

Corruption by Example: Legalizing the Illegal as a Means of Survival in Modern Nigeria

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Abstract

This study examines the behavioural consequences of the public outcry on corruption by the Nigerian citizens especially the top ranking officers and leaders of government. A sample of 873 respondents cutting across twelve professions was interviewed through a carefully designed questionnaire. The research was complimented with secondary data sourced from other anti-corruption agencies. Findings reveal a total disgust for corruption for its apparent smearing of the country's image in the international community, but that the war against it would be hard to win since the acts are perpetrated by policy makers themselves. It, however, suggested a number of factors which if religiously executed could reduce the cases of corruption to the barest minimum.

Introduction: The problem in perspective

It is an indisputable fact that Nigeria is blessed with abundant human and natural resources. Even though very many of these natural resources have yet to be tapped, the few which are available for our use are enough, given our present population and human resources, to make life comfortable for the average Nigerian. Alarm has been raised in several quarters especially the academic community and by other economic analysts of the inherent danger which our over dependence on the oil sector poses to the nations economy.

This influenced the federal government's determination to source for revenue from other areas such as the Iron and steel, liquefied natural gas, tin oil, all of whose contributions to the Gross national product has remained very insignificant. Efforts are also at top gear to harness other resources such as the gold and bitumen believed to be the second largest in the world. Cocoa, kolanut and groundnut, which were the major sources of foreign exchange before the discovery of oil, appeared to have been revisited due to the encouragement of the government through several inducements to farmers.

It is, however, rather unfortunate that in spite of these human and natural endowments, the nation ranked high among the world's poorest. Hunger exhibits its ugly face in most homes where the average citizen contends with a life of abject poverty. The common man is alienated from himself as he lacks the wherewithal to afford the basic necessities of life such as education, medical

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facilities etc. As expected, the life expectancy is low compared with those of the developed nations of the world.

Nigeria's debt just before the recent debt relief pronouncement stood at over \$30 billion with an interest rate which has become unserviceable. The nation became encapsulated in a kind of galloping inflation, which witnessed the collapse of major institutions in the society. The educational sector is bedridden, the manufacturing industries are collapsing, and the health sector is seeking urgent attention while the polity is bedeviled by all sorts of amoral behaviour.

Many have blamed this on several factors including; weak leadership, mismanagement of funds, misplacement of priority and corruption among others. Corruption is one scourge which hinders a nation's growth and development as well as posing serious threats to democratic growth through its promotion of arbitrary rules (Crossette 2004 and Ogus, 2003).

Corruption has no dated history. It is perhaps as old as man and it is endemic in all known societies of the world, be it developed or developing economies. Scolt-Joynt (2001) reported the alarming rate of corruption among top-government functionaries in France, where several of them had criminal charges hanging on them and in Mexico where the people ended a seventy year corrupt regime through a change of baton from the ruling revolutionary party to president Vincente. In the United States, McCain presidential campaign was not without the opposition accusation of graft by the political elite while Germany had a finger sore of kickbacks and favour-broking involving members of the ruling Christian Democratic Party. Even in Vietnam, where leaders of government accused workers of corruption, it was discovered that his own lieutenants were the real culprits.

Moises-Naim (2005) study of some Latin American countries reveals a high level of corruption among others which has either brought about the outright impediment or forced resignation of not less than about a dozen heads of government. The public outcry against the governments of Russia brought about the choice of Vladimir Putin as leader of government. The same could be said of Hugo Chavez of Venezuela and Silvio Berlusconi of Italy (Moises-Naim 2005).

It is disheartening that in spite of the public concern about the issue of corruption in very many of these countries, the scourge persist even to the extent that many believe that society cannot do without it. John Ashcroft, the United Nations Attorney General and a signatory to the pact on corruption eradication expresses the mind of many by describing people's perception of

bribery as “simply part of human nature”, and “a necessary oil to lubricate the wheels of business or even promoted as a normal expense to be deducted from taxes at home”⁷

In Africa, the situation is pathetic, positions of public trust has been turned into a ‘heaven’ for looting public property. Very many past leaders have sold their countries into slavery having looted even loaned money meant for developmental projects. Funny enough, the embezzled money are sent back into banking centers in Switzerland, Cayman Island, Liechtenstein and Luxemburg for further investments in these countries, at the very expense of their impoverished people, (Stevenson 2003).

