



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

---

**INYUVESI  
YAKWAZULU-NATALI**

**Political Corruption in Nigeria: Examining the Causes  
and Consequences on Development from 2010 to 2015.**

**Asanda Mazeka**

**219077309**

**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Social Sciences in Political  
Science.**

**School of Social Sciences**

**College of Humanities**

**University of KwaZulu-Natal (PMB campus)**

**South Africa**

**Supervisor: Mr Siyabonga Ntombela**

## **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY:**

I, Asanda Mazeka, hereby declare that:

The research presented in this thesis is entirely my original work, and all sources of information drawn from other researchers have been appropriately acknowledged.

This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other institution of higher learning.

This thesis does not contain any work authored by others, except in instances where:

- (a) Their ideas or information have been paraphrased or rephrased to support the study and are properly cited.
- (b) Their exact words have been quoted, enclosed in quotation marks, italicized as necessary, and duly referenced.



Student

06/03/2025



Supervisor

10/03/2025

## **Acknowledgements**

*“Psalm 103. Praise the LORD, O my soul; all my inmost being, praise his holy name. who satisfies your desires with good things so that your youth is renewed like the eagle's. The LORD works righteousness and justice for all the oppressed. The LORD is compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in love.”*

I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, for His unending grace and favour in my life. This journey was far from easy, but He continually gave me the strength to persevere. For this, I remain eternally grateful.

I am profoundly grateful to everyone who has supported and guided me throughout this research journey.

Firstly, I extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Mr Siyabonga Ntombela, for his insightful mentorship, constructive criticism, and unwavering encouragement. His guidance was instrumental in refining my ideas and shaping the direction of this study. I am forever grateful for your assistance and for always willing to go above and beyond to assist me. Without your guidance, the quality of this dissertation would have never been completed in such a satisfactory manner.

To my family and friends, especially my mother (Sizakele Khumalo), my father (Lungisani Mazeka), and my girlfriend (Noluthando Khuzwayo), your support and encouragement have been a pillar of strength during this challenging academic endeavour. Your belief in my abilities has been an unwavering source of motivation.

Additionally, I acknowledge the contributions of scholars and researchers whose works have provided a foundation for my study. Their research and publications have been invaluable resources for this project.

This research would not have been possible without the collective support and contributions of these individuals. I am truly thankful for their role in my academic growth and this achievement.

## ABSTRACT

This study explores the causes and consequences of political corruption on Nigeria's development from 2010 to 2015, focusing on the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan. Utilizing a qualitative approach, this research adopts a desktop study design, incorporating Prebendalism, the Two Publics Theory, and the Political Alienation Theory to frame its analysis. Secondary data sources, including policy documents, peer-reviewed publications, and credible media reports, were methodically examined to uncover the underlying drivers of corruption, its developmental impacts, and the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures during this period. The findings reveal that entrenched prebendal practices, weak institutional frameworks, and widespread political alienation fuelled systemic corruption, resulting in economic stagnation, governance inefficiencies, and heightened insecurity, such as the proliferation of Boko Haram insurgency. Despite existing anti-corruption policies and legislation, enforcement mechanisms proved inadequate, further entrenching corruption. The study underscores the need for strengthened institutional capacity, enhanced political accountability, and measures to address socio-political alienation to achieve sustainable development in Nigeria. By providing critical insights into the interplay between corruption and development, this research offers practical recommendations for policymakers, scholars, and civil society actors committed to fostering good governance and combating corruption in Nigeria.

### **Keywords:**

Political Corruption, Nigeria, Prebendalism, Two Publics Theory, Political Alienation, Goodluck Jonathan, Development, Boko Haram, Terrorism, Anti-Corruption Strategies, Governance, EFFC, Loot, Public Office Holders, Causes, Consequences, Public Officials.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<i>1.1 Background.....</i>	<i>14</i>
1.1.1 Statistical overview of corruption in Nigeria.....	18
<i>1.2 Statement of the Problem.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>1.3 Research Questions.....</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>1.4 Research Aims and Objectives.....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>1.5 Motivation and Justification of the Study.....</i>	<i>25</i>
1.5.1 The government of the nation-state of Nigeria.....	26
1.5.2 The general public.....	26
1.5.3 Researchers of the future.....	26
<i>1.6 Definition of key terms.....</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>1.7 Limitations of the study.....</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>1.6 Chapter Layout.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>34</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	34
2.2 Meaning of Corruption.....	34
2.3 Classifications of Corruption.....	37
2.3.1 Private Corruption.....	37

2.3.2 Public Corruption.....	39
(i) Bureaucratic Corruption.....	41
(ii) Military Corruption.....	42
(iii) Political Corruption.....	44
2.4 <i>Historical Evolution of Political Corruption in Nigeria</i> .....	46
2.5 <i>Root Causes and Developmental Impacts of Political Corruption in Nigeria</i> .....	48
(i) Historical Factors.....	48
(ii) Institutional Weaknesses.....	48
(iii) Socio-Economic Factors.....	49
(iv) Cultural Norms and Values.....	49
(v) Lack of Political Will.....	50
(vi) Globalisation and International Organised Crime.....	50
(vii) Inadequate Civic Engagement.....	51
(viii) Failure of Leadership.....	51
2.6 <i>Consequences of Political Corruption on Development</i> .....	53
(i) Governance Quality.....	53
(ii) Institutional Effectiveness.....	53
(iii) Socio-economic disparities.....	53
(iv) Public trust.....	54
(v) Democratic consolidation.....	54
(vi) International reputation.....	54
(vii) Security issues.....	54
(viii) Impediment to sustainable development.....	54
2.7 <i>Political Corruption as a Catalyst for Terrorism in Nigeria</i> .....	56

2.7.1 The Boko Haram Insurgency.....	58
2.7.2 The Fulani Herdsmen.....	60
2.8 <i>Examples of Political Corruption Cases in Nigeria</i> .....	62
2.8.1 Grass-Cutting Scandal - Babachir Lawal.....	63
2.8.2 Abdurashheed Maina.....	63
2.8.3 The Dasukigate - Col. Sambo Dasuki.....	64
2.8.4 Alison Madueke’s Loot.....	64
2.9 <i>Relationship between the Boko Haram insurgency and political corruption during President Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) political administration</i> .....	65
2.10 <i>Analysis of Anti-Corruption Legislation and Strategies in Nigeria</i> .....	68
<b>3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>72</b>
3.1 <i>The Theory of Two Publics</i> .....	73
3.1.1 Application to President Goodluck Jonathan’s 2010-2015 political administration.....	75
3.1.2 Influence of the Primordial Public.....	76
3.1.3 Interaction Between the Civic and Primordial Publics.....	76
3.2 <i>The Theory of Prebendalism</i> .....	77
3.2.1 Application to President Goodluck Jonathan’s 2010-2015 political administration.....	80
3.3 <i>The Political Alienation Theory</i> .....	82
3.3.1 Application to President Goodluck Jonathan’s 2010-2015 political administration.....	84
3.4 <i>Summary</i> .....	85
<b>4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>86</b>
4.1 <i>Research Design</i> .....	87

<i>4.2 Research Approach: Qualitative</i> .....	<b>88</b>
<i>4.3 Research Paradigm</i> .....	<b>89</b>
<i>4.4 Data collection</i> .....	<b>90</b>
4.4.1 Academic Journals and Books.....	<b>91</b>
4.4.2 Government and Non-Governmental Reports.....	<b>91</b>
4.4.3 Media Sources.....	<b>92</b>
4.4.4 Policy Documents and Legal Frameworks.....	<b>92</b>
<i>4.5 Sampling</i> .....	<b>93</b>
<i>4.6 Data Analysis</i> .....	<b>93</b>
<i>4.7 Validity and Trustworthiness</i> .....	<b>95</b>
<i>4.8 Credibility</i> .....	<b>95</b>
<i>4.9 Conformability</i> .....	<b>96</b>
<i>4.10 Transferability</i> .....	<b>97</b>
<i>4.11 Dependability</i> .....	<b>98</b>
<i>4.12 Methodological Limitations</i> .....	<b>98</b>
<i>4.13 Conclusion</i> .....	<b>99</b>
<b>5. RESULTS</b> .....	<b>100</b>
<i>5.1 Causes of Political Corruption in Nigeria (2010-2015)</i> .....	<b>100</b>
(i) Highly Vulnerable Institutional Structures.....	<b>101</b>
(ii) Prebendalism and Patronage Politics.....	<b>103</b>
(iii) Oil Revenue Mismanagement.....	<b>105</b>
(iv) Electoral Corruption and Clientelism.....	<b>107</b>
(v) Poverty and Economic Divides.....	<b>109</b>
<i>5.2 Consequences of Political Corruption on Nigeria's Development</i> .....	<b>110</b>

5.2.1 Economic stagnation.....	110
5.2.2 Inadequate Development of Infrastructure.....	112
5.2.3 Deterioration of Public Trust in Government.....	113
5.2.4 Deterioration of Social Services.....	114
5.2.5 Increased Levels of Poverty and Unemployment.....	116
<i>5.3 Relationship Between Boko Haram Insurgency and Political Corruption.....</i>	<i>117</i>
(i) Corruption in Military Funding.....	117
(ii) Radicalization and Disillusionment.....	119
(iii) Corruption in Counterterrorism Efforts.....	120
<i>5.4 Conclusion.....</i>	<i>121</i>
<b>6 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....</b>	<b>122</b>
6.1 Understanding the Root Causes of Political Corruption.....	122
6.1.1 Institutional Erosion and Prebendalism Theory.....	122
6.1.2 Patronage Networks and Ethnic Favouritism.....	123
6.1.3 Electoral Fraud and Democratic Erosion.....	123
6.1.4 Implications for Anti-Corruption Strategies.....	124
6.2 Implications of Corruption on Development.....	125
6.2.1 Economic Stagnation and Capital Flight.....	125
6.2.2 The Role of Political Corruption in Undermining Social Services.....	126
6.2.3 The Impact on Governance and Democratic Participation.....	126
6.2.4 Addressing the Implications of Corruption on Development.....	127
6.3 The Boko Haram Insurgency and Political Corruption.....	128
6.4 Anti-Corruption Efforts and Their Effectiveness To Combat Political.....	129
6.4.1 Strengthening of Anti-Corruption Agencies under President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015).....	130
(i) EFCC's Performance and Successes.....	130

(ii) Limitations and Criticism.....	132
(iii) Institutional Flaws and Capacity Issues.....	133
(iv) Public and Global Perception.....	133
6.4.2 Judicial Reforms under President Goodluck Jonathan (2010–2015).....	134
(i) Establishing Special Courts for Cases involving Corruption.....	135
(ii) Delays and Exploitation of Judicial Processes.....	136
(iii) Politicization and Corruption within the Judiciary.....	137
(iv) Obstacles and Shortcomings.....	137
6.4.3 Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Program (SURE-P).....	138
6.4.4 Pension Reform.....	140
6.4.5 Public Awareness Campaigns to Combat Political Corruption.....	141
6.4.6 Effectiveness of the Anti-Corruption Tactics.....	142
(i) Insufficient Political Will to Implement Reforms.....	142
(ii) Persistent Corruption and Institutional Resistance.....	143
(iii) Public Uncertainty and Discontent.....	143
<i>6.5 Obstacles in Implementing Anti-Corruption Tactics and Solutions for Combating Political Corruption in Nigeria.....</i>	<i>144</i>
(i) Political meddling and an absence of independence.....	144
(ii) Weak Judicial System and Inconsistent Enforcement.....	145
(iii) Cultural and Social Norms Supporting Political Corruption.....	145
(iv) Insufficient Safeguards for Whistle-blowers.....	145
(v) Inefficient Public Sector and Economic Challenges.....	145
6.5.1 Recommendations for Combating Political Corruption in Nigeria.....	147
(i) Strengthening Institutions and Law Enforcement.....	147
(ii) Judicial and Legal Reforms.....	149

(iii) Public Sector Reforms and Transparency.....	151
(iv) Civic Education and Public Engagement.....	153
(v) Political and Electoral Reforms.....	155
(vi) International Cooperation.....	157
6.6 <i>Conclusion</i> .....	159
6.7 <i>Final Discussion</i> .....	160
<b>7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>162</b>
6.1 <i>Summary</i> .....	162
6.2 <i>Conclusion</i> .....	163
6.3 <i>Suggestions for Further Studies</i> .....	166
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>168</b>
<b>Appendix A: Ethical Clearance Certificate</b> .....	<b>177</b>

## **List of Abbreviations**

1. ACJA - Administration of Criminal Justice Act
2. BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation
3. CPI - Corruption Perceptions Index
4. CSOs - Civil Society Organizations
5. EFCC - Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
6. FOIA - Freedom of Information Act
7. GDP - Gross Domestic Product
8. IMF - International Monetary Fund
9. MDAs - Ministries, Departments, and Agencies
10. NEITI - Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
11. NBS - National Bureau of Statistics
12. NGOs - Non-Governmental Organizations
13. NHIS - National Health Insurance Scheme
14. NSA - National Security Advisor
15. NACA - National Agency for the Control of AIDS
16. OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
17. SERAP - Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project
18. SURE-P - Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Program
19. TI - Transparency International
20. UN - United Nations
21. UNCAC - United Nations Convention against Corruption
22. UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
23. UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

24. WHO - World Health Organization
25. ICPC - Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### *1.1 Background*

This research seeks to investigate ‘Political corruption in Nigeria: examining the causes and consequences on development from 2010 to 2015. For the astute academics in the field of political science worldwide who seek to understand the layers of complexity that have caused where this situation began and the causes and consequences it has on development, the widespread prevalence and spread of politically corrupt practices in various sections and regions of Nigeria reflects an enormous challenge. In various regions of Nigeria, political corruption is prevalent in the nation since it affects both official and non-official subsectors as well as both governmental and private practices. Politically motivated corruption in these various regions is the rule rather than the exception (Dandison, 2021). In these regions, the politically corrupt practises that take place denotes a circumstance in which dealing with unethical officials is the only option available to the majority of individuals in those regions and where political corruption is a pervasive component of a state's economic, social, and political system (Smith, 2007 cited in Dandison, 2021). Political corruption is a problem that affects all branches of government and has gotten so entrenched in society's fabric that it has taken on a systemic nature and an integral aspect of the populace's culture across the various regions of Nigeria. In fact, corruption is a global issue that occasionally impacts diverse aspects of any given society, contributing to inadequate development and the quick decline of the institutions and principles that keep society intact (Heywood, 2014). No matter how evolved or not a society is, it exists there in many forms. It is a significant socio-political phenomenon in Nigeria that has had an impact on the development of every sphere of society.

This research will also investigate the relationship between the Boko Haram insurgency and military corruption during the time of former president Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) political administration. The investigation goes on to analyse the covert nature of military spending as well as the significance of political office holders and senior military members in defence and political corruption. There are two major discoveries. First, the principal deception used to divert arms purchase funds was the establishment of alliances involving political elites, serving and former high military officers. Second, the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency has served as a covert intermediary for the redirection of government funding into private coffers, causing the reign of terror to become more challenging, longer, and unstoppable as a result of

secretive benefits connected with defence spending enjoyed by Nigerian political and military cabals.

Nigeria deals with a serious socioeconomic and political development catastrophe that is a result of the issue of rampant political corruption. Corruption in Nigeria is just as old as the nation itself and predated the establishment of the polity by the British colonial rulers as it is in other nations and civilizations. Conventional institutions that were in place before the colonial administration arrived were similarly mired in corrupt behaviour that enabled the traditional monarch to amass riches and power at the cost of the citizens. Colonial power further solidified corrupt practices by constructing a fraudulent and exploitative economic structure. This system enabled the expropriation of enormous profits through the underpayment of Nigerian peasant farmers, small-scale producers, and labourers. Additionally, British and other European firms were granted outrageous firm prices and exclusive privileges to exploit Nigeria's mineral deposits and natural resources (Adaja and Talabi, 2017).

The Nigerian economy has had a period of stagnant expansion regardless of the vast potential of development capabilities and an extensive variety of resources (Dahida and Akangbe, 2013). A portion of this has been attributed to egregious resource mismanagement and corruption inside the nation. The nation has seen a depletion of its material resources for private gain, supported by leaders at all levels engaging in unrelenting levels of self-glorification and personal aggrandizement (Dahida and Akangbe, 2013). It raises the question of why over 70% of Nigerians are still considered to be impoverished, even though the country is ranked eighth among nations that sell crude oil to other countries (Ogbeidi, 2012).

Nigeria has a great deal of unsolved issues related to political corruption. The polity has suffered enormous losses as a result of political corruption. In modern Nigeria, corruption is just a way of life. It has persisted in controlling the nation. It's been tagged with multiple titles. Therefore, euphemisms such as "up front," "kickback," "PR," "Settlement," and so forth are employed or invented to support bribery and political corruption. Corruption penetrates every level of the Nigerian political system, from the receptionist or messenger to the position of director general and all the way up to the presidency (Atelhe and Agada, 2014). Political corruption is a threat that causes a number of problems, including the backlog in the filing system in government offices, police exploitation at tollgates, delayed congestion on the highways, congestion at ports, lines at gas stations and passport offices, the phenomenon of "ghost workers," and anomalies in elections. Therefore, a large portion of the populace thinks

that political corruption is Nigeria's worst enemy. It negatively affects the majority of the impoverished people and results in fundamentally deformed public policy and governance (Atelhe and Agada, 2014). Additionally, it diverts financial and viable for investment resources from the provision of social services like health and education. It is evident that corruption has permeated every aspect of Nigerian society. Individuals and organizations committed to promoting democracy, social justice, reducing destitution, averting conflicts, and fostering international cooperation are fighting political and bureaucratic corruption at all tiers of public life (Atelhe and Agada, 2014). As a result, anti-corruption agencies are necessary to combat and prevent corruption in Nigeria. Similar to other aspects of corruption, it is impossible to compile a comprehensive list of all the methods used because those who engage in it are constantly one step ahead of analysts in terms of developing new methods of operation (Olopoenia, 1998: 19 cited in Atelhe and Agada, 2014).

Citing Salawu (2007), Moyosore (2015) continued to notice that Nigeria's corruption problem in the political domain has prevented its citizens from enjoying the benefits of democracy and, in fact, the natural blessings that the nation of Nigeria is richly and lavishly bestowed. It is a social disorder that has invaded every layer of society and has been discovered to exist even within the highest levels of national administration as a result of unquenchable greed, man's inhumanity to mankind, and the pursuit of political power. Nigeria's position of 146 out of 180 countries examined internationally by Transparency International indicates that it is still one of the most politically corrupt nations in Africa (Campbell, 2020). Election violence and irregularities in different spheres of administration in Nigeria are observed as a consequence of the extent of government corruption, with political office holders doing anything to gain positions that will allow them to continue acts of corruption (G. Simmel, 2004, p. 356). Every capitalist economy has some level of political corruption, which is made worse by the battle for resources for personal gain and accumulation. Since the public sector serves as the main conduit for the implementation of development initiatives and the distribution of financial resources in the nation-state of Nigeria, political corruption appears to be widespread and pervasive among the various ministries, institutions, and divisions that oversee such operations. This is as a result of the significant fight to share in the state patrimony (G. Simmel, 2004, p. 357).

Currently, corruption is pervasive in Nigeria and affects all facets of public life, particularly in the political class. In earlier times, corrupt officials were the rare exception and had to do their unlawful business in a back room or under the table, but currently, according to Olorode (2015), this is no longer the case. It is not just on the surface and open, but it is also done with respect" (p. 13). In Nigeria, elections are frequently marred by brutality, fraud, and rigging, and those in authority frequently utilize public funds to buy their way to power by means of electoral fraud or improper use of legal procedures. Consequently, there is a connection between illicit financial transactions corruption and electoral fraud corruption (Dandison, 2021). More research on the causes and consequences of these two characteristics of political corruption is required in Nigeria since these two elements of political corruption are interwoven and cannot be easily differentiated as they also pose a significant threat to the political development of the nation-state of Nigeria (Dandison, 2021).

‘Corruption is an endemic scourge that has an extensive spectrum of destructive effects on society,’ declared former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in the Foreword to the UN Convention against Corruption through the United Nations Assembly Resolution 58/4 of October 31, 2003. Human rights are violated, and democracy and the supremacy of law are compromised. This illustrates the risk that political corruption exposes societies to. Because of politically motivated corrupt practises and governments' failure to stop it from undermining their countries, societies run the risk of becoming battlegrounds and incubators of terrorism, which is the case for the nation-state of Nigeria. The political corruption in the nation-state of Nigeria and the government’s failure to put an end to this destructive phenomenon, this dilemma gave birth to the Boko Haram terrorist group and the reign of terror in the nation-state of Nigeria.

There has been a huge growth in the amount of literature on political corruption in developing nations since the early 1990s (Doig and Riley, 1999). The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria is what makes this research investigation exclusive from all the other studies carried out on this topic of political corruption, since the governments’ inability to combat the destructive phenomenon of political corruption in Nigeria gave birth to the Boko Haram insurgency. In merely a few years, "Boko Haram" has grown from a non-violent group that declared its hate for Western traditions and values to an increasingly violent sect that poses an imminent danger to the development of Nigeria and the West African area, particularly considering its oath of allegiance to terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. Political corruption occurs when political decision-makers utilize the political influence they possess to maintain

their position of authority, prestige, and fortune (Amundsen,2019). At the highest levels of the political system, there is the presence of political corruption.

In a 2015 speech about corruption in the continent of Africa, José Ugaz, the chairperson of TI, said the following: ‘Poverty and marginalization are caused and made worse by corruption. A luxury lifestyle is enjoyed by corrupt politicians, but a lot of Africans lack the ability to obtain basic necessities including proper sanitation and water supply, food, health care, education, and shelter’ (Ugaz, 2015 cited in Bamidele et al., 2016). Nigeria faces a serious socioeconomic and political development issue in addition to the widespread epidemic of political corruption. Numerous organizations that keep an eye on corruption have called the state one of the most unscrupulous countries in the entire globe (Igiebor, 2019). In Nigeria, political corruption is a hot topic and is held responsible for the high rates of joblessness, destitution, and instability in the nation. Sermons, lectures, and seminars pinpoint the root causes of political corruption and provide strategies for curbing or eliminating it; yet individuals tend not to acknowledge or acquiesce to corruption until they are exposed for the unethical behaviour, they engage in.

### ***1.1.1 Statistical Overview of Corruption in Nigeria***

Corruption in Nigeria has its origins in the pre-colonial era and became increasingly structured during British colonial rule, continuing to evolve in the post-colonial period. The ongoing issue of corruption is evident in numerous metrics, such as global corruption rankings, estimated economic losses, and governance assessments, which highlight the extent of the challenge across decades.

#### *(i) Corruption Perception Index (CPI)*

Since 1996, Transparency International (TI) has included Nigeria in its annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). Over the years, Nigeria has frequently been listed as one of the countries with high levels of corruption, underscoring the pervasive and deeply rooted nature of the issue:

Year	CPI Score (0 = Highly Corrupt, 100 = Very Global Clean)	Rank (Out of Total Countries)
1996	6/10 (60%) - Corruption Perceived as High	Not Ranked
2000	1.2/10 (12%)	90/90 (Most Corrupt Country)
2010	2.4/10 (24%)	134/178
2015	26/100	136/168
2020	25/100	149/180
2023	24/100	150/180

*(Source: Transparency International, 2023)*

The data presented in the table demonstrates that corruption continues to be a deeply entrenched problem in Nigeria, persisting even in the face of numerous initiatives aimed at combating it.

*(ii) Economic Impact of Corruption*

Numerous studies and reports highlight the significant financial losses Nigeria incurs due to corruption:

- A 2019 report by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2019) revealed that bribery costs Nigerian citizens approximately \$4.6 billion each year in unofficial payments to government officials.
- The African Union (AU, 2018) reported that Nigeria experiences an annual loss of roughly \$18 billion as a result of illegal financial activities linked to corruption.
- Findings from the Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI, 2022) indicated that between 1960 and 2019, over \$400 billion in oil revenue was lost due to corrupt practices and poor management.
- The World Bank (2021) estimated that corruption reduces Nigeria’s annual GDP by 2-5%, significantly hindering the country’s economic progress and development.

### *(iii) Notable Corruption Scandals*

Nigeria has been plagued by numerous high-profile corruption cases involving prominent political figures and government officials:

- General Sani Abacha Embezzlement (1993–1998): During his regime, Abacha was alleged to have stolen more than \$5 billion from public funds. A portion of these funds has since been repatriated from Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States (World Bank, 2021).
- Fuel Subsidy Fraud (2012): A scandal involving fraudulent claims for fuel subsidies resulted in a loss of ₦1.7 trillion (approximately \$10 billion) to the Nigerian government (Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation, 2012).
- Diezani Alison-Madueke Allegations (2015): The former Minister of Petroleum Resources faced accusations of embezzling over \$2.5 billion during her tenure (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, 2020).

### *(iv) Public Perception and Trust in Government*

A 2023 Afrobarometer survey revealed the following insights into how Nigerians view corruption and government accountability:

- Approximately 72% of Nigerians feel that corruption has worsened over the last five years.
- Around 63% of those surveyed believe that the majority of government officials are involved in corrupt practices.
- Only 24% expressed confidence in anti-corruption agencies, such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), to effectively address corruption.

The statistical evidence supports the assertion that corruption in Nigeria is deeply entrenched and predates independence, as seen in historical financial losses, high CPI rankings, and public sector mismanagement. Despite various anti-corruption measures, Nigeria remains plagued by corruption, requiring stronger institutional reforms and enforcement mechanisms.

## ***1.2 Statement of the problem***

Political corruption is the unlawful use of official power or control by a public servant or the government to further their own interests, further their careers, or further the welfare of a third party at the expense of the general public, in contravention of their oath of office and/or against

accepted legal norms. It covers a broad spectrum of actions that promote, facilitate, and allow the unscrupulous or egotistical utilization of public offices to obtain different rights and benefits at the expense of other potential beneficiaries (Mwaniki, 2017).

On a global scale political corruption is a major issue, but in Nigeria, it has taken on epidemic dimensions and takes many different forms. The list is extensive and includes extortion, laundering of funds, embezzlement, nepotism, cronyism, and the bribing of public officials (Komolafe v. FRN, 2018). There are numerous forms of corrupt practices. The first is financial crime, which is carried out by individuals within positions of high authority (Sutherland, 1949). The subsequent category is political corruption, which is concerned with electoral misconduct by politically exposed individuals, such as those in positions of power or those who have the ability to influence political power (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2002).

As a result of the pervasiveness of both high (political) and low (bureaucratic) levels of corruption, Nigeria has been unable to enact policies that support good governance and foster development (Dahida & Akangbe, 2013). Due to all of these factors, Nigeria has become what Bassey et al. (2013) equates to as “the tragic story of Nigerian retrogression since its political independence”. This has led to serious concerns that the nation has not developed significantly despite having an abundance of resources, a favourable climate, and enormous wealth from oil, with problems like stagnation, underdevelopment, leadership, and succession crises wreaking havoc on the political system (Bassey et al., 2013; Fagbadebo, 2007; Odeyemi, 2014).

The past of Nigeria is marked by corruption, which has been exacerbated by her interactions with European imperialists. Slave trade, the division of Africa by European powers battling for its borders, and the Christianization of Africa during this period comprised the three phases of the confrontation (Uka, 1980; Ayandele, 1966). In Nigeria, corruption is viewed as a way of existence that transcends any rational explanation. It is a conscious effort to present one side of the debate in such a convincing, consistent, and unwavering way that the learner is prevented from considering other options or more positive ways of living (Dahida & Akangbe, 2013). Whilst traditional and religious values aim to produce individuals who possess respect, sense of self, and ability to think critically and analytically, whilst indoctrination by corrupt officials and their prebendalistic nature in the struggle for authority and exploitation in the offices of the state attempts to stifle the formation of critical and analytical minds (Nmah, 2017).

The phenomenon of political corruption particularly in emerging nations such as Nigeria, the topic has garnered substantial interest in more recent times. Since it has a profound effect on

political, social, and economic development, all rational governments, whatever of size, must address it in order to bring about genuine development. To sum up, social science research has focused more on the issue in the recent several decades. Thompson (1992), for instance, argues that the detrimental impact of political corruption on the government's agencies can be especially harmful and that the harm extends beyond the forfeiture of resources that are misdirected when corruption is thought to be an established norm within a government organization or one of its agencies. The aforementioned claim was further supported by Caiden (2001) and Rothstein (2011), who noted that public administration runs the risk of diminishing the public's confidence in the equitable and unbiased use of public resources and authority as well as its ability to be effective. In a similar spirit, it becomes challenging to ensure adherence to legal requirements or public standards in the public realm. The loss of capable and trustworthy workers or their disinterest in performing duties for the government altogether can have a particularly negative institutional impact on public administration, further diminishing its ability for efficacy and integrity (Quah 2007).

On May 29, 1999, Nigeria inevitably reverted to democratic governance after several decades under the tyranny of military rule. Nigeria had multiple instances of infrastructural deterioration, despair, and institutionalized corruption throughout the military regime. The institution of democratic governance and the prospect of a fair and equitable society were once again seen by common Nigerians with an imminent return to democratic rule. They rejoiced in a public celebration of the restoration to democratic governance, looking forward to a new period of stability, prosperity, and tranquillity. Tragically, Nigerians continue to remain hungry to experience and benefit from democracy's dividends even after two decades of democratic governance (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012). A number of issues, including poor leadership, violations of human rights, calls for constitutional and electoral reform, an increase in civil unrest, impoverishment, an elevated rate of unemployment, an inadequate level of transparency, and political corruption, are grave challenges to the development of the nation-state of Nigeria (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012).

Nigeria's upward trajectory in politics is threatened in part by pervasive political corruption, particularly among public officials. The spirit and ideals of democracy and sound government are in peril when political corruption occurs among these individuals. They engage in a variety of corrupt activities, including accepting or receiving bribes, embezzlement, money laundering, fraudulent activity, kickbacks, theft, abuse of authority, distributing contracts to themselves, acquaintances, or family, cronyism, favouritism, unconstitutional offerings to political

organizations, and the redirection of government resources and assets for private use (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012).

Furthermore, the looting by public officials including the military corruption during the time of former President Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) political administration and successive governments failures to combat political corruption serve as a remembrance as to what factors gave birth to the Boko Haram insurgency in the nation-state of Nigeria. Furthermore, the principal deception used to divert arms purchase funds which was the establishment of alliances involving political elites, serving and former high military officers fuelled the 'fire' of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Secondly, the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency served as a covert intermediary for the redirection of government funding into private coffers, causing the reign of terror to become more challenging, longer, and unstoppable as a result of secretive benefits connected with defence spending enjoyed by Nigerian political and military cabals. By enlisting disgruntled youth to further its extreme religious and ideological goals, Boko Haram has taken advantage of this setback (Onapajo and Uzodike 2012:9). In the absent of a state that is receptive and responsible and able to fulfil its obligations. They bring weapons and high-tech ammunition into Nigeria in attempt to overthrow the government, taking advantage of the country's weak security infrastructure and porous peripheries (Onapajo and Uzodike 2012:9).

Many have characterized President Goodluck Jonathan's 2010 to 2015 political administration in Nigeria as openly supporting political corruption and corrupt activities in both the public and private realms. Since the president took office on May 6, 2010, there is evidence of reports and allegations of more over 5 trillion naira in public funds being diverted or looted through fraud, embezzlement, and theft (Ogunseye, Okpi, and Baiyewu, 2012; also Punch Newspaper of November 25). Reports have also surfaced regarding the immunity from prosecution of a number of high-ranking Jonathan administration officials who were allegedly involved in embezzlement or improper use of public funds (Ekott and Udo, 2013). In fact, Jonathan was openly and notoriously accused by Aminu Tambuwal, Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives, which is a branch of Nigeria's bi-cameral legislature and belongs to the same political party as the president of the nation, of constantly exhibiting a "body language" that promotes corruption (Ekott & Udo, 2013). According to Mr. Tambuwal, the president's preference for creating duplicate committees to look into corruption issues instead of sending law enforcement officials to look into them demonstrated Jonathan's lack of commitment to preventing abuse of power. Tambuwal, quoted in Ekott and Udo (2013) communicates that

“the president's body language tends not to endorse the war against corruption by creating separate committees for simple cases”.

The political corruption in Nigeria is pervasive and poses a significant threat to the political development of the country. State presidents, national lawmakers, and political appointees have been robbing the national treasury repeatedly and spending the money they loot to buy residences abroad as though the world is ending. The lust of a materialistic lifestyle, betrayals of trust, and violations of integrity have taken control of the Nigerian political system. Consequently, daily embezzlement of government funds intended for distribution to the general public which are only shared amongst a selected few public official has become a standard practice in Nigeria. It's astounding how these crooked activities are carried out in Nigeria. Nigeria's democratic institutions have been commercialized, and the country's political system is now driven by economic interests (Onapajo and Uzodike 2012:9). The problems facing Nigeria's political development stem largely from inept governance and political corruption, as demonstrated by the manner in which public servants are inflating government contracts in an effort to get kickbacks and transferring funds intended for the country's general welfare into private accounts. This research will focus on political corruption in Nigeria - examining the causes and consequences on development during the time of former President Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) political administration. Hence, much attention will be focussed on the causes and consequences of political corruption on political development in Nigeria.

### ***1.3 Research questions***

In this research, the research questions that are most crucial to this investigation will be discussed in greater depth. The primary emphasis of this investigation will be based on these research questions. The following questions are crucial to the way this investigation is carried out:

- What are the causes of political corruption?
- What are consequences of political corruption on Nigeria's development?
- What was the relationship between the Boko Haram insurgency and political corruption during president Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) political administration?
- What tactics have been employed and their effectiveness to combat political corruption in Nigeria?
- What obstacles have been encountered when implementing these tactics, and what can be done to combat political corruption in Nigeria?

## ***1.4 Research aims and objectives***

### ***1.4.1 Research aim***

The aim of this study is to investigate ‘political corruption in Nigeria – examining its causes and consequences on development from 2010 to 2015’. With special focus on the political administration of President Goodluck Jonathan from 2010 to 2015. The research questions stem from the theory of two publics, the theory of prebendalism, and the political alienation theory. In order to formulate a hypothesis and analyse and offer an understanding of the research questions, the aforementioned theories are examined.

### ***1.4.2 Research objectives***

The following research objectives were developed with the aim to address the research questions and fulfil the study's purpose:

- To investigate the causes of political corruption.
- To examine the consequences of political corruption on Nigeria’s development.
- To determine the relationship between the Boko Haram insurgency and political corruption during president Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) political administration.
- To examine the tactics that have been employed and their effectiveness to combat political corruption in Nigeria.
- To evaluate the obstacles that have been encountered when implementing these tactics and what can be done to combat political corruption in Nigeria.

## ***1.5 Motivation and Justification of the study***

This inquiry is justified by the reality that political corruption, as an unrighteousness has had a disastrous impact on Nigerians' socioeconomic and political lives, even in the face of institutional and legal frameworks put in place to combat it. The goal of this investigation is to also make significant advancements to the existing body of knowledge in terms of political corruption and the causes and consequences it has on development in Nigeria, close research gaps, and support the Nigerian Federation and its corruption prevention institutions in their efforts to eradicate political corruption and improve anti-corruption tactics. The unique contribution to the corpus of knowledge regarding political corruption in Nigeria and its causes and effects on development will be supported by this study. The results of the investigation would then add to the existing body of knowledge as a whole and provide the foundation for more research. Gathering information and developing hypotheses for future research and

development on political corruption in Nigeria and beyond would be beneficial to researchers working on this subject matter.

So, in overall, the purpose of the research is to offer comprehensive data that may be crucial for the following categories of individuals:

#### ***1.5.1 The government of the nation-state of Nigeria:***

Important information about the many aspects of political corruption in Nigeria, including its causes, strategies for decreasing it, and the outcomes of those efforts, will be provided by the study. The decision-makers entrusted with formulating strategies to combat political corruption in South Africa will require access to such data. The investigation will yield information on the policies that have been put in place to prevent political corruption as well as information on their effectiveness. The government will find the information invaluable in evaluating Nigeria's efforts to combat corruption and in supporting policymakers and government officials in creating new policies or improving current ones.

#### ***1.5.2 The general public***

The general public could gain insight from the investigation as well. By learning about the different forms of political corruption that manifest in the country, the general public will be better equipped to identify incidents of political corruption when they arise. Additionally, the research will assess the efficacy of the various anti-corruption strategies that have been employed in Nigeria. This will enable the general public to evaluate the government's level of commitment to combating political corruption through the poll. Consequently, the study will provide the public with crucial information that will enable them to make informed political judgments.

#### ***1.5.3 Researchers of the future***

Researchers will become more interested in this socioeconomic hazard as a result of the study, which will stimulate further investigation or rekindle academic curiosity into the issue of political corruption in Nigeria and throughout Africa. In order to better comprehend political corruption and the impact it possesses on the different aspects of development in Nigeria, future researchers will find the inquiry to be crucial since it will provide them with knowledge and skills that will allow them to conduct relevant study on the subject.

## ***1.6 Definition of key terms***

### *(i) Political Corruption*

Political corruption refers to the misuse of public authority for personal or partisan gain, often manifesting through bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, and clientelism (Johnston, 2014). In Nigeria, political corruption has historically weakened governance structures and contributed to economic underdevelopment (Ogbeidi, 2012).

### *(ii) Nigeria*

Nigeria is a West African nation with a federal system of government and a history of political instability, military rule, and democratic transitions (Falola & Heaton, 2008). As Africa's largest economy, it faces persistent challenges related to governance, corruption, and socio-economic inequality (Akinola, 2018).

### *(iii) Prebendalism*

Prebendalism, a concept introduced by Richard Joseph (1987), describes a political culture in which public offices are viewed as entitlements that politicians and officials use to benefit themselves and their supporters. This system reinforces patron-client networks and contributes to systemic corruption in Nigeria (Joseph, 2014).

### *(iv) Two Publics Theory*

Peter Ekeh's (1975) Two Publics Theory explains the dichotomy in African political behavior, where individuals differentiate between the civic public (government institutions) and the primordial public (ethnic, religious, or kinship-based affiliations). This divide has influenced political corruption and governance issues in Nigeria (Ekeh, 1975).

### *(v) Political Alienation*

Political alienation refers to the feeling of disconnection or estrangement individuals experience from political institutions, often leading to apathy or radicalization (Hirschman, 1970). In Nigeria, political alienation has been linked to youth disengagement and the rise of insurgency movements (Adesoji, 2010).

### *(vi) Goodluck Jonathan*

Goodluck Jonathan served as Nigeria's President from 2010 to 2015, a period marked by efforts to combat corruption, economic reforms, and the intensification of the Boko Haram insurgency

(Campbell, 2018). His administration was criticized for weak anti-corruption enforcement despite significant economic growth (Ojo, 2017).

*(vii) Development*

Development refers to the process of improving a nation's economic, social, and political well-being, often measured by indicators such as GDP growth, human capital development, and infrastructure expansion (Todaro and Smith, 2015). In Nigeria, corruption has significantly hindered sustainable development efforts (Acheampong, 2020).

*(viii) Boko Haram*

Boko Haram is an Islamist extremist group that emerged in Nigeria in 2002 and escalated its violent activities from 2009 onwards, targeting government institutions, civilians, and security forces (Thurston, 2018). The group's insurgency has led to widespread displacement and economic destabilization in the northeastern region (Onapajo, 2017).

*(ix) Terrorism*

Terrorism is the strategic use of violence, intimidation, and fear to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives (Crenshaw, 1981). In Nigeria, terrorist activities—particularly by Boko Haram—have challenged national security and governance (Alao, 2013).

*(x) Anti-Corruption Strategies*

Anti-corruption strategies encompass policy measures, legal frameworks, and institutional mechanisms aimed at reducing corruption and promoting transparency (Klitgaard, 1988). In Nigeria, these efforts include asset recovery, whistleblower protection, and institutional reforms (EFCC, 2021).

*(xi) Governance*

Governance refers to the structures, processes, and principles guiding the administration of political authority and public resources (Rhodes, 1996). Good governance is essential for national development, yet in Nigeria, corruption has weakened institutional effectiveness (Adejoh, 2019).

