

**THE MANIFESTATIONS OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA:
A CRITICAL X RAY OF SOME SELECTIVE
DEVELOPMENT**

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ABSTRACT:

There are many challenges to governance in Nigeria, but the issue of bribery and corruption is more worrisome. The menace of corruption leads to inefficiency of Nigerian bureaucracy, police extortions at road block and slow traffic on the highways, port congestion, queues at passport offices and gas station, ghost worker syndrome, election irregularities, among others.

The study examines the various definitions, and forms of corruption in relation to the Nigerian State.

The paper, among other things, shows various form of practical manifestation of corrupt practices, and how the Nigerian State continues to engender corruption, in spite of concerted efforts of the past and present government to tame the scourge of corruption . A number of solutions have been proffered in the study as way of combating corruption and ensuring good governance in Nigeria.

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INTRODUCTION:

Corruption in Nigeria has become a social ailment afflicting Nigerian Stat, and has surprisingly become culturally indoctrinated into the social life of the populace. It seems to have cut across all the entire fabric of the societal life and defied all efforts to combat it by government, individual or interest groups. In Nigeria, you can hardly enter an office and get your file sign without financial or other inducement. The bribery process is initiated by the security personnel at entrance every office before rendering any service or help. It is no longer a news that incidences of corruption abound in Nigeria. The frequent reports of media, as well as the prosecution of individual by anti corruption agencies attest to this fact.

This paper holds the view that corruption in its various forms in Nigeria can be attributed to the growing tendency of materialism, the inordinate pursuit of wealth and material possession, poor wages and salaries for workers, weak institutional security system, bad leadership, and poor socio- economic system. According President Goodluck Jonathan, high level of corruption, illegal acquisition of wealth and non-payment of taxes by Nigerians are developments, which could lead to the collapsed of the nation's system (Falola 2010:9)

Thus, frequent military intervention, ethnic rivalry and primordial sentiments that pervade the political process in Nigeria have a spill- over effect on the authoritative allocation of resources within the political system (Adetoye, 2004:343). Institutions, which should ideally be impartial and dispassionate arbiters, are themselves wearing ethnic complexion of tribal marks and their performance is mainly measured by the degree and magnitude of favors done to the kith and kin of individuals or groups and by the level of poverty and misery that have been unleashed on social outsiders, which are those not privileged to belong to the groups of political influences (Adetoye, 2004). This institutional decadence and appropriation constitutes the fulcrum of the pernicious phenomenon of corruption and abuse of public offices (Adetoye, 2004). In an effort to succeed in society, people often compete for resources using government apparatus or institution to achieve their aim. Adeyemi (2004:120) rightly observes that “this scourge is challenging to the extent that becoming corrupt in Nigeria is almost unavoidable, as morality is relaxed and norms show that to survive people have to perpetuate corruption”.

However, in spite of the promulgation of anti-corruption law and in spite of the anti-graft commission, the scourge has continued unabated. According to Nigeria Corruption Index

(NCI) published in 2007, the Nigerian Police Force was identified as the most corrupt institution in the country, followed by Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN), Education Ministry (particularly higher institutions and examination bodies) and Customs and Excise Duties while the Health Ministry, Justice Ministry, Nigeria Airport Authority, Federal Road Safety Corps, Nigerian Railway Corporation and Agricultural Development Authorities were rated low in corrupt practices (IAP, 2007; Kayode, 2007). There is no doubt, that, this has since continued to fertilize the elusiveness of national policy process in Nigeria (Akindele, 2000:19).

In virtually all the institutions and regimes in the Nigerian state, corruption rears its ugly head as the hallmark of official business. For instance, the Pius Okigbo Committee that investigated the activities and abuse of the Central Bank of Nigeria by Babangida's regime reported that the administration could not account for \$12.4 billion out of the total earning accrued from Gulf war (Yagboyayu, 2005:178). In addition the Emmanuel Abisoye panel of enquiry which investigated the activities of the NNPC during the same period also indicted the Babangida administration for an illegal transfer of a sum of \$775 million from the account of NNPC for unspecified project. (Yagboyayu, 2005). Dimeji Bakonle, the speaker of House of Representative and some of the principal officers allegedly spent N9billion out of the N11billion budgeted as the capital vote of the House between 2008 and 2009 (Ameh and Oyedele, 2010:2).

The Babangida regime (1985-1993) was generally known for its bribery and corruption, Its political programme was unending and associated with all kinds of "Maradonic" moves that ultimately resulted in the annulment of June 12, 1993 elections, believed to have been won by the late MKO Abiola.

The fortune President Abacha accumulated during the nearly five years rule was estimated to be between \$5 billion and \$10 billion US dollars. After his death, Abacha and his immediate family were said to be worth some 3.5 billion British pound sterling and \$5.6 billion US dollars (Adeyemi, 2006). The society is awash with worrying trends of corrupt practices to the tune of billions upon billions of dollars. Virtually all government agencies ranging from Federal Ministries to the National Assembly, State governments and even Local governments have recorded of one case of corruption or another. Wilbros Scandal that occurred in 2003 revealed that some Nigerians and Multi-National companies' officials benefited from the \$6m bribe allegedly

distributed by the Wilbros Group to secure contracts for the Eastern Gas Gathering system (Mebrim, 2010).

All these indicates that gone are the days when ‘honesty was best policy’ in Nigeria. But how do we explain the perversity of corruption in the society? Corruption has become a recurrent decimal since the commencement of the 1999 democratic process (Kenneth 2009), between 1999 and 2007, the Obasanjo’s- led administration was accused of sectionalizing the fight against corruption, which has become more pronounced at the corridors of power.

In the light of this, this paper will address itself to its main topic. The manifestations of corruption in Nigeria: a critical x ray of some selective development.

