


**CORRUPTION AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO NIGERIAN
DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT:
A PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS**

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MARCH, 2010.



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BY

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**BEING A LONG ESSAY SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIONS STUDIES, FACULTY OF ARTS, ADEKUNLE
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ONDO STATE, NIGERIA.**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
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MARCH, 2010.

CERTIFICATION

This essay was carried out by Ologundudu Feyisayo Bukola, Matric Number 050105042 of the department of Philosophy and Religions Studies, Faculty of Arts and Education, Adekunle Ajasin University Akungba Akoko, Ondo-State Nigeria.

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DEDICATION

This research work is first of all dedicated to God Almighty, the source of every good things, who saw me through my days in school. Also, to Mrs. B.A Ologundudu and Revd. J.M. Akinwe for a job well done.

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Finally to all my Pastors too numerous to mention may God continue to strengthen you. Amen.



ABSTRACT

This essay examines corruption as an impediment to the democratic development in Nigeria. It also explain the causes and effect of corruption on the Nigerian structure and finally examines the ways of curbing corruption for effective democracy.

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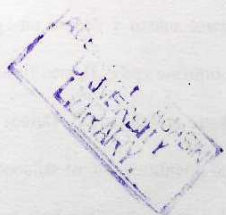
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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Corruption.

The word corruption is derived from the Latin term "corrumpo" (corrumpere, corruptus), literally meaning 'to rot' to decompose', to disintegrate" or to decay"¹. In other words, it means to lose "purity" or "integrity". In the strict sense, corruption is understood as an act of being dishonest with a given responsibility or duty for selfish end. It has broadly been defined as a perversion or a change from good to bad. Specifically, corruption or corrupt behaviour involves the violation of established rules for personal gain and profit.

Corruption can also be seen as " all actions that tamper with or compromise justice and fairness...."² It is also described as the gain of money, material/ financial resources, contract, employment, status, power and psychological satisfaction through illegal and / or immoral practices such as bribery, fraud, abuse of office, robbery, electoral malpractice....³.

From the above conceptions, corruption is an epidemic that has permeated into the very fabric of our society. Since it is a dishonest or an unjust act, corruption debases the value of human person, erodes the dignity of human persons and annihilates human freedom. The human person is used as a "thing" an object; a means toward an end instead of being treated as a subject, an end in himself/herself. Thus corruption distorts the moral norms, principles or obligation of a given society. Some writers say that corruption is endemic in all government, and that it is not peculiar to any continent, region or ethnic group. It cuts across faith, religious denominations, and political systems, it affect both young and old,

man and woman alike. Corruption is found in democratic and dictatorial politics; feudal, capitalist and socialist economies".⁴

However, corrupt practices did not begin today; the history is as old as the world. Ancient civilization have traces of widespread illegality and corruption. Thus, corruption has been unbiguous in complex societies from ancient Egypt, Israel, Rome and Greece down to the present society. This does not however mean that the magnitude of corruption is equal in every society. Some countries are more corrupt than others, it depends on the level of civilization and as to Segun Ogungbemi, "corruption is part of modernization...".⁵ It is a global phenomenon, however, it is pandemic in Nigeria; the leaders as well as the followers are corrupt. Corruption incapacitates the development of any given nation or state. In portraying the same assertion, Olayinka Opafola Opines;

*Corruption depreciates the value of honesty, brotherhood or solidarity, altruism and patriotism.... Besides it promotes misappropriation and/ or misapplications of funds, capital flight, and shortage of capital"*⁷

Therefore, the evil consequences of corruption are numerous; corruption, apart from its effect on a given state, reduce the human person to the level of lower animals by this, I mean, man behaves illegally and unjustly. (The animal part overrides the rational part). Corruption brings disorderliness, anarchy and doom to a nation. It breaches against commutative or social justice. In a nutshell, corruption connotes an act of demanding, receiving or obtaining any benefit of any kind either for oneself or any other person on the account of anything done or not done, or to be afterwards done or not done in the discharge of one's work or duty.⁷

1.2 THE VARIOUS TYPES OF CORRUPTION.

Corruption is a broad concept that cuts across wide range of interests. As such, it embraces all facets of human life.

Thus; we shall group corruption into four groups, namely:

1.2.1 Political Corruption

Political corruption takes place at the highest levels of political authority. It occurs when the politicians and political decision makers who are entitled to formulate, establish and implement laws in the name of the people are themselves corrupt. It is best understood as the unlawful or improper use of influence power and other means to achieve one's political ambition. It includes dishonesty, injustice, or partial behaviour on the part of politicians, government parastatals or employee against the masses. Thus, this nuance or political corruption is simply a distortion or disorderliness of political setting of any given nation.⁸

In broad terms, political corruption is an effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private benefit at public expense. It means the abuse of entrusted power by political leaders for private gain, with the sole aim of increasing power or wealth. It involves a wide range of crimes and illicit acts committed by political leaders.

“Moreover, political corruption is an abuse of political system of trust and of the principles that make democracy effective. Hence, political corruption is an obstacle to transparency in public life. It causes the loss of faith in politics just like what we are currently witnessing in Nigeria's political sphere, it bleaches trust on politicians and parties, and challenges the values of democracy thereby making the various institutions of democratic government vulnerable. Thus, political corruption is undermining democracy

and good governance, subverting the formal processes. It causes to the electoral and legislative bodies distortions by way of reducing accountability and representation in policy and decision making to the judiciary and public administrative offices by giving rooms to unequal provision of services.⁹

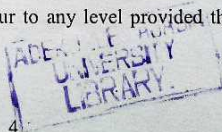
Therefore, political corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government procedure resources are siphoned abroad, officials are hired or promoted without regard to performance. It undermines the legitimacy of government. The various instances of political corruption includes: embezzlement of funds, taking bribes, extortion, insincerity in awarding contracts, frauds, buying and selling of electoral votes, rigging of ballots, thuggery cheating etc.

A practical example is the case of the former Edo State Governor, Chief Lucky Igbinedion who was convicted and has been standing trial in the case of money laundering and other corrupt charges brought against commission. The Federal High Court sitting in Enugu on Thursday, December 18, 2008 convicted him on a one-court charge of corruption and was fined ₦3.5m.¹⁰

Another example is that of late Adedibu and his loyalist who unleashed mayhem on the people in Oyo state whereby voters dare not vote against his "anointed" son Alao Akala, as waiting thugs always lurked at the corner, armed with cutlasses and guns: cutlass was very expensive during the 2007 election process in Ibadan.¹¹

1.2.2 Economic Corruption

Here, corruption undermines economic development of a state by generating considerable distortions, and inefficiency. It emerges in both private and public sectors. Business have been known to bid for favour to any level provided the economic cost of



such favour does not exceed the returns and the value made possible by such corrupt act. In the public sectors, distortions in government budgetary, plans, diversion of public investment into private projects, bribes, kickbacks of governments plans, reduction in the quality of government services and infrastructures. Thus, economic corruption can be defined "as the abuse or misuse of the resources of a given nation through illicit payments, inflation profiteering."¹² The various forms of economic corruption include;

(a) Adulteration of Business products

Adulteration is simply defined as "the act of making any commodity impure by the addition of other base ingredient."¹³ These extra ingredient corrupt the original form, nature and quality of such products thereby rendering them ineffective when used. The negative result may be risk of health. Adulteration of food items beverages and drugs are done mainly with the aim of increasing profits for the manufacturers or merchants. This for instance, is most obvious in Nigeria. S.N. Iwe in his "Socio-cultural issues in Nigeria", identified one of the problems of Nigeria as "enslavement to money and decline in public morality."¹⁴ This explains why most Nigerian businessmen go to any extent, using any means and objects to make "quick money, even if it means trading on human parts.

