

Corruption, Governance and National Question in Nigeria

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Abstract. Nigeria is richly endowed with qualitative human and natural resources but yet to find an appropriate and rightful place among the community of nations in the world. One major reason that is responsible for this socio-economic stagnation is attributable to corruption and all effort geared at stemming the tide appears to be unsuccessful. Economically, corruption leads to the depletion of national wealth. Nigeria sits on some of the largest oil reserves in the world, which has been fuelling corruption since independence. Between 2000 and 2008 alone, it earned roughly 370 billion United States dollars in oil and gas export. In spite of this, the average life expectancy stands at 48 years and over half of Nigerians do not have access to clean water. The paper examines the effect of corruption on governance (i.e. infrastructural development) and its impact on national unity in Nigeria. It used quantitative qualitative analysis to draw conclusion. Structural Functionalism theory is the guide of the paper. Nigeria is plugging deeper into the mire of corruption with each passing year. This was recently affirmed by corruption perception index released by Transparency International. The paper concludes that corruption in Nigeria has completely undermined government's socio-economic development strategies. Nonetheless, corruption continues to hamper government's policies and initiatives at development. It also affects national unity and worsens the national question. The paper recommends restructuring of the legal framework of anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria.

Keywords: Corruption, Governance, National Question, Infrastructural Development, Nigeria.

1. Introduction

The state of infrastructure in Nigeria is worrisome, and attempts made to improve the state of infrastructure by successive administrations in Nigeria became problem due to negligence and corruption. This results to cases of infrastructural deficiencies ranging from irregular and inadequate supply of electricity and pipe-borne water. Others are bad roads, unreliable health care services, unstable educational institutions, malfunctioning ports and erratic telecommunication services. The state of infrastructure in Nigeria has remained a matter of great concern given the significance of the sector to the economic growth and development as well as the wellbeing of the people. This is as a result of political corruption that is rampant in the state, which worsens the national question. The agitation for secession by some ethnic groups and zones in Nigeria is as a result of infrastructural decay which made some parts of the country backward and the only solution for those parts is the good governance which has been paralysed by the political corruption. This is what led to national question of rotational government, resource control and restructuring. The paper seeks to examine the effect political corruption on governance (infrastructural development) and national question in Nigeria.

2. Conceptual Perspectives

2.1 Corruption

Rousseau once pointed out that the legitimacy of the national public power comes from the people. The government is the executor of the sovereign. Its power comes from the people's trust. When the use of public power deviate from the original track, being abused, corruption problems arise, it accords with the definition of "the abuse of public office for private benefit". This definition is also the most widely used by the scholars on the concept of corruption (Liu, 2016).

There is no unified definition of "corruption". It is usually defined as the corruption of public officials in the state, organs use power in the hands for bribery, corruption, extortion, fraud and other acts. But this term includes many aspects of economy, politics, culture, morality, law and so on. In recent years, the extension of corruption has continued to expand. The main body of corruption is no longer confined to the national institution. More subjects are included. For example "academic corruption" refers to the corruption in universities and research institutions. The forms of corruption include not only public officials' personal gain behaviour but also interest exchange process, such as nepotism, nonfeasance and disposal of public resources (Liu, 2016).

Thus, corruption can be seen 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. It can also be seen as the act of turning power and authority to ready cash (Philips and Akpokighe, 2014).

In recent years, however, corruption has been measured at the regional, national and global level, mostly using perception surveys as the leading method to collect data. Indicators have proved very useful in raising awareness, making cross-country comparisons and conducting statistical analysis, helping establish correlations between corruption and a wide range of variables (U4 - Anti-Corruption Resource Center

2009). These two institutions methodology and the findings are the guide used to establish the existence of corruption in Nigeria in this paper. The next is the concept of governance and how to measure it.

2.2 Governance

Governance refers to the exercise of political and administrative authority at all levels to manage a country's affairs. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Specific reference is made to democratic governance as "a process of creating and sustaining an environment for inclusive and responsive political processes and settlements." The institutional and human capacities for governance determine the way in which the effectiveness of public policies and strategies is attained, especially in service delivery. In other words governance is a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not (Fukuyama, 2013).

