
Corruption and the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Moses M. Adagbabiri, (Ph.D)

Department of Political Science
Delta State University,
Abraka
adagbabirimoses@gmail.com

Ugo Chuks Okolie

Chartered Institute of Personnel Management of Nigeria,
Edo State Study Centre,
Benin City, Nigeria.
ugookolie3@gmail.com

Abstract

Corruption is a relic of the past. It has always existed in human society in one form or the other. Corruption is the “agent provocatua” of insecurity in Nigeria’s fourth Republic. The increasing incidence of the twin concepts of corruption and insecurity in Nigeria pose great challenges to governance and have thus, become issues of public concern. However, it is the objective of this study to examine how corruption has affected and contributed to the internal insecurity challenges in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic. Notwithstanding, the study is capable of expanding the frontiers of knowledge towards the reconceptualization of the notions of corruption as the major “agent provocatua” of retardation of Nigeria socially, economically and politically. This study concludes that corruption and insecurity have done more damage to the country’s image globally than any other phenomenon. The study therefore, recommends the need for urgent eradication of corruption and insecurity from Nigeria for the country to effectively play its srole as the giant of African and a force to be reckoned with globally.

Keywords: Corruption, Insecurity, Security, Governance, Nigeria.

Introduction

Despite all social and economic policies that have been implement by successive administration in the fourth republic, Nigeria has remained a laggard in social, economic and political developments (Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2016:107) subsequently, political instability, abject poverty, acute youth unemployment, heightened crime rate, poor health prospects, widespread malnourishment has been the main features of Nigeria’s political economy (Ogundiya, 2010) cited in (Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2016:107).

Corruption is one the most dangerous ill of any society (Agbekaku, Itakpe & Okoye, 2016:291). The problem is manifested in high rate of unemployment, poverty, hunger, disease, insecurity, infrastructure decay and deficit all over the nation. Painting the gloomy picture of corruption in Nigeria, Ngwube & Okoli (2013:92) declared:

“Corruption is a cancer that has eaten deeply into the fabric of Nigeria polity. The general global perception about graft in Nigeria is that it is generally acknowledge that corrupt practices are endemic and systemic in both public and private sectors of Nigeria. From the forgoing it is evident that corruption undermines the country’s integrity and security.

It also poses serious developmental challenge being responsible for the poverty of the populace”.

Successive governments in our nation had never fallen short of attempts at combating corruption, through the instrumentality of Independent Corrupt Practices and Allied Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Budget Monitory and Price Intelligence Unit which handles a new process of contract award, otherwise known as due process, Code of Conduct for Public Officers, which prescribes standards for behaviour of public servants (FGN, 2007). However, all the aforementioned policies failed to achieve the desired results because such remedies alone, can hardly cure the malady of corruption. They are mere mechanical devices to eradicate corruption. They may be considered short-term devices. A long-term proposal may also be envisaged. The existing order must also change and yield a place to the new. Attitudes must undergo a change. Values of life must also change. Private property should cease to be the symbol of status and power. The acquisitive society must be replaced by a socialist society which should believe in equitable distribution of wealth, justice and fairness.

The alarming rate of insecurity is not less disturbing in spite of the reform undertaken and substantial share of the national budgets allocated to the security sector. There have been serious and continuous threat to national and individual security in the form of organized crimes, election related violence and violent extremism. Including oil bunkering and kidnapping initially associated with the Nigeria Delta Crisis but which later spread to the other part of the country following the amnesty deal in 2009 (Salawu, 2012:28). There have also been alarming incidence of armed robbing, car snatching and ritual killings in the country, the most recent is the insurgency of the deadly Boko-Haram in the Northern Nigeria especially North-East. The activities of this Boko-Haram group constitute serious security challenges in the contemporary Nigeria state.

This state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure traceable to systematic and political corruption. Human security in Nigeria is extremely threatened by a number of factors including corruption, corruption has a negative impact on national security which affect everyone because they are all interconnected (Agbekaku et al., 2016:292). According to Mustapha (2015;19) “no state is free from the scourge of insecurity”. Corruption has affected the national security in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic because it is becoming more rampant. Many lives have been lost, properties worth billions of Naira have been destroyed while the Nigerian political environment continue to produce social insecurity and enduring political diaphragm. The increasing incidence of the twin concepts of corruption and insecurity in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic pose great challenges to governance and have thus, become issues of public concern. It is for this reason that this study is set and aimed at speculating the possible negative effect of corruption on the national security and development.

Contextualizing Corruption

Corruption is a complex issue that has been studied and debated for several decades. In fact, there is no generally accepted definition of the term. The reason stems from the apparent controversy over what actually constitutes corruption. Attempts at defining concepts in social and management sciences have not been easy in view of the behavioural inclination of these disciples. The concept of corruption is not an exception to this. Various scholars see it from different perspectives depending on their orientation.

Onwuka, Okoh & Eme (2009:117) see corruption as deviant behaviour and progressed to define it thus:

“Corruption is a deviation from the formal duties of a public role because of private regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary exercise of certain types of private regarding influence. This includes such behaviour as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgment of a person in position of trust); nepotism (appointment by reason of a restrictive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private regarding uses)”.

The above definition appears rather clumsy for analysis, especially by the choice of words or syntax. Its usefulness however lies in the attempt to characterize corruption as deviation from the norm (in ordered societies), pecuniary motive, bribery, nepotism and misappropriation of public resources to achieve private advantage.