(b) Deceit in Advertisement of Products.

Advertisement is a very important aspect of business enterprise. It is a public notice of offering or asking for goods, services."¹⁵ Advertisement is an important part of any business because it is the means by which products, services and the business itself are presented to the public as favourable as possible."¹⁶ Deceit on the other hand is the "action of deliberately trying to make somebody believe something that is not true, usually so as to get something for oneself..."¹⁷ Thus, advertisement fertile ground for business enterprise. It

becomes another form of economic corruption when fake products are being advertised just for the sake of profit maximization, not considering the lives of the public. It can be corrupted when businessmen falsely employ the medium as a strategic means of "profiteering" and "accountability" of wealth. In this regard, advertisement can be misleading and deceitful not only in the sense of say what is overtly false but also when it distorts the truth by implying things that are not so.

Economic corruption has taken over the entire sectors in Nigeria that has to do with money. This buttresses the charges leveled against some bank officials recently. These people includes Berth Ebong of Union Bank, Sebastian Adigwe of Afribank, Okey Nwosu of Finbank, Erastus Akingbola of Intercontinental Bank and Cecilia Ibru of Oceanic International Banks. They were sacked by C.B.N on August 14, 2009 for combined ₦747bn toxic loan."¹⁸ The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) sealed off some of the properties linked to Cecilia Ibru. The EFCC had earlier seized the properties and shares linked to her in 27 companies, including banks, oil and gas, telecommunications, aviation as well as real estates and manufacturing firms. The anti-graft agency claimed that some of the properties were brought with funds belonging to Oceanic Bank. The value of the assets and bank account is put at over ₦399 billion. The EFCC had seized 103 choice houses and shares in 77 companies in Nigeria belonging to Ibru."¹⁹ Where will all these lead us is a question that we all need to ponder upon.

(c) Human Trafficking/Child Abuse

Human trafficking is yet another aspect of economic corruption. In human trafficking, human beings are taken to be goods and commodities that can be exchanged for money. Human trafficking is described as "an illegal exchange and use of human being

especially children women and girls for money or profit making.²⁰ This is what is called "Neo-Slavery". The United Nation protocol gave a more elaborate definition of human trafficking as;

*Recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power, or unhealthy or the giving and receiving of payments or benefits to achieve consent of a person or having control over another for the purpose of exploitation.*²¹

Therefore, human trafficking is a corrupt form of economy because man is treated as an object of trade and not as a subject of trade itself. According to Karl Marx, "Man is treated as a means to an end not as an end in itself."²² It dehumanize and rob man of his dignity, thus, it is exploitative. As such, it is unjust and deprives human freedom. Nature endowed every man with certain right and freedom. But in case of human trafficking, the rights to freedom of the individual is violated. It encourages immoral behaviour since most of those trafficked are usually used for immoral and sundry criminal activities such as prostitution and consequently unwanted pregnancy which leads to abortion or child abuse and the rapid spread of diseases and untimely death.

Child abuse is seen as the misuse or violation of a child's right this includes child labour and rape. A typical example is that of child rape in Kano police and government officials in Northern Nigeria's city of Kano have reported an upsurge in incidents of child rape and said that young girls are now unsafe in the city. In one incident a 70-year-old man allegedly raped a three year old girl Suleiman Abba, Kano's deputy Police Chief said "Child rape is becoming rampant in Kano and we are worried that if nothing is done to stop the problem. It will go out of hand. In the last six months, police in Kano recorded 54 cases of child rape and made 60 related arrests. In some cases the victims are gang-raped."²³

Experts gave a number of reasons for the phenomenon. "some men have this superstitious belief that they can cure themselves of HIV/AIDS through rape. Others believe that they can become rich if they commit this act of irresponsibility."²⁴ Abubakar an Islamic Scholar said

1.1.4 Social/Attitudinal Corruption

Social corruption is associated with anarchy, distortion or disorderliness. It may take the form of environmental degradation or pollution. It is regarded as social degeneration or deterioration. Thus, we can define social corruption as a disorderliness of a given structure be it state or natural objects. A typical example of this is the case of Niger Delta. The exploration of oil in Niger Delta has caused a lot of pollution to the land, water and air. The federal government agreed on 13% derivation for the havoc wrecked on the soil and water of the Niger Deltans. The question we should ask here is whether this derivative principle is enough to compensate for the pollution? This is why the Niger Delta people are clamoring for Resource Control so that they will be able to manage their resources themselves. The people of this area are really suffering because the water has been polluted by oil spillage they cannot farm on their land and the general condition of the people is pathetic which calls for a quick intervention from the government."²⁵ We shall also discuss something similar which is Attitudinal Corruption.

Attitudinal corruption is the same as moral corruption which is the worst form of corruption, moral conducts are the summit of every ideal state or nation. Attitudinal corruption leads to devastation and destruction of any society. In the true, sense, what makes a society to be 'good' is the moral upbringing of her members. If the members of a society are morally corrupt, that society cannot progress politically, economically etc. For

instance, the problem with Nigeria is characterized by this very unfortunate phenomenon. In most Nigerian educational institutions as well as in the rest of the country, cultism, prostitution, rape, indecent dressing, robbery, assassination and other uncharitable vices have filled up the land. Nkeonye Otakpor rightly noted this ugly situation thus:

The moral crisis facing Nigeria today is unprecedented. A sober reflection on the use of the nation would reveal that all is not well with it. There is, for example, a break down of discipline in the home, school and workplace. Traditional Nigerian values have been totally dislocated while the unbridled achievement consciousness has driven a wedge between the self and the others. Egoism, clannishness, selfishness, bureaucratic corruption, graft... now constitute the grammar of conduct and the standard of morality²⁶

In a strict sense, moral or attitudinal corruption is referred to as corruption of the conscience or corruption of consciousness a situation whereby there is anarchy, chaos and doom in a given nation. The problem in urban cities has worsened, or created conditions which favour moral depravity e.g. the desire for employment; the wish to show wealth through acquisition of women the flamboyant demonstration of materialism in the midst of poverty.