CONCEPT OF CORRUPTION:

Corruption as a concept has suffered from what some scholars refer to as victim of definitional pluralism. Corruption as a term is uncertain and devoid of any strait jacket definition. It all depends on who is defining it and from what perspective and for what purpose. What then, is corruption? As a result of the complexity of corruption, its effects on the systemic of its victims as does it prevalence through the efforts of its perpetrators, its definition has continued to be shrouded by value preferences and differences. This has to some extent, complicated the attainment of definitional uniformity on this concept within the academia and the practicing world of administration (Akindele and Adeyemi, 2011:8; Akindele, 2000:3).

Nevertheless, attempts have been made to examine the definitions of corruption. To some, it is the conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or a group of person. To others, it is the act of turning power and authority into ready cash.

McMullan(1969:183-184) defines corruption in the following way: a public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money worth for doing something that he is under duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do so, or exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons. And, as for Leff (1970:510) corruption is

An extra-legal institution used by individuals or groups to gain

influence over the actions of the bureaucracy. As such, the existence of corruption per se indicates only that these groups participate in the decision- making process to a greater extent that would otherwise be the case.

In his book, *The Pathology of Politics*, Carl Friedrich (1972:122-128) in defining corruption, argues in the following manner:

The pattern of corruption may be said to exist whenever a power holder who is charged with doing certain things, that is a responsible functionary of office holder, is by monetary or other rewards, such as the expectation of a job in the future, induced to take actions which favour whoever provides the reward and thereby damages the group or organization to which the functionary belongs (more specifically, the government and, other socio- economic institutions)

Gibbons (1976:5), defined corruption thus:

(Political) corruption is the use of a public office in a way that forsakes the public interest, measured in terms of mass opinion, elite opinion or both, in order that some form of personal advantage may be achieved at the expense of that public interest

Corruption has also been seen by some people as being co-terminus with the giving and taking of bribes. The pervasive nature of corruption has created a problem for universally accepted definition. Heidenheimer (1978:29-30) classified corruption into three categories. There is the *Public Office Centered* type which deals with abuse of public trust and official positions and responsibilities for self serving objectives. At times, this may not result in monetary gains only, for instance showing undue favour to close friends, family and kinship relations in the discharge of public functions. This has been worsened by 'federal character principle' or 'Quotas system'

which now gives leverage to political leaders regarding some appointments. This gained wider dimension during General Ibrahim Babangida regime.

The second variant is the *Market Centered Corruption* in which public office is converted to an avenue for the maximization of income and/or property as in the case of Obasanjo who used his position as the incumbent president to organize fund raising for his private presidential library in Abeokuta where billion of naira were extorted from businessmen, government agencies and private companies. Over 24 billion naira COJA fund was allegedly embezzled Amos Adamu (Ovuakporie, 2010:55-56).

The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) has Seized 203 push mansions worth N2 trillion from former Inspector General of Police, Mr. Tafa Balogun, others that suffered the same fate were Emmanuel Nwude, 15 ex-governor and some politicians. Most of the 15 ex-governors, who served between 1999 and 2007, acquired state-of-art mansion at public expense some of them are already standing trial for alleged misconduct while in office. Apart from ex-Edo state Governor, Lucky Igbinedion who has been convicted, some Ex-governor on trial are Ayodele Fayose, Joshua Dariye, Orji Uzor Kalu, Rashidi Ladoja, Micheal Bortmang; Chimaroke Nnamami, Boni Harrna, Attahiru Bafarawa; Joshua Dariye and Jame Ibori. (Alli 2010:5)

The former Chairman of Nigeria Port Authority, Olabode George, Aminu Dabo, O. Abidy, Abudullahi Tafida, Zanna Maidaribe and Sule Aliyu were members of the 2001/2003 Port Authority Board, were found guilty of various corrupt practices that involved 100 billion naira and were sentenced to two years imprisonment (Amokeodo, 2010:5; Nwogu,2010:10)

In 2006, the former president, Olusegun Obasanjo was alleged to have distributed PTFDF money to the legislators to support the third term presidency agenda (Bankole 2008).

Other examples in the market -centered corruption include collation of false name in civil service data base popularly known as of ghost workers, kick- backs demanding commissions on government projects and purchases, illegal oil sales like creating scarcity of products and cheap auctioning of public property and lastly frauds particularly bank fraud, here particular attention is focused on bank fraud. It was alleged that 57 out of 120 banks in Nigeria became distressed as at March, 1995(Akpotor, 2003:357).

Erastus Akingbola, former Chief Executive of Intercontinental Bank was alleged of corrupt practices of granting loan without collateral and manipulation of share worth about N347.8 billion (Amokeodo 2010:7). Economic and Financial Crime Commission also alleged Mr. Francis Atuche, former Managing Director of Bank PHB of Fraud and corrupt practices to the tune of N14billion. Mrs Cecilia Ibru, former M D, Oceanic Bank was convicted and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment over corrupt practices and illegal financial transaction. About N191bn assets comprising 49 properties in Nigeria, United State and Dubai and United Arab Emirated were forfeited to Federal Government. Also investigated by EFCC were Mr. Charles Ojo former Spring Bank, Okey Nwosu (former Finbank MD) Barth Ebong (former Union Bank MD), Peter Ololo (MD Fallon Security and Sebastine Adigwe (former Afribank MD) Felicia Sonubi (Oceanic Trustees MD) and Ayodele Thomas (Oceanic Securities MD). Other are Abiodun Taiwo (International Capital Market MD), Abubakar Magaji (International Capital Trustees MD) and Emmanuel Okonji (First Inland Capital Market MD) (<http://informationnigeria.org>)

Forgeries and graft, bribery or the use of unauthorized rewards to influence people in positions of authority either to act or refuse to act in way beneficial to the private advantage of the giver and that of receiver too, a common occurrence in the Immigration, Nigerian Police Force and Custom Services in Nigeria.