*(xii) Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)*

The EFCC is Nigeria's foremost anti-corruption agency, established in 2003 to investigate and prosecute economic and financial crimes (Goredema, 2011). Despite its efforts, political interference has often undermined its effectiveness (Agbibo, 2015).

*(xiii) Loot*

Loot refers to public funds, assets, or resources that are unlawfully misappropriated or stolen by government officials (Rose-Ackerman, 1999). In Nigeria, illicit financial outflows have deprived the country of essential development funds (Uche, 2016).

*(xiv) Public Office Holders*

Public office holders are individuals who occupy official positions within the government and are responsible for executing policy decisions and administrative functions (Heywood, 2014). Corruption among public office holders in Nigeria has been a persistent challenge (Dike, 2005).

*(xv) Causes of Corruption*

The root causes of corruption in Nigeria include weak institutional frameworks, lack of accountability, excessive discretionary power, and socio-political patronage (Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011). The prevalence of prebendalism further exacerbates corruption levels (Joseph, 2014).

*(xvi) Consequences of Corruption*

The consequences of corruption are extensive, leading to poor public service delivery, economic stagnation, loss of public trust, and social unrest (Tanzi, 1998). In Nigeria, corruption has fuelled political instability and underdevelopment (Olayinka, 2019).

*(xvii) Public Officials*

Public officials refer to individuals who serve in government institutions and are responsible for executing the functions of the state (Bovens, 2007). Ethical misconduct among public officials has contributed to governance failures in Nigeria (Osoba, 1996).

## ***1.7 Limitations of the Research***

Although this research provides valuable insights into political corruption in Nigeria between 2010 and 2015, it is important to recognize certain limitations. These constraints help contextualize the findings and indicate areas where further research could enhance understanding.

### *(i) Scope and Timeframe Restrictions*

The research restricts its findings to the period from 2010–2015 by concentrating on political corruption in Nigeria. Although events or developments that occurred before or after this period might have an impact on governance issues and political corruption patterns, they are outside the purview of the study, which could limit its wider application.

### *(ii) Dependency on Secondary Data*

The results of this investigation are dependent on the calibre, accessibility, and legitimacy of previously published literature, reports, and articles because it is a desktop study using content analysis. If the sources used are insufficient or have a distorted viewpoint, this could cause bias.

### *(iii) Subjectivity in Content Analysis*

Subjective judgment is required when interpreting qualitative data, such as government documents and media reporting. Despite efforts to maintain neutrality, bias might have unintentionally impacted the analysis.

### *(iv) Generalization issues*

Even though the research looks at the connection between political corruption and development, its findings could not apply to all Nigerian sectors or geographical areas. Regional disparities in security, development, and governance could have consequences that are not discussed in this study.

### *(v) Restricted Primary Data*

The research investigation is constrained in its ability to capture current, first-hand experiences of people or officials active during the Goodluck Jonathan administration due to the lack of surveys, interviews, or primary data gathering.

#### *(vi) Complexity of Corruption Causes*

A number of interrelated factors, such as social, economic, and cultural dynamics, have an impact on political corruption. Even though the study takes into account theories of political alienation, prebendalism, and two publics, it could be an excessive amount of work to do to completely examine all of the causes that lie beneath.

#### *(vii) Changing Dynamics of Boko Haram Insurgency*

Political corruption and the Boko Haram insurgency have an extremely complicated connection. A thorough evaluation of this connection may be restricted by the research's target period, which might fail to account for certain elements due to the constantly shifting character of the governmental responses and the insurgency.

#### *(viii) Implementation Gaps in Anti-Corruption Measures*

The research evaluates anti-corruption initiatives from 2010 to 2015 and does not take into consideration the effective implementation of reforms put in place after the Goodluck Jonathan administration. It is therefore unable to offer a long-term perspective on the outcome of the measures.

These constraints do not diminish the significance of the study but highlight areas where further research can build upon its findings. Future studies could incorporate primary data collection, extend the analysis to a broader timeframe, or adopt a comparative approach across multiple countries to provide deeper insights into political corruption and governance challenges.

### **1.8 Chapter layout**

#### ***Chapter 1: Introduction***

Chapter 1 sets the scene for the entire study and explains what is covered in it. This study's first chapter will serve as an introduction, providing a summary of the thesis problem with an emphasis on the phenomenon of political corruption in Nigeria. This chapter will encompass the background of the research investigation, statement of the problem; the motivation and justification for the study; research problems and research questions; and research aims and objectives.

## ***Chapter 2: Literature review***

The purpose of this research investigation's literature review is to contextualize the expected knowledge addition of the proposed study and to characterize the existing level of knowledge regarding political corruption in Nigeria, looking at its causes and effects on development between 2010 and 2015. This chapter looks at publications that discuss corruption and political corruption, such as research studies, news articles, records that are recorded, and other sources. The study commences with a review of topics relevant to the research, including phrases like politics, corruption, and politically exposed persons. These concepts will be the focus of the study's content. An additional evaluation of relevant literature will be conducted, which include an observation at works on the taxonomy of corruption and its various forms, including financial crime, grand corruption, and petty corruption. An overview of Nigeria's political corruption background is also included, looking at the various terms used to describe political corruption. Corruption occurrences that occurred under Nigeria's successive governments, especially President Goodluck Jonathan's 2010 to 2015 political administration will be investigated, as will anti-corruption laws and other tactics implemented by various governments to prevent and manage corrupt practices incidents. Furthermore, attempts to limit political corruption will also be interrogated. In connection with this, the chapter examines Nigeria's electoral processes, looking at the various forms of political corruption that have deeply infiltrated the system.

## ***Chapter 3: Theoretical framework***

In order to understand and draw links between relationships that result in corruption at various levels and how it manifests itself in various contexts and nations, several corruption theories have been developed. These theories provide explanations and forecasts based on the dominant principles and hypotheses. This theoretical framework also shows why the chosen theories are thought to be most appropriate for this thesis, in addition to looking at various theories. These theories also serve as the foundation for the research questions posed because they offer concepts and ideas relevant to the inquiries made and that allow for justifications. In this chapter, considering the various levels of corruption that exist in Nigeria, the various theories that were thought to be pertinent were carefully chosen and triangulated to serve as the study's cornerstone; through them, findings from the study will be interpreted. This chapter will discuss further in detail the theories guiding this research which are namely, the theory of two publics, the theory of prebendalism, and the political alienation theory.

#### ***Chapter 4: Research methodology***

This chapter will include an excellent summary of the research methodology for the thesis and how it will be collected to address the research questions raised by the research. For this research study, a desktop, qualitative content analysis type of study is the method of choice that will be put into practise This research study will make use of secondary data to present a suitable investigation of the research topic and to construct arguments that will be applied to generalize the assumptions and suggestions that this study comes to.

#### ***Chapter 5: Results***

In this chapter, the primary research findings and results of the research investigation of “Political Corruption in Nigeria: Examining the Causes and Consequences on Development from 2010 to 2015” will be presented.

#### ***Chapter 6: Analysis and Final Discussion***

This chapter delves into the interpretation of the findings outlined in Chapter 5, connecting them to theoretical frameworks and academic discussions surrounding political corruption, governance, and development. It critically assesses the implications of the research outcomes and evaluates the efficacy of anti-corruption measures during Goodluck Jonathan’s presidency. By contextualizing the findings within the broader discourse on political corruption and governance, this chapter offers a comprehensive understanding of the obstacles and potential solutions for addressing political corruption in Nigeria.

#### ***Chapter 7: Summary, Conclusion and Suggestions for further studies***

This chapter will provide a comprehensive summary of the key findings of the study, highlighting the major themes and insights drawn from the research. It will also present the main conclusions based on the analysis conducted in previous chapters, linking them to the theoretical frameworks that guided the study. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss the implications of the findings for policy, governance, and future research on political corruption in Nigeria. Lastly, suggestions for further studies will be provided, identifying potential areas of inquiry that could build upon the current research and address existing gaps in the literature.

## REVIEWING LITERATURE ON POLITICAL CORRUPTION

### *2.1 Introduction*

This chapter reviews relevant literature studies and publications that are pertinent to this research investigation. The primary goal of this review of the literature is to identify any gaps or shortcomings in the previous research and to contextualize the research study problem in relation to the pertinent academic work on political corruption in Nigeria. Political corruption is a contested concept that has sparked academic debates among authors such as Heywood (2014); Rothstein and Varraich (2014); Mungiu-Pippidi (2015); Søreide (2014); Olken and Pande (2012); and Pyman et al. (2011) and many more. To gain a deeper insight on the phenomenon, this literature review flows from the global trends right down to the national state of Nigeria, also looking at other pertinent articles and news stories that contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon of political corruption in Nigeria; and the examining of the causes and consequences it imposes on development from 2010 to 2015. This research will start by briefly introducing the concept of corruption, emphasizing its various typologies, including private and public corruption. Although the focus is on political corruption, the meaning of political corruption will only appear after dealing with other typologies of corruption and the historical evolution of political corruption in Nigeria since political corruption is one part of this broader category.

### *2.2 Meaning of Corruption*

Sumah (2018) indicates that the term "corruption" comes from the Latin term "corruptus", which translates to "corrupted" and, in legal sense, refers to the exploitation of a position of trust in any of the three spheres of government (executive, legislative, and judicial), as well as in political or other types of organizations, with the goal of gaining material benefit that is not permitted by law for oneself or for others.

Similar to any other social science topic, corruption's characterization is subject to debate due to the fact that it has been approached from several perspectives and is influenced by the definition's proponent. The concept can be defined as follows: it is the improper use or abuse of authority for one's own benefit. The Latin term "conumpere", interpreted as "to ruin or any conduct that is contradictory to what is right," is where the term corruption first appeared. Each ethnic minority in Nigeria refers to it by its own unique name. For instance, the Yoruba refer

to it as "egunje", meaning free food, whereas the Hausa call it "Cin hanging da rashawa" (Chukwu and Ngban, 2018).

The notion of "corruption" has been conceptualized in a way that is typically ambiguous from a philosophical, ethical, cultural, political, and intellectual point of view - to such an extent that it obscures the negative and parasitic relationship that corruption maintains with many polities, including Nigeria, and their inhabitants worldwide. This has culminated in its interpretation remaining muddled by individual values and inclinations. This has, in a sense, formed the central problem in terms of conceptual complexity when it comes to the study of corruption (Akindele, 2005).

This conceptual challenge is triggered by a variety of factors (Odekunle, 1986; Akindele, 1985; Yagus, 1998), including the absence of universal principles regarding various behaviours and activities (nepotism, gift-giving, patronage, party-financing), which several authors and experts have pointed out as corrupt; the political environments that are conducive to corruption because of the disparities created by exploitations; the growing significance of governmental functions to many aspects of humanity's existence; and the susceptibility of deeply ingrained cultural and psychological allegiance to corrupt behavioural patterns. The first explores how the phenomenon of corruption is actually conceptualized, whereas the second focuses on how corruption is actually conceptualized within the socio-political systems (principles, mindsets, and ideals) of emerging nations. The former poses ethical and objective concerns, whereas the latter is based on the plethora of factors (such as kinship ties, familial expectations, favouritism, and nepotism) that necessitate comprehension within the complex polities of the third world (Leys, 1965; Olken and Pande, 2012).

Divergent opinions and a multitude of viewpoints cut across academic fields, moral and social boundaries, and cultural boundaries; for this reason, the essential global consensus with respect to the actions, behaviours, and other facets of human existence that may be classified as corruption is elusive. Definitions of corruption have varied; they have included unacceptable conduct that promote personal gain to the detriment of the general population, the typical pattern of exploiting public or official positions in manners which disregard public interests, and destructive actions or maladaptive behaviours that blatantly defy accepted and legitimized societal standards. Additionally, corruption has been conceptualized as deteriorated, unethically tainted, and rotten behaviours that deviate from the legally binding and expected

role that societal expectation demands of everyone (Akindele, 2005; Rothstein and Varraich, 2014).

Johnston (2001) in agreement with the above views by Akindele (2005) and Rothstein and Varraich (2014) states that the description, nature, and significance of corruption have consistently been subject to discussion and have changed through the centuries, with classical views of corruption focusing mostly on moral comprehensions and modern conceptions conceptualizing it primarily in terms of specific behaviours of particular individuals.

Pardo (2004) indicates that the notion of corruption is influenced by individual interests, cultural norms, and socioeconomic standing in any particular culture. Corruption is a dynamic phenomenon with culturally unique features and accepted morality. In this important aspect, corruption requires a situational and diachronic approach.

Kumar (2012) in agreement with the above views by Pardo (2004) states that in society and government systems, corruption has never been absent, but only in recent years has both the theoretical and practical knowledge of it developed. A multidisciplinary approach is required to analyse corruption since it has been viewed as both a structural issue in both the financial and political realms and as a moral and cultural issue.

According to The United Nations Global Programme against Corruption (GPAC), which is referenced by Dialoke et al. (2020), corruption can be described as "violation of authority for personal gain." Transparency International (2013) provided a more precise and succinct description of corruption, characterizing it as "the misuse of entrusted authority for private gain." It may also be seen as a deviation from the rules of law or generally acknowledged norms carried out for one's own benefit. Every entity, whether political, economic, or social, exhibits corruption. It is a misuse of power wherein private actors subvert governmental policies and procedures in the name of their own self-interest and financial gain (Dialoke et al., 2020).

Corrupt practices can take many different forms. These include "kickbacks", which refer to being given payment from suppliers for the services or products received, "embezzlement", which entails the stealing of resources for the benefit of oneself, "evidence destruction", which is the misuse of documentation or records, "extortion", which is using any kind of threat or coercion in order to get something, and "favouritism", which is the unfair preference of a single individual or organization over another (Adetayo, 2019; Ugbuvbu, 2020).

According to McMullan (1961), an elected official of the public is corrupt whenever he consents to payment or something of value in exchange for performing an obligation that he is required to perform regardless, refrain from performing a duty, or use an authorized discretion for unauthorized reasons.

## ***2.3 Classifications of Corruption***

### ***2.3.1 Private Corruption***

When someone engages in immoral behaviour outside of government, it is referred to as private corruption (Dike and Onyekwelu, 2018). These could be people who engage in immoral behaviours like fraud, depravity, or scamming but are not considered members of any organizations. The other group consists of organized private sector personnel who may steal from or commit fraud in the organizations they work for or those who engage in illicit financial operations by working with government officials. The corruption that occurs in Nigeria on a regular basis assumes many forms, including bribery, piracy, violating traffic regulations, unlawful petroleum pump surcharges by fuelling stations, copyright infringement, robbery, manipulating of school grades, using sex for grades or promotions, etc (Dike and Onyekwelu, 2018).

In Nigeria, private corruption represents a deeply entrenched and multifaceted challenge that permeates all levels of society, from grassroots communities to the highest echelons of political and economic power (Transparency International, 2022). The nation's rich tapestry of cultures, histories, and socioeconomic realities intertwine to shape the contours of corruption in unique and complex ways (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2015). At its core, private corruption in Nigeria encompasses a broad spectrum of unethical behaviours occurring within non-governmental spheres, including businesses, institutions, and individuals. These behaviours range from petty acts of bribery and extortion in everyday transactions to grand-scale embezzlement, fraud, and insider trading that siphon off billions of dollars from public coffers and private enterprises in an equivalent way (Ezirim and Adigun, 2019).

Bribery, perhaps the most visible manifestation of private corruption, is endemic in Nigeria, permeating virtually every sector of society (Ojo, 2018). From traffic stops to contract awards, public officials and private individuals routinely solicit and offer bribes as a means of expediting services, securing favours, or circumventing regulations (Ugwu, 2020). The pervasiveness of bribery undermines the rule of law, distorts market mechanisms, and erodes

trust in public institutions, perpetuating a cycle of impunity and disenchantment among citizens (Ogunbameru and Olatunji, 2021).

Embezzlement and fraud also loom large on Nigeria's corruption landscape, with high-profile cases of public officials and corporate executives siphoning off public funds or defrauding investors making headlines with alarming regularity (Ameh & Owuamanam, 2017). These acts not only deprive the country of vital resources for development but also undermine investor confidence, stifle economic growth, and exacerbate social inequalities (Oladeji and Ewuola, 2020).

Insider trading, facilitated by a lack of transparency and regulatory oversight, further undermines the integrity of Nigeria's financial markets, tilting the playing field in favour of well-connected insiders at the expense of ordinary investors (Nnamani and Okafor, 2018). Similarly, conflicts of interest, bid rigging, and other forms of collusion undermine fair competition and hinder the emergence of a level playing field for businesses and entrepreneurs (Akinyele and Adegboyega, 2021).

The causes of private corruption in Nigeria are deeply rooted in a combination of historical legacies, institutional weaknesses, and socioeconomic inequalities (Adekanye, 2019). Decades of military rule, characterized by authoritarianism, impunity, and lack of accountability, have left a lasting imprint on Nigeria's political culture, breeding a sense of entitlement and impunity among the ruling elite (Ogbeidi, 2016). Weak institutional frameworks, porous regulatory systems, and judicial inefficiencies further exacerbate the problem, creating fertile ground for corruption to flourish unchecked (Akinbobola and Asemoloye, 2018).

Socioeconomic factors also play a significant role, with poverty, unemployment, and lack of access to basic services exacerbating vulnerability to corruption (Oyebode, 2017). In a country where millions struggle to make ends meet, the allure of quick riches through illicit means can be difficult to resist, especially when the odds of getting caught and punished are perceived to be low (Akanle and Adebisi, 2020).

The consequences of private corruption in Nigeria are manifold and far-reaching, affecting virtually every aspect of national life (Ugwu and Ugoji, 2019). Economically, corruption stifles entrepreneurship, deters investment, and hampers economic growth, perpetuating a cycle of underdevelopment and poverty (Ibrahim and Oyebisi, 2018). Socially, corruption undermines trust in public institutions, erodes social cohesion, and fuels resentment and alienation among

citizens, particularly marginalized communities disproportionately affected by corruption (Ibe and Ibe, 2017).

Politically, private corruption corrodes democratic processes, undermines the rule of law, and fosters a culture of impunity, where the powerful act with impunity while the vulnerable suffer the consequences (Egwu, 2021). It undermines public confidence in the ability of the state to deliver basic services and address pressing social challenges, fuelling disillusionment and cynicism among citizens (Akanbi, 2020).

Addressing private corruption in Nigeria requires a holistic and multi-faceted approach that targets its root causes while addressing its immediate manifestations (Ofoegbu and Adewole, 2019). This includes strengthening institutional capacities, enhancing transparency and accountability mechanisms, and promoting a culture of integrity and ethical leadership within public and private institutions alike (Ogunode and Okunola, 2020). Civil society organizations have a crucial role to play in advocating for reforms, raising awareness, and holding both public and private actors accountable for their actions (Ezeani and Ugwu, 2018). International cooperation and coordination are also essential, given the transnational nature of many corrupt activities (Egwuanyi and Onodugo, 2021).

Furthermore, efforts to combat private corruption must be grounded in a deeper understanding of Nigeria's unique social, economic, and political contexts (Ikechukwu and Okafor et al., 2021). This requires addressing underlying issues such as poverty, inequality, and lack of access to education and opportunities, which can exacerbate vulnerability to corruption (Eboh and Abah, 2019). It also entails challenging cultural attitudes and norms that tolerate or even condone corrupt behaviours, promoting values of honesty, integrity, and civic responsibility (Chukwurah, 2021). Ultimately, combating private corruption in Nigeria requires a collective commitment from all sectors of society – government, business, civil society, and citizens – to build a culture of transparency, accountability, and integrity (Olowoselu and Aregbeshola, 2021). Only through sustained efforts to tackle the root causes of corruption and strengthen institutions can Nigeria realize its full potential as a prosperous, equitable, and just society (Fajana and Oyeniya, 2020).

### ***2.3.2 Public corruption***

The concept of "public corruption" refers to corrupt practices that occur within the government or are carried out by government employees in collaboration with their private sector affiliates (Aluko, 2015). Another name for this kind of corruption is grand corruption. It incorporates

people holding public office and is additionally referred to as institutional corruption. In this instance, a public servant exploits their position to take advantage of the resources of the nation as a whole. Nigerian public corruption is a complex and pervasive problem that has significantly influenced the political environment of the nation and impeded its progress (Aluko, 2022).

A noteworthy aspect of public corruption in Nigeria is the occurrence of electoral malpractices, such as the purchase of electoral votes, ballot stuffing, and the tampering of results. The credibility of elected governments is undermined, and the democratic process is distorted when politicians use illegal measures to gain or hold onto power (Ojo, 2018).

Akanbi (2020) indicates that Nigeria's political, economic, and social fabric are all profoundly ingrained, with a variety of underlying issues that contribute to public corruption. The historical legacies of colonialism and military dictatorship have had a role in normalizing corruption and undermining moral principles in Nigerian culture. An atmosphere of impunity amongst the most powerful politicians, where corruption is seen as a way to consolidate power and money, has been nurtured by decades of authoritarian administration (Akanbi, 2020).

Public corruption has been made easier by weak institutional structures and oversight systems, which have allowed corrupt practices to proliferate undetected. The issue is made worse by the lack of efficient legal enforcement systems since fraudulent individuals frequently avoid prosecution. Public corruption is also influenced by socioeconomic variables, such as impoverished conditions and disparity in income, which foster an environment in which corruption is seen as a viable approach to surviving or advancing in society (Ikechukwu et al., 2023).

Ugbudu (2020) states that public corruption threatens the legitimacy of democracy, the rule of law, and the efficacy of institutions, which has significant ramifications for Nigeria's political development. Public confidence in government institutions and procedures is damaged by corruption, which makes people generally disillusioned and apathetic. This impedes political advancement and erodes democratic involvement. Furthermore, corruption invalidates the processes used to create policies, which leads to the wasteful use of resources and impedes socioeconomic advancement. In addition to undermining the legitimacy of institutions and the supremacy of law, the presence of corruption feeds the downward spiral of impunity amongst the political elite. Public corruption also aggravates ethnic and social conflicts, eroding social cohesiveness and impeding attempts to create an inclusive society (Ugbudu, 2020).

Fajana and Oyeniya (2020) indicate that a comprehensive and multidimensional strategy that attacks the underlying causes of public corruption in Nigeria whilst reinforcing institutions and fostering responsibility as well as openness is required to combat it. In order to effectively combat public corruption, it is imperative that legal and regulatory frameworks be strengthened, law enforcement capabilities be increased, and judicial independence be promoted. A more open and accountable political system also requires encouraging a culture of morality and ethical leadership in government organizations and giving citizens more power to participate in politics.

In agreement with the above views by Fajana et al., (2020) in terms of a need for a comprehensive and multidimensional strategy to combat this destructive phenomenon, Egwuanyi and Onodugo (2021) state that in Nigeria, public corruption frequently entails transnational networks and illicit financial transactions, making international cooperation and support essential to the fight against corruption. Nigeria has the potential to strengthen its ability to look into, prosecute, and retrieve assets that have been looted by working with nations around the globe.

There are several categories of public corruption, including:

***(i) Bureaucratic corruption***

A long-standing concern in Nigerian politics has been the phenomenon of bureaucratic corruption, which many political and administrative observers have recognized as a concealed scourge on democracy and a hindrance to the nation's progress. This has resulted as the primary source of the nation's poverty, skyrocketing unemployment rate, and persistent instability (Bamide et al., 2015). Concern should be expressed about how corruption has become entrenched in Nigeria's many bureaucracies. We can merely assert that bureaucracy is a particular kind of organization which is characterized by an unambiguous structure of authority, characterized by the existence of established regulations of procedure, and powered by full-time wage-earning public servants, without getting into the age-old deliberation concerning the significant fundamental meaning of bureaucracy itself (Giddens, 2006).

While Hague and Harrop (2013) defined bureaucracy as —the organization that executes the duties and tasks of the government: It is the heart and soul of the state. Konjoulas (1982) observed bureaucracy as a type of institution that is essential to the efficient functioning of any intricate structure. Despite its various characteristics, bureaucracy is an elected official body used for administrative purposes. The apparatus is made up of full-time, professional officials

who are monitored by a hierarchical structure and who execute all their duties in a well-organized manner in accordance with directives from above is what is generally meant by the phrase. According to Lawal and Tobi (2006), bureaucrats are viewed as players within the structure and substance of the bureaucratic system.

Similar to political corruption, bureaucratic corruption also takes place in the spheres of government. In this case, corrupt practices are practiced by the technocrats, civil officials, and public servants who carry out directives from the government. These individuals constitute staff members and executives from several government ministries, divisions, and agencies (MDAs). Because these government entities are primarily responsible of allocating, releasing, and using funds to carry out projects, corruption is exacerbated at this tier of government. At this level of management, corruption grows rampant since bureaucrats have the position of transferring and implementing payments in addition to proposing and submitting the unit's or initiative's financial demands (Buhari, 2015). Directors of departments and government agencies have been charged with high-profile theft and fraud in front of judicial and administrative bodies with the appropriate authority. Another manner in which corruption within the bureaucracy manifests in public office settings revolves around nepotism and favouritism in the recruitment, promotion, and incentive systems. While some people use their connections to the boss—be they familial, religious, or ethnic—to their advantage to advance quickly and receive rewards, others are prevented from doing so by such unimportant factors.

Any sort of incentive or compensation offered and accepted in order to perform an official task or assignment that should be completed on a regular basis, in order to bypass official procedures, or to violate rules and regulations for one's own benefit, is considered bureaucratic corruption. Therefore, bureaucratic corruption involves a complex web of favours that are only given in return for other favours that are given, demanded, or predicted. Hence, bureaucratic corruption essentially addresses the various manners in which corruption in all its manifestations has been entrenched inside Nigerian bureaucracies (Aluko and Adesopo, 2003).

### ***(ii) Military corruption***

In Nigeria, military corruption is the term used to describe the abuse of authority, resources, and power by members of the Nigerian Armed Forces for private benefit, compromising public confidence and safety (Akinola, 2020; Obi, 2019). This type of corruption has taken many forms, such as procurement fraud, bribery, embezzlement of defence funding, and the diversion of resources intended for troops, particularly in areas predisposed to armed conflict, such as

the northeastern section of the country where Boko Haram operates. For example, military authorities and staff have occasionally misappropriated money intended for ammunition and weapons, leaving troops ill-prepared and vulnerable to security threats (Aghedo and Osumah, 2015).

Aluko (2022) indicates that this kind of corruption is possible and manifests under military tyranny. Though the military's involvement in politics was ironic, it positioned itself as an interventionist or enforcement tool against the democratically elected government's incompetence and endemic corruption. The Nigerian army invaded and took control in January 1966 in order to rectify the actions of the elected administration. However, the July counter coup that same year was driven by ethnic grievances and intended as retaliation for the murder of a few northerners who had been massacred in the initial revolution. This approach caused corruption to progressively seep in, and the professionalism that underpinned the institution's "corrective" notion began to erode. The military is an entity by definition designed to protect a state's territorial sovereignty. They are not made to rule; they are made to wage battles. As a result, the military ended up being extremely corrupted when it initially ascended to power since it lacked the administrative expertise needed to properly rule with minimal or no opposition (Aluko, 2022).

The inappropriate use of financial resources intended for the purchase of ammunition is a well-known instance of military corruption connected to the Boko Haram insurgency. Prominent military commanders and politicians were implicated in the \$2 billion arms purchase scandal, recognized as the "Dasukigate," which was exposed by a Senate committee in 2014. This controversy exposed the extent of corruption in the armed forces and casting uncertainty on the government's resolve to adequately address security concerns (Obi, 2019).

In agreement with the above view by Obi (2019), Oyinlola (2017) states that these aforementioned problems made it more difficult for the military to counter security challenges, such as the Boko Haram insurgency, which began in the early 2000s and aims to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria through violence. Numerous issues, such as intelligence failures, pervasive corruption within the Nigerian military, and logistical limitations, made it more difficult for the military to fight Boko Haram. Military corruption affects Nigeria's ability to fight back against the insurgency of Boko Haram severely. It erodes military conduct and optimism, reducing the military's ability to fight terrorists, and jeopardizes information gathering and operational security. Corrupt practices also take public funding away from

important projects, impeding socioeconomic growth and escalating resentment that feeds instability (Oyinlola, 2017).

Furthermore, claims of extrajudicial executions and other forms of brutality carried out by Nigerian law enforcement officers have damaged the military's public image/credibility and intensified discontent in insurgent-affected areas. The impunity that offenders within the military leadership enjoyed was highlighted by an absence of accountability for these atrocities (Human Rights Watch, 2023).

### ***(iii) Political Corruption***

Political corruption can be interpreted as the exploitation of public power for private profit or advantage. This is the particular kind of corruption that prevails among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government under the rule of democracy. It includes a range of immoral actions in the political sphere, including bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, and electoral fraud (Smith, 2018). According to Jones (2019), this widespread occurrence deteriorates the public's confidence in government organizations and threatens the credibility of democratic governance.

Political corruption, as previously said, is the kind of corruption that exists among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government in a democracy. It is the most severe form of corruption since it incorporates the theft of public funds (Diko and Onyekwelu, 2018). The most notable instances of public corruption in the executive branch of government concern personal as well as primitive affiliations in the awarding of contracts and being appointed, money laundering and embezzlement, and contract inflation. The Federal Cabinet of Nigeria has recently made headlines due to high-profile bribery allegations involving former National Security Advisor Sambo Dasuki and official Petroleum Minister Allison Maduake. The judiciary occasionally tramples on the rule of law, is insensitive to clear criminal cases, or attempts to minimize the seriousness of crimes in order to further a specific political agenda. The judiciary becomes weaker as a result. The Nigerian Federal Court of Appeal experienced a crisis that resulted in the suspension of its president over allegations that he was acting in the best interests of a particular political party in some election cases (Ketefe, 2012).

Political corruption occurs when decision-makers and those in charge of enforcing the law participate in actions deemed unethical in the areas of leadership and the exercise of public authority. When rules and regulations are established to promote the interests of the political class instead of the general public, political corruption results. Governance, legislation, orderly

procedures, democratic structures, and policy development are all impacted and warped by political corruption (Amundsen, 1997). "The utilization of legislative powers by government officials for unauthorized private gain" is another definition of political corruption (Oghuvbu and Oghuvbu, 2020).

Political corruption has a detrimental impact on the economy, the government's reputation, and its status. It also renders policies and development initiatives unsustainable. Political corruption can be understood by examining how politicians utilize their positions to illegally benefit themselves as well as by taking a political perspective on corruption (Oghuvbu & Oghuvbu, 2020). The underlying premise holds that political corruption arises when officials use their positions for their own benefit while disregarding the needs of the populace (Neild, 2002; Garner, 2004). When someone expects a material or immaterial benefit—like money, political clout, or social standing—corruption results. When elected officials make choices that benefit primarily those who belong to their families or ethnic groups at the cost of the general public, it is thought that they are engaging in corruption (Oghuvbu & Oghuvbu, 2020).

Gyekye (1997) goes on to further explain that political corruption is the illicit, unprincipled, and unsanctioned exploitation of an individual's diplomatic or official position for private benefit or advantage. The term 'political' in political corruption is premeditated to insinuate to public affairs: the sanctioned goods, relationships, opulence, organizations, assets, and institutions of the state – which is a human community with structured, public entities. Political corruption therefore refers to an act of corruption committed against the state or its branches by an individual in a position of authority for his or her own private or financial benefit (Gyekye, 1997). However, for Gyekye, corruption is a moral problem. Moral scepticism or wickedness can be used as a simple definition of corruption. It has to be viewed primarily as a moral dilemma. This depravity, at the very least, results from moral misunderstanding or perplexity. Since corruption has a detrimental impact on human wellbeing in general and in particular, it needs to be viewed fundamentally as a moral concern. When an action has an impact on the welfare of people, it is either moral or immoral. An action that improves human well-being is morally correct, while one that makes it worse is unethical.

Banini (2020) expresses political that corruption is so pervasive in Nigeria that it has grown 'almost outdated to reassert it,' making it a notably ubiquitous social phenomenon. Nigeria's political corruption is pure thievery, pervasive in all sectors, both public and private. It feeds,

subtends, and links each domain to the next in an endless spiral. The issue is connected to the nation's stagnant political development.

Maiangwa et al., (2012) argues with the aforementioned words by Banini (2020) that it is not the fact that political corruption in Nigeria has flourished and escalated to a point where it cannot be reiterated, the fundamental objective of combating political corruption should be to target the variables that fuel the raging embers of the terrorist uprisings, such as a lack of security, ubiquitous elite corruption and military service brutality, ongoing financial difficulties, deteriorating and insufficiently developed infrastructures of government that increase the illegitimacy of the nation-state of Nigeria, and inaccuracies in reporting. As a result, one approach to addressing the Boko Haram crisis would be to investigate the causative effectiveness of each of the aforementioned trigger elements. It is believed that by addressing these issues, the chances of discontented, angry, and dissatisfied youth in northern Nigeria turning to terrorism will be considerably decreased, if not eliminated.

#### ***2.4 Historical evolution of Political Corruption in Nigeria***

Heidenheimer (1970) asserts that the phenomena of political corruption has not been clearly defined because it differs greatly throughout political systems, civilizations, and settings. Political corruption encompasses a wide spectrum of behaviours that abuse authority for one's own benefit, therefore how it is interpreted frequently varies depending on moral, legal, and cultural viewpoints. For instance, because of different political systems or social standards, what one society views as corrupt could be accepted in another (Heidenheimer, 1970). Comparably, the term "corruption" has an extended history of varying definitions and implications across linguistic and cultural contexts. Since various authors characterize corruption differently depending on their goals and contexts, there are no universally accepted standards for defining corruption. However, for the intention of the present inquiry, political corruption is characterized as "the improper use or exploitation of positions of power for private and personal gains" by the World Bank (World Bank, 1997).

Nigeria's colonial past has permanently altered the political climate and shaped the nation's corruption trajectory (Agbibo, 2018). According to Osaghae (2013), corrupt practices in the past were established by British colonial officials who took advantage of Nigeria's wealth for their personal benefit. After independence, many politicians continued to put their own personal gain ahead of the welfare of the people, which contributed to the corruption legacy (Adebayo, 2015).

From the days before colonization in Nigeria and onward, political corruption has continuously existed in some way or another. Yoruba Obas were formerly thought to be the sole proprietors of their kingdoms, which is believed to have allowed the emergence of nepotistic behaviours. In addition, during the Slave Trade era, traditional rulers were forced to invade neighbouring tribes, auction their own people, and give over territory to Europeans through the implementation of physical force, bribery, and incentives. The nation did not fare any better during the colonial era, which was marked by the dictatorial and authoritarian control of a small number of British colonial rulers. It is important to remember that the colonial government set up a dishonest and corrupt system of accumulation that allowed for the theft of enormous profits obtained by exploiting Nigerian workers, petty producers, and peasants at large through expensive enterprises and the sole rights of exploitation provided to British and various European companies over Nigerian mineral deposits and other natural assets (Adaja and Talabi, 2017).

Following the declaration of independence of Nigeria, the ruling class there likewise made use of state resources and authority to further their own monetary interests and political influence and their disciples. During this time, "ten percent kickbacks" started to have a widespread impact. Nowadays, corruption is accepted as the norm in Nigeria. As said by Olorode (2015) "Corruption-ridden officials used to be the rare exception, conducting their illicit activities in an obscure spot or under the table; currently, it's not only blatant and on the surface, but it's done with dignity" (p. 13). Although there are many different forms of political corruption, the most common ones are influence peddling, extortion, bribes, favouritism, nepotism, tribalism, patronage, graft, and embezzlement (Lührmann, 2018).

The laundering of funds, illicit trade in drugs, and human trafficking are just a few of the illegal acts that corruption makes easier, however there are many more. Political corruption also includes the abuse of government legitimacy and power for objectives that differ from those for which it was intended, such as the suppression of political opposition and widespread use of force by the police (Lindberg and Van Ham, 2016). The actions that make up political corruption differ according on the nation or legal system. As per Lawal (2018), a political practice that is permissible in one jurisdiction could be prohibited in another. Sometimes a government official's powers are vague or sweeping, making it hard to tell what legal behaviour is and what is unlawful.

## ***2.5 Root Causes and Developmental Impacts of Political Corruption in Nigeria***

For many years, political corruption in Nigeria has posed a serious barrier to the nation's political advancement. A thorough examination of the different historical, institutional, socio-economic, and cultural elements that gave rise to the pervasiveness of corruption within Nigeria's political system is necessary to comprehend the root causes of political corruption and its effects on the trajectory of politics.

### ***(i) Historical factors***

The colonial past of Nigeria has played a considerable influence on the country's political evolution and the level of institutional corruption (Adebayo, 2015). In order to take use of Nigeria's resources for the benefit of themselves, British officials frequently participated in corrupt activities throughout the colonial era (Osaghae, 2013). Many of the nation's post-independence politicians were impacted by the unethical conduct of their colonial forebears, so even after the nation officially gained independence in 1960, corruption remained a legacy (Agbibo, 2018).

The colonial government constructed systems of governance in order to further advance the objectives of the British Empire over those of the Nigerian citizens (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2015). Frequently, British officials exploited their power to divert off resources from Nigeria's economy, benefiting themselves and their companions at the detriment of the native populace (Ibeanu, 2017). Even after Nigeria gained independence, this culture of corruption remained entrenched in the country's political structure.

### ***(ii) Institutional weaknesses***

Political corruption in Nigeria has been made easier by inadequate institutional structures and enforcement mechanisms, which have allowed for the misuse of authority and injustice (Aiyede and Osumah, 2019). There is an atmosphere of impunity in the nation where corruption frequently goes without punishment because the judiciary and law enforcement agencies are unable to adequately look into and prosecute corrupt government officials (Egwu and Mbachu, 2016). Furthermore, corruption has been able to spread unhindered due to the lack of strong anti-corruption laws and enforcement systems (Oyebode, 2015).

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) are two corruption prevention organizations that the Nigerian government has established in an attempt to eradicate corruption. Nevertheless, the lack of

autonomy, political meddling, and insufficient financing have hindered these institutions, making it harder for them to effectively combat corruption at the most advanced levels of government (Ojo, 2018).

### ***(iii) Socio-Economic Factors***

Political corruption in Nigeria is mostly fuelled by socioeconomic issues like joblessness, destitution, and disparities in earnings (Oyebisi and Akanle, 2020). When people try to make their way through a system with few chances, widespread impoverishment fosters an environment in which corruption is seen as an instrument of survival or upward mobility (Alemika, 2018). Additionally, wealth inequality increases societal unrest and erodes confidence in political structures, which impedes political progress and causes political unrest (Ugwu, 2017).

Most Nigerians are poor, with few having the luxury of having essential amenities like pure water, medical care, and education (Oyelola and Ajagunna, 2019). Because citizens sometimes turn to bribery or other methods of corruption to obtain necessary services or find job opportunities, this fosters an environment that is conducive to corruption. Furthermore, social discontent and political turmoil are exacerbated by elevated rates of unemployment, which makes attempts to fight corruption and advance political development even more difficult (Olaoye and Oloko, 2016).

### ***(iv) Cultural Norms and Values***

The elevated degree of political corruption in Nigeria is also influenced by cultural norms and values (Onwudiwe and Ekekwe, 2018). According to Olowu and Onipede (2015), corruption is widely accepted as a necessary component of political life in various regions of the nation. In Nigerian politic sphere, patronage structures and clientelism are prevalent practices, whereby politicians provide resources and privileges to their advocates in return for their allegiance to the political party (Ezeani and Onwudiwe, 2016). The values of accountability, openness, and sound government are all compromised by this culture of favouritism.

With dozens of distinct ethnic communities, Nigeria is a diversified nation with unique cultural customs and traditions (Ibeanu, 2016). Although the nation benefits from cultural diversity, it may also serve as a cause for contention and separation, especially when it pertains to matters of governance and the distribution of resources (Ogunsanwo, 2018). Political leaders frequently

take advantage of differences in race and religion in order to hold onto power and privilege, which exacerbates corruption and impedes the advancement of politics (Ayoade, 2014).

