in the corrupt act benefit, either in terms of money or undue advantage¹⁰.

Sometimes the 'advantage' gained may not be 'undue' or clear-cut, but is nonetheless an advantage. For example, in some corrupt societies people can only secure access to public health or education if they pay bribes. In such situations, those who can afford to pay have an advantage over those who cannot. The bribe-giver's 'benefit' is merely that which his or her

rightful due is anyway. Bribe-takers receive an advantage for carrying out functions that are anyway their duty to perform.

Corruption is also defined as a complete, social, political and economic phenomena that affect all countries. It undermines democratic institutions, and slows economic development. It attacks the foundation of democratic institutions by distorting electoral processes, perverting the rule of law and creating bureaucratic quagmires whose only reason for existing is the soliciting of bribes. Economic development is stunted, because foreign direct investment is discouraged and small businesses with the country often find it impossible to overcome the “start-up costs” required because of corruption¹¹.

Practically, if you are a typical Nigerian, you would define corruption as government officials looting our treasury. One could view it from the perspective that everything starts and ends in government offices. It will surprise you that almost everybody is campaigning against corruption in Nigeria. We are all waging a war against corruption. The main reason Nigeria is not making progress in terms of fighting corruption is that, those in government are just stealing public money. Corruption in Nigeria is not the exclusive preserve of politicians, civil servants, and captains of industry.

Among the “common people”, there is an instinctive honing of stealing skills. One should stop thinking people suddenly become corrupt when they join the government. However having been tutored and mentored on petty stealing from probably the age of five, Nigerians naturally explode when they occupy positions of authority at any level either in private or public sector. They join the bandwagon of selfish leaders after suddenly finding themselves in the corridor of power Rather than use their positions to repair its ills; they conform to the enrichment craze.

In other words corruption is defined as the involvement in illegal, dishonest, or wicked behaviour which is destructive of the moral fabric of society¹². To some people corruption “is the conscious and will plan act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons”¹³.

A careful examination of the above definition and explanation demonstrate that corruption in Nigeria takes two terms namely political and economic. Political corruption is the use of legislative powers by government officials for illegitimate private gain¹⁴. From the political point of view, the perpetrators are political office holders, bureaucrats, public servants, the press and the general public. This has stigmatized the image of the government, weaken its credibility and reduced the effectiveness of the development programmes and policies; and also to a great extent, weaken the economy of the nation¹⁵.

Political corruption is any act of a political class, civilian or military, or a highly placed public official aimed at changing the moral or lawful course of events especially when the perpetrators uses such a position of authority for the purpose of a personal or group interest¹⁶. Economic corruption ravaging the Nigeria economy could be noticed in financial institutions such as banks, the insurance companies and the stock brokers¹⁵.

2.1.2 Types of Corruption

In an elaborate analysis, corruption can be divided into seven distinct types; autogenic, defensive, extortive, investive, nepotistic, supportive and transactive¹⁷.

- **Autogenic corruption** is self-generating and typically involves only the perpetrator.

A good example would be what happens in cases of insider trading. A person learns of some vital information that may influence stocks in a company and either quickly buys or gets rid of large amounts of stocks before the consequences arising from this information comes to pass.

- **Defensive corruption** involves situations where a person needing a critical service is compelled to bribe in order to prevent unpleasant consequences being inflicted on his interests. For instance, a person who wants to travel abroad within a certain time frame needs a passport in order to undertake the journey but is made to pay bribes or forfeit the trip. This corruption is in self-defense¹⁸.
- Extortive corruption is the behavior of a person demanding personal compensation in exchange for services.
- Invective corruption entails the offer of goods or services without a direct link to any particular favor at the present, but in anticipation of future situations when the favor may be required.
- Nepotistic corruption refers to the preferential treatment of, or unjustified appointment of friends or relations to public office, in violation of the accepted guidelines. The supportive type usually does not involve money or immediate gains, but involves actions taken to protect or strengthen the existing corruption. For example, a corrupt regime or official may try to prevent the election or appointment of an honest person or government for fear that the individual or the regime might be probed by the successor.
- Finally, transactive corruption refers to situations where the two parties are mutual and willing participants in the corrupt practice to the advantage of both parties. For example, a corrupt business person may willingly bribe a corrupt government official in order to win a tender for a certain contract.

A similar categorization of the types of corruption was done by Okeme. To him, corruption is divided into seven types namely¹⁹,

- **Bribery:** This has to do with giving and receiving money or material gifts in order to influence an officers or any person in authority so as to change certain decision or make an unmerited favour given to the bribe giver.
- **Extortion:** This is a situation in which a person is qualified to get something but the actor in charge whose duty is to give such a thing out insists on getting some money mostly in cash or in kind from the expectant party concerned before releasing it.
- **Graff:** This has to do with unethical means of profit making. For example kickbacks. This can be described in a situation where by a contract sum has been paid to the contractor concerned and the line officers or people who were involved in facilitating the success are been given some money in return.
- **Over Invoking:** This relates to purchase of an item through an inflated price so that the difference between the actual price and the inflated price is shared between the parties involved.
- **Blocking:** This is peculiar to educational institutions especially tertiary institutions. It means paying cash or kind to a person who supervises an examination, or marks examination scripts or records the result for favour. The favour could be to allow the student concerned to cheat in the examination hall or to give unmerited marks or to raise the student's scorers.

2.2 Crime

One of the characteristics of every human society is crime. There is no society or country devoid of crime or corruption. If such a society ever exists at all, its existence then does not go beyond the confines of the mind, or human imagination. In fact thinking of such a society is a sign of hallucination. The term crime does not have any simple and universally accepted definition, although statutory definitions have been provided for certain purposes¹⁹. The most popular view is that crime is a category created by law; in other words, something

is a crime if declared as such by the relevant and applicable law¹⁹. One proposed definition is that, a crime is an act harmful not only to some individual but also to a community, society, or the state. Such acts are forbidden and punishable by law.

Crime is an offense which violates the law of state and is disapproved by the society. In the olden days, the crime rate was not very high. But as time progressed, the crime rate has increased alarmingly. Crime is a public wrong. Crime is defined as acts or omissions forbidden by law that can be punished by imprisonment or fine. Murder, robbery, burglary, rape, child neglect and failure to pay taxes are examples of crimes²⁰. The term crime is derived from the Latin word "*crimen*" meaning offence and also a wrong-doer. A crime is also defined as "an intentional act or omission in violation of criminal law..., committed without defense or justification, and sanctioned by the state as a felony or misdemeanor"²¹.

Crime is considered as an anti-social behaviour. Each society may define crime in a different perspective. A crime may be legal or illegal. Illegal and punishable crime is the violation of any rule of administration or law of the state or practice of any wrongdoing and harmful to self or against third parties, provided in criminal law. Legal and not punishable crime is all acts of self-defense.

2.3 Administration

It is very useful to begin by defining the term administration. Administration must exist in any organization set up for a defined purpose or objective. Whether one think of the Church, the army, a university, an industrial or business concern or a purely social organization, there has to be administration because each one consists of human beings brought together in a hierarchical set-up, making use of tools, equipment, human and material resources, all in the quest to attain the objective for which the organization established.

Thus, the Bishop in the Church, the field marshal in the army, the vice-chancellor in the university, the managing director or chairman of an industry or business enterprise, each with functions and responsibilities assigned for the accomplishment of the objective or purpose of the organization. This process requires planning, organization, command, coordination, and control. All these constitute administration²². Simply defined, administration is the organization and direction of persons in order to accomplish a specified end. Perhaps the simplest and shortest definition of administration is the one that says that 'when two men co-operate to roll a stone that neither could move alone, the rudiments of administration have appeared'²³. Administration is also said to be a determined action taken in pursuit of a conscious purpose. It is the systematic ordering of affairs and the calculated use of resources aimed at making those things happen which one wants to happen and foretelling everything to the contrary. Administration is also seen as a variety of component elements which, together in action produce the result of a defined task done. Administration, primarily is the direction of people in association to achieve some goal temporarily shared. It is the inclusive process of integrating human efforts so that a desired result is obtained. Administration is the central power house of the motivational impulsion and spirit which makes the institution drive to fulfil its purpose'²⁴.

However, in another definition, administration from the aspect of organizations and materials. He further asserts that administration means the organization and use of men and materials to accomplish a purpose. In other words, it is the specialized vocation of managers who have skills of organizing and directing men and materials just as definitely as an engineer has the skill of building structures or a doctor has the skill of understanding the human ailments²⁵. Administration has to do with getting things done; with the accomplishment of defined objectives. In the words of H. Simon, administration can be defined as the activities of groups cooperating to accomplish common goals²⁶.

As can be seen, administration is defined as cooperative human action or cooperative group behaviour. The word “cooperative”, is the first key element in this definition. Human activity is cooperative if it has the effects that would be absent if the common goal is to educate a group or individuals who are specialist in the field of public administration have been brought together. The second key element of the above definition is the goal and purpose. The idea of goal is central to the concept of administration in the sense that if there was not a goal, the member of the group would not come together and cooperate with each other. When someone determines the objective, the group is informed about that, then the group members will start to think about what they can do for the accomplishment of that objective and they will start to cooperate with each other²⁷.

Seen from another perspective, administration is defined as “an activity or process mainly concerned with the means for carrying our prescribed ends”²⁸. In this definition, the concept of goal accomplishment again plays an important role. As the definition clearly indicates, administration is mainly concerned with the means that are necessary for the accomplishment of pre-determined goals. In this, it seems that a new element is introduced, that is the concept of ‘means’. The means is the way by which something is done or obtained.

Better explained, when a group of individuals are working for the accomplishment of a common goal, a division of labor is necessary, so that each individual will know what to do. Or there is the need for an authority structure to control and coordinate the activities of the many others – for carrying out prescribed ends. In this sense, administration is an activity mainly concerned with the means. For that matter, cooperation and any other method which will insure cooperative is a means as well.

From the above definition studied, it is obvious that the concept of administration is closely related to cooperative human activity in the accomplishment of pre-determined goals.

2.5.1 The Functions of the Administrator

An eminent scholar in the field of administration has suggested a list of functions falling to an administrator⁴⁴. The list is commonly referred to by the acronym POSDCORB. He himself adapted it from the functionalist of the work of a chief executive as elaborated by another celebrated expert on administration and scientific management²⁹. Thus, the acronym encapsulates the basic functions and activities of an administrator.

1. Planning.

Planning is an activity that concerns itself with proposals for the future, with the evaluation of alternative proposals, and with the methods by which these proposals may be achieved. From an organizational viewpoint, planning is concerned with setting organizational goals or objectives and determining the approach by which the goals are to be established. In this sense, planning determines where the organization is going and the general approaches it will use to get there. Planning coordinates the activities of the organization toward defined and agreed objectives. With this understanding, planning is concerned with the future and helps the manager shape the future of the organization³⁰.

An administrator or chief executive must be concerned with working out in broad outline with things that have to be done by his organization or department and must decide the methods to be employed for doing them in order to accomplish the purpose set for the organization or department, with the greatest efficiency³¹. Preparation of the plan or planning the future activities of organization necessitates a thorough evaluation of the present conditions, the state of affairs and the capabilities of the organization at the moment.

The implementation of a plan commits an organization to a specific course of action, therefore, plans should cover a time period long enough to foresee the fulfillment of commitments made in the plan. In addition to above mentioned, the dynamic nature of planning requires that it should be flexible, because one never knows exactly what the future holds. Planning to a certain extent is based on the forecasts or predictions of the state of future conditions, and the planners may not be so precise in their forecasting or predictions. Thus, there may arise the need to adapt the planned activities to the conditions which are different from those predicted. In this sense plans should be flexible enough to facilitate such adaptations.

2. Organizing

Every administrator works within an organizational framework. The successful administrator must have a solid understanding of the principles of organization and must realize that the structure of an organization plays a vital role that cannot be overlooked. As a function, organizing is the establishment of the formal structure of authority through which departments, divisions and sub-divisions are arranged, defined and coordinated for the accomplishment of the defined objectives³².

Organizing is a continuous activity of every administration; once the formal structure of the organization is established, this does not necessarily mean that the very same structure will be in effect in the future indefinitely. Organizations have to adapt themselves to the changing conditions of the environment to perpetuate their existence and in this process of adaptation their formal structure may be subject to change as well.

As indicated earlier, the interaction between the organization and its environment is a vital one, and thus the organization has to take into consideration the changing conditions of the

environment, if it wants to accomplish its objectives and increase its efficiency. The changing conditions of the environment may necessitate or may force the organization to modify its formal structure. In this sense, organizing is one of the functions to which the administrator has to pay continuous attention.

3. Staffing

Staffing is personnel function of bringing in and training the staff and maintaining favorable conditions of work³³. One of the essential needs of every organization is to have qualified manpower for undertaking activities related to its goal accomplishment. Staffing principally deals with the recruitment of employees for organization positions, with the separation of employees from the organization through retirement, dismissal, or resignation, with the training of employees, with their salaries and wages, and with their health, safety and welfare³⁴. In addition to the above mentioned, promotions and transfers from one position to another is another technique used in the selection of the employees and these are activities which can be listed under staffing.

Staffing is directly related to the manpower needs of an organization which changes in line with the changing environmental conditions. Thus, forecasting the future and trying to predict the possible changes which will affect the manpower needs of the organization is a vital aspect of staffing. As can be seen, staffing is simply the personnel administration, which plays a vital role in the overall picture of organization.

4. Directing

Directing is the continuous task of making decisions and embodying them in specific and general orders and instructions, and serving as the leader of the enterprise. Directing involves ensuring cooperation among the employees, making sure that each employee contributes his/her mental or physical efforts for accomplishing the objectives of the

organization. In this sense, some of the individuals otherwise known as administrator have to direct the others to contribute their quota to the goal accomplishment, and such an activity requires lots of decisions. One of the most critical activities of administrators is to engage in the decision making process. As a matter of fact, almost every position in an organization involves some decision making.

Decision-making is the act of reaching a judgment or conclusion regarding an issue. It is usually regarded as an intellectual process, the product of an individual mind. However, it must be emphasized that organizational decision-making is an institutionalized process. Any ultimate decision in the organization is the end product of the combined efforts of many individuals at several different levels in the organizational hierarchy.

Thus, an organizational decision is a collective product rather than the result of any individual's choice. What really happens is that, in the first place, every decision is based on information, and secondly, the decision maker (administrator) is given information regarding the possible alternatives involved. The alternatives are developed, and the possible consequences of each one studied thoroughly by several individuals, and then the related information is given to the decision maker for consideration^{35,36}.

The ultimate decision made is simply the selection made from amongst the alternatives submitted to the decision maker. As can be seen clearly, there are several individuals and several of their contributions in organizational decision making, thus as indicated earlier, organizational decision making is an institutionalized process. As a function, directing is closely related to leading and leadership style. In general, leadership is the process of influencing the activities of an individual or a group in its efforts toward goal achievement in a given situation³⁷. This definition of leadership clearly indicates that leadership process is a function of the leader, the follower, and other situational variables. In essence, leadership involves accomplishing goals with and through people. Therefore, a leader must

be concerned about the tasks which are necessary for goal accomplishment and the relationship among the people who are going to perform the tasks.

5. Coordinating

Coordinating is also one of the functions of an administrator. It is the task of interrelating the various parts of the work. Coordinating is an important activity of the administrator, because in the functioning of an organization, there exists a detailed division of labor, and goal accomplishment is possible through the contributions of several individuals. As a result of division of labor, the overall work is divided into its components, and each component is placed under the responsibility of an individual or group, and goal accomplishment necessitates the establishment of specific relations among various parts of the work³⁸.