The third variant is the *Public Interest Centered Corruption*, which emphasizes the abuse of public trust to serve cliental cleavages, communal and other group interests. For instance the citing of economic project in an unviable town because it favours the political leader. This is reminiscent in the citing of a refinery in Kaduna, steel complex in Ajaokuta, the location of Delta state capital in Asaba not in Delta province (for the interest of Mariam Babangida) as well as citing of some local government headquarter location. It also includes extra budgetary expenditure often aimed at gaining popularity or to gain favour for support or seeking extension of stay in public office. The Babangida's administration was accused of spending \$12.2billion out of the \$24 billion deduction oil accounts through extra budgetary allocation to favour the famous Nzeribe's led Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) to settle Senators and Members of the House of Representative and host of others, in order to extend the tenure of Ibrahim Babangida in office (Akpotor, 2003)

According to Peiter in (Adeyemi, 2006:51) corruption contributes to the degeneration of leadership and officialdom, it represents gross dishonesty and greed, and it reflects the highest level of unaccountability in society which therefore can hardly be democratic in political, social and economic undertone. When the civilian regime of Alhaji Shehu Shagari came to power in 1979, Nigeria had a foreign reserve surplus of 3 billion US dollars accumulated from its oil sale. By the time he was overthrown in December 31, 1983, Nigeria had an external debt of over 20 billion US dollars rising to 33.7 billion in 1990 before dropping to 27.5 billion US dollars in 1992 (Adeyemi, 2006). The said money was looted by the politicians, military officers, ministers and the bureaucrats in various ministries and organizations.

Corruption breeds hardships on the people, but also creates a new social structure that brings an unequal or uneven development in our societies. Those who occupied position of power and influences are therefore able to profit from the proceeds of corruption means that they are able to increase their power and influences at first and that of their family and dynasties

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MARXIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

The study would employ Marxian political economy approach. Political economy approach can be viewed from two standpoints. First, it can be viewed as a totalizing scientific mode of analysis and second, as the context within socio-economic activities take place (Aina, 1986:1). More importantly, it could also be as the tool for explaining and understanding the material production in societies and the construction of social forces and classes (Momoh and Hundeyin, 1999:38). It deals with the basis of social development in any society; the production of material wealth; and the mode of production. It penetrates deep into processes and policies lay bare their essence and then explain concrete form of their manifestation in everyday life (Toyo, 1983:158). According to Lenin (1960), political economy is not all concerned with production. The subject matter of political economy therefore, is to study the social relations of people in the production process in any society and show how those who own and control the dominant means of production (the ruling class) also control all facets of the society, and how invariably, policies are made to further promote and protect their interest (Momoh and Hundeyin, 1999:54)

In analyzing a complex subject of this nature (the manifestations of corruption in Nigeria: a critical x-ray of some selective development) scientifically with all its intricate

political, economical, socio and psychological ramifications; therefore, one needs an analytical framework of concepts and categories in terms of which these can be conducted within the context of political economy approach, which treats social life and material existence in their relatedness. According to Samon (1982) political economy is:

A theoretical framework that focuses on conflict that assumes that there are systematic connections among production, power, stratification and ideas, that asserts that outcomes are largely the result of individual behaviour, that regards history as dialectical and contradictory; and that presumes that both dialectic and contradiction can be understood.

From this conceptual perspective, political economy underscores the central importance of mode of production, and relations of production as a major casual factor in all social phenomenon's (Aluko, 2004:139).

Marxian political economy in effect, provides a framework for an integrated study of political reality by making reference to relevant economic, social and moral factors (Enemuo, 1999:19). Karl Marx came out with a rebirth of political economy – a political economy that scientifically studies the society in its totality and takes into consideration the interconnection of social relations, class conflicts and the organic relationship between the sub-structure (economy) and the superstructure (polity) (Momoh and Hundeyin, 1999:43). He attempted a scientific study and understanding of capitalism. He thus sees political economy as the science for understanding society in its entirety (Ihonvbere, 1989:30).

The theory and method of Marxian political economy is based on historical materialism and dialectical materialism (Beckman, 1983:106). Contrary to the belief of Hegel and other idealist that consciousness is developed at the level of spirit (mind) – that an individual's consciousness is determined by the ideas on his/her mind, Marx believe that, it is the material existence of an individual that determines his/her consciousness (Momoh and Hundeyin, 1999:44).

Marxian political economy approach argued that corruption is purely an elitist affair, as evidence emanating from past and present tribunals and boards of inquires have shown that those who were indicted and found guilty of corrupt practices were all members of the privileged class who have access to public treasury and manipulate the state apparatus to cover up their corrupt practices. For example in Nigeria, the former Inspector – General of Police, Tafa Balogun, former Senate President, Aldophus Wabara, Former Minister of Education, Prof. Fabian Osuji, former Chairman of Nigerian Port Authority (NPA) Bode George, among others were all members of elite class who were found guilty and relieved of their respective position because of corrupt practices.

Thus, an examination of the socio-economic and political development process in Nigeria provides a useful background for the analysis of corruption within this framework, which is the central focus of this work. Countering the idealistic view, the Marxian political economy approach argues that corruption is a consequence of the peripheral capitalist development system, that rather than people's consciousness determining their well being, it is the way society organizes production, distribution and exchange of goods and services that determines their material conditions (Apoktor, 2003:361). This is partly correct because the high rate of corruption in the oil industry, the immigrations, the customs and excise duties, foreign exchange, the banks and civil service is as a result of too many distributive networks.

The Marxian political economy approach, therefore, contends that the root cause of corruption can only be properly located in the socio-political-economy system, which is based on the search for private gains, individualism, greed, materialism and the large scale transfer of socially – created wealth into the hands of a tiny faction of a decadent and parasitic ruling class.

Countering the Idealist views, the Marxian political economy approach argues that corruption is a consequence of peripheral capitalist development system, the rather that people's consciousness determining their well being, it is the ways society organizes production, distribution and exchange of goods and services that determine their material conditions (Akpotor, 2003).

This school of thought argues that because Nigeria socio-economic system does not guarantee both job and social security of the country's citizens, therefore, a public servant

engage in corruption by amassing enough wealth illegally while in office so as to guarantee his well-being and that of his family members after retirement..

Thus Marxian political economy approach provide a framework for an integrated study of political reality by making reference to relevant economic, social, legal, political and moral factor. This approach provides a framework for understanding and analyzing of corruption in Nigeria within socio-political and economic setting.