1.2 The Concept Democracy

The term democracy derives from the Greek words 'demos' meaning "people and 'Kratia' meaning rule."²⁷ Thus, etymologically speaking, democracy has come to be reckoned with as rule by the people, it has on this basis being credited and regarded as a workable system of government for all and sundry, that is, democracy has come to be seen as the government that entails the essentials needed for the day-to-day political activities of every country. However, the basis for this is not far fetched, it owes largely to the belief

that democracy allows for the participation of every one. The implication of this is that the governance of the state resides in the hands of the people and this is the argument advanced for the entrenchment of democracy in any given polity. The argument that brings about the consensus that is largely ascribable to the adoption of democracy as the best kind of government stems largely from the ranging debate among political philosopher and this center the question: which form of political system is best compatible with a system of good governance that cuts across every society. There are two main forms of democracy which we are going to analyze as follows.

1.1 Direct Forms of Democracy

In general term "direct democracy" usually refers to a situation where citizens partake in making policy decision in person, without going through representative and legislatures. The classic examples of this is the New England Town Meeting where anyone from the town who wants to show up to debate and vote on town policy can do so. Direct democracy proposals tend to focus on voting schemes that would allow widespread, virtually continual voting by millions of citizens.²⁸

1.2.2 Representative Form of Democracy

Representative democracy is a form of government founded on the principle of elected individuals representing the people as opposed to either autocracy or direct democracy. In many representative democracy, leaders are most commonly elected in election by a plurality of those who are both eligible to cast votes and actually do so. A representative democracy that emphasizes individual liberties is called 'Liberal democracy'. In liberal democracies, representatives are usually elected in multi-party

election that are free and fair. The power of representatives in a liberal democracy is usually curtailed by a constitution or other measures to balance representative power.²⁹

Going by the definition of democracy and the tenets of liberal democracy, are we practicing democracy in Nigeria? Has Nigeria ever conducted any free and fair election? Do we have anything called 'checks and balances' in Nigeria government today? Is mafianism not taking over Nigeria democracy today? What we have presently in Nigeria is patron-client relationship between leaders and their so called godfathers which has become a pestilence to democracy in Nigeria. Can Nigeria politics ever be free of corruption?



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CHAPTER TWO

CAUSES OF CORRUPTION AND THE NATURE OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

2.1 Causes of Corruption

Corruption is one of the social problems that stares humanity in the face. It is a global problem with certain destructive tendencies in the third world countries like Nigeria. But the rate of corruption in Nigeria is so alarming that one is constrained to ask; is there anything specifically in the nature of Nigerians that makes them to be so corrupt? There is a common belief among people that poverty is one of the major causes of corruption. Here, it is argued that there exists a great deal of poverty among Nigerians in almost every segment of their societal life. In Nigeria today, it is just a few families that can afford three square meals a day, wear good clothes or enjoy the basic necessities of life such as water, good road network and electricity.¹ Hence, everyone takes to corruption. It is in view of these that we shall analyze the causes of corruption as follows.

2.1.1 Political cause

Under the political causes of corruption we have the following causes.

a. The origin of corruption in Nigeria: the colonial period.

Colonialism could be said to be the primary cause of corruption in Nigeria. The colonial masters in the first place brought with them complete imposition of the foreign ideas on the whole of Africa including Nigeria. It alienated rich African cultural values tradition and ideas that promote the spirit of brotherhood, hospitality and solidarity among them. African society in its communalistic spirit which upholds the sacredness of life and the dignity of human person.²

Although, one cannot rule out the fact that traces of corruption were also found in African society as earlier mentioned. However, the arrival of the Britons were not favourable to a great extent to Nigeria. It is not as if we are neglecting the impact made, but it's policy of "divide and rule" (indirect rule) encouraged speedily the growth of corruption. The British set about establishing local chiefs, creating tribes and gave room for tribal conflicts. The Chiefs were given room to exploit the natives, thus inculcating in them the spirit of dictatorship, autocratic and being authoritative which is highly noticed today among our leaders. The result today is that our leaders see themselves as superior majesties. Some of them could go to any length to suppress their subjects and use them as beasts. Leadership for them is not a matter of sacrifice or service, but a way of projecting oneself for selfish interest.³

Another seed of corruption planted in Nigeria was that of exploitation and embezzlement of nation's resources. In the first instance, the few Nigerians hired by the colonial civil service found the civil service structure as an avenue for the exploitation of Nigerian resources on behalf of the imperial over-lords.⁴ Nigerians were thoroughly schooled in this culture of exploitation that the public service was variously described to mean "it is not my father's job", so, one was not expected to be overly loyal and certainly not protective of the entire matter of the public service business.⁵ The result today is that any Nigerian who happens to be given a key as an opportunity to a mass wealth and make himself and his family comfortable. He does not even see the need for accountability and proper management of government properties.

b. The Problem of leadership in Government

In the words of the famous African Novelist, Chinua Achebe, "The trouble with Nigeria, is simply and squarely a failure of leadership".⁶ It is not that Nigeria cannot rise above the line of poverty. It is not even that Nigeria is lacking that natural and human resources to enhance development it is just because of the unwillingness or inability of Nigerian leaders to rise to the level of being responsible and the challenges of personal example, which are the hallmark of true leadership, thus, the problems of responsible leadership in government".⁷ has been the cause of high rate of corrupt practice in Nigeria.

To a great extent, the greater percentage of the problems in Nigeria today is as a result of incompetent, insincere and ineffective leaders. For most Nigerians, the reason for contesting for any political post is not serve the motherland, but rather an avenue to acquire wealth and riches.

Karl Maier also towing the same path as Achebe, laid a big portion of blame to the leaders as given rise to the problem of Nigeria. He writes:

*In Nigeria the blame for its lost generation falls squarely on the shoulder of it's peoples leaders, corrupt military dictators and their civilian accomplices in who over the past quarter of a century have humbled a once proud nation through out right incompetence and greed.*⁸

Nigeria, often called "Giant of Africa", is no doubt, the largest black nation on Earth with abundant natural and human resources. Yet, this acclaimed giant of a developing nation has refused to develop. It is becoming increasingly clear that at the root of stunted growth, social, economic and political misery is being caused by failure of leadership. Nigeria has experienced both of the so-called leaders in the regimes was able to handle the situation of the country. There have been series of instable government resulting from countercoups, antagonism, dictatorship anarchism and manipulations in order to secure

political seats in government. Any leader that comes into power comes with new policies and ideas. There is lack of continuity in the whole governmental system. Nigeria is yet to experience democratically elected government where the needs of the masses will be focused on. There is an unstable government in the present dispensation owing to the fact that the present ruling party People's Democratic Party (PDP), the president and his ruling cabinets are not making any positive headway towards achieving a responsible, government. In the last two elections (2003, 2007), it was characterized with rigging, thuggery and hijacking of ballot boxes, fraud, violence, loss of lives and so on in most part of the country.⁹ Most of the governors, and other contestants did all they could to maintain the second term.