The need for coordination is taken into consideration in the process of designing organizational structure; the units which do related work are brought together and placed under the authority of a common superior. The normal method of coordination is hierarchical in its operation, that is, if trouble or a problem develops between two individuals or units, the matter is handled by the common higher authority. In addition to structural arrangements, when needed, special committees are established for purposes of coordination. To this extent, the coordinator must continually ensure that the various branches of the organization working smoothly.

6. Reporting

Reporting is the all-important function of keeping those whom the administrator is responsible informed of what is going on in the organization. While at the same time the administrator or chief executive keeps himself and his subordinates informed through reporting, records and inspection.

7. Budgeting

Budgeting, or budgetary process, is central to the administration of any organization, because through budgeting an effective control is exercised over the financial resources at the disposal of the organization. Budgeting is at the heart of the administrative processes, because “without money work would come to a stop or never would be undertaken in the first place”³⁹. A similar evaluation is made by scholars when they state, “the budgetary process is central to administration because the control of the purse is perhaps the most effective tool of coordination”⁴⁰. Thus, budgeting is an important element of financial administration, which includes those operations designed to make funds available to officials and to ensure their efficient use within the framework of laws.

Financial administration includes the following; the determination of financial policies; preparation of the budget; collecting revenues and allocating them for the various activities in view of the goals to be accomplished; supervision of expenditures; the control of the accounting and reporting system; and treasury management and audit. The analysis of fiscal organization and procedures throws light on other aspects of administration. In this sense, finance and administration are inseparable. Almost every administrative action has its financial implications, either getting something out of the treasury or making a contribution to it.

2.4 Nigeria

Nigeria is a country in West Africa. The name Nigeria was coined from Niger River which run through the country. This name was coined in the late 19th century by British journalist, Flora Shaw who was a mistress to Lord Lugard, the British colonial administrator. Nigeria gained independence from the United Kingdom on 1 October 1960 and later became a republic in 1963⁴¹. The country comprises 35 states and one

federal capital territory which is considered the capital of the state. The constitution of Nigeria defines Nigeria as a democratic secular state⁴². Nigeria is viewed as a multinational state as it is inhabited by 250 ethnic groups, of which the three largest are the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are the major ethnic groups recognized by the constitution. These ethnic groups speak over 500 distinct languages and are identified with a wide variety of cultures⁴³.

Nigeria is often referred to as the 'giant of Africa', owing to its large population and economy. With 186 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and seventh most populous country in the world. Nigeria has the third-largest youth population in the world after India and China⁴⁴. Nigeria is divided roughly in half between Christians, who live mostly in the southern part of the country and Muslims, who live mostly in the north. A minority of the population practice religious indigenous in Nigeria such as those native to the Igbo and Yoruba ethnicities.

However, Nigeria practice a federal republic modelled after the United States, with executive power exercised by the President. It is influenced by the Westminster System model in the composition and management of the upper and lower houses of the bicameral legislature. The president presides as both head of state and head of the federal government; the leader is elected by popular vote to a maximum of two 4-year terms⁴⁵.

The president's power is checked by the Senate and House of Representatives, which are combined in a bicameral body called the National Assembly. The Senate is a 109-seat body with three members from each state and one from the capital region of Abuja; members are elected by popular vote to four-year terms⁴⁶. In furtherance to the above

explanation, the research study shall examine the three arms of government and their functions in Nigeria.

2.4.1 The Leadership Style of Nigeria

The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is the head of state and head of government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The President is doubled as the Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces. According to the Nigerian Constitution, the President is elected in national elections which take place every four years⁴⁷. The offices, powers, and titles of the Head of State and the Head of Government were officially merged into the office of the Presidency under the 1979 Constitution of Nigeria. This was also followed by the 1999 constitution. The current President, Muhammadu Buhari took office on May 29, 2015 as the 15th President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He is currently running its second term as the president of Nigeria.

2.4.1.1 Functions of the President

The President has the powers entrusted by the Constitution and legislation, including those necessary to perform the functions of Head of State and Head of the national executive is thereof. The President of Nigeria is responsible for:

1. Assenting to and signing Bills.
2. Referring a Bill back to the National Assembly for reconsideration of the Bill's constitutionality.
3. Referring a Bill to the Supreme Court for a decision on the Bill's constitutionality.

4. Summoning the National Assembly or Parliament to an extraordinary sitting to conduct special business.
5. Making any appointments that the Constitution or legislation requires the President to make, other than as head of the national executive.
6. Appointing commissions of inquiry.
7. Appointing the Supreme Court Justices of Nigeria on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council of Nigeria and subject to confirmation by the Senate.
8. Calling a national referendum in terms of an Act of Parliament.
9. Receiving and recognizing foreign diplomatic and consular representatives
10. Appointing ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, and diplomatic and consular representatives and other federal officers with the advice and consent of a majority of the Senate
11. Pardoning or relieving offenders and remitting any fines, penalties or forfeitures
12. Conferring honours.

2.4.2 The Legislature of Nigeria

Legislative power is held by the real government and the two chambers of the legislature: the House of Representatives and the Senate. Together, the two chambers make up the law-making body in Nigeria, called the National Assembly, which serves as a check on the executive arm of government. The National Assembly of Nigeria has two chambers which comprises of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives is presided over by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. It has 360 members, who are elected for four-year terms in single-

seat constituencies. The Senate, which has 109 members, is presided over by the President of the Senate. 108 members are elected for four-year terms in 36 three-seat constituencies, which correspond to the country's 36 states. One member is selected in the single-seat constituency of the federal capital.

The Functions of the Legislature

The Assembly has broad oversight functions and is empowered to establish committees of its members to scrutinize bills and the conduct of government officials. Since the restoration of democratic rule in 1999, the Assembly has been said to be a "learning process" that has witnessed the election and removal of several Presidents of the Senate, allegations of corruption, slow passage of private member's bills and the creation of ineffective committees to satisfy numerous interests. While the Assembly has made strong and often popular efforts to assert its authority and independence against the executive, it is still viewed generally in a negative light by the media and many of the Nigerian people. The Assembly sits for a period of at most four years, after which time the President is required to dissolve it and call a new Assembly into session⁴⁸.

Furthermore, the Senate has the unique power to impeach judges and other high officials of the executive including the Federal Auditor-General and the members of the electoral and revenue commissions. This power is, however, subject to prior request by the President. The Senate also confirms the President's nomination of senior diplomats, members of the federal cabinet, federal judicial appointments and independent federal commissions.

Before any bill may become law, it must be agreed to by both the House and the Senate, and receive the President's assent. Should the President delay or refuse assent

(veto) the bill, the Assembly may pass the law by two-thirds of both chambers and overrule the veto and the President's consent will not be required. The present Assembly has not hidden its preparedness to overrule the executive where they disagree⁴⁹.

2.4.3 The Judiciary in Nigeria

The highest judiciary arm of government in Nigeria is the Supreme Court of Nigeria which was created after independence and also practices Baron de Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers based on the United States system and also practices checks and balances. The judicial branch consists of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, the Court of Appeals, the High Courts, and other trial courts such as the Magistrates', Customary, Sharia and other specialized courts⁵⁰.

The National Judicial Council serves as an independent executive body, insulating the judiciary from the executive arm of government. The Supreme Court is presided over by the Chief Justice of Nigeria and thirteen associate justices, who are appointed by the President of Nigeria on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council. These justices are subject to confirmation by the Senate.

Functions of the Judiciary in Nigeria

1. **To Give Justice to the people:** The first and foremost function of the judiciary is to give justice to the people, whenever they may approach it. It awards punishment to those who after trial are found guilty of violating the laws of the state or the rights of the people. The aggrieved citizens can go to the courts for seeking redress and compensation. They can do so either when they fear any harm to their rights or after they have suffered any loss. The judiciary fixes the quantity

and quality of punishment to be given to the criminals. It decides all cases involving grant of compensations to the citizens.

2. **Interpretation and Application of Laws:** One of the major functions of the judiciary is to interpret and apply laws to specific cases. In the course of deciding the disputes that come before it, the judges interpret and apply laws. Every law needs a proper interpretation for getting applied to every specific case. This function is performed by the judges. The law means what the judges interpret it to mean.
3. **Role in law making:** The judiciary also plays a role in law-making. The decisions given by the courts really determine the meaning, nature and scope of the laws passed by the legislature. The interpretation of laws by the judiciary amounts to law-making as it is these interpretations which really define the laws. Moreover, 'the judgments delivered by the higher courts, which are the Courts of Records, are binding upon lower courts. The latter can decide the cases before them on the basis of the decisions made by the higher courts. Judicial decisions constitute a source of law.
4. **Protection of Rights:** The judiciary has the supreme responsibility to safeguard the rights of the people. A citizen has the right to seek the protection of the judiciary in case his rights are violated or threatened to be violated by the government or by private organizations or fellow citizens. In all such cases, it becomes the responsibility of the judiciary to protect his rights of the people.
5. **Guardian of the Constitution:** The judiciary acts as the guardian of the Constitution. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land and it is the responsibility of the judiciary to interpret and protect it. For this purpose the judiciary can conduct judicial review over any law for determining as to whether

or not it is in accordance with the letter and spirit of the constitution. In case any law is found ultra vires (unconstitutional), it is rejected by the judiciary and it becomes invalid for future. This power of the court is called the power of judicial review⁵².

2.5 Evolution of Anti-Corruption Wars in Nigeria

In Nigeria, historically, the war against corruption could be traced back to the precolonial era. The various pre-colonial societies had in place institutions or policies that were pre-set to fight corrupt practices. The Yoruba Alaafin stood to commit suicide or be banished on any event of gross abuse of his office⁵³. This act essentially checked the Alaafin (the head traditional political Yoruba Society) from corrupt practices and he himself was to ensure that his officials were not corrupt. In the Igbo societies, uprightness was the watchword of all the people. Even at this, for fear of any possible abuse of office, the Igbo political system did not repose authority on a single individual.

In the North, the Emir was checked by the collective efforts of his officials against corrupt practices⁵⁴. The Sharia Laws were the standard for all the faithful including the emir and its punishments abound for corrupt acts. In the early years of the British rule, there were complaints that emirs and chiefs were difficult to trust with money among other corrupt acts and very quickly the administration issued a proclamation on how to deal with it, which was essentially that corrupt officers would have their appointments terminated and go to jail. Detailed accounting and auditing guidelines were also circulated to assist and warn all officers⁵⁵. They were also traditional anti-corruption bodies like the police, and the courts.

However, the weaknesses of these institutions following their infection with the same vice they were to fight made it necessary for the colonial government to devise other means of

fighting corruption. The level of awareness of the need to combat corruption by the colonial administration was awoken by the motion moved on February 26th, 1952, by the Emir of Gwandu at the floor of the Northern House of Chiefs: That this House, agreeing that bribery and corruption are widely prevalent in all walks of life, recommends that Native Authorities should make every effort to trace and punish offenders with strict impartiality and to educate public opinion against bribery and corruption⁵⁶.

By 1950s the colonial administration had moved away from just the use of the traditional anti-corruption machineries to the use of commissions of enquiry. On July 24, 1956 the Justice Trafford Forster-Sulton Commission of enquiry was set up to investigate the allegations that Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had abused his office as premier of Eastern Region by allowing public funds to be invested in business establishment where he had an interest. The Commission's Report indicted Dr Azikiwe, and in January 6 1957 he transferred all his rights in the bank to the Eastern Nigeria Government⁵⁷.

The post-independence Federal Government also adopted the use of Commission of Inquiry in fighting Corruption in the Country. On June 20 1962, it appointed a Commission headed by Justice G.B. Coker to investigate the allegations that Chief Obafemi Awolowo had also abused his office as premier of the Western Region in his relationship with a private enterprise, the National Investment and Property Company (NIPC). The Commission's report indicted Chief Awolowo; consequently the Western regional government acquired all the property owned by the National Investment and Property Company⁵⁸. In 1967, another commission of enquiry was instituted to investigate assets of fifteen public officers in the defunct mid-Western region. The panel, indicted all the public officers of corruptly enriching themselves. The political leadership of Nigeria's First Republic, led by Prime Minister Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, was aware of the high level of corruption in the country but appeared handicapped or unwilling to confront it. Most actions the government could

take against corruption (outside the commission of enquiry that probed Chief Awolowo in 1962) was limited to condemning the emerging scourge and promised to abate it with time⁵⁹. This was the situation until the military captured government in 1966.

2.5.1 Anti-Corruption Efforts of Government-Military/Civilian 1966

The 1966 coup d'état brought hope to many Nigerians that the end had come to corrupt practices in Nigeria government. This hope was raised further by the promises of Major Kaduna Nzeogwu, the leader of the military rebellion, who told Nigerians that the military did not plan to retain political power and proceed to rule. The intention of the military elites who overthrow the government was to remove from office, irresponsible and opportunistic politicians and incompetent and corrupt civil servants, restore respectability, professionalism, transparency and accountability to Nigeria's public service, and return to the barracks⁵⁹.

Major Nzeogwu never ruled but the military remained. But from General Ironsi to Gowon there were no pronounced anti-corruption policies of the government. In 1967, a commission of enquiry was instituted to investigate assets of fifteen public officers in the defunct Mid-Western Region. The commission, indicted all the public officers in question of corruptly enriching themselves, and recommended that the public officers should forfeit such ill-gotten gains to the government. The early military governments/regimes did not live up to the people's expectation in combating corruption. The military government under Gowon had become more corrupt than the civilian government of the First Republic⁵⁹.

In response to the continued agitation for change, the military government under General Murtala Mohammed who had overthrown Gen. Gowon launched the first military-sponsored anti-corruption campaigns – Operation Purge the Nation – which he said would rid the nation of political/administrative incompetence, corrupt and morally delinquent civil servants and politicians and bring back respectability and professionalism to the country's

public service⁵⁷. The impact of the new anti-corruption programme, which forcefully purged over 11,000 people from the national civil service of corruption, was not only temporary but partial.

Several civil servants were sacked to settle personal scores and punish suspected enemies and opponents. The programme rather endangered professionalism since the bases for the retrenchment were arbitrary and designed to eliminate primarily Nigerians who did not have proper connections to those in power. The individuals who took over the recently evacuated civil service positions continued to engage in opportunism since the incentive structure had not been altered. Alhaji Shehu Shagari who led the Second Republican Nigeria (1979--1983) had expressed worries at the scale of bribery, corruption, dishonesty and all vices were assuming in Nigeria.

Early in his administration, Shagari had responded to controversy, which was associated with the Obasanjo's Regime which he had succeeded. He instituted a probe panel headed by Justice Ayo Irekefe to get to the root of the scandal⁵⁸. His regime however tried to combat corruption. He later proclaimed an ethical revolution, which he felt would be effective in fighting corruption. The 1979, 1989 and the 1999 Constitutions had also provided a code of conduct for public servants with a Code of Conduct Bureau to enforce the prescribed behaviours. The government also appointed a cabinet minister of National Guidance to provide moral leadership against corruption. Yet the measures were ineffective in combating corruption, for Nigeria had grown even more corrupt than ever before. It was in this state that the civilian government was toppled in a military coup, which the coup plotters justified as being necessary to combat corruption⁶⁰.

After the 1983 coup, one of the leaders, Major General Tunde Idiagbon introduced another anti-corruption programme called, "War Against Indiscipline," (WAI). The idea was to promote and emphasize discipline and professionalism among civil servants as a way of

improving political and administrative efficiency. Unfortunately, the programme eventually degenerated into policing against disorderly behaviours. Like its predecessors, the new programme failed to engage the Nigerian people in proper state reconstruction to establish more effective structures for corruption control. The consequence was continued increase in the level of corruption in the country⁵⁹.