Another way of conceptualizing corruption is to see it as:

“An act done with the intent to give some advantage inconsistent with official duty and rights of others, the act of an official or fiduciary person who unlawfully and wrongfully uses his station or character to procure some benefit for himself or for another person contrary to duty and the right of others” (Agbakor, 2010:52).

The above definition would mean that any wrong or departure from what is pure or correct is corrupt. Corruption is the gain of money, material/financial resources, contract, employment, status, fame, power or physiological satisfaction through illegal and immoral practices such as bribery, fraud, abuse of office, robbery etc (Olusoga, 1981) cited in Zumve, Ingyoroko & Akuva (2013:127).

Similarly, Bello-Imam in Onwuka et al. (2009:117) defines corruption as:

“The abuse of public office through the instrumentality of private agents, who actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and process for competitive advantage and profit. Beyond bribery, public office can also be abused for personal benefit through patronage and nepotism, for example the theft of state assets or the diversion of state revenues”.

It is pertinent to note the comprehensive nature of the above definition and the negative correlation between corruption and development. This manifests in circumventing public policies and process solely for personal gains, public office that should be built on trust is abused and converted to selfish advantage through outright theft or diversion of public resources.

Ijiwere & Dunmade (2014) cited in Alimi & Isiramen (2016:300) defines corruption as “impairment of virtues, moral, principles and a pervasion or change from the general rules for selfish benefit”. To Ogbuke & Enojo (2007:63), corruption is “a dishonest illegal behaviour, especially of people in authority or the act of making somebody change from moral to immoral standards of behaviour”. This view adds an ethical/behavioural dimension to this discourse, and it suggests that unless sound moral principles anchored on enduring cultural values and practices are imbibed, the anti-graft campaign could amount to chasing shadows, especially in a country like Nigeria. These authors asserted unequivocally that “top level corruption is often controlled by hidden networks and represents the sum of various levels and types of irregular behaviour including abuse of power, conflict of interest, extortion, tribalism, nepotism, or fraud”.

In corroborating this ethnical angle to the conceptualization of corruption, Ifesinachi (2004) cited in Ibietan (2013:42) captured it “as all those behavioural orientations that impinge on and necessarily vitiates and destroys rules and basis of public and political conduct”. He linked corruption in political and public life to “natural human factors of greed and ambition for social psychological, economic and political power”. Poverty and serious economic hardships are often added as part of the motivations for corruption in Nigeria. This argument may be tenable for petty corruption as against grand corruption in public office. Petty or survival corruption according to Onwuka et al. (2009:119) “is practiced by civil servants, who may be grossly, underpaid and depend on small rents from the public to feed their families and pay school fees”. Grand corruption which translates to kletomania occurs among “high public officials and it often involves large sums of money”. In whatever form corruption manifests, empirical studies have shown that it impinges on national development efforts as epistomized in the link between higher levels of corruption and lower investment and economic growth (Ogbuke & Enojo, 2007:63).

According to Ibietan (2013:43), “corruption can also be classified based on the arena it occurs namely: Political, Economic, Bureaucratic, Judicial and Moral”. Political corruption may manifest in activities connected with elections and succession, taking the form of manipulating people and institutions to retain power or office. Economic corruption could assume the subversion of institutional regulations and circumventing procedures to get unmerited advantage. Bureaucratic corruption goes beyond obtaining pecuniary benefits. It includes cronyism, favouritism, nepotism, and associated ills that warrant merit to be slaughtered on the altar of mediocrity in recruitment, promotion and motivation of employees as necessary planks upon which personnel administration rests and offer cardinal explanations for low productivity, inefficiency and poor service delivery in the public sector. Judicial corruption implies perversion of justice, compromising attitudinal disposition of law enforcement agents/agencies, Sundry ills and avoidable human errors in the administration of justice. Moral corruption entails committing morally reprehensible acts deliberately and on a sustained basis. Corruption is a major problem of Nigeria. Although, it is prevalent with varies degree of intensity across organizations in public and private sectors, it is not to be blamed on manager of these organizations. This is because it is basically an environmental problem. Nigerians are used to leaders who condemn corruption but who themselves get involved in corruption. Thinking in the same line, Adagbabiri & Okolie (2016:114) concluded that the implementation of the anti-corruption programme during Obasnajo administration was directed at witch hunting political opponents or party members who posed any threat to his style of governance and his anti-third term agenda. Even the wide acclaim anti-corruption stance of President Mohammadu Buhari, has been adjudged to be selective. According to Bishop Simeon Okah; “the ongoing anti-corruption fight of the president Mohammadu Buhari-led administration would not be taken seriously if all his cabinet members alleged to have stolen billions of Naira belonging to their states for the 2015 general elections were not being tried” (punch March 4th, 2017).

Corruption in this country is generally characterized by looting of funds and wealth kept secretly, ie. Capital flight; misappropriation and mismanagement of public funds; money laundering (acquiring money through fraudulent ways); drug and child trafficking; illegal arms deal; gratification which involves monetary, material or physical favour as a condition or reward for performing official duty, official abuse of office in which an official suppresses and violates an oath of office and nepotism which is granting underserved favours to one’s relations (Kwasau, 2013: 187). According to Ogundiya (2010:235), event in Nigeria since 1999 have shown that the tidal waves of reversal have been contending with Nigeria’s democratic project.

Consequently, democracy remains grossly unstable and the future seems to be very bleak because of rampant bureaucratic and political corruption. Corruption has reached a high crescendo such that an average Nigeria now possibly associates democracy with it. The consequences of political corruption are potently manifest: cyclical crisis of legitimacy, fragile party structure, institutional decay, chronic economic problem and unemployment, and above all general democratic volatility and current security conundrum in Nigeria.