In a nutshell, a critical examination of the situation of our political leaders shows that there is an irresponsible act of governance in the whole process. It has contributed to the growth of corruption characterized by embezzlement, kickbacks on contracts, rigging of election results, instability in political structure coups and counter coups etc.¹⁰

C. Political god-fatherism

Political god-fatherism is yet another strong phenomenon that has encouraged the growth of corruption in the country. According to Edward Awugosi, "the nation (Nigeria) is faced with yet another teething problem of political god-fatherism which like a harmattan fire, is fastly spreading to every state of the nation at the expense of our hard earned democracy".¹¹

The situation of politics is based on money being spent and not on the ground of competence. As a result, any individual who is campaigning for political office has to be

financially buoyant. In order to achieve his own political goal, he must surrender his will to the consent of political god-fathers. An agreement is to be reached on paying a certain amount to the political sponsor(s) when voted into power. Failure to comply warrants an immediate petition and attack against his government.¹²

An example of this is the Nigerian styled patron-client relationship which nearly truncated Nigerian democracy in June 10th, 2003. A self- confessed godfather, Uba employed thugs and Nigerian police to abduct his godson, Chris Ngige, who was the elected governor of Anambra state. Onwumere reported that, Ngige's sin was his refusal to allow Uba to nominate all political appointees, take the largest share of state's allocation, and instantly pay him a sum of N2.5billion; the claimed cost of installing Ngige as governor. Their loyalists embarked on a battle of "iron" and "steel". The state became a war zone, innocent lives were lost, houses were set ablaze, and Anambra state became ungovernable for weeks. It was not a case of two fighting, but a desperate godfather (Uba and his troops consuming everything at their reach when it became clear that his investment was gone down the drain. The only solution the federal government proffered was the threat to declare a state of emergency in the state.¹³

This factor has caused the problem of unstable government and irresponsible leadership in Nigeria. The truth remains that, in Nigeria politics, before one is qualified to contest for any elective post, the demands of these hidden men must be adhered to. Most often, there exists tension and clashes among the political godfathers of the different parties. In such situation, innocent Nigerians died in the cause of these conflict.

2.1.2 Economic Cause

a. High Rate of Unemployment in the Country

In Nigeria today, there are many jobless people roaming the streets. Most of them have good qualifications and are capable of being productive in the labour services. As a result of frustration, some of these young men and women engage themselves in corrupt practices such as prostitution, robbery, internet fraud (Yahoo. fraud) and so on, in order to survive. Corruption therefore, becomes the only means of survival in order to make ends meet at the end of the day.

Every human being by nature has to work and be given employment in order to earn his living. If he is capable of working. The state, on the other hand, has the duty to promote man's temporal welfare and also provide the proper earthly conditions in which every citizens capable of working will be free to work in order to earn his livelihood. Let us look at the number of graduates Nigeria is producing yearly and yet there is no job opportunity. According to W. Soyinka, "we have graduates who have graduated for four, five years who do not even have where to lay the heads let alone securing jobs."¹⁴ The struggle now becomes the survival of the fittest which leads to bribery, extortion and godfatherism. Yet those who are already into the service do not want to retire for young graduates to come in.

However, the Nigerian government is yet to realize a full dream in the labour system

Where her citizens will gain employments and work decently for a living. The limitation on this note has given room for high number of corrupt practice in the nation.

2.1.3 Religious Cause

Since the time of independence, there has been series of religion crisis in Nigeria between the Muslims and Christians. The problem has been so aggravated that in 1987, being worried about the consequences of continuous religions war which have claimed

lives and properties, the federal government established a National Advisory Committee on Religion Affairs (NACRA) charged with the responsibility of making necessary recommendation and seeking possible ways to harmonize the religions cultural interests and mutual co-existence between the Christians and the Muslims.¹⁵

Historically, Islamic religion came into Nigeria about 11th century to Kenen Bornu and in the 14th century to the Hausa land. By the 17th century, Islam was already a state religion in the north because the rulers accepted to rule according to its tenets.¹⁶ However, despite this show of devotion, the rulers were syncretic. This lapsed particularly among Sarki in Hausa land, led the ambitious reformer Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio to seize power in 1804. Between 1810 and 1817, Shehu established a Muslim administrative system based on the Sharia, Hadeth and Sunna. This was the system, which Lord Lugard later adopted and called indirect rule. Given the paucity of personnel and finance at his disposal, Lugard expediently involved the Muslim leadership in the British colonial government. In brief, this pointer out how the Muslims have dominated the Nigerian government in political affairs and considered themselves as champion leaders of this nation.¹⁷

However, Christianity began actively in Nigeria in 1842 with the arrival in badagry of missionaries of the western mission society (WMS) and the church missionary society (CMS). Other Christina Mission followed soon after and within a short period, the southern part of the country was a bechive of missionaries activities. Christian mission advance into Northern Nigerian was not too successful because the colonial administration was protective of Islam. Where there were no restrictions, the mission established themselves fast by providing welfare services such as education, health care, orphanage and old people's homes.¹⁸

From the above assertion, one could see clearly that the division of Nigeria into North and South had its own religion foundation. In a way, this has influence the political turmoil in the country. This diversification of religions groups in Nigeria has encouraged the speedy growth of corruption in Nigeria. In the first place, the two religions are foreign to the land of Nigeria. They have brought their distinct doctrines, which have indoctrinated the rich part of Nigerian tradition religion.

Moreover, the cause of the endless religions crisis in Nigeria has been the antecedent of the Islamic Sharia Law and its strong declaration in the Northern state. The Sharia is the Islamic legal code. The 1979 constitution recognized the validity of Sharia in the north, and provided for a line of appeal. Provision for a Sharia appeal court was also made in the constitution of 1989. The report of the 1994/95 constitutional conferences made reference to it too.¹⁹

Today, the Muslim fundamentalists have attempted to enforce on Nigeria as the practice of the Sharia. They have enforced the Christians particularly those living in the northern states to practices Sharia law. The result has become endless crisis, terrorists attack and wars among the native. At different points in time, there have been various incidents in which the Muslim and the Christians in Nigeria have engaged in conflicts. Corrupt practices of different kinds have merged as a result of the controversy of the two religions. Apart from the countless numbers of Nigerians who have died in the cause of the crisis, properties worth billions of naira are being destroyed in each of the crisis. What a pity!

A practical example of this religions crisis is the issue of Boko Haram. Boko Haram is a little-known Islamist sect while attacked a police station in Nigeria's Northern state of

Bauchi on 26 July 2009. The incident led to a four-day armed struggle between state security forces and members of the militant group, spreading to three other states Yobe, Kano and Borno and leaving as many as 800 people dead. The militant attacks which followed the arrest of several of its members targeted mainly police stations, government building and churches in the four states. Boko Haram, which roughly translates as 'Western education is a sin', rejects Western influences and values and seeks to overthrow the federal government. The sect appears to be an outlet for young often educated, but unemployed people to express dissatisfaction with the establishehmt.²⁰

2.1.4 Social Cause

The Influence of foreign Nations

Corruption continues to thrives strongly in the country due to the influence of the developed nations of Europe and America Nigerian leaders have been greatly influenced by the Western ideologies and policies. Most of our leaders have built mansions, factories and have hidden billions of dollars in foreign banks. They have helped to develop the Western World, leaving behind our nation Nigeria. The president, ministers and governors have made so many indefinable trips to Europe and America.²¹

Strongly indoctrinated by the western ideology, Nigerians have been politically deceived into believing that only the white man could guarantee the decision that is good for them; only the white man's land is inhabitable; only the white man's continent is secured. With such a kind of influence, most of Nigerian leaders are used indirectly in building the Western world. They are used as 'saboteurs' in perpetuating the unjust oppression and exploitation of the native land. They are used as negative tools to hold in constant check the pace of political economic development in Nigeria.²²



The Multiplicity of Ideologies for the Nation

Also, due to the numerous ideologies, there is lack of continuity even in our government. Each regime that comes into power immediately abandons the old plans or ideas of the past administrators and brings out its own imaginative ideas or plans incoherently. For instance, during the Babangida's administration, he came with structural adjustment programme (SAP), Directorate for good roads and rural infrastructures with billions of naira spent for this very purpose. Obasanjo also came up with new ideologies to curb corruption Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) Economic and Financial Crimes Commissions (EFCC).²³ Also, Yar'adua presently has come up with his 7 points agenda. In actual sense, our leaders have been bringing out good plans, but the problems is lack of implementation. For instance, the issue of rebranding Nigeria. What the Nigerian leaders need is an ideology that will be unique in handling our problems, ensuring a continuity in governmental functions and a healthy growth towards sustainability in economic and political spheres.

2.2 Effects of Corruption in Nigeria Structure

It is no doubt that corruption has become a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian society. It has become so rampant that is seen as a normal way of life for the people. This to a large extent has affected the Nigerian structure adversely that amidst the rich and natural resources we have in this country, the economy is very bad because of corrupt practices of both the leaders and the followers. In view of these we shall analyze the effects of corruption in Nigeria structure as follows:

2.2.1 Economic Structure

Corruption has so permeated our economic and business structure today to the extent that, people are often scared of products that are made in Nigeria. This is because most of these products are adulterated because of the quest for profit making. Some producers do not value human life, all they are interested in is money. A practical example was that of a cough syrup "My Pickin" which recently claimed the lives of so many children who used it. It was lately discovered that a dangerous chemical was mixed with the content of the syrup all in the quest for quick money.²⁴

Also, expressive of corruption is the many cases of Nigerian business tycoons importing fake and expired product into the country. In most cases, the goods smuggled in are adulterated. As a result, so many Nigerians have suffered terrible sickness and others have died due to these fake and expired products such as foods, drinks, and drugs etc. In the course of time, the Nigeria government has set up different control agencies such as; Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), National Drug and Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), National Agency for Food Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). These agencies are working but lacks sufficient enforcement personnel and needed materials to apprehend the defaulters.²⁵ The Nigeria business world is still being characterized with corrupt persons. For these set of people, what matters in business is making money and it does not matter how this is made for them, there is no ethical consideration in business enterprises such as the respect for human dignity, justice and the promotion of brotherhood.

2.2.2 Political Structure

For most Nigerians, politics is a dirty game and a beehive of evil people. The truth is that Nigerian political structure is corrupt. This Nigerian politics is geared towards

acquiring wealth and not in the sense of patriotic service to the nation as believed by most people. Before elections, politicians can go to any extent to secure power and achieve their political ambitions. During the time of their campaign rallies, money is displayed, people are bribed with money or other food items and others are paid heavily to assassinate their fellow man. If politician (in Nigeria) are to bribe each other or the public in order to be elected to office, it will be reasonable to assume that they will try to recoup the amount they spent, and any system that is corrupt will break down...²⁶ This explains why politics in Nigeria is a matter of "do" or "die" affair characterized by violent attacks, hatred, greed and injustice.

In most situations Nigerian politics is based on tribal identity. Political parties are formed based on this conception for the Hausa, an Igbo man is not qualified to be elected to any political post. It is also applicable with the Yoruba man and vice versa. The minority tribes' political rights are being denied. It has aggravated corrupt practices in politics in Nigeria to the extent that politics is no more a matter of moral competence but tribal variations. As rightly observed by Alhaji Shehu Musa Yar'Adua"

From the first republic to the second republic, parties were regionally based. If you were a northerner, for example, and you are not a member of the NPN, you were seen as a betrayer of the North... If you were a Yoruba and you were not in Action Group or UPN, you are also accused of the same thing...²⁷

This presents the unjust structure of Nigerian political system. Persons are being voted not based on competence but on how your money influences the masses. In most cases, ballot boxes are seized, election result is rigged and so many vices are committed.

2.2.3 Social Structure

In any given society where there is moral degeneration, moral decay or violation of moral standard, such a society is drastically affected. Hence, its social structures is affected in this sense. Nigeria is broadly affected not just in the economic or political structure, but also its very social structure has been affect by this unfortunate phenomenon. A critical observation of the state of infrastructure in our institutions of learning, hospitals, administrative secretariats, public corporation and organizations and so on, will show clearly the deteriorating and dilapidating state of Nigeria. There are poor road net-work systems, electricity, pipe-borne water supply, communication network, air lines and so on. Disheartening enough is that, billions of naira to budgeted annually for these, yet, they are being diverted to private pockets.²⁸ The worst areas of these scence are the western and eastern parts of the country. The condition of Niger Delta people for instance quite lamentable. This is where the greater part of oil revenue comes, yet, the people lack sufficient basic amenities like, water supply, electricity, shelter food and so on. The federal government is not doing anything practical to the plight of these people despite the movement made by the people and the out cries for alleviation.²⁹ The outcome of the amnesty for the Niger-Delta militant is still hanging. These has remarkably shown the that the Nigeria social structure is already decaying and crumbling.

2.2.4 Religion Structures

Corruption has come also in religions structures as impostors and false prophets, evangelists and healers have filled our country in order to enrich themselves. It is not a matter of faith building in the people, but a medium to siphon them and make money from them. Today, religion has become a business enterprise for profit making. It has been used as a means of acquiring wealth, promoting social status, power, fame, honor and so on.

In every part of the country, most especially the southern and western parts on the street corners, market squares, school buildings, uncompleted buildings, town-halls hills and so on, churches abound. There are numerous fake preachers, pastors, self-proclaimed messiahs, archdeacons, patriarchs, self arrogated spiritual healers etc. in every nook and cranny of the nation. They camouflage themselves in the name of religion, defrauding cheating and stealing in God's name. churches have become 'dens' of robbers, instead of God's houses of worship. Some healers make of performing miracles such as creating babies, curing sicknesses, making the lame to walk, the blind to see and so many unfulfilled but promised miracles. Today, churches are being used as a social clubs for public entertainment and political campaigns.³⁰

In most Nigerian churches today, heavy taxes and other levies are being asked from the people. Those who make foul wealth come to display it in the church; salvation is being bought; miracles are dished out and not prayed for the founder of a church is the proprietor of the business, a physician and a consultant. When you go to some prayer houses to see the 'man of God', you are charged to pay gate fee, consultation fee before the main payment is made after being prayed for the more churches we have it seems the more problems we create for ourselves.³¹

Before we conclude this chapter, we like to analyze the evil consequences and challenges of corruption to Nigeria:

2. Institutional under-development

The truth that Nigeria is grossly an under-developed nation despite the rich human and natural resources which she is endowed with, is not an overstatement. The cankerworm (corruption) has caused the problems of under-development of this nation in all facets of

life. It has made many to believe that Nigeria is a dead country and a hopeless nation. (Corruption has caused the decay and dereliction within the infrastructure of government and the society in physical, social and human terms. Corruption has caused the downfall of this nation. The various institutions such as schools, hospitals business centers, organization, corporation, offices and so on are dilapidated. The money allocated for such projects are most often being embezzled.