As part of the Buhari/Idiagbon led anti-corruption crusade, a special military tribunal was set up to recover public properties from the politicians of the past government and those found guilty were handed stiff prison terms longer than the normal life-span. The programme was however criticized on the ground that the military rulers subverted national laws in their efforts to imprison or deal with public servants suspected of engaging in corrupt activities. No effort was made to develop a consistent, predictable legal framework for dealing with corruption and individuals accused of engaging in corruption practices.

2.5.2 Obasanjo's Government Anti-Corruption War (1999-2004)

On assumption of office in 1999, former President Olusegun Obasanjo declared his intention to fight corruption and began putting in place many organs in that direction. More than any of his predecessors he put in place anti-corruption institutions. Some of the agencies his administration had put in place in the fight against corruption are discussed below. In the first instance, he sent his anti-corruption Bill to the National Assembly for endorsement. The bill was entitled, "A bill for a law to prohibit and punish bribery and corruption of or by public officers and other persons (presented by the President, Commander-in-Chief, Federal Republic of Nigeria) – 7th July, 1999⁵⁸.

The next step by the President was his ignition of what would have been the fire of his anti-corruption campaign via the constitution of a panel to review various contract awards and appointments made during the administration of his predecessor. The panel among other

things pruned down from over 500 to mere 13 the national awards bestowed indiscriminately on some Nigerian citizens. The Alhaji Iguda Inuwa Commission of Enquiry was also set up to examine the performance of major projects in Abuja. The Idris Kuta panel was to determine the number of contracts awarded by the Senate in one year from June 11 1999 to July 17, 2000 and to identify the officers of the Senate and other Senators that participated in the exercise of contract award.

The panel was also to identify to whom the contracts were awarded for what and the amounts involved, to determine whether the laid down rules and procedure were complied with in the award of contracts among other terms of references. The popular Oputa panel was also used by this administration to investigate human right abuses since 1966, Oluwole Rotimi panel on Federal Government Assets was also among the myriad of panels. Obasanjo's administration did not stop at the use of panels of enquiry in the fight against corruption, some other instruments he adopted included budget transparency, removal of extra budgetary expenditures, procurement reforms under the due process unit, and such institutions as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC), the Code of Conduct Tribunal among others.

The Conventional anti-corruption agencies like the police and the Courts were reinvigorated and sensitized to more effective action in combating corruption. The tarnished national image abroad especially using the Transparency International: Corruption Perception Index (CPI), which alternated Nigeria from the most corrupt nation to second and third most corrupt nation among the nations surveyed by the institution. The negative economic effect of all these are contributory to spurring the Obasanjo's administration into the anti-corruption war. Let us at this point examine some of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC).

2.6 Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC)

The establishment of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2002 and its subsequently takeoff in 2004 under the chairmanship of Nuhu Ribadu was a demonstration of the fervour with which the Obasanjo Administration wanted to stamp out corruption. The Commission is charged with enforcement and administration of the provisions of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act – investigating all financial crimes, including advanced free fraud, money laundering, counterfeiting, illegal cash transfer, credit card fraud contract scams, and so on. The Agency immediately took corruption head-on in its fight against the social menace and has recorded some degree of successes in this respect⁶⁰.

The EFCC Establishment Act 2004 mandated the commission to combat Economic and Financial Crimes. The commission is empowered to prevent investigate, prosecute, penalize economic and financial crimes and it is charged with the responsibility of enforcing the provisions of the others laws and regulations relating to economic and financial crimes including:

1. The Act itself, that is, the EFCC Act 2004
2. The Money Laundry Act 1991
3. The Money Laundry Prohibition Act 2004
4. The Advance Free Fraud (419) and other fraud related crimes of 1995
5. The failed Banks (Recovery of Debt) and financial malpractices in Banks Act 1994
6. The Banks and other financial institutions Act 1991 and the Miscellaneous Offences Act of 1991

In addition, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) is the key agency of government responsible fighting terrorism in Nigeria. It is empowered to co-operate with

foreign countries to investigate and bring to book cases of financial misappropriations or fraudulent actions of Nigerian public offices in and outside.

Function of the EFCC

The major functions of EFCC was set out in the enabling Act of the anti-graft agency, these include:

1. Investigation of all financial crimes such as advance fee fraud (419), money laundering, illegal charge transfer, computer credit card fraud, contract, forgery of financial investigation.
2. Adopt measures to identify trace and tackle economic and financial crimes and other related offences the value of which corresponds to such proceeds.
3. Dealing with matters connected with extraction deportation and mutual legal or other assistance between Nigeria and other countries involving economic and financial crimes.
4. Maintaining liaison with offices of the Attorney General of the Federation, Nigeria custom service National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) all government security financial supervisory institution in the eradication of economic and financial crimes.

The commission has received vigor with the setting up the body. The commission investigated in 2005 the following then serving governors of their respective states for offences ranging from money laundering to fraud. These Governors include; Orji Kalu of Abia, Igbenedion of Edo, James Ibori of Delta, Victor Attah of Akwalbom, Tinubu of Lagos, Almei Yesigha of Bayelsa, and Peter Odili of Rivers⁶¹. The N55 million allegations against the Former Inspector General of Police Tafa Balogun, all these allegations are being investigated by EFCC.

2.7 On-Going High Profile Cases Capturing: Name of Suspects on Trial, Court Case Status of Suspects and Remarks

These details are provided below:

1. **Ayo Fayose** (Former Governor of Ekiti State) Federal High Court, Lagos Arraigned on 51 state counts, plea already taken but defense lawyer keeps filing frivolous application for long adjournments to frustrate and prolong trial N1.2 Billion granted bail by Court since 2007-inherited case file since 17th December 2007. Subsequently, the former governor and a firm, Spotless Investment Limited, were arraigned on October 22, 2018 for alleged criminal breach of trust, theft and money laundering. He also was accused of receiving \$5 million from a former Minister of State for Defence, Musiliu Obanikoro⁶².
2. **Adenike Grange** (Former Minister of Health) FCT High Court Maitama Arraigned on 56 state counts, plea already taken. Defence lawyer often long adjournments to prolong trial matter adjourned to October 27 N300million granted bail by court since 2008. Inherited case filed since 2nd April 2008.
3. **Joshua Dariya** (Former Governor Plateau State) FCT High Court Gudu Arraigned on 14 state counts, plea already taken but defense lawyer challenged Court Jurisdiction. Case started at HC while on appeal for stay of trial. This is part of calculated attempt to prolong trial N700million granted bail by Court since 2007-inherited case filed since 13th July 2007.
4. **Saminu Turaki** (Former Governor, Jigawa State) FCT High Court Maitama Arraigned on 32 state counts. Plea already taken but defense lawyer challenged Court Jurisdiction. Case stalled at HC while seeking stay of trial of Appeal Court. It is part of usual attempt to frustrate and prolong trial N36billion granted bail by court since 2007-inherited case filed since 13th July 2007.

5. **Orji Uzor Kalu** (Former Governor, Abia State) Federal High Court Maitama Arraigned on 107 state counts, plea already taken but defense lawyer raised preliminary objection against charges. Lost at trial court but has gone on appeal to stay trial. It is part of usual attempt to prolong trial. Further hearing November 3 N5billion granted bail by court since 2008-inherited case filed since 11th June 2007.
6. **James Ibori** (Former Governor, Delta State) Federal High Court Asaba Arraigned on 170 state counts. Defense lawyer challenged Kaduna Federal Court Jurisdiction lost at trial court but won at Appeal Court. Case re-assigned by CJ to Asaba FHC. Without taking plea, suspect applied to quash charges, prosecution opposed application and ruling for November 6 N9.2billion granted bail by Court since 2008-inherited fresh charges filed in August 2009.
7. **Iyabo Obasanjo -Bello** (Serving Senator) FCT High, Maitama Arraigned on 56 state counts. Plea already taken but case stalled as defense lawyer filed to challenge charges, application pending for determination. This is April 2 2008.
8. **Lucky Igbinedion** (Former Governor of Edo State) FCT High Court, Enugu Arraigned on 191 state counts. Applied for plea bargain and convicted but EFCC has appealed the judgment to seek for stiffer sanctions N4.3billion case determined 2008-inherited case filed on 23rd January 2008.
9. **Gabriel Aduku** (Former Minister of Health) FCT High, Maitama Arraigned on 56 state counts. Court judgment on no case against suspect under review by EFCC N300Million cases determined in 2008-inherited case filed on April 2nd 2008.
10. **Jolly Nyame** (Former Governor Taraba State) Federal High Court, Abuja Arraigned on 21 state counts. Plea already taken but case is stalled a defense lawyer challenged Court Jurisdiction. Lost at HC, Appeal Court, now before Supreme Court this is a

typical example of frivolous appeals to buy time and prolong trial N180 million granted bail by Court since 2008 – inherited case filed since 13th July 2007.

11. **Chimaroke Nnamani** (Former Governor of Enugu State) Federal High Court, Lagos Arraigned on 105 state counts. Plea already taken but case is stalled as defense lawyer filed to transfer case to another Judge on allegation bias against trial Judge even as counsel has again filed to challenge Court Jurisdiction. This is equally an attempt to prolong trial. Case come up October 22 N5.3billion granted bail by Court since 2007-Inherited case filed since 11th December 2007.
12. **Michael Botmang** (Former Governor of Plateau State) Federal High Court, Maitama Arraigned on 31 state counts. Plea already taken but trial stalled due to suspected ETMs ailment, on daily basis. Trial billied to resume October 16 N1.5billion granted bail by Court since 2008-commenced by Waziri on 18th July 2008.
13. **Doyin Okupe**, the former Senior Special Assistant to ex-President Goodluck Jonathan on Media, Mr Okupe is charged with laundering N702 million.
14. **Roland Iyayi** (Former Managing Director of FAAN) FCT High Court, Maitama Arraigned on 11 states counts. Plea already taken. Trial-on-going court taking prosecution witness's testimony N5.6billion granted bail by Court since 2008-commenced by Waziri in June 2008.
15. **Nyeson Wike** (Serving Chief of Staff to Governor of Rivers State) FCT High Court Maitama Arraigned on State counts. Court quashed charges. EFCC already appealed judgment. Appeal pending at Appeal Court. N4.670billion granted bail by Court since 2008-commenced by Waziri on October 9, 2008.
16. **Elder George** (Austrian Business Man) FCT High Court, Maitama Arraigned on 11 State counts, plea already taken and trial On-going. Prosecution witness undergoing

cross examination. Continuation of trial fixed for November 17, granted bail by Court since 2008-commenced by Waziri in June 2008.

17. **Kenny Martins** (Police Equipment Fund) FCT High Court, Maitama Arraigned on 28 amended state counts, plea already taken and trial on-going. Witnesses under cross-examination and continuation of trial fixed for November 9 N7,740 billion granted bail by court since 2008-commenced by Waziri in June 2008.
18. **Thirteen (13) Filipinos (charged for Oil Bunkering)** Federal High Court, Benin Arraigned on State counts, convicted at the close of trial and sentenced to 65years altogether N300million EFCC returns to Court to seek forfeiture of vessel used for Oil theft October 23 slated for adopted or written addresses on that-commenced by Waziri in 2009.
19. **Six (6) Ghanaians (Charged for Oil Bunkering)** Federal High Court of Benin arraigned on State counts and trial commenced. Prosecution closed case matter adjourned to November 4 and 5 for defense to close. N25million granted bail by Court in 2009. Commenced by Waziri in 2009.
20. **Patrick Fernandez** (Indian Businessman) Federal High Court, Lagos arraigned on 56 states counts plea already taken and trial commences November N32billion grant bail by court in 2009 commenced by Waziri in June 2009.
21. **Prof. Babalola Borishade** (Former Minister of Aviation) FCT High Court, Maitama Arraigned on going (N5.6billion) prosecution witnesses under N5.6billion granted bail by Court since 2008 commensed by Waziri in June 2008.
22. **Boni Haruna** (Former Governor, Adamawa State) Federal High Court Maitama Arraigned on amended 28 States counts, plea taken. Adoption of motion slated for November N254million granted bail by Court since 2008 commenced by Waziri in 2008.

23. **Femi-Fani-Kayode** (Former Minister of Aviation) Federal High Court, Lagos
Arraigned on 47 states counts. Plea taken but case stalled a result of trial courts refusal to admit e-print of suspect's statement of account as evidence. EFCC on appeal against the decision and the matter is still pending at appeal Court N250 million granted bail by Court in 2008-commenced by Waziri in 2008.
24. **Prince Ibrahim Dumuje** (Police Equipment Fund) FCT High Court. Abuja
Arraigned on 28 amended state counts, plea taken and trial on going prosecution witnesses under cross examination continuation fixed for November 9 N7, 740 billion granted bail by Court since 2008 commenced by Waziri in June 2008.
25. **Bode George** (Chieftain of the Ruling Party PDP) Federal High Court of Lagos
Arraigned on 68 state counts. Plea taken and trial concluded. Judgment being awaited N100 billion granted bail by Court since 2008, commenced by Waziri since 2008 December.
26. **Walter Onnoghen**, former Chief Justice of Nigeria was accused of corruption in 2017. After six month of appointment, the Nigerian government filed charges against the head of the country's judicial arm, accusing him of asset declaration offences. The government consequently filed six charges of non and fraudulent declaration of assets by Mr Onnoghen⁶⁴.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of analysis of this study is the four theories employed to explain the variables. The theories are the frustration-aggression theory, the Social Contract Theory, Structural Conflict Theory, Elite Theory and Relative-Deprivation Theory. The Social Contract theory is the preferred theory to explain the variables in this research study. The reason is because the state is seen as an entity to protect the right and security of its citizens.

2.2.1 The Social Contract Theory

The Social Contract Theory is the preferred theory for the explanation of the variables of the research work. This is because the theory present a typical version of the origin of the state from the liberal point of view. It also treats the state as a product of the mutual agreement of men and women created with a definite purpose, to serve certain social needs. Social contract theory, nearly as old as philosophy itself, is the view that persons' moral or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement among them to form the society in which they live. Socrates uses something quite like a social contract argument to explain to Crito why he must remain in prison and accept the death penalty⁶⁵.

However, social contract theory is rightly associated with modern moral and political theory and is given its first full exposition and defense by Thomas Hobbes. After Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are the best known proponents of this enormously influential theory, which has been one of the most dominant theories within moral and political theory throughout the history of the modern West. In short, the theory treats the state as an artificial contrivance.

It postulates deliberate efforts behind the formation of the state. This implies the possibility of two life-patterns; one before the origin of the state, the other after the creation of the state. According to this theory, the stat is not a natural institution, but an artificial device or instrument invented by men for their mutual benefit; it is intended to serve the interests of all individuals or all section of society. It regards the stat as the product of the will of the society; hence, it is an expression of 'common will'⁶⁶.

The idea of the creation of the state through a contract is found in a rudimentary form in ancient though both of the East and West. Some traces of the theory are also found in ancient Roman law. But all these references should not be taken to mean that the theory of the social contract has been prevalent from the ancient times. On the contrary, this theory was systematically formulated at a particular point of European history, in order to drop a curtain on the values of the feudal system and to introduce the new values of the capitalist⁶⁷.

2.2.1.1 Exponents of the Theory

Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau are regarded as the main proponents of the theory of the social contract. Of these, Hobbes and Locke are from England while Rousseau belongs to France. This theory held the field in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some later thinkers, such as Immanuel Kant, Herbert Spencer, John Rawls and Robert Nozick made use of this theory to elaborate their own system of thought⁶⁸. Hobbes was a tutor to Charles II of England. He sought to justify the absolute power of the sovereign in his famous work *Leviathan*. He condemned the Civil War of 1642 as he was in it the forces of disintegration. He sought to establish the absolute sovereign of the state as an essential condition of social solidarity.

