

Nigeria, Corruption and Bad Leadership

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria, since its independence in October 1960 is still battling with myriad of problems among which are corruption and bad leadership. Nigeria was under the British colonial rule of Lord Frederick Lugard who was the governor of both the Northern and Southern Protectorates from January 1, 1914 until independence in 1960. It is saddening to note that over 104 years after amalgamation, the country is still grappling with national identity, insecurity, corruption, and bad leadership, which has led us to where we are now, as a third world country or developing country. When things are working well in a country, it is because the leaders are doing what is right. Everything rests on the leaders, and to think otherwise is to think amiss, because leaders determine and provide the direction others should go and the speed at which they move. Corruption will thrive and take root in a country where the leadership is corrupt, while on the other hand, uprightness will take root in a country where the leadership celebrates uprightness. Therefore, it is trite knowledge that whatever the leadership encourages grows while what it frowns at declines. This is just the plain or absolute truth.

KEYWORDS: *Corruption, Pragmatic leadership, Insecurity, Amalgamation, Protectorate, National development, Public sector, Bureaucracy, Vote-buying*

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is greatly blessed with both human and material resources that are begging to be harnessed by purposeful, creative, and innovative leadership. Leadership that is based on the cultural values of the people and takes a “bottom-top” approach holds the key to unlocking the development quagmire Nigeria has found itself [1].

Nigeria, officially called the Federal Republic of Nigeria, covers an area of 359,699 sq mi (923,768 sq km) with a population of 222,486,000 (2023 est.), and capital in Abuja, as shown in Figure 1. There are more than 250 ethnic groups in the country, which include Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, and Fulani. English is the official language. Religions practiced are Christianity, Islam and traditional beliefs. The country came under British control in 1861 and was made a British colony in 1914. Nigeria became independent in 1960 and a republic in 1963. Ethnic strife soon led to military coups, and of which the military ruled the country from 1966 to 1979 and from 1983 to 1999. There was the outbreak of the

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civil war between the Federal Government and the former Eastern region, Biafra, from 1967 – 1970, which ended in Biafra’s surrender that led to the death by starvation of about a million Biafrans.

In 1991, the capital was moved from Lagos to Abuja by the then Head of state, Ibrahim Babagida. The execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1995 by the government of late General Sanni Abacha led to international sanctions, and civil rule re-established in 1999 with the election of a president.

There were protests in the oil producing region of the Niger Delta due to oil pollution as well as increased friction between Muslims and Christians after the adoption of Islamic law (the Shariah) by some of the northern and central states. Nigeria is of mixed economy based largely on petroleum production, agriculture, and low manufacturing. Services, trade and transportation employ more than two-fifths of the workforce. Nigeria as a Federal Republic has two legislative bodies i.e. the National Assembly and the

House of Representatives: its head of state and government is the president. The country had been inhabited for thousands of years and was the centre of the Nok culture from 500 BCE to 200 CE and of several pre-colonial empires, including Kenem-Bornu, Benin and Oyo. The Hausa and Fulani also had states. Nigeria was visited in the 15th century by the Europeans, and became a centre for the trade in enslaved people [2].

WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?

Leadership is the state or position of being a leader. Leaders show or blur the way. A good leader must show the way for others (i.e. the followers) to follow. The pushing of leadership responsibility to the followers is a failure of leadership, since the followers are to take a cue from the leaders. Even when the initiative for a change comes from the followers as in the case of a people-led revolution, some members of the masses must still lead the change. This still boils down to the issue about leaders and nothing less. In Nigeria, some of the leaders who occupy these positions may appear to have good leadership traits, but are ill-equipped for it.

SOME IDENTIFIED PROBLEMS WITH NIGERIA LEADERSHIP

Some of the identified problems with Nigerian leaders are [3, 4]:

- **Self-centeredness:** The foundational problem with Nigerian leaders is self-centeredness, they are not in leadership position to service but about self aggrandizement, and for selfish motives to have a share of the national cake. Leadership platform is to serve as an opportunity for leaders to improve the lot of the populace, but which they use to feather their own nest – this tantamounts to corruption of office and offenders must need face the punishment under the law, regardless of status/position, etc. For example, the current legislators on assumption of office increased their salaries when the masses are suffering for the increase in petroleum pump rise after removal of oil subsidy. Also, those in the executive arm of government deploy security vote to serve their own interests, making the state and the people poorer for it, because they are goaded by their greed. Gerald Brooks, a leadership teacher and pastor, said that “When you become a leader, you lose the right to think about yourself.” – this kind of admonition or mentality cannot and does not make sense to an average Nigerian leader.