Nigeria and Zaire were quoted as two nations in Africa which were hard-hit by the act of corruption, losing close to 5 billion dollars each in a couple of years before the signing of the anti-corruption treaty world-wide (Authonio-Costa 2003). This is the situation in very many African countries especially the oil-rich states, where strong Mafia operates, crippling governmental policies and laws aimed at combating it. The founder and the Chief executive of aid agency GOAL, Dishes, provided statistical findings on aids in cash, which were embezzled by the so called leaders of these poor nations. In Indonesia, Mohammed Suharto’s three decades of administration cost his people a whopping 35 billion dollars. Of the 2 billion dollars granted to Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) during the over three decades of mal-administration of Mobutu Sese-Seko, about fifty percent of the money ended up in his private account.

In Kenya, an embarrassed Edward Clay, the British High Commissioner, had to recommend the suspension of aid to the country as he considered it of no benefit to the wretched of the earth for whom the aid was meant. He put his reasons aptly thus:

The officials were behaving so gluttonously at the aid, through that they are now vomiting on the shoes of donors’.(Edward Clay: 2004)

It was reported that between 1995 and 2002, countries in sub-Sahara Africa enjoyed over one hundred billion dollars (\$114b) as aid yet they have very little or nothing to show for it.⁸ Based on the aforementioned, Ashea, (2004) advised that corrupt regimes should be excluded from the list of recipient countries saying:

Our government should of course continue to assist the poor, but we must, for our own sake as much as theirs ensure we get the best value for our contribution (O’shea:2004).

This according to him, is to avoid what he called; a waste of tax payers money as well as save donors from such accusation of collusion in ‘criminal activities’.

⁷ (http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations/lauder/general/2003/1210_reveal.htm)

⁸ http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations/lauder/general/2004/1209_aidcorrupt.htm

Given the above, the problem arises as to how to achieve the millennium development goal of reducing at least by half the number of people living in total penury by the year 2015. This is because, in spite of the public outcry against corruption very many countries of the world especially sub-Saharan Africa are perpetrating the act with reckless abandon.

To achieve this objective, the United Nations Convention against Corruption was signed in December 2003. Very many countries of the world have signed the treaty even though many have not fully complied with the rules. Other independent organizations have even formed coalition to fight corruption across the globe. One of such organizations is the Transparency International which has been publishing the corruption perception index in recent years.

Nigeria, which is our focus in this paper, was rated the second most corrupt country in the world during the 2004 corruption perception index. This negative conferment of status has diverted undue attention on the country. The populace especially the media houses have raised alarm on this revealing the known secrets of corrupt officials. The government of President Olusegun Obasanjo has set up commissions to try any identified culprit. The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC) was similarly set up with the aim of achieving the objective of minimizing, if not eradicating, corruption in the country.

Several notable Nigerians including past leaders have been accused of corruption but it appears as if the more the allegations, the greater the increase in the corrupt practices of the average Nigerians especially of top government functionaries. One then begins to wonder whether corruption is not just a part of human nature. The questions that arise given the above are:

- (a) Whether corruption is actually seen as an offence or a game in Nigeria.
- (b) Based on (a) above, whether it can be dispensed with in the country.
- (c) Whether the various tribunals and anti-corruption commissions can successfully combat the scourge of corruption in Nigeria.
- (d) Whether the various anti-corruption campaigns can bring about a positive behavioural change especially among Nigeria's leaders

Basic Aim of the Study

The study therefore examines the behavioural consequences of the public outcry on corruption against public office holders in Nigeria.

From the major aim above, the study also seeks the following objectives:

- (a) To highlight incidences of corruption of public office holders in Nigeria.
- (b) To assess the effectiveness of some of the anti-corruption agencies at combating crime.
- (c) To discover the reasons for the seemingly intractable problems of corruption in Nigeria.
- (d) To identify certain reasons why government appears powerless in handling some sacred cows in the war against corruption in Nigeria.
- (e) Knowing the perception and attitude of people towards public office holders in Nigeria.