Locke, on the other hand, sought to justify the Glorious Revolution of 1688. He was an ardent advocate of constitutional monarch. In his *Two treatise of Civil Government*, Locke argued that if the monarch ever behaved in a despotic manner, the people had the right to remove him from authority. Brought up in the tradition of British conservatism, Locke was not the sworn enemy of monarch, but he sought to establish it 'in the consent of the people'. Rousseau had no such particular purpose to serve.

Yet he was brilliant writer whose ideas not only inspired poets and men of letter but induced the revolutionary upsurge that shook the French polity to its foundations. He is regarded as the source of inspiration of the great French Revolution.

2.2.1.2 Outline of the Theory

The Social Contract theory of the origin of the state implies that there was a time when men lived or would have lived without any recognized civil law, without the state. This stage or life-pattern of men is described as the 'state of nature. Then the state was created through the voluntary agreement of all individuals who constitute the state. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau have drawn different pictures of the state of nature, terms of the contract and the character of sovereignty which came into existence as a consequence of the birth of the state. It is important to note here that the whole theory of the contract is based on speculation. It seeks to trace the origin of the state though logic, not through historical or scientific evidence. Locke refers to a historical fact to illustrate the point, but illustration is no evidence.

2.2.1.3 State of Nature

The state of nature denotes how men live or would have lived without the authority of civil law, state or political control. At this stage, there is no industry, no systematic production. Men live not only close to nature, they have to depend on the bounty nature for their survival. Their behavior is largely governed by their inner impulses, unrestrained by civil law, although a 'natural law' is supposed to have existed. Men have no recognized rights, although they enjoy some 'natural rights'. As all these conditions are determined by logic or particular lines of argument, not on the basis of any scientific evidence, they do not lead to any uniform conclusion. Different authors have, therefore, given different version of the stat of nature, and so on.

2.2.1.4 Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes, lived during the most crucial period of early modern England's history: the English Civil War, waged from 1642-1648. To describe this conflict in the most general of terms, it was a clash between the King and his supporters, the Monarchists, who preferred the traditional authority of a monarch, and the Parliamentarians, most notably led by Oliver Cromwell, who demanded more power for the quasi-democratic institution of Parliament. Hobbes represents a compromise between these two factions. On the one hand he rejects the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, which is most eloquently expressed by Robert Filmer in his *Patriarchal or the Natural Power of Kings*, (although it would be left to John Locke to refute Filmer directly).

The theorist's view held that a king's authority was invested in him (or, presumably, her) by God, that such authority was absolute, and therefore that the basis of political obligation lay in our obligation to obey God absolutely. According to this view, then, political obligation is subsumed under religious obligation. On the other hand, Hobbes also rejects the early democratic view, taken up by the Parliamentarians, that power ought to be shared between Parliament and the King. In rejecting both these views⁶⁸.

Hobbes occupies the ground of one who is both radical and conservative. He argues, radically for his times, that political authority and obligation are based on the individual self-interests of members of society who are understood to be equal to one another, with no single individual invested with any essential authority to rule over the rest, while at the same time maintaining the conservative position that the

monarch, which he called the Sovereign, must be ceded absolute authority if society is to survive.

Thomas Hobbes' political theory is best understood if taken in two parts: his theory of human motivation, psychological egoism, and his theory of the social contract, founded on the hypothetical State of Nature. Hobbes has, first and foremost, a particular theory of human nature, which gives rise to a particular view of morality and politics, as developed in his philosophical masterpiece, *Leviathan*, published in 1651.

The Scientific Revolution, with its important new discoveries that the universe could be both described and predicted in accordance with universal laws of nature, greatly influenced Hobbes. He sought to provide a theory of human nature that would parallel the discoveries being made in the sciences of the inanimate universe. His psychological theory is therefore informed by mechanism, the general view that everything in the universe is produced by nothing other than matter in motion.

To Thomas Hobbes, this extends to human behavior. Human macro-behavior can be aptly described as the effect of certain kinds of micro-behavior, even though some of this latter behavior is invisible to us. So, such behaviors as walking, talking, and the like are themselves produced by other actions inside of us. And these other actions are themselves caused by the interaction of our bodies with other bodies, human or otherwise, which create in us certain chains of causes and effects, and which eventually give rise to the human behavior that we can plainly observe.

We, including all of our actions and choices, are then, according to this view, as explainable in terms of universal laws of nature as are the motions of heavenly bodies. The gradual disintegration of memory, for example, can be explained by inertia. As

we are presented with ever more sensory information, the residue of earlier impressions 'slows down' over time. From Hobbes' point of view, we are essentially very complicated organic machines, responding to the stimuli of the world mechanistically and in accordance with universal laws of human nature⁶⁹.

In Hobbes' view, this mechanistic quality of human psychology implies the subjective nature of normative claims. 'Love' and 'hate', for instance, are just words we use to describe the things we are drawn to and repelled by, respectively. So, too, the terms 'good' and 'bad' have no meaning other than to describe our appetites and aversions. Moral terms do not, therefore, describe some objective state of affairs, but are rather reflections of individual tastes and preferences. In addition to Subjectivism, Hobbes also infers from his mechanistic theory of human nature that humans are necessarily and exclusively self-interested.

All men pursue only what they perceive to be in their own individually considered best interests - they respond mechanistically by being drawn to that which they desire and repelled by that to which they are averse. This is a universal claim: it is meant to cover all human actions under all circumstances – in society or out of it, with regard to strangers and friends alike, with regard to small ends and the most generalized of human desires, such as the desire for power and status. Everything we do is motivated solely by the desire to better our own situations, and satisfy as many of our own, individually considered desires as possible. We are infinitely appetitive and only genuinely concerned with our own selves.

According to Hobbes, even the reason that adults care for small children can be explicated in terms of the adults' own self-interest (he claims that in saving an infant by caring for it, we become the recipient of a strong sense of obligation in one who

has been helped to survive rather than allowed to die). In addition to being exclusively self-interested, Hobbes also argues that human beings are reasonable. They have in them the rational capacity to pursue their desires as efficiently and maximally as possible. Their reason does not, given the subjective nature of value, evaluate their given ends, rather it merely acts as "Scouts, and Spies, to range abroad, and find the way to the things desired". Rationality is purely instrumental. It can add and subtract, and compare sums one to another, and thereby endows us with the capacity to formulate the best means to whatever ends we might happen to have.

From these premises of human nature, Hobbes goes on to construct a provocative and compelling argument for why we ought to be willing to submit ourselves to political authority. He does this by imagining persons in a situation prior to the establishment of society, the State of Nature. To Hobbes, the justification for political obligation is this: given that men are naturally self-interested, yet they are rational, they will choose to submit to the authority of a Sovereign in order to be able to live in a civil society, which is conducive to their own interests.

Hobbes argues for this by imagining men in their natural state, or in other words, the State of Nature. In the State of Nature, which is purely hypothetical according to Hobbes, men are naturally and exclusively self-interested, they are more or less equal to one another, (even the strongest man can be killed in his sleep), there are limited resources, and yet there is no power able to force men to cooperate.

Given these conditions in the State of Nature, Hobbes concludes that the State of Nature would be unbearably brutal. In the State of Nature, every person is always in fear of losing his life to another. They have no capacity to ensure the long-term satisfaction of their needs or desires. No long-term or complex cooperation is possible

because the State of Nature can be aptly described as a state of utter distrust. Given Hobbes' reasonable assumption that most people want first and foremost to avoid their own deaths, he concludes that the State of Nature is the worst possible situation in which men can find themselves. It is the state of perpetual and unavoidable war.

The situation is not, however, hopeless. Because men are reasonable, they can see their way out of such a state by recognizing the laws of nature, which show them the means by which to escape the State of Nature and create a civil society. The first and most important law of nature commands that each man be willing to pursue peace when others are willing to do the same, all the while retaining the right to continue to pursue war when others do not pursue peace.

Being reasonable, and recognizing the rationality of this basic precept of reason, men can be expected to construct a Social Contract that will afford them a life other than that available to them in the state of nature. This contract is constituted by two distinguishable contracts. First, they must agree to establish society by collectively and reciprocally renouncing the rights they had against one another in the state of nature.

Second, they must imbue some one person or assembly of persons with the authority and power to enforce the initial contract. In other words, to ensure their escape from the state of nature, they must both agree to live together under common laws, and create an enforcement mechanism for the social contract and the laws that constitute it. Since the sovereign is invested with the authority and power to mete out punishments for breaches of the contract which are worse than not being able to act as one pleases, men have good, albeit self-interested, reason to adjust themselves to the artifice of morality in general, and justice in particular.

Society becomes possible because, whereas in the State of Nature there was no power able to "overawe them all", now there is an artificially and conventionally superior and more powerful person who can force men to cooperate. While living under the authority of a Sovereign can be harsh (Hobbes argues that because men's passions can be expected to overwhelm their reason, the Sovereign must have absolute authority in order for the contract to be successful) it is at least better than living in the State of Nature. And, no matter how much we may object to how poorly a Sovereign manages the affairs of the state and regulates our own lives, we are never justified in resisting his power because it is the only thing which stands between us and what we most want to avoid, the State of Nature.

According to this argument, morality, politics, society, and everything that comes along with it, all of which Hobbes calls 'commodious living' are purely conventional. Prior to the establishment of the basic social contract, according to which men agree to live together and the contract to embody a Sovereign with absolute authority, nothing is immoral or unjust - anything goes. After these contracts are established, however, then society becomes possible, and people can be expected to keep their promises, cooperate with one another, and so on. The Social Contract is the most fundamental source of all that is good and that which we depend upon to live well. Our choice is either to abide by the terms of the contract, or return to the State of Nature, which Hobbes argues no reasonable person could possibly prefer⁷⁰.

Given his rather severe view of human nature, Hobbes nonetheless manages to create an argument that makes civil society, along with all its advantages, possible. Within the context of the political events of his England, he also managed to argue for a continuation of the traditional form of authority that his society had long since

enjoyed, while nonetheless placing it on what he saw as a far more acceptable foundation.

2.2.1.5 John Locke

For Hobbes, the necessity of an absolute authority, in the form of a sovereign, followed from the utter brutality of the State of Nature. The State of Nature was completely intolerable, and so rational men would be willing to submit themselves even to absolute authority in order to escape it. For John Locke, the State of Nature is a very different type of place, and so his argument concerning the social contract and the nature of men's relationship to authority are consequently quite different. While Locke uses Hobbes' methodological device of the State of Nature, as do virtually all social contract theorists, he uses it to a quite different end. Locke's arguments for the social contract and for the right of citizens to revolt against their king were enormously influential on the democratic revolutions that followed, especially on Thomas Jefferson, and the founders of the United States⁷¹.

Locke's most important and influential political writings are contained in his *Two Treatises on Government*. The first treatise is concerned almost exclusively with refuting the argument of Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, that political authority was derived from religious authority, also known by the description of the Divine Right of Kings, which was a very dominant theory in seventeenth-century England. The second treatise contains Locke's own constructive view of the aims and justification for civil government, and is titled "An Essay Concerning the True Original Extent and End of Civil Government". To Locke, the State of Nature, the natural condition of

mankind, is a state of perfect and complete liberty to conduct one's life as one best sees fit, free from the interference of others.

This does not mean, however, that it is a state of license: one is not free to do anything at all one pleases, or even anything that one judges to be in one's interest. The State of Nature, although a state wherein there is no civil authority or government to punish people for transgressions against laws, is not a state without morality. The State of Nature is pre-political, but it is not pre-moral. Persons are assumed to be equal to one another in such a state, and therefore equally capable of discovering and being bound by the Law of Nature.

The Law of Nature, which is on Locke's view the basis of all morality, and given to us by God, commands that we not harm others with regards to their "life, health, liberty, or possessions"⁷². Because we all belong equally to God, and because we cannot take away that which is rightfully His, we are prohibited from harming one another. So, the State of Nature is a state of liberty where persons are free to pursue their own interests and plans, free from interference and, because of the Law of Nature and the restrictions that it imposes upon persons, it is relatively peaceful.

The State of Nature therefore, is not the same as the state of war, as it is according to Hobbes. It can, however devolve into a state of war, in particular, a state of war over property disputes. Whereas the State of Nature is the state of liberty where persons recognize the Law of Nature and therefore do not harm one another, the state of war begins between two or more men once one man declares war on another, by stealing from him, or by trying to make him his slave.

Since in the State of Nature there is no civil power to whom men can appeal, and since the Law of Nature allows them to defend their own lives, they may then kill

those who would bring force against them. Since the State of Nature lacks civil authority, once war begins it is likely to continue. And this is one of the strongest reasons that men have to abandon the State of Nature by contracting together to form civil government.

Property plays an essential role in Locke's argument for civil government and the contract that establishes it. According to Locke, private property is created when a person mixes his labor with the raw materials of nature. So, for example, when one tills a piece of land in nature, and makes it into a piece of farmland, which produces food, then one has a claim to own that piece of land and the food produced upon it. (This led Locke to conclude that America didn't really belong to the natives who lived there, because they were, on his view, failing to utilize the basic material of nature. In other words, they didn't farm it, so they had no legitimate claim to it, and others could therefore justifiably appropriate it.)

Given the implications of the Law of Nature, there are limits as to how much property one can own: one is not allowed to take more from nature than one can use, thereby leaving others without enough for themselves. Because nature is given to all of mankind by God for its common subsistence, one cannot take more than his own fair share. Property is the linchpin of Locke's argument for the social contract and civil government because it is the protection of their property, including their property in their own bodies, which men seek when they decide to abandon the State of Nature.

To Locke, the State of Nature is not a condition of individuals, as it is for Hobbes. Rather, it is populated by mothers and fathers with their children, or families - what he calls "conjugal society"⁷³. These societies are based on the voluntary agreements to care for children together, and they are moral but not political. Political society comes

into being when individual men, representing their families, come together in the State of Nature and agree to each give up the executive power to punish those who transgress the Law of Nature, and hand over that power to the public power of a government.

Having done this, they then become subject to the will of the majority. In other words, by making a compact to leave the State of Nature and form society, they make “one body politic under one government” and submit themselves to the will of that body⁷⁴. One joins such a body, either from its beginnings, or after it has already been established by others, only by explicit consent. Having created a political society and government through their consent, men then gain three things which they lacked in the State of Nature: laws, judges to adjudicate laws, and the executive power necessary to enforce these laws. Each man therefore gives over the power to protect himself and punish transgressors of the Law of Nature to the government that he has created through the compact.

Given that the end of "men's uniting into common-wealth "is the preservation of their wealth, and preserving their lives, liberty, and well-being in general, Locke can easily imagine the conditions under which the compact with government is destroyed, and men are justified in resisting the authority of a civil government, such as a King. When the executive power of a government devolves into tyranny, such as by dissolving the legislature and therefore denying the people the ability to make laws for their own preservation, then the resulting tyrant puts himself into a State of Nature, and specifically into a state of war with the people, and they then have the same right to self-defense as they had before making a compact to establish society in the first place.

In other words, the justification of the authority of the executive component of government is the protection of the people's property and well-being, so when such protection is no longer present, or when the king becomes a tyrant and acts against the interests of the people, they have a right, if not an outright obligation, to resist his authority. The social compact can be dissolved and the process to create political society begun anew⁷⁵.

Because Locke did not envision the State of Nature as grimly as did Hobbes, he can imagine conditions under which one would be better off rejecting a particular civil government and returning to the State of Nature, with the aim of constructing a better civil government in its place. It is therefore both the view of human nature, and the nature of morality itself, which account for the differences between Hobbes' and Locke's views of the social contract.

2.2.1.6 Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, lived and wrote during what was arguably the headiest period in the intellectual history of modern France - the Enlightenment. He was one of the bright lights of that intellectual movement, contributing articles to the *Encyclopedia* of Diderot, and participating in the salons in Paris, where the great intellectual questions of his day were pursued. Rousseau has two distinct social contract theories.

