

Impact of Anti-Corruption War on National Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

Nigeria has been severally described as a paradox judging from her enormous wealth and resources yet stuck in the shackles of underdevelopment. It was in the light of this disillusionment that the majority of Nigeria's electorates voted out President Goodluck Jonathan and accepted General MuhammaduBuhari whose main campaign promise centered on a three-point agenda; fight against corruption, security and building the economy. There was widespread hope that the retired General would be courageous enough to tame corruption and unearth solutions to other problems confronting Nigeria. However, five years into his administration, issues of corruption, insecurity, and widespread poverty are still commonplace. Against this backdrop, this paper used a documentary research method to examine the impact of Buhari's anti-corruption war on national development. It found out that notwithstanding the efforts of the government to salvage the menace of corruption, Nigeria according to the latest corruption index scored 26/100 which indicates she is more corrupt under the current administration than ever before. More so, indices of corruption are still pervading all nooks and crannies of Nigeria. Thus, reducing corruption to the barest minimum is the pathway to achieving sustainable development and unlocking the dividends of democratic governance in Nigeria. It, therefore, recommended the institutionalization of transparency and the use of ICT in government transactions.

Keywords: *Anti-corruption war, Buhari administration, economy, national development*

I. Introduction

There is no other problem that threatens the corporate existence of Nigeria like the menace of corruption. Nigeria, like the biblical Canaan Land that flows with milk and honey, is a country richly blessed with numerous human and material resources good enough to guarantee an improved standard of living for her citizenry. In the words of Oxford Business School, "Nigeria is widely regarded as an African powerhouse, with abundant natural resources and a young, dynamic population, the country has long played an important role on the continent and it

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has the potential to be a wider global player in the coming decades". According to KPMG 2015, Nigeria is ranked as the 27th-largest economy in the world in terms of nominal GDP, and the 22nd-largest in terms of purchasing power parity. The country has the largest economy in Africa since 2013. The country's rich natural resources are evidenced in areas of oil and gas, and agriculture. Oil and gas is estimated to be about 35 billion barrels ($5.6 \times 10^9 \text{ m}^3$) and natural gas reserves are well over 100 trillion cubic feet ($2,800 \text{ km}^3$) according to Oxford Group (2015). With an average \$9.73 billion (N4.213 trillion) yearly earning this will give the country another 43 years' worth of oil revenues. This endowment has placed her as the sixth highest producer of oil among OPEC members and fourteenth in the world in the league of oil producers. In agriculture, Nigeria is ranked sixth worldwide and first in Africa in farm output. The sector accounts for about 18% of GDP and almost one-third of employment. Nigeria has 19 million head of cattle, the largest in Africa. Indeed, the agricultural industry remains a mainstay of the economy, accounting for 23.9% of GDP and upwards of 70% of the country's workforce, and approximately 83.7% of Nigeria's land area is agricultural, although only 40% is arable. Substantial water resources also assist the agricultural sector. The country has 230bn meters of total renewable water resources. This should help expand productivity through irrigation.

Geographically, Nigeria is the third-biggest country in West Africa by area and 32nd-largest in the world. With 853 km of coastline adjoining the Gulf of Guinea, it is well connected to international trade routes and acts as an important conduit of goods for the landlocked countries to the north. The major cause of underdevelopment of Nigeria remains corruption, Okoye (2012) asserted that Nigeria was estimated to have lost over \$400 billion to corruption since independence. This was disclosed by the former Vice President for Africa of the World Bank, Dr. Oby Ezekwesili, while presenting a paper titled: 'Corruption, National Development, The Bar and The Judiciary', during the 52nd Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) in Abuja. Ezekwesili stated that while oil accounted for about 90 percent of the value of Nigeria's exports, over 80 percent of that money ended up in the hands of one percent of the population. Rita Okoye (2012) it was against this backdrop that the administration of PMB promised to tackle the monster as part of his campaign promise. It is against this backdrop that the crux of this paper is to identify the efforts and impacts of President Buhari's administration in taming the monster of corruption that has bedevilled and impeded National development in Nigeria.

II. Literature review

Corruption

Corruptus' is a Latin word from where the English word 'corruption' is derived from. It means to break or destroy. That is to say in other words, corruption means to break away, depart from morality, ethics, and virtue. The war against corruption is a crusade which all of us must join to return sanity and orderliness in our nation. Waziri (2013) concisely puts:

The war against corruption like terrorism is a special kind of war. It admits of no conventional methods. It is a war against human selfishness and greed. It is a war against rapid and senseless primitive capital accumulation. It is a war against the decadence of mind, ethics, and morals.

Ochulor, Metuonu, and Asuo (2011) noted that "etymologically, the word "corruption" comes from the Latin word "corrumpo" (corrumpere, corruptus) meaning to rot, decompose, disintegrate or decay". According to the World Bank (1996), corruption is defined as "the abuse of public power for private gain". More succinctly, Ojaide(as cited in Ajie 2012) defined Corruption as:

any systematic vice in an individual, society, or a nation which reflects favoritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment or amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power position, and derivation of undue gains and benefits. Corruption also includes bribery, smuggling, and fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, tax evasion of any kind to the detriment of another person, community society or nation.

No matter how it is defined, the general deduction is that corruption has to do with immoral, illegal, and or unlawful actions and shortcuts against the set standards.