Causes of corruption in Nigeria

Many reasons have been put forward as probable causes for the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria. This includes the following:

- **Cultural Factors**

The unethical culture of get-rich quick, ostentatious living, low civic culture and weird value system of the society caused corruption in Nigeria. Dike (2003.) cited in Alimi & Isiramen (2016), described the situation has deteriorated culture and weak value system of the society, and in view of the less developed culture, it is difficult to have corrupt-free society. Honestly, hard work, altruism and patriotism are difficult to come by; because the culture has legalise illegality (Alayomi, 2013). Vaulting ambition of get-rich quick of the society causes the prevalence of corrupt practices. Excessive avarice, urge for a shortcut to wealth by the general public, the absence of a strong sense of national commitment and dolling out of chieftaincy titles of corrupt officials by traditional rulers, are contributory factors to pervasive corruption in Nigeria (Alimi & Isiramen, 2016:301).

- **Weak Penal Institutions**

The police, court systems and administrative tribunals and panels contributed to the endemic, systemic and pandemic corruption, because the institutions are also culpable of corruption. They have been caught severally on charges of collusion, hence, no power to punish powerful individuals who looted the treasury (Aghayere & Alimi, 2009) cited in Alimi & Isiramen (2016:301). The formal and informal institutional systems are severely weakened by corrupt practices, it becomes harder to implement and enforce laws and policies that could ensure transparency and accountability.

Ajie & Wokekoro (2012) cited in Agbekaka et al (2016:293) listed the major factors that have engendered and sustained corruption in Nigeria as follows:

- The prevalence of soft state and unaccountable leadership
- The incursion of politics into the administration.
- Weak institutions of government and informal structure.
- Perception of political office as the primary means of gaining access to wealth.
- Conflict between changing values and moral codes.
- The weakness of social and governmental enforcement mechanism.
- The absence of a strong sense of national commitment and national focus.
- Dysfunctional legal system.
- Ineffective government works with slow budget procedures.
- Lack of probity, transparency, responsibility and accountability.
- The great inequality in the distribution of wealth.
- Poor salaries and poor working conditions, with few incentives and rewards for effective and efficient performance.
- The influence or pressure of polygamous household and the pressure to meet family obligations which are more in less developed nations.
- The culture and weird value systems of the Nigeria society.

- Widespread poverty.

According to Agbafé (2005), the phenomenon of corruption has blossomed beyond any rational contemplation and has confirmed the shameful status of Nigeria as one of the world's most corrupt country. He enumerates some perceived causes of corruption in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Thus, notably, the causes include but not limited to the following:

- i.** A fundamentally flawed structure of the Nigerian state government and politics and absence of functioning government systems.
- ii.** Increasing institutionalized inequality in resources distribution.
- iii.** Conflict between changing values and moral codes.
- iv.** Inefficient enforcement of existing laws, absence of the rule of law and a culture of offering preferential treatment to certain individuals.
- v.** Nepotism and tribalism in the administration of justice, running of government and conduct of business.
- vi.** Reckless expenditure of public funds, including unnecessary foreign trips by public officials and inadequate accountability mechanisms infringement, monetization of politics and public life.
- vii.** Politics office as the source of access to riches.
- viii.** Political instability as well as the weakness of social and government mechanism inadequate and inefficient police structure.
- ix.** Nigeria state government monopoly of the economy, over concentration of resource at the culture of excessive federal involvement in corporate business enterprises.

Ngwube & Okoli (2013:97-98) revealed that the causes of corruption in Nigeria range from "non-conformity to religious tenets, imparted values ideas and ideas alien to our culture, ethnicity which encourages favouritism and nepotism, a weak legal system which is honoured in the breach than observance. Other causes of corruption are: poverty, illiteracy, get-rich-mania, statism, and wrong attitude to public property, absence of a welfare scheme which cushions effect of unemployment, retirement, large families, and quest for power, double standards and low level of patriotism". These are important in themselves; it does appear that poverty is the most important single factor that promotes the wide spread of giving and taking bribes i.e illegal financial inducements in the country.

As regards features of corruption, the most common according to Ngwube & Okoli (2013:98) are:

- Giving and receiving bribes;
- Inflation of contracts;
- Kick back and payment upfront;
- Abuse of public property;
- Lodging government fund in private accounts;
- Examination malpractices;
- Adulterated food or hazardous drugs;
- Misappropriation and embezzlement of fund;
- Money laundry by public officers;
- Using proxy names to buy property.

Nwaobi (2004) cited in Ngwube & Okoli (2013:99) posited that Nigeria must be one of the very few countries in the world where a man's source of wealth is of no concern to his neighbor, the public or the government. Wealthy people who are known to be corrupt are regularly

courted and honoured by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and other private organizations. This implies that people who benefit from the largesse of these corrupt people rarely ask questions. In Nigeria, although traditional values of gift giving and tributes to leaders often lead of what Browns Berger (1983) describes as “polite corruption”, the extent of such corruption is relatively small. Jimo (2001:83) attributed corruption within the (Africa) region’s public administration to over- centralization of power, lack of media freedom to expose scandals, the impunity of well-connected officials and absence of transparency in public fund management, clienteles and low salaries.

In Nigeria, rapid growth of population had added to the gravity of the problem. Family planning campaigns have not fully succeeded. The low class employees having no other source of recreation take to sex play remitting in multiplication of families. This makes the situation still worse. As fond parents, they will not like their children to starve and live in the state of poverty and abject helplessness.