In Nigeria, as soon as a political leader is sworn into office, he/she starts to make plans for his/her re-election for the second term. Instead of settling down to work for the electorate, they start scheming to win

the next election. Hence, plan to brainstorm for the good of the people and execution of projects will suffer, leading to collapsed infrastructure and retrogression in the society.

- **Non-sacrificial:** Apart from leaders not self-centered, they must be willing to make some sacrifices for the sake of the people, as leadership without sacrifice is nothing. Sacrifice is the hallmark of great leaders. Great leaders of most developed nations use their resources to effect positive changes in the lives of the people they lead, while an average Nigerian leader is unwilling to sacrifice anything, but instead would want to profit from the system through manipulation.

President Nelson Mandela, as a case study, is acclaimed a global hero, not for being behind the bars for 27 years, but principally because of the sacrifices he made to make South Africa great. After his election as president, he constituted the Truth and Reconciliation Committee to investigate crimes of the apartheid years. This was set up not to retaliate, but to help South Africans come to terms with their past on a morally acceptable basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation. Instead of using his office to deal with his persecutors, he used it to forge cohesion in the country. As a good spirited leader, President Mandela, while in office, took time to visit the last Apartheid President, Pieter Botha; he also visited Betsy Verwoerd, the widow of Hendrik Verwoerd, the brain behind apartheid. Mandela was also a guest of Percy Yutar, the vindictive persecutor who had tried to have him executed at the Rivonia Trial. An average Nigeria leader would rather keep their perceived political enemies in the gulag, or even assassinate them than to reconcile, which is a sign of lack of political maturity. After spending just one term in office, President Mandela did not run for a second term, but handed over to his younger deputy, Thabo Mbeki. This is not feasible in Nigeria as such a Nigerian leader would hold on to office, even if age is not on his side, but would rather want to die in office.

- **Lack of interest in continuous self-development:** Most of Nigeria leaders are not interested in continuous self-development which is a general malaise in the country. Leaders should take it as a challenge and duty to develop themselves, since what they know will determine what they can do and achieve. For a legacy-minded leader, self-development must be seen as a sine qua non. One of the critical criteria for leadership is being ahead of others intellectually, as this will enhance the leader’s ability to solve problems. Leaders with undeveloped minds will lead his country into

under-development. In this case, late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the former premier of Western Region, was totally committed to self-development. Chief Awolowo once said that “the trouble with many of our youths is that they sleep too much, play too much, and indulge too much in idle chatter and gossip.” He advised every educated young Nigerian to spend at least 8 concentrated hours on work, plus at least 8 hours in serious study, creative leisure and self-development [5].

NIGERIA ABUNDANT RESOURCES

Nigeria has no reason whatsoever not be among the developed nations today, as the country is abundantly blessed with human and natural resources. Some of these resources are kaolin, limestone, bauxite, tin-ore, coal, iron ore, crude-oil, natural gas, columbite, etc [6]. Petroleum was first discovered in 1956 and is the most important source of government revenue and foreign exchange. The country has vast arable land suitable for agriculture, has many rivers, ponds, lakes and seas. Despite the immense human and material resources of the country, Nigeria still lags on the ladder of global development, as evident in low level of economic and technological advancement. Nigeria in recent years has been trying to diversify its economy away from oil and gas towards other sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and other sources.