Types and Consequences of Corruption

Corruption can be discussed by classifying it into forms and sub-divisions depending on the context or the degree of incidence. According to Aluko (2009), they are Political corruption (grand), Bureaucratic corruption (petty), Electoral corruption, Bribery, Fraud, Embezzlement, Favoritism, Nepotism. Similarly, many scholars have identified the aforementioned types and forms of corruption but also added judicial and moral corruption, but within the scope of this study, the researcher will only review the first two

Political Corruption (Grand): According to Okoro (2012) "political corruption takes at the highest levels of political authority" It occurs when the politicians and political decision-makers, who are entitled to formulate, establish and implement the laws in the name of the people, are themselves corrupt. It also takes place when policy formulation and legislation is tailored to benefit politicians and legislators (The Encyclopaedia Americana, 1999 cited in Dike 2008). It can also manifest through fraud/embezzlement which involves some kind of trickery, siphoning of public funds, swindle, and deceit, counterfeiting, racketing, smuggling and forgery (Ibid. p.13) extortion: This is the use one's power, position or knowledge to exploit others monetarily or emotionally. Lecturers, police, Lawyers, and customs officers are the main perpetrators of such acts in Nigeria. And finally favouritism/nepotism:it is simply the act of being biased in one's action in favor of friends, family, or otherwise. It is always perceived in the award of contract, distribution of resources, public employment, examination, etc.

Bureaucratic Corruption (Petty): this occurs at the level of government bureaucracy and often involves perversion of laid –down rules of due process. It usually aims at private monetary gain through wrongful inducements and illicit payments for rendering public service. (Okoduwa 2007).There is no contradiction that corruption has pernicious effects on every aspect of our nation. For proper assimilation, its effects can be grouped into economic, political, social-cultural, and environmental. According to Alliyu et al (2014) "Economically,

Corruption lowers investment and retards economic growth as holds back foreign investors in investing in a corruption-prone society like Nigeria". Similarly, Igbuzor (2008) noted that "Corruption by our leaders results in a violation of the economic rights of the masses and vulnerable, denial of the benefits of free and open competition". Politically, corruption leads to a weak government, political instability, violation of human rights, subversion of rule of law, deprivation of democratic dividends among others. Socially, corruption undermines morality, and integrity. Environmentally, corruption leads to environmental degradation and pollution. Waziri (2010) has succinctly articulated it all as he noted:

The effects of corruption in Nigeria have not been insignificant. From multi-internal effects such as under-development, lack of basic infrastructures like good road networks, misuse of natural resources, inadequate power, and water supply, mediocrity in professional and leadership positions, defective leadership outputs, fuel scarcity in an oil-producing nation, falling standards of education and work output, high unemployment rates, the ever-widening gap between the rich and poor to mention just a few, to the international effects such as the tarnished image of our country in the international circles and the caution exercised by foreign nationals in entering business transactions with Nigerians thereby weakening the economic sector. The multiplier effect has been the mass spread of poverty and our unenviable position in the list of poor and under-developed countries amidst rich natural resources.

For further analysis, the effects of corruption can be grouped into economic, political, social-cultural and environmental (see Figure 1 below)



Figure 1: consequences of Corruption. *Source:* Developed by the author.

The Root Causes of Corruption in Nigeria

Ethical decadence and social acceptance of corruption of as a norm in the country: We don't need any King Solomon to tell us that the pillar of the unabated level of corruption in Nigeria has its impetus from the total degradation and the bastardization of our ethical values. Corruption is visible in our homes, business practices, schools, offices, roads, markets, and politics; name any part of our individual and/or national life and you can easily

point out numerous unethical and corrupt practices peculiar to it. Worryingly, this dreaded cankerworm called corruption has dug deep and even becoming a norm and a way of life in Nigeria. To give it a paradise, people with questionable character and looted wealth are regularly honoured and glorified by religious leaders, political leaders, communities, and Social clubs among others. Corruption is no longer seen as unethical and crime, but a lucrative business for the “smart ones”. Consequently, this has made the menace of corruption to be growing like a mushroom in the country.

The concept of plea-bargaining in Nigeria politics and the immunity of Public officeholders: plea-bargaining in Nigeria is a situation whereby a public office holder who siphons public funds and was caught will admit committing the crime and pleads to pay a lesser amount of money far from what he/she embezzled. On the other hand, the immunity of some public office holders (the president and vice, the governor and the deputy, etc) are enshrined in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This means that they can't be arrested for any offense while in power. This has been the hallmark of political corruption in the country as of the many uses that period to transfer an unimaginable sum of public funds to foreign accounts and disappear at the exhaustion of their tenure. As lamented by Usman (2013):

Giving this scenario where these offenders are allowed to go scot-free in what is presently referred to in Nigeria as 'plea bargaining', corruption, therefore, is a lucrative business in the country. Also, in a situation where people steal billions of naira and after their arrest and prosecutions such persons are only jailed for three or six months make corruption in Nigeria the most lucrative business in the world.