MANIFESTATIONS AND FORMS OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

Corruption occurs in many forms and it has contributed immensely to the poverty and misery of a large segment of the Nigerian citizens. An attempt to fully itemize the constituents of corruption in Nigeria will be dodged by emphasis on pecuniary exchange whereas it transcends that limit. Almost eight years after the inception of the nation's key anti-graft agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), corruption remains so pervasive in Nigeria that it has turned the public service into a criminal enterprise, fuelled political violence, denied millions access to the most basic health and education services and reinforced police abuses and other widespread patterns of human rights violation (Aruwan, et al, 2011:1). Tables 1, 11, and 111 in the appendix shows the allegations and cases of corruption investigated by Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices And other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and The Nigerian Police in 2009/2010. However among the common manifestation in Nigeria are:

BRIBERY: This includes payment (in money or in kind) that is taken or given in a corrupt relationship. These include kickbacks, gratuities, pay-off, "greasing palm" e.t.c. Since the inception of new civilian administration in 1999 corruption has become more blatant and the money culture has produced instability at the National Assembly.

The use of money to influence the National Assembly could be said to be obscene. "*Ghana Must Go*" bags loaded with naira notes had been displayed on the floor of the legislative house mainly to drive home the allegation that money in fact changed hands (Olorode, 2005:26).

There was allegation in 1999 that each senator was given N850, 000.00 to vote Eknweren as the senate President instead of Chuba Okadigbo (Olorode, 2005:24). Gbenga Aluko also testified

before Idris Kuta panel investigating allegations of corruption in the senate that each senator actually received N5 million for furniture allowance instead of N3.5 million that was passed to law; each senator also received N300, 000.00 as kick back for the supply of official vehicle; Nzeribe also claimed that each senator was bribed with N3 million to dump the impeachment move against President Obasanjo. Senator Mamman Ali was said to return his own share (Olorude, 2005: 35). Narsir El-Rufai, the former Minister of Federal Capital Territory accused two Senators Ibrahim Mantu and Jonathan Zwingina of demanding N54 million bribe before his endorsement as Minister. When the Senate challenged him to produce witness, he retorted:

Nobody invites witness to demand bribes corruption situation are best understood in terms of power dynamics. My life, my bank accounts, my assets, my liabilities and records of services both in public and private sectors are an open book, and I challenge those I have mentioned to offer themselves to the same level of scrutiny. After all, we are all public officers and are subject to the code of conduct. (Olorude, 2005)

There were also allegations that each Senator was bribed so that a state of emergency could be declared in Anambra State. Bribes of N2.5 million was to each rebel Senators were alleged during the failed removal bid of Senate president Wabara (Olorude, *ibid*). N55 million bribe scandals led to the dismissal of Professor Febian Osuji as education minister, the Senate had to remove Wabara as the Senate president in the first quarter of 2005 (Olorude, *ibid*)

BUREAUCRATIC CORRUPTION: This occurs in the public services. This is the type of corruption the citizens encounter daily at working places, like hospitals, schools, local licensing offices, Tax offices, e.t.c. It occurs when one obtain a business or services from the public sector through improper modus operandi. The Former Chairman of NDLEA, Alhaji Bello Lafiaji was sentenced to 16 years imprisonment and his special assistant Usman Amali to a seven years jail term for conspiracy and diversion of €164.300 Seized from suspected drug baron Ikenna Onochie (Amokeodo 2010:5). Professor Adenike Grange, the former minister of health and the minister of health for state, Gabriel Aduke and other senior civil servants were accused of drawing up and widely circulating a document dividing up a total 300m naira (US\$2.5m) in late 2007 and transferring money into their respective account (Adole, 2008, Inalegwu, 2008). Two

employees of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission, Douglas Williams and Abba Ishaku were arraigned before FCT High Court over a fraud of N50, 000. (NANS 2010:7)

FRAUD: It involves some kind of trickery, swindle and deceit, counterfeiting, racketeering, smuggling and forgery of document and certificate. For instance, the First speaker of the House of Representatives Salisu Buhari had to vacate his office following revelations that he had forged both his declaration of age and his degree certificate, purportedly delivered by the University of Toronto (Ibrahim, 2001:51) Independent Corrupts Practice and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) investigating Prince Vincent Ogbulator, Mr Emeka Eblah, Mr Emmanuel C. Bosah, Mr Henry Ikoh and Jude Nwokoro over alleged N104 million fraud. (Alli, 2010:1) In August 2009 ICPC investigated an alleged N90 billion fraud leveled against manager of Pension Fund for retirees in Health Sector. In September 2009, ICPC summoned officials of the Ministry of Education linked with the alleged mismanagement of N1 billion meant for the Educational Reform programmes Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wik/independent-corrupt-practices-commission>)

Governor Tinubu of Lagos State has been shown to have made false declarations regarding his purported passage through Government College Ibadan, and the University of Chicago, although in his own case, he manage to survive in office.

NEPOTISM: This is a variant of favoritism in which an office holder gives preference to his/her kinfolk and family members. It also occurs when one is exempted from the application of certain laws or regulations. For instance, Economic and Financial Crime Commission investigated Mallam Nasir El-Rufai Ex-minister, FCT, Altine Jubrin and Iro Ismaila, over fraudulently revoked of Federal Government plots of Land to his wives Hadiza and Asia, his friends and associate while in office (Olokor 2010:8)

MISAPPROPRIATION: This occurs when funds designated for certain purposes are spent differently. This is common in the public sector where public offices deliberately misappropriate funds due to their personal interest. The Economic and Financial Crime Commission

investigated the Ogun State Director – General of Bureau of Land and Survey, Mr. Gbenga Ogunnoki, Messus Kunle Osota, Adewumi Alade, Rasheed Aremu and Mrs A. Adekunmi over alleged diversion of 30 billion (Oyedele 2010:9).