The first is found in his essay, *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality among Men*, commonly referred to as the Second Discourse, and is an account of the moral and political evolution of human beings over time, from a State of Nature to modern society. As such it contains his *naturalized* account of the social contract, which he sees as very problematic. The second is his *normative*, or idealized theory of

the social contract, and is meant to provide the means by which to alleviate the problems that modern society has created for us, as laid out in the *Social Contract*⁷⁵.

Rousseau wrote his *Second Discourse* in response to an essay contest sponsored by the Academy of Dijon. (Rousseau had previously won the same essay contest with an earlier essay, commonly referred to as the *First Discourse*.) In it he describes the historical process by which man began in a State of Nature and over time 'progressed' into civil society. According to Rousseau, the State of Nature was a peaceful and quixotic time. People lived solitary, uncomplicated lives. Their few needs were easily satisfied by nature. Because of the abundance of nature and the small size of the population, competition was non-existent, and persons rarely even saw one another, much less had reason for conflict or fear. Moreover, these simple, morally pure persons were naturally endowed with the capacity for pity, and therefore were not inclined to bring harm to one another.

As time passed, however, humanity faced certain changes. As the overall population increased, the means by which people could satisfy their needs had to change. People slowly began to live together in small families, and then in small communities. Divisions of labor were introduced, both within and between families, and discoveries and inventions made life easier, giving rise to leisure time.

Such leisure time inevitably led people to make comparisons between themselves and others, resulting in public values, leading to shame and envy, pride and contempt. Most importantly however, according to Rousseau, was the invention of private property, which constituted the pivotal moment in humanity's evolution out of a simple, pure state into one characterized by greed, competition, vanity, inequality, and

vice? For Rousseau the invention of property constitutes humanity's 'fall from grace' out of the State of Nature.

Having introduced private property, initial conditions of inequality became more pronounced. Some have property and others are forced to work for them, and the development of social classes begins. Eventually, those who have property notice that it would be in their interests to create a government that would protect private property from those who do not have it but can see that they might be able to acquire it by force. So, government gets established, through a contract, which purports to guarantee equality and protection for all, even though its true purpose is to fossilize the very inequalities that private property has produced. In other words, the contract, which claims to be in the interests of everyone equally, is really in the interests of the few who have become stronger and richer as a result of the developments of private property. This is the naturalized social contract, which Rousseau views as responsible for the conflict and competition from which modern society suffers.

The normative social contract, argued for by Rousseau in *The Social Contract* (1762), is meant to respond to this sorry state of affairs and to remedy the social and moral ills that have been produced by the development of society. The distinction between history and justification, between the factual situation of mankind and how it ought to live together, is of the utmost importance to Rousseau. While we ought not to ignore history, nor ignore the causes of the problems we face, we must resolve those problems through our capacity to choose how we ought to live. Might never make right, despite how often it pretends that it can.

The Social Contract begins with the most oft-quoted line from Rousseau: "Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains". This claim is the conceptual bridge

between the descriptive work of the Second Discourse, and the prescriptive work that is to come. Humans are essentially free, and were free in the State of Nature, but the 'progress' of civilization has substituted subservience to others for that freedom, through dependence, economic and social inequalities, and the extent to which we judge ourselves through comparisons with others. Since a return to the State of Nature is neither feasible nor desirable, the purpose of politics is to restore freedom to us, thereby reconciling who we truly and essentially are with how we live together.

So, this is the fundamental philosophical problem that *The Social Contract* seeks to address: how can we be free and live together? Or, put another way, how can we live together without succumbing to the force and coercion of others? We can do so, Rousseau maintains, by submitting our individual, particular wills to the collective or general will, created through agreement with other free and equal persons. Like Hobbes and Locke before him, and in contrast to the ancient philosophers, all men are made by nature to be equals, therefore no one has a natural right to govern others, and therefore the only justified authority is the authority that is generated out of agreements or covenants.

The most basic covenant, the social pact, is the agreement to come together and form a people, a collectivity, which by definition is more than and different from a mere aggregation of individual interests and wills. This act, where individual persons become a people is "the real foundation of society". Through the collective renunciation of the individual rights and freedom that one has in the State of Nature, and the transfer of these rights to the collective body, a new 'person', as it were, is formed.

The sovereign is thus formed when free and equal persons come together and agree to create themselves anew as a single body, directed to the good of all considered together. So, just as individual wills are directed towards individual interests, the general will, once formed, is directed towards the common good, understood and agreed to collectively. Included in this version of the social contract is the idea of reciprocated duties: the sovereign is committed to the good of the individuals who constitute it, and each individual is likewise committed to the good of the whole. Given this, individuals cannot be given liberty to decide whether it is in their own interests to fulfill their duties to the sovereign, while at the same time being allowed to reap the benefits of citizenship. They must be made to conform themselves to the general will, they must be “forced to be free”.

For Rousseau, this implies an extremely strong and direct form of democracy. One cannot transfer one's will to another, to do with as he or she sees fit, as one does in representative democracies. Rather, the general will depends on the coming together periodically of the entire democratic body, each and every citizen, to decide collectively, and with at least near unanimity, how to live together, that is, what laws to enact. As it is constituted only by individual wills, these private, individual wills must assemble themselves regularly if the general will is to continue.

One implication of this is that the strong form of democracy which is consistent with the general will is also only possible in relatively small states. The people must be able to identify with one another, and at least know who each other are. They cannot live in a large area, too spread out to come together regularly, and they cannot live in such different geographic circumstances as to be unable to be united under common laws. (Could the present-day U.S. satisfy Rousseau's conception of democracy? It could not.) Although the conditions for true democracy are stringent, they are also the

only means by which we can, according to Rousseau, save ourselves, and regain the freedom to which we are naturally entitled.

Rousseau's social contract theories together form a single, consistent view of our moral and political situation. We are endowed with freedom and equality by nature, but our nature has been corrupted by our contingent social history. We can overcome this corruption, however, by invoking our free will to reconstitute ourselves politically, along strongly democratic principles, which is good for us, both individually and collectively.

In 1972, the publication of John Rawls' extremely influential *A Theory of Justice* brought moral and political philosophy back from what had been a long hiatus of philosophical consideration. Rawls' theory relies on a Kantian understanding of persons and their capacities. For Rawls, as for Kant, persons have the capacity to reason from a universal point of view, which in turn means that they have the particular moral capacity of judging principles from an impartial standpoint. In *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls argues that the moral and political point of view is discovered via impartiality. (It is important to note that this view, delineated in *A Theory of Justice*, has undergone substantial revisions by Rawls, and that he described his later view as "political liberalism"⁷⁶.)

He invokes this point of view (the general view that Thomas Nagel describes as "the view from nowhere") by imagining persons in a hypothetical situation, the Original Position, which is characterized by the epistemological limitation of the Veil of Ignorance. Rawls' original position is his highly abstracted version of the State of Nature. It is the position from which we can discover the nature of justice and what it

requires of us as individual persons and of the social institutions through which we will live together cooperatively.

In the original position, behind the veil of ignorance, one is denied any particular knowledge of one's circumstances, such as one's gender, race, particular talents or disabilities, one's age, social status, one's particular conception of what makes for a good life, or the particular state of the society in which one lives. Persons are also assumed to be rational and disinterested in one another's well-being. These are the conditions under which, Rawls argues, one can choose principles for a just society which are themselves chosen from initial conditions that are inherently fair⁷⁶.

Because no one has any of the particular knowledge he or she could use to develop principles that favor his or her own particular circumstances, in other words the knowledge that makes for and sustains prejudices, the principles chosen from such a perspective are necessarily fair. For example, if one does not know whether one is female or male in the society for which one must choose basic principles of justice, it makes no sense, from the point of view of self-interested rationality, to endorse a principle that favors one sex at the expense of another, since, once the veil of ignorance is lifted, one might find oneself on the losing end of such a principle. Hence Rawls describes his theory as "justice as fairness." Because the conditions under which the principles of justice are discovered are basically fair, justice proceeds out of fairness.

In such a position, behind such a veil, everyone is in the same situation, and everyone is presumed to be equally rational. Since everyone adopts the same method for choosing the basic principles for society, everyone will occupy the same standpoint: that of the disembodied, rational, universal human. Therefore all who consider justice

from the point of view of the original position would agree upon the same principles of justice generated out of such a thought experiment. Any one person would reach the same conclusion as any other person concerning the most basic principles that must regulate a just society.

The principles that persons in the original position, behind the Veil of Ignorance, would choose to regulate a society at the most basic level (that is, prior even to a Constitution) are called by Rawls, aptly enough, the Two Principles of Justice. These two principles determine the distribution of both civil liberties and social and economic goods. The first principle states that each person in a society is to have as much basic liberty as possible, as long as everyone is granted the same liberties. That is, there is to be as much civil liberty as possible as long as these goods are distributed equally. (This would, for example, preclude a scenario under which there was a greater aggregate of civil liberties than under an alternative scenario, but under which such liberties were not distributed equally amongst citizens).

The second principle states that while social and economic inequalities can be just, they must be available to everyone equally (that is, no one is to be on principle denied access to greater economic advantage) and such inequalities must be to the advantage of everyone. This means that economic inequalities are only justified when the least advantaged member of society is nonetheless better off than she would be under alternative arrangements.

So, only if a rising tide truly does carry all boats upward, can economic inequalities be allowed for in a just society. The method of the original position supports this second principle, referred to as the Difference Principle, because when we are behind the veil of ignorance, and therefore do not know what our situation in society will be

once the veil of ignorance is lifted, we will only accept principles that will be to our advantage even if we end up in the least advantaged position in society.

These two principles are related to each other by a specific order. The first principle, distributing civil liberties as widely as possible consistent with equality, is prior to the second principle, which distributes social and economic goods. In other words, we cannot decide to forgo some of our civil liberties in favor of greater economic advantage. Rather, we must satisfy the demands of the first principle, before we move on to the second. From Rawls' point of view, this serial ordering of the principles expresses a basic rational preference for certain kinds of goods, that is, those embodied in civil liberties, over other kinds of goods, that is, economic advantage⁷⁷.

Having argued that any rational person inhabiting the original position and placing him or herself behind the veil of ignorance can discover the two principles of justice, Rawls has constructed what is perhaps the most abstract version of a social contract theory. It is highly abstract because rather than demonstrating that we would or even have signed to a contract to establish society, it instead shows us what we must be willing to accept as rational persons in order to be constrained by justice and therefore capable of living in a well ordered society. The principles of justice are more fundamental than the social contract as it has traditionally been conceived.

Rather, the principles of justice constrain that contract, and set out the limits of how we can construct society in the first place. If we consider, for example, a constitution as the concrete expression of the social contract, Rawls' two principles of justice delineate what such a constitution can and cannot require of us. Rawls' theory of justice constitutes, then, the Kantian limits upon the forms of political and social organization that are permissible within a just society⁷⁸.

2.2.2 Elite Theory

The second theory used to explain the variables in this research study is the elite theory. Studies on elites have been one of the largest subject in social sciences particularly in sociology and political sciences. This emphasis is mostly due to undeniable effects and roles of elites in societies developed or developing. Elite theories introduced not only elites, but also new important subjects like power, and rose questions for example on oligarchical tendencies in democracy.

Elite theory is a theory of the state that seeks to describe and explain power relationships in contemporary society. The theory posits that a small minority, consisting of members of the economic elite and policy-planning networks, holds the most power and that this power is independent of democratic elections. The theory is also seen in two ways;

1. Community or state affairs are best handled by a small subset of its members and
2. In modern societies such an arrangement is in fact inevitable.

Elite theory's origins lie most clearly in the writings of Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, Robert Michels, and Max Weber. Mosca emphasized the ways in which tiny minorities out-organize and outwit large majorities, adding that “political classes”. Mosca’s term for political elites - usually have “a certain material, intellectual, or even moral superiority” over those they govern. Pareto postulated that in a society with truly unrestricted social mobility, elites would consist of the most talented and deserving individuals; but in actual societies, elites are those most adept at using the two modes of political rule, force and persuasion, and who usually enjoy important advantages such as inherited wealth and family connections Mosca,

In the classical elitist literature, elites were often but not only defined through capacity, personality and skill. For instance, Pareto distinguished elites between those who resembled the lion, that is, domination by force and those who resembled the fox (domination by persuasion and skill), a typology that resembles Machiavelli's political philosophy. Gauba made mention of material conditions, but also of the intellectual and moral superiority of elites⁷⁹.

Current elite theory defines 'elites' as actors controlling resources, occupying key positions and relating through power networks⁸⁰. The basic characteristics of this theory are that power is concentrated, the elites are unified, the non-elites are diverse and powerless, elites' interests are unified due to common backgrounds and positions and the defining characteristic of power is institutional position.

Pareto sketched alternating types of governing elites, which he likened, following Machiavelli, to foxes and lions⁸¹. Michels rooted elites "oligarchies" in the need of large organizations for leaders and experts, in order to operate efficiently; as these individuals gain control of funds, information flows, promotions, and other aspects of organizational functioning, power becomes concentrated in their hands⁸². Weber held that political action is always determined by "the principle of small number that means, the superior political maneuverability of small leading groups.

Principal Elitist and Their Theories

a. Vilfredo Pareto

Pareto was the first to use the term "elite" and "masses" to indicate superior and inferior groups in society. The theory of elites was presented systematically by Vilfredo Pareto in his monumental work – *The Mind and Society*. Pareto's system is the grandest of all the classical elitist doctrines. Pareto's elite can be much wider and

more comprehensive than the political bosses whom Mosca or Michel's study, sometimes wider even than Marx's ruling class. Pareto's elite theory is part of a much more general sociology in which social activity is explained by reference to certain fundamental psychological factors.

Accordingly, elites are seen by Pareto not as the product of economic forces nor as building their dominance on their organizational ability but as the outcome of what Pareto believed to be human attributes constant throughout history. In a democracy, Pareto's elite is broad enough to include the rival leaderships of the political parties. Only those totally opposed to the regime and unwilling to compromise by participating in it can be counted as outside the elite. Interest groups such as unions, and employers who also play the democratic game by competing for a share in the national product, are all part of the one elite. Pareto's picture of the elite under democracy is not, then, of a cohesive group of businessmen, politicians and bureaucrats acting in collusion.

b. Gaetano Mosca

Mosca postulated that the people are necessarily divided into two groups: the rulers and the ruled. The ruling class controls most of the wealth, power and prestige in society and exercises all power. Whatever form of government might be adopted. The rules are not competent to replace it. This view point is deducible from his famous passage regarded as the most concise statement of the general elitist position, the passage reads:

Among the constant facts and the tendencies that are to be founding all political organisms, one is so obvious that it is apparent to the most casual eye. In all societies... two classes of people appear – a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and

enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent, and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism⁸³.

Accordingly, neither one man nor the mass of the people can rule. The single rule needs the backing of advisers and administrators, propagandists and police. On the other side the people can only act politically under the direction of a small group of leaders.

c. Robert Michels

Robert Michels, Mosca's foremost disciple, extended his master's theories further. Michel propounded his famous "Iron Law of Oligarchy" which implied that every organization whatever its original aims-is eventually reduced to an "Oligarchy", that is the rule of the chosen few. According to him:

Historical evolution mocks all the prophylactic measures that have been adopted for the prevention of oligarchy. If laws are passed to controlled the dominion of the leaders, it is the laws which gradually weaken and not the leaders⁸⁴.

Accordingly, no mechanism for ensuring the accountability of the leaders to the public, no ideology which enshrines the principle of majority will can prevent the elite from imposing its supremacy over the rest of society.

d. James Burnham

James Burnham presents an economic approach to elite domination. This is as opposed to Pareto, who adopted a psychological approach. Burnham's classical elitist thesis is presented in one of his major works – "The Managerial Revolution". His contention in the Managerial Revolution was that the capitalist system was in decline

and would be replaced by a society controlled economically and politically by a managerial elite. Burnham's first assumptions are derived from the elitists-that politics is always a matter of struggle between groups for power and status and that in all societies a small group will inevitably control ultimate decision making.

Social change occurs as a result of a shift in the composition of the elite – an old elite replaced by a new one. An egalitarian, classless society is inconceivable in the conditions of advanced industrialized societies with their need for technical training and expertise. The failure of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia to establish such a society was proof to Burnham that a new a new class of rulers must inevitably arise.

The Law of Circulation of Elites

One of the proponent of this theory is Pareto. Pareto says that people are always governed by elites except short period of time. He rejects a linear progressive evolutionary interpretation of history and social change. For him, history is the replacement of certain elites as once ascends another descend though to us it may often appear under another form. To Pareto elites are those people who possess in marked degree qualities of intelligence, character, capacity, of whatever kind.

More precisely if we grade every individual regardless of any ethical judgment, according to their branch activity and occupation in the society, we find at each grade level there will be a certain amount of individuals that consists of a class. In this class hierarchy, people who are in the class which is on the top of the other classes are called, 'elite'. Then, Pareto classifies social classes by taking elites as a stick yard. Elites represent the higher stratum, the others, namely non-elites are thought as the lower stratum. He further emphasizes and divides it into subgroups, because for him,

there is no one elite stratum⁸⁵. There are various strata in it and all of them constitute the elite stratum. The main strata in elite stratum are:

- a) Governing elite that consists of rest of the individuals who directly or indirectly have a considerable role in government;
- b) Non-governing elite that consists of rest in the elite stratum;
- c) Political elite that effectively and particularly, exercise political power.

Pareto examines structure and change of elites rather than non-elites. This change is called the law of circulation of elites by Pareto. He says 'elites' or aristocrats do not last. They live or take position in a certain time. He further explained that history is a graveyard of aristocracies. Rising and declining of the elites take place at the same time. Generally there are two signs that show elites are declining:

1. Declining elite becomes softer, milder, more humane and less apt to defend its own power; and
2. Elites loss its rapacity and greed for the goods of others, but rather tends as much as possible to increase its unlawful appropriations and indulge in major usurpation of the national patrimony

The circulation of elites in ruling class is clearer than general circulation of elite. Governing or ruling elite is always in a state of slow and continuous transformation. The transformation is basically based on change in residues of ruling elite. Ruling class follows various ways to protect itself from the threats of non-elites such as using force; death; capital punishment, financial ruin, exclusion from public offices and exile.

2.2.3 Structural Conflict Theory

The structural theory attempts to explain conflict as a product of the tension that arises when groups compete for scarce resources. The central argument in this sociological theory is that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured or organized. It describes the condition of the society and how such condition or environment can create conflict. Structural conflict theory identifies such conditions as social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political marginalization, gender imbalances, racial segregation, economic exploitation and the likes, all of which often lead to conflict⁸⁴.

Structural conflict theory is most commonly associated with Karl Marx. According to him, conflict is a basic structural condition of society. In other words, conflict is an inherent part of human relations. It is a natural phenomenon which contributes to social evolution⁸⁵. Structuralists maintain that conflict occurs because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies or because of domination of one class by another. The main argument of Marx who is one of the proponents of this theory is that conflict occurs as a result of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies divided along class with the privileged dominating the less privileged. To this extent, the warring issue between the federal government and the Islamic Movement of Nigeria is as a result of injustice and breach of human rights which have resulted in frustrations and recourse to violence and conflict. This is strictly an alternative to structural functionalism.

To the structural conflict theorists, the functionalists had no sooner gained leadership in social science and sociological theory, than it came under increasing attack. The attack was multifaceted as this shows cases of conflicts in society as a structural response to the poorly organized economic resources of the people in society. This research work aligns with Dahrendorf's major work, *Class and Class Conflict*

in industrial society in 1950 is most influential on this issue, although aspects of social systems could fit together rather neatly, there also could be considerable conflict and human tension among them⁸⁶. In Nigeria, there has been over concentration of power and apparatus for the distribution of the resources of the nation at the center. The federal government seems not to recognize the various interests of the federating component units.

The theory however, is deficient in its on-sidedness of looking at causes of conflict. It, for instance, does not see the bright sides of racial or ethnic diversity and the strength that a society may derive from pluralism. It only sees the flaws. The structural theory thus makes sense only when conflicts are viewed from the broadest possible perspective, and only if the observer opts to ignore alternate causes of the conflict.

2.2.4 Relative - Deprivation Theory

Another theory used to explain the variables in this research work is the relative deprivation theory. The Relative Deprivation theory is a theory used in social sciences to describe feelings or measures of economic, political, or social deprivation that are relative rather than absolute⁸⁷. The theory is inextricably linked to the similar terms poverty and social exclusion or marginalization. The concept of relative deprivation has important consequences for both behavior and attitudes, including feelings of stress, political attitudes, and participation in collective action.

Ted Robert Gurr refers to Relative Deprivation as ‘the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the ‘ought’ and the ‘is’ of collective value satisfaction, and this disposes men to violence’⁸⁸. According to the definition provided by Gurr, Relative Deprivation is the discrepancies between what people want, their value expectations, and what they actually gain, their value accruing capabilities. Gurr states that: ‘the

intensity of relative deprivation varies strongly in terms of the average degree of perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities'⁸⁹.

He contends that people are more likely to revolt when they lose hope of attaining their societal values, and the intensity of discontent/frustration 'varies' with the severity of depression and inflation'⁹⁰. He further asserts that relative deprivation, 'is the obvious basis for mobilizing oppositions' against the state, that is, the higher the degree of frustration, the greater the political instability.

In short, the intensification of Relative Deprivation with regard to political participation, prosperity, collective/communal values and societal status can lead to a 'decline in ideational coherence' which consequently leads to a breakdown in the social order and to violence. One of the proponent of the theory asserts that 'the state's centrality in people's lives, its relationship to ongoing conflicts in society, people's expressive relationship to it, all depend on its cohesion'⁹¹. Katzenstein, speaking of how people perceive themselves, states that: 'the answer lies in the issue of identity, in variations in the degree of expansiveness and restrictiveness, with which people and organizations relate to one another'⁹².

The theory of relative deprivation also assumes that individuals or groups feel relatively deprived when there exists a discrepancy between their expectations and outcome. The individuals or groups are able to identify the discrepancy due to the existence of a reference point for comparison. In that, there are some persons who have what they requires, and they know getting what they want is realistic, but it can only be taken by force or violence. This is also reflected in Walter Runciman's four preconditions of relative deprivation of object X by person A. These preconditions includes:

- a. Person A does not have X
- b. Person A knows of other persons who have X
- c. Person A wants to have X
- d. Person A believes obtaining X is realistic¹¹⁹.

Runciman distinguished between egoistic and fraternalistic relative deprivation. The former is caused by unfavorable social position when compared to other, better off members of a specific group (of which A is the member) and the latter, by unfavorable comparison to other, better off groups. Egoistic relative deprivation can be seen in the example of a worker who believes he should have been promoted faster and may lead that person to take actions intended to improve his position within the group; those actions are, however, unlikely to affect many people. Fraternalistic can be seen in the example of racial discrimination and are much more likely to result in the creation and growth of large social movement, like the American Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s⁹³.

Deprivation Theory is that people who are deprived of things deemed valuable in society, money, justice, status or privilege, join social movements with the hope of redressing their grievances. That is a beginning point for looking at why people join social movements.

2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

A few of researchers has discussed the level of corruption on economic growth in both developed and developing countries. Such authors include:

Abiodun, Elijah and Obayelu used descriptive survey and content analysis to investigate the effect of corruption and economic reforms on economic growth and development in Nigeria. It was revealed that there have been significant reductions in the level of corruption in Nigeria through the introduction of the anti-corruption team or instruments. But the study

also found negative correlation between the levels of corruption and economic growth, thereby making it difficult for Nigeria to develop fast. This means that corruption in Nigeria reduces economic growth, efficiency and development despite the huge resources in the country. This is also because corruption reduces or creates negative image in a nation and as well loses much needed revenue⁹⁴.

Rotimi, Obasaju, Lawal and Ise, used ordinary least square (OLS) and granger causality method to determine the relationship between corruption and economic growth in Nigeria. The study observed that corruption impairs and impacts economic growth. The study fails to establish the level of impact of corruption on economic growth by stating whether it is positive or negative⁹⁵.

Adeleke investigated the crowding out effects of corruption in Nigeria using parsimonious error correction mechanism and employed experimental research design approach for the data analysis and revealed that there is a negative relationship between corruption and output growth in Nigeria. The implication of this is that Nigeria government should introduce a national re-orientation program to educate people on the crucial need to eradicate corruption in all sectors of Nigeria economy and socio-political system⁹⁶.

Akinpelu, Ogunseye, Bada, and Agbayangi examined the Socio- Economic Determinants of corruption in Nigeria using co-integration test and vector error correction model. The study discovered that there is a long-run relationship between corruption and the social economic variables in Nigeria. This study fails to establish the level of relationship like whether significant positive or negative relationship which has policy implication in the short and long run⁹⁷.

Muhada investigating the relationship between corruption, poverty and economic growth in Nigeria. The study employed regression analysis and granger causality test, it was

discovered that there is an existence of co-integration chance tanging a long run causality relationship between corruption, poverty and economic growth in Nigeria⁹⁸.

Ade, Babatude and Awoniyi in the study of Corruption, foreign direct investment and Economic growth in Nigeria: An empirical investigation employing granger causality test and Ordinary Least Square Method in testing FDI inflow, corruption index, Exchange rate, Inflation rate, GDP for model one. For two, the variables are Gross Domestic Product, Government Expenditure, FDI and Gross fixed capital formation. The OLS result reveals that there is an inverse relationship between FDI inflow and corruption. This means that a large volume of FDI inflow is associated with a low level of corruption in the host countries. Exchange rate depreciation and inflation rate are significant determinations of FDI inflow in Nigeria. Also, there is a significant position⁹⁹.

The effect of corruption on the economy of Nigeria is cancerous; it has eaten deep into the marrows of the economic viability of the nation. The epileptic power supply is still far from revival, despite the billions of naira spent by past regimes. In recent times the Buhari administration have claimed to increase the Megawatts of electricity but this is not reflecting in the homes and offices of citizens, rather the situation has become worse. The politicians themselves came into office through elections that were marred with violence and irregularities in results.

The political terrain has now become a habitation for hoodlums and unjust consideration for the public interest. Majority of the politicians go into offices for selfish interest. A former Governor of Delta State is in jail in the United Kingdom for corruption. Other colleagues of his are either facing corruption charges or under investigation. This is why it is presumed that the government is just paying lip service to fighting corruption because quite a number of these corrupt politicians are walking free in the society without being charged to court

and convicted for their offences. Table 1 shows a case of 55 people that stole public funds. 35% of whom were political office holders and public servants.

Category	Number of Cases	Amount Involved
Ex-Governors	15	146,840,800,000.00
Ex-Ministers	4	7,050,000,000.00
Ex-Legislators	5	8,350,000,000.00
Ex-Public Servants (Federal)	7	6,906,600,000.00
Ex-Public Servants (State)	5	7,275,000,000.00
Banking Industry	8	524,560,000,000.00
Businessmen	11	653,150,000,000.00
Grand Total	55	N1,354,132,400,000.00

Source: The Nation Newspaper Tuesday January, 2016

The height of corruption has crippled the economy of the country. The Federal Government is complaining of lack of funds to execute policies that will benefit the people because previous governments have misappropriated the funds. This made the Buhari administration to introduce Treasury Single Account (TSA) where all government funds are kept in a single account and any withdrawal will follow a due process. It is sad to note that public institutions are now wallowing in acute shortage of funds due to delay in accessing needed funds.

Commentators on the EFCC tend to be astounded when faced with the performance indicators posted by the commission's relative harsh operating terrain. It has grown to become the premier anti-corruption agency in Africa and indeed the level of recoveries it has made is arguably un-paralleled in the history of any agency in the world. In the area of convictions, the commission has secured over 600 convictions¹⁰⁰. The analysis of these

convicted cases shows that the bulk of them have come from areas of Advance fee fraud and other related offences.

There have been other high profile convictions involving politically exposed persons such as Tafa Balogun, Diepriye Alamiesigha, Bode George, Lucky Igbenedion, Abdulasheed Maina, Oyo Ita, Ibrahim Magi among others. At the time of writing, most of the above listed are pending with over 1500 cases in various courts, ranging from Advanced fee fraud, official corruption, money laundering, illegal bunkering, abuse of due process, tax evasion, and other shades of economic crimes. The prosecution and subsequent conviction of Chief Bode George marked a watershed in the history of the commission. Chief George a Chieftain of the ruling People Democratic Party, alongside principal officers of the Nigerian Ports Authority was convicted and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment.

The importance of this lies in the fact that this was the first time in the history of the commission that a high profile case involving a politically exposed person went through the full process of trial and conviction without recourse to a plea bargain. The process was equally affirmed and upheld by the court. The commission has also recovered over \$11billion since its inception in 2003. The bulk of this, that is, \$6.5billion was recovered in the last two years alone¹⁰¹.

These recoveries include some part of the Former Gen. Abacha's loot, as well as recoveries from the bank sanitization exercise which the commission embarked on with the Central Bank of Nigeria. Expectedly, a substantial portion of these recoveries are Government funds that have been siphoned along with criminal proceeds from bank frauds. It will do us well to explain the avenues of recovery and the use of which this recovered fund are channeled. Restitution may not be the primary motive of the work of the commission but it is an important incidental of the investigation and prosecution of criminals¹⁰¹.

Thus in cases of official corruption and theft of Government funds, the proceeds of the crime are remitted to the office of the Accountant General of the federation of Nigeria or that of the applicable state Government, as required by public service rules, where the victim is a private entity. The proceeds of the crime are given to such private entity see table for record of recoveries. The commission has aggressively sensitized the general populace and politically exposed persons on the ills of corruption. Whereas hitherto, public funds are misappropriated with impunity, there is a growing understanding of its negative impact.

Most importantly, the cliché which says “EFCC is watching” has continued to gain grounds. There has been a gradual reduction in corrupt practices that were hitherto accepted and taken for granted. As indicated earlier, the history of the commission cannot be divorced from the efforts of Nigeria to be delisted from the Financial Action Task Force and from the list of non-cooperative countries and Territories. In this respect, the results have been singularly successful. The creation of the Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit, domiciled with the commission has led not only to the delisting of Nigeria but also the membership of the prestigious Egmont Group of Financial Intelligence Units since 2007. Nigeria continues to play a significant role in the Egmont Group and indeed is nurturing some other West African Countries to assume membership. Further, the commission played a key role in the establishment of the West African Regional style FATF agency, GIABA.

Also key staffs including the incumbent Director General were drawn from the commission. All the foregoing success indices of the commission have led to an improved image of Nigeria and Nigerians. The decisive steps taken by the commission in combating Advance Fee Fraud, has translated into its being a key member of the International Mass Marketing Fraud Working Group. Further, the country’s ranking in Transparency International’s List of corrupt countries has continuously improved. The ratio of recoveries and convictions in the

last two and a half years under my watch constitute about 60% of the total success story of the commission.

This is not accidental but a function of a change in direction and insisting that the mandate of the commission must be carried out within the rule of law. Our experience has been that working within the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission limits of the law has challenged our capacity and led to more in-depth analysis and investigations. This has therefore meant that hole for defense attorneys to take advantage of. See table on record of investigations/convictions¹⁰².