Bad governance, Poverty, and extreme hunger in the country: many researchers have opined that the high rate of poverty in Nigeria and bad governance is fuelling the rate of corruption in the country. The high rate of inequality and the wanton neglect faced by the masses make them susceptible to corrupt practices to make ends meet. When the government fails the impoverished people they found solace and belonging in social vices. They lost fate in government and society. As buttressed by Anyaoku (2011):

Many Nigerians feel hopeless because of the general situation. They feel uncared for by their country. This is probably why there seems to be no restraint or limit to the extent some of our citizens can go to help themselves. This culture of self-help which encourages disregard of societal norms has seemingly spread and become widely accepted as a way of life. It manifests itself in the antisocial behaviour in which some Nigerians are frequently involved. The antisocial behaviour range from such seemingly minor acts as deliberately jumping traffic lights and driving against one-way streets, to the notorious 419 scam and human trafficking.

Measures taking by the government towards ending corruption in Nigeria:

Since Nigeria got her independent, Successive governments have struggled assiduously with different approaches and measures to attack corruption and institutionalize ethics in the individual and national lives of the populace. This measure includes the Corrupt Practices Decree of 1975 during Murtala/Obasanjo regime, the Ethical Revolution in 1981, General Babangida's Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery

(MAMSER), General Buhari/Idiagbo's War against Indiscipline (WAI) of 1983-1985, General Abacha's War against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAI-C), National Orientation Agency,

Under the return of democracy in 1999, the following measures have so far been taking to tame corruption in Nigeria.

The 1999 Constitution: The Constitution is the most important law in the country. In the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution (the Code of Conduct), it prohibits public officers from accepting property or benefits of any kind for him/herself or any other person on account of anything done or omitted to be done by him in the discharge of his duties.

The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) ACT OF 2004: The Act mandates the EFCC to combat financial and economic crimes and empowers it to prevent, investigate, prosecute and penalise economic and financial crimes. Apart from establishing the agency, it has several sections that deal with financial crimes and corruption and provide penalties for breach of those sections.

The Corrupt Practices & Other Related Offences ACT: The established the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) vesting it with the responsibility for investigation and prosecution of offenders thereof. The main aim of the Act is the prohibition of corrupt practices and bribery; however, it also seeks to curb corrupt practices in private business transactions and interpersonal relationships among individuals and persons.

Money Laundering (Prohibition) ACT: Money laundering according to the Act is when any person in or outside Nigeria directly or indirectly conceals or disguises the origin of; converts or transfers; removes from the jurisdiction; acquires, uses, retains or takes possession or control of; any fund or property, knowingly or which he/she should reasonably have known that such fund or property is, or forms part of the proceeds of an unlawful act. In a nutshell, it is when an individual intends to legitimise proceeds from criminal activities. The Act prescribes penalties for money laundering related offenses.

Understanding National Development

National development refers to the ability of a nation to improve the lives of its citizens. Measures of improvement may be material, such as an increase in the gross domestic product, or social, such as literacy rates and availability of healthcare. The term 'National Development' is very broad and comprehensive. It includes all aspects of the development of a nation namely, political, social, economic, etc. So, it is a dynamic and revolutionary development of society. Moreover, it is both qualitative and quantitative. The goal of all national development is to improve the lives of the citizens in question within the context of a growing economy and an emphasis on the good of her community as a whole. Whereas UN reports, "National development as growth plus change, in turn, is social, cultural as well as economic and qualitative as well as quantitative."

Development is associated with modernization, material advancement, industrialization scientific and technological progress, the emergence of nuclear energy, electronic and biological revolution, new knowledge about man and the universe. It means urbanization, socio-cultural transformation, mass literacy, vertical and

horizontal mobility, employment opportunities, and the emergence of specialized and independent occupational roles (Umuru, 2002).

A nation is a large community of people sharing a common language, common culture, common history, and having a common constitution and government. Nigeria is a nation and the national share common characteristics of a nation such as binding principles and policies. The ultimate aim of national development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the wellbeing of the individual and bestow benefits to all self-reliance and mobilization of domestic resources, the transformation of the structure of rural production, the development of small-scale industries and the acquisition of technological and scientific skills. These objectives are stale, but well-conceived, planned, and directed policies and programmes are required for their realization (Umaru, 1988). This means that developments are about self-reliance in every aspect of national life. As soon as the individual is made to acquire specialized skills that will enable them to help develop society, then society becomes developed. This accounts for the difference between the developed countries and the underdeveloped nations. According to Alabi (1988), the major factor responsible for the wide gap in the level of development between the so-called developed and the developing nations include the level of development of pure and applied science in these nations.

According to the UN, indicators of National Development include equal living standards for all, the equal distribution of income and capital, expansion of facilities regarding education, health, shelter, and social welfare, and preservation of environment, etc. Thus, National Development is the totality of government efforts through policy, political will, and bureaucratic services aimed at increasing: per-capita income, quality, Education, agricultural transformation, network of roads, transportation and communication, quality and affordable health care services, which are targeted towards improving the standard of living and eliminating poverty, hunger, and inequality

Significance of the Study

Generally, this study will be of utmost importance to the administration of Buhari as it will reveal the impact of PMB war against corruption on national development. This will give the government their scorecard that will determine the next strategy and possible approach that will have the right dosage to reduce corruption to the barest minimum. The study will also help the global community and Nigerians to access and evaluate the administration effort in the fight against corruption and the extent to which National development has been promoted through the fight.