Chinua Achebe, in his novel "No Longer at Ease" described this ugly situation this phrase almost found on the lips of all "everybody is doing it".³² This happens in both public and private places. In administrative offices, our top officers practice frauds, cheating or stealing of funds.

As one travels on Nigeria high ways, there are frequent police check points and barricades. They are not concerned with checking arms and smuggled goods but only and travelers. Nigeria is gradually becoming another "Sodom and Gomorrah". Corrupt practices are considered normal ways of life. Crimes are being celebrated as banquets. There is a complete failure in the practice of law in our law courts. The problems of the power holding and insufficient power supply still remains a perennial problems in this country; the roads are bad causing high rate of accident. Indeed, Nigeria is completely the verge of total collapse.³³

b. Political Instability

The chaotic and disgusting state of this nation right from the time of independent has been the abnormal situation that has presented the unstable nature of our government and the failed democracy all this while. The Nigerian political structure is not built on a solid foundation and thus, the various instances of political turmoil, anarchy and chaos

during elections among the native tribes. Democracy is also yet to be actualized in its full dream since parties formed during electoral process are rather motivated by the strong factors of cultural variations/tribal differences and other individual motives such as the south-south, south-west, north and middle belts, which are the true hall marks guiding politics in Nigeria.³⁴ In the course of history, we have experienced both the military and civilian government yet, none of these have made great impact that will really move the nation to a positive end. This is because of the instability in our political system from the formation of political parties to the very act of governance.

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CHAPTER THREE

CORRUPTION AND DEMOCRACY: THE NIGERIAN EXAMPLE

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, attention will be focused on the notion of the crisis of democracy in relation to corruption in Nigeria. Also, in the latter part of this chapter, we shall analyze ways of curbing corruption for Democratic sustenance in Nigeria, which will focus mainly on the ethical implication of corruption on democracy.

3.1 Economic Perspective

a. Embezzlement of National Resources

Some Nigerian leaders, no doubt, see public offices as a place to amass wealth and not a place for patriotic service to the nation. Many of them steal the nation's funds and stash them in foreign banks. People struggle, fight, kill in order to get to the top and eat out of the "national cake". The leaders embezzle money meant for the development of the country thereby leaving the country dry, poor and stagnant without any economical or social development.¹ This problem hinders true liberal democracy whereby everyone sees himself or herself as being competent to lead not because of the interest to lead but the interest in the government money. In the report given by the World Bank, it was discovered that the greatest percentage of looted money discovered in foreign banks, Nigerian leaders were the highest among the rest of African leaders.²

One can then imagine the numbers of Nigeria politician, businessmen and top officers who have stolen the nation's fund and stashed it in foreign banks. This amount of money if invested in this country constantly would help to alleviate the situation. Yet,

Nigeria with a population of about 120 million continue to live in abject poverty amidst the bountiful natural resources than any other African country.

b. The Problems of Accountability

Another factor, which shows the weak structure of Nigerian Democracy, is lack of accountability. The mentality of some people is that public offices are places to make money, leaders eat freely and unquestionably from the treasure that is meant for the good of the state without accountability. They embark on foreign trips that are undefinable using the nation's funds without given adequate account.

Interestingly, the federal government makes budgets with billions of naira yearly. Also, monthly revenue allocations are shared to states in billions, yet there is no instance where the account is rendered to the public on how these monies are being spent. Lack of accountability in any area of life shows irresponsibility and it will slow down any form of development and hinders true liberal democracy.³

3.2 Political Perspective

It is different for Nigerian to practice a true democratic government that is free from the intervention of the military that is dictatorial or tyrannical, let's go down memory lane, forty-nine years of independence no doubt, has brought to force some reflections on both the life and future of Nigeria. While it can be argued that the country has made some democratic gains, it could be said to have created problems for the people of the country.⁴

However, very many people would agree that what has happened in the last forty-nine years could best be described as an attempt at democracy and not democracy itself.

Olugbenga Isaac has this to say:

Whatever gain the nation has recorded pertaining to democracy came with a lot of pains, because Nigerians

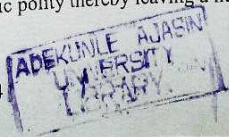
having been treated like serfs by the military overlords for nearly thirty years can barely see the much touted gains in terms of improvement in their daily lives."⁵

As a matter of fact, some believed that nothing has changed except that democracy rather than solve their problems created more miseries for them. For one, the nation is enmeshed in corruption and leadership dysfunction.

Nigeria after nine years of wobbling and fumbling democracy is at best bed-ridden. She has refused to walk and work, as each step she intends to take is amputated by the monstrous corruptible tendencies that have continued to dwarf her aspiration and fortunes. Looking into Nigeria's future is like peeping into horoscope of disaster. We foresee a fragmented Nigeria if the injustices in the land are not redressed. Imagine a nation of about 120 million people without a constitution prepared by them except the one handed down by their military tormentors, there have been strident calls for a constitutional review but those who profess to love Nigeria more than Nigerians have refused to heed the calls.⁶

The current experience in Nigeria's dubbed Democracy has given the country away as a nation of instability. As noted by Olughenga Isaac: it is evident that the nation cannot continue to be in a position to represent Africa in any global institution, because the attention is now shifting towards south Africa, and recently Ghana where there is relative peace and economic development".⁷ Since Nigeria politics is not free from military intervention, the problems of leadership and how to lead the nation successfully towards a full prominent. Our civilian leaders have been indoctrinated with the policies of military. Thus, our present government is nothing more than dictatorial or tyrannical rule dressed in the elegant plumage of democracy.

Similarly, G.O. Ozumba noted that: "This Psyche of military corruption and autocracy has found its way into our democratic polity thereby leaving a negative legacy in



our body polity".⁸ The result today is that Nigeria is at the risk of being ruled even in this civilian dispensation by the "military-civilians" which is a sad commentary on progressive leadership in our democratic setting. Civilians though are ruling the present dispensation. Yet, the policy of rule is rather military oriented.