***(v) Lack of Political Will To Address and Prevent Political Corruption***

One major obstacle to Nigeria's upward trajectory in politics has been the absence of political resolve to eradicate corruption (Ikejiaku, 2019). It is challenging to implement significant reforms since a large number of leaders and government personnel are also involved in corrupt activities (Oluwole and Olawale, 2017). Furthermore, the politics of corruption frequently results in a lack of agreement on the most effective ways to resolve the problem, which impedes the advancement of political growth even more (Osaghae, 2016).

Political figures in Nigeria have frequently voiced support for the battle against misconduct while also participating in it (Ogundiya, 2018). The impression that corruption is a common occurrence in politics is strengthened by this insincerity, which erodes public confidence in organizations of government (Olaopa, 2020). The politicization of corruption has also made it challenging to reach agreement on anti-corruption policies, which has resulted in stagnation and inactivity in the anti-corruption movement (Oshodi, 2019).

***(vi) Globalisation and International Organised Crime as External factors***

Globalization and international organized crime are examples of external variables that also encourage political corruption in Nigeria (Ojo and Oloyede, 2018). Globalization has made it simpler for criminal revenue to move across national borders, which has made it less difficult for dishonest authorities to conceal their holdings overseas and launder money (Osaghae, 2017). In order to participate in crimes like trafficking in drugs, trafficking in people, and laundering of cash, international criminal syndicates frequently cooperate together with dishonest politicians, which further undermines government stability and advancement (Oloko, 2019).

Nigeria is located in an area that is haunted by criminal organizations, violence, and turmoil (Oluwasegun, 2017). The nation is susceptible to the actions of transnational criminal cartels, which frequently use illicit behaviour to enhance their unlawful operations, due to its fragile borders and incompetent criminal justice system (Ojo and Oloyede, 2018). Furthermore, Nigeria's advantageous position in the Gulf of Guinea serves as a breeding ground for organized crime, including maritime piracy, which threatens national stability and advancement (Olujide, 2020).

### ***(vii) Inadequate Civic Engagement***

Nigerian political corruption has flourished due to an absence of public involvement and political process participation (Oluwaseun, 2016). Many people are disenchanted with politics and think that their votes have no bearing or that their voices will not be heard (Oyebanji, 2019). This lack of interest in politics allows dishonest leaders to rig elections in order to hold onto power, eroding democracy and impeding political advancement (Olabisi, 2017).

Nigeria boasts a flourishing civil society that is home to numerous prominent grassroots movements and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Oke, 2018). But the government frequently harasses and intimidates these groups, which makes it harder for them to effectively promote political reform (Olalekan and Olugbenga, 2015). Furthermore, it is challenging for common people to comprehend the issues at hand and contend their representatives in parliament responsible due to a lack of access to knowledge and political literacy (Ogunyemi and Oladeji, 2019).

Political corruption in Nigeria is a complicated issue with many facets that is deeply ingrained in the nation's organizations, socioeconomic circumstances, political dynamics, and cultural values. In order to deal with the root causes of political corruption and advance political development, it will be necessary to work together to fortify institutions, pass and uphold anti-corruption legislation, combat inequality and destitution, cultivate an environment of openness and responsibility, and encourage public involvement in politics. Nigeria can only triumph over the epidemic of political corruption and reach its full capacity as a democratic and affluent nation via thorough and ongoing reforms.

### ***(viii) Failure of leadership***

It is the duty of leadership, in all its manifestations, to lead and drive society toward progress and prosperity. According to (Nosedo et al., 2015), leadership serves as an agent of change and a binding force that unites a nation's citizens in two ways. First of all, it spurs them on to pursue their goals, both personal and collective. It also has the secret to answering transformational questions. Realizing societal objectives confers enthusiasm and motivation on leadership in some domains. First, to guarantee that policies are created, and second, to guarantee that decision-makers follow through on their execution. When this occurs, it shows that those in leadership positions have an unambiguous objective, have the capacity to take positive initiative, and are visionaries (Anozodo et al., 2015). At that point, the idea of a society that is ethically devoid of vices such as corruption that are harmful to improving human welfare

begins to seem unrealistic. Nevertheless, the persistence of societal vices, which are "resented both in personal connections and group behaviour," takes off when the leader lacks vision and the ability to guide (Fatile, 2014: 47). According to Kretschmar (2007), these leaders ought to be seen as unethical since they have the ability to steer communities along self-destructive pathways that ultimately lead to suffering. The following situations illustrate how poor leadership encourages corruption to continue spreading.

Firstly, the absence of or inadequate solid determination on the part of Nigeria's leadership aids in the growth of corruption. Considering that the upkeep and preservation of stability is the duty of those in power in democratic countries, the situation in Nigeria is contrary. In fact, as (Ebegbulem, 2012: 223) asserts, "since trustworthy and powerful leaders have never previously been in control, Nigerian society has never been consistently governed effectively since independence." This is a result of the country being governed by corrupt and self-centred individuals whose priority is personal wealth accumulation over the welfare of the country. These politicians have frequently destroyed Nigerian lives, leaving them in a state of unemployment, malnutrition, destitution, and illiteracy. As a result, politicians in Nigeria are now using corruption as an instrument of power in politics to further their own agendas (Aleyomi, 2013: 11). This cycle continues since the people in command of affairs do not possess an unwavering determination and are unable to make firm decisions that will steer national affairs in a direction that will be for the benefit of society as a whole. This encourages "weak organizations of government, an atmosphere of affluence, and a get rich mentality has grown into a way of life of public officials," according to (Moyosore, 2015: 29). When this occurs, the general public in Nigeria is led to believe that "corruption and democracy are inextricably linked" (Ebegbulem, 2012: 225).

Secondly, Africa is the wealthiest continent in the world regarding mineral resources yet being the most impoverished. Regretfully, "a crisis of leadership and corruption plague this precious continent's reputation" (Ebegbulem, 2012: 221). The improper administration of the country's material and human resources by the government of Nigeria contributes to political corruption. Due to poor resource management, Nigeria, to be specific - a country endowed with an abundance of both human and material resources—has emerged as the epicentre of poverty and violence (Jev, 2014: 147). Public elected representatives either take advantage of these assets for themselves or direct them toward unsuitable industries, where they are then used to their advantage. These resources are a national asset that should be used to build modern, useful, and easily accessible facilities in order to promote human welfare and accelerate economic

progress. Nevertheless, the "relentless deepening of the disparity between the governed and those in power resulting in destitution, joblessness, and inadequate development" is what the leaders are really interested in (Tella, 2014: 212). These kinds of leadership choices result in low employee welfare, low pay, and low public servant enumeration (Moyosore, 2015: 29). Under such circumstances, with social pressures and competitiveness, politically motivated corruption becomes more likely as a means of obtaining a higher standard of living. Therefore, if strong moral principles do not lead a person, they will inevitably become corrupt. It is a sign of incompetence on the leaders' part when they cannot effectively administer what they have for the benefit of the governed.

## ***2.6 Consequences of Political Corruption on Development***

### *(i) Governance quality*

Political corruption weakens responsibility, openness, and the supremacy of law, which substantially lowers the quality of government in Nigeria (Aiyede and Osumah, 2019). Decision-making processes are distorted by political corruption, which leads to ineffective distribution of resources and less-than-ideal policy results (Egwu and Mbachu, 2016). According to Oyeboade (2015), there is a common misappropriation or diversion of public resources for personal benefit, preventing citizens of vital amenities and hindering socioeconomic advancement.

### *(ii) Institutional effectiveness*

According to Ojo (2018), corruption reduces the ability of public institutions to provide services and enforce the rule of law, which in turn affects their efficacy. The EFCC and ICPC are two examples of agencies entrusted with fighting corruption. They frequently confront obstacles such a lack of autonomy, political meddling, and limited financing (Oluwasegun, 2017).

### *(iii) Socio-economic disparities*

By taking funds away from vital amenities and sustaining inequalities and destitution, political corruption promotes socioeconomic inequality to be more severe (Ugwu, 2017). Because of dishonest tactics, marginalized individuals frequently lack accessibility to basic services such as medical care and educational opportunities (Oyebisi and Akanle, 2020). Furthermore, corruption affects the rules of the market, giving an advantage to well-connected people and companies at the expense of innovation and fair rivalry.

*(iv) Public trust*

According to Onwudiwe and Ekekwe (2018), corruption diminishes trust among citizens in democratic processes and government agencies. People lose faith in the democratic system and may stop participating in civic life when they believe that leaders are enriching themselves at the detriment of the common good (Oluwaseun, 2016).

*(v) Democratic consolidation*

By weakening democratic principles and challenging the legitimacy of elected leadership, political corruption poses a serious challenge to the strengthening of democracy (Ikejiaku, 2019). Voter intimidation, vote-buying, discrepancies, and other consequences of corrupt electoral practices erode public trust in the democratic system (Olabisi, 2017).

*(vi) International reputation*

According to Ojo and Oloyede (2018), political corruption damages Nigeria's standing internationally and calls into question its dependability as an attractive destination for foreign investment. Because of uncertainties about political unpredictability and legal ambiguity, foreign investors are reluctant to make investments in nations with an elevated rate of political corruption (Oluwasegun, 2017).

*(vii) Security issues*

Social discontent and violent disputes are made worse by political corruption in Nigeria (Oluwasegun, 2017). According to Oluwasegun (2017), corruption in security services makes it more difficult for them to fight criminal organizations, terrorist groups, and insurgency, as well as to uphold law and order.

*(viii) Impediment to sustainable development*

Political corruption generally impedes efforts towards sustainable growth by taking funds away from vital industries (Ugwu, 2017). The expansion of the economy and advancement in society are impeded by political corruption, which undercuts investments in infrastructure, medical care, educational institutions, and other vital services (Oyebisi & Akanle, 2020).

There is an immense degree of distance and apathy in the country as a result of the wealth and poverty inequalities. Nigeria is experiencing a severe predicament. According to Ibenegbu, who cited financial statistics from the United States, 'if corruption in Nigeria continues at its current rate, it will account for around 37% of the country's GDP by 2030. This implies that

every citizen will lose roughly \$1000 per year due to corruption as of right now. This figure is expected to rise to \$2000 for each inhabitant by 2030'.

Moyosore (2015) in one of his outstanding studies listed several consequences of political corruption. Below is a paraphrasing of a few of the consequences mentioned:

(i) Because impoverished people typically spend larger percentages of their monthly earnings in bribes, corruption exacerbates socioeconomic and political disparities and widespread destitution. As a result, economic development is decreased. Due to embezzlement and poor administration by both military and civilian governments, countless Nigerians are now without employment, impoverished, and illiterate. He referred to it as "oil that exacerbates conditions associated with human development holistically." Citing Osoba (1996), he emphasized that it is an anti-social conduct that confers illicit advantages against ethical and legal standards and sabotages efforts to improve individual's standards of life.

(ii) Additionally, political corruption redirects public funding away from initiatives and industries that primarily help the impoverished in favour of those where public servants may easily accept bribes. The inference is the fact that public resources that may have enhanced productivity in order to raise the quality and effectiveness of government operations are redirected for self-serving goals, and priorities are misaligned. Acts of this nature jeopardize the state's financial stability since significant sums of money are not transferred to government treasuries because the system is set up to allow leaks.

(iii) The public's access to high-quality products and services can also be harmed by political corruption since some businesses will take short cuts and produce inferior products in order to meet their contractual obligations and turn a profit. The author of "Problems of Democracy: Administrative Reform and Corruption," citing Khan, pointed out that this leads to allocative inefficiency because it permits the least productive contractor or most expensive distributor with the greatest capacity to bribe the individuals who grant government contracts to give those contracts to their friends or businesses in which they have interests. Long-term, such actions damage government agencies' reputations, render them ineffectual and inefficient, and have a detrimental influence on public health.

(iv) The effective mobilization and administration of human and material resources is adversely affected by political corruption. It may further alienate highly intelligent civil personnel, or even cause them to resign from their positions and flee the nation in search of "greener

pastures" abroad, since the majority of Nigerians believe that working outside is more lucrative than staying home.

(v) Low investment in the nation, which has a negative impact on both local and international economic growth, is another factor contributed by political corruption. Political corruption weakens an economy and deters foreign and domestic investors from making investments there. This has the result of leaving less money available for profitable investments. Investment from abroad is hampered by political corruption.

(vi) The citizens' human rights are adversely affected by corruption. The basic human rights of its citizens will not be respected in a nation with a corrupt administration. As a result, the legitimacy and integrity of the government would be weakened, the supremacy of law will be violated, and the procedures for making decisions will be distorted. While perpetrators may get away with their crimes, even those who attempt to uncover those involved in corrupt practices face consequences for doing so. The quote, "join them if you can't beat them" is strengthened by this.

(vii) Ultimately, corruption fuels social unrest and bloodshed as rival factions fight for control of the state, which determines how resources and other comforts are distributed throughout the population. It also contributes to political deterioration and the economy of the country. Because of this, getting into politics has become more appealing and is now considered an open position for the wealthy and powerful. It is also the best path to gaining influence, respect, and prominence.

According to the aforementioned, corruption is widespread throughout the nation and has given rise to a variety of expressions that mostly affect the general public. It has affected the country's social, political, administrative, and fiscal spheres. It is demonstrated by deteriorating facilities, inadequate healthcare, declining educational standards, loss of resources, disregard for the interests of the populace, election malpractice, security concerns, nepotism, prebendalism, and overall bad government.

### ***2.7 Political Corruption as a Catalyst for Terrorism in Nigeria***

The global phenomena of corruption and its effects impedes and jeopardizes the advancement of people and infrastructure. The bulk of the world's population suffers as a result of the problems political corruption brings to civilizations and humanity. To name a few, some of these are insecurity, impoverishment, death, and a staggering rate of joblessness. On the other

hand, political corruption is discussed in this section as a catalyst that aids in the proliferation of terrorism, especially in Nigeria.

Nigeria has become so overrun by terrorism that there is an abundance of conflict-related news, including reports of fatalities, property damage, and displaced people. While religious fanaticism fuels terrorism in other areas, political corruption constitutes one of the factors that encourages it in Nigeria, according to (Ekezue and Ezeah, 2015). Akindola and Ehinomen, (2017) acknowledged that corruption is the root cause of terrorism but also stated that poverty is a direct effect of corrupt practices causing resource inadequate management, which in return fuels insurgency. Due to this predicament of unequal resource management and distribution, there is a struggle for existence in Nigeria, with the privileged always coming out on top. Not only do physical structures get destroyed as a result of this rivalry, but innumerable other people also get killed or hurt.

Agang (2016:2) contends that the ongoing rise in terrorist activity is caused by a distortion of spirituality, morals, and principles. Since ideas of corrupt practices, intimidation, sexual misconduct for favors and promotions, and the demise of human conscience may be attributed to the wretchedness of the human psyche, moral bankruptcy is therefore the foundation that fosters political corruption. Agang emphasizes that despite the fact that numerous studies have neglected to recognize this type of corruption as the catalyst for terrorism. He maintains that terrorism's promotion of the destruction, deformation, and disturbance of human existence and its surroundings stems from a lack of regard for the sanctity of human life (Agang, 2016). Similarly, Igboin (2016) upholds Agang's point of view and contends that the only morally appropriate approach for eliminating political corruption is transformative-morazoicism, an ideology that relies on the ethical tenacity of every person and aims at encouraging bigger positive transformation that starts at the individual level and spreads across multiple institutions in society.

In addition to being a byproduct of political corruption, terrorism also aids the corrupt in escaping justice for their deliberate and covert plots of mass destruction (Agang, 2016). The worrying rise in the impunity index, which allows corruption to go unabated, is a bigger worry than the fact that political corruption is only growing sporadically. This raises additional concerns about a poor leadership system that allows vices such as political corruption to be treated lightly (Moyosore, 2015). Every day, new cases are discovered, and the offenders are identified. However, inadequate steps are made to question them, which makes marginalized

people more suspicious and furious. Agang (2016) characterizes corruption as "terrorism," "a killer disease," and a "dedicated catastrophic violence committed against the human species by every system of humanity as its stakeholders" for precisely the same motive. The reasons Agang claims that "we currently reside in an Africa that we are opposed to since plenty of evidence which reveal that all is not good" (Agang, 2020: 3) are related to the aforementioned problems. This prompts us to examine the two terrorist organizations impeding Nigerians' ability to live in harmony with one another.

### ***2.7.1 The Boko Haram Insurgency***

The harmonious coexistence in Nigeria is severely disrupted by the actions of Boko Haram extremists. They have wreaked unrecoverable devastation since their full appearance in 2009, resulting in the demise of several lives and the degeneration of numerous properties. Several factors contributing to the ongoing terrorist insurgency have been identified by research (see for example Obamwonyi and Aibieyi, 2016; Ikeazu and Ezeah, 2015; Ademowo, 2015; Bamidele, 2016). These studies confirm that political inclination, impoverishment, lack of education, and religious fanaticism are some of the main factors contributing to terrorism in Nigeria. However, (Ademowo, 2015) suggests that opinions on what motivates the Boko Haram sect's actions differ. He notes that others refer to them as ethnic, religious, or economic extremists, or as a group that aimed to be heard or acknowledged. According to (Ademowo, 2015), these viewpoints have grown into a multifaceted monster that threatens to stifle our sense of identity and mission as a nation-state. Still, let us to briefly discuss the connection between corruption and terrorism.

Numerous individuals of Nigeria are at a disadvantage because of the corrupt nature of the country's educational system. The Boko Haram cult instead spreads its hatred and disapproval of Western education, whilst Nigeria continues to fail to update its educational systems to guarantee longevity to those hoping for a better future. According to (Akinbi, 2015), (Shuaibu, 2015), and (Ademowo, 2015), there is a strong correlation between illiteracy and the rate of growth of the Boko Haram Sect. A growing number of young people lack literacy, particularly in areas of northeastern Nigeria where the sect first emerged, and many of them have willingly joined forces with Boko Haram to commit acts of destruction. They are receptive to brainwashing and indoctrination of destructive mindsets and ideologies because they preach a categorical rejection of Western education and view it as illegal (Akinbi, 2015: 36). Because

they do not find anything appealing in today's education, they can accept anything that is offered to them and take it for granted.

Their disapproval of Western education, as stated by Akinbi (2015: 34), stems from their doubt that education can truly alter lives. Because of the widespread unemployment, the impending impoverishment circumstances, and the destruction of future hopes caused by those who claim to be well-educated, the Boko Haram group believes that an education of this kind cannot change anything.

Their disapproval of Western education, as reported by Akinbi (2015: 34), stems from their doubt that education can truly alter lives. Because of the widespread unemployment, the impending impoverished circumstances, and the destruction of future hopes caused by those who claim to be well-educated and in the political sphere, the Boko Haram group believes that education cannot bring about a better society. This is the case because those with higher education and in political positions of power have turned into the most corrupt people in society, rendering life to be challenging and destroying the prospects for the coming generation. Furthermore, it is less fascinating to pursue or encourage modern education given the status of institutions of learning. This may be one of the causes behind Boko Haram's persistent views that Western education is not permitted and unworthy of pursuit (Akinbi, 2015). In this instance, the authority that results from intelligence is interpreted differently. Education, a fundamental human right that should impart knowledge about how people and societies are changing, is inadequate since corruption has squandered funds intended for this kind of growth. As a result, the Boko Haram sect thinks nothing of using terrorism to take lives and damage property.

Poverty is another element driving Boko Haram terrorist operations in Nigeria (Akinbi, 2015: 36). It is an additional threat that is alarmingly spreading throughout the nation and leading to more vices. The desperate attempt to improve one's life both now and in the future appears unrealistic and has resulted in a circumstance that is generating bright, vacant brains. Supporting the aforementioned assertion, studies by Shuaibu et al., (2015), Ikezue and Ezeah (2015), Akinbi (2015), and Adesoji (2010) all point to poverty as a contributing factor in the Boko Haram terrorist group's ongoing terrorist activities in Nigeria.

While (Isyaku, 2013) attributes the nation's extreme poverty to the unequal distribution of money, (Okon, 2016) supports and envisions the terrifying consequences of improper use. While these children's eagerness to create living testimonies is futile in their thoughts, Boko

Haram exploits them. The Boko Haram "bring in these deprivation-stricken youngsters under the pretence of introducing them to Islamic teachings" because they are aware of the difficulties associated with extreme destitution (Ademowo, 2015: 223). Considering deprivation has grown to be a bigger part of their life, some youngsters enlisted the terrorist group in a misguided attempt to make a living. Remarkably, despite having complete awareness of these circumstances, the decision-makers tasked with improving these people's wellbeing opt to focus on other issues, especially those that will benefit them personally.

### ***2.7.2 The Fulani Herdsmen***

A recently developed sect known as the Fulani Herdsmen has emerged as Nigeria battles the terrorist group Boko Haram. The Fulani Herdsmen expose the sacredness of human existence to mockery and endanger it with actions identical to those of Boko Haram. A tribe of individuals known as Fulani are nomadic and can be discovered across most of West Africa, as it is their livelihood and cultural practice to raise cattle (Ogbeide, 2017); (Ajibefun, 2018). Even if these people's groups have advanced the economy, it is implied that Nigerians lack knowledge about contemporary pastoral farming (Ogbeide, 2017). Because of the unpredictable nature of the weather, they are migrants who travel around Nigeria year-round in quest of greener grass to feed their livestock. They are consequently forced to coexist with stationary farmers, who have long since developed a mutually beneficial relationship.

The Nigerian economy has been credited with significant contributions from the Fulani herdsmen. The Fulani herders are pastoral farmers who grow livestock, according to (Ogbeide, 2017); nevertheless, (Ajibefun, 2018) notes that they also contribute to Nigeria's economy using the goods that come from their farming method. One of the motives for their settlements among stationary farmers is that their farming style necessitates continuous movement (Ajibefun, 2018).

Their place of refuge amongst farmers who are stationary has recently shifted. In the past, the Fulani and the farmers coexisted in a mutually beneficial relationship in which the Fulani provided the farmers with manure to improve their agricultural land in exchange for food. These days, there is no longer any reciprocal interaction because of the ongoing conflicts between the two groups, which have suffered an awful impact on human lives. According to a recently completed inquiry, Ajibefun (2018: 134) cites a few causes for the conflicts, including the "invasion of agricultural land by the Fulani people" and the Fulani nomads' disintegration

of farmers' crops. However, (Ogbeide, 2017: 51) blames these disputes on Nigeria's livestock industry's lack of growth.

This makes moving around more intense, which makes farmers and herders compete with one another for available space. Competition and an unfavourable relationship amongst the two parties are thus caused by the insufficient supply and a shortage of grazing land, water, along with additional prerequisites of the livestock (2017: 51–52). Akper (2018) observes more current causes beyond the ones mentioned above after closely examining the senseless deaths over a three-decade period. "Endless numbers of inhabitants are forced out, disoriented, or have given up their forefathers place of habitation," according to his imagined intended attempt (Akper, 2018: 62). Upon examining these examples, a few ideas immediately surface. First, there is a breakdown in the way that land use is delineated, and offenders are punished. Furthermore, an absence of strong leadership is held accountable for both the livestock industry's demise and the inability to stop desert expansion. Thirdly, those whose land is being seized forcibly without government interference feel an impression of complacency given that "land is at the core of existence, identity, citizenship and foundation for indigenous development" (Akper, 2018: 63). The causes that have been identified can all be linked to political corruption, which leads to the Fulani Herders destroying a great deal of human life and taking property, leaving "an endless number Nigerians who once had farms of considerable size currently in camps with poor sanitation with dehumanizing conditions" (Akper, 2018: 63).

Specifically, there have been a number of consequences from the conflicts between farmers and Fulani herders. These can be divided into two categories: social effects and economic effects. The first group, which is categorized as social impacts by (Ajibefun, 2018: 134), includes sexual misconduct, diminished quality of life, deterioration of social relationships, and decrease in social assistance. He refers to the second set of repercussions as economic ones, which include decreased production and revenue for farmers and herders, loss of storage, farmer forced relocation, a shortage of agricultural commodities, and property loss (Ogbeide, 2017: 53). There are some direct ramifications for the country from both of these effects. The social repercussions include ongoing threats to people's lives, leading to feelings of vulnerability and exclusion. This leaves affected individuals questioning, "Why do these things keep happening to us?", "Who will help us?", and "How long will this continue?" Akper (2015: 288) highlights the need for what he calls "the ethos of hospitality" as a new moral code. In this setting of conflicts between farmers and herders, hospitality is seen to entail more than just making accommodations for one another; it also entails listening to and understanding them

during their challenging times. Unsettlingly, there are a few reasons why the aforementioned sects in Nigeria are always engaging in rampant acts of terrorism.

Three factors are listed by (Bappah, 2016) as the cause of the military's inability to stop terrorist activity in Nigeria. Initially he highlights how the country's restoration to democracy led to the subjective oversight of military service by the citizens, which eroded military integrity and civil administration. Furthermore, inadequate military management of the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency is seen as a sign of ineptitude (Bappah, 2016: 151). This encompasses the military's inadequate communication of information regarding their accomplishments or the strategy behind their attacks. Lastly, "inept leadership is another justification for the military's inability to mitigate insurgency in Nigeria" (Bappah, 2016:152).

Obamwonyi and Aibieyi (2016) point out that in addition to incompetent leadership, the absence of impartiality in Nigerian leadership has resulted in the collaboration of certain officials with terrorist organizations, making it difficult to fight them. Because of the leadership's weakness, there is room for ghost soldiers, people who have died but are still thought to be alive, or people who are not in active service (Feldman, 2009). These are the leaders who have ignored the suffering and screams of the impoverished populace, leaving them at the mercy of their assassins (Kure, 2020).

This part made an argument by linking political corruption to the persistence of terrorism in Nigeria. A number of things were taken into account, such as weak leadership, inadequate security agency management, the decline in military professionalism and civil administration, and inadequate war management tactics. All things considered, politically motivated corruption is the primary source of these factors' ongoing existence. Poor and insufficient leadership, inconsistent officer recruitment, and vulnerability due to a lack of objectivity that creates an environment conducive to cooperation are all results of political corruption. As has since become the case in many parts of Northern-Central Nigeria, terrorists will continue to operate freely, damaging, and subjecting human lives to mockery unless these issues are resolved.

### ***2.8 Examples of Political Corruption Cases in Nigeria***

This section looks at political corruption cases in Nigeria, emphasizing cases implicating those holding public positions in Nigeria. Although there are plenty of allegations of political corruption cases in Nigeria, the grand corruption cases are the ones that receive the most attention. Both elected and appointed holders of official positions are involved in grand corruption in Nigeria. After their terms in office finish, multiple state governors still have open

corruption cases in the legal system. Similarly, a large number of senators, representatives in the federal and state legislatures, cabinet ministers, commissioners, and executives of other government organizations are accused of political corruption. This study will examine corruption allegations involving past government officials such as Deizani Alison Madueke, who served as Petroleum minister, Sambo Dasuki, the former National Security Adviser, Babachir Lawal, who was the former secretary of the federation, and Rasheed Maina, the former chairman of the now-defunct Pension Reform Taskforce Team.

### ***2.8.1 Grass-Cutting Scandal - Babachir Lawal***

The grass-cutting scandal represents one of the most recent major corruption incidents implicating public office holders in Nigeria. At the centre of this affair was Babachir Lawal, the former Secretary to the Federal Government. Lawal served as the SGF for two years and a few months during President Muhammadu Buhari's first term until being fired when the general public learned about his corruption case. After being detained by the Economic Financial Crimes Commission in February 2019, he was charged in front of a Federal High Court in Abuja, Nigeria, along with two other people: Suleiman Abubakar and Hamidu Lawal, his younger brother. Two businesses, Rholavision Engineering Limited and Josmon Technologies Limited, are also charged in this case. They are all suspected of stealing and misusing one billion Naira from Nigeria for their own personal gain. They entered a not- guilty plea to each of the ten counts after being charged with all ten. Many witness issues hampered their trial; therefore, their case remains open in a court of law.

### ***2.8.2 Abdurashheed Maina***

On October 25, 2009, Abdurashheed Maina, the former chairman of the now-defunct Pension Reform Task Force Team, was taken into custody and charged with twelve counts related to money laundering in front of a Federal High Court chaired by Justice Abang. He was charged with opening several bank accounts under false pretences using names that did not exist, channelling illicit funds through them, and hiring bankers related to him to assist in running the front companies. After entering a not- guilty plea to all of the accusations against him, Maina was given bail, but his trial went forward. Maina tried to delay his trial by jumping bail twice and then fleeing to an unidentified location. Consequently, when he neglected to appear in court with Maina, Senator Ali Ndume, who had pledged his allegiance to Maina, was imprisoned for five days (Premium Times, 2021). Maina had taken refuge in Niamey, Niger Republic, but his trial led to his eventual capture and extradition back to Nigeria. Nevertheless,

when his trial resumed, Maina and his company, Common Input Property and Investment Limited, were found guilty and sentenced to eight years in prison.

### ***2.8.3 The Dasukigate - Col. Sambo Dasuki***

The controversy known as "The Dasukigate" is among the most well-known corruption scandals in Nigeria of the twenty-first century. It concerned the former National Security Advisor (NSA) to former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's corruption scandal. When Dasuki was in power, from March 2012 to March 2015, he handled military procurement with almost little oversight or involvement from the Ministry of Defence. When an inquiry panel was established in November 2015 to look into the Armsgate deal, that was the initial occasion that Dasuki's corrupt activities were made public. According to the investigative panel's interim report, Dasuki was accused of using several corrupt practises which included awarding illegal contracts and embezzling \$2.2 billion from the money allocated for buying weapons and ammunition to put an end to the insurgency in northeastern Nigeria. The Economic Financial Crimes Commission claims that several public and political figures participated in the weaponry trade. Therefore, Dasuki was not the sole individual to commit the act in question. During interrogation, Musiliu Obanikoro, the then-minister of state for defence, admitted to the EFCC that he had taken more than N4.7 billion Naira from Dasuki's office. The matter of the Dasuki gate scandal will be covered in detail in the following sections of this study since the political environment and corruption that took place during this scandal is intriguing because it also involves/transpired during the political administration of the Former President Goodluck Jonathan which is a matter of interest in this study.

### ***2.8.4 Alison Madueke's Loot***

The case of Diezani Alison Madueke, the former Minister of Petroleum, is another example of institutionalized corruption in Nigeria. President Goodluck Jonathan designated Madueke to supervise the petroleum ministry and the operations of the prestigious Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), a government-owned enterprise responsible for managing Nigeria's petroleum resources, which constitute the backbone of the country's economy. She oversaw the Ministry for a brief period of time and as soon as she left office, she and her colleagues' names were linked to several claims of acts of misconduct. She was connected to a number of costly assets, many of which the federal government stopped as a result of court rulings. The Economic Financial Corruption Commission further charged Madueke with possessing \$39.7 million and N3.32 billion, all of which came from illegal commercial ventures

(Premium Times, 2022). The EFCC also claimed that she fled Nigeria for the United Kingdom when her term as an official ended, having received information that she would be prosecuted for a variety of corrupt activities that she and her closest companions had committed during their time in government. As she has stayed in the UK for the past seven years, the EFCC has made numerous attempts to extradite her to Nigeria to stand prosecution there, but to no avail. On court judgments obtained by the EFCC, a number of Ms. Madueke's assets have been seized by the federal government.

### ***2.9 Relationship between the Boko Haram insurgency and political corruption during President Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) political administration***

The Nigerian federal government's capacity to crush the Boko Haram insurgency was severely hampered by the extreme political corruption that characterized President Goodluck Jonathan's political administration from 2010 to 2015. The unauthorized use of defence budgets was one of the greatest ways in which political corruption negatively impacted the battle against Boko Haram. Much of Nigeria's budget was set aside for defence, particularly in reaction to the mounting threat posed by Boko Haram. However, inquiries demonstrated that the highest-ranking officials embezzled a substantial amount of this budget. One well-known instance of this kind of embezzlement was the \$2.1 billion arms purchase scandal, which is popularly known as “Dasukigate”. Money intended for the acquisition of military hardware was diverted, which was at the centre of the scandal. The National Security Advisor at the time, Sambo Dasuki, was connected to this controversy. Funds meant for the purchase of weapons and ammunition to increase the capability of the Nigerian military were found to have been diverted into political campaigns and the personal accounts of a number of high-ranking individuals (Smith, 2015).

The military's operational capacity was directly and severely impacted by the misuse of these funds. Nigerian soldiers were frequently deployed against Boko Haram rebels lacking the proper weaponry, ammunition, or safeguarding gear because they lacked the essential supplies. According to reports, a large number of troops were armed with antiquated and subpar weaponry in contrast to the advanced weaponry carried by Boko Haram insurgents (International Crisis Group, 2014). Additionally, because of the inadequate financing, vital components of military readiness including training, intelligence, and coordination were not adequately funded. The military was terribly unprepared to launch successful offensives against Boko Haram as a result of this financial mismanagement. In one instance, Boko Haram was

able to reorganize and mount counterattacks because the military was unable to maintain extended operations or secure regained territory.

In the military sector, there have been multiple cases of financial misconduct in addition to the arms deal scandal. A trend of exaggerated contracts, ghost workers on payrolls, and dishonest procurement methods were identified through audits and inquiries. Corrupt officials frequently diverted away funds intended for enhancing troop social security, medical care, and camps (Transparency International, 2015). Even when money was set aside for particular defence projects, it was seldom utilized for those purposes due to political corruption. For instance, corporations that belonged to loyalists of high-ranking officials were frequently given preferential treatment during procurement processes, which led to distribution of military equipment that were either inadequate or non-existent.

Several accusations have been made against President Goodluck Jonathan's political administration in Nigeria for openly supporting corruption and illicit activities in both the private and public realms. When the president took office on May 6, 2010, there have emerged allegations of over five trillion naira in public funds being stolen through embezzlement, stealing, and fraud (Punch Newspaper of November 25). According to publications, a number of high-ranking Jonathan administration officials were exempted from prosecution despite being charged with embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds (Ekott and Udo, 2013).

Governor Adams Oshiomhole of Edo State, in Jonathan's south-south geopolitical region, expressed his utter disbelief that no individual was imprisoned with regard to corruption in Nigeria. In an additional report from an elected representative that highlights the extent of corruption, he claimed that "corrupt practices were rampant, but no one seemed to be held accountable" (Azania, 2013). The numerous instances of corrupt behaviour committed by Jonathan are further explained in detail by Amaechi (2014) as follows: Under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration, corruption seemed to have been institutionalized. According to reports, a staggering twenty billion dollars went missing. The tales about the fuel and kerosene subsidies are quite astounding. It reeks of decay and filth. There is still no conclusion to the aircraft bulletproof saga. The tale of Shell Malabu is a haunting dance. The regime's response to corruption is to put anyone in jail who exposes it. The repercussions of people who oppose corruption are part of the impunity surrounding corruption (Amaechi, 2014).

The governor of the same south-south region from which the president descends, Amaechi, outlined a number of contentious incidents in which the presidency of Jonathan has been plagued by allegations as well as denials of corrupt practices. Numerous reports and comments have accused the government of not doing enough to combat political corruption, adding to the worldwide scrutiny around the Jonathan administration and the convictions for corrupt practices. The Jonathan administration's decision to give presidential pardons to individuals accused of corrupt crimes after the EFCC prosecuted them was denounced by the US government in March 2013. Diepreiye Alamiyeseigha, the previous governor of Jonathan's native state of Bayelsa, Shettima Bulama, the former president of the Bank of the North, and a few other individuals were pardoned by the National Council of States, which is presided over by the President.

The U.S. Mission in Nigeria responded by expressing dissatisfaction over the pardons being granted, calling it an unfortunate setback in the fight against political corruption (Ibeh, 2013). Transparency International also urged the government to revoke the pardon, saying that it would weaken Nigeria's anti-corruption efforts and promote tolerance. The penalties for betraying public trust should be tightened, not loosened, if the administration is sincere about eliminating public corruption. President Jonathan ought to demonstrate his dedication to combating corruption and support the initiatives of law enforcement organizations in their quest to remove corrupt officials' impunity. Since its establishment in 2003, Nigeria's EFCC has prosecuted and found guilty a number of well-known corrupt figures, although the majority of them have evaded significant punishment (TI, 2013).

Such actions by the Jonathan administration are indicative of the several ways political corruption has manifested in Nigeria and hampered the country's progress. It must also have impacted a number of declarations charging the political system with widespread corruption. In addition to making numerous other damning remarks, former US Secretary of State Mrs. Hilary Clinton charged that the administration was wasting oil money and unintentionally fostering political corruption (Ameh, 2014). Jonathan was charged with "being the catalyst for a corrupt government with minimal credibility" (New York Times, 2014).

Public confidence was damaged by the government's and the military's incompetence and corruption. There was a growing perception among the populace, particularly in the northeast, that the government was either unwilling or incapable to defend them. This impression was strengthened by the obvious contrast between the luxurious lifestyle and financial standing of

public servants and the appalling circumstances that regular people endure (Campbell, 2014). Taking advantage of this frustration, Boko Haram presented itself as a viable option to the dishonest and incompetent administration. Their message struck a chord with a lot of people who felt let down by the government, which helped them gain more supporters and recruits. Corruption made the humanitarian catastrophe brought on by the Boko Haram rebellion worse. Due to the mass displacement of millions of people, humanitarian aid was desperately needed. Nevertheless, there were repeated allegations of corruption influencing the aid distribution process, with those in charge of it being known to misappropriate or steal aid. In addition to depriving impoverished communities of vital assistance, this mishandling increased animosity and suspicion toward the government and foreign relief organizations (ReliefWeb, 2015). There is a complicated and nuanced connection among political corruption throughout President Goodluck Jonathan's administration and the insurrection waged by Boko Haram. The Nigerian government's competence to properly battle Boko Haram was significantly compromised by the misuse of defence money and corruption inside the military. The public's faith diminished, the humanitarian crisis worsened, and the military's operational capacities were undermined by this misconduct.

### ***2.10 Analysis of Anti-Corruption Legislation and Strategies in Nigeria***

There is no denying that Nigeria suffers from widespread political corruption, which has a significant impact on the country's development and progress. Combating political corruption became one of the nation's election platform pledges made by each succeeding leader. In order to combat political corruption, many institutional and legal measures were implemented. These include the Jaji Declaration, which was started in 1977 by General Olusegun Obasanjo (retired), the Ethical Revolution, which was led by the administration of Alhaji Sheu Shagari from 1981 to 1983, the National Orientation Movement in 1986, and the War Against Indiscipline (WAI), which was led by General Muhammadu Buhari (retired) and Late Babatunde Idiagbon in 1984. More recent initiatives include the establishment of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) by former President Obasanjo in the early 2000s.

Despite these efforts, corruption remains rampant. Transparency International has consistently ranked Nigeria among the world's most corrupt nations, with poor ratings from 2014 to 2017 (Transparency International, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017). Scholars, civil society organizations,

and stakeholders often criticize the inefficiency of anti-corruption agencies, citing their struggles to obtain necessary information for prosecuting corruption cases despite having legal powers to do so (Aluko and Adesopo, 2003). The legislation grants anti-corruption agencies, like the EFCC, the authority to inquire about information from the public and private sectors as well as from different people in order to aid in investigations and prosecutions. Additionally, the law enables the Commission to arrest, imprison, and question any individual who refuses to cooperate or withholds vital information. However, despite these powers, the EFCC finds it challenging to obtain the vital evidence to bring charges against corruption allegations (Albert and Okoli, 2016).

In an effort to combat financial and economic crimes, the government implemented a whistleblower policy to supplement and support the current corruption prevention initiatives, since corrupt activities seem to be indestructible in the nation. The ultimate goal of this project is to give people the chance to alert anti-corruption organizations about unusual financial practices in the public and commercial sectors (Daniel, 2017). It is anticipated that providing this information will help the authorities locate and retrieve funds that have been looted. In addition, the program aims to restore the nation's reputation, recover stolen assets, eradicate corruption, and encourage accountability and openness in the administration of public funds (Daniel, 2017).

Furthermore, the policy consists of three main parts: incentives for providing information, security for whistleblowers, and information conduits and types of information needed. The information needed entails real proof of financial wrongdoings such as money laundering, bribes, extortion, looting, contract and procurement fraud, and misappropriation and theft of public resources.