Nigeria, according to Oxford Group (2015), possesses much more than simply oil and gas. It is home to significant deposits of coal, iron ore, lead, limestone, tin, and zinc. Just as importantly, it has rich land and water resources that are ripe for further agricultural exploitation. Another major potential and socio-economic viability of the country is her enormous human resource reservoir, with an estimated 201 million people in 2020. According to the International Monetary Fund, Nigeria ranks as the seventh-most-populous country in the world. Inferring from the above rich socio-economic resources at the disposal of Nigeria and her eco-friendly weather and environment, suffice me to say that the country has all it takes to be

among the top ten richest economies in the world in which her citizens ought to fully enjoy basic indicators of national development; like a functional and affordable hospital, good network of roads, state of the art educational sector, steady and stable power sector, affordable housing, food security and highly industrialized and technologically driven economy with strong GDP growth, etc. However, the reverse is the case. Despite electing President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015 on the bases of his campaign promise of ending corruption which was the hallmark of the immediate past administration, rather than PMB reversing the curve of underdevelopment orchestrated by corruption in Nigeria, it is quite paradoxical to admit that Nigeria under his regime, despite the war against corruption became the world capital headquarters of poverty. According to World Poverty Map, out of 201,623,008 of Nigeria's population as of March 2020, 95,903,776 representing 48% of are the total number of people living in extreme poverty making it the highest in the world hence the title of headquarters of poverty in the world. Furthermore, Nigeria has the highest out of school children; the highest rate of maternal mortality in the world and, an unemployment rate of 23.4 % in 2019, a high index rise of inflation of 12.3% in 2018 among others.

Research Questions

The above and more cases raise the doubt of the efficacy of the fight against corruption, a sequel to the above, the researchers raises the following research question

- What measures were taken by the Buhari Administration to win the war against corruption in Nigeria?
- Is there any significant relationship between Buhari's administration war against corruption and National development from 2015-2019
- What practical measure can be employed to win the war against corruption to pave way for national development of Nigeria

III. Theoretical framework

According to Shadish, Cook and Leviton (1991), the fundamental purpose of evaluation theory is to specify feasible practices that evaluators can use to construct knowledge about the value of social programs. This explanation of evaluation theory consists of five main components: practice, use, knowledge, valuing, and social programming. The authors trace the evolution of evaluation theory through a critical review of the writings of seven familiar names in the field of evaluation: Michael Scriven, Donald Campbell, Carol Weiss, Joseph Wholey, Robert Stake, Lee Cronbach, and Peter Rossi.

Evaluation is the structured interpretation and giving of meaning to predict or actual impacts of proposals or results. It looks at original objectives, and at what is either predicted or what was accomplished and how it was accomplished. So evaluation can be formative that is taking place during the development of a concept or proposal, project, or organization, to improve the value or effectiveness of the proposal, project, or organisation. It can also be summative, drawing lessons from a completed action or project or an organisation at a later point in time or circumstance

Evaluation is inherently a theoretically informed approach with the following tenets

✓ A systematic, rigorous, and meticulous application of scientific methods to assess the design, implementation, improvement, or outcomes of a program. It is a resource-intensive process, frequently requiring resources, such as evaluate expertise, labour, time, and a sizable budget

✓ The critical assessment, in an objective manner as far as possible, of the degree to which a service or its parts fulfills stated goals, the focus of this definition is on attaining objective knowledge, and scientifically or quantitatively measuring predetermined and external concepts.

✓ The main purpose of evaluation can be to "determine the quality of the anti-corruption war by formulating the objective standard for judgment.

IV. Methodology

To meaningfully undertake the validation or otherwise of our hypotheses, this study utilizes the documentary research method, the use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study. To generate data for this study, the researchers made use of documentary sources which are also known as secondary sources or qualitative sources. The sources of data for this study include government publications, newspapers, textbooks, periodicals, journal publications, and online materials.

V. Results

Research Question 1: What measures were taken by the Buhari Administration to win the war against corruption in Nigeria?

Documentary data analysis showed that treasury single account policy, a whistleblowing policy, and executive order 6 were the measures taken by the Buhari administration to win the war against corruption from 2015-2019.

Treasury Single Account (TSA) which took immediate effect from August 2015 is a public accounting system using a single account or a set of linked accounts by the government to ensure all revenue receipts and payments are done through a Consolidated Revenue Account (CRA) at the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). The TSA is primarily designed to bring all Government funds in bank accounts within the effective control and operational purview of the Treasury, to: Enthroned centralized, transparent and accountable revenue management; Facilitate effective cash management; Ensure cash availability; Promote efficient management of domestic borrowing at minimal cost; Allow optimal investment of idle cash; Block loopholes in revenue management; Establish an efficient disbursement and collection mechanism for Government funds; Improve liquidity reserve, and

Eliminate operational inefficiency and costs associated with maintaining multiple accounts across multiple financial institutions. The TSA Essential Requirements include:

i. Government agencies are not to operate ANY bank account under any guise, outside the purview and oversight of the Treasury.

ii. The consolidation of government cash resources should be comprehensive and encompass all government cash resources, both budgetary and extra-budgetary. This means that all public monies, irrespective of whether the corresponding cash flows are subject to budgetary control or not, should be brought under the direct control of Government.

iii. Government banking arrangements should be unified, to enable the relevant Government stakeholders such as the Ministry of Finance (MoF) and the Accountant General (AG) to have full oversight of Government cash flows across bank accounts.