According to the academic approach, the generic understanding of governance is the management of resources and policy-making by means of exercising authority (power). Thus, it entails all instruments through which different policy stakeholders exercise legal rights with the aim to achieve political, economic, cultural and social objectives. In this sense, the term "governance" appears to be more and more used in order to denote a complex set of structures and processes (at the public as well as at the private level), which are generally associated with national administration. However, its definitions offer a rather broad horizon of interpretation: wherever we can find this term, its definition varies slightly. For instance, in the Report of the Commission on Global Governance "Our Global Neighbourhood" (1995) governance is defined as:

The sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process

through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest.

Much discussion about the definition of good governance has centered on what makes institutions and rules more effective and efficient, in order to achieve equity, transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability, and the rule of law. These aspects are crucial for human development and the eradication of poverty since ineffective institutions usually result in the greatest harm to those who are poor and vulnerable.

Without reference to a universal standard for governance, the notion of what is good is thus defined by the desired outcome, which varies from one situation to another. Nonetheless, two broad governance issues can be discerned. The first pertains to institutions of governance, including public administration and public services connected, in particular, with the sound management of resources, delivery of and equitable access to public services, responsiveness to the views of citizens and their participation in decisions that concern them. Strategies adopted in response including better personnel management, transparency in public finance, a curb on corruption, citizen participation and enhanced accountability have since become common currency in public administration dialogue (Fukuyama, 2013).

The second broad governance issue is concerned with concepts of democracy and the rule of law, including with rights-based claims to equality before the law, judicial independence, participation in the conduct of public affairs, electoral integrity, political plurality, freedom of expression and media independence. These claims include demands for gender equality and the inclusion of youth and marginalized groups. Integral to effective implementation is an informed and empowered citizenry engaged in transparent and accountable governance processes. Free and pluralistic media are

considered essential to such ends as is the right to freely access information held by public bodies.

To measure the concept of governance there are at least four broad approaches to evaluating the quality of governance: procedural measures, input measures, output measures, and measures of bureaucratic autonomy:

2.2.1 Procedural Measures

The most classic effort to define governance in terms of procedures was Max Weber's famous characterization of modern bureaucracy in *Economy and Society*. We continue to use the term "Weberian bureaucracy" as an ideal type to which we hope highly corrupt, neo-patrimonial states will eventually conform. It might be useful to review Weber's conditions here:

1. Bureaucrats personally free and subject to authority only within a defined area;
2. They are organized into a clearly defined hierarchy of offices;
3. Each office has a defined sphere of competence;
4. Offices are filled by free contractual relationship;
5. Candidates selected on basis of technical qualifications;
6. Bureaucrats are remunerated by fixed salaries;
7. The office treated as the sole occupation of the incumbent;
8. The office constitutes a career;
9. There is a separation between ownership and management;
10. Officials subject to strict discipline and control.

Conditions 1-5 and 9 are probably at the core of what people think of when they talk about "modern bureaucracy": they clearly delineate such an organization from the kinds of venal or patrimonial office that existed in Europe under the Old Regime, or that exist in contemporary neo-patrimonial developing countries today. However, characteristics 6, 7, 8, and 10 are more problematic. Condition 6, fixed salaries, is not compatible with the kinds of incentives often offered bureaucrats under New Public Management. Conditions 7 and 8 are not true of

many mid-level officials in contemporary America, in both the public and private sectors. One could say that the US fails to live up to the Weberian ideal, but it does not seem likely that the quality of bureaucracy in the US would improve if it were impossible for talented individuals from the private sector or the academy to serve in government for periods of time. And condition 10 is incompatible with civil service protection, which during the Progressive Era was seen as a hallmark of the modern bureaucracy that was replacing the patronage system. More importantly, condition 10 suggests that bureaucrats are simply robotic agents whose only purpose is to do the bidding of principals. The idea of bureaucratic autonomy-the notion that bureaucrats themselves can shape goals and define tasks independently of the wishes of the principals-is not possible under the Weberian definition (Fukuyama, 2013).