Method

Two major techniques were employed in this study for the collection of data. A total of 1025 questionnaires were randomly administered to respondents in twelve major professions; viz; Teaching, Legal, Medical/para-medical, Farming, Civil Service, Engineering, Business/Trading, Religion, Banking, Entertainment, Artisan (i.e. Bricklayers, Computer operators/typists, Drivers etc) and Students. Questions were asked on a number of variables measuring the influence of status symbols on corruption, the perception of people towards public office holders etc In all, 873 questionnaires were returned.

This technique was, however, complimented with secondary data sourced from several anti-corruption Agencies. The data were analyzed using the simple percentage distribution technique.

Discussion on Findings

Findings on the social-economic characteristics of the respondents reveal a proportional representation of both sexes in the research. The male gender with 535 (51.3%) represented three-fifth of the population. The opposite sex was about two-fifth of the population. This is not unconnected with the fact that the men are mostly available since they are more in paid employment than the opposite sex who are mostly inaccessible due to certain factors including the sanctity of tradition (see appendix A).

It was also discovered that an overwhelming majority of the respondents were in the economically active population, with about two-third of the total respondents while about one-third (35.6%) were actually below the age of 5 years many of whom were of school age at the time of the

research. This is an indication that, the community in which the research was conducted is literate (Appendix A). This is also attested by the findings on literacy level where only a negligible proportion of the sampled population (3.9%) reported not having basic education. Less than one-tenth (7.8%) had below secondary education while over four-fifth (88.2%) had secondary education and above. Not less than half (58.6%) had acquired tertiary education as at the time of research (Appendix A).

Findings equally reveal the involvement of the adherents to the three known religions. Twenty percent respondents represented the Islamic faith while about 10% reveals their interest in traditional religion. Thirty (30.2%) percent were Christians while two-fifth (2/5) identified with other faith ranging from 'free-thinking' to 'Eckanker', the Roscicrucian order (Armoc), and the Grail Message (Appendix A).

On occupational distribution of the respondents, a little above one-third (37.6%) were civil servants while those in the business, farming and artisan had representations of 12%, 4.7% and 10% respectively. This leaves the student population with an almost one-third (30%) of the total sampled population. This reveals why a large number of the respondents are still single. Two hundred and eighty six (32.8%) representing one-third of the total respondents were yet to be married as at the period of the research while 62% were married. Five percent were either separated from their spouses, divorce or widowed. This is somehow significant given the perception of the society on widowhood and inheritance which by implication increases the number of the dependant population on the relations of the widowed. A clear exhibition of this was revealed by the findings on respondents' number of dependants where, save for the student population, who themselves are dependants, nobody could stick only to himself. The societal attitude toward child bearing and child rearing also impacted on the large number of dependants. About three-quarter (73.7%) respondents reported having over five dependants while less than one-tenth (7.4%) had between three and four dependants, less than one percent had below two, indicating that they entered matrimony only recently.

Of the five hundred and ninety-eight (598) responses on income, about 46% earn below N20,000 per month which is hardly enough to feed an individual for about two weeks in an inflation stricken country like Nigeria, only about seven (7%) percent respondents earn above N50,000. The present researcher considers this just near enough the minimum wage in present day Nigeria. This no doubt corroborates some expressions linking corruption to poor living conditions of the people, especially the low-income earners. This may not be very correct as most acts of corruption are perpetrated by highly placed people and leaders of government businesses.

In an interview with the Tell, Magazine of December 3, 2001, Chief Audu Ogbeh, a political stalwart and the then chairman of the ruling people Democratic Party, confirmed this in his submission that the very complex nature of the Nigerian society makes corruption war difficult to fight! This may not be unconnected with the zoning system in the polity aiming at equitable allocation of power. A critical example of this was revealed in the Tell report of August 14, 2000:

Very many top ranking officers of the Nigeria politics have stolen themselves out of their irresistible urge to wear the cap of corruption.

Examples are found in the upper house (senate) which kept on changing leadership; three times within a four year tenure and five times within 6 years, all on charges of corruption.