The Whistleblowing Policy: The policy was launched on December 21, 2016, by Nigeria's Federal Government and facilitated through the Federal Ministry of Finance as part of the initiatives to wage war against corruption. The whistleblowing programme is designed to encourage anyone with information about a violation of financial regulations, mismanagement of public funds and assets, financial malpractice, fraud, and theft to report it. It contains a secured online portal through which information bordering on violation of financial regulations, mismanagement of public funds and assets, financial malpractice or fraud and theft that is deemed to be in the interest of the public can be disclosed. The online portal also permits the person to disclose the information to perform a status check on matters that have been reported on the whistleblowing online portal. A whistle-blower who provides information about any financial mismanagement or tip about any stolen funds to the ministry's portal is rewarded or entitled to 2.5% - 5% percent from the recovered funds by the Nigerian government. A whistle-blower is a person who voluntarily discloses to the Federal Government of Nigeria, through the Federal Ministry of Finance, possible misconduct or violation that has occurred, is ongoing or is about to occur with specific concerns which are in the public interest.

The Executive Order 6 of 2018 on The Preservation of Assets connected with Serious corruption and other Relevant Offences: Muhammadu Buhari on 5th July 2018 signed Executive Order 6 of 2018 (EO6) on the preservation of suspicious assets recovered from corrupt officials. This is part of the anti-graft drive by the Federal Government to stamp out corruption in the country. The order was issued to restrict dealings in suspicious assets subject to investigation or inquiry bordering on corruption to preserve such assets from dissipation and to deprive alleged criminals of the proceeds of their illicit activities which can otherwise be employed to allure, pervert and/or intimidate the investigative and judicial processes". Highlights of the order are as follows:

i. Prevention of persons guilty of corruption from continuously holding assets acquired from the proceeds of corruption.

ii. Forfeiting of assets of any government officials who engage in corrupt practices or misappropriation of government assets, and such official will subject to disciplinary action under the Public Service Rule and Code of Conduct Bureau.

iii. Any official found circumventing or preventing the implementation of the order or perverts justice shall be prosecuted.

iv. Ministries, Departments, and Agencies of the Federal Government in consultation with the Attorney General of the Federation are to identify and adopt best practices and develop strategies for the implementation.

Implementation of Bank verification Number (BVN) policy: Introduced by the Central Bank of Nigeria memo of Oct 18, 2017, the Bank Verification Number commonly called BVN is a biometric identification system implemented by the Central Bank of Nigeria to curb illegal banking transactions in Nigeria. It is a modern security measure in line with the administration's effort to bend the corruption trend and reduce fraud in the banking system. Its introduction is intended to tackle cybercrime and ATM fraud. The CBN has stated that the bank verification number allows a customer to have "a single identity within the financial system". Thus, people who are unable to read and write will be able to use their biometrics for banking transactions, as this cannot be replicated. It will tackle incidents of identity theft and enable banks to verify their customers easily in the context of the Know Your Customer initiative.

The signing of the Open Government Partnership (OGP): The Open Government Partnership is a multilateral initiative launched on September 20, 2011, to provide an international platform for domestic reformers to make their governments more open, accountable and responsive to citizens. The partnership is governed by transparency, accountability, citizenly participation and technology, and innovation

Nigeria joined the organisation in 23rd of June 2016 and was formally admitted in July 2016. Nigeria OGP National Action Plan contains 14 commitments spread around four thematic areas: they are transparency (open data); accountability (responsive government), citizen participation and the use of technology The National Action Plan was approved in December 2016 and the implementation started in January 2017

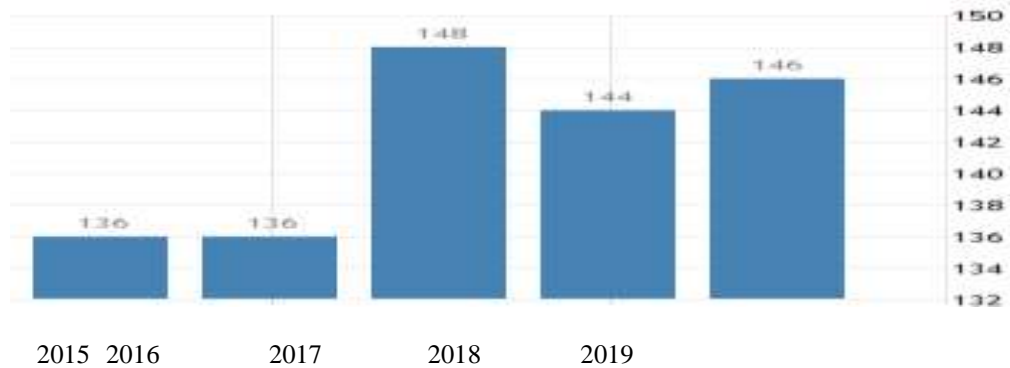
Based on the above submission, the researchers conclude that treasury single account policy, a whistleblowing policy, Implementation of BVN, *the signing of Open Government Partnership (OGP)*, and the executive order 6 were measures taken by Buhari administration in the war against corruption from 2015-2019. While they are positive steps, they are not sufficient.

Research Question 2: Is a significant relationship between Buhari's administration war against corruption and National development from 2015-2019?

To analyse this, the researchers made use of data from the internationally recognised and most reliable body; the National Bureau of statistics, transparency international, world bank, and the global economy.

Figure 2: showing Nigeria rank from 2015-2019 Corruption Perceptions Index reported by Transparency International.