There is a nexus between good political leadership and national development. The developed countries that are economically and technologically developed have good political leaderships, such as the United States of America, Great Britain, Canada, Germany, France, Japan, United Arab Emirate (UAE), Singapore, etc. In these advanced countries, if there are decline in the quality of education in their schools, healthcare sector or economic downturn, the citizens will hold their leaders accountable, because the ultimate sovereignty rests with the people, they will vote out those bad political leaders during periodic elections. But in Nigeria the reverse is the case, where our political recruitment processes are hinged on the culture of imposition of leaders on the populace, cum vote buying, election rigging, ballot box snatching, bribing of electoral officials, among several others. In the emergence of national leaders in Nigeria are the interplay of religion and ethnicity at the expense of capability, competence, etc. Nigeria at different periods, have been led by Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’adua, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, and Muhammadu Buhari, based on our egregious variant of democratic culture of imposition of leaders on the populace, apart from military

interventions. Bankruptcy in leadership has brought Nigeria into economic stagnation and the quagmire of technological backwardness [7].

Political parties and their delegates are the cause of serious harm to Nigeria as they have presented bad leaders that have caused insecurity as a result of the corrupt practices of vote-buying. Nigerians should

focus more on political parties’ primaries and hold their delegates responsible and accountable for maintaining integrity in the election process. One of the major challenges of democracy in Nigeria is the process of electing the best (effective or pragmatic) leaders. Vote-buying has now become part of Nigeria’s electoral system, as Rotimi Amaechi, a former Minister of Transportation and presidential aspirant of the All Progressive Congress (APC), stated that delegates were bribed to influence the outcome of the convention. In the same vein, Mallam Lanre Issa-Onilu, the APC’s National Publicity Secretary accused the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) of deploying \$111 million to buy votes. The rationale for embezzlement and corruption has gotten to a ridiculous level. For example, in early 2018, one of the leaders of The Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB), claimed that 36 million naira was swallowed by snakes, while another official in 2019 claimed that a gorilla went into their office and swallowed 6.8 million naira.

It is fair to note and state that since 1999 there have been many efforts to fight corruption, of which one of such effort is the establishment of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), the Nigeria Police, and other law enforcement agencies such as the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) who are making serious efforts in fighting corruption. The level of insecurity in Nigeria can be tied to bad leadership and corruption, which is one of the major reasons it is still difficult today to defeat banditry, herdsmen attacks, and terrorism. In 2017, the Transparency International (TI), a German-based non-governmental organization, discovered that Nigerian military officers, politicians and other elites have enriched themselves by diverting money that was meant to fight terrorists. Some of the military leaders were arrested and tried, but surprisingly nothing came out of the trials.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in Nigeria has been trying in improving and making it more difficult to rig elections. The politicians have become desperate and eager to pay higher amounts in buying votes and people’s consciences. To overcome the menace of corruption,

insecurity, and bad leadership, the political parties and their delegates need to be checked because they are the gatekeepers that open the doors for bad leadership choices [8].

ROADBLOCKS TO DEMOCRACY:

There are many roadblocks to a strong democracy in Nigeria at all levels of government. Conflict – triggered by political competition and communal, ethnic, religious or resource allocation rivalries – pose a major threat to democracy. Corruption is said to pervade the daily lives of Nigerians. Government institutions do not adequately engage with citizens or the private sector and also lack the capacity to carry out their mandates. The civil society as well lacks both the capacity and the resources to effectively engage with the government and advocate for change, while their efforts to push for inclusive governance have been seen in some ways [9, 10].

VIEWPOINTS ON THE CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP, CORRUPTION, AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

Whether in business, government or in not-for-profit organizations, it is commonly agreed that leadership is needed at all levels of organizations, if such organizations are to ably respond to the challenges in the society or market-place. That is, leadership is akin to a dynamic process in which people come together to pursue changes and, in doing so, collectively develop a shared vision of what the world (or some part of it) should be like, making sense of their experience and shaping their decisions and actions. Thus, as Cole 1997 posited [11]:

“Leadership is a dynamic process at work in a group whereby one individual over a particular period of time, in a particular organizational context, influences the other group members to commit themselves freely to the achievement of group tasks or goals.”