Nonetheless, certain procedural measures would remain at the core of any measure of quality of governance. One would want to know whether bureaucrats are recruited and promoted on the basis of merit or political patronage, what level of technical expertise they are required to possess, and the overall level of formality in bureaucratic procedure.

2.2.2 Capacity Measures

The problem with all procedural definitions of bureaucracy is that the procedures, however defined, may not actually correlate with the positive outcomes expected from governments. We assume that a Weberian bureaucracy will produce better services than one that is highly discretionary and patrimonial; yet there may be circumstances where the latter's lack of rules result in faster and better tailored responses. Enforcement power is not part of Weber's definition; it is possible to have an impersonal, merit-based bureaucracy that nonetheless is extremely poor at getting things done. To say that a bureaucrat is selected on the basis of "merit" does not define merit, nor does it explain whether the official's skills will be renewed in light of changing conditions or technology (Fukuyama, 2013).

The most commonly used measure of capacity is extractive capacity, measured in terms of tax extraction. Tax extraction measures capacity in two ways: first, it takes capacity, however generated, in order to extract taxes; second, successful tax extraction provides resources that enable the government to operate in other domains. Tax extraction rates can be measured both by the percentage of taxes to GDP, as well as by the nature of taxation-i.e., whether it is based on income or wealth, or indirect taxation (since income and wealth taxes are much more difficult to extract than indirect taxes) (Fukuyama, 2013).

2.2.3 Output Measures

Good procedures and strong capacity are not ends in themselves. We want governments to do things like provide schooling and public health, public security and national defense. This suggests an alternative measure of government quality, a measure of final output. One could look at literacy, primary and secondary education test scores, or various measures of health to get some idea as to how governments are performing (Fukuyama, 2013).

2.2.4 Bureaucratic Autonomy

A final measure of the quality of government is the degree of bureaucratic autonomy possessed by the different components of the state. Samuel Huntington makes autonomy one of his four criteria of institutionalization; highly institutionalized political systems have bureaucracies with high autonomy. The opposite of autonomy in Huntington's terminology is subordination. The sub heading below discusses the concept of national question in order to understand the subject matter of the paper.

3. National Question

3.1 Nation

A nation refers to a naturally or historically constituted human community which shares a sense of oneness or identity by virtues of having inter-alia, common origin (mythical or real), language, culture, economy and as a rule, territory (Hertz 1944, Deutsch 1954, Emerson

1960, Rustow 1967 etc.). In essence, nation is a community, state is an association, membership of the nation is a matter of sentiment, depending on common experience and history, while membership of state is matter of legal status. Having explained the generic concept of a nation, the meaning of its derivative; the national question is not far-fetched. Generally; the 'question' of any issue refers to the problems or controversies surrounding that issue. It connotes a problematic and un-resolved issue which begs for solutions. It is in this sense that we talk of the 'national question', 'land question', 'peasant question', 'minorities question' and the likes. The national question from the liberal perspective, refers fundamentally to the multi-dimensional problematic that confront or tend to impede a sovereign polity or state attain the status of a nation as explained above. The problems could be social, economic and political which logically vary between and even within countries over time (Garba, 1994).

There is a tendency to equate the national question with the 'nationalities question' where a nationality is taken to mean an ethno-linguistic or tribal group. By the nationalities question, therefore, is meant, the conflicts or antagonisms that often characterize inter-ethnic relations in a plural and fractious society. The national question as explained, however, has a more encompassing meaning - transcending the problems of 'ethnicity' or 'ethnicism' (i.e. ethnic conflict or rivalry) within a multi-ethnic nation-state.