According to Daniel (2017), any individual with accurate and trustworthy knowledge on any of these transgressions is urged to submit it to the relevant authority (EFCC) via email, a whistleblower web page, and 24-hour mobile hotlines. A 5% reward is available to a single whistleblower whose testimony resulted in the recovery of funds up to N1 billion (Naira). In this regard, the policy's guidelines explicitly indicate that awards would be given to whistleblowers for recuperated funds of N1 to N5 billion (Naira). Five percent of the first N1 billion and 4% of the remaining N4 billion will be awarded as rewards. In addition, a payment of 2.5 percent would be given for any recovery exceeding N5 billion (Naira). Furthermore, whistleblowers will be safeguarded from any form of retaliation (Gabriel, 2017).

The fact that the Nigerian National Assembly (legislature) has not yet approved the Safeguard Disclosure (for whistleblowers and other exceptional provisions) Bill and the Whistleblower Protection Bill is one of the main concerns regarding the commencement of this policy. This raises several questions: Can an executive decree alone sustain the policy's implementation without legal backing? Can the executive branch use public funds to compensate whistleblowers for an initiative not yet supported by legislation? Most importantly, what legal framework will serve as the foundation for whistleblower protection? The policy is still being used by the administration even though these problems have not yet been resolved.

The consequences of this are straightforward: innocent people who disclose information may be discouraged from doing so as whistleblowers will be vulnerable to potential threats or risks. The government of the nation-state of Nigeria previously declared that a large number of whistleblowers had turned down prizes for evidence that resulted in a successful recuperation of looted funds (Nwachukwu, 2017). However, experts and researchers have refuted this allegation, asserting that whistleblowers did not step forward to seek prizes because they knew their rights were not guaranteed. Because there are no laws protecting whistleblowers, many Nigerians have experienced retaliatory attacks in previous years for revealing essential information to the public. One example that comes to mind is the case of Mr. Lamido Sanusi, a previous governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, who was fired from his position in 2014 after revealing details on the disappearance of \$20 billion (US dollars) in oil earnings from the National Petroleum Corporation (Usman, 2014). Additionally, a National Women Development Center (NWDC) employee was let go for divulging information about the purported misappropriation of a substantial quantity of money intended for a program aimed at reducing poverty in 2011 (Ajibola, 2017). Honourable Jibrin Abdulmumin, a member of the National House of Representatives, also received a suspension from the house after alerting the body to budget theft in 2016 (Ogundipe, 2016). In a similar vein, Mr. Ntia Thompson, previously employed Assistant Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Directorate of Technical Cooperation in Africa, was fired after disclosing details about \$229,000 that chief officers had embezzled (Soni, 2017).

Political corruption is a covert criminal activity that is hard to find unless it is brought to light. Consequently, research has demonstrated that traditional institutional and legal frameworks are insufficient to stop corrupt practices. In developed and certain developing nations, whistleblowing policies are a crucial tool that supports other anti-corruption initiatives. Therefore, it is an innovative idea to introduce whistleblowing as a weapon for identifying and

combating political corruption in Nigeria. To ensure the success of the program, the legislative branch of government must fulfil its oversight role by taking all necessary steps to pass the Whistleblower Protection Bill. This is due to the possibility of major legal challenges to the policy in the future if it lacks legal support.

In conclusion, academics from a variety of disciplines are very interested in the study of corruption, and when political corruption is the main emphasis, different points of view that represent various disciplines' perspectives and situations are observed. The literature review explores the dynamics of political corruption in Nigeria, with a focus on its origins, effects, and influence on development during the period of 2010 to 2015. It integrates theoretical perspectives such as Prebendalism, the Two Publics, and Political Alienation to explain how entrenched societal practices, institutional failures, and systemic exclusion contribute to corrupt behaviour. Key factors driving political corruption include inadequate institutional frameworks, sociocultural influences like ethnic and religious loyalties, and a lack of political determination to enforce accountability measures. The review further addresses the broader consequences of corruption, which have significantly hindered Nigeria's development, resulting in economic underperformance, weakened governance, diminished public trust, and the exacerbation of security challenges, including the rise of Boko Haram.

Efforts to combat corruption through legislative measures and institutional reforms are critically examined, with emphasis on the challenges undermining their effectiveness. Issues such as weak enforcement mechanisms, lack of independence among anti-corruption bodies, and resistance from powerful vested interests are highlighted as major impediments. The chapter concludes by analysing anti-corruption legislation and strategies in Nigeria and synthesizing existing research, identifying knowledge gaps, and emphasizing the need for a tailored and holistic approach to addressing political corruption in Nigeria. This provides a strong foundation for the methodology and analysis chapters to investigate these issues further.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### *3. Introduction*

The previous chapter reviewed relevant literature studies and publications that are pertinent to this research investigation. The primary goal of the review of the literature was to identify any gaps or shortcomings in the previous research and to contextualize the research study problem in relation to the pertinent academic work on the phenomenon of political corruption in Nigeria. This section offers a theoretical framework that leverages a range of political corruption scenarios in an effort to clearly articulate how the causes and consequences of political corruption interferes with development in Nigeria. There are various corruption theories that aim to understand and uncover the relationships and processes that contribute to corruption at various levels and in diverse contexts and nations. These theories use their underlying principles and claims to create explanations and prediction. After examining various theories, this theoretical framework explains why the chosen theories are seen as the most applicable to this thesis. In this part, it puts into practise corruption theories like Peter Ekeh's "two publics," Richard Joseph's prebendalism, and the political alienation theories to establish a strong foundation for the analysis. These theories are not only valuable for comprehending the state and its challenges in Nigeria but also for offering crucial insights into the widespread political corruption affecting Nigeria and other African nations.

*Theoretical framework:* The research is anchored and driven by a selection of theoretical frameworks that enlighten the analysis of political corruption and its effects on development. Among these are the Two Publics Theory (Ekeh, 1975), which investigates the relationship between Nigeria's civic and primordial publics and how this separation encourages political corruption; the Prebendalism Theory (Joseph, 1987), which studies how holding political office is viewed as a way of enriching oneself and distributing public funds among advocates; and the Political Alienation Theory, which is useful for comprehending Nigeria's sociopolitical setting, especially in light of the Boko Haram insurgency and its links to political corruption (Aminu and Bashir, 2018). Through the integration of the aforementioned different theoretical frameworks, the study offers a strong analytical basis for examining the intricate dynamics between corruption and development in Nigeria.

### ***3.1 The Two Publics Theory***

In 1975, Peter Ekeh, a Nigerian Political Scientist introduced the two publics theory. Ekeh (1975) describes how post-colonial African societies have two distinct social spheres: the public and the private. Ekeh noted that the civic public and the primordial public are two "publics" with different codes of conduct, attitudes, and expectations that individuals in many African countries operate under. A significant proportion of informed and civilized Africans fall under both the civic and primordial publics within the same society, according to his theory, which he devised to explain African society (Ekeh, 1975). Africans benefit immensely from civic engagement, but they also give in involuntarily. On the contrary, the primordial public is supposed to give indiscriminately yet receives so little (Onuoha, 2014). In contrast to their moral interaction with the primordial public, their connection with the civic public is immoral. Interestingly, Ekeh (1975) contended that the dialectical conflicts and clashes between civic and primordial publics were what gave rise to the distinctiveness of modern African politics. Ekeh (1975) defines the private realm as the primordial public, which includes primordial groupings, town organizations and networks, friendships and sentiment, family gatherings, and church affiliations, among other things. Moral standards define the primordial public, and the identical moral obligation that exists in the private sphere also exists there.

The civic public, in contrast to the primordial public, operates in the public sphere and has a longstanding connection to the colonial government. According to Ekeh, the civic public lacks moral obligations since it is an immoral public that functions in the private sphere and in the primordial public. But the same political figures that are active in the civic public are also active in the primordial public, a dynamic configuration that exemplifies what makes African politics unique (Ekeh, 1975). Ekeh (1975) made an effort to explain how the two publics' activities affected African politics and how the continent's distinct political structure came to be. According to Ekeh, the African publics were established and maintained by legitimacy theories that were introduced to us by our colonial oppressors and embraced by African political elites. Both of these ideas had an impact on the African populace, although operating in distinct historical periods and contexts. The African political ruling class replaced the colonial philosophy with one that ensured that political leaders obtained the support that was needed from their citizens and that colonization was more acceptable. The colonial philosophy concentrated on the positive aspects of colonialism (Onuoha, 2014). Colonialism was experienced as a result of this in postcolonial African politics. Contrary to the civic public, which is unethical and features citizens who give absolutely nothing out despite benefiting

greatly from it, Ekeh highlighted that the primordial public is ethical, and its citizens participate in acts of compassion and demand nothing in return. Nonetheless, since the logic of dialectics is not an explicitly stated law, it is permissible to fortify the primordial public by plundering the civic public (Ekeh, 1975).

Ekeh (1975) distinguished three domains as dialectics in both primordial and civic publics: corruption, voluntary organizations, and tribalism. The top of the dialectics among these three domains was determined to be corruption. According to Ogundiya (2009), there are two types of corruption: embezzlement of public funds from the general population and soliciting and accepting bribes from people who want public services. This theory, put into effect by Ekeh, helped to clarify how colonialism impacts Africa and how corruption impacts the continent of Black people. It is important to emphasize, nevertheless, that Ekeh's argument that it is acceptable and practical to loot or take advantage of the civic public to further enhance the primordial public is not true; on the contrary, it makes matters worse. According to Ogundiya (2009), the political elite uses primordial sentiment as an instrument for deceitful behaviour manipulation and political trickery in order to further their own interests rather than the interests of the general public. While building political empires within their own borders, the political elites are busy embezzling public funds and using them to buy homes abroad. Even though the primordial public could benefit from this because some of the civic public's pilfered financial security may unintentionally trickle down to them, this might not always be sufficient to advance their upward trajectory, particularly when that development takes shape in the form of social, political, and economic advancement (Ogundiya, 2009). This exemplifies the general level of development observed in most African nations, including Nigeria. All corrupt activities carried out by the civic public always affect the primordial public, which is why they are frequently the victims of avoidable illnesses, high rates of impoverished conditions and lack of education, and other social vices. However, the primordial public paradoxically acts as a place of refuge for the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and political elite, who are obsessed with embezzling public funds (Ogundiya, 2009).

As a result, in Nigeria, these bureaucratic bourgeois and political elites create criminal organizations, groups, or socio-political cults with distinct characteristics (Ogundiya, 2009). Because of their prominence and political standing in the state, they have unrestricted access to the state funds. They have a homogenous worldview, are widespread throughout Nigeria's ethnic groups, and can be found in every industry. Ogundiya (2009) claims that their philosophy is centred on looting the government of its financial resources whenever they see fit. These

individuals have connections both locally and globally, and they are very powerful. Since Nigeria gained independence in 1960, these individuals and their anointed offspring have alternated in political authority. They will get listed to run for office multiple times, one after the other. They are avaricious human beings, who do not shy away from the fact that they are a ‘thorn’ in the upward trajectory of the nation-state of Nigeria, and they do not run from their avarice.

### ***3.1.1 Application to President Goodluck Jonathan’s 2010-2015 political administration:***

#### *Corruption in the civic public*

##### (i) Mismanagement of public resources:

The misappropriation of Security funds is perhaps one of the biggest and most prominent scandals which was intended for security initiatives, specifically in the ongoing struggle against the Boko Haram insurgency. According to media reports, billions of naira intended for security were embezzled, leaving the military and intelligence services with insufficient funding (Oluwaniyi, 2014). In addition to jeopardizing national security, this mishandling exposed pervasive corruption in the governmental organizations in charge of supervision and accountability.

The dispute over the estimated \$20 billion loss from the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) represented another significant scandal during the political administration of Goodluck Jonathan. There were claims that this huge sum of money, which was intended for national development, was missing. Public confidence in the civic public continued to decline in regardless of authorized audits and inquiries, such as those conducted by the Auditor-General of the Federation, due to the absence of transparent results or accountability procedures (Olufemi, 2015).

##### (ii) Lack of Transparency and Accountability:

It was clear that formal institutions, which were supposed to guarantee accountability and openness, had failed. The incapacity of organizations such as the Auditor General's Office and the Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) to adequately handle corruption-related concerns had been widely criticized (Akinola, 2016). The general population began to perceive impunity as a result of this. Furthermore, the judicial system was designed to deal with cases of political corruption, but it was frequently restrictive and inefficient.

Several cases were under-investigated or unaddressed due to bureaucratic inadequacies and an absence of political will, which helped to sustain a culture of corruption (Ezeani, 2017).

### ***3.1.2 Influence of the Primordial Public***

#### **(i) Role of Informal Networks:**

Throughout Jonathan's political administration, the political landscape was significantly shaped by the unofficial political patrons and traditional rulers. Judgment predicated on personal devotion instead of merit were frequently made as a result of their power over official organizations when it came to political nominations/promotions and the distribution of resources (Hassan, 2014). This relationship of power made clear how important the primordial public is to Nigerian politics. Through unofficial arrangements, politicians were able to gain popularity and endorsements thanks to patronage networks. This frequently involved giving associates and partisans access to resources like government contracts and political positions of authority. According to Ojo (2015), this technique strengthened an exclusionary and biased system that weakened meritocracy and encouraged political corruption.

#### **(ii) Favouritism and Informal Agreements:**

Instead of credentials or expertise, personal connections were often the deciding factor in appointments to political positions. As a result, people close to the president or other powerful people were appointed as opposed to people who were morally or competently qualified (Agbaje, 2016). As a result, people who valued their own interests over serving the public interest held a large number of positions in the governing body. Instead of following official policy decisions, the allocation of resources frequently represented unofficial agreements. Public finances were diverted to benefit some people or organizations as a result of this behaviour, which fuelled a corruption cycle in which resources were not deployed efficiently for their intended reasons (Nwankwo, 2016).

### ***3.1.3 Interaction Between the Civic and Primordial Publics***

#### **(i) Erosion of Formal Mechanisms:**

Official anti-corruption systems were frequently defeated by the power of the primordial public. Unofficial relationships can put stress on auditors and investigators, leading to inefficient legal proceedings or inquiries that are less comprehensive (Chukwuma, 2015). Because of the interaction between official and informal institutions, the very same informal

networks that supported corruption often resisted attempts to eradicate it. Traditional wisdom and unofficial agreements frequently get around or above official procedures. For example, the results of audits or investigations may be influenced by political sponsors, making them useless (Okafor, 2016). Because of this relationship, official channels for combating political corruption were frequently overshadowed by informal methods in the governance context.

(ii) Governance Environment:

Transparency and change were frequently highlighted in the public debate on political corruption, but there was a big mismatch due to the unofficial reality of political patronage and informal influence. The genuine reality of governance was often marked by nepotism and an absence of accountability despite public declarations and legislation endorsing anti-corruption efforts (Uche, 2017). This discrepancy between actions and words brought to light the difficulties in successfully combating political corruption.

### ***3.2 Prebendalism***

The prebendalism theory, made popular by Richard Joseph, is another theory taken into consideration in this research. With each new official appointment, a language of patron-client relationships, neo-patrimonialism, and trust-based coalitions emerges, promoting a level of acceptance for corruption among certain segments of the population. Due to a form of federalism that promotes the belief that each region is entitled to a share of state resources, regardless of its own contributions, Nigeria is often seen as adhering to the principles of prebendalism. This reflects the prebendalism's founder's perspective. Prebendalism, which according to Ogundiya (2009) and Ojo (2014) abruptly ended Nigeria's Second Republic, was the cause of the country's reluctant democratic development. A prebend is an allowance like the offerings of tithes that pastors accumulate. Collins Dictionary has two definitions for the word "prebend": an American definition and a British version. Prebend, according to the British meaning, is a stipend that a religious institution or collegiate pays to an affiliate of a canon or chapter. Conversely, the American concept of prebend views it as revenue given to a priest/ bishop in exchange for his services at a collegiate or cathedral.

To differentiate prebendalism from other commonly used terms in political economy, such as patrimonialism, clientelism, and patronage systems, which are often used interchangeably to describe similar phenomena – Joseph (1987, 63) defines clientelism as the nature of relationships between individuals and groups within the broader socio-political context. In contrast, prebendalism focuses on the competition for, and appropriation of, state offices. What

makes prebendalism a lasting theory in Nigeria's political economy is its insightful explanation of how the prebendal system has been ingrained in the broader political framework, both in formal legal codes and unwritten normative practices. Legal concepts such as zoning, federal character, and revenue allocation formulas are designed to "distribute" state resources in areas like civil service recruitment, military and paramilitary appointments, and admissions to universities and other training institutions. A key violation of Weberian principles is the preference for mediocrity over meritocracy in filling bureaucratic positions. To exacerbate matters, individuals holding state office are often more conscious of how they attained their positions, with primordial interests frequently taking precedence over national interests in decision-making .

The ability to gain knowledge of Joseph's prebendalism theory was predicated on these two clarifications. He also claims that public officials in Nigeria have an entitlement to state funds and are willing to go to any lengths to obtain it, even if it means committing crimes. The ability to gain knowledge of Joseph's prebendalism theory was predicated on these two clarifications. He also claims that public officials in Nigeria have an entitlement to state funds and are willing to go to any lengths to obtain it, even if it means committing crimes. According to the prebendalism idea, holders of public positions might appropriate these prebends in order to create resources that benefit them, their kin groupings, and constituents (Ogundiya, 2009; Abada and Onyia, 2020). Abada and Onyia (2020) argue that individuals in Nigerian government positions and other public office holders perceive themselves as entitled to a share of the country's resources, a sentiment that extends to members of certain religious and ethnic groups as well. This entitlement aligns with Joseph's concept of "prebendalism," which describes how public offices in Nigeria are often treated as prebends, or sources of personal income, instead of public service roles. According to the theory, the political landscape becomes one of intense competition for access to these prebends, where individuals prioritize personal or group gain over national interests, fuelling political corruption (Joseph, 1987). In this way, prebendalism explains the corruption in Nigeria by framing public office as a means to access the "national cake" rather than as a responsibility to serve. This deeply ingrained mindset perpetuates corrupt practices within Nigerian political institutions, reinforcing the framework of the investigation by showing how prebendalism underpins the motivations behind political corruption.

The belief in the 'legitimacy of office' by those in public office is the main idea of the prebendalism doctrine (Research Publish Journals, 2017). This means that those in public office

have the ability to take their share of state revenue and turn it into their own personal fortune. According to Joseph (1987), the act of prebendalism is equivalent to authority stealing, whereby individuals nominated or elected to hold state offices appropriate or steal authority of the state and wield it like it's their own. Prebendalism grants officials access to public office resources, giving them unrestricted access to state funds. Prebendalism promotes public officials' manipulation of the law for their own gain (Abada and Onyia, 2020).

The central argument of Richard Joseph's prebendalism treatise, can be connected to Ekeh's (1975) work due to the normative leniency that both publics have for public servants who transgress moral laws while performing their responsibilities. Analytically speaking, prebendalism, as it has been theorized, sheds light on the specifics of how the primordial public network functions to undermine the operation of a perfect Weberian bureaucracy in the civic public, reducing the Nigerian political system to a place of power struggles and "sharing rights." The sole deviation lies in the fact that the sharing network is not limited to the specific category of non-state actors identified by Ekeh's primordial public.

According to Joseph (1987:1) prebendalism signifies the importance placed on the "struggle to dominate and take advantage of the offices of the state." The state holds a pivotal role in the economy, granting access to materialistic commodities, wealth, and power. As a result, it attracts competition and grants the winner(s) of the 'Zero-Sum game' the sole entitlement to utilize the state office. This approach is consistent with the utilization of the state as "a resource in itself," as defined by Morris Szeftel (1982). Nigeria's contemporary democracy was established traditionally on the core components or pillars of pre-colonial customs and organizations under the British indirect rule regime. In actuality, the British established these customary institutions in places where none previously existed. The current Weberian bureaucracy was eventually eclipsed by the precolonial conventional structures, which are firmly rooted in patron-client relationships. The result was the creation of institutions that, while occasionally operating outside of the bounds of legal principle, served as forums for cooperation between "social positions of authority adopted from the past" (Bayart 1993:169 cited in Abada and Onyia, 2020).

According to Joseph (1987:67), the Nigerian state's "pseudo-modern" institutions that resulted from prebendalism perfectly capture its nuances:

"a prebendal system will be perceived not solely as one whereby the offices of the state are assigned and then taken advantage of as benefices by the office-holders but also as

one in which this kind of behaviour is sanctioned and defended by an array of political standards in accordance to which the acquisition of these work spaces of power is not merely a manifestation of personal greed or desires but simultaneously the fulfilment of the short-term goals of a particular segment of the general population.”

This theoretical creation is especially interesting because it suggests that there truly is a unanimous agreement or common ground and that the prebendal system, which is thought to fulfil the "short-term goal of a selected percentage of the general population," is "justified and defended by an established collection of political ethical standards," therefore rendering illegality constitutional/lawful. Despite this, it has been acknowledged that it will have catastrophic impacts on both the consolidation of democracy and economic growth.

It's evident that there are both continuities and changes in the relevance of Peter Ekeh's and Richard Joseph's analyses of corruption in Nigeria. The ethnic tensions within the central government have given rise to a class of political elites and bureaucrats who exploit primordial sentiments to gain power and influence. However, as shown by the cases of political corruption discussed in this dissertation, the misuse of public office has predominantly served private interests rather than benefiting ethnic groups. Contrary to Ekeh's and Joseph's suggestions, there has been little to no trickle-down effect of corrupt practices along ethnic lines (Othman, 1989). Furthermore, Ogunديya argues that primordial sentiment is merely a tool of political deception, used by privileged elites for personal gain rather than for the benefit of their groups. In modern Nigeria, politicians accused of corruption seldom hide their wealth in the accounts of relatives or friends; instead, they are grooming their children to perpetuate their dominance across generations while the general populace continues to suffer. Many corruption scandals involving public officials have uncovered funds in foreign accounts and investments in real estate both domestically and internationally, making any claims of acting in the interest of primordial groups appear insincere.

### ***3.2.1 Application to President Goodluck Jonathan's 2010-2015 political administration:***

During President Goodluck Jonathan's administration from 2010 to 2015, this theory of prebendalism influenced Nigerian politics, perpetuating the vicious cycle of political corruption and a lack of development by treating state resources as individual privileges to be distributed within a network of clients and supporters (Desta, 2006). Jonathan took over a political system and characterized his administration to be firmly rooted in prebendal customs when he became president after President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua passed away (Smith, 2015).

According to Agbiboa (2013), his government was characterized by extensive accusations of political corruption, mishandling of state resources, and a system of patronage which frequently rewarded particular ethnic groups and political acquaintances.

Throughout Jonathan's presidency, the management of Nigeria's oil wealth often exemplified prebendal practices, as resources were distributed to political allies and influential groups who viewed access to state resources as an entitlement. This system of allocating oil revenues fostered an environment where public office became a means of securing personal or group benefits rather than promoting national development (Oluwole, 2017). The Nigerian economy's main driver, the petroleum sector, also emerged as a significant source of patronage. According to Watts (2014), the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and other organizations involved in the oil industry were purportedly utilized to embezzle money for personal gain and to bribe political supporters. Under the pretext of public policy, government funds were misused in the notorious fuel subsidy scandal of 2012, which resulting in billions of dollars wasted due to bogus subsidy claims (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

In addition, the politicization of important appointments to government positions defined Jonathan's administration. Government positions of power, such as those of ministers, heads of government agencies, and other important positions, were frequently assigned more on the basis of personal devotion to the Jonathan himself and his close entourage than on competence (Okechukwu, 2016). This approach served to perpetuate a system in which holding public office was viewed less as a means of advancing the public good and more as a way to get access to state resources for private and group gain.

Prebendalism under Jonathan's leadership had serious repercussions that contributed to deepening political corruption, hindering national development, and exacerbating socio-economic inequalities (Okechukwu, 2017). It worsened ethnic and regional conflicts, undermined governmental institutions, and encouraged political corruption to proliferate (Suberu, 2014). Public resources being diverted to the private sector hampered financial development and resulted in wide-ranging destitution and social instability (Aiyede, 2013). Prebendalism also weakened the legitimacy of the governing body since people began to see the state more as a means of elites' personal profit than as a supplier of public goods.

In a nutshell, prebendal practices that continue to plague Nigerian politics were carried out during the 2010–2015 government of President Goodluck Jonathan. Patronage and political corruption were rampant throughout this time, which not only impeded national progress but

also widened rifts within Nigerian society, creating a footprint that still affects the political and economic climate of the nation today.

### ***3.3 Political Alienation***

The notion of political alienation refers to “a person's relative, ongoing sense of rejection or alienation from the dominant political terrain (Howard and Gilbert, 2011:432–454). The burning urge to vote is there in politically alienated citizens, but they are prevented from doing so by their sense of systemic triviality. They believe that elected officials or those in power lack respect or cannot adequately represent their interests (Glasberg & Shannon, 2010). The alienated believe that public officials are crooked, self-centred, and incompetent; as a result, they are apprehensive, hostile, and cynical of these those in leadership positions. They think that the entire political system is a deception and an infringement of public confidence (Campbell et al., 1994).

Although the idea of "alienation" has many interpretations, the most prominent one is "powerlessness," or the loss of one's own autonomy and independence (Seeman, 1959; Roberts 1987). Therefore, "the expectations or conviction maintained by the individual that his behaviour doesn't guarantee the possibility of the outcomes, or reassurance in order, he desires" (Seeman, 1959: 784) can be understood as the notion of alienation. Roberts (1987) cited in Owen and Soule (2012) defined "powerlessness" as arising from a feeling of diminished self-worth. The two main characteristics of alienation that have been recognized are powerlessness and self-estrangement (Seeman 1959; Korzeniowski, 1994; Dalton, 2007). Intellectuals have further explained that political alienation combines absence of trust in the political system and a sense of ineffectiveness (Bowler and Donovan, 2002; Kim, 2005; Catterberg and Moreno, 2006).

Several factors impacted political participation and eroded public trust during President Goodluck Jonathan's term as Nigeria's president (2010–2015), ultimately resulting in political alienation. From 2010 until 2015, Goodluck Jonathan, a member of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), presided over Nigeria. Following President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's passing on, he presided over a government marked by rising popular discontent as well as promises of reform. Major obstacles the administration had to deal with included economic hardships, security concerns, and political corruption, all of which added to the broader political dissatisfaction. Public confidence was damaged by the multiple political corruption scandals that persisted in Jonathan's presidency. The amount of corruption was brought to light by high-

profile cases like the \$20 billion stolen oil income, which the prior Central Bank Governor Sanusi Lamido Sanusi investigated. Public frustration was further stoked by claims that money intended for important initiatives and public services had been improperly diverted. An increasing amount of discontent was caused by the administration's failure to fulfil pledges of excellent governance, such as better infrastructure, medical care, and education. Political alienation was exacerbated by the belief that the administration was ineffective and insensitive to the people's concerns.

The northern elites in Nigeria became increasingly concerned about political unrest and asymmetry, particularly in the wake of the passing of former President Umar Musa Yârâdua. Johnson (2011) reports that a significant number of northern Nigerians considered the Christian president Goodluck Jonathan's administration as illegally born, citing his disregard for the People's Democratic Party's (PDP) unofficial power rotation policy, which ought to have retained a northern Muslim as president until 2015. The prior National Security Advisor to President Jonathan acknowledged to this, stating that the PDP's disruption of the zoning arrangement was the main reason for the rise of Boko Haram. Based on a statement made by the National Security Adviser, Rtd. General Andrew Owenye Azazi, the state of affairs in the nation during Jonathan's administration is a result of the initiatives implemented by the ruling party. As a consequence of mounting pressure from other prominent PDP members from Northern Nigeria (Odebode, Fabiyi, and Soriwei, 2012), the National Security Adviser was dismissed and succeeded by a fellow Northerner, Sambo Dasuki.

Newspapers also included certain inflammatory remarks that revealed the political unease of Northern Nigerian elites. A prior president of the state, Rtd. General Muhammad Buhari, who lost to President Jonathan in the 2011 presidential election, was reportedly under attack over the possibility of future manipulation of elections in Nigeria, threatening anarchy (Alechenu, Fabiyi, Odesola, and Adetayo, 2012). This information was reported in the *Punch* on May 16, 2012. According to remarks from Bulari, a native of Northern Nigeria, "the dog and the baboon would all be drenched in blood if what took place in 2011 were to occur again in 2015" (Binniyat, 2012:5). Another well-known northern Nigerian politician, Alhaji Lawal Keita, was also rumoured to have made a political threat, saying that "the only prerequisite for Nigeria to be united is for the presidency to relocate to the north in 2015" (Umoru, 2012:5). Chief Edwin Kiagbodo Clark, a well-known Ijaw leader from the president's geographical region, sent a counter provocative statement, demanding the northern leaders' arrest and treason legal action. At that point in time, the opposition presidential contender in the last 2021 general election,

Rtd. General Buhari, made remarks that the Northern Governors, the majority of whom are even members of the controlling political party, did not find objectionable. However, the federal government was being cautioned against "bad future elections" (Ubabukoh and Attah 2012). In fact, the numerous political disputes and accusations point to a potential backing of Boko Haram as a way to reverse a supposed political alienation.

### ***3.3.1 Application to President Goodluck Jonathan's 2010-2015 political administration:***

Political alienation became a major problem throughout President Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2010–2015), especially in light of the public's rising disenchantment with the government's capacity to handle pressing social, economic, and security issues. Political alienation was exacerbated under Jonathan's administration by several issues, which includes pervasive political corruption, economic inequalities, and rising violence, especially from the Boko Haram insurgency (Suleiman, 2011:50). The belief that the administration was incapable or reluctant to deal with these problems effectively caused the Nigerian citizens to become more alienated from their elected political leaders.

Throughout this time, the primary root cause of political alienation was the belief that the government was unable to combat political corruption. The public's confidence in the governing body was further weakened by Jonathan's administration's series of controversies, which included the infamous fuel subsidy fraud of 2012 and the mishandling of oil funds, contradicting his claims to combat corruption (Akanle and Adebayo, 2015). Many Nigerians felt hopeless to have an impact on government decisions as a result of their impression of widespread corruption, which heightened their feeling of alienation from the political process.

Political alienation was also greatly exacerbated by the Boko Haram insurgency, which intensified throughout Jonathan's administration. Fear and instability were rampant because of the government's inability to put a successful halt to the insurgency, especially in the northeastern region. Many Nigerians experienced an overwhelming sense of alienation from the federal government as a result of feeling forsaken by the state, particularly those who were directly impacted by the violence (Onuoha, 2014). This estrangement was further exacerbated by the government's poor and untimely response to the abduction of over 200 schoolgirls in Chibok in 2014, which in turn led to both domestic and international resentment and disillusionment.

During Jonathan's administration, unemployment and economic disparity, especially among young people, were other factors contributing to political disengagement. Even though Nigeria

has one of the biggest economies in Africa, impoverishment persisted, and the wealth disparity kept growing. Many individuals became frustrated and disappointed due to the absence of economic prospects as well as views of government ineptitude and corruption. This was particularly the case for young people who felt left out of the economic and political frameworks (Aiyede, 2013). During Jonathan's presidency, political alienation had profound implications. Voter participation in elections declined and opposition movements gained traction as a result of alienation, since many people believed that voting would not result in any significant change. Additionally, it strengthened support for extremist organizations such as Boko Haram, which benefited from the disenfranchisement of some sections of the populace in order to enlist new members and legitimize their use of violence (Agbiboa, 2013).

### ***3.4 Summary***

Pervasive political corruption, the government's poor handling of security threats, and ongoing economic disparity were the main causes of political alienation throughout President Goodluck Jonathan's 2010–2015 administration. In addition to fuelling social unrest and undermining popular confidence in the administration, this alienation has left a legacy of long-lasting effects on Nigeria's political climate. To summarize, Chapter 3 has applied the concepts of Prebendalism, the Two Publics theory, and Political alienation to frame an understanding of Nigeria's political corruption landscape. Prebendalism illustrates how a sense of entitlement and patronage culture deeply affects government structures, leading public officials to view their positions as personal assets. Similarly, the Two Publics theory offers insight into the conflicting loyalties between civic and ethnic or religious affiliations, showing how these loyalties can drive biased distribution of national resources. Lastly, political alienation captures the social impacts of political corruption, where widespread public disillusionment with the political system fosters a sense of disconnect that, in severe cases, escalates to resistance. Together, these theories provide a multifaceted foundation for understanding the motivations and effects of political corruption in Nigeria, guiding the analysis of empirical evidence in upcoming sections and linking theoretical insights to the broader developmental impacts explored in this study.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### *4. Introduction*

While chapter three of this study provided an overview of the theoretical framework and theories that are fundamental to this study, this chapter reviews methods for collecting, analysing, and presenting data that was gathered in a methodical and coordinated way. This study employs NVivo 12 to facilitate the analysis of qualitative data. NVivo 12 is a tool specifically developed to support thematic analysis by enabling the organization, coding, and systematic categorization of textual data into themes (Zamawe, 2015). Its application ensures a structured approach to identifying patterns and themes, which are crucial for addressing the research questions and objectives. Through NVivo 12, this chapter outlines how the data is processed, themes are developed, and findings are contextualized to provide a comprehensive understanding of the study's focus (Zamawe, 2015). The organizational structure of the research study is reflected in the research design. Understanding which methodological approach is most suitable for the research questions posed is necessary for the researcher in order to construct the research design. The research methodologies and procedures employed to conduct this research are included in this chapter. In order to provide readers a complete knowledge of the research, it also includes data about the research, its sample size, design, and method of data collecting. As part of the qualitative research approach, content analysis is employed as the primary analytical technique. Content analysis, as defined by Krippendorff (2018), is a systematic, qualitative method ideal for identifying patterns, themes, and meanings within textual and documentary data. Last but not least, the study did not take ethics for granted since the gathering of data and utilizing of information from different authors, intellectuals and academics was cited and treated with respect, fairness, and moral values.

Sileyew (2019) describes research methodology as a structured process that guides researchers in conducting their studies. It encompasses the steps taken to outline the study's goals, identify the research problem, and present findings based on the data obtained during the investigation. Similarly, Kothari (2004) explains research methodology as the set of techniques and procedures employed to collect, select, process, and interpret data related to a specific subject. According to Creswell (2014), the methodology section allows readers to critically assess the credibility and accuracy of the study's results. This section focuses on two key questions: What methods were used to gather data? And how was the data analysed?

#### ***4.1 Research Design***

This study utilizes a case study research design, a methodology within qualitative research that examines specific phenomena in detail within their real-world context. This design is particularly suitable for analysing political corruption in Nigeria from 2010 to 2015, as it allows for a comprehensive exploration of its causes, impacts, and responses. Yin (2018) emphasizes that case study designs are ideal for investigating "how" or "why" questions, especially when events are outside the researcher's control and require a contextual understanding.

A case study design facilitates the use of diverse data sources, such as official reports, academic publications, and policy documents, making it well-suited for the desktop study approach employed in this research. Unlike other designs like phenomenology or ethnography, which often involve direct participant interaction, the case study method aligns with the study's reliance on existing data and content analysis (Yin, 2014).

This design was chosen over alternatives, such as action research or narrative inquiry, due to its focus on systemic and contextual analysis rather than personal or process-oriented approaches. By leveraging the case study methodology, the research aims to provide meaningful insights into the dynamics of political corruption and its developmental effects in Nigeria during the specified period (Yin, 2014).

A desktop study, sometimes referred to as a secondary research approach, is selected due to its efficacy in integrating previously collected information and academic publications to offer an intricate and solid understanding of the topic in question. This study employs a qualitative research methodology underpinned by a case study design, which is particularly suitable for analysing political corruption in Nigeria from 2010 to 2015. The methods used include content analysis of readily available literature, policy documents, reports, and other relevant sources, as these provide extensive and valuable insights into the topic (Creswell and Poth, 2018). The goal of the study is to pinpoint, dissect, and evaluate the causes of political corruption and how it has affected Nigeria's development over this time. The significant advantage of the desktop study approach is that it gives the investigator a macro-level perspective on the topic at hand by allowing them to methodically gather and examine various secondary data sources (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Yin, 2018). The research attempts to circumvent biases and restrictions that can precede primary data gathering by concentrating on already-existing records and information, such as participant responses impacted by social appeal or restricted admission to specific populations (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Additionally, using this method,

the researcher can examine political corruption from a longitudinal standpoint and track developments and trends over five years.

Using a longitudinal approach in this study allows the researcher to analyse the trajectory of political corruption in Nigeria over a period of five years, making it possible to identify patterns and shifts in corruption-related activities and their effects on the nation's development. This method provides a broader perspective of corruption's evolution, offering a more thorough understanding of its impact across time. In contrast, a cross-sectional or transverse study would only capture a snapshot of corruption at one specific moment, which limits the ability to assess how it has progressed or fluctuated (Yin, 2018; Creswell, 2018).

#### ***4.2 Research Approach: Qualitative***

This research examines political corruption in Nigeria during the Goodluck Jonathan administration (2010–2015) using a qualitative approach. Since it places a strong emphasis on contextualizing human conduct, experiences, and institutional processes, this method is well-suited for examining complicated social issues such as corruption (Creswell and Poth, 2018). The research explores the complicated relationships between political corruption, governance, and developmental obstacles by concentrating on non-numerical data, offering important insights into these delicate problems.

This research is based on secondary data sources, such as government documents, policy studies, and academic journals. A thorough analysis of patterns, trends, and thematic links is made possible by this method. The main techniques used are content and thematic analysis, which allow the researcher to identify the root causes of political corruption and its effects on development (Patton, 2015). These techniques make it easier to comprehend the systemic problems that influenced Nigeria's socioeconomic and security environment in a more complex manner.

This approach's capacity to put into perspective findings is one of its main advantages, as it supports the study's goal of assessing critically how political corruption affects governance failures, developmental halt, and the spread of uprisings such as Boko Haram. Using a longitudinal approach, this study looks at developments and patterns over a duration of five years, offering insights into how political corruption persisted and transformed within the Jonathan administration.

The exploratory component of the investigation is supported by this qualitative methodology, which also enhances theories and policy discussions on political corruption. It guarantees that the results accurately depict Nigeria's systemic corruption while providing insightful viewpoints on the country's governance and development issues. The approach's focus on interpretation and context highlights how well-suited it is to meeting the objectives of the research and promotes a thorough comprehension of the time period being examined (Bryman, 2016).

#### ***4.3 Research Paradigm***

The interpretivist paradigm has been chosen for this study on political corruption in Nigeria during the 2010–2015 administration of Goodluck Jonathan. Because it places a strong emphasis on comprehending the subjective, intricate, and socially constructed character of phenomena such as political corruption and its wider ramifications for governance and development, this paradigm fits in perfectly with the qualitative approach.

The foundation of interpretivism is the idea that social realities are created by interactions between individuals, experiences, and historical circumstances rather than being fixed (Poth, 2018). Interpretivism looks for the meanings and reasons behind human behaviour, especially in intricate frameworks, in contrast to paradigms that seek an objective truth. This makes it perfect for examining political corruption using governance frameworks or theories that focus on socio-political behaviours and structures that support political corruption, such as political alienation, prebendalism, and the Two Publics Theory (Poth, 2018).

By analysing rich qualitative information sources like government reports, scholarly research, and media narratives, this paradigm plays a crucial role in revealing the complexities of political corruption. These resources aid in placing the underlying causes of political corruption and its effects on Nigeria's development over the given time frame. A more thorough investigation of how political corruption functions in sociopolitical situations and its long-term impacts on governance as well as development is made possible by interpretivism, which permits an in-depth inquiry (Bryman, 2016).

The study's emphasis on interpretation rather than merely description or hypothesis testing is highlighted by the choice of interpretivism over positivism or post-positivism. A comprehensive awareness of the dynamics of political corruption and its socioeconomic effects is fostered by this paradigm, which enables the research to produce results that accurately represent the everyday realities of the Nigerian environment. By doing this, the research aspires

to make a significant contribution to the conversation around political corruption by providing information that may guide both scholarly discussions and real-world anti-corruption initiatives (Bryman, 2016).