According to Amuwo 2005 [12] and Obayelu 2007 [13], defined corruption as the exploitation of public position, resources and power for private gain. Fjeldstad and Isaksen 2008 [14] and Ogundiya 2009 [15] defined corruption as “the betrayal of public trust for individual or sectional gain.” Obayelu further identified corruption as “efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of power for private benefit.” Corruption covers a broad spectrum of activities ranging from fraud (theft through misrepresentation), embezzlement (misappropriation of corporate or public funds) to bribery (payments made in order to gain an advantage or to avoid a disadvantage). From a political point of view, Aiyede 2006 [16] viewed corruption as “the abuse or misuse of public or governmental power for illegitimate private

advantages.” This is collaborated by Lipset and Lenz 2000 [17] that corruption is an effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private benefit at public expense. Corruption is said to be global in scope but more pronounced in developing societies due to their weak institutions. This is minimal in developed nations because of existing institutional control mechanisms which are more developed and effective.

Unfortunately, Nigeria since independence in 1960 to date, has not had any good governance because “good and strong leaders” have never been in the saddle as opined by Ebegbulem. From the country’s democratic experiment in 1960 to military regimes and back to democracy as practiced today, Nigeria is unfortunately been managed by narcissistic and corrupt leaders, who accumulate wealth at the expense of national development without deference to the basic needs of the masses. The leaders have criminally managed the affairs and resources of the country while the people are made to wallow in absolute poverty, illiteracy, hunger, rising unemployment, avoidable health crisis, and insecurity as indicated by the sustainable development goals in Figure 2.

HISTORY OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA:

The history of corruption in Nigeria dates back to 1954 as per the report by the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) 2007 [19]. Late Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, who was then the leader of government business, later elected the first premier of then Nigeria’s Eastern Region, was accused by the Chief Whip of that region’s House of Assembly of using his position to transfer government funds to support the African Continental Bank, in which he allegedly had a substantial personal interest. There was also orchestrated cases of corruption investigation of probe of ministers and other public functionaries in the old Western Region, instituted by the military’s sole administrator, appointed in 1962 and found most of them guilty of corrupt self-enrichment during their tenures. Following the recommendations of the probe panel, the identifiable fixed and movable assets of those found guilty were seized and sold by the government as a means to recover some of the losses and to serve as deterrence against such practices in the future. The entrance of the military in Nigeria political domain did nothing to assuage the propensity for corrupt behavior.

The first attempt by the military to purge itself of its corrupt officers/elements was carried out by Murtala Mohammed-led military regime which probed all the military governors who served in Yakubu Gowon’s administration. All but two were found guilty of

corrupt self-enrichment. Some of their properties were seized and they also lost their military ranks.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari civilian administration or regime came to power from 1979 to 1983 was adjudged one of the most corrupt in the country and was overthrown by the military coup that brought Muhammed Buhari to power in December 1983 because of unprecedented level of corruption.

The military regime of Muhammed Buhari introduced and enforced draconian military decrees. The regime also eroded the fundamental rights of citizens through arbitrary arrests without trials, while some very top military officers when caught committing legal violations were left untouched. As a result of this, another military coup brought in Ibrahim Babangida. During his regime, corruption also flourished more than the preceding regimes, due to (i) his long, nine-year tenure of his regime and huge oil revenue, and (ii) the oil windfall caused by the Iraq War in 1991. A whopping sum of US\$12.67 billion earned during the war could not be accounted for, and this became the subject of a national probe by a later regime. The report of the probe panel is yet to be made public. It was later alleged that the panel's records of proceedings and recommendations were "lost." Furthermore, the Babangida regime sent a wrong signal to public officials that corruption in the public sector was a forgivable offence when he released the properties seized from the indicted military governors who served in Yakubu Gowon's regime. Babangida also restored their lost military ranks, and tendered a national apology to the indicted officers. Corruption continued to exacerbate and became a national culture.