Questions were also asked seeking information on peoples perception of corruption in Nigeria. Such questions include their awareness of the scourge in the country and whether it can be dispensed with, the major perpetrators and the factors responsible for its prevalence. It also sought opinions on the efficacy of the various governmental anti-corruption agencies set up to combat the crime of corruption in Nigeria. The study reveals that majority of the respondents, (8.8%) believe that the scourge is endemic and has become part of human nature. This has been aptly summarized by Wada Nas (2003) when he described a life without corruption as a disease in Nigeria. In his submission:

In Nigeria, life without corruption is a disease because corruption is the right thing to do in which only fools do not indulge. It is a country where honesty is a serious crime punishable by ridicule and exclusion from public limelight (Tell, Nov. 2003).

Findings also show that major corrupt practices are perpetrated by public figures in government *parastatals*. An over-whelming majority affirmed this with 93.5% respondents. In fact, none was against this opinion while only less than one-tenth (6.5%) gave no response. This is what has been termed institutional or official corruption in Nigeria, and has been corroborated with facts from a leading Nigeria magazine's report on the oil industry. According to this report, not less than N40 billion was lost to official corruption in the year 2003 only. Over 67,798,490 barrels of crude oil were lost to official corruption in year 2000. By the year 2000, it increased to 294,549,432 barrels and skyrocketed to 115,469,490 barrels just in the first three-quarters of the year 2002 (Tell, Nov. 2003).

On whether corrupt practices are rampant among the male gender, about one-quarter (24.1%) respondents were in agreement while 73.3% vehemently disagreed with this statement due mainly to the fact that most corrupt practices by women are usually covered up even by men.

Dele Omotunde (2003) writing in the Tell Magazine described the concept of first Lady as “a national motif of recklessness and waywardness”.

...”The position of first lady, though was not instituted by the constitution has ever been created under the presidency where the highest cry on corruption crusade has been going on. The office of the first lady was reported to have spent just \$.99 million on traveling expenses abroad within a period of six years” (see Okigbo’s report on Appendix C).

This highly exalted position of the first lady is another way of cleaning up the national treasury under the guise of all sorts of gluttonous foundations whose impacts were hardly felt by the general populace. This, in part must have accounted for international rating of, at least, 50% of corruption in Nigeria being “perpetrated under the Presidency whose officials are leading crusaders of anti-corruption”. (Tell. Nov. 17, 2003).

On the question of corruption being perpetrated by the low-income earners, a vociferous rejection was recorded by 60.7% of the respondents who are of the opinion that corruption at this level are mere crumbs from the richman’s table for Lazarous. Real corruption which the common man hardly observes is perpetrated by the rich and the top echelon of the Nigerian Society. This was supported by available evidences linking top notches in government to mass corruption in Nigeria. Several governors in Nigeria have been accused of corruptly enriching themselves at the expense of the people whose money they are suppose to hold in public trust. Very many could not be dealt with because of the immunity of this caliber of Nigerians.

The recent scandal which rocked the upper house and the Federal Ministry of Education is another case in point. The Senate president and the Professor and Minister of Education are by all parameters of judgement not in the low-income class, neither could it be said, using any sociological binocular that all those involved in the N55 million bribery scandal, which includes a Vice-Chancellor and other Senators, are poor. The trend in the act of corruption increases as the position increases. This was revealed from the findings of this research that very many public figures see their exalted position as an opportunity to loot the nation. Six hundred and eighty four (684) respondents (76.7% were of this opinion while about one-fifth said the contrary. On the reason(s) why this was so, it was gathered that, public office is about the only place where one could easily amass wealth without much sweat and since this position is only for a while, it is expected that such a status holder takes care of himself for the rest of his life. Another reason given was the fact that, the act was encouraged by the society whose goal is ‘money’. The society believes that anybody given the opportunity to serve should utilize the opportunity to get rid of poverty for his entire family and associates. This is epitomized in the way chieftaincy titles and laurels are showered on him/her during his stay in the corridor of power.