3.3 Curbing Corruption for Democratic Sustenance

The "Transparency International" (TI) has back-listed Nigeria as one of the most corrupt country in the world.⁹ corruption has become an household name for public officers, a way of life for most people to the extent that legislating against it is tantamount to depriving some people the lots of enriching themselves from the common purse. This part of the essay will focus on ways of minimizing corruption and it's effect of Democracy.

3.3.1 Ethical outlook

Ethics is a traditional branch of philosophy which studies the oughtness of human actions.¹⁰ Ethics and moral here will be used to mean the same things. That is, interchangeably. Morality is the consciousness that certain ways of behaviour and certain kinds of actions are wrong and should be avoided. While some other form of behaviour and other kinds of action should be encouraged. Again, we say morality is the awareness that good done are encouraged. This awareness is natural because it is a part of rationality, which is an essential elements of human nature. Hence, we come to the realization that the way we ought to live has to be in accordance with the act considered as good. Man is a moral being and thereby should seek the interest of the general society.

From the above ascertainment, we can deduce that man must be a moral, not only is man by nature, a rational animal, but he is also by nature a social being who cannot but live in the society. To Aristotle, "he who is unable to live in society or who has needs because he

is sufficient of himself must be either a beast or a god? Thus man by nature is the foundation of the society. Every organized society is structures out of moral principles as its foundation, and to live in any society implies an implicit undertaking, a social contract to observe this moral principles. Hence, immoral acts are anti-societal, destroying the foundation of the society. The lesson from this is that corrupt practices in Nigeria are anti-societal, antithetical, and immoral. According to Omoregbe, there are problems, we are bound to face if we remove morality from democracy:

An immoral society is also sock society by an immoral society, we mean a society permeated with corruption, dishonesty, fraud, selfishness and other immoral acts.... If a country is sick morally, it can only be cure through a moral regeneration.¹¹

We can thus assert that once we take away morality from democratic government, we do not have a government anymore but all that we are left with is a gang of criminals and treasury looters.

The value of democracy includes freedom, fairness, equality, justice, rule of law etc. and this in turn serves as the criteria for measuring how closely knitted a state is with democratic ideals. Nigeria democratic practice contradicts the dictates of democracy. With the ushering in of democratic government in Nigeria after several failed attempts in 1999, the expectations were rife and well spelt out, and they include better well being of the people. Concepts such as housing scheme, healthcare services, provision of basic amenities such as good roads, water, and electricity, provision of employment, food and clothing, better salaries schemes, freedom from oppression, accelerated development, to mention a few were expected of the government. These expectations owed to the abundant natural and human resources Nigeria has, as such, the general belief is that were democracy given

the chance to thrive, Nigeria would pass as one of the most developed nations in the world.¹²

Similarly, this inadvertently necessitated the expectations of millions of Nigerians that finally democracy would lead Nigeria to the promise land. This expectation by Nigerians owes largely to the general belief that democracy entails the principles that actually help in societal development. However, our experience runs counter to this expectation because of the level of corruption in Nigeria.

3.3.2 Conscientization and Moral Education

Nigeria is a nation with many thoughtful men and women of good conscience a large number of talented people. Most of these people have contributed immensely in developing the Western World. Yet, our country remains underdeveloped. Why is it that all these patriots make little or no impact on the life of our nation? Why is it that the good men and women among us seems so helpless about our ugly situation while the worst people, full of vile energy continue to take control of our land?

Like Kwame Nkrumah, we need "consciencism" like Plato, we need moral education, like Immanuel Kant, Nigerian educated elites must wake up from their dogmatic slumber.¹³ To handle the confrontational problem bordering our land. In the words of Chinua Achebe:

All those enlightened and thoughtful Nigerians who wring their hand in daily anguish on account of our wretched performance as a nation must bestir themselves to the patriotic action of proselytizing for decent and civilized political values.¹⁴

In this regard, a good, sound and moral education will help our leaders including every Nigerians to be conscious of the fact that, we all must put hands together to work for the progress of the action. Moral education will teach Nigerians to develop self-confidence,

have faith in themselves and also promote the moral norms of our society. This will help us to understand that we are equal to people of other races of mankind and that we have every potential we need to develop our nation and move it to a greater height other countries of Europe and America.

Conscientization is referred to the act of being informed with the value systems problems and the possibilities of solving these problems through a personal reflective and conscious effect.¹⁵ In his essay, *Consciencism*, Kwame Nkrumah argued for a philosophical Consciencism as being important for African liberation from the menace of colonialism and imperialism which have caused both the economic and political subjugations.¹⁶ Consciencism, he argued presents a theory for consideration of alternative choices necessary for African development.¹⁷ Our leaders must be disciplined, vision oriented selfless, reformatory, proactive and effective for the development and progress of this nation.

In the words of R.S. Peters, one of the famous philosophers, "Our educational system should be applied to practical life situation.¹⁸ It should be "wholistic" rather than acquiring certificates or being able to read and write only. Education of this kind is described as the inculcation of something valuable and no one can correctly be said to be educated except he has changed for the better".¹⁹ Our leaders must achieve personal liberation, and personal encounter with the people through mutual dialogue. They must be conscious of the plight of the suffering masses and their duties to serve them.

3.3.3 Liberal democracy

One of the strongest elements to ensure a free, and fair liberal democracy in Nigeria is to change the leadership style of this nation. We must have responsible leaders of

national consciousness. But to achieve this target, it must be from free and fair election. What we have presently in Nigeria is contrary to this. We find out that INEC has embodied within it fraudulent activities in Nigeria such as manipulation of results, massive rigging, streamlining of political parties and other anti-societal vices.²⁰ It thus becomes problematic and undemocratic for an electoral commission to actually facilitate and involve itself in such unprecedented acts of maliciousness. But that explains and capture the so-called Nigerian democracy.

In a workshop in Abuja, on civil society mobilization towards 2009, organized by the U.S based National Democratic Institution (NDI), the American Ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. John Campbell reminded Nigerian political leaders that "free and fair elections are a pre-requisite for the respect a country earns in the comity of nations".²¹ The ability to conduct free and fair election is one of the biggest challenges Nigeria has to contend with. The truth remains, corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigeria. In order to minimize it, sincere, committed, purposeful and effective leaders must be put in place.

3.3.4 Creation of job opportunities

There are so many Nigerians who roam around the streets jobless. The government should expand the labour force of the nation by creating more job opportunities. Those who cannot secure jobs should be encouraged and supported to engage in business, farming handcrafts, arts and skill development and so on. It brings great discouragement to see students struggle through school without proper learning facilities and yet graduate with jobs. This has caused brain-drain in Nigeria because people will opt for countries where they can secure jobs.

A pragmatic leader is one who is conscious of the needs of his people whom he governs. He is conscious of his duty to serve and applies his policies, ideas or plans into practical results. This has posed a challenge to concerned Nigerians who remain hidden among the evil people who are misleading this country to doom. It has also posed challenge to some of our politicians who called our ears with promises that remain unfulfilled after being elected. This challenge goes to the entire masses of Nigeria who follows shadows during campaigns because they are being bribed. A pragmatic leader is one who sees beyond embezzlement who wants to server rather than being served. A pragmatic leader who say he loves his country without meaning it. He is one according to Achebe "who cares deeply about the happiness as well being of his country and all its

claims.²¹

The term "pragmatism" is coined from the Greek word "pragma" meaning "action."²² It was first used in the 19th century in the American philosophy of which it major proponents were Charles Pierce, William James and John Dewey. Pragmatism is understood as the workability usefulness or practicability of ideas, policies, proposal or

3.3.5 A call for pragmatic leaders

Likewise, our leaders should embrace merit rather than favouritism which has caused ineffectiveness in both private and public sectors. The government should also diversify our economy rather than depending solely on petroleum as the only source of income for the nation. One of the problems in Nigeria has been the unjust treatments and poor remuneration of workers. Therefore, both federal and state government should see to it that the Nigerian workers are justly paid and regularly too. This will help to reduce the rate of scaling and defrauding of nation's funds.

people.²⁴ Patriotism is an emotion of love directed by a critical intelligence. A true patriot will always demand the highest standards of his country and accept nothing but the best for and from his people.

True patriotism is possible only when the people who rule and those under their maintaining the dispensation under which the nation lives. This will, in turn, only happen if the nation is ruled justly, if the welfare of all the people rather than the advantage of the few becomes the corner-stone of public policy. This kind of leader will help foster democratic development.

3.3.6 Individual Participation

In an attempt to curb corruption, all hands must be on deck, that is everybody both young and old, this government and the governed must participate effectively and contribute their quota toward democratic sustenance of the country. Also, it shall be welcome development if the necessary authorities and all the people in position of trust will be to enforce policies and discipline starting from individual families to all the entire facts of life; in the family, parents as well as all adults should be try to live by example they should try and inculcate value in their children. If the parents are corrupt, it takes the grace of God for the children not to follow the trend because most children see their parent as their role model. The issue of "God" here propels us to discuss some very important points in curbing corruption.

The two foreign religions groups in Nigeria namely Islam and Christianity have being at war since their arrivals into this country. The Muslims and Christians should work for dialogue love and mutual co-existence among themselves. They should imbibe the good value of what religion ought to be, re-examine their extreme absolutism in their religion

conception of doctrinal differences and they should think of the ultimate reality of religion without absolving its particular expressions.²⁵

It has been noted that one of the causes of corruption is poverty: Nigerian leaders should find ways of alleviating poverty by assisting people with low-interest credit facilities. Scholarship scheme should also be put in place for students whose parents cannot afford to send to school.²⁶ Government should put in place basic amenities for the well being of all. Until these basic needs are met for an average Nigerians, there will be no ways of minimizing corruption.

To win the war against corruption, adherence to ethical standards in decision-making must be the foundation of the nation policies. Everybody must cultivate the "I can" attitude and put everything together (moral and value) in order to fight and win the war on corruption. Hence, for Nigerians to reap full benefit of a democratic government, there is need to fight corruption. And if this democracy we are clamouring for is anything to by, we must fight it tooth and nail. It is the role of INEC, ICPC and EFCC to combat corruption. These office should be effectively managed without seeing some people as above the law.²⁷ This will bring about democratic sustenance in the country.

This crisis going on presently in Jos is a typical example of how people can be ignorant. Religion should not be seen as a weapon to cause chaos in the society in as much as one of the fundamental rights of a citizen is freedom of association everyone should be free to join any religions group which he/she sees right without fear of victimization. Religions discrimination is one of the greatest problems Nigeria is currently facing because anywhere this crisis is happening, the economic growth of such place will be stagnant.

What do we expect from someone whose properties has been destroyed other than frustration which can lead to social vices.

Karl Marx asserted that crimes grows out of poverty and unjust treatment of the masses.²⁸ For him, these are product of capitalism and its attendant class inequality. Therefore it is the "social fabric" that should be dealt with rather than individual criminal the declaration of Karl Marx in this regard are;

*Punishment, in this regard, has been defended as a means either of ameliorating or intimidating. Now what right have you to punish me for amelioration or intimidation or others..... is there not a necessity for deeply reflecting upon an alteration of the system that breeds crimes, instead of glorifying the hangman who executes a lot of criminal to make room for the supply of new one?*²⁹

The submission of Marx above is that we should reflect on criminality and thus construct a theory that is capable of addressing the cause of crimes with a view to eradicating crimes. Without crimes there will be no criminals and without criminal the institution of punishment will be useless. Some people are being punished unjustly, innocent soul die daily in detention whereby the real criminals are out there enjoying there freedom and ill-gotten wealth. How long are we going to continue with these when we want a corrupt free democracy?

Everybody who sees him/herself as a citizen of this great nation should strive in his/her own little way to stop corrupt practice because it is little drops of water that make a mighty ocean.

We should stand and fight corruption and stop looking around for ways of acquiring wealth at the detriment of others. As Christians and Muslims, we should fight for a reduction of corruption instead of killing ourselves all in the name of religion. Teachers and

lecturers should stop victimizing students, and student should see their lecturers as their role model thereby discouraging cultism and terrorism. There must be understanding and co-operation among Nigerians to create an enabling environment that will ensure adequate security for everybody.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

4.1 Summary

In this essay, attempts have been made to design a system of understanding corruption as it affects Nigerian Democracy, and to search if the concept of corruption could serve as a problem to the Nigerian democratic culture. In chapter one for instance, attempt was made in defining the term corruption and democracy and to rigorously scrutinize the types of corruption and its history in Nigerian right from the pre-colonial period. This chapter also clarifies the types of democracy there is. This clarification is though expedient as such to aid our understanding of the subsequent parts of the essay, and consequently points out if democracy is the best form of government.

Chapter two specifically discusses the causes of corruption and the nature of democracy in Nigeria. This was done by highlighting and analyzing the cause of ineffective democracy which is as a result of corruption. Similarly, this chapter also discuss the effects of corruption on the structures of Nigeria which range from political, economic, social and religion structure.

The central task of the third chapter sought to situate corruption and democracy within the Nigerian context. The need arose from the conviction that corruption cannot be eradicated from the Nigerian structure in the sense that it has being in existence right from the onset. This chapter therefore critically analyze ways of curbing corruption for democratic sustenance through ethical outlook and liberal democracy. Consequently, the chapter was able to demonstrate that corruption is an impediment on Nigeria democratic

development. The chapter proposes that with the urgency of curbing corruption in Nigeria, there will be a way forward in Nigerian's democratic development.

2 Conclusion

In our discussion so far, we have demonstrated how to make an ideal democratic government in Nigeria. In order to achieve this there is need for the system to awaken its consciousness, by minimizing the issue of corruption within the context of the Nigerian states. This cannot be achieved without the participation of everybody. The research essay has revealed the evil behind the concepts of corruption in the Nigerian democratic tradition which serves as an hindrance to Nigerian democratic development.

In conclusion, it is a clear understanding on this note that corruption is an aberration to the contemporary Nigeria democratic development; hence, it should be minimized.

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