On the list of high-profile corrupt Nigerian leaders in the fourth republic by Agbor 2012 [20, 21], argued that the notoriety of Nigeria's corruption by its elected and appointed leaders led to the country ranked 143 out of 182 countries by Transparency International's 2011 Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Most governors and some senators in Nigeria at one time or another have been arraigned by the EFCC. Ike in 2010 estimated that by 1999 past Nigerian leaders had stolen or misused \$407 billion or 225 billion pounds – equal to all western aid given to the continent of Africa. According to Ike, leaders of the first and second republics were relatively not as corrupt as evidenced in the third and fourth republics has gradually shown the byzantine kleptomania and "lootocracy" by those supposedly entrusted with the national till. Thus, showing that Nigeria's entire public and private sector are completely enmeshed in corruption [22]

NIGERIA'S CORRUPTION LEVEL:

Corruption has been identified as a major challenge to national development in Nigeria as stated by Seteolu 2004 [23]. For more than fifty years, corruption has manifested in bribery, graft, treasury looting, subsidy and pension theft, money laundering, advance fee fraud, general indiscipline, favouritism and nepotism. The deep rooted nature of corruption and its drawbacks has earned Nigeria all manner of rankings by the eagle-eyed and whistle-blowing global corruption monitoring agency, Transparency International (TI), which placed Nigeria as the fifth most corrupt nation among 100 countries in the world in 2005. The corruption culture has earned the country the catch-phrases such as "sorting," "kleptocracy," "settlementocracy," and "contractocracy." Corruption has been in the country since the pre-colonial era and down to the post-colonial era [24, 25].

The issue of education, leadership, and governance were paramount to Awolowo's political thought. As opined by Akinjide Aboluwodi 2012 [26], Awolowo saw the test of good governance in terms of the preservation of a peaceful and just social order with a wide range of opportunities such as liberty, fairness, good education, and legal equality among others. Awolowo believes that corruption arises when a leader's mind is not developed. Corrupt minds crave for earthly desires and are enslaved by their instincts and emotions because they are swept by the tides of their desire and impulse. He stated in his quotation "Any system of education which does not help a man to have healthy and sound body and alert brain and balanced and disciplined instinctive urges is both misconceived and dangerous" [27]. Awolowo approached Nigeria's political development from the standpoint of social transformation, namely;

1. The removal of ignorance and illiteracy among the citizens, and
2. The education of the leaders.

Good governance is defined in terms of adherence to accountability, transparency, the rule of law, and human rights policies. It is also traced with love, social justice, equity and fairness. He contended that if a man's body is developed, but his intellect and mind are not developed he stands to be exploited. On the other hand, if a man's mind is developed, but the intellect and body are not developed he becomes a religious fanatic, pessimistic and fatalistic. Those who engage in terrorism for religious purpose (Boko Haram) fall within this category. Awolowo 1968 stated that "A greedy, corrupt, and evil administration is bound to wither, sooner or later in the face of obsessive desire and mounting clamor on the part of

the masses of the people for a welfare regime that will benefit all equally.” Awolowo probably forgot that a disciplined leader may sometimes turn out to be inefficient administratively especially when he lacks what Robbins and Judge 2007 classified as “a highly analytical mind, a compelling vision and terrific ideas” [28]. Apart from the moral leadership traits that leaders require today to change the face of the country, nevertheless, there is still the need for such leaders to have vision, foresight, dynamism, pro-activeness, emotional intelligence, and empathy to turn things around.

Government policy makers decide what should be done in order to respond to people’s demand for economic, social, political, and developmental progress of the nation. A policy should be an outcome of political process which must satisfy the following criteria:

- It must be analytically based,
- It must be politically acceptable,
- It must be socially credible,
- It must be economically viable,
- It must be environmentally suitable, and
- It must be sustainable.

Late Chief Obafemi Awolowo was a man who proved his originality, depth, and audacity of thinking in many areas, which denote much riches and complexity of his expostulations, the sophistication and thoroughness of his policy formulations. He mentioned that one of the evils of political life of leadership and good governance in Nigeria is the material greed of politicians which is as a result of lack of intellectual enormity [29].

IMPACT OF CORRUPTION:

Corruption negatively impacts national development. Its cost is beyond the financial implications, as it has social, cultural, and political drawbacks that have overall consequences on the development of the nation. Some of these effects are [30, 31]:

- Poverty, inequality and the burden of governance.
- Economic and structural underdevelopment, as evident in bad roads in Figure 3.
- Inability to control other kinds of crime.
- Indebtedness to other nations.
- Failure of institutions to work.
- Poor services and productivity.
- National security risks.
- It hampers the attainment of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
- Economic loss and inefficiency.
- Personal loss, intimidation and inconvenience.
- Impunity and injustice.
- Negative effect on investment in general.
- Foreign trade and aid.

The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) categorized corruption into three parts i.e. grand corruption, petty corruption, and political corruption. The agency came up with the following three dynamic effects of corruption to include [32]:

- Lower governance effectiveness, especially through smaller tax base and inefficient governance expenditure.
- Weak investment, especially Foreign Direct Investment.
- Lower human capital as fewer people, especially the poor, would be unable to access healthcare and education, as evident in Figure 4.

FIGHTING CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA: THE WAY FORWARD:

The Nigerian people have for so long been passive about corruption by the political elite. This evil, embodied within the frameworks of patron-client relationships as well as “God-fatherism” and vested interest has been a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the very fabric of the Nigerian state for more than half a century, preventing her from developing economically, socially, and politically within the paradigms of a modern liberal democracy she claims to represent, as shown in Figure 5. Going by the 2009 report by the Transparency International (TI), it was estimated that the amount of \$40 billion was paid in bribes by multinational corporations to Nigerian politicians for their operations within the country. We know what is right but do the wrong things instead – this is a natural human characteristic. We need to understand this, then set-up systems that are impervious to our manipulations i.e. systems that will force us to do the right thing.

The following bills as proposed by Tam Alex will help curb corruption [33, 34]:

- The “Government Expenditure and Revenue Transparency Act” anybody that runs fowl of the Act after due process of investigation should go for a 5 year jail sentence.
- The “Public Officer Assets Declaration Act” – All public officers i.e. with career civil servants, political appointees and elected officials from the level of Assistant Director must declare their assets. Any discrepancy would lead to a 5 year jail term, and forfeiture of all the assets to the government.
- The “Bribe, Report and Acquire Act” – The Act is to work on the greed of the Nigerian people. When anyone collects a bribe or gives a bribe, the first to report to the nearest police station gets 95% of other’s total net worth. The Act is to make bribery breed distrust between the giver and the recipient.

- The “Recallment Act” – This Act is to make use of invocations mechanism to recall any candidate from office if he goes against the will of the people as in the 1999 Nigeria Constitution, Chapter 5, Parts 1 and 2, Sections 69 and 100. Sensitive positions such as that of the President, Vice President, Governor, Deputy Governor, Chief Justice of the Federation, INEC Chairman, Inspector General of Police, etc, should be selected by rigorous process of using nominating and selecting committees (who must be apolitical).

Nigerians must come out of their shells and act on their rights to go on strike, not come out for elections, take to the streets of Aso Villa (for a peaceful and tech-smart protest – as done in Romania in 2018), and seek help of the International Justice System to indict our political elite. This would eventually pave the way for us to achieve political stability to create the environment for true economic, and infrastructural development, among others.

Some of the ways out of corruption are:

- Expose corrupt activities and risks.
- Keeping the public sector honest, transparent, and accountable.
- Stop dishonest practices.
- Ensure public sector employees act in the public best interest.
- The Nigerian Media operators should do more in the area of investigative journalism so as to uncover corruption and bring them to the public domain.

Corruption can also be fought through strategic and effective public education to ensure change of attitude, showing people the true and damaging effects of corruption. Young people, in particular, should be brought on board to begin to build a new culture, vis-à-vis [35, 36]:

- By strengthening regimes to prevent corruption and bring actors to justice.
- Enhancing international cooperation and partnership.
- Denying looters safe haven.
- Recognizing reform.
- Leveraging coordination and learning to combat corruption.

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FIGURE 1. MAP OF NIGERIA

Source: <https://www.mapsofworld.com/nigeria>



FIGURE 2. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGs)

Source: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu>



FIGURE 3. BAD ROADS IN NIGERIA

Source: <https://saharareporters.com/2021/06/30/top-7>



FIGURE 4. PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THROES OF POOR INFRASTRUCTURE

Source: <https://guardian.ng/features/education/public>



FIGURE 5. NIGERIA INFRASTRUCTURE CRISIS

Source: <https://www.ft.com/context/3d304f0ae446-1...>