The above explains in part why many of the respondents believe that war on corruption cannot be won in Nigeria. To this, another three-quarter (76.7%) were in the affirmative while twenty percent (20.6%) believed that the scourge can be wiped out from our system through a general overhaul. Secondary data collected were used to compliment the above (see appendix C and D) The Okigbo's (2005) panel which was set-up to probe into the activities of former military-president (General I. B. Babangida) revealed the drain pipes of the oil windfall which was realized during gulf-war within a year (1990-1991) and also narrated how \$12.4 billion unbudgeted money was spent between 1988 and 1994. In this report, the panel blamed the presidency for its inability to account for this extra budgetary expenditure.

...that this disbursement were clandestinely undertaken while the country was openly reeling external dept overhang. (Tell, April, 2005)

Several state governors, also colluded with their close associates to loot their states' money, and in cases where there was not much to loot, they quickly went for loan from the international agencies for projects they never executed. Several of such deals were recorded in Abia State, Anambra and Enugu States in Eastern Nigeria, Bauchi, Kaduna and Niger States in the North and Lagos and Osun States in the West (see appendix D).

Some of the reasons given by the respondents for their submission that corruption war cannot be fought and won include, government's seemingly lack of the necessary apparatus to fight it, to which an overwhelming majority (95.1%) agreed. Another reason was that, the crime was also mainly perpetrated by those who are the crusaders of anti-corruption war in the country.

On the involvement of foreign agencies in the massive looting of the treasury, as part of the reasons why the corruption war could be a fruitless exercise, was supported by 63.8% of our 608 respondents while less than one-fifth (16.1%) couldn't agree. This empirical evidence was further supported by the secondary data. In Yobe State, a loan of \$3.62million meant for a biscuit factory contracted to a foreign firm, M/S Integrated Technical services Ltd, United Kingdom was never executed after the payment of the mobilization fee of N270,000 million. The London office address existing before the contract was awarded could not be traced (appendix D). Same was reported in Delta State where a farm project awarded to a foreign contractor, Rockline Ltd. at the cost of 9.6 million was also embezzled while Anambra State was equally robbed by yet another foreign agent, Cross Ocean Ltd, United Kingdom, of 11.9m loan meant for a carpet factory (see appendix D). All this money vanished into thin air and nothing has been done till date to bring culprit to book.

The reasons that there are so many sacred cows that are above the law seem to find solace in the above as another overwhelming majority (98.1%) supported this view. Only less than two percent (1.9%) were of the contrary view. The Tell of September 27, 2004 reported the case of some top Naval officers accused of colluding with foreign powers to steal two ships being used for bunkering in the Country. They were apprehended, and made to face court martial but the result has since gone into the thin air.

In response to public outcry on the presidency to try former military head of state, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida over several allegations of corruption while in office, President Obasanjo announced to the public to bring evidences against the man for him to be tried;

If you find 'IBB' anywhere, come and tell me and I give you my word, that within 24 hours, we would have all the accounts frozen, otherwise no be Obasanjo born me.

Anti-corruption agency in collaboration with Tell Magazine quickly brought out the Okigbo's panel report in one of the Nigeria's widely read Magazines indicting the man but the President has kept a sealed lip since then. In support of the argument for sacred cows, three past leaders who were invited before the Oputa panel which was set up at the wake of the Obasanjo administration in 1999 over certain allegations of Human right violations, never honoured the invitation and nothing happened (*Tell*, August, 2001).

It was revealed by the findings of the research that the various anti-corruption agencies set up would not yield the desired result. Seventy-two (72%) respondents hold tenaciously to this report, this is anchored on the belief that only those without godfathers would be cornered by the wretched hand of the law while the sacred cows would escape the wrath of the law.

Recommendations

In view of the above and the recent public outcry against corruption, the study offers the following suggestions as a way out of the doldrums.

- (a) While the presidency deserve commendations for relieving some of his men including those in the legislature of their duty, spirited effort should still be made to extend the war beyond the house. Other bottle-necks preventing speedy execution of justice should be removed so as to send signals to corrupt governors who always act under immunity.