The former EFCC chairman, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, reporting the activities of his commission in September 2006 before the National Assembly especially in some states in federation noted that, EFCC had uncover cases of overpricing of contract by over 70% in Enugu state in addition to some illegally acquired asset both in Nigeria and abroad by the state governor. In Ebonyi, Ribadu added that four local government chairmen were also being investigated for misappropriation of public funds.

In Ekiti state, former governor Fayose and his deputy Mrs Abiodun Olujimi were also being investigated for illegal diversion of funds, money laundering and operation of foreign account. In Abia Kalu, according to him, used his family including his aged mother to channel N45 billion Naira meant for Abia state into his private account.

In Adamawa, Ribadu noted that, governor Haruna colluded with the chairmen of nineteen local government councils to divert statutory allocation. Governor Attah is being investigated for similar offence. Governor Ma'azu is being investigated by EFCC for alleged contract inflation while governor Akume of Benue state and some senior member of his government are also being probed for embezzlement of public funds.

Governor Ibori of Delta state and thirteen councils are being investigated for various charges of corruption and diversion of public funds. In Enugu the governor withheld money meant for local council and was even paying local government statutory allocation in cash rather than lodging them into their account which made it easy for him to divert the funds. In plateau state, the state House Assembly directly took money from the state government in collusion with the governor. Also Governors Alamieyeseigha of Balyesa state and Joshua Dariye of Plateau State were both arrested in London over money laundering, Dariye on his own part manage to escape arrest but Alamieyeseigha was arrested and kept in Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (E.F.C.C.) custody before he was found guilty by law court and was sent to prison

Ribadu said that EFCC had recovered some assets and cash valued at \$5 billion, in addition to houses, lands, luxury, cars, airplanes and oil tankers from fraudulent individual (John, 2006:9)

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION: This includes the purchase of votes with money, promises of office or special favors, coercion, intimidation and interference with freedom of electorate. This practice is common in Nigeria. Votes are bought, people are murdered or maimed in the name of election and losers end up being the winner in the election.

Under the various transition programmes organized by successive military regimes, the vote gradually became a commodity that could be bought and sold (Ibrahim, 2001:80).

Under Babangida transition programme, the Chairman of the Electoral Commission, Humphrey Nwosu, once complained that Nigerian voters were corrupt because they would take money from one candidate and vote for another (Ibrahim, 2001). Although the act of receiving money to vote is corrupt, collecting money from a politician and refusing to vote for him in spite of his wealth reflects a certain level of civic consciousness. What is more disturbing is the corruption of the party system and the method of nomination of candidates. The conditions for the registration of parties are so stringent that prospective parties are obliged to recruit very wealthy Nigerians to bankroll the procurement of the offices and equipments nation-wide and to employ staff. These political entrepreneurs would have to be paid off later through deals (Ibrahim, 2001).

Prospective politicians also have had to invest huge personal fortunes in the campaigns with the hope of reaping benefits in form of financial gains at a later date.

The concept of political god father has now been entrenched in Nigeria's political lexicon. Prominent god fathers who had succeeded in fixing their political son in high political offices included Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu and Chief Mba. Both had respectively fixed Governors Rasheed Ladoja and Dr. Chris Ngige as governors of Oyo and Anambra States in 2003 election.

Attempts by these two political sons to renege on agreed terms have caused ripples in the two states which had led to the removal of the two governors from their political seats; Ladoja on his own part was reinstated back to the office through a Supreme Court verdict. The terms on which the political agreements were based were corrupts as they were immoral and unethical. They include illegal transfer of huge public resources to the god father and the control of the godfathers over appointments into plum offices (Olurode, 2005:26)

The rerun election into Ilaje Constituency II seat in Ondo State on September 31, 2010, witnessed series of irregularities, including hijacking of ballot boxes and alleged kidnapping of officials of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) (Oladoyin 2010:10)

The Fourth Republic has been mired with allegation of corruption and abuse of power at all levels. There have been numerous reports in the press about people losing party nominations, only to use the Electoral Commission to have their names substituted for those of the winners. For instance, Mrs. Hilda Williams was said to have won the People Democratic Party (PDP) gubernatorial primary election in Lagos state, but another candidate was given the ticket.

EXTORTION: These are monies and other resources extracted by the use of coercion, violence or threat to use force. The police, immigration and custom officers are the main culprits in Nigeria.

GHOST WORKERS SYNDROME: This is a situation whereby people who are not employed or dead are reflected as employees of the state on the payroll. According to Ogunmakin (1999:1-2) a startling revelation has been made in Sokoto State, where dead workers and those who left the civil service years ago make- up the over 3,000 “ghost” workers in the state’s 16,000 work force. Also a financial audit carried out by the Ministry of Police Affairs discovered about 107,000 ghosts officer in Nigeria Police Force and billion of naira lost to fraud carried out by police accountants and pay officers. Some pay officers with Abia State Police Command were arrested for their role in the financial scam in their state. (Adepegba 2010:31)

ABUSE OF OFFICE: This includes both political and official corruption, in which an incumbent violates the oath of the offices, and debases official procedures for personal financial and non-material gain; for political advantages over opponents; for obstructing the course of justice as well as due process or rule of law; and offering underserved advantages or favor to self or others. The Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission investigated, the Imo-State Accountant General Chief Polycarp Ajokwu and Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Mr. Kezie Ogaziechi, over alleged illegal multi-billion naira deductions from allocation of Local government. ICPC also investigated the spending at N50bn recently collected from some commercial banks. (Oyedele 2010:6).