Implications of corruption on National Development

Poverty: Political corruption is one of the major causes of poverty, unemployment, degradation and deprivation. Inspire of man, material and abundant financial resources, Nigeria was categorized as one of the poorest countries in the world with many Nigerians living below the poverty line of & per day, owing to corruption. (World Bank, 2005, TI, 2015). This poverty state of the nation results from the selfish diversion and misappropriation of funds, leaving the downtrodden suffering in impoverishment (Adebanjoko & Okorie, 2014).

Insecurity: Corruption is the “agentprovocatua” of insecurity in Nigeria. In the North West, majority are deprived of unemployment and public wealth, hence, Boko Haram insurgency. In the South-South, Egbesu Boys, Bakassi Boys, Niger Delta Militants and in the South West Oodua brouhaha, while in the North and Eastern states there have been ethnic tensions owing to corruption (Alimi, 2014).

Development Challenge: Aiyede (2006) opined that “corruption poses a serious development challenge”. Corruption has eroded democratic consolidation value of trust, credibility of government and good governance. Corruption at all levels of governance undermines transparency, probity, rules of law, responsiveness and accountability. It slows down development.

Increase in the costs of development: In Nigeria, public officers see Nigeria as no man’s land that should be milked for personal aggrandizement, thus, looting increases cost of governmental businesses. It impedes socio-economic conditions of Nigerians. Corruption impedes quality life style, living standards and national psyche. It erodes government credibility. It encourages cynicism as people regard it as the norm despite the efforts of successive governments to strengthen the economy, such as aggressive economic reforms through liberalization privatization, reforms in the banking sector, anti-corruption agencies, poverty alleviation and eradication programmes or strategies as well as the introduction of clear and transparent fiscal standard since 1999, these efforts failed to achieve the desired results (Ajie & Wokekoro, 2012).

Reduction in Economic Growth and Development: Corruption in public sector caused the breakdown of the infrastructure in the nation from the educational sector to health, energy, agriculture, and defense thereby reducing to the barest minimum, the socio-economic entitlements of the citizens to a better life. All segments of the Nigerian society fall within failure range, research studies revealed.

Impunity: Corruption aggravates impunity and anger over injustice by giving opportunities to powerful and predatory leaders to buy their way out of what they have committed (Bamidele, 2013) cited in Alimi & Isiramen (2016:298).

The Concept of Security and Insecurity

Various scholars across the globe have postulated different view point on the concept of security and insecurity.

Security is broadly viewed as “freedom from danger or threats to an individual or a nation. It is the ability to protect and defend oneself, be it an individual or a nation, its cherished values and legitimate interests and the enhancement of wellbeing (Mijah, 2007) cited in Eugina (2013:60). Security could take different forms. There is human security, national security, and so on. National security implies the appropriation and deployment of state apparatus of coercive force to deal with situation of crisis, nationally or internationally. Human security involves protecting the citizenry from hunger, disease, poverty, unemployment, natural disasters, etc. however, all these can only take place where there is peace and stability in the polity (Ighodalo, 2012:169).

According to the United Nation Development programme (1994), human security could be defined as protection from hidden and hurtful disruption in the daily activities, at homes, offices or communities. That is, security is the state of being safe and secure from danger, it could also be protection from chronic threat such as hunger, diseases and repression.

Nwagboso (2012) cited in Agbekaka et al (2016:294) argues that security is commonly associated with the alleviation of threat to the survival of individuals or groups. Thus, for him, security can be equated with freedom from present and future danger, harm or anxiety.

In countries where appropriate development paradigm is in place and practiced, the citizenry enjoys high standard of living demonstrated by the willingness of government to provide the basic necessities of life in terms of jobs, portable water, electricity, affordable housing, foods, roads among others. Under these conditions, there could be national human security. Where there is security, there is likely to be absence of fear, threat, anxiety, tension and apprehension over loss of life, liberty, property, goals and values, among others (Ighodalo, 2012:165). From the foregoing, it is clear that security is vital for development in any human collectivity. However, as part of the colonial legacies in Africa, security tends to assume the militarists approach either because the political system is inherently unstable or those in control of state powers want to be there “Ad infinitum”. In either cases, emphasis is on the building of arms and ammunitions to the detriment of the basic necessities of life for the citizenry.

Consequently, some of the world’s poorest people live in the continent of Africa. Even in peace time, much of public annual budgets still go to the purchase of state arms while education is poorly funded. Thus, in recent times, the concept of security has shifted from the military angle to prioritize the provision of goods and services which make life more meaningful to the people and empower them to participate in the developmental processes. This is more enduring aspect of national security where people go about their daily activities unhindered. The fragility of the state in Africa is partly due to this deficit in human security (Albert, 2011) cited in Ighodalo (2012:166). Therefore, it can be argued that approaching the question of security from a political/ state or militaristic angle is defective. The more fundamental basis for security lies in freedom from poverty, disease, ignorance, joblessness, arbitrary power (Ibeanu, 1999). Experience has shown that it is human security that represents the most effective instrument for national security and not the building of arms and weapons of warfare.

Elaborating further, Ighodalo (2012:164) submit that “one of the principal functions of the modern state is that of protecting the territorial integrity of the state, life and property of its

citizenry and upliftment of the human condition. The promotion of human security has become the central focus of the new development paradigm because building of arms and ammunitions do not bring peace, security and political stability. Eradicating poverty, hunger, diseases through sustainable develop programmes, hold the key to an enduring national security”. Thus, a country that invests heavily on human security may not have to spend much money and efforts in fighting crimes like: kidnapping, human trafficking, bombing, student unrest, political assassination, etc. Indeed, there can hardly be security amidst starvation, peace building without poverty alleviation and no true freedom built on the foundation of injustice.