- (b) The issue of sacred-cows who are not touchable is a blemish on the sovereignty of the nation. Of recent, the Inspector-General of Police; was apprehended and arranged before the court of law. Something should be done to other top ranking officers of the army, the legislators who never left office even after being proved guilty of acts of corruption.
- (c) Where the Federal Government appears deficient at providing evidences against corrupt officials, the private sector should be encouraged to do so by making use of their evidences after scrutinizing. When this is done, they feel encouraged to do more. Such was the newspaper report on former speaker, Hon Busari over his forged certificate which earned him his job.
- (d) It is becoming glaring that, corrupt practices in Nigeria are being revealed by foreign agents while it is concealed in the country. This is a clear indication that the powers that be are behind it and secondly that people are afraid of publishing the truth for fear of victimization. The laws on the abuse of human rights and its violations should be enforced to ensure life security in the country. The assassination of the founder of Newswatch Magazine for which the government has yet to find the killers since 1986 is a case in point. A foreign journalist who exposed the \$128 billion oil money and its misappropriation during Babangida's regime was deported immediately and the news went under carpet since then.
- (e) The names of all corrupt leaders in the country whose scandalous activities have brought untold hardship on the country, dead or alive should be published officially so as to send warning signals to would be criminals, rather than worshipping them like heroes. Such people should be banned from receiving any award or titles in the country.
- (f) The attitude of the society towards government appointee needs be changed. Since the society sees positions solely as opportunity to amass wealth, people rather than being innovative and investing are struggling for political appointment so as to make enough money for life. The National Orientation Agencies should divert attention on the inculcation of values on the people to erase the negative conception that nothing good could come out of Nigeria.
- (g) There should be a quick revisit to all probe-panel reports and justice should be done.
- (h) The various anti-corruption agencies should be made independent of government to operate though with some forms of checks and balances.
- (i) There is the need to empower the Central Bank of Nigeria to perform the function of regulation of the accounting system by removing some decrees (as it often operates under the military) which place supervision of the accounting system in the presidency. Such decrees include the Central Bank of Nigeria decree (CBN) 1969,

the banking decree no 24, 1969 and the Banks and other financial institution decree no 25 of 1991. These decrees should as a matter of urgency be repealed to ensure proper accounting system.

- (j) There is also the need for the restructuring of the Central Bank of Nigeria to ensure its efficiency. The number of departments having several deputy-governors amounts to bureaucratic bottlenecks. In most cases, some of these positions were created to take care of special interest and quite often results into wasteful spending. This should be stopped henceforth. Rather the information system should be updated with competent professionals regardless of their ethnic background.
- (k) It is also suggested in line with other economic observers that dedication and other special accounts should be made to perform its role by wriggling it from the hand of only one-man, Mr. President, who has the prerogative to spend it as he pleases.
- (l) The immunity clause should be removed henceforth.

Any Country committed to its development no doubt should get rid of corruption. The war on corruption in Nigeria should be seen as an endless one until the scourge is totally removed from our body politics. It is only then that Nigeria can occupy an enviable position in the committee of nations.

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Appendix A

Table 1: The Socio-Economic Statistics of Respondents

	Male	N – 873	%
		535	61.3
Sex	Female	338	38.7
Sex	Below 15	311	35.9
Age	16-35	288	31.8
	36-50	190	9.6
	50+	084	
Religion	Christianity	264	30.2
	Islamic	178	20.4
	Traditional	096	11.0
	Others (specify)	345	40.0
Profession/Occupation	Civil servant		
	Business men	328	37.6
	Petty Traders/Farmers	104	12.0
	Artisan	102	4.7
	Students	087	10.0
		262	30.1
			N = 598
Income (per month)	Below N10,000	136	22.7
	N10,000 – N20,000	142	23.7
	N21,000-N30,000	112	18.7
	N31,000-N40,000	088	14.7
	N40,000-N50,000	076	12.7
	N50,000+	043	7.2
			N = 352
Job Status:	Junior	280	79.5
	Middle	060	17.0
	Senior	012	3.4
	None	34	7.9
			N = 873
Literacy level	Below Secondary School	68	7.8
	Secondary School Certificate	250	29.6
	Tertiary	512	58.6
	None	159	(18.2)
Dependants	Below 2	06	(0.9)
	3 – 4	65(7.4)	
	5 – 6	124(14.2)	
	6 and above	519(59.5)	
		N = 873	
Marital Status	Single	286	32.8
	Married	543	62.2
	Separated/Divorced/Widow	044	5.0

Appendix B

Table 2: Variables and Responses

Variables	Responses	%	
	N = 878		
Corruption is Endemic & has come to stay	Yes No N/R	714 112 047	81.8 12.8 5.4
Common among public office holders (government parastatals)	Yes No N/R	816 - 057	93.5 - 6.5
Perpetrated majorly by the male gender	Yes No N/R	210 640 023	24.1 73.3 2.6
Common among the low income earners	Yes No N/R	310 530 033	35.5 60.7 3.8
Influence of status symbols	Yes No N/R	684 103 066	78.4 11.8 7.6
The war against cannot be won in Nigeria	Yes No N/R	670 180 023	76.7 20.6 2.6
(i) Government lack the apparatus to fight corruption	(N=60) Yes No	580 030	95.1 4.9
(ii) Perpetrated by these fighting it	(N=540) Yes No	524 016	97.0 3.0
(iii) There are sacred cows (untouchables)	(N=623) Yes No	611 012	98.1 1.9
(iv) Aided by foreign powers in Nigeria	(N=608) Yes No	510 098	63.8 16.1
(v) Weak Leadership	(N = 563) Yes No	514 049	91.3 8.9
Whether Efforts of the various governmental agencies are yielding result	(N873) Yes No N/R	205 632 056	23.5 72.4 6.4

Appendix C

Table 3: Okigbo's Report on the Misappropriated \$12.8 billion Excels oil money**

1.	Documentary Film on Nig.	\$2.92
2.	Purchase of T.V/Video for the presidency	18.32
3.	Ceremonial Uniform for the Army	3.85
4.	Staff Welfare at Didan Buract/Aso Rock	2.98
5.	Travel of the First Lady Abroad	.99
6.	President Travels abroad	8.95
7.	Medical (Clinic at Aso Rock)	27.25

** From 1988 Sept – June 1994, *The Drainpipes Revealed*.

8.	Gift (Liberia)	1.00
9.	Gift (Ghana)	.50
10.	Nig. Embassy: London	18.12
	Nig. Embassy: Riyadh	14.99
	Nig. Embassy: Teheran	2.76
	Nig. Embassy: Niainey	3.80
	Nig. Embassy: Pakistan	3.80
	Nig. Embassy: Israel	3.07
	T.V Equipment for ABU,	17.90
	Min. of Defence	323.35
	Security	59.72
	Defence Attaches	25.49
	GHQ	1.04

Source: Tell Magazine, April 4, 2005

Appendix D

Table 4: Loan Money Never Used for the Purpose it was Meant

Loan	Project	States	Remark
CHF. 49,100.00	Umuahia water supply scheme	Abia	Not expected
GNP 2,360,000	Awchukwu ohajia water scheme	"	"
DM 24,457,920	Abia Gidem Cjoclem Farm Ltd. Ogwe	"	"
USD 23,577,745	Rural Electr. Project	"	"
CHF 43,300,000	Umuahia Ceramic factory	"	"
GPB, 11,811,023 & USD, 3,00,000	Carpet manufacturing project, ihiala	Anambra	"
USD 53.45 million FRF 16.75 million	Combine water supply scheme Maiduguri Sheraton Hotel Project	Bornu	"
GPB 9,578,151	Wauri farm project	Delta	"
DM 150 million USD 10,511,252	Enugu/Abakalili water project Purchase of immigration pump	Enugu Enugu	" "
FF 60,605, 315.50	Purchase of 100 no Buses	Kaduna	"
US & 37,570,000	The mini steel project	Lagos	"
Us & 12,887,000	Minna-Hydiogbo Invigation pumps	Niger	"
US &, 58.99M	New Ilesa/Ejigbo water scheme	Osun	"
GPB 3.62M	Biscuit factory	Yoba	"

Source: Tell Magazine; July 8, 2005. pg 42 + 44