Broadly, the national question refers to the gamut of problems that militate against the creation and overall development of a nation-state as well as how such problems could be resolved or at least minimized. More specifically, it refers to the dialectic problematic of reconciling conflict and consensus regards to the sovereignty, social Integration, stability and overall development of a nation-state. In a nutshell, it boils down to the problematic of nation building (Garba, 1994).

The concept of the national question on the other hand, is popularly used by Marxists in a radically different sense from what has been

stated earlier (liberal view). It owes its extended elaboration more to Lenin and his contemporary like minds who contributed to the subject in a specially prepared document; 'Theses on the National and Colonial Questions' presented and adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International held in 1920.

The important point to note as earlier stated is that what constitutes the national question varies between countries, sometime social groups within a country and overtime. In a colonial state for instance, the primary national question refers to the struggles for the liberation or emancipation of the colonized peoples from external domination or rule. On the other hand in a country afflicted with the problem of 'neo-colonialism' whose 'essence' according to late Nkrumah (1965: ix) is that the:

State which is subject to it is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality (however), its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. The national question refers fundamentally to how the country could break-off, 'de-link' or 'dis-engage' from the apron strings of external manipulating forces (Garba, 1994).

Generally, however, in a sovereign nation-state, it includes the following fundamental problematic issues and possible panaceas for overcoming or minimizing them viz (i) external domination and manipulation in all spheres-social, economic, political, technological etc, (ii) all forms and dimensions of social cleavages, differentiation, inequalities, oppression marginalization and consequent conflicts, antagonism or hostilities; (iii) defective political structures and processes leading to various forms of crisis in particular; 'systematic' disunity and instability and (iv) socio-economic developmental lag manifested by poor or low level of human living standard.

The national question, therefore, is a broad concept - refers to the promotion of the encompassing issues of sovereignty, democracy, freedom, equality, unity, human rights, system's effectiveness and overall development of a nation-state. It transcends the issues of

‘conflicts’ and ‘disunity’ arising from the social ‘plurality’ of a nation state as it is commonly conceived and used.

With reference to contemporary Nigeria for instance, the national question refer to the unresolved problematic arising from the country’s relationship with the world imperialism on the one hand and relationships between the various nationalities, some classes and politico-administrative units (over material resources and power sharing) have historically characterized the country on the other (Toyo, Mustapha 1978, 81-95). In a nutshell, it refers to the constitutive socio-economic, political, technological impediments (external and internal) to national consensus building and development in their ramifications (Garba, 1994). Infrastructure and its nature is treated in the heading below.

3.2 Infrastructure

Infrastructure has been defined as “the basic structures and facilities necessary for a country or an organization to function efficiently, e.g. buildings, transport, water and energy resources, and administrative systems.” In general terms, it refers to the economic and social facilities which are provided by the government, or by private sector operators, for the social and economic development of the individual and the society at large. In other words, Infrastructure is the fundamental facilities and systems serving a country, city, or other area, including the services and facilities necessary for its economy to function. Infrastructure is composed of public and private physical improvementsn such as roads, bridges, tunnels, water supply, sewers, electrical grids, telecommunications (including Internet connectivity and broadband speeds). In general, it has also been defined as “the physical components of interrelated systems providing commodities and services essential to enable, sustain, or enhance societal living conditions”.

3.3 The Nature of Infrastructures in Nigeria

Infrastructure development is one of the bases of assessing the achievements of democratic

leaders and it is the foundation of good democratic governance. Agitation for infrastructural development is higher in democratic government than in military dictatorship or compared to developed countries. This is because the resources for provision of infrastructure are always scarce. Ethnic-interest agitation and lobbying are common things in democratic governance in developing countries. The Infrastructural report of Nigeria just like any third world country is nothing to write home about. The housing situation is in a sorry state both quantitatively and qualitatively (Oyedele, 2012). Most infrastructures are now decayed and need repair, rehabilitation or replacement. The following traced the origin of Nigeria, geographical location and population.