Insecurity is a state of being subject to danger or threat. Insecurity on the other hand, is the antithesis of security (Agbekaku et al., 2016:295). However, because of the very many ways in which insecurity has been described in association with the various ways in which it affects individuals. Some of the common descriptors of insecurity include: wants to safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty; want to confidence; doubtful; inadequately guarded or protected; lacking stability; troubled; lack protection and unsafe, to mention few.

All of these have been used by different people to define the concept of insecurity. These different descriptors however run into a common reference to a state of vulnerability to harm and loss of life, property or livelihood. Beland (2005) defined insecurity as “the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection”. It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. This definition reflects physical insecurity which is the most visible form of insecurity such as economic and social security. According to Agbekaku et al. (2016:295), the insecurity situation in the country has led to many wondered why Nigeria has not returned to the state of nature where, according Thomas Hobbes, life was solitary, nasty, brutish and short. Igbodalo (2012: 169) have pervasively argued that insecurity in a given state not only affect the growth and survival of democracy but also lead to high level of poverty, unemployment, high rate of crimes, poor standard of education, high rate of illiteracy, poor infrastructural development, poor state of health facilities among others.

More than ever before, the country’s security has come under threat. Indeed, the climate of fear pervades the country as politics of impunity pervade the polity. Never before has the country’s security being so stretched in peace time. Yet, this threat to national security is not unconnected with prevalence of corruption and injustices which dominate the body polity. Faulty development policies pursued since independence, have left the people pauperized and decimated. Also, failure to play by the rules of the game of party politics brings the country close to the state of nature (Ighodalo, 2012:169). These are manifested in increasing poverty, diseases, unemployment, poor medical care, poor housing facilities, lack of portable water, epileptic power supply, lack of access to power and resources by minority groups and their exclusion from policy making (Ake, 2000:32). To have security thus, means to be safe, secured, protected and enjoy peace of life. That is, the state of being or feeling secure, freedom from fear, anxiety, danger, doubt, something that gives or assures safety, tranquility, certainty, protection and safeguard.

Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria’s Foruth Republic

Several reasons have been advanced regarding the causes of insecurity. The factors responsible for incidences of insecurity as discussed below are not peculiar to Nigeria alone but may apply to other parts of the world. According to Otto & Ukpere (2012), insecurity is a result of malignant environment dominated by man’s insensitivity to man. Many people in authority take advantage of their positions to force down policies that impoverish the masses is so much as it benefits them and a few others. High handedness is also another problem whereby

Nigerians see themselves as adventures with the business called Nigeria and so are concerned mainly with how much enters their pockets no matter how that happens. Ethnicity and corruption are also causes of insecurity. Also, the justice delivery system does not encourage the fight against insecurity. Offenders of grievous cases may get very light sentences where they are not completely let go. Poverty and proliferations of small arms have also been blamed in Nigeria. About 70% of the population lives in poverty. This predisposes the poor to violence which is fueled by the ease of access of small arms. The importation of weapons by developing countries has risen dramatically (Otto & Ukpere, 2012:6763).

Ujomu (2001:245) is of opinion that the prolonged period of military dictatorship with the attendant economic decay, corruption, abuse of human rights, depreciation of human dignity and general collapse of social infrastructures have ensured that there is a degeneration of the quality of life of the Nigerian people. Various governments and the state agencies that existed over the decades were unable to ensure adequate protection, defense, peace, survival, well-being and progress of the citizens, the state and society at large. Many of the previous regimes, especially the civilian regime of Shagari and the military regimes of Abacha and Babangida, had myopic, perverted and unviable ideas of national security. The national security thrust of these regimes focused on the maintenance of personal security and power to the detriment of the long-term goals of national development and reconciliation. These regimes were concerned with the looting of the national treasury and the mismanagement of the vast human and natural resources of this great nation. These corrupt and incompetent regimes were concerned with consolidating their positions, employing the instruments of ethnicity, religion and clientelism as the tools for dividing the various groups in the society also engendering factionalism within the Nigeria military forces. Ujomu (2001:246) has argued that Nigeria's quest for national security cannot be guaranteed by a large body of security forces, since much of the insecurity, conflicts and crisis that happened in the country from 1960 to 1999 were due to the very actions and omissions of these same security forces.

Ujomu also identified, another cause of insecurity in the nation as the intolerance existing among the various ethno-cultural and religious groups in the country mainly due to elite manipulation and greater deprivation and frustration within the society. This has consequently led to an increase in inter-tribal and communal clashes and violence. Eme & Onyishi (2011:174) identify the causes of insecurity in Nigeria as- improper funding of the police and other security agencies, non-payment of the allowances and salaries of these security agencies. Monetization of the labour market which have cause lots of unemployed graduates to go through a lot of mental torture in the process of security jobs: gross party indiscipline and infighting among political gladiators, poor welfare of the police, military and paramilitary personnel, with lack of adequate working tools, and inadequate personnel.

Eme & Onyishi (2011:176) identified the causes of insecurity to include the culture of militarism that has its antecedents in military rule, the failure of the state and its institution, economic disempowerment, the structure of the state and Nigeria's federalism, non-separation of state and religion, politics of exclusion, culture of patriarchy and gerontocracy ignorance and poor political consciousness. Albert (2012) sees the following as some of the real and imagined causes of the crisis of insecurity:

- a. Resources
 - (i) Lack of adequate resources for all.
 - (ii) There are questions regarding the allocation of the little that are available.
 - (iii) Our leaders steal the nation's resources and promote horizontal inequality.
- b. Leaders' competition for powers in a disorganized manner.

- c. Values:
 - (i) The elites promote ethnicity and idle religiosity.
 - (ii) Lack of positive leadership values makes the society to be conflictogenic.
- d. Communication processes.
 - (i) Lack of open access to information fuels rumor-mongering and misinformation
 - (ii) The media commoditize “bad news”.

Ogah (nd) identified the variables that cause possible threats to national security to include acute food shortage, population explosions, low level of productivity and per capital income, low technological, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment.

Manifestations of Insecurity in Nigeria

According to Ujomu (2001:248) good evidence of insecurity in Nigeria is the manifest incapability and inefficiency of the police force with its failure to maintain law and order and provide security for the citizens. This lapse has created a vacuum that is being filled by auxiliary ethnic militia, vigilante groups and militant civil society vanguards. More frightening evidence for the collapse of national security in Nigeria has been the inability of the nation's security forces and even the members of the national government to protect themselves and the citizens from the scourge of armed robbers, criminals, hoodlums, kidnappers, ethnic militia group, assassins, etc. there have been confirmed cases of the convoys of government officials coming under gunfire from snipers, robbers or assassins.

According to Ujomu (2001) there has been a widespread of ethnic tensions and hatred, religious conflicts, mutual mistrust, decay of social and physical infrastructure, endemic corruption and kleptocracy, among other grievous problems. Eme & Onyishi (2011:178) identified various manifestations of insecurity in Nigeria as ethno-religious conflicts, politically based violence, economic-based violence and organized violent groups which include ethnic militia, vigilantes, secret cults in tertiary institutions and political thugs. Albert (2012) identified security problems and communal violence (Jos crisis and the conflict between farmers and herdsmen); political assassination (e.g. the case of Olaitan Oyerinde-principal secretary of Governor Adams Oshiomhole of Edo State); electoral violence (2003, 2007, 2011 elections. Where youth gangs were formed and funded by politicians); youth military in the Niger-Delta and oil theft, illegal oil bunkering and sea piracy, kidnapping and hostage taking; NURTW crisis in the South West; and the Boko Haram insurgency which is on-going in the north-east (Odia, 2016:325).

Theoretical Framework

The theories guiding this work are:

Prebendal Theory, Wobble Economy Theory and Ruling- Opposition Party Theory. The prebendal theory popularized by Joseph, A.R. (1996) is adopted as a theoretical approach underpinning the study. The theory according to Joseph (1996), states that prebendalism is the primitive acquisition of monumental wealth which stifles socio-economic, political and technological development of a nation. The theorist depict the politics of corruption in Nigeria where cronies or members of an ethnic group are compensated when an individual from the group comes into power or where “state officers are regarded as prebends that can be appropriated by office holders who use them to generate materials for themselves and their constitutes and kinsmen” (Joseph, 1996). This patron-client or identity politics has encouraged corruption in the country to the extent that appointments, promotions, admissions, award of contracts among others, are done with consideration for ones party, ethnic or religious affiliations (Alimi & Isiramen, 2016: 300-301).

Wobble economy theory posits that as a result of the growing array of qualified and unqualified youths competing in the existing saturated labour market, there is a tendency for them to be recruited and exploited as hired killers. The theory further argues that as a result of high level of poverty among Nigerians, the youths are adversely attracted to violent crime (Odia, 2016:322).

These youths are lured and armed by “second-term politicians” who wanted to retain power no matter the cost. After the elections, none of these guns were recovered from these new merchants of death. This thesis lies in relative deprivation rather than absolute poverty. Relative deprivation is “the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes to be entitled. It refers to the discontent people feel when they compare their positions to others and realize that they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled than those around them” (Davis, 2011). In the words of Omer Taspiner (2012) cited in Chukwurah, Eme & Ogbeje (2015:375), Relative deprivation is the gap between high expectation and missing opportunities. To him, social, cultural, political and economic awareness grows at the heart of relative deprivation and this in turn fuels expectations. When these expectations are not forthcoming, the deprived could resort to violence to seek redress”. All the views expressed boils down to the major thrust of the relative deprivation theory which ‘holds that when people are deprived of things which they deem valuable in the society whether money, justice, status or privilege join social movements with the aim of redressing their grievances’.

Also, the Ruling-Opposition Party Theory posits that, the ruling party accuses the opposition parties and other branded anti-democratic forces of engaging in violent crimes to truncate democracy in Nigeria. According to the ruling party, the only way to get even with the government is to create crisis for it. In the light of the above theories, one can posit that Nigeria in recent times has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity. While communities and ethno-regional and religious groups fight each other, state agents, and party officials have been involved in the perpetration of violence and destruction (Okpaga, Ugwu & Eme, 2012:79).

Corruption and Insecurity Challenges in Nigeria: Discussing the Paradox

This is a twin Evil and hydra-headed monster that has held the Nigeria state captive. This has contributed to government failure and breakdown of institutional infrastructures. This state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure, traceable to systematic and political corruption. Corruption poses a serious development challenges because it undermines democracy and good governance by subverting formal processes (Agbekaku et al., 2016:295). For the executive and legislature, corruption makes accountability, transparency and representation in policy making that are necessary ingredient for good governances, almost impossible. It erodes the institutional capacity of governance because procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and official promotion without regard to performance or merit.

It is noteworthy to state that corruption reproduces greed and creates incentives for unregulated competition for resources and power. It also undermines the capacity of Nigeria to mitigate normal social conflict and create avenue for redressing injustice as with the Boko-Haram (Agbekaku et al., 2016:296). The following are some security challenges in Nigeria as posited by Eme & Onyinshi (2011:180) the urbanization process, the activities of traditional rulers, vigilante groups and politicians, the challenge posed by poverty, electoral fraud, poor management of the economy, dilapidated infrastructures, bad roads especially on the high ways, the activities of militants in the Niger-Delta region, the underperformance of the law

enforcement and criminal justice system, the insecurity caused by security agents and most recently, the insurgency of the Boko-Haram sect.

Albert (2012) sees the following as challenges to security issue in Nigeria: (1) lack of consistency in government's handling of the security challenges- use of confrontation and joint problem solving strategies are not co-ordinated; (2) Lack of well-defined early warning system; (3) poor inter-agency collaboration; and (4) Low civil society participation in security management. According Shehu (2011) citing the UNDP 2006 Human Development Report on the Niger- Delta gives a graphic picture of how corruption in Nigeria intensifies desperate conditions of socio-economic exclusion as the cause of youth restiveness in the region. Corruption in the security sector particularly has diminished the capacity of the Nigeria State of main effective law and others across the country in the midst of violent crimes as the Nigeria police was rated the most corrupt public institution in the country (FRN, 2003). According to Odia (2016:330), security agencies are faced with challenges that have made them not to be able to discharge their duties and responsibility towards ensuring national security. Some of these challenges include: corruption, leadership problems, obsolete equipment, inadequate manpower- both quality and quantity, and lack of political will.

Agbekaku et al (2016:296) asserted that challenges to a country's security may range from low level civil disorder, large scale violence, even armed insurgency or terrorism. These threats may be directed against citizens or the organs and infrastructure of the state itself. Foreign powers may also act as a threat to a country's security by either committing or sponsoring terrorism or rebellion without actually declaring war. Some of the challenges to security in Nigeria as indentified by them include terrorism, maritime security, Nigeria- Delta militants, kidnapping, illegal bunkering, pipeline vandalization, armed robbery, youth unemployment, climate change porous borders and corruption. Hence, Nigeria is bedeviled with conflict and insecurity. With corruption it is impossible to have good governance; without good governance, there would be no development; without development, there can't be peace and without peace, there will be no security in Nigeria. Corruption remains one of the greatest challenge to the security in the country. The connection between corruption and insecurity is not far-fetched. Corruption fans the embers poverty, crime and by extension insecurity. For instance, armed robbery, terrorism, diseases, acute youth unemployment, poor health prospects and widespread malnourishment and object poverty which lead to insecurity are directly or indirectly related to corruption.

Conclusion and Recommendations

From the foregoing on corruption and insecurity challenges in Nigeria, it is clear that fifty five year after independence, insecurity continues to pose serious challenges to Nigeria. At the root of this is corruption. Corruption has generated unimaginable level of poverty, crime and by extension insecurity. Socially, corruption and insecurity has done more damage to the country's image globally than any other phenomenon. Corruption and insecurity are therefore twin problem of development in Nigeria and need to be eliminated for Nigeria to be able to effectively play it's role as the giant of Africa and a force to be reckoned with globally. Eradicating corruption and insecurity from Nigeria is a task that should not be left to the government alone, all hands must be on deck if the country is to be purged of this twin evil. Besides, government must tackle the problem of poverty, hunger, unemployment and social injustice to reduce the high rate of insecurity.

In order to address or eliminate the twin monster of corruption and insecurity from the society, the study recommends as follows:

- 1) Institutions of governance once created takes a life of their own. Therefore, deliberate attempts should be made to ensure that these institutions are built on sound ethical values and orientations, their operators should be made to go through and imbibe enduring moral training and virtues that can be passed on to future generations in order to guarantee rectitude, transparency and accountability in public service. These can redress the decadence in agencies and organs of government especially watchdog institutions such as judiciary, police and anti-graft bodies.
- 2) The fight against corruption must be value oriented as well as passion-driven and should not be driven by selective judgement and political vendetta. Besides, the anti-corruption agencies (EFCC and ICPC) alone can hardly cure the malady of corruption. They are mere mechanical devices to eradicate corruption. They may be considered short-term devices. A long-term proposal may also be envisaged. The existing order must change and yield a place to the new. Attitudes of politicians in Nigeria must undergo a change. Values of life must also change. Private property should cease to be the symbol of status and power. The acquisitive society must be replaced by a socialist society which should believe in equitable distribution of wealth, justice and fairness. Widespread corruption is apt to be eliminated if the social attitudes towards the institution of private property seek such a transformation.
- 3) Corruption at political level which in fact is the root cause of corruption among the civil servants can be weeded out if people are vigilant, if opposition parties are strong and effective and if search light of unbiased press can be turned towards the corrupt politicians in the country.
- 4) Provision of proper conditions of service, viz., healthy home and office environments, adequate salaries and alluring pension benefits, better promotion facilities, periodical raise in dearness allowance to neutralize the rising price index, opportunities for mobility, adequate regards for integrity and conscientious work can go a long way in the eradication of corruption on economic grounds.
- 5) Adopting a whole government approach in improving security in the country. In other words, all the levels of government (Federal, State and Local levels) must support the national security establishment in combating insecurity.
- 6) There is need to contain existing threats and crises in the country so as to prevent them from spreading to other local government areas and states.
- 7) Improved border security is a necessary part of containment. This is needful to prevent movement of dangerous persons, expertise and weapons that could further instability in the country.
- 8) There is need for an improve effort to monitor the movement of goods and people within the federation.
- 9) Collaboration with the government and non-government agencies. That is, the Nigerian police should collaborate with other security agencies such as the Armed Forces, State Security Service (SSS), Immigration and Customs Services, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC), and a host of others.
- 10) Sustained surveillance. This refers to proactive measure, integrated surveillance operations, and the deployment of highly trained and responsible security operatives.
- 11) Exchange of information and community policing. Security should be every person's business. Thus, individuals and groups should work collaboratively to ensure that lives and property are secured.
- 12) The pull-down political syndrome should be shunned for the sake of general well-being of the citizenry which serves as a bedrock of statecraft.

- 13) The government must also leverage its ability to procure advanced technologies, so as to improve its ability to detect and defeat conflicts, criminality and terrorist attacks.
- 14) Training and procuring for threats that are likely but have not yet materialized is a critical measure designed to improve the country's readiness to combat all forms of insecurity.

To this end the researchers are very confident that if these recommendations are implemented religiously, Nigeria can finally move into the path of sustainable development, which in concrete terms will translate into the mitigation of corruption, insecurity, injustice, deception, greed, fraud, deprivation and dehumanization, as the hitherto prevailing rules of social existence.

References

- Adagbabiri, M. M. & Okolie, U.C. (2016). "Corruption and national development: An examination of Nigeria's fourth republic". *Journal of Strategic & Development Studies*, 1(1).
- Adebanjoko, A. & Okorie, N. (2014). "Corruption and the challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria: Political implication". *Global Journal of Social Science*, 14(5).
- Agbafé, E.O. (2005). "Deregulation and globalization in Nigeria: Issue and perspectives". Nigeria: *Ambrose Alli University Press*.
- Agbakor, E.Z. (2010). "An appraisal of punishment in combating corruption in Nigeria". An unpublished master Thesis, *Benue State University*.
- Agbekaku, P.E., Itakpe, <L. & Okoye, U. (2016). Corruption and the lingering insecurity challenges in Nigeria". *Journal of Strategic & Development Studies*, 1(1).
- Aiyede, R.E. (2006). "The role of INEC, ICPC and EFCC in combating political corruption". *Money politics*.
- Ajie, H.A. & Wokekoro, O.E. (2012). "The impact of corruption on sustainable economic growth and development". *Research and Investment Journal*, 3(1).
- Ake, C. (2000). "The feasibility of democracy in Africa". Dakar: *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*.
- Alayomi, M.B. (2013). "Corruption and democratization process in Nigeria's fourth republic". *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 14(2).
- Albert, I.O. (2012). "Explaining the security challenges in contemporary Nigeria". *Institute of African studies, University of Ibadan*.
- Alimi, M.K.O. (2012). "An assessment of public private partnership as a strategy for rural development in Osun and Lagos States". *Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Ekpoma: AAU*.
- Alimi, M.K.O. & Isiramen, E. I. (2016). "National development and the challenges of corruption in Nigeria". *Journal of Strategic & Development Studies*, 1(1)
- Beland, D. (2005). "The political construction of collective insecurity: from moral panic to blame avoidance and organized irresponsibility". *Centre for European Studies Working Paper Series 126*.
- Chukwurah, D.C., Eme, O. & Ogbeje, E.N. (2015). "Implication of boko haram terrorism on northern Nigeria". *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3).
- Eme, O.I. & Onyinshi, A. (2011). "The challenges of insecurity in Nigeria: A thematic exposition". *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 3(8).
- Ibietan, J. (2013). "Corruption and public accountability in the Nigerian public". *European Journal of Business and Management*, 5(15).
- Igbodalo, A. (2012). "Election crisis, liberal democracy and national security in Nigeria's fourth republic". *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 10 (2).

- Joseph, A.R. (1996). "Democracy and prebendal politics in Nigeria: The rise and fall of the second republic". Cambridge: *Cambridge University Press*.
- Kwasau, M.A. (2013). "The challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic". *European Scientific Journal*, 9(8).
- Mustapha, A.A. (2015). "Corruption and national security". In Beloo-Iman (eds), national security and development in contemporary Nigeria". Ibadan: *College Press*.
- Ngwube, A. & Oko0li, C. (2013). "The role of the economic financial crime commission in the fight against corruption in Nigeria". *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 4 (1).
- Odia, A. (2016). "National security in Nigeria: critical issues and strategic ways forward". *Journal of Strategic & Development Studies*, 1(1).
- Ogundiya, I.S. (2010). "Corruption the bane of democratic stability in Nigeria". *Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(4).
- Okpaga, A., Ugwu, S.C. & Eme, O.I. (2012). "Activities of boko haram and insecurity question in Nigeria". *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 1(9)
- Ott, G. & Ukpere, W.I. (2012). "National security and development in Nigeria" *African Journal of Business Management*, 6(23).
- Salawa, B. (2010). "Ethno- religious conflicts in Nigeria: (cause analysis and proposals for new management strategies)". *European Journal of Social Sciences*. 3(6).
- Shehu, A. (2011). "Corruption and conflicts in Nigeria: Implication for peace, security and national development". A paper presented at the third public lecture of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja Nigeria.
- Transparency International: Corruption perception Index, (2015).
- Ujomu, P.O. (2001). "National security, social order and the quest for human dignity in Nigeria: Some ethical considerations". *Nordic of African Studies*, (2).
- World bank (2005). "Country partnership for the federal republic Nigeria (2005-2009)". World bank report.
- Zumve, S., Ingyoroko, M. & Akuva, 1.1. (2013). "Terrorism in contemporary Nigeria: Latent function of official corruption and state neglect". *European Scientific Journal*, 9(8).