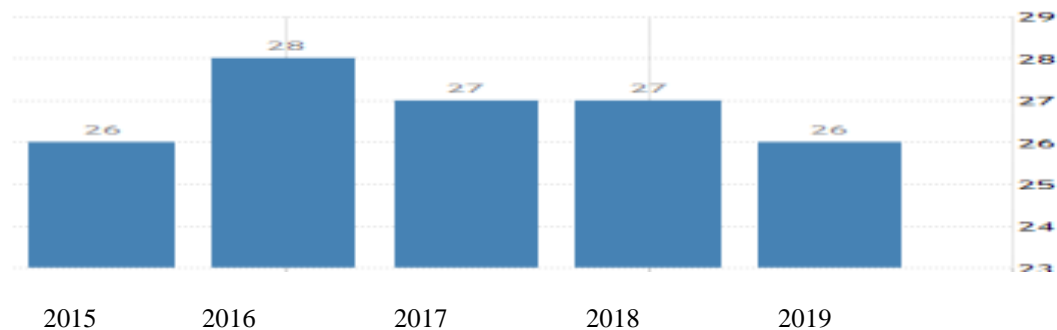
Interpretation: 1 least corrupt in the world to 180 most corrupt in the world.



Source: Transparency international 2015-2019

Figure 3: showing Nigeria's score from the 2015-2019 Corruption Perceptions Index reported by Transparency International.

Interpretation: 1 least corrupt in the world to 180 most corrupt in the world.



Source: Transparency international 2015-2019.

The Corruption Perceptions Index is an indicator of perceptions of public sector corruption, i.e. administrative and political corruption. The indicator values are determined by using information from surveys and assessments of corruption, collected by a variety of reputable institutions. A country or territory's score indicates the perceived level of public sector corruption on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean).

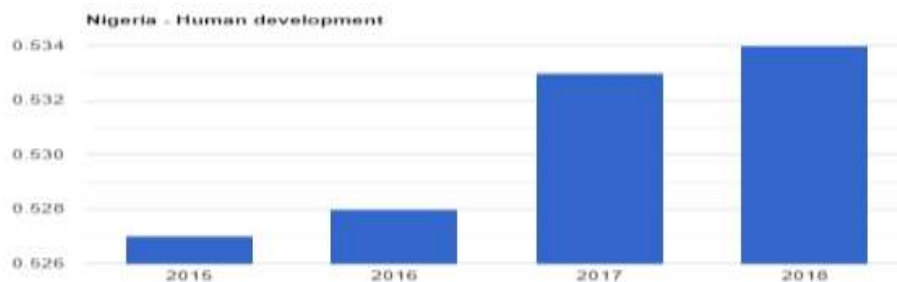
In the 2015-2019 Transparency International's corruption perception index shown on table 2 and 3 above, asserts that corruption in Nigeria reduced from 26 in 2015, to 28 in 2016 by two points with global ranking also remaining 136 in 2015 and 2016 out of 180 countries assessed the improvement was attributed to the body language of the president in his first year in office, the curve declined in 2017 with 27 points and 148 in rank,

evidence that the trend of corruption continues, this was further corroborated by 27 points in 2018 ranking 144 and a further increase of corruption rate in 2019 with 26 points falling by one point compared to 2018. In the country comparison, Nigeria ranked 146 out of 180 countries – two places down compared to 2018 results.

To measure the relationship between the anti-corruption war and national development, the researcher used the rate of economic growth as measured by Human Development Index which captured the countries composite statistics of life expectancy, education, and per capita income indicators, which is used to rank countries into four tiers of human development.

Figure 4: showing Nigeria human development index score from 2015-2019 reported by the United Nations.

Interpretation: 0 (very weak growth) to 1(very strong growth)



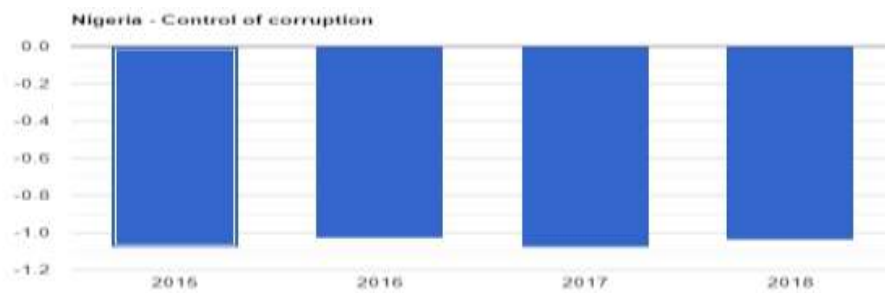
Source: The united nation

Nigeria: Human Development Index (0 - 1): For that indicator, provide data for Nigeria from 2015 to 2018. 2015 is 0.527, 2016 is 0.528, 2017 is 0.533, and 2018 is 0.534. The 2019 indicator is yet to be released. The average growth level for Nigeria during the period under review was 0.5305. For comparison, the world average based on 184 countries is 0.716 points Nigeria ranked 154 out of 184 which is below the global average of 0.716

The Human Development Index for Nigeria published by the United Nations is a composite measure including life expectancy, educational attainment, and income level. It aims to measure not only income but life quality as well. The Human Development Index measures three basic dimensions of human development: long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living. Four indicators are used to calculate the index: life expectancy at birth, mean years of schooling, expected years of schooling, and gross national income per capita.