#### ***4.4 Data collection***

The ultimate objective of the data collection procedure in this research is to compile significant secondary data from a multitude of sources (Poth, 2018). Notably, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) were instrumental in providing insight into governmental operations and anti-corruption measures (Poth, 2018). To place the effects of corruption in larger global contexts, this investigation also included reports and statistical data from international organizations including the World Bank and Transparency International. Additionally, from 2010 to 2015, particular cases of political corruption during Goodluck Jonathan's government were tracked using secondary data from web databases and newspaper archives. The research guarantees a thorough analysis of the causes and effects of political corruption in Nigeria by utilizing various sources. To preserve academic integrity and prevent plagiarism, all assertions, information, and analyses are properly referenced (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Transparency International, 2014).

In order to fully examine the research problem and develop well-informed, fact-based arguments, this study makes use of secondary data. Instead of making broad generalizations, the research will examine connections, patterns, and trends in the data to offer context-dependent insights pertinent to political corruption in Nigeria between 2010 and 2015. A strong basis for analysis is ensured by the utilization of a variety of reliable sources, including academic literature, official documents, and information from respectable organizations. Through meticulous triangulation of data from several sources, this method reduces the possible drawbacks of secondary data and enhances the reliability of the study's findings. Instead of making broad generalizations, the goal is to arrive at well-founded hypotheses and suggestions that fit the unique circumstances of Nigeria's political environment under the Goodluck Jonathan government. (Bryman, 2016).

The obligation to provide an accurate and comprehensive impartial examination of political corruption in Nigeria between 2010 and 2015 served as the selection criteria for these sources. These materials are not just being reviewed but are systematically analysed to extract relevant data on the causes and consequences of political corruption on development in Nigeria from

2010 to 2015. For additional details on the phenomenon under investigation, numerous periodicals and newsletter publications will be searched for using search engines such as Google Scholar, EBSO Host, and JSTOR to search for keywords such as development, governance, political corruption, Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan administration, and many more.

#### *4.4.1 Academic Journals and Books*

Literature sources from academia and peer-reviewed academic journals are the main sources of theoretical and empirical information used in this study. The literature chosen is centred on works that address development, governance, and political corruption, especially in relation to Nigeria. Among the important periodicals are African Affairs, The Journal of Development Studies, and The Journal of Modern African Studies. These sources of information assist in framing the research questions and directing the analysis by offering both theoretical ideas and empirical data (Brinkerhoff, 2000).

Both classic works on corruption and more recent evaluations of Nigerian politics are included in the literature chosen for this study. According to Smith (2007) and Amundsen (2010), these books provide a fuller grasp of the socio-political and historical roots of corruption in Nigeria, which is important to analyse the causes and effects of corruption within the period of President Goodluck Jonathan's 2010-2015 political administration.

#### *4.4.2 Government and Non-Governmental Reports*

Official figures on corruption-related incidents, financial metrics, and corruption prevention activities can be obtained through reports from government agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (EFCC, 2013). The findings are supplemented by publications from global institutions such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank, and Transparency International. These publications provide comparative information and evaluations that situate Nigeria's corruption issues in a global framework (Transparency International, 2015).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International also offer insightful viewpoints, especially when it comes to the consequences of corruption for human rights and the efficacy of civil society's anti-corruption initiatives. Case studies and first-person narratives are frequently included in these publications, which enhance the investigation (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

#### *4.4.3 Media Sources*

Media outlets are an important and trustworthy source of information, especially when it comes to comprehending social and political issues in Nigeria. Harcup and O'Neill (2017) assert that the media is essential in influencing public opinion, narrating events, and holding authorities responsible. News coverage of political corruption provides firsthand recollections and investigative perspectives that are crucial for assessing events as they happen. Allan (2013) indicates that reputable foreign media like BBC News and Al Jazeera, as well as domestic Nigerian media like The Guardian and Premium Times, have covered political corruption and its effects on development in great detail. Iyengar (2011) contends that by covering government activities and corruption scandals, the media offers a forum for accountability and transparency that can supplement official and scholarly data. In order to ensure a comprehensive grasp of the research subject, media coverage aids in triangulating findings (Allan, 2013).

News outlets on the internet and social media additionally provide a plethora of data on public discussion related to corruption, providing a glimpse into how the general population views and evaluates political corruption (Ojebode, 2018). Understanding the socio-political climate in Nigeria between 2010 and 2015 including the significance of the press in uncovering political corruption and influencing public opinion requires a scrutiny of media sources. This part of the study also considers how political affiliations and ownership of media outlets affect the way they report of political corruption (Bardhan, 2006).

#### *4.4.4 Policy Documents and Legal Frameworks*

In order to comprehend the institutional setting in which political corruption transpires, the research scrutinizes significant policy texts and legal structures. This covers the laws pertaining to corruption in Nigeria, including the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act and the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Act (Odukoya, 2016). The purpose of the analysis of this information is to evaluate the effectiveness of these institutional and legal defences against corruption in the nation-state of Nigeria.

The analysis considers both national legislation and internationally binding agreements that Nigeria ratified, including the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption and the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). These global arrangements offer a criterion by which to measure Nigeria's adherence to international anti-corruption norms and the success of its own initiatives in this respect (UNODC, 2011).

#### ***4.5 Sampling***

Purposive sampling, which entails choosing information that constitute the most applicable scenarios to the investigation's objectives, was used to pick the information for content analysis. Among the selection criteria are only materials that are relevant and specifically discuss Nigerian political corruption between 2010 and 2015. Only materials that are relevant and specifically discuss Nigerian political corruption between 2010 and 2015 are included. This guarantees that throughout the investigation's given period of time, the information provided is relevant to the study's goal of investigating the causes and consequences of political corruption in Nigeria.

#### ***4.6 Data Analysis***

Content analysis is a qualitative technique that is ideal for looking at trends, concepts, and meanings in texts and documents and is used to analyse the data that has been gathered (Krippendorff, 2018). Through the methodical organization and interpretation of the information, content analysis enables the researcher to pinpoint the fundamental root causes of political corruption, such as the lack of political will, weak institutional frameworks, the prevalence of prebendal practices, and socio-economic inequalities and how they have affected Nigeria's progress over time (Krippendorff, 2018; Abada and Onyia, 2020).

The goal of employing content analysis is to create a model that would conceptually explain the phenomenon that is currently being investigated. Content analysis is an approach to analysing written, vocal, or visual communication messages (Cole, 1998, cited in Elo and Kyngäs., 2008). As a research technique, content analysis is a methodical and logical way of explaining and characterizing occurrences. It is additionally recognized as an approach of evaluating documents. The person conducting the study can use content analysis to investigate theoretical difficulties and gain a better grasp of the data. Content analysis is a research technique that provides information, innovative perspectives, an understanding of facts, and a practical guide for implementation by establishing reproducible and reliable interpretations from information to their context. The goal is to achieve a condensed and wide explanation of the phenomenon; therefore, the analysis produces concepts or categories that describe the phenomenon.

*Coding Process:* Coding, the initial stage of content analysis, is dividing the material into digestible chunks according to reoccurring themes and categories (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). The goal of the coding procedure for this study is to pinpoint major themes pertaining to the causes

of political corruption, including the involvement of political players, social, political and economic variables, and institutional flaws. After a thorough assessment of each written material, pertinent sections are categorized in accordance with these themes. The coding procedure is iterative which indicates that as newly acquired information is examined, initial codes are improved and modified. This guarantees that the coding structure stays adaptable and sensitive to the idiosyncrasies of the information (Saldaña, 2015). In order to manage and organize the codes and facilitate effective data acquisition and analysis, quality software solutions are put into practise (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013).

**Coding Process:** This process ensures that data is systematically organized, facilitating in-depth analysis. Below is a representation of the coding process applied to this study:

Figure 1

Theme	Category	Example of Data	Source
Political Corruption	Prebendalism	“Allocation of resources based on ethnic and personal ties is prevalent.”	Abada and Onyia (2020)
	Two Publics Theory	“Nigeria's dual public system fosters corruption by creating parallel loyalties to state and ethnic groups.”	Ekeh (1975), cited in Osaghae (2010)
Developmental Impact	Governance Challenges	“Increased mismanagement of public funds leading to poor infrastructure.”	Transparency International (2021)
	Political Alienation Theory	“Alienation from governance fuels public distrust and disengagement, exacerbating corruption.”	Almond and Verba (2015); White (2010)
Drivers of Corruption	Socioeconomic Inequality	“High unemployment and inequality breed corrupt practices at all levels of government.”	Transparency International (2015); Arowolo (2012)
Countermeasures	Anti-Corruption Policies	“Policy reforms remain ineffective due to lack of enforcement mechanisms.”	Nigerian Government Reports (2012-2015)

#### ***4.7 Validity and Trustworthiness***

A crucial component of the methodology is guaranteeing the validity and veracity of the study findings. This research utilizes a number of techniques to improve the reliability and accuracy of the findings. In qualitative research, the concepts of validity and trustworthiness are essential to producing credible and dependable results that genuinely reflect the research phenomenon ((Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Validity relates to how accurately the findings capture the realities and meanings within the data. To achieve this, the study employs several strategies. First, triangulation is utilized by drawing on multiple data sources, such as policy documents, media accounts, and academic literature, to confirm the consistency and robustness of the findings (Creswell and Poth, 2018). Second, broad descriptions are provided, offering detailed and context-rich narratives of the data and its interpretations, making the findings more meaningful and applicable to similar contexts (Denzin, 1989). Lastly, peer review is incorporated, where preliminary analyses are shared with editors, colleagues and supervisors to gather critical feedback, address potential biases, and refine interpretations (Merriam, 1998).

Trustworthiness encompasses credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, all of which are addressed through specific techniques (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Credibility is enhanced by employing rigorous data collection and analysis methods that capture the complexity of the subject matter. Member checking is used to validate preliminary interpretations by sharing them with experts or participants (Birt et al., 2016). Transferability is ensured by presenting comprehensive contextual details, enabling other researchers to assess the applicability of the findings to different settings (Creswell and Miller, 2000). Dependability is achieved by maintaining a transparent record of the research process, including decisions made during data analysis, and by engaging in reflexive journaling to mitigate personal biases (Shenton, 2004). Confirmability is supported by grounding conclusions in the data itself, rather than the researcher's assumptions, and by systematically cross-verifying data with emerging codes and themes (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). By implementing these techniques, the research ensures its findings are accurate, ethically sound, and free from undue bias, thereby enhancing its overall credibility and contribution to the field.

#### ***4.8 Credibility***

Credibility, a fundamental aspect of qualitative research, ensures the trustworthiness and accuracy of findings, reflecting the actual data and context studied (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

This research takes deliberate measures to enhance credibility by employing robust strategies that validate the accuracy and reliability of the findings.

One key approach used in this study is triangulation, which involves cross-verifying data from multiple secondary sources, including government reports, academic literature, and reputable media publications. By integrating these diverse perspectives, the study reduces the risk of bias and ensures a comprehensive understanding of political corruption and the Boko Haram insurgency. Triangulation not only strengthens the reliability of the findings but also ensures that the insights generated are supported by consistent evidence from varied sources (Bowen, 2009; Flick, 2018).

Another significant measure involves member checking, where findings and interpretations are reviewed by experts in the fields of political science. Consulting with these specialists helps verify the accuracy of interpretations and aligns the conclusions with existing knowledge in the discipline. This process allows for adjustments or refinements in the analysis, ensuring the findings genuinely represent the phenomena under investigation (Stake, 2010).

Moreover, the study employs peer debriefing, a process where independent reviewers critically examine the research process and findings. This practice fosters transparency and objectivity by subjecting the research to external scrutiny, thereby reinforcing the credibility of the results. Additionally, an audit trail is maintained, documenting each step of the research process. This enables others to trace the decisions made during data collection and analysis, further enhancing the study's dependability and trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). By combining these strategies, the research builds confidence in its conclusions. These measures collectively ensure that the findings not only reflect the reality of political corruption in Nigeria during the period under study but also provide a credible foundation for understanding its broader implications.

#### ***4.9 Conformability***

Conformability ensures that research outcomes are derived solely from the data and are free from the researcher's subjective views or biases. This criterion emphasizes impartiality and the importance of maintaining neutrality during all phases of the research process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To strengthen conformability, this research implemented rigorous measures designed to uphold objectivity and accuracy.

Creating an audit trail, which meticulously documented each step of the research procedure, was one important technique. This included thorough records of the procedures used for data collection, analysis, and the justification of methodological choices. By encouraging transparency, the audit trail makes it possible for outside reviewers to assess if the findings are truly supported by the data and unaffected by the researcher's presumptions (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008).

Additionally, by cross-referencing several secondary data sources, including reputable media coverage, government papers, and peer-reviewed scholarly journals, triangulation was also used to validate findings. By reducing reliance on a single data source, this method improves the analysis's resilience and complexity (Bowen, 2009). Peer debriefing was another component of the research, in which political science specialists examined the research methodology and results. Their insightful criticism made it easier to spot any possible flaws in the research's interpretation, guaranteeing that the findings supported the evidence and adhered to academic norms (Stake, 2010).

#### ***4.10 Transferability***

Transferability refers to how well the findings of a study can be applied or extended to other settings, populations, or contexts (Guba, 1985). While universal generalization is not the goal of qualitative research, it does place a strong emphasis on giving readers enough background information to enable them to assess whether the findings apply to other situations (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). By providing a thorough and in-depth description of the research environment, methodology, and results, this investigation improves transferability.

The investigation focuses on political corruption and its effects in Nigeria between 2010 and 2015. The research guarantees that readers may assess its relevance to similar situations by providing an in-depth account of the social, political, and economic aspects of this time period. Additionally, by providing the findings with well-documented proof, the incorporation of secondary data from reputable sources, such as government papers, scholarly literature, and credible media reports, reinforces their application (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008).

To further strengthen transferability, the research clearly defines its methodological framework and theoretical foundation, drawing on approaches such as the Two Publics Theory and the Political Alienation Theory. These frameworks facilitate comparative analysis, allowing other researchers to assess how the findings might apply to regions or nations facing similar political and developmental challenges (Stake, 2010).

Although the study's specific focus on Nigeria during a limited timeframe may constrain its applicability to broader contexts, the in-depth insights it provides can serve as a foundation for understanding the mechanisms of political corruption. Such detailed findings enable readers to consider their relevance and applicability in different contexts or settings with similar dynamics of governance and societal structures.

#### ***4.11 Dependability***

The stability and consistency of research findings across time and in comparable circumstances are referred to as dependability (Guba, 1985). It increases the study's trustworthiness by guaranteeing that the research procedure is rational, well-documented, and replicable by other researchers (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). However, Fidel (1993), Marshall, and Rossman (1999) contended that this would be challenging because qualitative research is subjective, situational, and contextual. This study uses a number of tactics to encourage reliability, guaranteeing that the investigation and its results are open and methodical.

Maintaining an audit trail, which offers thorough documentation of each stage of the research procedure, covering gathering and analysing information and methodological choices, is a crucial measure used in this research. This documentation guarantees that the methods used are transparent and that other researchers can evaluate or duplicate them. By enabling outside auditors to verify the veracity of the study's methodology and conclusions, this transparency enhances the research's dependability (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). Furthermore, the primary characteristic of the researcher was the ability to investigate the uniqueness of events utilizing detailed tools in an uncontrolled setting to ensure dependability.

#### ***4.12 Methodological Limitations***

Although the desktop study methodology has many benefits, it also has some drawbacks that need to be recognized. Every research method has its limitations, and this study's chosen approaches—content analysis, and desktop research—are no exception. One limitation of content analysis is its vulnerability to subjectivity in coding, as the interpretation of data categories may be influenced by the researcher's biases, despite efforts to use systematic frameworks (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). Additionally, this method might fail to capture the nuanced context of the data when predefined categories are overly rigid (Krippendorff, 2013). Content analysis can also emphasize the frequency of words or concepts, potentially neglecting deeper meanings embedded within the data (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005).

Furthermore, desktop research, which relies on secondary data, can face challenges such as limited access to current or complete information, potentially restricting the scope of the study (Bowen, 2009). The selection and interpretation of secondary sources may also introduce bias, especially if the sources lack balance or comprehensiveness (Finnegan, 2006). Additionally, verifying the authenticity and reliability of secondary data can be difficult, raising questions about the credibility of the findings (Flick, 2018). Recognizing these limitations helps to ensure transparency and guides efforts to mitigate potential weaknesses in the study.

#### ***4.13 Conclusion***

This chapter outlined the research methodology employed in this study, detailing the research design, data collection methods, data analysis techniques, and ethical considerations. The desktop study approach and content analysis were justified as suitable methods for examining political corruption in Nigeria. Additionally, the theoretical framework guiding the study was reinforced through methodological choices that align with the research objectives. The next chapter presents and analyses the findings derived from this methodology.

## RESULTS

### ***5. Introduction***

The present chapter presents the findings and results of the research investigation of “Political Corruption in Nigeria: Examining the Causes and Consequences on Development from 2010 to 2015.” The conclusions of this research are drawn from a thorough content analysis of significant events that transpired during President Goodluck Jonathan’s tenure, combined with an extensive examination of secondary data sources, such as peer-reviewed studies, official records, and reliable media publications. The content analysis enabled the identification of consistent patterns, themes, and narratives connected to political corruption, its developmental consequences, and its ties to the Boko Haram insurgency. By employing systematic methods to code and organize the data, the study ensured that its findings directly addressed the research questions. In order to contextualize and validate the analysis, secondary data was essential. While official documents gave factual information on policy efforts and their implementation, scholarly articles offered theoretical and empirical insights into Nigeria's governance and political corruption problems. These sources were supplemented by media coverage, which provided firsthand recollections and popular opinions on the events under investigation. These various data sources were used to create a thorough and balanced grasp of the research phenomenon.

The results also highlight the complex interrelationships among Nigeria's security issues, socioeconomic progress, and political corruption. According to the research, long-standing political corruption weakens governance structures, widens social divides, and fuels the growth of insurgency. These revelations highlight how urgently institutional changes that support accountability, transparency, and sustainable growth are needed. By examining these important topics, the study not only contributes to academic discussions but also offers helpful suggestions for campaigners and legislators working to combat political corruption and its wider effects.

### ***5.1 Causes of Political Corruption in Nigeria (2010-2015)***

A complex combination of institutional and socio-political factors led to the manifestation of heightened levels of political corruption during the Goodluck Jonathan administration. The primary contributing factors found by the analysis are described in detail below:

### *5.1.1 Highly Vulnerable Institutional Structures*

Under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2010–2015), a major contributing cause to political corruption in Nigeria was the noticeable deterioration of institutional frameworks intended to maintain accountability and openness. Critical institutions, such as the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), faced significant challenges that hindered their effectiveness and were mainly made obsolete by incompetence, political meddling, and a lack of independence. For example, the ICPC, which is responsible for investigating and prosecuting corruption cases, was frequently criticized for its slow response to cases and its inability to achieve convictions in prominent corruption cases. Numerous allegations remained unresolved, raising doubts about the commission's ability to deliver on its mandate (Transparency International, 2015).

Similarly, the EFCC, which initially gained public trust through its pursuit of high-profile corruption cases, saw its performance decline due to political interference. A specific example is its inability to prosecute influential individuals implicated in corruption scandals, such as those involved in the Halliburton bribery case, where investigations were delayed despite ample evidence implicating government officials. Furthermore, the selection of EFCC leadership was often swayed by political interests, compromising the organization's independence and enabling powerful individuals to escape accountability (Klitgaard, 2012). Specifically, elites who exploited their power to sway the system in their best interests politically or by limiting resources of anti-corruption institutions, which were supposed to act as balances against corrupt practices, affected these agencies (Afolabi, 2017).

This breakdown in institutional integrity closely aligns with the Political Alienation Theory, which holds that citizens become politically alienated from public institutions when they are perceived as corrupt and ineffectual or when they are unable to adequately fulfil their demands (Norris, 1999). They stop taking part in politics because they think that their involvement won't result in any significant improvements. In Nigeria, the public's growing mistrust of the government's capacity to combat political corruption led to a general sense of disenchantment and cynicism among the citizens. Because governmental institutions were seen as less reliable by the people, political disengagement elevated and corruption was able to spread unchecked. The judiciary in Nigeria was one of the significant institutional vulnerabilities due to its lack of autonomy and susceptibility to political influence and bribery (Adebayo, 1999). Nigeria's

public sector was managed by a regulatory structure riddled with flaws that allowed corrupt officials to avoid indictment or face moderate punishments. A tradition of impunity was further solidified by the political elites' capacity to take advantage of these legal loopholes. This implied that there was a small likelihood of high-profile politicians being found guilty of political corruption charges, even if they went to court. The powerful politicians used the judiciary's weakened status as an instrument to shield themselves from any possible legal consequences (Adebayo, 2016).

Simply because the Nigerian government was unsuccessful in trying to fortify these institutions, political corruption was allowed to flourish. This is consistent with Richard Joseph's (2013) Prebendalism Theory, which describes how the distribution of public resources for factional and individual gain weakens political systems of government. In this particular setting, public funds intended for development were diverted into private accounts by political leaders and elected officials who viewed state assets as their own private privileges. Because political elites utilized their position of authority to guarantee that anti-corruption initiatives did not interfere with their ability to access public resources, the prebendal character of the political system made institutional vulnerabilities worse (Joseph, 2013).

In addition, the government was unsuccessful to rise up to the task of setting up an efficient supervision system in critical sectors, such the oil and gas sector, which was a significant source of financing. The nation's overall advancement lagged as oil profits were siphoned off and invested in the pockets of the political elite, further alienating the population and strengthening the corruption spiral (Ibrahim, 2015).

In a nutshell during the period in question, political corruption in Nigeria was exacerbated by the dysfunction within the judiciary, inadequate constitutional safeguards, and political interference, all of which sustained the prebendal system. The judiciary, which was supposed to act as a check on corrupt officials, was often undermined. Many prominent cases of corruption involving political leaders were either delayed indefinitely or failed to result in convictions. The judiciary's inability to hold corrupt politicians accountable, often due to political influence or manipulation of legal procedures, allowed individuals in power to avoid justice (World Bank, 2014). A key example includes high-profile corruption cases where public officials accused of embezzling state funds saw their cases stall in the courts, reinforcing a culture of impunity. These judicial failures not only contributed to the persistence of corruption

but also eroded public trust in the legal system, signalling that the political elite could act without fear of consequence (Transparency International, 2015).

The problem of judicial corruption was not an isolated issue but part of a larger governance failure, which allowed political corruption to flourish unchecked. The judiciary's failure to hold influential figures to account, often due to political interference, further entrenched the prebendal system. This system, where politicians put their own or their ethnic group's interests above national welfare, flourished in the absence of effective institutional oversight. The lack of accountability and checks on political power weakened the integrity of state institutions, enabling the widespread corruption that plagued the country (World Bank, 2014; Transparency International, 2015).

Moreover, the close relationship between judicial corruption and political disillusionment aligns with Norris's Political Alienation Theory, which suggests that institutional failures, such as a corrupt judiciary, contribute to a breakdown in public trust. As Nigerians witnessed the lack of judicial accountability, their faith in the state diminished, and political engagement declined. The absence of effective legal action against corrupt officials led many citizens to become disillusioned, viewing the political system as fundamentally corrupt and unresponsive to their needs. This created a cycle of alienation, where citizens felt they had no power to influence the political system, further entrenching the corruption that hindered development (Norris, 2002). Ordinary citizens became more and more alienated from the state as a result of this setting, and they lost faith in its capacity to enact decent legislation.

Data from the World Bank's Governance Indicators and Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index corroborate the scale of institutional dysfunction during this period, showing that corruption was pervasive not only within the judiciary but also throughout other government sectors (World Bank, 2014; Transparency International, 2015). These findings emphasize the urgent need for reforms to ensure judicial independence, strengthen constitutional safeguards, and combat political interference, all of which could help break the cycle of corruption and political disengagement.

### *5.1.2 Prebendalism and Patronage Politics*

Prebendalism, a type of political patronage in which supporters are rewarded with state funds, was a major feature of Nigerian politics under Goodluck Jonathan's administration. Elected officials were encouraged by this arrangement to conceptualize resources from the state as individual entitlements that should be divided among those who backed them in order to win

allegiance and hang onto political power (Joseph, 2013). Prebendalism facilitated the unlawful appropriation of state resources for private gain, often through fraudulent schemes like fictitious transactions, falsified government tenders, and direct embezzlement (Joseph, 2013). Fictitious transactions typically involved the creation of non-existent contracts for services that were never rendered, enabling officials to funnel public money into personal accounts. Likewise, falsified government tenders manipulated the procurement process, where officials would either inflate prices or select favoured contractors in exchange for kickbacks, allowing the misdirection of public funds. These corrupt actions, rooted in the prebendal system, severely undermined Nigeria's economic growth and institutional integrity, as they allowed the political elite to place their financial interests above national welfare (Joseph, 2013). In this system, political players felt accustomed to state assets and allowed themselves to act without consequence, which led to widespread political corruption that even became 'acceptable'.

Prebendalism was made worse by Nigeria's ethnic and regional political circumstances under Jonathan's administration. Politicians, especially those in roles of authority, made sure that public funding and resources were allocated in a way that served the greatest needs of their racial or geographical communities over those of the country (Ibrahim, 2015). Ethnic allegiances often took precedence over qualifications or national interests in the distribution of public funds, including for government contracts, key appointments, and oil revenues. A prime example of this is the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), where regional development funds were disproportionately allocated to specific ethnic groups, particularly those with political influence, instead of addressing the broader needs of the entire Niger Delta (Ibrahim, 2015). Similarly, the East-West Road project, which was intended to improve infrastructure in the region, faced delays and mismanagement as a result of ethnic and regional preferences, diverting funds and preventing timely completion. This bias not only resulted in substandard infrastructure but also worsened the economic divide between different regions.

These patterns of favouritism had a widespread impact across various sectors, including healthcare, education, and basic infrastructure. Regions with political ties to the ruling class enjoyed better access to these vital services, while those outside of the political elite's influence were neglected (Ibrahim, 2015). This uneven resource distribution intensified poverty, as underserved areas faced significant challenges in development and social mobility. Additionally, the growing perception of inequity fuelled ethnic tensions, contributing to strained relations between different groups and heightening political instability (Ibrahim, 2015). These inequities not only aggravated social and economic disparities but also deepened

ethnic divisions, making it more difficult to foster national unity. Because of the prebendal nature of politics, elected officials were able to transfer substantial sums of public resources into their private pockets while the vast mass of people continued to live in poverty.

This dynamic is well explained by Joseph's Prebendalism theory, which highlights how powerful groups in politics use government assets to create structures of patrons and clients that guarantee the allegiance of important constituents. Because political actors see their roles with the government as means of advancing their own agendas, such networks help to maintain political corruption. Because elected officials are motivated to put their political connections ahead of the greater interest of the general population, this system compromises legitimacy, openness, and accountability (Joseph, 2013). Ultimately, this system normalized corruption as an accepted norm, significantly weakening governance structures and perpetuating a cycle of underdevelopment in Nigeria.

### *5.1.3 Oil Revenue Mismanagement*

Throughout Goodluck Jonathan's government (2010–2015), Nigeria's overarching dependence on oil funds fostered an environment that was conducive to widespread political corruption, especially in the oil industry. Oil has long been Nigeria's economic pillar, providing a sizable amount of revenue to the federal government. Despite this, mismanagement and misappropriation of oil income became an important driver of governmental corruption, benefiting an elite few to the detriment of the general populace, rather than promoting economic progress (Ibrahim, 2015).

A significant case of mishandling of oil earnings within this time frame was the controversy surrounding the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The 2014 allegations of \$20 billion missing from NNPC accounts of oil income were either embezzled or unaccounted for, according to an inquiry made by Central Bank Governor Lamido Sanusi. The NNPC, which was tasked with carefully managing the nation's oil resources, devolved into a hub of corruption where public funds were embezzled through deceptive transactions and deliberately exaggerated contracts. Transparent accounting procedures and strong supervision mechanisms were lacking, which made it possible for political elites and prominent officials to take personal advantage of the oil industry (Transparency International, 2015).

These misappropriated funds could have been channelled into essential sectors such as education, healthcare, and electricity, which remain critically underfunded. For example, insufficient investment in education has left many schools across Nigeria lacking basic

infrastructure, contributing to low literacy rates and subpar academic outcomes. In the healthcare sector, corruption has resulted in under-equipped hospitals and a shortage of healthcare professionals, leading to inadequate medical services and higher mortality rates. Additionally, the power sector continues to face significant challenges, with persistent outages disrupting economic activities and diminishing the quality of life for citizens. The unaccounted-for \$20 billion symbolizes a lost opportunity to address these critical issues, emphasizing the detrimental impact of political corruption on Nigeria's overall development (World Bank, 2014; Transparency International, 2015).

The mismanagement of oil revenues became a strategic mechanism for political elites, who utilized income from oil sales to build extensive patronage networks and secure the allegiance of their supporters. By diverting these funds, they further entrenched prebendalism—a system in which public resources are appropriated as personal assets to consolidate political authority (Joseph, 2013). Elites maintained their grip on state resources by granting preferential access to oil revenues to their loyalists, ensuring their continued dominance. This exploitation of oil wealth not only reinforced systemic corruption but also exacerbated social and economic disparities, as resources intended for national development were redirected for private gain. The persistence of prebendalism thus hindered effective governance, undermining both institutional integrity and sustainable development. This perpetuated a prebendal political structure that put personal gain ahead of the general benefit. Because a great deal of Nigerians did not profit equally from the country's oil wealth, the prebendal system not only exacerbated corruption but also contributed to economic disparity and insufficient growth (Joseph, 2013).

The Two Publics Theory explains the dual structure of Nigerian politics, dividing it into the primordial public, which is centred on ethnic and regional loyalties, and the civic public, which represents the state and its formal institutions (Ekeh, 1975). Within the oil sector, the primordial public significantly influenced how resources were distributed. Political leaders often prioritized the interests of their ethnic or regional groups, diverting oil revenues to benefit their allies instead of addressing the broader developmental needs of the nation. This preference for local allegiances led to uneven investment, with certain regions receiving disproportionate attention while critical national sectors like infrastructure, healthcare, and education were overlooked. By favouring the primordial public over the civic public, these practices reinforced prebendalism and hindered fair and balanced development across the country.

During Jonathan's tenure, the mismanagement of oil revenues showcased the extent to which political elites prioritized their ethnic and regional alliances over the broader needs of the population. This approach intensified political corruption and widened socioeconomic inequalities (Joseph, 2013; Transparency International, 2015). The widespread exploitation of oil resources for personal and regional benefit created a significant divide between the ruling elite and the general populace, further diminishing public confidence in government institutions (Ibrahim, 2015). This erosion of trust in governance contributed to growing discontent and disillusionment, weakening institutional frameworks (Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011). Over time, these dynamics jeopardized Nigeria's long-term stability, fuelling social unrest and hindering efforts to promote unity and equitable national development (World Bank, 2014).

#### *5.1.4 Electoral Corruption and Clientelism*

The political environment in Nigeria from 2010 to 2015 was marked by a great deal of electoral corruption, with flaws in the 2011 and 2015 elections. During the 2011 elections, significant allegations of electoral malpractice emerged in states such as Rivers and Kano, where ballot-stuffing, voter intimidation, and manipulation of results were reported (Ibrahim, 2015). These actions not only undermined the credibility of the electoral process but also incited widespread violence, particularly in northern Nigeria following the announcement of Muhammadu Buhari's loss to Goodluck Jonathan (Human Rights Watch, 2011). According to Human Rights Watch (2011), post-election violence resulted in the deaths of over 800 people and the displacement of thousands, as aggrieved supporters of Buhari clashed with security forces and civilians. This violence highlighted the deep-seated ethnic and regional tensions that electoral corruption exacerbated, further eroding public trust in Nigeria's democratic institutions and amplifying political alienation among citizens (Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011). Political elites manipulated election results to their advantage in order to hold onto authority. They did this by using both public and private resources. This weakened public trust in the institutions of democracy and jeopardized the credibility of elected politicians (Human Rights Watch, 2011).

Clientelism, the practice of political leaders offering material incentives or privileges in return for political backing, has been directly linked to electoral corruption. Politicians frequently used public funds—especially those with the ability to access them—to finance their political campaigns, giving voters presents or cash in exchange for their support and rewarding allegiance with tangible goods. In addition to being a successful strategy for gaining political

power, this vote-for-favours trade reinforced the political corruption cycle because individuals elected under such regimes felt compelled to provide their financial supporters with lucrative government contracts or positions of power in return. According to Akindele (2014), this patron-client dynamic degenerated into a self-sustaining structure that strengthened democratic governance and encouraged more political corruption.

The consequences of electoral corruption and clientelism are consistent with the Political Alienation Theory, which suggests that citizens grow disillusioned and withdraw from political engagement when they perceive democratic processes as being manipulated or unjust (Norris, 1999). Clientelism, where political favours are given based on loyalty instead of qualifications, directly undermines meritocracy/merit-based systems. This practice weakens governance by prioritizing loyalty over competence, leading to political appointments and resource distributions that do not reflect the best interests of the public. As a result, skilled individuals are often bypassed, leading to less effective governance and further deepening public disenchantment with the political system (Joseph, 2013; Transparency International, 2015). A growing number of Nigerians felt that their participation had no real influence on electoral outcomes as a result of the pervasive assumption that elections were rigged. Because of their alienation from the public, dishonest politicians were able to continue in office without facing consequences for their misdeeds and maintained a dangerous downward spiral of power. This created a cycle of corruption and poor governance, reinforcing public distrust in political institutions and further alienating citizens from participating in the democratic process.

Furthermore, political violence was made worse by electoral misconduct during this time, especially in the 2015 elections when opposing organizations' animosity reached a breaking point. An election that was impartial and free was less likely to occur when political actors planned acts of intimidation and physical assault against voters. Because of Nigeria's inadequate court system, those who participated in electoral fraud faced no significant legal consequences, which contributed to the impression of freedom from punishment and further reduced public confidence in the government (Akindele, 2014). In a nutshell clientelism and electoral corruption were amongst the primary root causes of political corruption under Goodluck Jonathan's leadership. In addition to distorting the democratic procedure, these actions supported prebendal politics, which perpetuated inequalities and public disenchantment by using public resources for private and political advantage (Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011).

### *5.1.5 Poverty and Economic Divides*

Political corruption was greatly enabled and facilitated by extreme conditions of destitution, joblessness, and financial disparity in Nigeria throughout Goodluck Jonathan's presidency. Because of the economic gap in the nation, fraudulent politicians found it easy to take advantage of vulnerabilities in the lives of the less fortunate. Politicians often resorted to offering gifts, money, or special privileges in exchange for votes, exploiting the financial difficulties faced by their constituents. This practice, commonly referred to as vote-buying, was particularly widespread during elections, serving as a way for political leaders to secure support without addressing the root causes of poverty or improving the general public's economic situation (Oluwole, 2016). For instance, during the 2015 elections, there were widespread reports of vote-buying in states such as Lagos and Rivers, where candidates allegedly exchanged cash and material items for votes. This not only deepened the clientelist system but also diverted attention from real issues like poverty and public welfare, thus sustaining a cycle of corruption and inequality in Nigeria (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

Unemployment and destitution become manipulative instruments in this setting. Due to an absence of economic prospects, citizens were more susceptible to take payoffs from politicians, which perpetuated an unethical cycle in which elected representatives were not motivated to govern openly or responsibly and were instead dependent to their supporters. This trade-off between material gain and political backing weakened democratic systems and made it possible for despicable leaders to solidify their hold on authority without facing consequences. Instead of long-term governance improvements, the emphasis on short-term benefits for survival left the electorate mired in a cycle of reliance on dishonest leaders.

A useful foundation for comprehending how political leaders exploited these economic differences is provided by Peter Ekeh's Two Publics Theory. During President Jonathan's administration, politicians often capitalized on ethnic affiliations to secure political power, offering their respective groups access to resources, employment, and development opportunities in exchange for votes. This tactic was particularly influential in an era marked by substantial economic inequality in Nigeria. For example, unemployment reached 24.3% in 2015, as reported by the National Bureau of Statistics, while a large portion of the population continued to live in poverty. The failure to tackle these critical issues, combined with the manipulation of state resources for political gain, widened the gap between different ethnic groups, fostering resentment and perceived injustice. Politicians utilized the country's

economic challenges to solidify a patronage network that prioritized ethnic allegiance over merit-based policies or social development, which, in turn, perpetuated corruption and inequality (National Bureau of Statistics, 2015).

Because politicians gave priority to the desires of their racial constituents over the advancement of the country, this practice widened the economic disparity. The public's focus was also drawn away from urgent national issues like poverty alleviation, development of the economy, and improvements in governance by the deception of racial and partisan loyalties. Political elites rewarded their ethnic supporters with state assets, thereby strengthening political corruption and deepening socioeconomic gaps, rather than tackling the fundamental roots of impoverished conditions. The nation's financial divide was made worse by the frequent mishandling or deliberate disregard of development initiatives (Ibrahim, 2015).

During Goodluck Jonathan's administration, widespread poverty and economic disparity played a pivotal role in fostering political corruption. Politicians capitalized on the economic struggles of the populace, perpetuating systems of clientelism, prebendalism, and vote-buying. These practices not only weakened the foundations of Nigeria's democratic institutions but also hindered its socioeconomic development. As time passed, this exploitation eroded the public's faith in the democratic process, with many citizens coming to perceive political engagement as merely a transaction rather than a pathway to effective governance. The pervasive culture of clientelism and vote-buying fostered a sense of dependency, with individuals and communities relying more on political favours than on meaningful reforms or sustainable growth. This reliance further weakened civic involvement and accountability, leading to continued stagnation in both the nation's political and economic spheres.

## ***5.2 Consequences of Political Corruption on Nigeria's Development***

### ***5.2.1 Economic stagnation***

Regardless of Nigeria's prominence in the ranks of Africa's top oil producers, the nation's economic prosperity was hampered under President Goodluck Jonathan's term (2010-2015) due to pervasive political corruption. The wealthy and powerful ruling class frequently plundered or embezzled resources intended for national development, especially in infrastructure, medical care, and education, leaving these domains lacking in funding and underdeveloped (World Bank, 2015).

Government investment strategies were disrupted by political corruption, leading to inefficiencies and delays in projects that could have significantly advanced economic growth. Key initiatives, including infrastructure development, power supply enhancement, and agricultural expansion, were either postponed or poorly executed due to the misappropriation of funds. For example, corruption in contract allocations contributed to persistent delays and inferior work on the East-West Road project in the Niger Delta region (Edozie, 2017). Similarly, the Ajaokuta Steel project, which held immense potential to revolutionize Nigeria's industrial landscape, became a case study in resource mismanagement and inefficiency (Ogunleye, 2019). Contracts for such initiatives were regularly granted to corporations with political ties in return for bribes, resulting in poor craftsmanship and substantial expenditures. This hampered the development of crucial infrastructure required for economic growth. For example, Nigeria's GDP growth slowed from 7.4% in 2011 to 2.7% in 2015 (Ibrahim, 2014).

In addition, political corruption diminished the trust of investors. Prospective international investors were put off by the widespread practice of corruption and lack of openness regarding Nigeria's financial climate. As a result, foreign direct investment (FDI) diminished, undermining its vital role in stimulating economic progress, job creation, and the advancement of technological expertise. Moreover, corruption diverted resources away from essential sectors like education and healthcare, leaving them grossly underfunded. This lack of funding led to resource shortages in schools, which hindered literacy development, and poorly equipped medical facilities, which negatively impacted public health (World Bank, 2015). In contrast, capital that might have boosted industry and manufacturing were diverted to detrimental parts or accounts located abroad, restricting industrial development and restricting economic diversity (Akinyele, 2013).

Political corruption also undermined the capability of the government to carry out successful economic programs. Incompatible implementation of policies, frequently resulting from bribery and nepotism, hampered endeavours to combat destitution, joblessness, and inequality. Consequently, regardless of Nigeria's oil fortune, a great deal of its citizens remained impoverished and underdeveloped during this time (Joseph, 2013).

To summarize, political corruption hampered Nigeria's economic growth, prolonging poverty, joblessness, and an acute shortage of infrastructure development. These issues remained a barrier to Nigeria's socioeconomic progress, especially since corruption exacerbated fundamental flaws in the nation's economic institutions.