4. Nigeria

4.1 Independence

Nigeria gained full independence in October 1960, as a federation of three regions (northern, western, and eastern) under a constitution that provided for a parliamentary form of government. Under the constitution, each of the three regions retained a substantial measure of self-government. The federal government was given exclusive powers in defence and security, foreign relations, and commercial and fiscal policies. In October 1963, Nigeria altered its relationship with the United Kingdom by proclaiming itself a federal republic and promulgating a new constitution. From 1979 to date the country is practicing presidential system of government.

4.2 Geography

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and accounts for over half of West Africa’s population. It borders the Gulf of Guinea, and is located between Benin and Cameroon. Capital City: Abuja (pop. est. 1.6 million) Natural Resources: petroleum, natural gas, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc, arable land. Natural Hazards: periodic droughts; flooding.

4.3 Society

Population: 168 + million, Ethnic Groups: Nigeria has 250 ethnic groups. The most populous and politically influential include:

Hausa and Fulani 29%, Yoruba 21%, Igbo (Ibo) 18%, Ijaw 10%, Kanuri 4%, Ibibio 3.5%, Tiv 2.5%. Languages: English (official), Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo (Ibo), Fulani, and over 500 additional indigenous languages. The dominant ethnic group in the northern two-thirds of the country is the Hausa-Fulani, most of whom are Muslim. Other major ethnic groups of the north are the Nupe, Tiv, and Kanuri. The Yoruba people are predominant in the southwest. The Igbo (Ibo) are predominant in the southeast. Religion: The population is between Muslims and Christians with a small minority of those who practice indigenous beliefs. The sub heading below presents the theoretical framework that was used as a guide of this paper.

5. Research Methodology

The paper used quantitative qualitative analysis i.e. data/ information from text books, journals and reports from government agencies such as, National Bureau of Statistics (N B S) were used for analysis from which conclusion was drawn. The following sub heading treats conceptual perspectives of the key words of the paper.

6. Theoretical Framework

The paper is anchored on the Structural Functionalism theory:

Structural Functionalism theory

Structural Functionalism theory propounded by Talcott Parson in the late 1930s. One of the assumptions of this theory is that certain functional requirements must be satisfied if a society is to survive. Put differently, there should be existence of functional subsystems to ensure the survivability of the society. The subsystems are expected to perform their functions credibly. The society is therefore, composed of certain arrangement of parts (structures) or subsystems which undertake various responsibilities (functions) in a

coordinated and independent manner so as to achieve societal goals and objectives (Ugwuja, 2016). Structural functional theory has been one of the theoretical explanation aimed at ensuring deeper understanding of the societal process which invariably leads to societal progress and sustainability.

The theory is relevant to this paper in the sense that, Nigeria is a state with structures charged with the responsibilities in order to enhance the survival of the country. Among them is the executive arm that is charged with the day-to-day activities of government i.e. provision of infrastructure. The following is the data/ information used for analysis and conclusion of this paper.

7. Political Corruption in Nigeria

7.1 Public officials in Nigeria show little hesitation in asking for a bribe

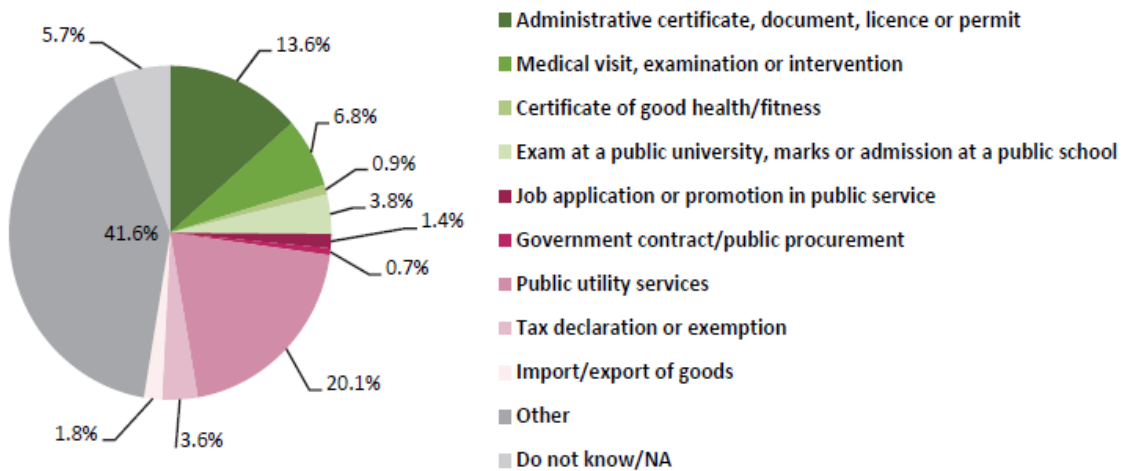
The vast majority of bribery episodes in Nigeria are initiated either directly or indirectly by public officials (85.3%) and almost 70% of bribes are paid before a service is rendered. With such a large portion of public officials initiating bribes, which are paid up front, it seems that many public officials show little hesitation in asking for a kickback to carry out their duty and that bribery is an established part of the administrative procedure in Nigeria (NBS, 2017).