Figure 5: showing Nigeria's rate of corruption control from 2015-2019 reported by World bank.

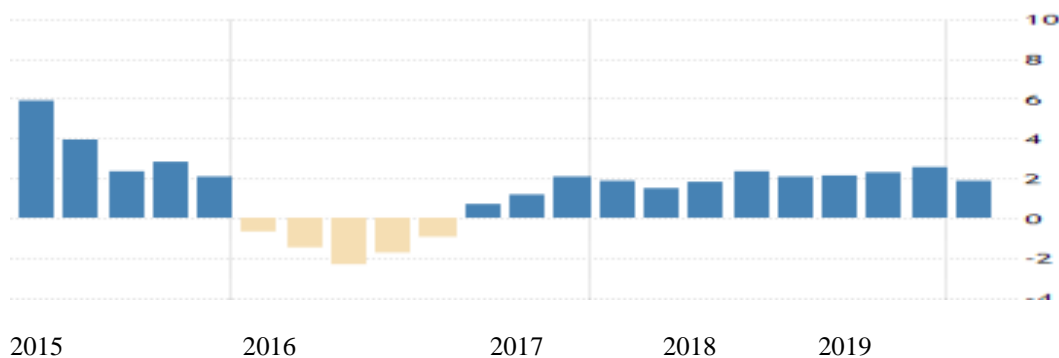
Interpretation: (-2.5 weak to 2.5 strong)



Source: the global economy.com, 2019 the World Bank

The index for Control of Corruption captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as the capture of the state by elites and private interests. According to figure 4, the rate of corruption in Nigeria during the period under study was 2015 - 1.08, 2016 -1.03, 2017 -1.08, and 2018 -1.04 points. The data corroborated that of the transparency international by further indicating that corruption reduced highest in 2016(-1.03) got to peak in 2017(-1.08) and reduced by -1.04 in 2018 why 2019 data has not been released.

Figure 6: showing Nigeria GDP annual growth rate from 2015-2019



Source:tradingeconomics/ National bureau of statistics 2015-2019.

Inferring from figure 6, the growth of the GDP which is a reflection of Nigeria national development shows that Nigeria highest GDP growth under the period of study was in 2015, 2016 witnessed recession, whereas the gradual growth seen in the 2017 and 2018 was mainly driven by the oil sector (6.36% vs 6.49% in Q3), amid higher crude oil production of (2.00 million barrels per day, up from 1.91 Mbps in the same period in 2016) and more favourable prices. The economy of Nigeria grew 1.94 percent year-on-year in the second quarter of 2019, easing from an upwardly revised 2.10 percent expansion in 2018. Stable oil output and the successful political transition were the main drivers of growth.

➤ **NNPC contracts of \$25 billion:** according to Ogundipe (2017) The correspondence was addressed to Mr. Buhari by Mr. IbeKachukwu on August 30 but leaked on the Internet on October 3, 2017, others are

➤ \$2.2 billion illegally withdrawn from Excess Crude Oil Accounts, of which \$1 billion supposedly approved by President Jonathan to fund his reelection campaign without the knowledge of the National Economic Council made up of state governors and the president and vice president. (July 13, 2015, Premium Times)

➤ NEITI discovered \$11.6 billion was missing from Nigeria LNG Company dividend payments. (Ifeanyiizeze, 2015)

➤ Diversion of 60% of \$1 billion foreign loans obtained from the Chinese by the Ministry of Finance (Garba Shehu 2015)

Based on the above postulations and analysis, the researchers conclude that there is no significant relationship between Buhari's administration war against corruption and national development from 2015-2019.

Research Question 3: What practical measure can be employed to win the war against corruption to pave way for national development of Nigeria?

Existing data showed that good-governance, technological deployment, and capacity building are practical measures that can be employed to win the war against corruption to pave way for national development of Nigeria

Rule of Law: corruption cannot thrive under fair legal frameworks that are enforced by an impartial regulatory body, for the full protection of the citizenry. The term rule of law according to United Nation *refers to a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. It requires, as well, measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision-making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness and procedural and legal transparency.* A situation where Judges Quarters were invaded at midnight and arraigned on the bases of corruption is not obtainable under a truly democratic society.

The controversial suspension of the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Walter Onnoghen, by President MuhammaduBuhari in the eve of 2019 general election was an outright abuse and in contradiction of Section 292 of the Nigerian constitution which deals with the removal of some public officials including the CJN. An act that was not only condemned by all lovers of democracy but it was also a rape on the judicial arm of government. If national development must thrive in Nigeria then corruption must be chained through the instrumentality of the law.

Accountability: Rules, regulations, and mechanisms are in place that calls upon government actors to justify their actions, act upon criticisms or requirements made of them and accept responsibility for failure to perform In general, the government ought to be accountable to her citizens by providing a platform through which government document should be assessed by all and sundry, the freedom of information bill should be enforced and

government website should contain all issues relating to generation and expenditure broken down to the last kobo, in such a way and manner that all can assess and comprehend.

Transparency: Transparency means that information should be provided in easily understandable forms and media; that it should be freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by government policies and practices, as well as the outcomes resulting therefrom; and that any decisions are taken and their enforcement is in compliance with established rules and regulations. For any society to be successful at taming corruption and enhance national development, there must be transparency in place that will operate as a check on both political and bureaucratic officeholders, transparency is like a light that gives no room for corruption (darkness) to thrive.

Inferring from developed economies like the United States of America that the administration is so transparent to the extent that citizens can demand accountability from their political leaders, civil servants, and private-sector actors through their online platform and website. Nigeria can borrow a leaf from the USA by ensuring that all her government dealings ranging from budget, service delivery, social services, contract negotiation and award, recruitment and appointment, etc are openly done to the glaring of the public, by so doing, there will be no place for corrupt practices

Technological deployment: Nations of the world are institutionalizing technology in the workforce because of the tremendous benefits it offers to organizational productivity and national development. For instance, artificial intelligence AI, robotics, smart automation, internet of things (IoT), etc, have the potential to drastically reduce the human influence and increase productivity by over 500 percent, technological deployment can enhance high-quality skilled force, customer satisfaction, better decision outcomes, greater transparency, and accountability, among other things, technology can be employed to curb the menace of corruption that has eaten deep into the fabrics of national development in Nigeria. Technology has the potentials that can enable Nigeria to build electronic platforms to manage government finances, biometric systems to bring integrity to our personnel and government payment systems, and web-based platforms to provide transparency of government finances.

Capacity building“Africa's future is up to Africans, Africa doesn't need strongmen, it needs strong institutions,” Obama 2009 referring to the countless leaders who cling to power and enrich themselves with wealth in countries where poverty is rampant. In the words of a former president of Africa, Barrack Obama captured one of the major banes of national development and corruption breeder, weak institution.

Institutional capacity building: Nigeria institutions of governance are very weak as evidenced through, overbearing political interference, poor funding, a square peg in a round hole-appointment, these institutions include but not limited to: security sector, National assembly, the judiciary and Ministries, Departments and Agencies of government MDAs are a tip of the iceberg where corruption is celebrated rather than eliminated, they are more of conduit pipe through which public funds are being siphoned to individual pockets. Strengthening of these government institutions and upholding through ensuring their funding in line with budgetary provisions, independence from the executive, respect to the doctrines of power separation, entronement of meritocracy as

against favouritism and nepotism, strict adherence to the rule of law and uncompromising due process in discharging their duties

Individual capacity building: poverty and hunger are among the top 5 causes of corruption, and for corruption to go, poverty and hunger must be arrested through Human capital development embedded in education and skill acquisition through community and religious institutions, vocational and internship opportunities. Schools and university curricula must be updated and modernized to reflect with societal changes and developments that will reinforce positive ideas and societal values for future generations and protect vulnerable groups of children.

Value re-orientation: Civil servants, political leaders and private-sector actors – both individually and collectively – can immediately begin establishing and strengthening a culture of integrity that concentrates on high-quality service delivery and professional performance standards, treating individuals with respect and dignity, and – above all else – playing by the same rules of fairness and objectivity. Society should also uphold ethical standards by questioning any suspicious emancipation of wealth by public office holders. Assess declaration should be open to the public for verification.

Deducing from the outcome of the applications of the above by the developed countries of the world, the researchers concludes that good-governance, technological deployment and capacity building among others are practical measures that can be employed to win the war against corruption to pave way for national development of Nigeria

Summary of Findings

- The Buhari administration implemented treasury single account TSA and directed that all MDAs and other government sectors shall with immediate effect adopt TSA as a measure to curb the menace of corruption in Nigeria from 2015.
- The signing of executive order 6 by the Buhari administration was aimed at reducing corruption in the public sector.
- The whistle blowing policy of the federal ministry of finance under the Buhari administration was aimed at taming corruption.
- BVN policy was part of efforts of PMB fight against corruption.
- Signing of open government partnership was initiated by PMB to fight corruption
- There was no empirical evidence to adduce that Buhari's administration won the war against corruption as evidenced in the data from national bureau of statistics, world bank, transparency international and global economy which indicated that the curve of corruption in Nigeria kept soaring high why her National development measured in GDP kept a declining trend.
- Rule of law, transparency and accountability which are indicators of good governance have the antidote to cure the pathology of corruption as proven in other developed countries case study.
- Technological deployment can reduce human influence thereby reducing corruption and accelerating National development

➤ Capacity building both at Institutional and individuals level can also enthrone National development by eliminating corruption

Recommendations

Nigeria should as a matter of necessity institutionalise good governance indicators into the mainstream of governance as a catalyst to National development. The tenets of the law must be respected by all and sundry and dispensation of justice fat tracked in order to any form of open haven for corrupt individuals. The government should be transparent by giving the citizens access to government information through the online platform. Nigeria can no longer lack behind in the use of technology, like developed countries of the world, the emerging technological device and platform should be deployed both in the areas of revenue generation and accountability. The National orientation agency should wake up to her constitutional responsibility of value re-orientation of abhorring any illegitimate and suspicious living above someone's earning by exposing the same on the bases that such is our common wealth rather than the myopic mind-set of national cake.

VI. Conclusion

It is no longer news that Nigeria National development is still bedevilled by corruption, for the battle against corruption to be won, the government should jettison the era of fighting corrupt political opponents with insecticide and loyal party faithful with deodorant. The battle must be comprehensive using all available arsenal sparing none, punishing offenders to serve as deterrent, leading by example and above compromise.

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