### *5.2.2 Inadequate Development of Infrastructure*

Corruption within the political system greatly impeded Nigeria's progress in infrastructure development, particularly during Goodluck Jonathan's tenure as president. Illicit practices such as embezzlement, bribery, and inflated project costs disrupted key infrastructure initiatives, often leading to incomplete or poorly executed projects. For example, the reconstruction of the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway experienced significant delays due to mismanagement, while the Ajaokuta Steel Company remained neglected, symbolizing the misallocation of resources and the inefficiency that plagued infrastructure efforts (Okonkwo, 2015; Adeyemi, 2017). Important industries including energy, water distribution, and transportation were particularly impacted, as contractors and officials collaborated together to embezzle public funding intended for development. (Amundsen, 2019). Major infrastructure projects including electricity systems, railroads, and highways were either abandoned or never finished, which made it more difficult for Nigeria to draw in foreign capital and advance its economic growth.

Nigeria's power sector is one of the most obvious examples of this corruption. The government allegedly invested \$16 billion on electrical reforms between 2010 and 2015, however there was little visible increase in the energy supply and frequent power disruptions (World Bank, 2015). This demonstrates the discrepancy between the resources allocated and the results obtained. Even after billions of dollars were set aside to upgrade the nation's electrical infrastructure, frequent blackouts and insufficient energy supplies persisted throughout this time. Millions of Nigerians' daily lives were impacted by this unreliable electricity, which also stunted the country's industrial development and revenue generation. The costly nature of producing private power caused numerous manufacturing businesses to either function below their capability or relocate abroad (Nwachukwu, 2014).

In Nigerian politics, patron-client connections are highlighted by the Prebendalism Theory, which is directly related to corruption in the improvement of infrastructure. Public servants frequently neglected public services in favour of enriching their political supporters and patrons with government funds, treating them as personal loot (Joseph, 1987). These authorities often gave inflated contracts to politically connected enterprises so that political leaders and their supporters would profit economically. Nigeria's roads, medical centres, educational institutions, and other vital facilities are in an undesirable state of deterioration because of the substantial delays or cancellation of numerous infrastructure projects caused by this theft of funds (Oluwole, 2016).

In accordance with the Political Alienation Theory, the public's disenchantment with the government was exacerbated by its inability to provide fundamental public services, which in turn caused a general disillusionment. Further undermining public confidence in government agencies was the perception held by many Nigerians that their elected representatives were unconcerned about their problems due to the lack of noticeable infrastructure improvements (Norris, 1999). Political unrest resulted from this estrangement since many people looked to other sources of authorities, such as terrorist organizations like Boko Haram, further dividing the nation. Political growth was significantly impacted by the absence of infrastructure development. The state's ability to provide services was undermined by corruption, which made inequalities and geographical disparities worse. As a result of political bias, southern states like Lagos and Rivers benefited from significant infrastructure investments, while many northern regions lacked basic road networks or reliable access to electricity, fuelling resentment and perceptions of neglect. This inconsistent growth exacerbated political tensions and played a role towards the establishment of insurgent movements, such as Boko Haram, who exploited the complaints of disenfranchised populations (Gonzalez, 2015).

In conclusion, political corruption increased socioeconomic disparities and political turmoil in Nigeria in addition to impeding the country's growth in infrastructure. Throughout a crucial period, inept government officials impeded Nigeria's political and economic progress by putting their personal interests ahead of the good of the public. The nation's journey to sustainable growth will remain blocked unless the widespread misconduct that befalls infrastructure projects is addressed.

### *5.2.3 Deterioration of Public Trust in Government*

During Goodluck Jonathan's presidency, political corruption severely reduced public confidence in government agencies, which added to the general cynicism and dissatisfaction amongst Nigerian citizens. People thought that politicians were more concerned with their own personal gain than the good of the country, and that the government was dishonest and self-centred. Numerous significant corruption cases under Goodluck Jonathan's administration highlighted the deep-rooted nature of corruption in Nigeria. For example, the fuel subsidy fraud involved senior government officials and their allies misappropriating billions of dollars designated to make fuel affordable for citizens (Human Rights Watch, 2012). Additionally, the \$2.1 billion arms deal scandal, where funds meant for combating terrorism were diverted, and the Malabu Oil Scandal, which exposed illicit transactions and poor management of a major

oil contract, further demonstrated the prevalence of corruption in key areas of governance (Transparency International, 2015; Global Witness, 2016). These occurrences strengthened the perception that individuals in positions of authority were embezzling public funds while the general populace was left with subpar services and deteriorating infrastructure.

Political alienation theory, which holds that individuals disconnect from the system and stop participating in democratic procedures when they lose confidence in the power structures, is directly related to this decline in trust (Norris, 1999). In Nigeria, people started to believe that voting and other democratic processes were pointless since dishonest politicians persisted in controlling the political system despite widespread dissatisfaction. The poor participation rate in the 2015 elections, where many residents voiced a lack of trust in the democratic system and questioned if their ballots would actually bring forth any sort of improvement, was indicative of this political alienation. For example, voter turnout reportedly dropped to 43.65% in 2015, compared to 53.68% in 2011 (Nwagwu, 2016).

In summary, political corruption shattered the social contract between the state and its people in addition to undermining governance. Nigeria's democratic foundation was weakened and political upheaval persisted as a result of the public's growing disenchantment with political institutions, which encouraged alienation and disengagement. The public's faith will not be restored, and democratic governance will not be strengthened, unless the underlying causes of corruption are addressed.

#### *5.2.4 Deterioration of Social Services*

Under Goodluck Jonathan's leadership, corruption played a key role in the decline of essential social services in Nigeria, particularly in the education and healthcare sectors. For example, the Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Program (SURE-P), which was established to fund critical social and infrastructural projects, was plagued by allegations of resource diversion and inefficiency. Likewise, the YOUWIN program, aimed at fostering youth entrepreneurship and improving access to education, was undermined by claims of corruption and poor implementation, limiting its ability to address unemployment and educational issues (Okoro, 2014; Adeola, 2015). Chronic inadequate financing in these vital sectors was caused by corrupt behaviours, such as misappropriation of public funds and manipulation of government assets. As a consequence, a lack of staff, outdated equipment, and inadequate infrastructure plagued healthcare facilities and educational institutions, lowering the standard of care given (Bello, 2017).

Corruption on an unprecedented scale in the education sphere impacted the distribution of cash for curriculum materials, wage payments for educators, and school renovations. Plenty of schools, especially those in rural areas, had remained in a state of disrepair and lacked basic facilities like running water and sanitation facilities. Corrupt authorities frequently stole money intended for infrastructural development, packing classrooms full of children with no supplies for studying. Due to the fact some kids from high-income backgrounds were capable of paying for tuition at private institutions while those from impoverished homes were forced to attend failed public schools, this not merely hindered their academic success but also increased the imbalance in inequality. For example, in 2015, the National Bureau of Statistics reported that over 40% of Nigerian schools lacked proper sanitation (Adesina, 2013).

During Goodluck Jonathan's administration, the Nigerian healthcare system faced considerable setbacks, largely due to corruption, which severely impacted the effectiveness of health-related programs. Despite efforts to enhance healthcare, the improper allocation of funds resulted in shortages of essential medical supplies, inadequate compensation for healthcare personnel, and reduced access to vital services, especially in rural regions. The country's response to HIV/AIDS highlighted these broader systemic issues. Data indicates that approximately 20,695 children between the ages of 0 and 9 were newly diagnosed with HIV in recent years, with many of these infections linked to insufficient access to prevention programs and antiretroviral treatments (NACA, 2023). Additionally, while there was some progress in reducing mother-to-child transmission, significant challenges remained, as thousands of children continued to be born with the virus due to inadequate healthcare infrastructure and corruption-driven inefficiencies (UNICEF, 2023). These ongoing issues not only worsened health inequalities but also contributed to preventable deaths across the country (Onwujekwe et al., 2018).

Furthermore, the diversion of funds significantly impaired the success of programs aimed at improving the health and welfare of vulnerable groups. For instance, financial resources allocated to the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), which was designed to make healthcare more accessible, were often misdirected, leading to delays in implementation and limited-service delivery (Akinwumi, 2017). In a similar vein, funds intended for maternal and child health programs, such as immunization and prenatal care services, were mishandled, preventing these initiatives from effectively reaching those in need, thereby worsening health outcomes (World Health Organization, 2015; Ojo, 2018). These cases underscore how corruption undercut the impact of essential health programs, contributing to deteriorating public health conditions.

Corruption made it more difficult for the government to deliver sufficient social services, which exacerbated social disparity and continued poverty. Political alienation was further exacerbated by the reduction in social services, as people began to feel cut off from a government that was failing to provide for their fundamental needs. In a nutshell between 2010 and 2015, political corruption significantly reduced the quality of services in Nigeria's medical and educational sectors, negatively impacting the nation's impoverished and downtrodden population. Any attempts at equitable development in Nigeria will be restricted unless the pervasive corruption that supports the mishandling of social services is addressed.

#### *5.2.5 Increased Levels of Poverty and Unemployment*

Nigeria's socioeconomic issues were made worse by political corruption during the period in question of Goodluck Jonathan's presidency which increased joblessness and destitution. The federal government failed to enact efficient measures that could relieve impoverished conditions while creating employment because public funds were embezzled or diverted into private wallets. Nigeria is an oil-rich country, but rampant corruption signified that the money earned from oil was frequently siphoned off from important development initiatives. This resulted in a lack of funding in industries that are critical to employment creation, such as manufacturing, infrastructure, and agriculture (Ekeruche, 2018).

The direct effect on youth joblessness was the redirection of cash from economic initiatives. Nigeria suffered a "youth bulge" throughout this time, as more and more young people joining the workforce, yet there wasn't enough employment to accommodate this group. This issue was especially prevalent in northern Nigeria, in which a combination of inadequate funding for education and vocational training, illicit behaviour in government, and an elevated young unemployment rate were root causes. Lack of employment made young people more cynical and susceptible to radicalization; Boko Haram took advantage of this by enlisting disgruntled and jobless young men within their ranks (Awojobi, 2014). For instance, according to the National Bureau of Statistics (2015), unemployment increased from 21.1% in 2010 to 24.3% in 2015 when Jonathan was president. Likewise, throughout this time, more than 60% of Nigerians were below the poverty line.

Furthermore, economic programs intended to reduce poverty were hampered by political corruption. The accusations of political corruption and inadequate oversight dogged operations like the Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Program (SURE-P), which aimed to redirect cash saved from lowered gasoline subsidies toward promoting the creation of jobs and the

reduction of inequality. These funds were either misappropriated or utilized to finance political support, which increased economic stagnation rather than decreasing poverty. For instance, funds allocated for job creation were reportedly diverted to fund political campaigns instead of reaching intended beneficiaries (Ogbonnaya, 2016).

From the theoretical perspective of the prebendalism theory, political elites viewed government resources to hold onto control and authority. Instead of solving urgent economic challenges, they frequently used public funds to cement their leadership positions and purchase allegiance. This strategy supported a climate of impunity in which political actors put their own interests ahead of the general good (Joseph, 1987). Political alienation theory also explained the ensuing crises of unemployment and poverty as people became more and more estranged from a government they perceived as being dishonest, uncaring, and incapable of providing for their fundamental needs (Norris, 1999).

Political corruption had a disastrous impact on social stability and a major role in the increase in poverty and unemployment rates in Nigeria between 2010 and 2015. The country became even more unstable because of the lack of funding for programs aimed at reducing poverty and creating jobs, which exposed a sizable portion of the populace to exploitation by rebel organizations. To escape the downward spiral of destitution, joblessness, and instability in Nigeria, it is imperative to tackle the fundamental root causes of corruption (Ogbonnaya, 2016).

### ***5.3 Relationship Between Boko Haram Insurgency and Political Corruption***

A primary discovery of this research is the clear and undeniable connection between political corruption and the Boko Haram insurgency, which intensified throughout Jonathan's presidency.

#### ***5.3.1 Corruption in Military Funding***

Nigeria's battle against Boko Haram was negatively impacted by corruption in the nation's military aid system, especially under Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2010–2015). Although defence budgets received billions of dollars, the military lacked resources and equipment. Through dishonest means, a considerable amount of the money was embezzled by powerful military and political figures. This problem is best shown by the historic \$2.1 billion Dasuki scandal. In some cases, the military was given funds for specific operations but was unable to execute due to mismanagement. For instance, during the Boko Haram occupation of towns like Maiduguri and Gwoza, the military lacked the necessary equipment and logistical

support, despite billions in allocated funds. In one instance, money intended for purchasing military hardware, such as ammunition, was instead used for political campaigns and high-ranking individuals' private bank accounts (Premium Times, 2015). Nigerian troops were poorly geared to successfully combat the insurgency due to insufficient equipment, low levels of motivation, and insufficient training caused by a lack of vital military resources.

Corruption had a profound impact on the efficiency of the Nigerian military. On several occasions, troops were sent into battle without sufficient equipment or logistical support, which led to unnecessary losses and an increased rate of soldier resignations. One striking example of military failure occurred during the 2014 Chibok schoolgirls abduction by Boko Haram. Despite the urgency of the situation, the Nigerian military was heavily criticized for its slow response, a delay attributed to inadequate preparedness and resources (Human Rights Watch, 2014; Amnesty International, 2015). This incident starkly illustrated how corruption and mismanagement hindered the military's ability to act swiftly in the face of security threats. Numerous soldiers experienced a sense of demoralization and abandonment from the administration they were tasked with protecting. Given a lack of operational capabilities, the military found it difficult to manage the insurgency, which enabled Boko Haram to accumulate substantial ground, particularly in the northeast (Oluwasegun, 2019).

From the theoretical viewpoint of the prebendalism Theory, military funding was perceived as private rewards by nepotistic corrupt government officials who abused government funds to benefit themselves and their political acquaintances. The Nigerian military's capacity to carry out its duties effectively was severely hampered by the prevailing trend of prebendalism, in which public officials utilize their positions of authority for personal enrichment. Nigeria spent over \$2.1 billion in defence budgets during this period, yet the military faced severe resource shortages. A climate of lawlessness was also promoted by the widespread misconduct in the military, allowing policymakers and officers to engage in corrupt activities without worrying about facing consequences (Joseph, 1987).

In addition, the military's lack of proper equipment exacerbated the general unrest, which undermined the authority of the government and allowed Boko Haram to grow significantly. A decline in public trust in the capability of the government to care for its population exacerbated political unrest and undermined official power. The state's safety precautions and public confidence in the administration were both directly impacted by corruption in military spending, which had long-term detrimental effects on national stability (Adewunmi, 2015).

Nigeria's capability to successfully defeat Boko Haram was seriously hampered by corruption in military funding underneath the Jonathan administration. The armed forces became compromised by the misappropriation of finances for political as well as private benefit which made the insurgency thrive and put the country's security at risk. Nigeria's attempts to eradicate insurgencies and uphold peace and order will remain jeopardized if corruption in defence budget is not rectified.

### *5.3.2 Radicalization and Disillusionment*

The process of becoming radicalized involves a person or group adopting extreme political, social, or religious beliefs that go against the status quo, challenge modern notions of freedom of speech and association, and support the use of violence, which includes terrorist attacks, to further ideological goals. Usually, it begins with adjustments to one's self-identification. This shift is fuelled by grievances, which are usually motivated by individual or collective concerns about regional as well as global events.

In Nigeria, political corruption not only impeded progress but also had a significant impact on the radicalization of youth, especially in the north. Boko Haram took advantage of the widespread economic deprivation, impoverished circumstances, and dissatisfaction in these regions, where youth unemployment was made worse by government corruption. Many disgruntled young Nigerians were easy pickings for radical organizations like Boko Haram to recruit since there were few good economic opportunities and little intervention from the government. Boko Haram specifically targeted economically disenfranchised youth, with their recruitment tactics targeting impoverished northern regions, where young people were promised money, a sense of belonging, and purpose in exchange for joining the insurgency (Agbibo, 2014).

International terrorist schemes have implicated Nigerians, while jihadists from outside Africa have attempted recruiting efforts in Nigeria. The north will become a hotspot for instability if Nigeria and its allies fail to tackle the nation's festering ethno-religious conflicts and the nation's youthful radicalization. Many impoverished and underprivileged northern Nigerians remain inclined to descend towards controversial Islamist groups. This in return affects global partners as well as the larger region's economy and sovereignty. There has always been fierce rivalry in Nigerian politics for socioeconomic resources, with the state viewed as the primary provider of these advantages. "Allegiance to ethnic communities takes prominence above national commitment, as this rivalry stimulates recourse to sectoral identities." Ethno-religious

attitudes are manipulated in a struggle for the distribution of political authority and financial resources (Sodipo, 2013).

Political corruption hampered growth and, particularly in the north of the country, aided in the radicalization of young Nigerians. The failure of the federal government's inability to tackle economic and social disparities, exacerbated by political corruption, facilitated the recruitment of disillusioned youth by extremist organizations such as Boko Haram. Combating radicalism and reestablishing order in the region requires addressing corruption and giving young people meaningful economic and social options.

### *5.3.3 Corruption in Counterterrorism Efforts*

Nigeria's counterterrorism initiatives against Boko Haram between 2010 and 2015 were also seriously hampered by political corruption. Even though security and counterterrorism received substantial financial resources, a large portion of these funds were plundered, which resulted in subpar operations and outcomes. There were multiple claims made against government and security officials, alleging that they had exploited funds intended for counterterrorism efforts to amass personal wealth. A notable case was the \$2.1 billion arms procurement scandal, in which high-ranking figures were accused of siphoning off military funds for their own benefit (Ugochukwu, 2019). This corruption severely hampered Nigeria's counterterrorism operations, as the diversion of critical resources weakened the military's capacity to respond to threats effectively (Amadi and Abdullah, 2018). Some individuals were even reported to have accepted bribes, which allowed Boko Haram to operate with greater freedom in certain regions (Amadi and Abdullah, 2018; Ugochukwu, 2019). The degree of corruption present in the security system posed a significant challenge for the administration in implementing a successful counterinsurgency strategy.

The diversion of money intended for terrorist activities resulted in security forces, comparable to the military, frequently possessing inadequate resources and equipment. A good counterterrorism plan requires intelligence collection, monitoring, and operational expertise, all of which were impeded by this absence of resources. For instance, the Nigerian government allocated billions to counterterrorism programs, yet much of it disappeared due to corruption, leaving the military and police with inadequate resources. Boko Haram was frequently able to take advantage of these flaws and undertake assaults with little opposition from security personnel (Campbell, 2014). The region became even more unstable as the insurgents intimidated the local populace in addition to seizing control of large areas.

Furthermore, the mistrust between the local populace and the administration grew because of the illicit activity in counterterrorism operations. Some locals may perceive Boko Haram as a lesser evil compared to a corrupt government that failed to protect them. Many northern communities, already doubting the legitimacy of the government, lost further trust in it when they witnessed the corruption impeding initiatives to keep them safe. People's emotions of detachment and animosity were heightened by the state's incapacity of guaranteeing security; as a result, many of them either stopped supporting the government entirely or went to Boko Haram for safety (Amundsen, 2019). The illicit seizure of counterterrorism funding serves as an example of how powerful politicians perceived state resources as their own property via the prism of prebendalism theory. Numerous government officials continued the prevalent climate of corruption that afflicted Nigeria's political system by viewing the counterterrorism budget as a means of achieving personal benefit instead of concentrating on national security. This hampered not only the battle against Boko Haram but also the larger crusade against corruption in other domains (Joseph, 1987).

Nigeria's capacity to fight Boko Haram was severely undermined by illicit behaviour within the nation's counterterrorism initiatives. Boko Haram was able to conduct attacks in places like Maiduguri and Baga without significant resistance from security forces, which was in part due to the lack of operational preparedness caused by the siphoning of funds. The government's reaction to the rebellion was chaotic and ineffectual due to the misappropriation of finances and the accepting of kickbacks by security officers. Nigeria's counterterrorism plan will continue to encounter major obstacles and factions like Boko Haram are going to remain an imminent danger if corruption in the homeland security system is not addressed.

#### ***5.4 Conclusion***

The findings illustrate the complex ways in which political corruption influenced governance, economic development, and security in Nigeria between 2010 and 2015. Institutional failures, clientelism, and resource mismanagement facilitated systemic corruption, which in turn hindered national development and security efforts. The next chapter will analyse these findings in greater depth, linking them to theoretical frameworks and existing literature.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### ***6. Introduction***

This chapter delves into the interpretation of the findings outlined in Chapter 5, connecting them to theoretical frameworks and academic discussions surrounding political corruption, governance, and development. It critically assesses the implications of the research outcomes and evaluates the efficacy of anti-corruption measures during Goodluck Jonathan's presidency. By contextualizing the findings within the broader discourse on political corruption and governance, this chapter offers a comprehensive understanding of the obstacles and potential solutions for addressing political corruption in Nigeria.

### ***6.1 Understanding the Root Causes of Political Corruption***

The research findings indicate that political corruption in Nigeria, particularly during Goodluck Jonathan's tenure, is deeply embedded in systemic and institutional deficiencies. These deficiencies align with Prebendalism Theory, which asserts that public offices are frequently exploited for personal gain and the distribution of favors rather than serving the public interest. The erosion of institutional structures, as observed in this study, fosters an environment where corrupt practices proliferate with little to no accountability.

#### ***6.1.1 Institutional Erosion and Prebendalism Theory***

The investigation's findings align closely with the Prebendalism Theory, which emphasizes the appropriation of state resources for personal and ethnic group benefits (Joseph, 1987). Under Jonathan's administration, the erosion of institutional integrity was evident in the lack of enforcement of anti-corruption laws and the politicization of key institutions such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). For instance, the EFCC, which was established to combat financial crimes, often faced political interference, limiting its effectiveness (Smith, 2010). This weakening of institutions allowed corrupt practices to flourish, as public officials operated with impunity. The findings suggest that when institutions are compromised, they become tools for perpetuating corruption rather than mechanisms for accountability. This reinforces the argument that strong, independent institutions are critical for effective governance and corruption mitigation (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012).

Moreover, the investigation highlights how the absence of institutional checks and balances created a culture of impunity. For example, public officials accused of corruption were rarely prosecuted, and when they were, the cases often dragged on indefinitely or were dismissed due to political pressure (Human Rights Watch, 2013). This lack of accountability further entrenched corrupt practices, as individuals in positions of power had little incentive to act ethically. The findings underscore the importance of institutional reforms that prioritize transparency, accountability, and independence, as these are essential for breaking the cycle of corruption (Hope, 2017).

### *6.1.2 Patronage Networks and Ethnic Favouritism*

The prevalence of patronage networks and ethnic biases further entrenched corrupt political systems during Jonathan's tenure. The research brings to light how political appointments and resource allocations were often based on loyalty and ethnic affiliations rather than merit or competence. This practice not only undermined governance but also perpetuated inequality and marginalization, as resources were diverted to benefit specific groups or individuals (Lewis, 2007). For example, key positions in government agencies and parastatals were frequently awarded to individuals from Jonathan's ethnic group or political allies, regardless of their qualifications (Suberu, 2013). This aligns with scholarly debates on the intersection of ethnicity, patronage, and corruption in African politics, where ethnic loyalties often supersede national interests (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997).

The findings also reveal how patronage networks create a cycle of dependency and loyalty that prioritizes personal gain over public good. For instance, individuals who benefited from patronage were expected to reciprocate by supporting their benefactors politically, often through corrupt means such as vote-buying or misappropriation of public funds (Khan, 2006). This system of reciprocal favours not only sustains corrupt practices but also undermines public trust in government institutions. The study suggests that addressing patronage and ethnic favouritism requires a shift toward merit-based systems and equitable resource distribution, as well as efforts to promote national unity over ethnic divisions (Hope, 2017).

### *6.1.3 Electoral Fraud and Democratic Erosion*

Electoral malpractice emerged as a significant factor contributing to political corruption and governance failures under Jonathan's administration. The research exposes that electoral processes were often marred by vote-buying, rigging, and violence, which compromised the legitimacy of democratic institutions (Bekoe, 2012). For example, during the 2011 general

elections, there were widespread reports of ballot box snatching, voter intimidation, and falsification of results, particularly in regions with strong opposition support (International Crisis Group, 2011). This perpetuated a cycle of compromised democracy, where elected officials were more accountable to their benefactors than to the electorate.

The findings suggest that electoral malpractice not only undermines the democratic process but also entrenches corrupt leadership, as those who ascend to power through illegitimate means are less likely to prioritize transparency and accountability (Norris, 2014). This resonates with broader scholarly discussions on the link between electoral integrity and governance outcomes in developing democracies (Lindberg, 2006). For instance, leaders who gain power through fraudulent elections are more likely to engage in corrupt practices to maintain their hold on power, as they lack the legitimacy to govern effectively (Bratton, 2008). The study underscores the need for comprehensive electoral reforms, including the use of technology to enhance transparency, stricter enforcement of electoral laws, and greater involvement of civil society in monitoring elections (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015).

#### *6.1.4 Implications for Anti-Corruption Strategies*

The findings of this investigation have significant implications for the design and implementation of anti-corruption strategies. The persistence of corruption under Jonathan's administration highlights the limitations of top-down approaches that rely heavily on legal and institutional reforms without addressing the underlying socio-political dynamics (Johnston, 2005). For example, while the administration introduced initiatives such as the National Strategy to Combat Corruption, these efforts were often undermined by a lack of political will and inconsistent implementation (Transparency International, 2014). The study suggests that effective anti-corruption strategies must go beyond punitive measures to address the root causes of corruption, such as weak institutions, patronage networks, and electoral malpractice.

A holistic approach is needed, one that strengthens institutional frameworks, promotes merit-based systems, and ensures free and fair elections (Hope, 2017). For instance, empowering anti-corruption agencies with greater autonomy and resources, as well as protecting them from political interference, could enhance their effectiveness (World Bank, 2012). Additionally, fostering a culture of accountability through public awareness campaigns and civic education could help reduce tolerance for corrupt practices (UNDP, 2015).

Furthermore, the findings underscore the importance of political will in combating corruption. While Jonathan's administration introduced several anti-corruption initiatives, the lack of

consistent enforcement and political commitment undermined their effectiveness (Lewis, 2007). This highlights the need for leaders to demonstrate genuine commitment to anti-corruption efforts, as well as the importance of civil society and international actors in holding governments accountable (Transparency International, 2014). For example, international organizations can play a crucial role by providing technical assistance, funding, and monitoring to support anti-corruption initiatives (OECD, 2013).

## ***6.2 Implications of Corruption on Development***

The findings of this research demonstrate that political corruption during Goodluck Jonathan's administration had profound and far-reaching consequences for Nigeria's development. Corruption not only hindered economic progress but also weakened the delivery of social services and eroded public trust in governance and democratic institutions. This section explores the multifaceted impact of corruption on development, focusing on economic stagnation, the deterioration of public services, and the decline in democratic participation.

### ***6.2.1 Economic Stagnation and Capital Flight***

One of the most significant effects of corruption during Jonathan's presidency was its negative impact on economic growth. The misallocation and embezzlement of public funds meant that critical investments in infrastructure, education, and healthcare were neglected. For example, funds designated for developmental projects were often diverted for personal gain or used to finance political campaigns, leaving vital initiatives underfunded or incomplete (Transparency International, 2014). This mismanagement of resources contributed to economic stagnation, as the country failed to leverage its abundant natural and human resources for sustainable development.

Additionally, corruption facilitated capital flight, with public officials and private actors siphoning billions of dollars out of the country. According to a report by Global Financial Integrity (GFI), Nigeria lost approximately \$178 billion to illicit financial flows between 2004 and 2013, a period that overlapped with Jonathan's tenure (GFI, 2015). This massive outflow of capital deprived the nation of essential resources needed for investment in critical sectors, further deepening poverty and inequality. The findings indicate that corruption not only stifles economic growth but also perpetuates a cycle of underdevelopment by depriving countries of the resources necessary to address pressing socio-economic challenges (Shleifer and Vishny, 1993).

The research also highlights how political corruption deters foreign direct investment (FDI). Investors are often hesitant to commit resources to countries with high levels of corruption due to the risks of bribery, extortion, and unfair competition (Mauro, 1995). During Jonathan's administration, Nigeria's reputation as a politically corrupt destination for investment discouraged potential investors, limiting opportunities for economic diversification and job creation. This underscores the importance of implementing robust anti-corruption measures to restore investor confidence and stimulate economic growth (World Bank, 2012).

### *6.2.2 The Role of Political Corruption in Undermining Social Services*

Political corruption also had a devastating impact on the provision of social services, particularly in the health and education sectors. The investigation reveals that funds allocated to these sectors were frequently embezzled or mismanaged, resulting in inadequate infrastructure, shortages of essential supplies, and poor service delivery. For instance, in the health sector, the diversion of funds meant that hospitals lacked basic medical equipment, drugs, and qualified personnel, leading to preventable deaths and a decline in public health outcomes (UNDP, 2015). Similarly, in the education sector, corruption contributed to the decay of school facilities, a lack of teaching materials, and poor learning outcomes, especially in rural areas (Lewis, 2007).

The weakening of social services disproportionately affected vulnerable populations, including women, children, and low-income communities. For example, the lack of access to quality healthcare and education perpetuated cycles of poverty and inequality, as marginalized groups were unable to overcome socio-economic barriers (Hope, 2017). The findings suggest that corruption not only undermines the delivery of social services but also exacerbates social inequalities, as resources are diverted away from those who need them most (Johnston, 2005).

Furthermore, the research highlights how corruption erodes public trust in government institutions. When citizens perceive that public officials are enriching themselves at the expense of the common good, they are less likely to support government initiatives or pay taxes. This creates a vicious cycle where the government lacks the resources to improve service delivery, further eroding public trust and perpetuating underdevelopment (Rothstein, 2011).

### *6.2.3 The Impact on Governance and Democratic Participation*

Political corruption also significantly impacted governance and democratic participation during Jonathan's administration. The research reveals that electoral malpractice, such as vote-

buying, rigging, and violence, undermined the credibility of democratic institutions. For example, during the 2011 general elections, there were widespread reports of electoral fraud, including the manipulation of voter registers and the intimidation of opposition supporters (International Crisis Group, 2011). These practices not only compromised the legitimacy of elected officials but also discouraged citizens from participating in the democratic process.

The erosion of democratic participation was further exacerbated by the perception that elected officials were more accountable to their benefactors than to the electorate. This created a sense of disillusionment among citizens, who felt that their votes did not matter and that the political system was rigged in favour of the elite (Bratton, 2008). The findings suggest that corruption not only undermines the integrity of democratic processes but also weakens the social contract between the government and the governed, as citizens lose faith in the ability of the state to represent their interests (Norris, 2014).

Moreover, the investigation highlights how political corruption perpetuates a cycle of poor governance. Leaders who ascend to power through fraudulent means are more likely to engage in corrupt practices to maintain their hold on power, as they lack the legitimacy to govern effectively (Lindberg, 2006). This creates a self-reinforcing cycle where corruption begets poor governance, which in turn perpetuates corruption. Breaking this cycle requires comprehensive reforms that promote transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in governance (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015).

#### *6.2.4 Addressing the Implications of Corruption on Development*

The findings of this research underscore the need for a multi-faceted approach to address the implications of corruption on development. First, there is a need for institutional reforms that strengthen accountability and transparency in the management of public resources. This includes empowering anti-corruption agencies with greater autonomy and resources, as well as protecting them from political interference (World Bank, 2012). Second, efforts should be made to promote merit-based systems in public appointments and resource allocation, reducing the influence of patronage and ethnic favouritism (Hope, 2017).

Additionally, there is a need for greater investment in social services, particularly in the health and education sectors, to address the inequalities exacerbated by corruption. This requires not only increased funding but also mechanisms to ensure that resources are used efficiently and equitably (UNDP, 2015). Finally, efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and promote

citizen participation are essential for restoring public trust in governance and breaking the cycle of corruption (Rothstein, 2011).

### ***6.3 The Boko Haram Insurgency and Political Corruption***

One of the key reasons behind the persistence of the Boko Haram insurgency is the corruption and mismanagement of funds allocated to military operations. Although substantial financial resources were dedicated to counterterrorism efforts, a significant portion of these funds were diverted, embezzled, or misused by officials (Agbiboa, 2015). A notable example is the Dasuki arms procurement scandal, where approximately \$2.1 billion meant for acquiring military equipment was allegedly misappropriated (Campbell, 2018). As a result, Nigerian soldiers frequently lacked adequate weaponry, delayed salaries, and poor welfare conditions, which weakened their ability to effectively combat Boko Haram (Onapajo, 2017).

Additionally, reports from Transparency International (2021) indicate that fake military contracts and non-existent personnel (ghost soldiers) drained defence budgets. In several cases, funds intended for strengthening counterinsurgency measures were instead redirected into personal accounts or used for political gains, reducing the effectiveness of national security (Akinola, 2020). This corruption allowed Boko Haram to exploit security loopholes, extending their influence in vulnerable communities.

The Political Alienation Theory helps explain how corruption and governance failures create public resentment and disengagement from the state (Ekeh, 1975). Many individuals in Boko Haram-affected areas felt abandoned by the government, as military corruption left them unprotected from insurgent attacks (Onapajo, 2017). This discontent contributed to youth radicalization, as Boko Haram positioned itself as a more reliable alternative to the state, promising security and ideological direction (Alao, 2013). Political alienation theory, which holds that individuals can shift to alternative forms of sense of self and purpose when they feel estranged from their respective governments and political organizations, provides an explanation as one of the primary reasons of the radicalization that is happening in the nation-state of Nigeria. Corruption on an unprecedented scale and the government's inability to deliver essential services caused an increasing divide between the people and the governing body in northern Nigeria. Particularly young individuals felt alienated by a system that they perceived as crooked and insensitive to their needs. Since organizations like Boko Haram provided them with a feeling of purpose, belonging, and even monetary rewards, their dissatisfaction rendered them more vulnerable to this extremist ideology (Nwagwu, 2016).

Furthermore, Ekeh's Two Publics Theory (1975) provides insight into how political corruption created a divide between the Nigerian state (civic public) and local communities (primordial public). Boko Haram leveraged this divide, portraying itself as a protector of marginalized northern Muslim communities and arguing that the government primarily served elite interests (Thurston, 2018). The inability of the Nigerian government to curb political corruption and ensure security reinforced the perception of state neglect, further deepening support for insurgents. Peter Ekeh's Two Publics Theory also sheds light on the relationship between political corruption and the emergence of extremism. The difference between the primordial public, which is connected to racial and cultural identities, and the civic public, which is connected to the state, is emphasized by Ekeh's theory. In Nigeria, political corruption undermined public confidence in the government, causing many people to withdraw into their traditional public personas. Corruption and regional inequalities played a significant role in fostering feelings of exclusion, especially in Nigeria's northeast. The government's failure to address these disparities—coupled with the widespread corruption—left many, particularly the youth, feeling neglected and abandoned. This environment of disillusionment made Boko Haram's anti-government ideology and religious rhetoric seem like an appealing alternative to those who felt marginalized. Boko Haram presented itself as a solution, offering a sense of belonging and empowerment to those who saw the state as incapable of meeting their needs (Ekeh, 1975; Adesoji, 2010). In this way, Boko Haram's message found a receptive audience among individuals disheartened by the government's failure to address regional grievances.

The diversion of military funds and political corruption within security agencies significantly weakened Nigeria's efforts to suppress Boko Haram. Poor resource management resulted in an ill-equipped military force, increased public distrust, and prolonged conflict. The Political Alienation and Two Publics Theory highlight how governance failures fuelled both discontent and insurgent recruitment, worsening national security. To address these issues, Nigeria must implement transparency in military expenditures, strengthen oversight institutions, and establish accountability measures to prevent further exploitation of national security resources.

#### ***6.4 Anti-Corruption Efforts and Their Effectiveness To Combat Political***

A variety of tactics were used to fight political corruption in Nigeria during President Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2010–2015). These strategies included everything from anti-corruption campaigns and legislative changes to fortifying anti-corruption organizations. The

success of these initiatives, however, differed greatly, and many of them came under fire for failing to adequately combat the systemic corruption that exists in Nigeria.

#### *6.4.1 Strengthening of Anti-Corruption Agencies under President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015)*

In an effort to address political corruption, President Goodluck Jonathan's administration focused on strengthening key institutions tasked with investigating and prosecuting corrupt activities, particularly the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).

The ICPC, created in 2000 through the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Act, was set up to target corruption within both the public and private sectors. Its responsibilities include investigating and prosecuting corruption-related offenses, as well as raising public awareness on the damaging effects of corruption on national growth (Adeyemi, 2012).

The EFCC, established in 2003 by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act, focuses on addressing financial crimes like fraud, money laundering, and corruption. The commission primarily investigates high-profile cases involving politicians, corporate executives, and other influential figures (Ojo, 2015). While both bodies played crucial roles in President Jonathan's administration's anti-corruption initiatives, their efficiency was often hindered by political interference and limited resources. These organizations were essential in the administration's official anti-corruption program since they were created to lead the charge in inquiring into, prosecuting, and reclaiming resources from anyone engaged in corrupt activities.

##### *(i) EFCC's Performance and Successes*

Under Goodluck Jonathan's leadership, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) remained central in tackling corruption, making notable strides in prosecuting high-profile individuals. One of its most significant successes was the conviction of James Ibori, the former governor of Delta State. Ibori was sentenced to 13 years in prison after being found guilty of embezzling over \$250 million in public funds, a landmark case that underscored the EFCC's ability to hold influential figures accountable (Ojo, 2012).

Another significant case during this period involved Diezani Alison-Madueke, the former Minister of Petroleum Resources. Alison-Madueke faced multiple charges, including money laundering and bribery, related to her time in office. Although legal proceedings against her

were complex and ongoing, the EFCC's efforts to trace and seize assets linked to her illicit wealth were a clear indication of its commitment to confronting corruption in Nigeria's lucrative oil sector (Premium Times, 2015).

These high-profile cases exemplified the EFCC's efforts to confront corruption, although its progress was often obstructed by political pressures and limited resources, which hindered the full realization of its mandate. These measures were viewed as a positive first step in making public servants answerable for unethical behaviour. In investigations concerning the theft of financial resources by previous public office holders, for example, the EFCC was successful in securing convictions and recovering assets valued at millions of dollars (EFCC Annual Report, 2013). This raised the agency's profile and established it as a significant participant in the battle against corruption.

The EFCC reported recovering over \$2 billion in stolen assets during Jonathan's tenure. There were significant efforts to recover stolen assets, particularly funds hidden in offshore accounts. The EFCC collaborated with international agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to successfully return large sums of embezzled public money to Nigeria. These initiatives contributed to restoring public confidence in the EFCC's ability to act as a watchdog against corruption.

Alongside these recovery efforts, several legislative reforms were introduced to enhance the work of anti-corruption agencies. A notable reform was the Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act of 2011, which strengthened the legal framework for investigating and prosecuting money laundering. This act allowed the EFCC to better track illicit financial transactions and seize stolen assets (Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit, 2011). Another significant measure was the Public Procurement Act of 2007, which aimed to promote transparency in government procurement processes. By establishing guidelines for competitive bidding and creating an independent Bureau of Public Procurement, the law sought to reduce opportunities for corruption in government contracts, thus aiding the EFCC in holding corrupt officials accountable (Ojo, 2015).

These legislative and institutional changes played a crucial role in supporting the anti-corruption efforts of the EFCC, providing the agency with the legal tools needed to tackle corruption more effectively.

## *(ii) Limitations and Criticism*

Jonathan's administration was marred by persistent criticisms over the efficient functioning of the EFCC and its autonomy, irrespective of these achievements. Political meddling that went against the agency's mission constituted one of the key issues. This was perceived in the exoneration of former governor Diezani Alison-Madueke despite overwhelming evidence of corruption, which many viewed as a sign of the EFCC's selective prosecution. The administration had been repeatedly accused by numerous analysts and civil society organizations of deliberately targeting political opponents with the EFCC while shielding loyalists. The impression that the EFCC was being used as a political instrument of power as opposed to as a neutral agency committed to combating political corruption was brought about by the targeted indictments of corrupt people, especially those connected to rival parties (Nwannekanma, 2013).