While money is by far the most important form of bribe payment in Nigeria, the survey shows that other forms of bribe payment, such as the provision of food and drink, the handing over of valuables or the exchange of another service or favour, also exist. Qualitative research shows that such exchanges may sometimes include sexual services, although the actual extent of that particular form of bribe payment is unknown (NBS, 2017).

7.2 Public Services and Bribery

When Nigerians paid bribes for a specific service, the most frequently mentioned services for which bribes were paid (20.1%) were related to the provision of public utility services (electricity, water, sanitation). A further 13.6% were directly related to receiving administrative documents (administrative licences and permits: 8.2%; administrative certificates and documents: 5.4%). Other areas where bribes were paid relatively frequently include medical services, medical examinations and interventions (6.8%), dealing with tax authorities or obtaining tax exemptions (3.6%), and passing exams at public universities or school admissions (3.8%).¹⁶ In 41.6% of cases in which a bribe was paid, the payment was associated with no specific service (for example, when stopped by the police) (NBS, 2017). The Chart below presents these percentages i.e. on the distribution of bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria.

Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by service sought at the time of payment, Nigeria, 2016



7.3 Relationship between Corruption and Infrastructural Development

Sohail and Cavill (nd) asserts that the public sector has long been identified as a cause of corruption. This takes different forms. For instance, utilities may be obliged to supply political favours in the form of excess employment, depressing of tariffs and distribution of contracts on political bases. *The scholars observe the effect of corruption in infrastructure can be measured through both its direct and indirect impact.* Directly, corruption increases the cost of public services, lowers their quality and or restricts the poor from accessing such essential services such as water and sanitation. Indirectly, corruption diverts public

resources away from social sectors and the poor thereby limiting development, growth and poverty reduction. The scholars identify weak or non-existence of checks and balances, restricted access to information, lack of public participation, high tolerance for corrupt activities and poor enforcement of sanctions as some of the causes of corruption in infrastructural services provision (Cited in Musa and Shehu, 2016).

In an empirical study conducted by, Ubi and Effiom (2014) it was discovered that it was not absolute lack of funds that has caused infrastructural decay in Nigeria but corruption. Oyedele (2012) and Kenny (2007) argues that corruption has not only raised the cost of

infrastructure but has also reduced the quality of, and economic returns from infrastructural investment. Kenny (2007) using world average cost of \$33.2 per square metre for upgrading a two-lane road with a bitumen surface is below the average in countries with CPI of 3.0 and above the average for countries with a CPI of 2.4 and below. Kenny (2007) laments that bribe to regulators lead to the provision of low-quality services or over-generous contract terms. Corruption-related permitting has also been observed to be very prone to corruption with consequent high human cost (Cited in Musa et al. 2016).

7.4 Effect of Political Corruption on Governance (Infrastructural Development) in Nigeria

Corruption is a by-product of underdevelopment. In Nigeria, funds that are allocated to the development of the country after the installation of democratic governance in 1999 are mismanaged by political office holders. For instance, the Minister of Finance bemoaned the absence of physical development in most states of the federation despite the huge federal allocation to these states. According to Ngwube and Okoli (2013) corruption leads to the use of resources to finance elephant projects at the expense of infrastructural development such as schools, hospitals, roads, water supply and electricity supply. Osoba (1996) cited in Alemika (2012) posits that financial corruption dent a nation's capacity to provide the basic necessity of life for the populace. Political corruption is the main factor responsible for Nigeria underdevelopment in all sectors (Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012). "This is significantly so because the greatest challenge to Nigeria's development are Nigerians themselves as represented by the political leaders who should be held responsible for the present pathetic state of underdevelopment in the country" (Falola, 2005). Since democracy berth in Nigeria in 1999, corruption has constituted a major hindrance to development in the country. For the past 15 years, budgetary allocations for infrastructure development have not yielded any positive achievement. For instance, billions of

dollars were allocated for the Turn Around Maintenance (TAM) of the four refineries, yet the refineries are not working to full capacity. The health and the power sectors are in comatose due to corruption. Furthermore, the majority of the federal roads are dead traps because funds that are allocated for the maintenance of these roads are mismanaged. The former governor of Abia State, Uzor Kalu once accused the former Minister of Works Tony Anenih of the embezzlement of ₦3 billion that was meant for the maintenance of federal roads. Corruption in Nigeria has been blamed for the high-rate of poverty in the country, for example, the official released of the poverty profile of Nigeria by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) revealed that 112 million Nigerians live in relative poverty. This data was supported by the confirmation of the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP) representative in Nigeria that said 100 million Nigerians live in destitution. Just of recent, the World Bank named Nigeria as the third country in the world with a large number of poor people. Poverty is a by-product of insecurity.

The security challenges that are facing Nigeria have been blamed on the high level of corruption and poverty in the country. The hypothesis is that corruption breeds poverty and poverty breeds insecurity. Despite the government effort through the two anti-corruption agencies to curtail corruption, the menace still continues unabated. The EFCC has been accused of not doing enough to prosecute corrupt politicians. The president has also been accused of using the EFCC to go after political opponents. Former United State Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton accused the EFCC under the leadership of Farida Waziri of inept. Nigeria has always remained at the bottom of the (TI) corruption index ranking because of the high-degree of corruption in the country (Adesote and Abimbola (2012). Protagonists of the corruption lead to underdevelopment (Nageri et al. 2013; Agbiboa, 2012; Maunro, 2007; Obayelu, 2007; Sachs, 2005; Smith 2007). According to Adesote and Abimbola (2012), "there is a correlation between financial corruption and

national development in Nigeria. The essence of financial corruption is bribery and illegal and greedy acquisition of public funds into private pockets, which otherwise would have been invested for the public good. Financial corruption undermines democracy and the legitimate of the state, reduces the potential for economic growth, and threatens the freedom and security of citizens, altogether constitutes hindrances to national development". Oladayo (2014) gave a summary of how political corruption hinders development in the new democratic dispensation in Nigeria:

- Poor social welfare
- Loss of public trust and legitimacy by the government
- Increase insecurity
- Increased poverty and unemployment
- Low investment

Aside all these, one main area that corruption has hinders is the decay in infrastructure. For instance, health services, water supply, power supply, good roads, sound education are a mirage in the fourth republic, despite the promised made to Nigerians during election campaigns that all these areas will be addressed by the new democratic government. Fifteen years after, the story remains the same or even getting worse and this is one of the reasons Nigerians have turn India to their medical tourism because of inadequate medical facilities and manpower at the government hospitals.

8. Dimensions of the National Question

Ethnic tensions in Nigeria are the resultant effect of improper distribution of resources. In the early days, Awolowo cautioned that:

in any country where there are divergences of language and of nationality -particularly of language – a unitary constitution is always a source of bitterness and hostility on the part of linguistic or national minority groups. On the other hand, as soon as a federal constitution is introduced in which each linguistic or national group is recognized and accorded regional autonomy, any bitterness and hostility against the constitutional arrangements as such disappear. If the linguistic or national groups

concerned are backward or too weak vis-à-vis the majority group or groups, their bitterness or hostility may be dormant or suppressed. But as soon as they become enlightened and politically conscious, and/or courageous leadership emerges amongst them, the bitterness and hostility come into the open, and remain sustained with all possible venom and rancour until home rule is achieved (Norbert, 2016: 32).

Democracy in plural societies also provide vent for frustration if negotiated agreements are not ignored. In his contribution to the development of the Relative Deprivation; Frustration - Agression theory, Gurr reasoned that frustrations arising from expectations and denials predispose men to rebellion. The contemporary dimensions of the national question in Nigeria are indicative of the plausibility of Gurr's conjecture. The Kano riots of 1953, the 1962 – 1965 Western Regional crisis, even the Nigeria civil war and the Maitatsine uprising of 1981 and the "Ogoni 9" disaster of 1995 are now history. But the fundamental underlying forces are similar to those that throw up such groups as Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Odua People's Congress (OPC) and Boko Haram, to mention a few. These violent groups represent the current dimensions of the national question in Nigeria (Norbert, 2016).

Similarly, the OPC's advertised mission is to mobilize the Yoruba - the dominant ethnic group in Lagos and the western part of the country "by any means necessary" to break away from Nigeria and establish a new state named after Oduduwa, the mythical progenitor of the ethnic group. MASSOB's stated goal on the other hand is the peaceful dissolution of Nigeria and a re-emergence of a new sovereign state in the eastern part of the country to be known as the United States of Biafra. The modus operandi of MASSOB however is not in tandem with this stated strategy of non-violence as it is evident that any time MASSOB expresses an opinion or engages in direct action against government, it leaves violence and destruction in its trail. Armed struggle in the Niger Delta is constantly in a state of flux. But the Movement for the

Emancipation of the Niger Delta has come, of recent to symbolise its essence. The group hopes to compel government to allow the Niger Delta states to control the oil wealth generated from their area, and if this is not possible to ultimately break away from the country and establish their own nation (Norbert, 2016).

The violence of these separatist groups has become worrisome because normalcy and common law and order which many of us take for granted is simply not available to the people living under their influence. They have made the country extremely difficult to govern. People live under tension, government is under tension, there is tension in the land and the continued long - term existence of Nigeria is tentative, to say the least. This state of affairs calls for a “final solution”. That final solution consists in the determination of the Nigerian government and people to accept that people of the diverse ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious groups in Nigeria desperately need a breath of fresh air and that the panacea is the attitudinal restructuring of the Nigerians in order to achieve the benefits of federalism under a democratic government (Norbert, 2016).

9. Conclusion

Corruption in Nigeria completely undermined government’s socio-economic development strategies. Nonetheless, corruption continues to hamper government’s policies and initiatives at development. It has bastardized many sectors, institutions and ministries such as, power sector, judiciary and the Ministry of Works to mention but few. In other words, the high level of corruption has been responsible for the poor state of infrastructural development in Nigeria. The embezzlement of the public funds is made possible by corruptly over invoicing of public contracts on infrastructural provision. These “acts” lead to increased government expenditure on infrastructure as the government strives to build reliable infrastructures in Nigeria. Edame et al. (2011) revealed in their study that in spite of the increasing trend in public expenditure on infrastructure in Nigeria, the reality on ground appears bad and that expenditure on

infrastructure is higher in democratic regime than in the military.

However, this has left many parts of the country backward in terms of infrastructural development. In other words, there is unequal development in Nigeria, which leads to national question of rotational government, resource control and restructuring. Finally, political corruption seriously affects the unity of Nigeria as a federal state.

10. Recommendation

In line with the conclusion of this paper, the paper recommends restructuring of legal framework of anti- graphic agencies in Nigeria in order to properly checkmate corrupt practices in Nigeria.

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