2.12 Justification for Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)

Democracy is one of the major instruments through which effective public services delivery are provided and enshrined. Therefore, anything worth doing should be done well with the best impeccable means. In the words of Rosebloom and Kray Chuk, “Public services is the use of managerial political and legal theories and process to fulfill legislative, executive and judicial mandates for the provision of governmental regulatory and service functions¹⁰²”.

Another phenomenon common with public service is bureaucracy which is akin to due process which could be described theoretically as a special process of carrying out government activities where specialization, expertise, and accountability are the major guiding principles¹⁰³. However, as government grows in responsibility, bureaucracy plays an increasingly important role in political life, since cases of corruption abounds, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission can only serve as the rescuer¹⁰⁴. This implies that Economic and Financial Crimes Commission will help to restore accountability and good leadership which are the major deficiencies faced under the democratic governance of Nigeria today.

The justification for Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) under the democratic governance of Nigeria is that:

1. It investigate all financial crimes such as advance fee fraud (419) money laundering illegal charge transfer, computer credit card fraud, contract and forgery of financial investment.
2. It adopts measure to identify, trace and tackle economic and financial crime and others related offences, the value of which corresponds to such proceeds.
3. It deals with matters connected with extradition deportation and mutual or other assistance between Nigeria and other countries involving economic and financial crimes.
4. It maintains liaison with offices of the Attorney General of the Federation, Nigeria Custom Service, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) and all government security agencies to fight its culprit¹⁰⁵.

To say that corruption is rampant in Nigeria is to rove flag the obvious. Corruption in Nigeria, as it presently manifest can be appropriately termed endemic or systemic. What is unique about Nigeria is her persistence in corruption, though statistically non-significant position within the bottom five surveyed nations every year since 1996. Corruption has not only permeated the government and oil fields of Nigeria, it has attacked the entire nation¹⁰⁶. Corruption and inefficiency are characteristics of service delivery in Nigeria, although private companies seem to perform more efficiently and less corruptly than public enterprise¹⁰⁷. Corruption has become so blatant and widespread that it appears as if it has been legalized in Nigeria¹⁰⁸.

Since 1996, Nigeria was labeled the most corrupt nation three times: 1996, 1997, and 2004: and placed in the bottom five four more times fourth from the bottom in 1998, 2001, 2002 and 2003^{109,110}. The 1996 study of corruption by Transparency International and

Goettingen University ranked Nigeria as the most corrupt, nation among 54 nation listed in the study with Pakistan a the second highest¹¹¹.

In the 2001 Corruption Perception Index (CPT), the position remained unchanged as the second corrupt nation in the world (ranked 90 out of 91 countries pooled) with Bangladesh coming first. In October 2003 reports release in London placed Nigeria at number 132. The 2004 Corruption Perception Index released by Transparency International the watch dog on global corruption again ranks Nigeria as the third most corrupt country in the world. Up till June 2007 Nigeria has not been exonerated from the list of the top ten leading countries on corruption¹¹².

On sectorial distribution, the nationwide corruption survey in the Nigeria Corruption Index (NPI) 2007 identified the Nigeria Police as the most corrupt organization in the country, closely followed by the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN). Corruption in the Education ministry was found to have increased from 63 percent in 2005 to 74 percent in 2007 as against 96% to 99% for the police in the corresponding period¹¹². The Independence National Electoral Commission (INEC) was the only new organization identified as corrupt among the 16 organizations on a list which included Joint Admission Matriculation Board, the Presidency, and the Nigerian National Petroleum Commission (NNPC), while the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) and the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) have been identified as the least corrupt organization with respect to bribe taking from the populace as at June 2007¹¹³.

Another area in which corruption has manifested itself is in the area of project execution. For instance, Ajaokuta, a steel mill in Nigeria, has been under construction for the past seventeen years and throughout that period of time has consumed seven billion dollar it has produced no steel. The mill is a white monolith of steel and concrete, epitomizing the inefficiency of corruption. Another example is Alcon upper block (an aluminum plant in

Nigeria) which has consumed 3 billion dollars over the past 5years. The project was to produce 190, 000 tons of aluminum, but like its predecessor, Ajaokuta, has not produced any aluminum to date.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Reviewed

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Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter is concerned with the research methodology that is appropriate for data and analysis, which answers the research questions for this study. Secondary data were used in sourcing for information. It entails the description of existing information gathered and the processes for analyzing the information gathered. This research is for the purpose of scholarship in creating awareness about the examination of the activities of EFCC in fighting corruption.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is a plan depicting how problems under investigation are solved. It is an outline or a scheme that serves as a guide to the study in generating data for the study¹. It is also concerned with the conditions of collecting and analyzing data in a way that would aim at connecting relevance to research. The study made use of historical and descriptive method of design since information was gathered in from secondary sources such as relevant books, scholarly works and reports, journals, magazines, newspapers and internet materials. This descriptive analytical design is meant to depict an accurate profile of persons, events or incidences².

3.2 Population of the Study

Population of the study involves a group of persons or aggregate items and things the researcher is interested in getting information from the study³. Population therefore refers to all cases or individuals that fit a certain specification². The universe of the study comprised of the examination of the activities of EFCC in fighting corruption in Nigeria. The reason for the choice of the study population is because of the theme of the research work.

3.3 The Study Area



Map No. 4228 Rev. 1 UNITED NATIONS

Department of Field Support

3.4 Research Instrument

Since the research adopted historical and descriptive method of analysis, there is no other instrument the research will use other than the documents sources of data stated above. The research relied on secondary sources of data. Thus, the research instruments used for this work are textbooks, journals, newspaper editorials, magazines, and articles. These instruments were studied diligently in the course of the research.

3.5 Methodology

The study focuses on the management of security challenges by the federal government of Nigeria. Several approaches were used in generating data for the research. Thus, secondary sources of data were systematically utilized to make meaning of the research problem and gain practical understanding of the activities of EFCC in fighting corruption in Nigeria. As explained earlier, the study adopt secondary sources of data collection. Secondary research can be gathered from demographic research data, magazines, newspapers editorials, articles, old reports, or any other source where relevant information has been stored.

In today's world, online research is one of the fastest way to gather information on any topic. A lot of data are readily available on the internet and the researcher can download it whenever he or she needs it. An important aspect to be noted for such a research is the genuineness and authenticity of the source websites that the researcher is gathering the information from. In addition, there is also a tremendous amount of information available in libraries and bookshops. Sources targeted for this study will include newspapers, magazines, books from library, documents from government agencies, specific topic related articles, literature, annual reports, published statistics from research organizations, and so on. The project will consider the research of relevant authors and observers on the research interest to have a clear knowledge of the boundaries that this project shall be playing out within the political system.

3.6 Reliability of Research Instrument

The consistency of the findings of the study is founded on the significant research and examination of the information gathered.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

Secondary data gathered were analyzed and presented using qualitative descriptive analysis. Historical and descriptive analytical explanation is given to the secondary data obtained for the study. Thus the use of this method of analysis is conversant with the straightforwardness with which it summarizes, exposes and interprets relationships within a specific data by qualitative description.

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Chapter Four

Results and Discussion of Findings

Corruption is a persistent cancerous phenomenon which bedevils Nigeria. Misappropriation, bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, and money laundering by public officials have permeated the fabric of the society. The office seekers of major political parties top the list of unfit or corrupt officials. The institutions charged to fight corruption in Nigeria have not done enough to contain the upsurge of this menace up to expectation. Why have the various anticorruption agencies of various administrations failed to reduce the menace of corruption? Are the methods applied to confront corruption inadequate?

4.1 Presentation of Research Questions

Research Question one: What are the causes of Corruption in Nigeria?

Corruption is described as dishonest exploitation of power for personal gain and criminal depravity. The causes of corruption has been attributed to the following:

1. **Strange culture and weird value system in Nigeria:** The society is becoming corrupt in third world countries and Nigeria is inclusive because of strange cultural inclinations and weird value system morality is relaxed in the society and most of the time people struggle for survival without assistance from the state to the government. The influence or pressure of polygamy and extended family system which are very common in African countries and Nigeria contribute to the corrupt system in the country. Corruption linked to the strong family value that have feelings to fulfill the obligation attached to¹.

Value system which has become part of the culture is such that the society does not check the background of rich individuals and their source of wealth. Once a wealthy man comes up in a society, he is instantly given a chair of fame of honor to the extent that chieftaincy

titles await him wherever he goes. The churches hail him and always surround him and honor him. The Machiavelli principle of the end justifies the means manifest itself in this part of the society.

2. **Poor remuneration/Reward system is another major factor of the corruption in**

Nigeria: Nigeria is one of the poorest paying countries in the world. This is a country where there is no labour hourly payment or value as economic reward. Also, the meager monthly pay is irregular thereby giving room for workers to meet their end hence; they compromise their duties to meet up with the exigencies of their daily obligation.

3. **Unserious Constituted Leaders and Authorities:** Our leaders in the discharge of their authority are nonchalant at fighting corruption because sometimes they also benefit from this evil. This attitude of the officers charged with enforcing the laws and ensuring probity in their work and in the society has rather aided corruption instead of abating it. The Legislature, Judiciary, Police Force, Law Enforcement Agents and other Public Officials sometimes treat cases of corruption with laissez-faire and lackadaisical attitude most especially if such offence involves highly placed and influential person who offer money to buy justice at the expense of the innocent poor².

All the investigations both public and private as well as National Assemblies and even the State Assemblies in most cases fizzles out. For example, the murder of Chief Bola Ige and the embezzlement of the fund released for the power sector during Obasanjo's last administration have all been forced to a natural death and so on. All the cases of corruption against some of the former State Governors are being frustrated by the authority, changing and withdrawing statements at the police stations are common practices in Nigeria. Money

influence is the main corrupt system of election worldwide and Nigeria as one of such flag bearers.

The Independent Nigeria Electoral Commission (INEC), Party Officials, the Police Force and the Electorates are easy prey(s) for compromise once they are settled.

4. **Lack of Ethical Standards throughout the Agencies of Government and Business Organization in Nigeria:** This is a serious drawback to the unsuccessful fight against corrupt practices in Nigeria government because incompetent leaders through corrupt means handles the democratic governance in Nigeria and this certainly do inevitably render the government weak and corruption is most likely to flourish. One of the causes of this ugly experience under the democratic governance of Nigeria emerged and it is traceable to the negative impacts of colonialism which made Nigeria to shift from traditional communalism to individualism and from humanism to materialism.

The interest of the leaders in material wealth (material comforts) and the desire to control power more strongly led them to abandon traditional values³. Thus, it was a combination of excessive individualism and uncontrolled crave for material wealth and power that the traditional values of “being a brother’s keeper” disappeared into an oblivion and the concern for others were replaced by colonial attitude of exploitation, greed, avarice, ruthlessness, dishonesty, corruption and ultimately political thuggery became the order of day⁴. The cherished western norms are more of social vices rather than moral values which are supported to be reawakened in our social and political relations within the framework of the democratic arrangement of Nigeria if the country is to move forward.

5. On the other hand, obsession with materialism, shortcuts to affluence or wealth, glorification and approbation of ill-gotten wealth by the general public, are among other reasons for the persistence of corrupt practices in Nigeria.
6. Inequality in the distribution and redistribution of national wealth among citizens.
7. Delay of punishment over convicted cases involving the society's affluent person's results into denial or missing files. This situation now allows for the use of money to delay or cancel such a case. The 6billion Naira unaccounted for during the last Obasanjo's administration for the power sector is almost forgotten issue today.
8. High Level of Poverty: In Nigeria, hunger and poverty is so pronounce that people throw away conscience and decorum for survival. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), in a report about poverty and inequality from September 2018 to October 2019, said 40 percent of people in the continent's most populous country lived below its poverty line of 137,430 naira (\$381.75) a year⁵. It said that represents 82.9 million people. Nigeria is the top oil exporter in Africa, which has helped to create wealth related to crude sales that account for more than half of government revenue. But a failure to diversify the economy and build much-needed transport and power infrastructure has stymied growth and the spread of wealth beyond a rich elite⁵.
9. Political office have been conceived as a primary means of gaining access to wealth since the law could be compromised with money despite the magnitude of the offence committed.
10. Conflicts between changing moral codes supports corrupt practices. (xi) The weakness of social and governmental enforcement mechanisms.

Research Two: Achievements and Challenges of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) is a Nigerian law authorization office that investigate monetary violations, tax evasion and other illegal wealth acquisition. It is a commission made by a demonstration of the National Assembly in 2002 and was corrected in 2004. The organization is saddled with the responsibility of researching and implementation of all laws against monetary and money related wrongdoings. It was set up incompletely in light of weight from the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF), which named Nigeria as one of 23 nations non-helpful in the worldwide group's endeavours to battle tax evasion. The organization has its head office in Abuja.

The origination of the commission was a result of the assurance of the government to disinfect the Nigeria monetary condition by upholding all monetary and budgetary wrongdoings law. At the onset, we must understand that corruption is the biggest killer disease in Africa. Corruption apart from distorting key macroeconomic indices ensures that basics as Medicare, Water, Schools, Roads and other infrastructure are unavailable. It must be stated that at no time in the history of Nigeria has so much been demanded from a single institution of agency of government like the expectation from the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission⁶.

In Nigeria, the creation of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was seen as a genuine government commitment to the fight against corrupt practices and the records have been impressive. In its first two years, the EFCC was able to investigate and prosecute cases of corrupt offences and recovered about \$2.2 billion of looted fund from Nigeria. Likewise, in its 2013 annual report, the EFCC reported the recovery of over eleven billion Naira, two million US Dollars and forty-five thousand Pounds Sterling from corrupt related offences⁷. With more than two thousand investigation in 2013, the EFCC was able to prosecute 485 and convicted 117 cases of economic and financial crimes.

The analysis of the operations of the EFCC indicate that between 2010 and 2013, the EFCC received 25,522 petitions, investigated 9,410 and convicted 339 cases of corrupt practices in Nigeria. Consequently, looking at the statistics above, the Commission was only able to investigate 36% of the reported cases of corrupt practices and only convicted about 1% of the cases or 3% of the investigated cases. Thus, there is an apparent gap between reported, investigated and convicted cases by the EFCC. Similarly, in 2019, the anti-graft commission secured the conviction of 1,900 convictions and recovered N794 billion in four years. Former governors; captains of industry, oil subsidy merchants and scores of players in the private sector, former military chiefs and civil servants have also been convicted as well as many illegal oil bunkers in the Niger Delta⁸.

What then are the challenges of the EFCC in fighting these persistent cases of corrupt offences in Nigeria? A search in the literature provided a myriad of factors challenging the effectiveness of the EFCC in fighting corruption in Nigeria. Most studies attributed the ineffectiveness of the EFCC to the legal environment^{9,10,11}. The studies revealed that there is an apparent delay in the prosecution process largely due to the nature of the Nigerian judicial system. Other have identified absence of political will and political interference while some put it on the EFCC's shortcoming^{12,13}.

The judicial process is the biggest obstacle we have in our fight against corruption; so many cases are hanging for many years...because of the slow nature in the prosecution which is not within the institution mandate. It is apparent from the above that the Nigerian legal environment constitutes a challenge to the operation of EFCC. Specifically, there is deficiency in the legal framework, fewer court judges, fraudulent practices by defense attorneys and absence of political will. In addition to that, the role of the government is just one. The political will is still missing. The federal government may have to look into the budgeting process of the commission with a view to strengthen the commission financially;

well funding is for government to put more attention to the commission. Funding is needed to investigate; the commission also need adequate funding to be able to successfully prosecute.

Research Three: The Weakness of EFCC on the Fight against Corruption in Nigeria

Despite the efforts made by government to sanitize the country and make it a corrupt free nation, some problems hinder in proper and effective performance of these commissions. The critics posited that these commissions have not landed any big fish or caught any fish at all. These weaknesses are steams from the following analysis.

a) Immunity Clause

With the on-going campaign against corruption, it would appear that the nation is not yet prepared to do away with Section 308 of the Constitution which gives immunity from prosecution to the President and his Governors. It is one the institutional weakness of these commissions. The Federal High Court who handled the case of the then Governor Joshua Dariye of Plateau State on account of fraudulence and money laundering asked him not to appear in court because of section 308, then ICPC boss, Akanbi, said Section 308 today makes it difficult for these commissions to prosecute offenders who have the privileges of enjoying this immunity form the foregoing constitutional constraint is one of the major weakness to the success of these commissions¹⁴.

b) Bias Lawyers and Victimization in Law Court

Some defense lawyers fail to conduct their cases in the tradition of the high standards required in the legal profession. It is well known attitude for so many defense lawyers today

who ensure that cases do not go through proper procedures for the right judgments to be passed by the judge most especially when the Judge refuses to their detriment, the Judge becomes the target. He will be accused of been based and an application for his transfer to another Court in termination may follow immediately.

The accession or replacement delays and frustrates trials and waste resources on both sides. Some critics say that it appears to be some persons are referred to as sacred cows and untouchables in the country. For instance, during the administration of Olusegun Obasanjo, a point was raised on a misappropriated 350 billion naira given out on road contract scandal which also involved Obasanjo's henchman and former works Minister Chief Tony Anenih. Also, a one-time FCT Minister and Chairman FCDA Nasir El-Rufai, was accused by the members of the National Assembly of Paying a Youth Corps Member two million naira per month with such selective injustice and he was untouchable.

This has expressed corruption as much more critical through political and administrative dimensions as revelations from the investigation on the prevalence of corrupt practices in Nigeria prove political exigencies as one of the major factors¹⁵.

c) Politicization

Anti-graft commissions have been highly politicized subjected and used as tools in the hand of some of the members of a ruling government to nail and suppress all forms of opposition lists and political enemies in their ways in and outside the country. And this has generated a lot of controversies among Nigerian. This undermines the desired effective results from these commissions.

d) Inadequate Funding and Poor Procedural Law

Other weaknesses are cost of investigation and prosecution, inadequacy of existing procedural laws for the prosecution of offenders.

e) Threats over Lives and Properties

There are several instances of violence, threats to human live and properties to the agents of these commissions and other citizens of the country spearheaded by political thugs for the purpose of controlling and securing power for their godfathers who without doubts sponsor them in carrying out such evil. Struggle for control of power has given Nigeria in particular a very ugly image. There have been a question on why did Nigeria come into this quagmire.

Research Question Four: The Implication of the Activities of EFCC on Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

Corruption is one of the biggest global issues of our time. There is no shortage of reasons to fight corruption. It chokes development, hinders economic growth and impedes the fight to alleviate poverty. The reciprocal democracy-corruption nexus has already been analyzed in several studies and is nowadays well-established^{15,16,17}. Previous research shows that democracy does not guarantee clean and transparent governance at all and democratic systems are still fighting against corruption, even in countries that are often seen as almost free of corruption. Yet, frequent scandals like in the United Kingdom, United States or Spain illustrate that corruption is a serious problem in nearly every state in the world.

Corruption chips away at democracy to produce a vicious cycle, where corruption undermines democratic institutions and, in turn, weak institutions are less able to control corruption. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government if procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. Corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance. Estimating the causal effect of democracy on corruption is complicated by the fact that democracy is endogenous. Both democracy and corruption are likely to be affected by third variables that may be hard to observe or quantify, such as culture.

The impact of actual corruption is devastating, whether it siphons money from public use or drives policy that is not in the public interest. The effects can be particularly pernicious in developing countries, where budgets are tight and needs are vast. The United Nations estimates that corruption costs \$2.6 trillion in losses every year¹⁸.

The perception of corruption is dangerous, undermining people's faith in government institutions, a phenomenon that is helping to drive a crisis of democracy worldwide¹⁹. In Nigeria for instance, corruption has helped ignite so many violence because the citizens sees the government and its security agencies as being corrupt. This is one of the reason behind the EndSARS movement. In Transparency International's latest Corruption Perceptions Index, most governments are seen as corrupt by their own citizens. The rise of populist governments in particular poses challenges. By their nature, populists tend to define themselves against a corrupt elite, which then allows them to weaken institutions and divert attention from their own use of the levers of power to enrich themselves²⁰. Whether in electoral backlashes or popular protests, voters increasingly make their outrage over corruption known. Whether or not they succeed in bringing down tainted governments and leaders depends on a number of factors, ranging from domestic institutions to international support.

4.2 Discussion of Findings

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Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Finding

Corruption in the form of misappropriation, bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, and money laundering permeate Nigerian society.

Chapter one of this research study centers on the background to the study. The chapter started by examining how rich is the country and why it is still neck-deep in corruption and underdevelopment. Nigeria is rich in natural and human resources, with a population of over 180 million people; the most populous country in Africa. At the time of her political independence, on 1st October 1960, Nigeria excelled in production of agricultural produce such as groundnut, palm oil, cocoa, cotton, beans, timber and hides and skins. Then, during the oil boom period of the seventies Nigeria made headlines with her oil wealth, as a country richly endowed with oil and natural gas resources capable of financing a number of important projects to meet basic consumption and development needs.

Corruption is a persistent cancerous phenomenon which bedevils Nigeria. It has been acknowledged in many quarters that, corruption is Nigeria's worst problem and is largely responsible for its woes, such as the instability in the Niger Delta, the debt overhang, barriers to democratic elections, and impediment to flow of foreign direct investment (FDI). Grand corruption is a cancer that has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian polity. The general global perception about graft in Nigeria is that it is a pervasive phenomenon. It is

generally acknowledged that corruption and corrupt practices are endemic and systemic in both public and private sectors of Nigeria.

Corruption has had debilitating effects on the country as it has had elsewhere. It is encountered in the routine processes of governance both in public and private sectors, and it pollutes the business environment generally. It equally undermines the integrity of government and public institutions. Countries high in corrupt practices achieve lower literacy rate, have worse human capital development and higher mortality rates.

Meanwhile, it is very easy to talk about corruption, but like many other complex phenomena, it is difficult to define corruption in concise and concrete terms. The World Bank defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused through rent seeking activities for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe. Public office is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets or the diversion of state resources.

A public official is corrupt if he accepts money for doing something that he is under duty to do or that he is under duty not to do. Corruption is a betrayal of trust resulting directly or indirectly from the subordination of public goals to those of the individual. Thus a person who engages in nepotism has committed an act of corruption by putting his family interests over those of the larger society. Corruption is also the perversion of integrity of state of affairs through bribery, favor or moral depravity. It involves the injection of additional but improper transactions aimed at changing the moral course of events and altering judgments and positions of trust.

Chapter two of this research work focused more on the review of relevant literature and theoretical framework. The chapter begin by examining the concept, corruption and its types, crime, administration and Nigeria; that is, what makes up Nigeria. Corruption is efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of public power for private benefit. Corruption as a phenomenon, is a global problem, and exists in varying degrees in different countries¹. Corruption is not only found in democratic and dictatorial politics, but also in feudal, capitalist and socialist economies. Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist cultures are equally bedeviled by corruption². In Nigeria, it is one of the many unresolved problems that have critically hobbled and skewed development. It remains a long-term major political and economic challenge for Nigeria³. It is a canker worm that has eaten deep in the fabric of the nation. It ranges from petty corruption to political / bureaucratic corruption or Systemic corruption.

Some people see 'corruption' as a conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. Then to others, it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash. The Collins English Dictionary for Advanced Learners define corruption as the dishonest and illegal behaviour by people in positions of authority or power. Corruption occurs when an official transfers a benefit to an individual who may not be entitled to the benefit, in exchange for an illegal payment called the bribe. By taking the bribe, the official breaks a legally binding promise he or she gave to his principal or employer (usually the state government or a private company) to allocate the benefits to those entitled to it.

Simply defined, administration is the organization and direction of persons in order to accomplish a specified end. Perhaps the simplest and shortest definition of administration is the one that says that 'when two men co-operate to roll a stone that neither could move alone, the rudiments of administration have appeared'²³. Administration is also said to be a

determined action taken in pursuit of a conscious purpose. It is the systematic ordering of affairs and the calculated use of resources aimed at making those things happen which one wants to happen and foretelling everything to the contrary. Administration is also seen as a variety of component elements which, together in action produce the result of a defined task done. Administration, primarily is the direction of people in association to achieve some goal temporarily shared. It is the inclusive process of integrating human efforts so that a desired result is obtained. Administration is the central power house of the motivational impulsion and spirit which makes the institution drive to fulfil its purpose

The Social Contract theory of the origin of the state implies that there was a time when men lived or would have lived without any recognized civil law, without the state. This stage or life-pattern of men is described as the 'state of nature. Then the state was created through the voluntary agreement of all individuals who constitute the state. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau have drawn different pictures of the state of nature, terms of the contract and the character of sovereignty which came into existence as a consequence of the birth of the state. It is important to note here that the whole theory of the contract is based on speculation. It seeks to trace the origin of the state through logic, not through historical or scientific evidence. Locke refers to a historical fact to illustrate the point, but illustration is no evidence.

Chapter three of the study explained the methodology used in carrying out the research work. The chapter also explained the research designed, the sources of data, method of data collection and method of data analysis. The research used the historical and descriptive method of data analysis.

Chapter four of this research work is the main crux of the study. The chapter examine the examine the achievements and challenges of Economic and Financial Crimes

Commission (EFCC), the weakness of the anti-graft institution and the implication of the activities of EFCC on the democratic consolidation of Nigeria. The study revealed that immunity clause, bias Lawyers and Victimization in Law Court, politicization and many more are major weakness of the anti-graft corruption. In addition to that, the political will is still missing. The federal government may have to look into the budgeting process of the commission with a view to strengthen the commission financially; well funding is for government to put more attention to the commission.

Chapter five of the research provide a summary of all what has been done in the research.

5.2 Conclusion

This research examines crime and corruption and the activities of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission on the fight against corruption. Corrupt regimes always yield disastrous results. Corruption which is equal to monopoly plus discretion, minus accountability has serious impediment to sustainable development especially in Nigeria. It has stolen the wealth of resource-rich nations like Nigeria thereby making people to be trapped in poverty.

The study further showed that the immunity clause, bias Lawyers and Victimization in Law Court, politicization and many more are major weakness of the anti-graft corruption. In addition to that, the political will is still missing. The federal government may have to look into the budgeting process of the commission with a view to strengthen the commission financially; well funding is for government to put more attention to the commission. More so, strange culture and weird value system in Nigeria, poor remuneration/reward system is another major factor of the corruption in Nigeria and others are major causes of crime and corruption in Nigeria. The analysis of this

research brought to fore the implications of corruption on the democratic development of the Nigerian state. The study noted that, for there to be development in Nigeria, this study is of the view that the issue of corruption and its causes needs to be squarely addressed by the Nigerian state.

In conclusion, there is an urgent need for government commitment to the war against corruption by enhancing the budgetary allocation of the EFCC, strengthen the judicial system and provide the needed supports. On the other hand, the EFCC need to be led by a dynamic leader, provide adequate motivation, training and recruit competent investigators and prosecutors as against using police as the basic investigators. Apparently, a lot will be achieved by providing these needed supports.

5.3 Recommendations

This research study examine crime and corruption in Nigeria and the activities of EFCC in the fight against corruption.

The following recommendations will be helpful in fighting corruption if adopted:

1. There is need for both EFCC and ICPC to develop the political will to prosecute corrupt people no matter how highly placed. A situation where some people are regarded as sacred cow is not good.
2. For Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to properly fight against Corruption in Nigeria, it is recommended that EFCC should be given high level independence without any political interference and also with an independent Judiciary where both the rich and the poor are judged under the law without inequality, fear or favour and delays in passing verdicts should not be condoned.
3. The modus operandi of EFCC should change. They make a lot of noise instead of investigations. EFCC use to fight corruption on pages of newspapers and television.

In Argentina and Chile, corruptions are fought through investigation and in noiseless form. This is not the case with Nigeria most often.

4. There is need for proper security agents assigned to these agencies by the federal government. It will amount to sending a child to farm without hoe, cutlass or farming implements. Confronting corrupt people needs sound security base.
5. The Nigerian government should make N100 naira the highest denomination: It true that one of the prevalent types of corrupt practice in Nigeria today both in government and in public activities is that of misappropriation of fund, the looting of the national treasury and money laundering. An amount stolen in brief cases with N100 Naira denomination will have inconsequential motivation for people to go and steal but such amount will be much in N1000 naira denomination. It is believed that if this recommendation is adopted; it will go a long way to also stop bank robbery which has become an honest business in Nigeria today, since much amount can be stolen in N1000 naira denomination as will be a burden if N100 naira were to be the highest denomination in banks.
6. The mass media has a crucial role to play in the campaigning to educate the people of their right as citizens and in exposing the vogue.
7. To fight corruption properly, moral principles must be upheld. EFCC can curb corrupt practices in Nigeria, which is no doubt; but only if there is (continued) sincerity and righteousness on the part of its operators. This research has on this note recommended that for Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to properly fight against Corruption in Nigeria, it is recommended that EFCC should be given high level of independence without any political interference and also with an independent Judiciary where both the rich and the poor are judged under the law

without inequality, fear or favour and delays in passing verdicts should not be condoned.

In addition, the Nigerian parliament must be an instrument of proper entrenchment of the rule of law as contained in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and should also serve as a vehicle for proper social engineering so that Nigerians can have and enjoy an ideal dividends of democracy having in mind that ‘democracy’ is the government of the people, for the people and by the people (Abraham Lincoln) and not ‘government’ of the elites, for the elites and by the elites alone as it is in Nigeria.

True democracy should be gender sensitive and should make for conditions that can be affordable by the have and the have-not in order to be able to participate in Nigeria politics which is not suppose to be for the privilege class alone since the mark of good leadership is not in wealth but the one that can deliver not minding the person’s financial strength. These among others are the ways through which corruption can be wiped out of the democratic governance of Nigeria to pave way for sustainable social development to thrive.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

Nigeria’s inability to consolidate her democracy is blamed largely on the high level of corruption in the country. Corruption is efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of public power for private benefit. The primary aim of this researcher is to investigate crime and corruption and the activities of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission in the fight against corruption.

The analysis of this study indicate that the there are many factors such as, absence of institutional capacity, inequality and absence of fairness and justice, ethno-religious conflicts and disconnect between the government and the people are several factors challenging the management of security issues in Nigeria. The aforementioned issues have

continued to threaten the national security of Nigeria. Thus, this study has contributed to knowledge by investigating the challenges and implication of managing security in Nigeria.

5.5 Suggested Area for Further Study

Corruption has become the word on lips of many in the world today most especially in the developing countries where poverty, oppression, poor human relations, diseases and nepotism thrives. This has cut across various sectors like agriculture, trades and in areas such as sports; thereby becoming endemic to societal development in the world. Corruption is not only associated with a continent. In Nigeria, corruption is the greatest challenge facing the nation. In a bid to achieve this, Nigerian government enacted the anti-corruption Act and formed anti-corruption agencies to enforce the law and also persecute offenders. Despite government reaction to the menace of corruption, the questions are how come corruption in Nigeria seems to thrive stronger? What are the anti-corruption agencies doing? Is government encouraging corruption? Therefore, there is a need for more studies to be done in another area or from another angle in relation to the topic. Future studies can have the advantage of conducting research on the correlation between corruption and development or how corruption is a major obstacle to the development of Nigeria. In addition, future research may consider more precise measure of achievement of the EFCC through other approaches and context.

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