For example, in the face of overwhelming evidence of corruption, a few prominent figures associated with the Jonathan administration escaped prosecution. The way the government handled the oil subsidy scheme, in which billions of dollars in taxpayer money were embezzled through deceptive fuel importation schemes, is a well-known example. Despite the fact that the EFCC launched inquiries into these fraudulent activities, analysts noted that those with strong connections to the regime were either spared or only received minor sentences. Regardless of hundreds of investigations, the number of high-profile convictions was relatively low, which speaks to the inefficacy of the EFCC. The credibility of the EFCC in tackling political corruption was severely undermined during Goodluck Jonathan's administration due to widespread perceptions of favouritism and selective enforcement. Public disillusionment grew as high-ranking figures, such as former Petroleum Minister Diezani Alison-Madueke and former Minister of Aviation Femi Fani-Kayode, were not prosecuted despite numerous corruption allegations. The non-prosecution of these individuals led many Nigerians to view the EFCC as ineffective and biased, with the public questioning its commitment to impartial justice. In Alison-Madueke's case, despite serious claims of corruption and money laundering, she was never brought to justice during Jonathan's presidency, tarnishing the EFCC's reputation (Premium Times, 2015). Similarly, Fani-Kayode's involvement in corruption scandals, which went largely unpunished, contributed to the perception that the agency was unwilling or unable to hold politically connected figures accountable (Ojo, 2016). This selective enforcement, perceived as a sign of political favouritism, further eroded the public's trust in the EFCC's impartiality (Adeyemi, 2017).

### *(iii) Institutional Flaws and Capacity Issues*

In addition, institutional flaws hindered the efficacy of the EFCC and ICPC. Both organizations experienced difficulties to take corrupt officials to court due to a lack of legal instruments, restricted human resources, and minimal financing, even with an increased mandate. The legal system continued to be tedious, with corruption charges frequently going unresolved for a long time. A dysfunctional judiciary and the burden of administration imposed on these organizations made it challenging to get convictions in a timely manner.

Moreover, the ICPC was viewed as mainly ineffectual during this time, despite its intended concentration on eliminating corruption in the public sector. Due to several bureaucratic roadblocks in its inquiries, the commission had trouble getting cases underway. The ICPC was accused of failing to confront widespread political corruption implicating influential people, despite some progress in looking into small-scale corruption and teaching public employees about moral behaviour (Ogbonnaya, 2016).

### *(iv) Public and Global Perception*

Nigeria's persistent corruption issues significantly tarnished its reputation, both domestically and internationally. This negative image had far-reaching effects, especially in terms of foreign relations and investment opportunities. According to Transparency International's annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), Nigeria consistently ranked among the most corrupt nations, which diminished trust in its governance (Transparency International, 2019). This perception of corruption likely discouraged potential international investors and partners from engaging with the country, as they were concerned about the lack of transparency and the risk of encountering corrupt practices in business dealings (OECD, 2016).

The adverse impact on foreign direct investment (FDI) was most apparent in industries like oil and gas, where corruption hindered the flow of capital, as investors were wary of entering a market with so much instability (Alaba, 2014). Similarly, global financial organizations, such as the World Bank and the IMF, voiced concerns about Nigeria's ability to effectively address corruption, affecting the financial support and engagement they provided to the country (IMF, 2015). Many international firms, deterred by the high corruption risks, chose to limit their activities in Nigeria or look for more stable environments elsewhere (Adeleke, 2017).

This lack of confidence in Nigeria's governance structures had significant economic consequences, stalling large-scale development projects and slowing economic growth. Moreover, Nigeria's struggles with corruption led international organizations, including the United Nations and the European Union, to demand stronger anti-corruption measures before considering further investment or collaboration, particularly in areas like healthcare and education (World Bank, 2018).

However, the country's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) score stayed low under Jonathan's administration, making it one of the most notoriously corrupt nations in the world. Transparency International ranked Nigeria 136 out of 175 countries in 2014, with a CPI score of 27/100 (Transparency International, 2015). This highlighted the persistent nature of political corruption in Nigeria, despite some progress being made. The effectiveness of the government's initiatives was often questioned, with many considering them inadequate to address the scale of the issue. International bodies, such as the World Bank and the UNODC, pointed out that political interference was a key factor hindering anti-corruption efforts. They reported that political leaders frequently blocked reforms or shielded corrupt individuals within their circles, undermining efforts by anti-corruption agencies to implement meaningful change (World Bank, 2017; UNODC, 2018). This led to a widespread perception that the government was not fully committed to addressing corruption.

In summary, political meddling, targeted indictments, and institutional flaws severely restricted the efficacy of the EFCC and ICPC in the fight against corruption under Jonathan's presidency. The general effectiveness of these institutions was hampered by the inconsistent application of anti-corruption regulations, particularly regarding political elites, even though certain well-known convictions were achieved. The advancement of Nigeria was hampered at this time by the ongoing corruption issue. Future adjustments would have to tackle the issue of biased prosecution, guarantee the autonomy of corruption prevention authorities, and enhance organizations' ability to successfully carry out their duties in order to create a more comprehensive anti-corruption system.

#### *6.4.2 Judicial Reforms under President Goodluck Jonathan (2010–2015)*

Under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration, the government took steps to reform the judiciary in order to enhance its capacity to tackle political corruption more effectively. One of the key initiatives during this period was the introduction of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act (ACJA) in 2015. The purpose of this law was to streamline the judicial process by

reducing delays in criminal trials and improving the efficiency of courts handling corruption cases. By accelerating proceedings and minimizing procedural bottlenecks, the ACJA aimed to create a more effective legal framework for prosecuting corrupt practices. This reform was seen as a necessary step toward improving the functioning of Nigeria's judicial system and ensuring that corrupt officials could be held accountable in a timely manner (Adeleke, 2016; Olowu, 2017). In Nigeria, judicial incompetence has long been a significant barrier to the battle against misconduct, with trials frequently going on for years without an end in sight. These hold-ups made it possible for dishonest officials to escape prosecution and disintegrated public trust in the judiciary's capacity to successfully fight corruption. For instance, according to reports from the Nigerian Bar Association, more than 60% of corruption cases remained unresolved due to procedural delays and judicial inefficiencies during Jonathan's presidency (Transparency International, 2015). To deal with these problems, Jonathan's administration responded by introducing changes, however these initiatives had varying degrees of effectiveness. While the ACJA was praised for its potential to improve case management, critics noted that its implementation faced significant challenges, including resistance from some judicial officers and inadequate training on the new procedures.

*(i) Establishing Special Courts for Cases Involving Corruption*

The Jonathan administration introduced specialized courts with the aim of accelerating the prosecution of corruption cases, especially those linked to political figures. Despite the good-intentions objective, the impact was limited. These courts encountered several obstacles, including insufficient resources, political influence, and slow legal procedures. Consequently, the intended reduction in case backlogs and faster handling of corruption trials was not fully achieved. The challenges in trial timelines and the courts' limited capacity undermined the overall success of the reform (Ogunbameru and Ojo, 2017).

The special courts introduced during Goodluck Jonathan's presidency were intended to accelerate the legal process for corruption cases and ensure that such cases were handled efficiently. A prominent example is the trial of James Ibori, former governor of Delta State, who was accused of embezzling large sums of money. While Ibori's case took a long time to conclude, it ended with a conviction. On the other hand, the case of Diezani Alison-Madueke, the former Petroleum Minister, faced repeated delays, and her trial has yet to reach a resolution despite numerous corruption allegations (Akinyemi, 2017; Olanrewaju, 2019). This situation

illustrates the difficulties that the specialized courts faced in delivering quick justice in high-profile political corruption cases.

Even while the establishment of these distinct courts was a positive shift, several issues restricted their influence. The absence of sufficient funds and resources for maintaining the functioning of the courts represented one of the main problems. Given the inadequate personnel and facilities, a lot of these specialized courts were incapable of operating efficiently, leading to the pile up of cases which continued even after the changes were implemented. In addition, the systemic problems with the larger judicial system, which was still plagued by corruption and inefficiencies, were not addressed by the creation of these courts (Ugochukwu, 2015).

*(ii) Delays and Exploitation of Judicial Processes*

Even with the changes meant to increase judicial effectiveness, there was still a great deal of corrupt behaviour in the legal system. The exploitation of the court system and procedural vulnerabilities amounted to the postponement or disregard of numerous high-profile corruption trials, such as the James Ibori corruption trial, which faced prolonged delays before reaching a resolution. These vulnerabilities were exploited by dishonest officials and their legal counsel to avoid legal action, frequently extending the proceedings endlessly through appeals and legal technicalities (Okonjo-Iweala, 2014). As a result, there was an atmosphere of impunity, and people who were charged with corruption believed they could employ systemic manipulation to save themselves from being found guilty.

During Goodluck Jonathan's administration, high-profile corruption cases involving senior politicians and public figures were often subjected to significant delays, with many adjourned multiple times. Defence attorneys frequently exploited procedural issues to discredit the evidence presented by the prosecution, further prolonging the legal process. Data reveals the extent of these delays: on average, corruption cases were unresolved for several years, and over 60% were stalled due to appeals and procedural challenges. This inefficiency in handling cases eroded public trust in the judicial system and hindered efforts to hold influential figures accountable for corrupt activities (Ogunbameru and Ojo, 2017; Transparency International, 2024). These delays in the legal process highlight the challenges in ensuring timely and effective justice in politically sensitive corruption cases. The confidence of the legal system has been further undermined by accusations made against judges in certain cases that they conspired with defendants to secure favourable rulings (Gberevbie, 2014). The general public's

distrust of the judiciary grew because of the ineffective prosecution of those in question, which also undermined the campaign against political corruption.

*(iii) Politicization and Corruption within the Judiciary*

Judicial reforms were seriously hampered by the politicization of the judiciary under Jonathan's leadership. Politicians frequently exerted influence over judges, especially when prominent politicians were involved. Judges found it challenging to render unbiased decisions in situations involving misconduct because of this politicization of the legal system (Nwannekanma, 2013). Judges have occasionally been charged with taking bribes or favourable treatment in return for granting favourable decisions, which has resulted in the dismissal of corruption charges or the mild sentencing of indicted officials.

The degree of corruption present in the judiciary gave rise to a contradiction in the war against corruption. The very organization in charge of maintaining law and order was under attack, even as the government tried to fight political corruption with specialized courts and amendments. The general population's faith in the judiciary's capacity to resolve cases of corruption was significantly damaged, since several Nigerians saw the judiciary as a contributor to the issue of political corruption as opposed to an instrument for alleviating it.

*(iv) Obstacles and Shortcomings*

The implementation of judicial reforms in Nigeria during President Jonathan's tenure was significantly hindered by entrenched corruption within the criminal justice system. Key groups that benefited from the existing system actively opposed these changes. Political elites, who relied on a weak judiciary to safeguard their power, were major obstacles to reform. In addition, wealthy businessmen with ties to politics were deeply involved in corrupt practices that depended on judicial inefficiency (Ezeani, 2020). Members of the judiciary itself, some of whom were complicit in or beneficiaries of corruption, also obstructed reforms. These powerful groups used their influence to delay or block initiatives aimed at improving the legal system, thereby maintaining the status quo (Ogunbameru and Ojo, 2017). Their resistance was a significant factor in the failure to implement meaningful reforms. In addition, several of the changes remained at the surface and had little real impact on the ground due to the absence of political determination to completely deal with judicial corruption (Ogbonnaya, 2016).

During Goodluck Jonathan's presidency, corruption trials were severely delayed due to the slow progress of judicial reforms. Reports show that a significant number of these trials remained

unresolved for extended periods. For example, approximately 60% of high-profile corruption cases were stalled for years, mainly due to delays in court procedures and appeals. Meanwhile, only about 20% of the cases were successfully concluded, with many others either abandoned or left unresolved (Ogunbameru and Ojo, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2016). This data underscores the extent of inefficiencies in the judicial system, which hindered Nigeria's efforts to tackle corruption during Jonathan's tenure. Because of court misconduct and ineffectiveness, highly publicized trials implicating substantial sums of public funds, like the gasoline subsidy scandal, were either disregarded or put on hold. The administration's attempts to combat corruption were severely impeded and political corruption in Nigeria persisted because of the indictment of big cases of corruption not moving forward.

Although the goal of the judicial overhauls implemented under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration aimed to increase the judiciary's capability when prosecuting cases involving corruption, structural issues ultimately hindered their overall success. The effectiveness of these changes was hampered by political meddling, procedural hold-ups, and corruption inside the legal system. Public opinion surveys conducted during this period revealed widespread skepticism about the sincerity of these reforms, with many Nigerians perceiving them as token measures rather than genuine attempts to tackle corruption (Ogunbameru and Ojo, 2017).

Nigeria's initiatives to combat corruption during Jonathan's administration were weakened by the persistence of judicial inefficiencies and corruption, despite the introduction of specialized courts for cases involving corruption, which was an encouraging development. A concentrated effort to tackle the underlying causes of judicial corruption and guarantee the autonomy of the judiciary from political interference will be necessary if future changes are to be more effective.

#### *6.4.3 Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Program (SURE-P)*

In 2012, President Goodluck Jonathan's administration launched the Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Program (SURE-P), one of its major projects, to combat politically motivated corruption and enhance economic, social and political prosperity. The outrage among the public over the elimination of fuel subsidies, that had historically been an important catalyst of money leakage because of pervasive corruption in the oil industry, prompted the creation of this program. To combat the corruption that beset the subsidy system, the government attempted to reroute savings from the elimination of these subsidies toward infrastructure improvements, poverty reduction, and socioeconomic growth.

SURE-P's main goal was to make sure that money conserved from the halting of subsidies was put back into areas like medical care, educational institutions, travel and tourism, and the creation of employment programs that would benefit Nigerians as a whole (Ogwumike and Ozughalu, 2015). Under President Jonathan's administration, the Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Program (SURE-P) was launched to address youth unemployment through skill-acquisition initiatives. These programs were designed to enhance the employability of young Nigerians by providing them with vocational training and opportunities in various sectors. According to official reports, over 100,000 jobs were generated through these efforts, particularly in areas like infrastructure development and agriculture (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2014).

A portion of the funds saved from the removal of fuel subsidies was directed toward critical infrastructure projects, such as the upgrading of transportation networks, including roads and bridges. However, the exact percentage of subsidy savings allocated to infrastructure remains unclear, with some sources raising concerns about the transparency and effectiveness of these investments (World Bank, 2015; Nuhu, 2017). Despite these challenges, the program's impact on job creation and infrastructure development has been acknowledged, though questions regarding the overall efficiency persist. The program received praise for its audacious scale and promise to improve the provision of services and increase public expenditure transparency while reducing reliance on oil income.

Nonetheless, there were a lot of difficulties and complaints with the program's implementation. SURE-P was confronted by accusations of inadequate management, incompetence, and additional corruption; observers claimed that officials from the government had embezzled money meant for government initiatives. The program's objectives were undermined by inquiries that discovered a sizable amount of the money had been diverted off by dishonest personnel or utilized for political favours. This brought to light the systemic difficulties in enacting reforms in a setting where misconduct was pervasive. Despite having a good goal and some accomplishments, SURE-P's poor performance in reducing political corruption reflected larger structural problems with Nigeria's political system. During Jonathan's administration, it was unable to effectively prevent corruption and promote growth due to the absence of stringent oversight procedures and accountability mechanisms.

#### *6.4.4 Pension Reform*

The Nigerian government made considerable strides to combat misconduct in pension administration, which had been historically hampered by the misappropriation of funds and poor management, with the enactment of the Pension Reform Act of 2014. The goal of this reform was to create a structure for administering pension funds that was more responsible and visible. The law strengthened governance, imposed obligatory compliance demands on pension administrators, and strengthened supervision procedures. The EFCC was empowered to investigate and charge individuals involved in fraudulent activities within the pension sector, leading to the exposure of major scandals, such as the Abdurashheed Maina pension fraud. Maina, the former head of the Pension Reform Task Team, was accused of diverting billions of Naira that were meant to fund pension payments for retirees. This corruption case revealed serious mismanagement within the Nigerian pension system and, despite the EFCC's attempts to prosecute those responsible, the case faced significant controversies, reflecting broader challenges in tackling corruption within Nigerian public institutions (EFCC, 2015; Olufemi, 2018).

Despite these steps, the reforms' success varied. Problems remained even if the revised structure improved pension fund oversight and imposed a certain amount of accountability. Due to structural inadequacies in the administration procedure, many pensioners are still fighting to allege delays or outright denials of payments. The fact that these problems persisted suggested that systemic corruption was pervasive and that the changes implemented had not adequately addressed it. The government's efforts to tackle pension-related corruption were marred by slow investigative processes and a limited number of prosecutions, undermining public trust. Despite reports of significant fraud, such as over N100 billion being misappropriated, only a small portion was recovered through the EFCC's actions (EFCC, 2015). By 2015, only a few convictions had been secured, reflecting the challenges faced by the EFCC in addressing pension fraud comprehensively. This low success rate in both recovery and prosecution diminished confidence in the government's commitment to reform and its ability to hold those accountable for large-scale corruption (Olufemi, 2018).

The challenges of eliminating enduring corruption in Nigeria's public sector were made clear by the changes. The effect of the amendments was restricted by an inadequate degree of political will and a lack of persistent enforcement, despite the implementation of measures to monitor pension disbursements. Additionally, the failure to completely address pensioners'

complaints and reduce corruption demonstrated the disconnect between the application of policies and their actual results. In conclusion, the government's efforts to combat corruption were admirable, as evidenced by the Pension Reform Act of 2014. The continued delays in pension payments and fraud allegations under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration, nevertheless, exposed the flaws of these initiatives and showed that more extensive systemic adjustments are required for the successful suppression of political corruption.

#### *6.4.5 Public Awareness Campaigns to Combat Political Corruption*

Public awareness programs were started during the 2010–2015 administration of President Goodluck Jonathan in order to inform the people about the detrimental effects of politically motivated corruption and encourage accountability in government. These initiatives relied heavily on social justice organizations and the press, who actively exposed political corruption and provided forums for public discussion. Initiatives aimed at promoting transparency included encouraging citizens to report instances of corruption using whistleblower hotlines and similar mechanisms, thereby increasing public engagement in holding officials accountable. For instance, the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) conducted advocacy campaigns highlighting the misuse of public funds and urging stricter accountability (SERAP, 2015). Government-sponsored efforts complemented this by broadcasting awareness campaigns on national television, educating citizens about their role in identifying and reporting corrupt practices. These combined efforts were instrumental in fostering a culture of vigilance and reinforcing public scrutiny of government activities (Okoye, 2016).

To spread the word about the negative social and economic effects of misconduct, Jonathan's administration collaborated with news agencies and non-governmental organizations. Community service statements, newspaper articles, and broadcasts highlighting the value of honesty in public service were all part of well-known campaigns. By covering significant incidents and challenging governmental policies, media outlets like *The Guardian* and *Premium Times*, as well as civil society organizations like the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), were crucial in raising public awareness. A more inquisitive and knowledgeable populace was produced because of these initiatives.

Nevertheless, the efforts faced numerous obstacles regardless of the increased public awareness. The symbolic significance of their initiatives was one of their main drawbacks. Notably within high-ranking officials, awareness by itself failed to result in appreciable drops

in unethical behaviour. As allegations of political corruption elevated without accompanying indictments or actions, many individuals lost faith in the system. Public confidence in the anti-corruption initiatives was damaged by high-profile incidents like the fuel subsidy scandal, which demonstrated the administration's unwillingness to hold influential people accountable (Akanbi, 2014).

Furthermore, the advertising initiatives were weakened by ineffective measures of enforcement. Although the general population was urged to expose corrupt practices, whistleblowers were frequently unprotected, which deterred people from stepping forward. These programs' durability was further impeded by the lack of political determination to bring elite criminals to justice, which sent a message to the general population that combating corruption did not constitute an immediate concern (Smith, 2015). Awareness campaigns implemented during President Jonathan's tenure aimed to increase public understanding of political corruption but were not entirely successful in curbing it. For instance, whistleblower hotlines and public outreach initiatives encouraged citizens to report corrupt practices. Transparency International's 2014 survey indicated that while 66% of Nigerians recognized government officials as corrupt, only a small fraction - about 4% - actively reported these incidents (Okoye, 2016). Although these campaigns did lead to greater civic engagement and awareness, the overall impact was limited, as there were few tangible improvements in whistleblowing activities or a decline in corruption cases (Transparency International, 2014).

Although the initiatives were successful in increasing public critical thinking and civic involvement, their influence was constrained by a lack of responsibility among political power brokers and inadequate institutional foundation. Stronger legislation protecting whistleblowers and swift political action are necessary to increase the efficacy of similar initiatives in the future.

#### *6.4.6 Effectiveness of the Anti-Corruption Tactics*

##### *(i) Insufficient Political Will to Implement Reforms*

Even though Jonathan's administration established novel rules and regulations as well as additional changes to combat political corruption, implementation of these measures was unbalanced. People believed that the government did not possess the political will to take a holistic approach to combating political corruption, especially in cases where high-ranking officials were involved. Prominent incidents, like the 2012 fuel subsidy scandal, exposed the government's unwillingness to hold powerful individuals responsible. The scantiness of the

changes was demonstrated by the small number of prosecutions in cases of political corruption (Akanbi, 2014). Numerous anti-corruption programs were perceived as token efforts meant to satisfy public demands rather than producing significant outcomes.

*(ii) Persistent Corruption and Institutional Resistance*

Corruption deeply infiltrated Nigeria's political and financial systems, creating significant obstacles to implementing anti-corruption measures. Many state officials, including governors, actively resisted federal efforts to address corruption, often exploiting political alliances to disrupt investigations or shield themselves from accountability. For example, Diezani Alison-Madueke, a former petroleum minister, faced allegations of misappropriating billions of dollars; however, the investigations into her activities were hindered by her extensive political influence. Additionally, certain governors used constitutional immunity clauses to avoid prosecution while in office, effectively stalling efforts by federal agencies like the EFCC to pursue justice (EFCC, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2012).

These actions not only obstructed reform initiatives but also eroded public confidence in the government's capacity to tackle corruption. The entrenched political networks and systemic loopholes that facilitated such resistance highlight the challenges of achieving accountability within a deeply compromised system. According to the prebendalism theory, authorities frequently rewarded supporters with public funds, maintaining crooked networks in the process. It was challenging to bring about substantial modifications through legislative changes because this centralized corruption fostered a climate of tolerance where public servants valued their own interests over the good of the public (Joseph, 1987).

Furthermore, corruption had an impact on governance at all levels, as corrupt activities were also carried out by state and municipal administrations. The federal government found it more difficult to keep an eye on and implement anti-corruption laws because of this dispersed corruption. This relationship is explained by the Two Publics hypothesis, which contends that commitment to private networks frequently trumped commitment to the government, making efforts to advance accountability even more difficult (Ekeh, 1975).

*(iii) Public Uncertainty and Discontent*

One factor contributing to the public's disenchantment with the government under Jonathan's leadership was the inability to combat corruption. People were irritated with the failure of the government to provide social goods and services since money intended for advancement was

diverted through dishonest means. This inability undermined attempts towards national development by exacerbating socioeconomic issues like joblessness and impoverishment. Political corruption has an immediate effect on security as well; this was especially true during the Boko Haram insurgency, when resources meant for defence were misappropriated or looted making it more difficult for the military to respond to the situation (Onapajo, 2017).

Although measures to combat corruption were implemented during Jonathan's administration, political meddling, a lack of political will, and systemic corruption made them ineffective. Reforms were not continuously implemented, and organizations like the EFCC and ICPC were infiltrated. The efficacy of governmental measures was limited by the persistence of illicit behaviour due to the widespread nature of prebendalism and institutionalized corruption. The instability and prosperity issues Nigeria faced throughout the period were partly caused by an array of inadequate accountability systems and the redirection of financial resources toward private ends. Reforms alone won't be enough for addressing these problems; stronger regulatory structures and continuous political dedication are also vital.

### ***6.5 Obstacles in Implementing Anti-Corruption Tactics and Solutions for Combating Political Corruption in Nigeria***

The success of anti-corruption initiatives in Nigeria has been hampered by a number of issues, although numerous changes and tactics were introduced. It is challenging to bring about long-lasting change because these issues are ingrained in the political nature, organizational, and socioeconomic systems of the nation.

#### *(i) Political meddling and an absence of independence*

The absence of autonomy among anti-corruption organizations such as the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) is one of the main obstacles. These authorities' capacity to conduct fair investigations and prosecutions of cases is frequently hampered by political meddling, particularly from influential elite. For example, investigations into the \$2.1 billion arms procurement scandal were delayed several times, and key political figures associated with the scandal remained untouched, reflecting the political interference in prosecuting high-profile corruption cases (Smith, 2015). The public's confidence is undermined by this discriminatory enforcement, which leads to the targeting of politicians from the opposition whereas those in power's cronies enjoy exemption.

### *(ii) Weak Judicial System and Inconsistent Enforcement*

A lack of openness, interruptions in case settlements, and political corruption are some of the major issues facing Nigeria's legal system. Prominent instances of corrupt behaviour frequently last for years, during which time criminals take advantage of constitutional weaknesses and bribe authorities to avoid punishment. These flaws promote a climate of immunity and deter whistle-blower's from revealing misconduct (Akanbi, 2014; Okoye, 2016). Furthermore, there are instances when court personnel are corrupted, which results in uneven enforcement of anti-corruption legislation. This damage the legitimacy of campaigns against corruption and destroys public confidence in the judicial system (Smith, 2015). More stringent supervision procedures, special tribunals for cases involving corruption, and judicial reforms are necessary for solving these issues.

### *(iii) Cultural and Social Norms Supporting Political Corruption*

The socio-political climate in Nigeria frequently normalizes political corruption. Political leaders incentivize devoted followers with administrative positions and binding agreements, seeing state resources as personal privileges, according to the prebendalism argument (Joseph, 1987). Furthermore, Ekeh's Two Publics thesis emphasizes the conflict between private and civic allegiances, with people putting their own coalitions ahead of the best interests of the nation at large (Ekeh, 1975). Reforms are challenging to execute because of these dynamics, which also sustain systems of corruption.

### *(iv) Insufficient Safeguards for Whistle-blowers*

Although it is urged for the public to expose political corruption, a significant barrier is still the lack of proper protection for whistle-blowers. People who reveal political corruption frequently experience threats, punishment, or termination from their jobs. Many citizens are unwilling to disclose corrupt activities in the absence of solid legal structures designed to safeguard them, which reduces the influence of public engagement (Onapajo, 2017).

### *(v) Inefficient Public Sector and Economic Challenges*

The inefficiencies within Nigeria's public sector have posed significant challenges to anti-corruption initiatives. Poor resource management is often attributed to fragile institutional frameworks, inadequate fiscal controls, and weak accountability systems. For instance, the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) faced allegations of large-scale embezzlement, with billions of naira intended for healthcare being misappropriated. This undermined the scheme's

ability to provide affordable and effective health services to Nigerians (Premium Times, 2018). Similarly, the education sector suffered from widespread fund mismanagement, where money allocated for infrastructure development and teacher training was diverted, resulting in deteriorating learning conditions and unequal access to quality education (Transparency International, 2015).

Such cases underline the urgent need for robust fiscal oversight and reinforced institutional structures to mitigate corruption. Addressing these systemic weaknesses is critical for enhancing service delivery and restoring public confidence in government-led reforms. Because of a lack of supervision, bureaucratic red tape, and illicit behaviour at all levels of government, government organizations tasked with providing basic services frequently function poorly (Okoye, 2016). Public funds are misused by government employees, and fraud and embezzlement are made possible by weak control mechanisms. Bribery, nepotism, and cronyism are encouraged by the gaps in this poor governance framework, which exacerbates corruption.

Economic challenges further worsened the situation, with unemployment, inflation, and widespread poverty significantly impacting the country. During Goodluck Jonathan's tenure (2010–2015), Nigeria's unemployment rate saw a marked increase, reaching about 9.9% by 2015, as reported by the National Bureau of Statistics. Youth unemployment was especially dire, with rates exceeding 50% in some analyses, highlighting the struggles faced by the younger population.

Furthermore, Nigeria's reliance on oil revenue exacerbated economic instability. Oil exports contributed over 90% of foreign earnings and around 70% of government income, making the economy highly sensitive to fluctuations in global oil prices. The sharp decline in oil prices in 2014 severely diminished government revenue, triggering a fiscal crisis that limited investments in critical areas such as education and healthcare (World Bank, 2015). These structural economic issues, combined with inadequate diversification of revenue sources, heightened financial insecurity for citizens and fuelled widespread dissatisfaction during Jonathan's administration.

Due to the nation's excessive reliance on oil earnings, economic cycles have become unstable, impacting government spending and opening doors for rent-seeking activities (Onapajo, 2017). Because of their inconsistent pay, inadequate budget, and unfavourable working conditions, public sector workers—including civil servants—frequently turn to unscrupulous tactics as a

means of surviving. The Prebendalism thesis provides a prism through which to view this phenomenon, emphasizing how elected officials distribute government assets to their followers, treating public service as a personal privilege (Joseph, 1987).

Additionally, it is challenging to successfully execute measures to combat political corruption in Nigeria due to its inadequate infrastructure and inadequate oversight structures. For example, people who profit from political corruption frequently oppose technological advances that try to eliminate manual procedures. Because of this, vital services like medical care, educational opportunities, and transportation continue to get inadequate funding, which exacerbates socioeconomic disparity. The Two Publics theory also clarifies how people put their allegiance to their own networks ahead of national institutions, which exacerbates public sector inefficiencies (Ekeh, 1975).

### *6.5.1 Recommendations for Combating Political Corruption in Nigeria*

#### *(i) Strengthening Institutions and Law Enforcement:*

Improving law enforcement agencies and fortifying Nigeria's institutions are two of the best strategies to fight political corruption in the nation. Although they confront many obstacles, anti-corruption organizations such as the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) are essential in the battle against corruption. To strengthen the effectiveness of anti-corruption efforts, both the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) require significant increases in funding and independence. For instance, in 2018, the EFCC received around ₦13.1 billion (approximately \$35 million), which was deemed inadequate given the scale of corruption in Nigeria. Experts have suggested that increasing their budgets to at least ₦50 billion (\$131 million) would allow for enhanced operational capacity, better resources, and more personnel, facilitating more comprehensive investigations and prosecutions (Ogunwede, 2018; World Bank, 2015).

Current funding limitations hinder the agencies' abilities to effectively tackle large-scale corruption, particularly in high-profile cases involving influential political and business figures who often have the means to delay or block investigations. When compared to institutions like the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the U.S., which has a far larger budget, the EFCC and ICPC are underfunded for the tasks they are assigned. Increased and more independent funding, combined with the autonomy to operate free from political influence, could substantially improve the capacity of these bodies to address corruption. This approach has

been suggested by various reform advocates as a necessary step in strengthening Nigeria's anti-corruption framework (Nigerian Transparency International, 2017).

Sufficient money would make it possible for these organizations to hire qualified staff, carry out comprehensive inquiries, and use cutting-edge technologies to monitor corrupt practices. If the EFCC's budget were increased by 40%, for example, it could hire additional staff and invest in more advanced technology to enhance investigative capacities and reduce corruption in government procurement (Ogunwede, 2018). They would also be able to fulfil their duties without worrying about retaliation from powerful people if they were free from political interference (Transparency International, 2020).

In addition to giving anti-corruption organizations more authority, the legislation must be consistently enforced. Selective justice, in which wealthy elites avoid criminal prosecution, is a persistent problem in Nigeria's corruption prevention environment. A powerful message of responsibility would be sent if legislation against corruption were applied uniformly to everyone, irrespective of their social or political standing. To prevent political corruption in the future, law enforcement organizations must be prepared to look into high-profile offenses promptly and bring perpetrators to justice. Public trust is frequently damaged by lax or ineffective enforcement, which permits dishonest authorities to carry on with impunity (Adebanwi, 2011).

The use of technology in government operations has been an effective strategy to enhance transparency and reduce corruption. In Kenya, the implementation of the Integrated Financial Management Information System (IFMIS) significantly improved public sector accountability (Kuzio, 2015). By enabling real-time monitoring of financial transactions, IFMIS reduces human intervention and the potential for fraud, ensuring that public funds are allocated and spent as intended (Akinyemi and Olatunde, 2017).

These technologies allow citizens to monitor government actions and track the utilization of public resources, reducing opportunities for political corruption (OECD, 2019). Such technological advancements provide valuable lessons for Nigeria in creating a more transparent and accountable public sector, where corruption can be minimized through the use of digital platforms for procurement and financial management (Kalvet and Vassil, 2020).

Transparency, competition, and public accessibility are guaranteed by e-procurement platforms. This reduces the possibility of corruption and partiality when granting contracts from the government. In the same way, automating reporting on finances and collection of

taxes minimizes interactions between people, which lowers the risk of bribery and fraud (Agbibo, 2015). Technology can also be quite important for keeping an eye on public spending. Automation could eradicate corrupt behaviours, as shown by systems such as the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS), which Nigeria established to combat fraud in the payroll system. By extending these techniques to other industries, funding leaks can be reduced. To avoid systemic tampering, it is imperative to supplement these technical initiatives by ongoing independent body supervision and auditing (Uzochukwu, 2022).

Lastly, to guarantee that law enforcement and corruption prevention organizations continue to be responsible, these actions must be backed by comprehensive oversight procedures. The press, civil society groups, and legislative oversight panels must work together to track developments and draw attention to any inadequacies. Even powerful institutions run the risk of eventually becoming comfortable or corrupt in the absence of outside checks. Therefore, in order to establish a climate that promotes honesty and responsibility in government, changes must be comprehensive and involve both state and non-state actors.

Establishing strict regulations and fortifying Nigeria's organizations are crucial, but they call for persistent political commitment. When combined with advances in technology, a persistent, open strategy to combat political corruption will greatly enhance governance, build confidence in government institutions, and put Nigeria on an upward trajectory to sustained prosperity.

*(ii) Judicial and Legal Reforms:*

For Nigeria's campaigns against corruption to be accountable, judicial and legislative changes are mandatory. Simplifying court processes is essential since political corruption charges are frequently not prosecuted promptly, enabling criminals to evade punishment through drawn-out court cases. Public confidence in the legal system has been eroded by numerous high-profile cases that have dragged on for years, such as ones implicating former lawmakers or executives. The establishment of specialized courts dedicated to handling political corruption cases could significantly reduce delays and prioritize these cases. Such courts could either function as entirely separate bodies or exist as specialized divisions within the existing judicial framework, similar to the approach taken in countries like Rwanda, which created specialized chambers to handle corruption cases without forming a completely new judicial system (Ufitinema, 2017).

To ensure these courts operate independently, it is essential to appoint judges based on their qualifications and experience, avoiding political influence (Gagliardi and Peters, 2020). Judicial independence can be further safeguarded through transparent and merit-based appointment processes, alongside legal protections to prevent arbitrary removals (Fombad, 2019). Additionally, these courts could be equipped with modern case management tools, such as electronic filing systems and virtual hearings, to improve efficiency and minimize delays, as demonstrated in countries like Singapore (Tan, 2021). Specialized training for judges and legal staff in dealing with complex corruption cases would also be crucial in enhancing their effectiveness and speed in handling such matters (Gagliardi and Peters, 2020). Procedural impediments including needless suspensions and defence lawyers taking advantage of regulatory loopholes must be removed for the legal system to operate effectively (Olaniyan, 2018).

It is essential to implement harsher sanctions for corruption in order to support these initiatives. Serious penalties, such as long prison sentences, asset seizures, and lifetime prohibitions from occupying positions of power, should be imposed on perpetrators. Prospective culprits would be discouraged by such sanctions, which would send a message that corrupt practices would no longer be accepted. Even while there are punishments in place, they are frequently seen as being too light, particularly for senior officials.

The public's perception of Nigeria's judicial system has been heavily influenced by delays in addressing corruption cases, especially those involving political elites. Many Nigerians believe that the judicial process is intentionally slow, designed to shield influential figures from accountability. This perception is reinforced by the recurrent trend of high-profile individuals receiving minimal sentences, such as probation, despite the gravity of their crimes (Agbibo, 2015).

Public opinion surveys and academic research highlight that a significant portion of the population sees these delays and lenient punishments as evidence of systemic failure rather than accidental inefficiencies. For instance, studies suggest that many Nigerians feel the judiciary is compromised, operating more in the interests of the political class than in serving justice (Okoli and Ibeanu, 2017). These perceptions are also bolstered by the fact that powerful figures often appear to escape serious consequences, which further erodes trust in the legal system's ability to effectively combat corruption (Onyekachi, 2017).

The lack of serious repercussions for corruption has fuelled widespread frustration, with many questioning whether the system is genuinely impartial. This lack of accountability has led to a decline in public confidence in the judiciary, which is often seen as failing to curb corruption due to both institutional and political influences (Ugwueze, 2018). By fortifying legislative structures to enforce more severe penalties, the government will demonstrate how seriously it takes its fight against political corruption.

Another crucial issue that needs immediate response is whistle-blower protection. In Nigeria, whistle-blower's frequently risk being harassed, intimidated, or retaliation which deters others from stepping forward. However, motivating people to speak out about illicit behaviour can reveal concealed misconduct. Protecting informants and maintaining their identity throughout inquiries requires the expansion of whistle-blower protection legislation. Although the 2016 introduction of the Whistle-blower Protection Policy was an advancement in the right direction by providing incentives for exposing fraud, its efficacy has been hindered by uneven enforcement and inadequate follow-up procedures. Public involvement in anti-corruption initiatives will rise with the institutionalization and expansion of such policies (Eme et al., 2020).

In order to protect the judiciary from political interference, legislative changes must also promote autonomy for the judiciary. Political leaders have frequently meddled in legal proceedings to protect themselves or their supporters from conviction. The legitimacy of corruption prosecutions will be increased by bolstering the judiciary's independence and implementing open hiring practices for judges. Furthermore, local legal measures will be strengthened by cooperation with international anti-corruption organizations to implement laws against money laundering and retrieve assets stolen from people. Nigeria's battle versus political corruption depends heavily on successful judiciary and legislative changes. If taken seriously, these actions will protect the rule of law, discourage corruption in all spheres of society, and rebuild public trust in government.

*(iii) Public Sector Reforms and Transparency:*

By encouraging responsibility, efficiency, and confidence in administration, improvements to the public sector are crucial to the fight against political corruption in Nigeria. Adopting electronic governance is a crucial tactic since it reduces human contact and expedites administrative procedures, which lowers the likelihood of fraud and theft. Using electronic platforms for government operations including computerized payroll systems, electronic

procurement, and e-tax filing is known as e-Governance. These systems make procedures easier to navigate and less vulnerable to exploitation, which removes administrative hurdles and enhances the provision of services. Technology can assist eradicate phantom workers and lessen the misappropriation of public funds, as demonstrated by systems such as the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) and the Treasury Single Account (TSA) (Uzochukwu, 2022).

To prevent acquiring of wealth by illegal means, electronic governance is required, as a mandate that government employees and politicians declare their assets. External audits that confirm the true nature of these disclosures are made possible by compelling elected officials to report their financial position and assets both when they enter and leave office. Asset disclosures are required by Nigeria's constitution, but their efficacy has been hampered by an absence of compliance and open access to these documents. Transparency will be improved and illegal accumulation by officeholders will be avoided by bolstering the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) to guarantee adherence and making disclosures publicly available (Agbibo, 2015).

Promoting transparency in the distribution of public funds is another crucial step. The risk of embezzlement can be minimized by keeping an eye on financial operations and disclosing spending plans to the public. Civil society organizations, such as the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), and local watchdog groups play a crucial role in enhancing accountability in public expenditure. These entities adopt various approaches to track and challenge misuse of funds. For instance, SERAP frequently files lawsuits to demand transparency from government officials regarding budget allocations and the utilization of recovered funds, thereby fostering accountability (SERAP, 2019). Similarly, tools like citizen budget trackers enable comparisons between approved budgets and actual expenditures, helping to identify and address discrepancies in financial management (World Bank, 2020).

Technology has become a vital tool in these efforts. Open data platforms and public expenditure tracking systems (PETS) grant citizens real-time access to government financial data, enabling scrutiny of projects and expenditures. Geographic information systems (GIS) are often employed to verify whether infrastructure projects are executed as planned, based on the allocated budgets, thus exposing inefficiencies or potential corruption. Furthermore, community-focused initiatives, such as town hall meetings and social media campaigns,

empower citizens to participate in governance by raising awareness and fostering dialogue on public spending (Transparency International, 2018).