The also Commission interrogated Rivers State Commissioner for Health, Dr. Darker Sampson, the state Accountant General Mr. Ben Goodlife, and the Permanent Secretary in Ministry of Health, Dr. Anthony Nwaido, over an alleged \$37.2 million (N5.6billion) hospital contract scam (Oyedele 2010:9). The Former Governor of Nassarawa State Abdulahi Adamu, was alleged for mismanagement of N15 billion (Alli 2010:8). ICPC and EFCC also investigated Senator Adamu Aliero over alleged diversion of N10.2 billion public funds while he held office as Kebbi State governor (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wik/independent-corrupt-practices-commission>). Operative of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission interrogated Former Governor of Akwa Ibom State over alleged diversion of N4bn belonging to the state (Oyedele 2010:8). The commission also investigated alleged Contract Scam in Oyo State involving the 33 Local Government Areas of the State (Oyedele 2010:7)

The above are variants of corruption in Nigeria but identifying and distinguishing corrupt practices in the country is a difficult task because corruption is pandemic; almost every citizen is guilty of one or the other form of this malaise. In Nigeria, corruption has become a way of life and it remains the greatest challenge to economic and national development.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The study has examined the various definitions, theoretical and typology of corruption in relation to Nigerian state. According to Salisu (2000) the statistical exercise on Nigeria suggest that the magnitude of corruption is quite considerable, ranging from 11 percent of GDP in the 1960s to around 60 percent in the 1995. This undoubtedly has had serious consequences for growth and development in Nigeria. Econometric estimates of the link between corruption and economic growth suggests that corruption has an adverse effect on the growth rate of GDP in Nigeria. This perhaps explains why Nigeria is so rich and yet so poor.

The study has been able to show the magnitude of corrupt practices under the present democratic dispensation. Therefore, in pondering on what could be done in Nigeria to curb corruption, payment of a living wage by the government and employers of labour, which could cater for the worker and his immediate family must encourage along side with establishment of a pension scheme, a screening process to prevent looters from getting back into public office and a transparent independent and well funded judiciary.

Tougher sanctions against corrupt practices should be introduced. In Nigeria for example, any apprehended corrupt officials are merely sent out of service with his or her loot. Their loot should be confiscated by government and sent to jail. Also there should be moral regeneration. Corruption is partly due to moral decay, to tackle it requires moral regeneration, this can be through spiritual, cultural and political orientation. There should be campaigns against corruption in religious houses, secondary schools, higher institutions and youth meetings.

Strong law enforcement agencies with existing laws and new ones against corruption should be enforced. This requires that corruption in law enforcement agencies and the judiciary should be combated. Government should put all the machineries of anti-graft war into full force against all the looters of the nation's treasury and against all other various forms of corrupt practices. By so doing, corruption of all shades and form could be hopefully brought down to the minimum level.

It is the opinion of this study that, the government, still needs to provide a strong and reliable institutional framework and support (financial) to the Anti-Corruption struggles. This framework must however be devoid of any form of government influence or control. The present regime has shown its ineptitude in providing this sort of framework based on the maneuvering that ICPC and EFCC have been subjected to.

Therefore these anti-corruption agencies must wake up to achieve their original objective and goals and must not allow any political virus to contaminate their operations in the fight against corruption in Nigeria.

Also civil groups should put more effort in their war against corruption; the underlying thrust of the civil groups is based on justice, transparency and equity. Over the years they have formed a lot of groups and association directed at waging war against corruption as well as creating public awareness on the evils of corruption. Now, the civil groups will still need to intensify their struggle in order to reduce the menace of corruption in Nigeria.

The media also have an important role to play. The incidence of corruption must be exposed among the citizens, government officials or public institutions. Also, the structure of sanctions must be enforced to punish those who commit this crime. All hands must therefore be on deck to save Nigeria from this deadly disease called corruption that has eaten deep to the fabric of Nigerian society.

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APPENDIXES

Table I Table showing some of the cases/ allegations of corruption investigated by EFCC in Nigeria from 2007 - 2010

NO	NAMES	ALLEGATION	AMOUNT INVOLVED	STATUS OF CASE
1	Ibrahim Aliyu, Mohammed Bakari, Urban shelter Limited, Intercellular Nigeria Limited, Sherwood Petroleum Limited, Tri-Star Investment Limited.	Bribery for Contract	\$180 million	Under investigation
2	Messrs Julius Berger, Siemens Plc, Saipem, Technip, Halliburton Inc.	Bribery	\$180 million	Under Investigation
3	Amobi Nzelu, Nigerian Custom Service official	Issuing of Custom fake paper	N6.85 million	Under Investigation
4	Amos Adamu	Misappropriation of COJA fund	N24 billion	Under Investigation
5	James Ibori	Corrupt practices	\$35 million	Under Investigation
6	Richard Dick Cheney	Bribery	\$180 million	Case dropped
7	Joe Musa, Former DG, National Gallery of Art	Mismanagement of funds	N2.2 billion	Under Investigation
8	Dr Suleyman Ndanusa Former chairman of Spring Bank Plc, Mr. Charles Ojo Ex-Managing Director of Spring Bank, Mr Vincent Omoike, Dr Hussain Mohammed	Fraudulent banking transaction	N5.2 billion	Facing trial
9	Tafa Balogun, former Inspector General of Police, Emmanuel Nwude, Fred Agudua, Lucky Igbinedion, Ayodele Fayose, Orji Uzor Kalu, Rashidi Ladoja, Micheal Botmang, Chimaroke Nnamani, Boni Haruna, Attahiru Batarawa, Joshua Dariye, Jame Ibori, DSP Alamieyeseigha.	Corrupt practices and Alleged Misconduct	N2, trillion worth of properties	Tafa Balogun, Lucky Igbinedon, Emmanuel Nwude, DSP Alamieyeseigha had been convicted while others are still facing trial
10.	Sabastine Adigwe, Former COE, Afri-bank Plc, Osa Osunde, Isa Zailani, Chinedu Onyi, Henry Arogundade, Peter Ololo	Financial Impropriety	N55 billion	Under investigation
11	Molkat Mutfwang, Micheal	Alleged	N787 Million	Still Under

	Aole, Andrew Ekpunobi, Inter-Market USA LLC, Inter-market Nigeria, Alexander Cozma and Prof. Bridget Sokan	Advanced fee fraud and money laundering		Investigation
12	Shell Petroleum Development Company, Tran Ocean Inc, Tidewater Inc, Noble Corporation, Pride Inter Inc, Global Santele Coup, Panalpina, Mr Peter Robinson, M. D, Shell PDC, Trevor Burrell M D Panalpina in Nigeria, and other official Panalpina they are Mark David, Buehler Alphonso, Willen Heck, Joseph Ikpong, Edward Iweannya, Augustine Ilevbaodine, Uche Ojogho, Udo Emmanuel, Moses Oyekunle and Vistor Adenidimoh	Bribery Scam	\$240 Million	Shell offer to pay Federal Government of Nigeria \$60 million and others are still been Investigated
13	An Australian, George Eider, Prof. Babalola Aborishade, Ex-Minister of Aviation, Timothy Dairo, Rowland Iyayi, Ex-MD Nigeria Airspace Management Agency	Corrupt Enrichment	N6.5 Billion	Case before law court
15	Okey Nwosu, Former Managing Director of Finbank, Dayo Famoroti, Danjuma Ocholi and Mrs Agnes Ebubedike	90 count charges on economic and financial crime		Case already in law court
16	Siemens AG, Siemens Limited, Edvard Seidel, Klaus-Peter Gilbert, Waclaw Lukowicz, Maigada Shuabu, Mahmood Sadiq Mohammed, former Executive Director PHCN, Emmanuel Chukwuemeka Ossail, former Parmanent Secretary Ministry of Power and Steel, Edwin Moore Momife and former Managing Director, MTEL	35 count charges of Conspiracy, Fraud, Bribery and scam	17.5 million Euros	Case already in Law Court.

17	Douglas Willian and Abba Ishaku both official of EFCC	Fraud	N50, 000	Case already in the law court.
18	Omodara Oluseye and Adesoye Adedapo	Defrauding a French National Mr Francois Mercade	€24,000	case already in Law court
19	Dimeji Bankole, Speaker of the House of Representative and 10 Members Body of Principal officers	Corrupt practices and contract inflation	N9 billion	Under investigation
20	Ritchuko Taiwo Mcdavies (a.k.a Rosemary Olufunke Taiwo and Mama Jef)	Obtaining money through false pretence (419)	N1.5 million	Sentence to 180 years imprisonment by Lagos High Court, Ikeja.
21	Mr Ikechukwu Ogbu, Alias Prince Eze	Fraudulent Practices	N12 Million	Under Investigation
22	Mr Gbenga Ogunnoki, DG, Bureau of Land and Survey in Ogun State, Mrs Kunle Osota, Adewumi Alade, Rasheed Aremu and Mrs A. Adekunmi	Diversion of Funds	N30 billion	Under Investigation
23	Chief Bode George, Former Chairman Nigerian Port Authority, Aminu Dabo, O. Abidoeye, Abdullahi Tafida, Zanna Maidaribe and Sule Aliyu	Corrupt Practices and Abuse of Office	N100 billion	Serving the jail term
24	Obong Victor Attah, former Governor of Akwa Ibom State, Rapid Trade Nigerian Limited, Master Energy oil and Gas Limited, Interactive Technology Limited, Mamuda Industries Mari Jose Enterprises, Silver Marine Limited, Socothern Nigeria Limited, Allied Air Limited, Amni International Petroleum and Gas Limited, African Finance Group and Offshore Venture Nigeria Limited. Royal Marine and Spares Nigeria Limited, Countrywide Paymasters Limited, System Monetaire Limited, Florida	Diversion of Funds	N45 billion	Under Investigation

	satellite communications limited, Olam Nigeria Limited, Hugsum Enterprises, Caledonia Fez, Interforex General, Ali Reza mobile and African Development Funds Limited			
25	Otunba Gbenga Daniel	Corrupt Practices	€2.7 million worth of property in London	Under Investigation
26	Mallam Nasir El-Rufai Ex-minister, FCT, Altine Jubrin and Iro Ismaila	Fraudulently revoked of Federal Government plots of Land and allocating the land to his wives, Hadiza and Asia, his Friends and Associates while in Offices		Case before Federal High Court, Abuja.
27	Mr. James Barka, The Speaker House of Assembly, Adamawa State, Mr. Felix Tangwami, ALGON boss, Mr. Richard Abanyi and Mr. Haruna Hamalal	Corrupt practices and scam	N1 billion	Under investigation
28	Hon. Sesan Auaji	Fraud		Under Investigation
29	Mr. Adeniji Elumaro, Mrs. Rakya Mamman	Obtaining money through false pretense	N404 million	Under Investigation
30	Erastus Akingbola, Former Chief Executive Officer of Intercontinental Bank	Granting of loan without collateral and manipulation of shares	N347 Billion	Case before law court
31	Mr Francis Atuche, Former Managing Director of Bank PHB	Fraud and corrupt practices	N14 billion	Case before law court
32	Abiodun Taiwo (International Capital Market MD) Abubakar Magaji (Intercontinental Trustees MD) Adegoye	Fraudulence Practices and various form of corrupt practices		Some are still being investigated while other are

	Adewoyi (Intercontinental Securities MD) Alex Duruiké (First Inland Securities MD) Emmanuel Okonji (First Inland Capital Market MD) Felicia Sonubi (Oceanic Trustees MD) Ayodele Thomas (Oceanic Securities MD) Barth Ebong (Former Umon Bank MD) Ben Nwoji (Afribank Trustees MD) Henry Onyemen (Union Trustees MD)			facing trial
33	Nana Shettu and Dele Oye, two aids of Cecilia Ibru	Strange financial Transaction	\$110 million	Under investigation
34	Mrs. Cecilia Ibru	Corrupt Practices, Illegal and Financial transaction	N191 billions assets comprising 49 properties in Nigeria, United states and Dubai and United Arab Emirates	Convicted and Sentences to 18 month imprisonment
35	Prince Adeseyi Sijuae Managing Director, the Nigeria Railway Corporation	Corrupt practices and Fraud	N40 billion	Under investigation
36	David Ronald Davies, Dave Arthur, Ajala Pius, and Abayomi Samuel. Richard Hart, Arthur Mcgimsy, Olatokunbo Kuforiji, Mojisola Agbabiaka and Gabriel Oramasionwu	Fraudulent Practices and Bribery Scam.	\$100m	Under Investigation

Source: Akindele and Adeyemi (2011:105-110)

Table II: Table showing some of the cases/ allegations of corruption investigated

by ICPC in 2006-2010

NO	NAME	ALLEGATION	AMOUNT INVOLVED	STATUS OF THE CASE
1	Mr. Terver Gemade	Massive fraud	N400 million	Under Investigation
2	Bello Lafiaji, Former Chairman of NDLEA and Usman Amali	Corrupt Enrichment	€164,300	Lagos High Court Igbosere sentences Lafiaji to 16 years imprisonment and Usman Amali was sentence to 7 years imprisonment
3	Prince Vincent Ogbulafor, former PDP chairman, Emeka Ebilah, Emmanuel Bosah, Henry Ikoh and Jude Nwokoro	Corrupt practices and stealing of funds with fake contract	N238 million	Case before Federal High Court, Abuja.
4	Dr Parker Sampson, Rivers State Commissioner for Health, Mr Ben Goodlife, Accountant General for River State, Dr Anthony Nwiado Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Health	Contract Scam	\$372 (N5.6billion)	Under Investigation
5	Chief Polycarp Ajokwu, the Imo State Accountant General, and Mr Kezie Ogaziechi the Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs in Imo-State	Illegal deduction from the allocation of Local Government and Mismanagement of funds	Billion of naira	Under Investigation
6	UBEC	Fraud	N3 billion	The Money was paid back to the coffer of the Federal Government
7	Some members of House of Representative	Car Scam	N2.3 billion	Under Investigation
8	Senator Adamu Aliero former Governor of Kebbi State also Ex-minister of FCT	Corrupt practices and Diversion of Public Fund	N10.2 billion	A federal High Court Judge refused a request to issue a mandamus order compelling the ICPC and EFCC to investigate and prosecute Adamu Aliero.
9	Ghali Umar Na'Abba, Former Speaker of the House of Representative, Febian Osuji Former Minister of Education and Cornelius Adebayo, Former Minister of Communication and	Various form of corrupt practices and bribery allegations		Investigated

	Transportation			
10	Managers of Pension Fund for Retirees in the Health Sector	Fraud	N90 billion	Under Investigation
11	Some Officials of the Ministry of Education	Alleged mismanagement of fraud meant for Education Reform Programmes	N1 billion	Under Investigation
12	Mr Micheal Afolabi Oyinloye, Former Chairman of Isin Local Government Area in Kwara State, and The Treasurer, Mr Abdulahi Yusuf	Financial Recklessness	N9.5 million	Investigated
13	Officials of Mugoro Local Government area in Borno State investigated by ICPC in 2006. Alhaji Shugaba Umaru Gaba, former Chairman of the Council, Alhaji Sherif Gomi, The Treasurers of the Council, Alhaji Balbaya Idi Gade, the Secretary of the council and Alhaji G.Z Mustapha, Secretary for Local Government Joint Account Committee in Borno State	Corrupt practices and Fraudulent dealings	N19.4million	Investigated
14	Official of Safana Local Government area of Kastina State Investigated by ICPC in 2006, They are Alhaji Ahmed Dayyabu, the Chairman of the Council, Alhaji Abba Jaye, The Director of Finance of the Council, Alhaji Tayaha Rabo, Director of Agric Department, Isiyaka Rufai the PHC coordinator of the council and Kabir Dayyabu the Accountant of the Council.	Offering of gratification	N3.9million	Under Investigation

Source: Akindele and Adeyemi (2011:112-114)

Table III: Table showing some of the cases/ allegations of corruption investigated by Nigerian Police in 2009/2010

NO	NAME	ALLEGATION	AMOUNT INVOLVED	STATUS OF THE CASE
1	Mr Rasaki Sanusi Managing Director of Nnestor Tel Nigeria Limited	11 Count charge bordering on false representation with intent to defraud, divert and convert company funds	N757,829,130	Facing trial at Ikeja Magistrates Court
2	Some Pay Officers with Abia State Police Commercial and Some Bank Official	Massive fraud, Conspiracy to commit fraud and creating Ghost officers to defraud the Police forces.	Billions of Naira	Arrest have been made and some are under investigation
3	Prince Ukut	Faking himself as EFCC official, thereby extorting money from people through false pretenses		Arrested
4	Police Inspector Attached to Area 'E' Police Command, Ikeja Lagos.	Fraud	N100 Million	Under Investigation
5	Mr Jedidiah Ezenwa	Buying goods with dud cheque and fraud	N7million	Arrested and being investigated
6	Kolawole Bangbose	Collecting money by false pretense and stealing	N370, 000	Facing trial at chief magistrate court
7	Lucky Imala	Stealing and conspiracy	N800,000	Facing trial at chief Magistrate Court
8	Rapheal Mbamalu	Theft	N100	Facing trial at Chief Magistrate Court
9	Fumilayo Giwa	Two Count change of conspiracy and stealing	N1.4million	Facing trial at Yaba Magistrate Court, Lagos.

10	Enosegbe Friday, Police Pay Officer, Mrs Aguacha Comfort, an Accountant and Njenobi James, Internal Auditor all of Abia Police Command, Joseph Olukayode Awoniyi, Police Pay Officer, Remi Rawa, Internal Auditor and B. Ariyo Variation Officer, all of Ondo-state Police Command	Conspiracy, Fraud and Forgery	N6 billion	Culprits have been Arrested.
11	Mohammed Shaibu and Danlami	Theft	Tiles worth N100,000	Mohammed has been sentence to three month imprisonment and Danlami now at large.
12	Chief Obi Ene, PDP gubernatorial aspirant	Bribery	N1 million	Culprit Arrests and being investigated
13	Mr F.O Arowojolu, Bursar of Rufus Giwa Polythenic, Owo, Ondo-state and Two member of staff of First Branch in Ondo	Fraud	N58million	Under Investigation

Source: Akindele and Adeyemi (2011:115-116)