Professional auditing firms complement these efforts by conducting independent reviews that highlight irregularities in public spending. Legal instruments like the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act further empower activists and journalists to access official records, ensuring a level of transparency critical to accountability (Okeke, 2017). Additionally, crowdsourcing platforms allow citizens to report anomalies in public projects, creating a valuable pool of actionable data for oversight agencies. These combined measures, if effectively implemented, strengthen governance by curbing corruption, promoting fiscal responsibility, and holding public officials accountable for mismanagement (UNODC, 2021). Nigeria is a member to the Open Government Partnership (OGP), which offers a framework for enhancing openness via participatory government. Examination by the public is made possible and resources are utilized for what they were intended for when citizens are involved in spending procedures, such as participatory budgeting (Akanbi, 2021).

*(iv) Civic Education and Public Engagement:*

Since civic education and public engagement enable individuals to push for responsibility and constructively participate in administration, they are essential instruments in Nigeria's war versus political corruption. Awareness campaigns are critical in reshaping societal perceptions of corruption. Educating the public about the negative economic, social, and political effects of corrupt practices equips citizens to demand greater accountability from leaders and institutions. For instance, the Say No To Corruption initiative in Nigeria, a collaboration between civil society organizations and anti-corruption agencies, brought corruption issues to the forefront of public discourse. According to a study by Transparency International (2018), such campaigns led to a 20% increase in the reporting of corrupt activities during their first year of operation.

Evidence suggests that civic education can significantly alter attitudes toward corruption by fostering a culture of responsibility. A 2016 report from the World Bank showed that regions implementing public awareness strategies experienced a 15% reduction in public acceptance of bribery, as reflected in survey results. These campaigns often use mass media outreach combined with grassroots efforts to help individuals understand the broader consequences of corruption on governance and service delivery (SERAP, 2017 cited in Okeke, 2017).

Moreover, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2020) highlighted that integrating anti-corruption lessons into school curricula reduces the normalization of corrupt behaviour and encourages active civic participation among younger generations. Collectively, these efforts cultivate a strong anti-corruption mindset, enabling citizens to hold their governments accountable and work toward more transparent systems. To connect with both urban and rural audiences, national campaigns may employ the use of digital media in addition to conventional media outlets like radio and television. Furthermore, including anti-corruption subjects within educational curriculum can help children develop ethical behaviour and honesty at an early age (Agbibo, 2015).

In order to expose political corruption and promote improvements, civil society organizations (CSOs) play a crucial role. By documenting instances of impropriety and advocating for legislative changes, organizations such as the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) seek to hold public authorities responsible. Investigative journalism is given an avenue for reporting by the media, which also acts as an oversight organization by exposing corruption scandals. To safeguard individuals such as journalists, activists, and civil society organizations from threats or harassment, the government must enhance existing legal frameworks and institutional protections. Strengthening laws like the Media Bill and the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) is critical. For instance, amendments to the FOIA could impose more stringent penalties on public officials who deny access to requested information, thus enabling journalists and activists to uncover corrupt practices more effectively (Amnesty International, 2020).

Additionally, creating independent bodies to investigate threats and provide support for at-risk individuals would bolster protections. Reports from Transparency International (2021) highlight that many activists and journalists face systemic intimidation, which stifles anti-corruption efforts. Introducing whistleblower protection frameworks with robust legal and financial safeguards could encourage individuals to report corruption without fear of retaliation. For example, such frameworks have been successfully implemented in countries like Ghana, where the Right to Information Act has significantly improved access to public documents and increased accountability in governance (Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition, 2020).

Moreover, Nigeria could establish a specialized fund to provide emergency assistance and legal aid to those targeted for exposing corruption. Authorities need to also establish supportive

conditions that let journalists and CSOs work freely and without worrying about reprisals (Eme et al., 2020). Adopting these measures would not only protect journalists and activists but also strengthen the broader fight against corruption by ensuring that critical voices are shielded from undue influence and retaliation (Human Rights Watch, 2019; World Bank, 2020).

Community forums and collaborative budgeting are two more ways to increase public involvement in the political process. By promoting direct communication between citizens and government representatives, these channels guarantee that concerns raised by the public are taken into account when making decisions. By giving communities, a say in the distribution of public funds, participatory budgeting promotes openness and lowers the likelihood of poor management. Citizens feel more invested when they are involved, which promotes cooperation and confidence amongst the people and the governing body (Akanbi, 2021).

By encouraging engaged citizens, enhancing civic education and involvement not only aids in the fight against corruption but also advances political growth. People are more capable to hold political administrators responsible and guarantee that government serves the interests of the people when they are aware of their rights and obligations. Long-term advancement in Nigeria is facilitated by the establishment of institutions based on integrity, openness, and confidence that are bolstered by ongoing collaboration between the state and civil society.

*(v) Political and Electoral Reforms:*

By guaranteeing a fair governance, preventing excessive financial authority, and encouraging responsibility, political and electoral reforms are extremely important for minimizing political corruption in Nigeria. To address the significant role of financial contributions in Nigeria's presidential elections, changes to political party funding are necessary. One of the main reforms could be the introduction of public funding for electoral campaigns, which would allow candidates and parties to run campaigns without depending too heavily on affluent individuals or corporate donations. The key challenge would be determining the amount of public funding required to make elections more competitive and less susceptible to the influence of wealthy donors. In the Nigerian context, the amount of public funding needed would depend on several factors, including the scale of electoral campaigns and the costs associated with reaching voters across the country. For example, public funding should be substantial enough to level the playing field, potentially amounting to billions of naira. This would ensure that all political parties, regardless of their financial backing, can campaign effectively (Transparency International, 2021).

Looking at international examples can offer practical insights. In countries like Brazil and Germany, public funding plays a crucial role in diminishing the impact of private donors. Germany, for instance, distributes public funds to political parties based on their electoral success, which encourages them to focus more on voter engagement than fundraising (International IDEA, 2018). A similar system could be implemented in Nigeria, where public funds are allocated to parties based on their past electoral performance, ensuring fairer competition.

In addition to public funding, establishing limits on private donations and enforcing transparency measures such as mandatory reporting of donors would help reduce the undue influence of the wealthy on the political process. By introducing these measures, Nigeria could strengthen the integrity of its political system, ensuring that campaigns are fairer and less vulnerable to financial manipulation (OECD, 2020). By controlling contributions and limiting exorbitant expenditure on campaigns, politicians can avoid accruing debt to influential backers, which lessens the demand for unethical means of repaying political favours. Wealthy oligarchs' power over legislative choices will be lessened by establishing unambiguous and transparent donation caps, encouraging funding from the public for campaigns, and mandating open financial disclosure (Agbibo, 2015).

Furthermore, maintaining free and fair elections requires enhancing the autonomy of electoral bodies such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Electoral commissions have to function autonomously, unaffected by political influence and government meddling, in order for elections to be impartial and free of bias. By providing INEC with sufficient funding, independence, and protection, election fraud—encompassing manipulation of votes and ballot manipulation will be less common. Changes are necessary to restore legitimacy because claims of the purchase of votes and fraud in past elections have damaged public confidence in democratic procedures (Akanbi, 2021).

To implement internal party democracy in Nigeria, political parties should focus on establishing candidate selection systems based on qualifications and performance rather than party loyalty. This could involve creating transparent and merit-based processes for selecting representatives, where key factors such as experience, qualifications, and dedication to public service are prioritized. Moreover, the Nigerian government could pass laws mandating that parties hold regular internal elections, allowing party members to participate in leadership choices.

Globally, some countries have successfully implemented internal democracy reforms that can serve as examples for Nigeria. For instance, South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) has made progress by enhancing transparency in its candidate selection process, moving away from reliance on party leaders' influence (Parks and Simkins, 2014). The UK Labour Party has also embraced internal democracy by allowing open primaries and leadership elections, offering another useful model for Nigeria to consider (Beetham, 2016).

For Nigeria, implementing such reforms would help reduce the impact of patronage systems that currently dominate the political landscape. Instead of selecting candidates based on personal loyalty or financial backing, these reforms could create an environment where competence and good governance are the primary criteria for selection (Norris and Lovenduski, 2015). Political players will be driven by merit as opposed to power structures if democratic party norms are promoted, such as open primaries and unbiased candidate screening procedures. This change guarantees that voters, not party donors, will hold representatives in power more accountable (Omotola, 2010). In order to minimize political corruption and maintain the legitimacy of Nigeria's democracy, political and electoral changes are required. By strengthening responsibility, promoting capable leadership, and cultivating confidence among citizens, putting these reforms into practice will not just enhance administration but also advance political growth.

*(vi) International Cooperation:*

Fighting political corruption in Nigeria requires global collaboration, especially when it comes to tracing illegal monetary transfers and reclaiming stolen property. Global cooperation is crucial for asset recovery because corrupt officials frequently move public funds to international bank accounts or make real estate investments overseas. Nigeria has worked hard to track down and return stolen assets by collaborating with international agencies like Interpol, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), and other nations. International collaboration has been a critical element in the recovery of stolen assets, as demonstrated by successful efforts like the repatriation of funds stolen by former Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha. Several nations, including Switzerland, worked together to recover millions of dollars that had been embezzled by the Abacha regime. Similarly, the repatriation of stolen assets involving former Nigerian governors, such as James Ibori, was made possible by cooperation with international agencies, including the UK's National Crime Agency (NCA). Through this collaboration, over £100 million was recovered from Ibori's illicit wealth (Khan, 2021).

Moreover, ongoing efforts are being made to recover assets tied to former oil minister Diezani Alison-Madueke, with international bodies like the United States and the UK playing a significant role in the process (Transparency International, 2021). These examples highlight how vital global partnerships are in combating corruption and returning stolen funds, contributing not only to justice for the affected nations but also serving as a deterrent to future corruption by showing the effectiveness of international collaboration in asset recovery (Akanbi, 2021; Transparency International, 2022).

Nigeria's ability to combat political corruption is strengthened by its adherence to internationally recognized frameworks like the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC). UNCAC offers laws and regulatory structures for money laundering prevention, recuperation of assets, and mutual aid initiatives. Nigeria shows its dedication to responsibility and guarantees improved financial activity surveillance by coordinating its domestic measures with these international standards (UNODC, 2022). In order to interfere with the financial systems that are used to hide looted assets, Nigeria must also implement anti-money laundering legislation like the Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act with greater force. Improved surveillance of illicit transactions and cross-border transfers of funds is made feasible by collaboration with global financial intelligence units (FIUs) (Agbiboa, 2015).

Nevertheless, strong institutions and political determination are necessary for international collaboration to be effective. To enhance the transparency of recovered assets, Nigeria can implement more effective systems for tracking how these funds are used. One approach could involve publishing regular public reports and conducting independent audits that reveal how recovered assets are allocated for key public sector projects like infrastructure or social development. These reports should be accessible to the public and could include detailed breakdowns of expenditures in areas such as health, education, and road development.

Additionally, adopting digital tools could facilitate the tracking of these funds in real-time, making it easier for citizens to monitor the allocation and use of recovered assets. For example, Kenya has successfully used the Integrated Financial Management Information System (IFMIS) to improve fiscal oversight and ensure that public funds are managed transparently (Odwori, 2020). Similarly, the Philippines has implemented an Open Government Partnership program, allowing citizens to access online reports that track government spending, further promoting accountability and minimizing opportunities for corruption (Bautista, 2021).

Another potential improvement could be the requirement for the allocation of recovered assets to be tied to specific development goals. This would allow citizens to see exactly how the funds are contributing to tangible improvements, such as new infrastructure or public services. Requiring progress reports on these goals could enhance public trust in the government's commitment to using the funds for development and anti-corruption purposes. To maintain these partnerships, Nigeria must strengthen its internal anti-corruption agencies and foster confidence with its foreign partners. By keeping an eye on recuperated assets, the public helps to guarantee that money is used for development initiatives, which promotes accountability and confidence.

### *6.6 Conclusion*

In conclusion, international collaboration is essential to combating political corruption in Nigeria, particularly when it comes to stopping illegal cash transfers and encouraging the recovery of assets. Nigeria will be better equipped to combat political corruption and advance sustainable development if these collaborations are strengthened. The analysis underscores how political corruption entrenched prebendalism and clientelism, further weakening governance and economic stability in Nigeria. Despite anti-corruption initiatives, systemic inefficiencies and political interference limited their effectiveness. Addressing these issues requires robust institutional reforms, judicial independence, and stronger accountability mechanisms.

## FINAL DISCUSSION

The necessity of multifaceted approaches to successfully eradicate political corruption in Nigeria is emphasized in the concluding debate. It is relevant that this study makes the recommendations that follow in light of its findings:

- Political corruption should be viewed by everyone as an imminent threat to life. It must be perceived as HIV/AIDS, cancer, COVID-19, and other lethal disease and as a burden for the democratic process and the financial system. This is the only manner in which the nation's anti-corruption legislation will be effective.
- Compliance to ethical principles must be the cornerstone of the country's policies, as Aristotle asserted that the ultimate purpose of ethical philosophy is practical—to make us better men (as quoted by Adbuyekeen, 2021). Since ethics allow for checks and balances within institutions as well as the division of powers within the several tiers of government, the fight against political corruption would be impossible without it. Additionally, individuals tasked with combating corruption must be individuals who are ethically responsible.
- One of the primary root causes of political corruption is corruption itself. The governing body has to confront the country's dire poverty situation before it can claim victory in the war against political corruption.
- The government ought to lessen its focus on the politics of money and require both elected and appointed officials to publicly disclose their assets.
- When it comes to reprimanding dishonest public officials, the legal system needs to be impartial, efficient, and goal-oriented. Corrupt public officials must face appropriate prosecution; this legal action cannot be carried out in a manner that is selective.
- Targeting institutional deficiencies, structural adjustments should aim to create a responsible, transparent government that interacts with the general population and builds confidence among citizens. In order to reduce the power of patron-client relationships and profit-seeking behaviour, efforts ought to concentrate toward fostering internal democracy within political groups. By prohibiting political posts from turning into platforms for personal profit, stricter regulations regarding campaign contributions can also lessen the monetization of elections.
- Targeted development initiatives that give the general public economic empowerment will be necessary for dealing with the socioeconomic drivers of political corruption, such as

joblessness and destitution. Promoting participation in politics and motivating people to hold public leaders accountable can be greatly aided by civic education. In this regard, civil society groups play a critical role in keeping an eye on government operations and promoting openness. As demonstrated by Nigeria's coordination with international organizations throughout the Abacha loot recuperation, international collaboration is also crucial for tracing unlawful financial movements and retrieving stolen assets. To support these international initiatives, Nigeria must bolster its own anti-corruption institutions.

- The results also highlight the necessity of addressing the connection between insecurity and political corruption. To guarantee that public resources are distributed effectively and stop insurgencies like Boko Haram from taking advantage of failing security institutions, the armed forces and security agencies must implement comprehensive corruption prevention strategies. National security depends on developing a skilled and fully equipped force, but this can only be accomplished if corruption in the defence industry is eliminated.

- The investigation concludes by reiterating that public involvement, reforms to institutions, and persistent political determination are necessary to combat political corruption. Nigeria needs to change its governance traditions, and not only implement token initiatives to combat political corruption. A successful fight against political corruption will improve public service delivery, draw in foreign direct investment, and open doors for equitable growth. In the end, fighting political corruption will promote a more equitable and diverse society, regaining public confidence in the government and establishing a setting that is conducive to democracy and progress.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### *7.1 Summary*

With an emphasis on the period spanning from 2010–2015, this study critically analysed political corruption in Nigeria, examining the causes, consequences, and relationship to development under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration. The relationship between political corruption during President Goodluck Jonathan's administration and the Boko Haram insurgency was also examined, illuminating the ways in which political corruption undermined government responsiveness to security threats. The research critically examined the tactics that have been employed and their effectiveness to combat political corruption in Nigeria. And lastly, evaluated the obstacles that have been encountered when implementing these tactics and the mandatory measures that could be implemented to combat political corruption in Nigeria. The investigation used the Two Publics Theory, Political Alienation Theory, and Prebendalism Theory to describe the sociopolitical and institutional processes of political corruption. Political corruption was identified as a chronic and complex problem, with a profound presence in Nigeria's socioeconomic environment and governance systems.

A variety of factors contributing to political corruption were emphasized. These incorporated political patronage networks where public positions of power were utilized for private gain, weak institutions incapable of successfully enforcing the law, and poor governance practices. Political corruption was also encouraged by socioeconomic factors including pervasive joblessness and destitution, as well as by inefficient law enforcement and an atmosphere of impunity that empowered corrupt leaders to avoid prosecution. Many public servants saw holding political position as a means of accumulating wealth, which is consistent with the prebendalism theory, whereby public servants distribute public funds to loyalists as individual benefits. The absence of public monitoring and institutional checks allowed this type of rent-seeking activity to continue.

During this time, political corruption had serious repercussions that hindered Nigeria's social, political and economic advancement. Public funds were embezzled, resulting in underfunded institutions of learning, insufficient medical care, and inferior infrastructure. High levels of unemployment persisted, and escalating disparity was a result of development funds being diverted. Because investors perceived Nigeria's economic climate as unpredictable and highly susceptible to illegal activities, political corruption also impeded foreign investment.

According to the research, political corruption weakened the military and hampered initiatives to combat the Boko Haram insurgency. Because funds intended for security operations was embezzled, military personnel lacked proper gear and morale, which allowed the insurgents to grow their activities without interference.

The successful implementation of anti-corruption measures such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and whistleblower programs was restricted. The impact of dishonest elites, an absence of institutional capability, and a lack of political determination all made it more challenging to fight political corruption. Citizens were more isolated from political engagement as a result of public cynicism toward these initiatives, which reinforced the underlying principles emphasized by Political Alienation Theory. The divide between Nigeria's upper class and the general populace was a reflection of the Two Publics Theory, which holds that formal state institutions and unofficial patron-client networks are the two main facets of governance.

## ***7.2 Conclusion***

According to the investigation's findings, political corruption in Nigeria continues to be a significant barrier to achieving sustainable growth. The results show how political corruption hampered the nation's development between 2010 and 2015 and affected economic performance, public services, security, and other facets of governance. According to Political Alienation Theory, political corruption increased public marginalization from the political procedure and undermined confidence in government agencies. The mutually reinforcing connection between political corruption and the Boko Haram insurgency serves as another evidence of how political corruption and bad governance accelerate complications with national security. The duration of this period serves as an example of how the state's capacity to adequately address pressing concerns was hampered by the redirection of governmental resources.

According to Chukwu and Ngban (2018), among human motivating factors and passions, whether lawful or not, the love for political corruption in Nigeria rates so highly that it is unimaginable. This is because of the extreme case for abuse of office by public officials by all means. Nigerian public officials have planted seeds and donned the garment of corruption and embezzled the nation's commonwealth without considering what the near future holds for the country.

Peter Ekeh's Two Publics, which depict African nations as two societies—one immoral (civic public) and the other moral (primordial public)—was employed in this research. Citizens of the civic public are immoral and commit unlawful, unethical, and criminal activities, whereas all members of the primordial public are ethical and their actions are dictated by righteous principles and values. This theory accurately described Nigeria's political structure. Nigeria, specifically, might be considered a prime representation of the civic public considering all unethical behaviours, specifically among the political elites. The private realm, which is the foundation of the primordial public, exists exclusively in Africa. According to Ekeh, the civic public lacks moral principles and has an ancestral connection to colonialism.

The majority of the issues that African nations, including Nigeria, face can be linked to the legacy of colonialism. The colonialists' divide and conquer strategy contributed to the development of political corruption in our democratic system. Similar to the colonial master, Nigeria's current political elite is indifferent to the well-being of the people they govern. To maintain their political and financial standing, they partake in illicit behaviour in all its manifestations. Notwithstanding the fact that nepotism and tribalism are forms of corruption, their seeds were sown in Nigeria, where they are still employed by public officials to give preference to residents of their locality.

In order to shed light on political corruption amongst Nigerian public officials, this research also employed Richard Joseph's prebendalism. The prebendal thesis was founded on the notion that the national treasury is a national cake in which every citizen must have a piece. Despite this, Nigeria has a federal structure of governance. Federalism requires that each area of the nation receive a portion of its contributions to the central government. In Nigeria, however, this is not the scenario. The nation is using federalism in a quasi-federalistic manner. Nigeria's form of federation promotes political corruption because some citizens believe they have a right to the national funds which they must utilize at all costs. This is the root cause of political corruption in Nigeria. Because they view their positions as privileges that allow them to take financial advantages for themselves at the expense of the public, they do all kinds of illegal activities. The prebendalism notion is reliable for examining political corruption and how it affects Nigeria's democratic administration.

Despite the introduction of certain adjustments, such as public-sector oversight systems and corruption prevention bodies, these initiatives were met with resistance by elite intervention and an inadequate level of enforcement. In order to correct the fundamental challenges that

arise from prebendalism as well as failing institutions, the research believes that strengthening Nigeria's governance structure requires more than just superficial policy adjustments. The prerequisite for an integrated strategy to tackle corruption is demonstrated by the endless cycle of political corruption, inadequate development, and insecurity.

Nigeria has established a variety of institutions and legislative structures to combat political corruption, but as this research demonstrates, these legal structures and institutions are ineffective. Which means for the purpose to achieve the desired effects, it is necessary to improve these structures and frameworks. However, this calls for a political determination that will support the appropriate and successful application of those frameworks. The Nigerian government must be dedicated to combating political corruption by beginning to take steps in accordance with its rhetoric. Last but not least, the Nigerian people and its leadership must be dedicated to combating political corruption given that corrupt officials cannot effectively engage in a battle in opposition to unethical behaviour. The characteristics of democratic governance, such as openness, electing and placing trustworthy candidates in significant positions of power, good governance, accountability, and obedience to the rule of law, among others, are essential components in dealing with political corruption in society.

One significant finding is that elites apply the anti-corruption law in diverse ways. By continuously appointing their supporters and close associates to oversee successful divisions, ministries, and agencies, political leaders promote political corruption. They promote political corruption by using their political power. Additionally, traditional and religious leaders actively participate in recruiting procedures for susceptible and sensitive positions of power, overlooking the skills and expertise necessary for senior positions. Instead, what matters are links to individuals of the political class, religious leaders, and traditional leaders. When some individuals are chosen for public position through favouritism and prebendalism, they have obligations to live up to; they no longer consider serving their nation as their duty but rather what their respective political "godfathers" desire. They ignore their political godfathers' unethical behaviour for the greater good of their careers, advancements, and prospects. In addition to tying their hands together and even covering up for their political godfathers who first got them the position, their freedom from punishment solidifies with the assurance of their continued employment.

According to the study, if corruption prevention organizations function without regard to political or governmental influence, political corruption may be reduced. Impoverishment, an

inadequate system of rewards, and political leaders' unsophisticated money accumulation—all of which undermine fundamental moral principles among the populace—are some of the causes thought to contribute to political corruption in Nigeria. Additionally, it was noted that frequent court orders and other unorthodox postponements of corruption cases lessen the gravity of the illicit activities perpetrated by politically exposed people, strengthening their determination to continue carrying out such behaviours and giving them even more confidence to commit even worse acts.

The researcher agrees with Amundsen (2019) that, in cases when corruption is systematic, reorganizing the political structure is necessary to ensure successful initiatives to combat corruption. In this case, reformation calls for such anti-graft organizations to be logistically independent and capable of completing their tasks free from political, religious, or ethnic involvement. According to UNODC (2004), Article 36 of the UNCAC recommends that it be independent of influence. Nevertheless, as observers have pointed out, for as long as the governing body governs operations and regulations, selects the top officials of the agencies, and chooses the directors of the agencies, it is not feasible for any agency of the government to be completely immune from political interference (Amundsen, 2017).

In the end, one may contend that the operational mindset of the institutions is equivalent to the governments since the government selects the leaders of these organizations. As a result, these governmental entities will unavoidably face political pressure when they take acts that jeopardize their political objectives. A dysfunctional court and rampant political interference in corruption prevention agencies' operations could render them useless since they will be unable to bring corrupt officials of the government to justice. The results show that government involvement has made it harder to prosecute wrongdoing. Therefore, the judiciary, prosecutor's offices and organizations that fight corruption must all be given complete autonomy for the purpose to combat political corruption. The present structure must be restructured in order for the EFCC, ICPC, and other relevant agencies to have the authority to bring criminal charges against all public officials, regardless of their position or political influence.

### ***7.3 Suggestions for Further Studies***

With a focus on the years 2010–2015, this investigation has examined the causes, dynamics, and consequences of political corruption in Nigeria. Although important insights into the impact of corruption on government and development were obtained, more research is necessary in other areas.

In order to identify patterns, similarities, and changes in governance strategies and political corruption trends, future research could compare and contrast Nigeria's several presidential administrations. Furthermore, investigating the dynamics of political corruption at the local and regional levels of governance may offer a more complex understanding of the ways in which political corruption differs and impacts communities in various capacities.

More concentrated perspectives would be provided by sector-specific research examining how political corruption affects healthcare, infrastructure, and academia. These might guide the creation of anti-corruption plans specifically designed to handle the particular difficulties in these crucial industries. The social and cultural aspects of political corruption, such as public attitudes, cultural practices that support or oppose corrupt behaviors, and society standards, could also be the subject of future research.

Furthermore, longitudinal studies examining the evolution of anti-corruption policies over an extended period would provide a better understanding of their long-term efficacy and sustainability. Comparative international research involving countries with similar corruption challenges could offer valuable lessons and strategies, broadening the scope of potential solutions. By addressing these areas, future research can expand on the findings of this study, advancing knowledge and providing practical tools to combat political corruption in Nigeria and similar contexts globally.

## Bibliography

- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. Crown Business.
- Adebayo, A. (2015). The Impact of Colonialism on Political Corruption in Nigeria. *Journal of African History*, 25(3), pp.123–145.
- Acheampong, T. (2020). The impact of corruption on sustainable development in Africa. *African Governance Review*, 5(2), pp.34-49.
- Adebanwi, W. (2011). Authority Stealing: Anti-Corruption War and Democratic Politics in Post-Military Nigeria.
- Adejoh, P. (2019). Governance and institutional effectiveness in Nigeria: A critical analysis. *African Journal of Public Policy*, 11(1), pp.23-41.
- Ademu, W.A. (2013). Eradicating corruption in public office in Nigeria. *Interpersona: An International Journal on Personal Relationships*, 7(2), pp.311-322.
- Adeleke, O. (2016). Judicial Reforms and Corruption in Nigeria: *An Analysis of the ACJA 2015*.
- Adeleke, O. (2017). Corruption and Foreign Investment in Nigeria: A Decade of Challenges.
- Adekanye, B. O. (2019). Root Causes of Private Corruption in Nigeria: A Historical and Institutional Perspective. *Journal of Political Economy*, 15(3), pp.201–218.
- Adesoji, A. (2010). The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria. *African Spectrum*, 45(2), pp.95-108.
- Agbibo, D. E. (2015). Protectors or predators? The embedded problem of police corruption and deviance in Nigeria. *Administration & Society*, 47(3), 244-281.
- Agbibo, D.E. (2015). Corruption in Nigeria: Between moral economy and political culture. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 50(2), pp.1-17.
- Akinola, A. (2016). Institutional Failures in Nigerian Governance: The Case of NEITI. *African Journal of Governance and Development*, 5(2), pp.45–60.
- Akinola, A., (2018). Political economy of Nigeria: Past, present, and future trajectories. *African Political Studies*, 7(3), pp.112-129.

- Akinyemi, S. A., & Olatunde, M. I. (2017). The Role of Technology in Public Sector Transparency. *Journal of Public Administration*, 14(2), pp.45–56.
- Alao, A., (2013). Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria: Country Report. *Conflict and Security Review*, 6(1), pp.78-96.
- Amadi, L., & Abdullah, M. (2018). Corruption and the Inefficiency of Nigeria's Counterterrorism Strategy.
- Amnesty International. (2015). Nigeria: Investigate military's role in deaths of 640 detainees in Borno State. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org>.
- Anazodo, R.O., Igbokwe-Ibeto, C.J., & Nkah, B.C. (2015). Leadership, Corruption and Governance in Nigeria: Issues and Categorical Imperatives. *African Research Review*, 9(2), pp.41–58.
- Atelhe, A.G., & Agada, A.T. (2014). Re-visiting political corruption and development in Nigeria under democratic rule. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 3(1), pp.305–314.
- Ayandele, E. A. (1966). *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842–1914*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Bamidele, O., Olaniyan, A. O., & Ayodele, B. (2015). Seized by Sleaze: The Siege of Corruption and a Search for Workable Options in Nigeria. *International Social Science Review*, 90(1), p.3.
- Bardhan, P. (2006). Corruption and Development: A Review of Issues. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 35(3), pp.1320–1346.
- Bassey, A. O., Abia, R. P., Attah, F., & Bassey, U. A. (2013). Corruption as a Social Problem and its Implication on Nigerian Society: A Review of Anticorruption Policies. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(1).
- Bekoe, D. A. (2012). *Voting in Fear: Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa*. United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Bovens, M. (2007). Public Accountability. In: B. Guy & R. Goodin, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Management*. Oxford: *Oxford University Press*, pp.182-208.

- Bratton, M. (2008). Poor People and Democratic Citizenship in Africa. Afrobarometer Working Papers.
- Bratton, M., & van de Walle, N. (1997). Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective. Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, J. (2018). Nigeria and the Nation-State: Rethinking Diplomacy with the Postcolonial World. *London: Rowman & Littlefield*.
- Casiden, G.E. (2001). 'Corruption and Democracy' in Caiden, G. et al. (eds.) Where Corruption Lives. *Kumarian Press*, pp.227–243.
- Chukwu, C.C., & Ngban, J.N. (2018). Democratic Governance and the Frightening Impact of Corruption in Contemporary Nigerian Society. *Revista Brasileira de Gestão Ambiental e Sustentabilidade*, 5(9), pp.3–25.
- Crenshaw, M., 1981. The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics*, 13(4), pp.379-399.
- Creswell, J.W., & Poth, C.N. (2018). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches. SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Dahida, D.P., & Akangbe, O.M. (2013). Corruption as a Bane for Under-Development in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges. *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, 15.
- Dialoke, I., Ukah, F., & Kanu, P.A. (2020). Leadership, Corruption and Governance: The Nigerian Experience. *International Journal of Innovative Development and Policy Studies*, 8(4), pp.15–26.
- Dike, V.E. (2005). Corruption in Nigeria: A new paradigm for effective control. *Africa economic analysis*, 24(08), pp.1-22.
- Egwuanyi, O., & Onodugo, U. (2021). International Cooperation in Combating Public Corruption: Lessons from Nigeria. *International Relations Review*, 30(3), pp.245–261.
- Ekeh, P.P., (1975). Colonialism and the two publics in Africa: A theoretical statement. *Comparative studies in society and history*, 17(1), pp.91-112.

Ekott, I., & Udo, B. (2013, December 10). EXCLUSIVE: Jonathan, Alison-Madueke, Okonjo-Iweala culpable in diversion of N8 trillion oil funds. Premium Times. Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com>.

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The Qualitative Content Analysis Process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), pp.107–115.

Ezeani, C.N., Ugwu, F.N., Okafor, V.N., and Anyanwu, C.I. (2018). Rist. Technology (RIST), 4.

EFCC, 2021. Annual Report on Anti-Corruption Strategies in Nigeria. *Abuja: Economic and Financial Crimes Commission*.

Fagbadebo, O. (2007). Corruption, Governance and Political Instability in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 1(2), pp.28–37.

Falola, T. and Heaton, M.M. (2008). A History of Nigeria. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flick, U. (2018). An Introduction to Qualitative Research (6th ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Gabriel, C. (2017). Whistle-blowing as Panacea for Corruption. Vanguard News. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com>.

Gidens, A. (2006). Emile Durkheim: Selected Writings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goredema, C. (2011). The role of anti-corruption agencies in combating financial crimes in Africa: The case of Nigeria. *African Security Review*, 20(4), pp.45-57.

Heidenheimer, A.J., & Johnston, M. (2002). Political Corruption: Concepts and Context. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Heywood, A. (2014). Politics. 4th ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hirschman, A.O. (1970). Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hope, K. R. (2017). Corruption and Governance in Africa: Swaziland, Kenya, Nigeria. Palgrave Macmillan.

Human Rights Watch. (2013). Corruption on Trial? The Record of Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission.

Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Nigeria. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org>.

Igiebor, G.S.O. (2019). Political Corruption in Nigeria: Implications for Economic Development in the Fourth Republic. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 35(4), pp.493–513.

International Crisis Group. (2011). Nigeria's Elections: Avoiding a Political Crisis.

International Crisis Group. (2014). Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency. Retrieved from <https://www.crisisgroup.org>.

Johnston, M. (2001). The definitions debate: Old conflicts in new guises. *In The political economy of corruption* (pp. 23-44). Routledge.

Johnston, M. (2005). Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power, and Democracy. Cambridge University Press.

Johnston, M. (2014). Corruption, Contention and Reform: The Power of Deep Democratization. *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*.

Joseph, R. (1987). Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic. Cambridge University Press.

Joseph, R. (2014). Prebendalism and governance in Nigeria: Understanding political culture and corruption. *Journal of African Politics*, 9(1), pp.20-37.

Kaufmann, D. & Vicente, P.C. (2011). Legal Corruption. *Economics & Politics*, 23(2), pp.195-219.

Khan, M. H. (2006). Governance and Anti-Corruption Reforms in Developing Countries: Policies, Evidence, and Ways Forward. UNCTAD.

Kilson, M. (1966). Political change in a West African state: A study of the modernization process in Sierra Leone. Harvard University Press.

Klitgaard, R. (1988). Controlling Corruption. Berkeley: *University of California Press*.

Komolafe v. Federal Republic of Nigeria. (2018). 15 NWLR (pt. 1643) 503 S.C.

- Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. SAGE Publications.
- Kumar, P., 2012. Conceptualizing political corruption in a democracy: A contested domain. *Revista Estudos de Política*, 1(2).
- Lawal, G. & Tobi, A. (2006). Bureaucratic Corruption, Good Governance and Development: The Challenges and Prospects of Institution Building in Nigeria. *Journal of Applied Sciences Research*, 2(10).
- Lewis, P. M. (2007). *Growing Apart: Oil, Politics, and Economic Change in Indonesia and Nigeria*. University of Michigan Press.
- Leys, C. (1965). What is the Problem about Corruption? *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 3(2), pp.215–230.
- Lindberg, S. I. (2006). *Democracy and Elections in Africa*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mauro, P. (1995). Corruption and Growth. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110(3), pp.681–712.
- McMullan, M. (1961). A Theory of Corruption. *The Sociological Review*, 9(2), July.
- Moyosore, S.O. (2015). Corruption in Nigeria: Causes, Effects and Probable Solutions. *Journal of Political Science and Leadership Research*, 1(8), pp.22–36.
- Mwaniki, B.K. (2017). *Enhancing the Fight Against Corruption in Kenya: Making the Case for Conferral of Prosecutorial Powers on the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission*. (Doctoral dissertation, Strathmore University).
- Nmah, P.E. (2017). Corruption in Nigeria: A Culture or Retrogressive Factor? *Ogirisi: A New Journal of African Studies*, 13, pp.116–131.
- Norris, P. (2014). *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nowell, L.S., Norris, J.M., White, D.E., & Moules, N.J. (2017). Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1), pp.1–13.
- Odekunle, F. (1986). *Nigeria: Corruption in Development*. University Press, Ibadan.
- OECD. (2013). *Specialised Anti-Corruption Institutions: Review of Models*.

- Ogbeidi, M.M. (2012). Political Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria Since 1960: A Socio-economic Analysis. *Journal of Nigeria Studies*, 1(2).
- Ogunode, F., & Okunola, B. (2020). Strengthening Institutional Capacities to Combat Private Corruption in Nigeria: Lessons from International Best Practices. *Journal of Institutional Development*, 17(1), pp.78–95.
- Ojo, E.O. (2017). Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria: The Case of Goodluck Jonathan’s Administration. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 35(3), pp.391-410.
- Olayinka, A.O. (2019). The economic cost of corruption in Nigeria: An assessment of its impact on governance and development. *Journal of African Development*, 8(4), pp.67-83.
- Oluwasegun, A. (2017). Conflict, Instability, and Political Corruption in Nigeria. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 25(4), pp.309–325.
- Onapajo, H. (2017). Has Nigeria defeated Boko Haram? An appraisal of counter-terrorism and insurgency in the Lake Chad region. *African Security Review*, 26(3), pp.288-304.
- Osoba, S.O. (1996). Corruption in Nigeria: Historical Perspectives. *Review of African Political Economy*, 23(69), pp.371-386.
- Pardo, I. (ed.) (2004) *Between Morality and the Law: Corruption, Anthropology and Comparative Society*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Pavarala, V., 1993. Corruption as a site for contested meaning: Elite constructions in India. *Qualitative Sociology*, 16(4), pp.405-422.
- Patton, M.Q. (2015). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. SAGE Publications.
- Premium Times. (2015). The Challenges in Prosecuting Diezani Alison-Madueke: A Closer Look at the Ongoing Investigations.
- Quah, J.S.T. (2007). Combating Corruption Singapore Style: Lessons for Other Asian Countries. *Maryland Series in Contemporary Studies*, No. 2–2007(189).
- Rhodes, R.A.W. (1996). The New Governance: Governing without Government. *Political Studies*, 44(4), pp.652-667.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. (1999). *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Rothstein, B. (2011). *The Quality of Government: Corruption, Social Trust, and Inequality in International Perspective*. University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, D.J. (2007). *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria*. Princeton University Press.
- Smith, D. J. (2010). *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria*. Princeton University Press.
- Suberu, R. T. (2013). *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria*. United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Sutherland, E.H. (1949). *White-Collar Crime*. New York: Holt, Rinehart.
- Tanzi, V. (1998). Corruption around the world: Causes, consequences, scope, and cures. *IMF Staff Papers*, 45(4), pp.559-594.
- Thompson, D. (1992). "The Paradox of Administrative Ethics." *Public Administration Review*, May/June, Vol. 52, No. 3.
- Thurston, A. (2018). *Boko Haram: The History of an African Jihadist Movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Todaro, M.P. & Smith, S.C. (2015). *Economic Development*. 12th ed. Boston: Pearson.
- Transparency International. (2014). *Corruption Perceptions Index 2014*.
- Transparency International. (2022). *Corruption Perception Index 2022*. Retrieved from <https://www.transparency.org>.
- Uche, C.U., (2016). Illicit Financial Flows and the Challenge of Development in Nigeria. *African Journal of Economic Policy*, 23(1), pp.14-29.
- Uka, E.M. (1980). *Movatorium, Ideology or Utopia? A Sociological Interpretation of an African Response to Christian Mission*.
- Ugwuanyi, O., & Onodugo, U. (2021). International Collaboration in Combating Public Corruption in Nigeria. *Global Governance Review*, 33(1), pp.45–62.
- UNDP. (2015). *The Importance of Civic Education in Combating Corruption*.
- Yin, R.K. (2018). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*. SAGE Publications.

World Bank. (2012). Strengthening Governance: Tackling Corruption.

## APPENDIX A

### Ethical Clearance Certificate



26 August 2024

Asanda Mazeka (219077309)  
School of Social Sciences  
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear A Mazeka,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00007226/2024

Project title: Political corruption in Nigeria: Examining the causes and consequences on development from 2010 to 2015.

Degree: Masters

#### Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 19 June 2024 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

**PLEASE NOTE:** Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

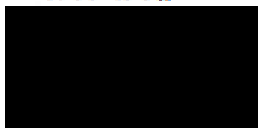
Incidents of adverse events and serious adverse events (AEs and SAEs) should be reported in writing to HSSREC, the study sponsors, and any regulatory authority (where appropriate), within 7 working days of the occurrence for local sites and 14 days for all other South African sites.

This approval is valid until 26 August 2025.

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Health Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlaele (Chair)  
/nng

#### Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Postal Address: Private Bag 354001, Durban, 4000, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 8350/4357/3387 Email: hssrec@ukzn.ac.za Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics>

Founding Campuses: ■ Inglewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS