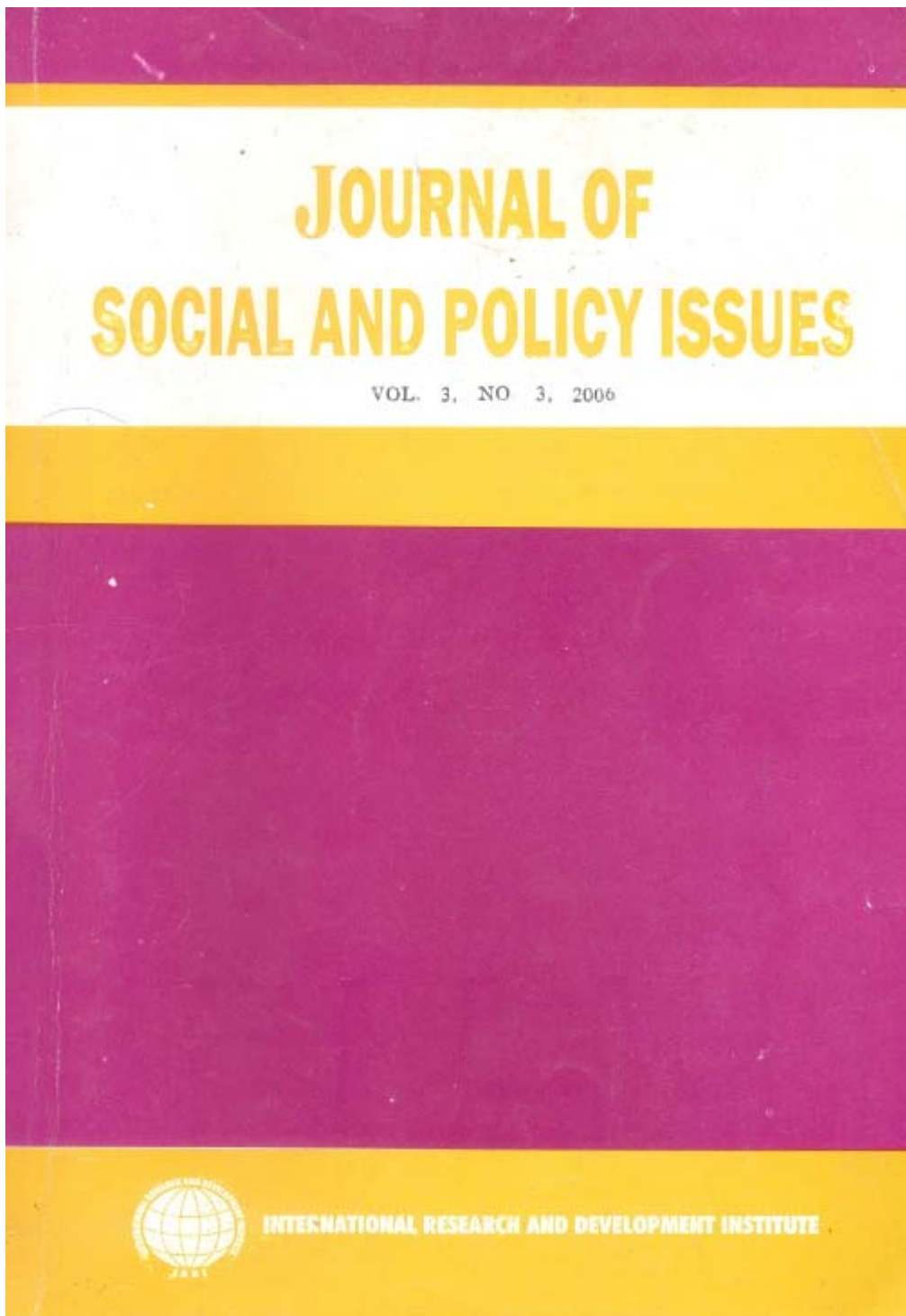


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CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

FRANCIS FRIDAY NCHUCHUWE

Department of Public Administration
Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos State, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

The paper examines Corruption as one of the problems affecting Development (service delivery) in the Local Governments of the country. It views corruption as though inseparable from human life but laments its alarming and disturbing trend in the local Government system of Nigeria. It traces the origin of corruption in the Local Governments and the reasons for its persistence some of which it listed as weaknesses in the institutional frameworks that are supposed to help curb corruption, its prevalence at the federal and state levels, societal orientation and acceptance of corruption as a way of life,, Greed among others. For the monster to be curbed at the Local levels, the paper advocates among other things that it must first be seen to be getting reduced at the federal and state levels where the paper observes corrupt practices have risen beyond imagination. Further to this ,it advocates death penalty for established corrupt officials as a deterrent to others. In conclusion, it calls on all Nigerians to join hands to combat the virus as no doubt every Nigerian wittingly or unwittingly, is affected by it.

INTRODUCTION

Local Governments are no doubt one of the agents of Development in Countries all over the world. As local political units they are almost universally found in all modern polity. They assume many forms, such as, local councils, parishes, local management committees, development committees, county councils, local boards, local soviets/ local

cooperatives and boroughs (king, 1988:3) as the case may be. Similarly, their functions, powers and areas of jurisdiction vary. However, the bottom line is that they are created or established to assist the central governments (Federal and Unitary) to bring development to the people at the local levels. The belief is that as government closer to the people, they are evidently in a better position to arouse the interest of the local citizenry and motivate them to work towards achieving development while at the same time making modern facilities available to them. Apart from helping in local development, local governments are also agents of national development. As king (1988:203) puts it, "the development process begins at the local level, and it is only this that can ensure a solid foundation for national development. It follows therefore that apart from being instruments or tools for local development, Local Governments are also instruments or tools for national development. By implication therefore, for any nation to have a sound developmental base, its Local Government must have a sound footing. The common comments about the Local Governments are that their performances have been at low ebb. Our interest in this paper, therefore, is to look at one of the constraints or put in another way, one of the problems that have often been cited as hindering Development at the local government levels of Nigeria. This problem or constraint is no other than corruption. There is no doubt that corruption as many people would argue is not peculiar to the local governments in Nigeria. Indeed, Corruption has become a hydra-headed monster that has eaten deep into Nigeria's national psyche and the concern of many Nigerians and other watchers of development in the country is that despite various institutional and legal frameworks to check corruption in the country it has remained unabated. The irony of it all is that those who are supposed to help bring corrupt officials to book are themselves found to be corrupt. A typical Case in point is the case of the former Inspector General of police Mr. Tafa Balogun. As Onagoruwa (2005) puts it, It is very much heart-rending that the head of the police in Nigeria was caught for corruption. He has allegedly stolen over N13 billion of public money. Worried by this development, Onagoruwa (2005) queried: Are we so criminogenic that we cannot as a society eliminate the virus completely or at least reduce

it to a minimum? Balogun is not the only top official in this regard. There are also cases of some state Governors who have been accused of corruption. Some have been removed from office while many are still serving. The cases of Governor Diepreye Alamieyeseigha, Joshua Dariye and Chris Ngige are all too fresh for elaborate mention here. Suffice it to say however that Governors Alamaiyesiegha and Dariye were alleged to have siphoned public money abroad while Governor Chris Ngige was alleged to be involved in political corruption. Similarly, the \$ 214m national ID card scandal involving a serving Minister, two former Ministers in the President Obasanjo's administration and a former governor of Enugu state is a case in point. All these are top government political officials who are supposed to be at the fore —front of anti-corruption crusade in the country. Apart from the top political officials, top administrative officers to the low or manipulative levels are also involved. Name them; is it the Receptionists, Gate men, Messengers, Clerks, Security personnel or what have you? This writer was in one of the Local Governments in Ondo State about two years ago to collect some data from a Local Government. The said data could not be collected until he parted with some money, albeit reluctantly.

It is no longer news that the Transparency International, the Berlin, Germany based global corruption watchdog, in its corruption perception Index (CPI 2003) for the third time in three consecutive years ranked Nigeria as the second most corrupt Country in the world coming only after Bangladesh (see appendix). As Amaechi (2003) puts it,

While many Nigerians agree that corruption is the cancer that is slowly but inexorably killing Nigeria, not a few have become pessimistic over the possibility of its successful eradication.

The pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria body politics leaves much to be desired. As Igbinovia (2003:35) pointed out;

the level of corruption in Nigeria is so high that no one can be trusted. Corruption exists at every level of our National life. It has grown bold, ravenous and entered the fatal stage. Indeed, it has become like a hydra-headed dragon.

It is as worst in the Democratic government just as it was in the military era. For instance, during the military era, record has it that the then Military Head of state now late, General Sanni Abacha almost milked the nations treasury dry with unprecedented lootings which he stashed away in different countries of the world Not only did he embark on the looting jamboree but he extended it to members of his immediate family and his cohorts.

As Igbinovia (2003 13:5) puts it,

under the Abacha's regime the criminal propensity and debauchery knew no bounds in the annals of Nigeria's history. The Abachas not only headed a government that was unrivalled in its brutality in Nigeria history, but also in the mindless pillaging of our commonwealth. His family and cohorts alone became richer than the Nigerian state. Indeed, it is estimated that under his regime more than \$8b was stashed away in foreign banks.

Some of the Abacha's loots are being recovered from different parts of the world today. The Abacha's case is quite unique in the sense that he has become the only former ruler since Nigeria's independence whose loots were recovered even if not fully. During the General Babangida's regime, it is on record that \$12 billion oil revenue was misappropriated-. Despite late Pluis Okigbo's panel of inquiry which revealed how the Babangida 's government directed the transfer of the said money from the central Bank of Nigeria into a dedicated account under himself, nothing has been said by him to reveal how the money was utilized till today. The Murtala / Obasanjo's regime was also not left out or what else can one make out of the excessive external borrowing of the regime from 1977 inspite of the fact that the country was selling over 2 million barrels of oil per day with annual sales revenue of more than \$20 billion? And what is the

significance of the fact that when the then Editor —in - chief of the African spark, Mr. Obasogie Ohanamu published the news of a row of houses owned by Murtala Mohammed in Kano, he was thrown into jail and was not released until shortly after Murtala's death? (Nwabuzor 2003). The Gowon administration was also not left out of the quagmire. The administration was alleged to be so infested with corrupt practices that he promised to promulgated an anti-corruption decree. This was never done. An inquiry revealed that most of his governors were corrupt. In a public declaration, General Gowon chasticised his governors accusing them of using their position to terrify, cheat, falsify and embezzle (Onagoruwa 2005). The fact is that the Military for all their reign, disregarded the laws of the land and its national ethos. There was no available standard neither was there morality in leadership. Indeed, the attitude of the Military leaders and their collaborators was more like let us unite with our illegal practices and divide the spoils with a great share and impunity and nobody dare talks. Indeed, it was an era of normlessness in the management of the nation's resources.

As Ogundoyin (2005) puts it,

Over the years, Nigeria was ruled by a succession of corrupt generals who brought the country to its knees internally and made her a pariah state internationally.

The harm done by the military to Nigeria's political economy through corrupt practices may not be realized so soon. Indeed, it was during the era of the military that Nigeria went down as the world's second most corrupt nation in the world as disclosed by Transparent International (See appendix I). The late chief Bola Ige made a startling revelation while he was minister of Mines and Power on what the Sunday Vanguard newspapers (August 1, 1999) tagged: "Shock Find in Steel ministry: N4 billion vanished in 5 days."

According to the newspaper, the minister gave an insight into how former ministers allegedly looted the treasuries on the eve of their departure citing an example of his

ministry where 400m dollars (N4 billion) was siphoned within 5 days. As the minister puts it,

between May 20 and May 25, 1999, some ministers under the guise of smooth transition rented a house for N9.8 million for their successors and collected N17.2 million from Government coffer for the purchase of furniture... which could not be found.

In addition, the newspaper quoted the minister as follows:

A contract of 147million dollars was given to the son of a former Head of State who got 100 per cent upfront for the dredging of Imo River while N300 million was paid to another person for the supply of food in the last five years and he pocketed the money(Sunday Vanguard August 1,1999 :1-2).

Lamenting the high rate of corruption in the country, and how it has destroyed the fibre of the nation, the Minister was further quoted by the newspaper to say thus: "I was in a place ... and was told that I was the first minister that was not given N2million on a visit"(Sunday vanguard August 1, 1999:2). These are the terrible cases of corruption that have pauperized the country today. It is a sad situation of a few getting richer and richer to the detriment of the majority. Indeed most of the so called debts Nigeria is said to owe must have been exacerbated as a result of corrupt practices. At his swearing - in ceremony on May 29, 1999 as the new democratically elected President of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo mindful of the terrible devastation corruption has caused the nation said inter alia:

Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today will be tackled head on at all levels ...the impact of official corruption is so rampant and has earned Nigeria a very bad

image at home and abroad.. Besides, it has distorted and retrogressed Development.

(Obasanjo, 1999)

Since then, the president has tried to live up to his fine rhetoric. For example, a number of government institutions have been put in place to wage war against corruption. Some of these institutions are: the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related offences Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (Due Process), Extractive Industries and Transparency Initiative (EITI) among others. Be this as it may, some schools of thought have it that these institutional frameworks may not be living up to the expectation of watchers of Nigeria's anti corruption crusade. For example, there is the perception that the President's war against corruption is aimed at dislodging his political enemies be they imaginary or real (Ogundoyin 2005). Those who see his anticorruption campaign in this light point at his handling of cases of corruption against such adversaries as Chuba Okadigbo, the former senate president now late, Alhaji Ghali Na-Abba, former speaker of the House of Representatives and even his own anointed former senate president Anyim Pius Anyim with whom he later disagreed politically. Whereas the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) moved expeditiously after these officers, the same could not be said about Chief Tony Anenih who has been smarting under persistent allegations that huge government funds allocated to his ministry for road construction were siphoned off.(Ogundoyin 2005). The implication of this is that the Presidents anti-corruption agencies, even the more credible Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) are operating under a cloud of suspicion. For corruption to be fully abated or at least near abated or reduced to a minimum level there must not be any scapegoat. As the country moves towards another election year in 2007 the boundary line between the President's politics and his war against corruption will no doubt attract more interests and more controversy if the trend remains uncontrolled. We have gone this far in this introductory aspect to correct the impression that corruption is not limited to the Local Governments but it cuts across other tiers of

government in the country and beyond this, corruption in the local council may no doubt have a linkage to the central governments in Nigeria. A pointer to this is the common saying that the horse at the back traces the footsteps of the one in the front to run.

Having said this, the rest of the paper will be divided as follows:

1. The meaning of Corruption.
2. Kinds or typologies of Corruption
3. Corruption in the Local Government Councils
4. The origin of Corruption in the Local Government Councils
5. Causes of persistent Corruption in the Local Government Councils
6. Possible Remedies or Solutions to Corruption in the Local Government Councils
7. Conclusion

THE MEANING OF CORRUPTION

As a concept, Corruption lacks a universally or commonly accepted definition, Thus it is safe to say that it has taken different forms as deemed appropriate by those making the definitions. In our view, there are more to the definition of corruption than have been given by some of the Definers. Perhaps a cursory look at some of the definitions will help to understand why the definitions of corruption are in the eyes of the beholder.

Osoba (Mukandala 2000:472) defines corruption as:

a form of anti- social behavior by an individual or social group which confers unjust or fraudulent benefits on its perpetrators. It is inconsistent with the established Legal norms and prevailing moral ethos of the land and is likely to subvert or diminish the capacity

of the legitimate authorities to provide fully for the material and spiritual well being of all members of the society in a just and equitable manner.

According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1995:306), Corruption is defined as a dishonest, illegal or immoral behaviour especially from someone with power. In another sense, the Dictionary sees it as a pervasion of something. For example a word. Thus, according to it, the word Thursday can be said to be a corruption of Thor's Day. As Ogbolu (2006) puts it, corruption in its most basic sense is the misuse of entrusted power for private benefit which impedes governments in their efforts to deliver basic services to their citizens. In the views of Igbinovia (2003:35) Corruption refers to all forms of bribery, abuse of office and nepotism, any favour done in expectation of material or non-material gain or even in reward of an earlier deed. As Hilliard (Bayat and Meyer, 1994:216) puts it, Corruption can be seen as any form of dishonest practice e.g. fraud, nepotism, graft, bribery, patronage and influence peddling, committed by a public functionary. Specifically narrowing his definition to a political context Roberts (1971:54) view corruption as any act of employing political roles or offices for illegal or unethical purposes, but particularly when some element of personal advantage (especially of a financial manner) is present. He gave examples as including bribery of voters by candidates, voters demanding payment for their vote from candidates, improper use of political information for personal gain, and partiality in the leasing of government property. Akinyemi (2004) defined Corruption simply as the acquisition of that to which one is not entitled. According to him, it is as old as the human society. These definitions are by no means exhaustive. However, it is pertinent to point out that there are more to corruption than these. The definers have made their definitions from specific contexts or narrow perspectives. The reality is that Corruption cuts across all human activities.

These activities (corrupt practices) are manifestations of the frailties of man, and will be encountered wherever human beings are found (Bayat and Meyer 1994:216). To

successfully define it therefore an attempt must be made to center it on every human activity which touches on his private and public life. The point being made is that Corruption is a deadly cancer (Olojede and Fajonyomi, 2001: preface) that has engulfed human life and pervades all human activity. To this end therefore, we see Corruption as a multidimensional or multi faced concept. Put in another way, it is a concept that is many sided or relative. A meaningful definition of it therefore will require an understanding of the context or form with which it is defined. This will become clearer in the next section when we shall be looking at the various forms or typologies of corruption. Suffice it however to say at this point that one thing is usually common with corruption and this is that it is usually associated with a derivative aspect or put in another way, a benefit to be derived. Even witchcraft or wizardry is a corrupt practice premised on a benefit to be derived. These benefits could be materialistic or non-materialistic or put differently, it could be in substance or in kind.

KINDS OR TYPOLOGIES OF CORRUPTION

1. Political corruption — This has to do with political manipulations in order to derive some political benefits. It takes the form of election rigging, changing of ballot boxes, political threat or intimidation to get support, bribing or influencing voters with money or gifts before elections to get their votes, false declaration of result to favour candidates, or as Roberts (1971:54) earlier put it, "voters demanding payment (or gratis) for their votes from candidates and improper use of political information for personal gain.
2. Economic or financial corruption — This has to do with financial manipulations for personal gains. It takes such forms as misappropriation of funds, stealing of funds meant for some purposes, inflating contract costs, over invoicing, collecting money for services not rendered or jobs not done or consciously making payment for jobs not done, or services not rendered forgery, bribery for personal gains or favour among others. Indeed, financial

corruption seems to hold sway in the minds of most definers of corruption and this is our worry.

3. Social corruption — This has to do with the ways and manners people relate with each other or one another especially unmeritorious. It takes the form of favouritism, nepotism, taking undue advantage because "a known person is in charge", undue emotions or sentiments, divide and rule in work places, feminism or male chauvinism(using male or female physiology for undue advantage) among others.
4. Cultural corruption — This has to do with our general way of life. In work places, it takes the form of attitudes to work (for example, late coming, absenteeism or deliberately delaying jobs, exhibiting nonchallance at work), segregations on religious grounds or religious favoritisms (for example, appointments on religious ground or placing people of same religious sec on favourable positions at work places) among others.
5. Bureaucratic or Administrative corruption — This has to do with various administrative manipulations or behaviors for personal gains or benefits by appointed officials. It takes various forms and these include, abuse of positions in work places, deliberate appointments of incompetent hands, allowing personal gains to over ride official responsibilities or unwilling to pay adequate attention to official responsibilities. Seeking favours or bribes to perform official duties, or complete neglect of responsibilities, and employment of ghost workers among others.
6. Industrial /Technological Corruption — This type of corruption has to do with various industrial manipulations for personal gains. It comes in the form of Industrial or manufacturing misdeeds. For example, the "fake products" syndrome is a function of Industrial/Technological corruption. Given that it is more rampant with manufacturers and producers, top government officials also commit the crime. They do this by replacements

of "original" parts or equipment with fake or adulterated ones and at the end; dish out products or services that are substandard.

7. Legal Corruption — This has to do with the manipulation of laws, rules, and regulations for personal benefits. Very top government officials or top officials at work places are usually involved in this type of corruption. It comes in form of twisting rules or laws for personal gains. Misinterpretation of Laws to suit as desired or to satisfy some interests falls under legal corruption. The recent effort by the Obasanjo's government to change certain aspects of the 1999 Constitution especially on the third term issue is nothing but legal corruption. Judges who deliberately misinterpret the Law for personal gains are involved in nothing but legal corruption.
8. Physiological Corruption — This type of corruption has to do with one's physical body. It comes in various forms such as plastic surgery, bleaching, dressing (for example disguising as a woman or man) e.t.c. People who embark on any of this or all of them are nothing but physiologically corrupt. Indeed, there is also corruption in sexual intercourse. For example, excessive desire for sex is nothing but corruption. Similarly, what obtains in blue films is simply nothing but corruption.
9. Psychological corruption — This has to do with various internal (mind) manipulations unexposed to man. It comes in various forms. For example, wickedness, treachery, backbiting, witchcraft, wizardry, spying, pretence etc. It abounds in human life. Through backbiting for example, many people have been terminated from their workplace without knowing it. There are various cases of witch hunting, deliberate falsehood e.t.c. in public and private lives. There are also witches and wizards even in workplaces. For example, many people have died mysteriously in their workplaces as a result of psychological corruption.

This list of types of corruption is by no means exhaustive. But we went into them to buttress the view that Corruption is multi - dimensional and is associated with the life of man. To define Corruption therefore, the context with which it is defined must be clearly stated. However, one common feature of Corruption is that it is premised on what is to be derived or put in another way, benefit or gains. This benefit as we have earlier pointed out could be material or non- material. Having said this, we would like to take our definition of corruption from the economic context and accordingly define it as any act of financial malpractice or behaviour intended for personal benefits. It includes bribery –taking and giving, fraud, embezzlement, over-invoicing, forgery, unmerited financial claims or any other financial act, which confers undue benefit on its perpetrators, cohorts or collaborators. It is on this definition that the paper is premised.

CORRUPTION IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS

It is no longer news that the performances of the local governments have been poor and a major contributory factor to this is the high rate of corruption in the local government councils. Indeed hardly will anyone read through daily news papers in Nigeria without coming across stories of this obnoxious practice, the consequence of which have hindered development at the local levels. The point is that most of the top functionaries of the local governments have consistently diverted or abused its finances meant to run local public institutions to the extent that hospitals, schools, public utilities, roads, markets e.t.c. are in a state of disrepair. New ones are also not initiated. Salaries are not paid. Contractors, are also not paid _Generally; there are hues and cries of poor performances in the local governments. The Chairmen of the Local Government Councils are at the heat of it all. Many of them are being investigated by the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Matters Commission (ICPC) and other anti-corruption agencies set up by the Federal government to arrest corrupt practices in the country. Indeed, it has gotten to such a crescendo that even the president, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo openly bemoaned the council chiefs accusing them of corrupt

practices and non performance. One interesting aspect of it all is that the corrupt practices are not limited to the local council chairmen but funny enough to their wives and cohorts. Indeed, the Fourth Republic is a terrible case in point.

Worried by the unabating corrupt practices of the local councils, a National Weekly (Tempo May, 2001) in what it titled: "Special Report; Rogues in the council" wrote:

Since assumption of office, Local Governments in Nigeria flaunt certificates of unfulfilled promises, amidst astounding evidence of wide scale looting of council treasury. Investigations reveal that majority of the Local Government administrators across the Federation, buoyed by the dilettante posture of the citizenry, have resorted to milkink their treasuries with reckless abandon. From Surulere, Lagos Island and Ikorodu in Lagos, Ushongo and Markurdi in Benue state, Ondo west and East in Ondo state, Bassa and Keffi in Nassarawa state to Ado — Odo Otta in Ogun state, Burutu in Delta state and Ikere Local government in Ekiti state, the stories are ruefully similar. Investigations reveal that despite the lofty monthly take home of the Local government administrators, their penchant for scavenging beyond their stipulated welfare package is simply confounding ...

The weekly magazine is not the only one in this regard. Another National Daily (Sunday Tribune, May 2001) wrote rather alarmingly with the following headline: "4 Govs, Minister, 387 LG bosses face Anti-graft panel". According to the news paper, most of the petitions written against the Local Government Chairmen for which they were to be tried consist of allegations of inflated contracts, frivolous claims, outright stealing, and awarding and paying for contracts that were not executed. Embittered by the attitudes of the Local Government Chairmen after two years of governance at the local levels, the Post Express (May 2001) wrote:

You are all aware of the recent remarks by President Olusegun Obasanjo to the effect that some of you are corrupt and that your frequent trips abroad is only a ploy to siphon ill-gotten wealth out of the country. Initially, we all expressed dismay over the

accusation. Like a bitter potion, it dawn awfully on us that perhaps the President meant what he said.

Continuing, the paper said:

The conviction of the masses that the president was actually making a statement of fact was predicated on the fact that as the custodian of the treasury, the Federal Government was in a position to know how much the various councils are being allocated monthly from the federation account.

Expressing deep disbelief, the newspaper queried:

Do you need a south Seer to tell you that the statement of the President is a clear interpretation that it has overtly or covertly passed a vote of no confidence on you? These were the sort of concerns expressed about corrupt practices at the local government levels. The rampantness of it has known no bound.

As Ekaette (2005) puts it,

Against the background of the growing general concern in our country today, that while corruption may be perceived to be high at the federal level, it is definitely higher in the States and certainly highest at the local government level.

According to him,

Against the antagonism that corruption is at the highest at the Federal level, the corruption at the Local Government level cannot be compared.

As he further puts it,

The situation where the society showers praises on and provides comfortable cover and soft landing for public officers accused of corruption is not only a major impediment to the fight against corruption but a national embarrassment and a tragedy.

Concluding Ekaette(2005) said:

This unfortunate development emphasizes that the fight against corruption at all levels is one that must involve all Nigerians.

Cases of corrupt practices in the local governments abound in Nigerian newspapers. For example, two local government chairmen were said to have been arrested for allegedly embezzling public funds worth over a billion naira in Rivers state (Punch newspapers February 14, 2006:13). According to the newspaper, the arrest of the two chairmen was based on a series of petitions written by their councilors against them. "One of the Chairmen was accused of running the council as his personal estate and carting away council funds without following due process. The other was alleged to have siphoned millions of naira from the council's coffers into his private accounts, using fronts. Similar, the Comet (Friday, January 20, 2003:5) reported the arrest of an ex-council boss and three others in an alleged N3 billion fraud. According the newspaper, the quartets allegedly used their position as council officers to perpetrate monumental fraud and enriched themselves while in office. The officials were said to have been arrested and arraigned at a Lagos High Court, Ikeja by the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). They were said to have been charged for allegedly presenting forged documents at various times to source for ecological fund from the Federal Government for the council which was not utilized for the designated purpose. In addition, the ex-chairman was alleged to have diverted unspecified sums of money running into millions of naira on the pretext that tools for agricultural purposes would be procured for indigent members hut the said money was not utilized for its purpose rather it went into private pockets. Writing under the caption: Benue Decries Council Officials Partisanship, Auditors Allege fraud in Kwara", the Guardian newspaper

(February 7, 2004:4) wrote: "former Ilorin council chiefs in Kwara state have been carpeted for allegedly engaging in financial recklessness, execution of phantom contracts and poor record keeping". Quoting the consortium of Auditors who audited their accounts, the newspaper wrote: "the chairmen served between June,1999 and May 31, 2003 and the allegations were rampant cases of inadequacy of accounting records and missing vouchers, Bank statements, and other essential accounting Books".

As the auditors further put it,

Bank statements were not obtained at all in some cases and this leaves one to wonder how the local governments reconciled their cash books with their bank accounts. Besides, the principal officers, chairmen, Directors of personnel management, and the Treasurers did not allow due process to be followed before payments were made, resulting in unauthorized payments.

According to the newspaper, "they also faulted the financial transactions in cash payments to contractors and their third parties in the same mode".

In the same vein, quoting the report of a firm of auditors, the Guardian (February 7, 2004:5) wrote:

In Ekiti local council, about N22.66 million was reportedly paid in cash in 2002 to the manager of a Bank (name withheld) in respect of repayment of bank overdraft... Payments of N660,000 for the purchase of GSM phones were made twice based on the same approval in mere local council.

In addition, the report according to the newspaper claimed that many cases of contracts paid for but not executed were found. For example, it wrote:

At Ifelodun council N2.5 million was paid for the repairs of a Bulldozer that was not effected at all. At Oke-Ira, the sum of N6.6m was awarded and paid to a firm for the construction of the chairman's quarters, but the contract was not executed.

The Punch newspapers (Thursday, February 23, 2006: 14) writing under the caption: "LG boss resigns to escape impeachment" wrote: "the embattled chairman of Yenagoa local government area, Mr. Anthony Samuel has resigned from office, ahead of plans to remove him by his Councilors". According to the newspaper, "the plan to remove him was as a result of alleged corrupt practices which the councilors had directed the State chief Judge to investigate". In line with others, the Comet (February 3, 2005:7), with the caption: "Alleged corruption: Kwara Lawmakers descend on council chiefs", wrote thus:

Local government chairmen in Kwara State are now running helter-skelter to save their jobs following a decision by the state's House of Assembly to wield the big stick against what its members alleged as large-scale corruption and lack of discipline in the councils. Most of the council chiefs were accused of spending outrageous amount of money on seminars, travels, and celebrations... Other allegation includes spending outrageous amount on the construction of boreholes and classrooms.

As the newspaper puts it,

a major report by the House committee on local government and chieftaincy affairs described the amount as outrageous and asked that the appropriate regulating ministry takes step to recover some of the amount and issue query to the affected chairmen where necessary.

In the same vein, the Sunday Punch (January 22, 2006: 43) with the caption "Bayelsa Assembly suspends all LG bosses wrote:" The chairmen of the eight 'did Local Government Areas of Bayelsa state were suspended indefinitely by members of the States House of Assembly at their sitting..."According to the newspaper, "the decision to suspend the chairmen was based on public petitions against them over financial

recklessness and abuse of office." Again, writing under the caption "Extend dragnet to LGs, APLP chieftain urges EFCC", the Comet (October 28, 2005: 13) wrote: the National Secretary of All Peoples Liberation Party, Alhaji shehu Nafuntua, has urged the Economic and financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to extend its dragnet to Local government chairmen particularly in Niger state. According to the newspaper, Nafuntua accused them of committing a lot of atrocities alleging that many of them award and pay for contracts not executed and the money end up in the pocket of the politicians and their comrades in crime. Similarly, the punch newspaper (November 15, 2005:13) writing under the caption "Council boss dragged to court over N750m Council fund" wrote:

The chairman of Sumaila Local government Area of Kano state, Alhaji Zubairu Hamza, has been dragged before a Kano High court for allegedly misappropriating N750 million belonging to the council. The charges against him include, receiving money for projects not executed and lodging some into private accounts.

In another development, the punch newspaper (September 3, 2005: 10) writing under the caption, "Traditional rulers endorse the suspension of LG boss" wrote: Traditional Rulers in Epe Local Government have endorsed the suspension of the Local Government chairman saying the allegations against him were too strong to be swept under the carpet. According to the newspaper, the chairman was accused of diversion of council funds and outright embezzlement of funds. Also, the punch newspapers (September 21, 2005:12) with the caption: Looting: Group, accuses LG bosses, Treasurers of collusion wrote: the institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian law has accused Chairmen of all the 23 Local Government areas in Rivers State for colluding with their Treasurers to loot the councils' treasuries. Quoting the human rights body, the newspaper wrote:

The looters have not been minding constitutional and local statutory directives in funds management, with the chairmen continuing to build castles with billions channeled into their Pockets.

All these are pointers to the fact that all is not well with the Nigerian local government system. The rate and magnitude of corrupt practices in this tier of government is nothing but incredible. As the *Tempo* (May 2001), earlier puts it, it cuts across nearly all the local governments in the country.

Claver–Oparah (2002) summarizes it this way:

Today, the local Governments have been transformed into a cesspit, with a ceaseless demand for money and allocations most of which end up in the ceaseless pockets of the chairmen, councilors and all manners of political cronies while the grassroots grope helplessly as its last hope for the dividends of democracy gets enmeshed in the rubble of dumb prattle for selfish political interests.

The implication of all these is that people at the local government levels continue to lack Development as monies which could have been utilized for it have gone into the private pockets of very few persons (the chairmen and their cronies) in the Local Government areas. The basic truth is that corruption has been impeding sustainable development at the grass root level and robbing the children of today of the resources they will need to survive tomorrow (*New Age*, Nov 27, 2003: 20). The Nigerian president, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in expressing his government's disappointment over the developments in the Local government councils and the need for council reforms said inter alia:

Based on the local government reform of 1976, the local governments became the third tier of Government under our current dispensation; the expectation was that the third tier of government would act as a catalyst and aid rapid and sustained development at the grassroots levels. However, what we have witnessed is the abysmal failure of the local government system. It is on record that at no time in the history of the country has there been the current level of funding accruing to the local Government from the

federation Account. Yet the hope, for rapid and sustained development has been a mirage as successive councils have grossly underperformed in almost all the areas of their mandate.(The Guardian, June 19, 2003:19)

The Question to ask is: how come is corruption so rampant in the Local councils? This takes us to the next aspect of this paper.

THE ORIGIN OF CORRUPTION IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS

Local Government in Nigeria in the modern sense dates back to 1950 when the first democratically elected Local Government Councils (LGCS) were established in Lagos and the Ibibio area of the old Calabar province of Eastern Nigerian.. Prior to this date the system of local administration was indirect rule (Ola, 1994:112) or put in another way, a system of administration in which local chiefs or native authorities were used to run the affairs of the local people as fronts for the colonial British officials. Thus, Local Government replaced the indirect rule system or what could also be called local administration. The main difference between both is that Local Government operates in a restricted geographical area within which the local community enjoys local self-government – government of the local community for the local community by its elected local inhabitants. This is participatory democracy in the sense that the local community manages its own defined local affairs within legal frameworks, thereby arousing the political consciousness among the local citizens (Ola, 1994: 112). The reverse is the case with Local administration - a system in which there is lack of local participation but, rather a government of the local community for the local community by appointed officials. This clarification becomes necessary so that no one is misled by the evolution of local Government in Nigeria. However, the transition from indirect rule to local Government or the philosophy behind it is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that by 1930s, colonial administrators like Sir Donald Cameron and Lord Hailey saw Lord Lugard's indirect rule system as having outlived its usefulness. In its place, they advocated the need for socio-economic development of the local people

through a democratically elected local government. This was however delayed by the Great Economic Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War (WWII) of 1939 – 1945. After the Second World War; the British government took a decision to have elected members in the local administration of her colonies. The Eastern region took the first phenomenal step in 1950 followed by the western region in 1952 and Northern region in 1954. The Eastern region therefore became the first port of experimenting local government in Nigeria. The ordinance that established it provided for a three-tier structure consisting of County, District (rural and urban) and local councils in consonance with the-British model (Gboyega et al, 1989: 160). In line with the British disposition of self-government, the elected members were given some level of autonomy. For instance, they had responsibility for education, roads, hospital, agriculture, law and order, medical and health services, public works, commentaries, waste disposal and the markets, among others. In addition they were saddled with the financial management of the local government. The whole idea was to make the councils accept responsibility for and implement their decisions, subject only to such control from outside as exercised by the people through the Regional governments (Gbeyega et al, 1989: 164) As Orewa and Adewumi (1983: xiii) put it: a unique feature of this period was that the elected councilors were given a great measure of autonomy in financial and personnel matter as well as general administration. This autonomy or freedom to perform signaled the beginning of corrupt practices in the local governments. The autonomy emphasized that the elected councilors were to handle their affairs without the usual control or supervisions, which hitherto was provided by the District officers. This high level of autonomy or freedom , gave the elected Councilors the impetus to do whatever they desired. Not only did they make mistakes, they abused their offices and engaged in various corrupt practices which have remained with the Local Governments till today.

As Gboyega et al (1989:162) put it:

...there was no place for a policy of caution or of delaying lest mistakes be made...corruption on a large scale and other forms of financial mismanagement soon put an end to any hope that the absence of close supervision would inculcate responsible leadership.

According to Gboyega et al (1989:162)

The system failed to be dynamic enough for revenue mobilization and development generation... the local councils remained ineffective...

This development led to the various reforms that followed thereafter and as we mentioned earlier it signaled the beginning of corrupt practices in the Local Government Councils

CAUSES OF PERSISTENT CORRUPTION IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS.

The following can be adduced as causes of corrupt practices in the Local Government Councils of Nigeria.

1. Class struggle (competition) - This is borne out of the high rate of poverty at the local levels, just as it is in the country as a whole. It is a situation of the "have - nots"(the poor in the society) at one extreme wanting to fall into the category of the "haves" (those who are wealthy in the society). This case is different from greed in the sense that those who do not have simply want to have and in an attempt to have they look for opportunity to steal, loot or misappropriate. The local government thus becomes an avenue to do the stealing. Indeed, in Nigeria today, just like in any other country in the world, Government whether federal, central, state or local as the case may be, is usually seen as an organization for the people's money. The struggle therefore is that of getting government job at all cost, with the belief that

once it is gotten, an end must of necessity come to poverty. This was the case in the 50s just as it is today. After the yield to self government by Britain, the terrain became open for elected councilors. These were people at the local level who have been badly pauperized as a result of colonial hegemony. They were largely illiterates and no specific arrangement was made to train them for local governance. As a result of their illiteracy level and inexperience, they made copious mistakes. Not only did they make the mistakes, they embarked on corrupt practices to make ends meet. Thus service delivery became a secondary issue for them. Survival instinct came in and the desire to be like others (the haves) became the target. This is still the situation today. Most the Chairmen and Councilors elected to the councils are simply pauperized opportunists who suddenly find themselves in political offices with the notion that opportunity comes but once and it is now or never. Service provision becomes secondary in their minds and 'making it' becomes the primary assignment. The end result is corruption galore..

- 2 Emulating corrupt leaders (Contagious effect) - Corruption in the Local Government today is more of a contagion. Local Government officials are simply emulating their counterparts in the States and Federal levels. The point being made is that corruption in the local governments is a function of corruption at the upper tiers of government. The fact is that those at the local level simply feel that they just have to be like their counterpart at the upper levels. After all, as the common saying goes, What is good for the goose is good for the gander. The corrupt practices at the States and Federal levels should be a cause for worry. Earlier in this paper we quoted the secretary to the federal government, Chief Ufot Ekaette as referring to the local governments as most corrupt. This is rather begging the question. The fact is that there are more corrupt practices at the upper tiers of government

than the local governments today. The saving grace is simply that cases of corrupt practices are less publicized and indeed usually covered up at the upper tiers than the local governments. Likewise, the magnitude or quantum of amount usually involved at the upper tiers of government is far higher than that of the local governments. For example, the Tell magazine (May 2006:19-24), made the following statements about the serving Governor of Abia state:

Orji Uzor Kalu, Governor of Abia state, who wants to be Nigeria's next president, is exposed by investigators as a criminal in " government who has engaged in a monumental plundering of the State he governs. Investigations conducted by the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) into allegations of stealing of public funds, fraudulent acquisition of assets, official corruption and money laundering against him revealed that Kalu has since he become governor in 1999, perpetrated a shocking, brazen and systematic plundering of the states fund, the magnitude of which investigator say is unprecedented in the history of investigations of public officers in Nigeria.

According to the magazine, 'between 1999 and 2005, Kalu is alleged to have stolen close to 440 billion from the coffers of the State through various means' (Tell May 2006: 20). This is just an example of what obtains at the upper tiers of government. Earlier in this paper we made mention of some other cases. Kalu enjoys immunity as a governor of a State in the Federal Republic of Nigeria and until his tenure expires he cannot be arrested or charged to court for any alleged crime. But the point we are making is that it is development of this nature that makes corrupt practices at the local government levels hydra - headed It is as good as the local political functionaries saying, if the Governors are corrupt, Ministers corrupt, Commissioners corrupt, Police corrupt and so on; why will the local Government officials not be corrupt'? This is the contagious effect we are talking about.

- 3 Survival after service — The need to survive after service is yet another major cause of corrupt practices in the local councils. Most of the political functionaries' embark on corrupt practices so as to safeguard their future after service. This is borne out of the fear of not wanting to go back to poverty or becoming poor after service. To guarantee this therefore, they embark on various sharp practices to accumulate wealth as much as possible.
- 4 Greed — The Oxford advance LearnerstDictionary (2000: 521) define Greed as an excessive desire for wealth, power etc for oneself, without consideration for the needs of other people. There is no doubt that greed is one of the major causes of corruption in the local councils of Nigeria. The point is simply that most of the political functionaries at the local government level are simply greedy. To them, it is a matter of swallowing others or having more wealth to the detriment of the others. They therefore want to accumulate as much wealth as possible not only to have and sustain themselves but to remain constantly at the top at all times. In doing this, they throw caution to the wind. They not only take for themselves but extend it to members of their family, friends and relations.
- 5 Weakness of some institutional frameworks for checks and balances or lack of adequate control and supervision: This is yet another contributory factor to the rampant corrupt practices in the councils. The point is that nearly all the frame work for checking corrupt practices are either conniving with the local political functionaries or have simply developed cold feet at carrying out their responsibilities. In the early 50s this factor held sway, just as it is still holding .sway today. The point is that there is corruption in the local government councils because there are weaknesses on the part of those who are supposed to provide checks and balances on the activities of the local political functionaries. In the 50s, it was the weakening of the system of

control and supervision that gave rise to the corrupt practices then (Gboyega 1989: 163). In recent times, despite various frameworks for control, corrupt practices remains unabated. For example, Councilors, Auditors, Treasurers and Head of personnel management (HPM) are expected to provide some level of control on the activities of the chairmen of the local councils. But this is far from the case. As Adamolekun (1983:83) observed, in many cases, the Councilors are either ignorant of what their responsibility entails or are unwilling to pay attention to their responsibility. The role of the auditors in any organization is quite clear, and this is simply to provide checks and balances against abuses (corrupt practices or financial crimes). Similarly, the Treasurers and Head of personnel management in the local council are also expected to provide checks on the finances of the councils. This is buttressed by the fact that the cheque leaves of the Local Governments are signed by both of them (bureaucratic officials) and not the chairman of the councils. This becomes an issue of great concern. The question to ask here is: how come the chairmen of the Local Governments get so much involved in corrupt practices when all these control measures are there? The essence of disallowing the chairmen from signing the cheques of the councils to our mind is nothing but to check any financial excesses on their part.. The State Assemblies are also expected to provide some controls and monitoring on the Local Government as provided for in the constitution. The extent to which this is carried out becomes a concern. Put together, the point being made is that weaknesses in the control of the activities of the Local Governments have created opportunities for corrupt practices in the local Governments than can be imagined.

- 6 Societal Orientation and Acceptance of corruption as a way of life — The orientation of most people in the Local Government areas just as it is in Nigeria as a whole is that government's job is for all and you cannot be a

political functionary without 'making it' Thus, there is always an expectation from the society on anyone holding political office. Indeed, there are usually expectations from peer groups, family members, schoolmates' religious bodies, co-workers, relations, friends among many others. Apart from these expectations, it will be seen to be a shame. if a political functionary gets out of office only to be poor or have members of his immediate family poor. By implication therefore, the society cares less about those who are corrupt as one way or the other, they stand to benefit. The point we are making is that the society itself encourages corruption at all levels of governance. Indeed, this reason has been seen to be why there is hardly any serious reaction from the public when corrupt cases are mentioned. The mentality is that of "wait for your turn, get your own and leave the scene for others". In Nigeria today, there is hardly any protest against corruption but protest against tenure of offices, so that the national cake (corruption) can go round.. As Ademolekun (1983: 83-84 puts it,

one of the encouraging factors of corruption in the Nigerian society is the prevailing attitude in the society which appears to be tolerant of corrupt behaviors on the part of elected and appointed officials at every level of government.

What then can be possible solutions or remedies to this economic malaise?

POSSIBLE REMEDIES OR SOLUTIONS TO CORRUPTION IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS

There is no doubt that corruption has eaten deep into the fiber of the local government system in Nigeria. Be this as it may, we make the following suggestions as possible remedies to ameliorate the practice if the local government must be seen to be efficient and effective An effective institutional framework for checks and balances — As mentioned earlier, there are many institutional frameworks to check corrupt practices in the local councils. However, there seems to be some weaknesses or nonchalance on

the part of these institutions, thereby creating loopholes or opportunity for corrupt practices. It is our considered opinion that these institutions can make a great difference if only they can be alive to their responsibilities. For example, the Guidelines on Administrative procedures and Financial regulations of the Local Governments clearly spells out the responsibilities of the Auditors-internal and external, Treasurers, Accountant, Head of personnel management etc in providing checks on the financial excesses of the political functionaries especially the chairman who calls the shot in the local government. No matter how clever and brilliant the chairman of a local government is, he or she will find it difficult to outwit all these frameworks if there is no connivance or collusion. It is therefore necessary to begin to purge the local governments of officials who aid and abet corrupt practices. This will go along way in bringing financial prudence or sanity in the local government areas. Further to this, the local councilors should also be alive to their responsibilities. The essence of the 1991 local government reform was not only to practice the presidential system in the local government councils but also to have an institution that can put the executive to check at all times. The point here is that if all the control frameworks are alive to their responsibilities barring any connivance, corruption will be reduced in the local governments.

Effective press or mass media — the mass media serve as the watchdog of public moral, mouthpiece of the public at large, and as an essential ingredient in unraveling or exposing corruption and other kinds of public sector irregularities. It therefore should be alive to its responsibility. There is too much concentration of media searchlight at the center than the peripheral. The mass media should extend its search light to the local governments and should not necessarily wait for such Institutions as the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) or the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) to mention a few to expose corrupt practices before they publish them.

Need for severe penalties- Sincerely, stubborn boils in the body demands swift operations to get rid of them. One of the reasons why corrupt practices have been so rampant in the local governments and indeed in Nigeria as a whole is the nature of penalties established corrupt officials are made to face. Various courts have imposed jail terms as they deem fit on very few cases brought before them. However, to really address corruption, there is need to enact laws that will make corruption no matter the magnitude a death penalty or at least life jail. This will go a long way to curb corrupt practices in Nigeria and the local governments in particular.

An alert public- It is the responsibility of all well meaning Nigerians to help check corrupt practices. Every Nigerian should see corruption as a virus that must be tackled head long. For example corruption will be reduced drastically if alarms are raised where any public functionary is suspected to be living in affluence or suddenly became rich from no where. The Law is very clear on this. Whoever is not found guilty goes free. The public should be constantly vigilant to expose possible corrupt, dishonest and dubious politicians in their environment. As Hilliard (Bayer and Meyer 1994:223) puts it, the public should bear in mind that it is not the political functionaries that suffer losses but they the public. They should therefore be at alert to expose any corrupt practice as it occurs without any fear or favour.

Prudent Local Government officials — Apart from some institutional frameworks or authorities that are vested with the responsibility of checking the excesses of political functionaries especially the Chairmen in the local councils, there are other officials who could also expose any corrupt practice For example the Secretaries or typists, account clerks, Receiving clerks, Head of Departments, Engineers among others.. These officials should realize that corrupt officials are always a cog in the wheel of their progress and should not be compromised. Such official also must not be involved in any shady deal as those who must go to equity must go with clean hands. When the local government begins to have more prudent officials, corrupt practices will no doubt be reduced

Transparency & Accountability — One thing that is lacking in the local government is transparency. Another is Accountability. Indeed, for corruption to be reduced in the local governments there must be high level of transparency. Transparency demands that there should be no secrecy. This implies therefore that all activities of the council should be open for public knowledge. For example, when contracts are awarded, it should be made public with full details which should include the amount involved, name of contractors and site. This will afford the public the opportunity to know the contracts awarded and accordingly monitor them. For instance, if 10 lock-up shops are to be built and somebody somewhere is claiming money for 100 lock-up shops, the deal will be easily exposed. It is not in the interest of the people of the local government as a whole that projects or activities that are for them should be shrouded in secrecy. Making activities and transactions open will help reduce corrupt practices. Accountability also demands that the people should always be informed of the activities of the local government. The people deserve to know at every point in time what their government is doing and how they are going about it. By the time the general public begins to have knowledge of the activities of their local councils and raise questions where necessary, corrupt practices will be highly reduced.

Need for a public forum — The need for a public forum where the Council functionaries will meet regularly with the people at the Local Government areas is vital if corruption must be tackled. Here also, the people of the local government must show interest in such public fora. and feel free to ask questions where necessary. Such meetings will no doubt help to reduce corrupt practices and other mal administration.

Need for Compulsory Training for all aspirants to political positions in the Local councils - Providing training for all political aspirants to the Local Government councils will go a long way to reduce corrupt practices in them. Such training will enhance the skills of the aspirants and expose them to the rudiments of good governance, probity, accountability, transparency and service delivery

Fighting corruption from above — To be successful in combating corruption at the Local Government level, the battle must start from the upper tiers of Government. As we mentioned earlier in this paper, corruption in the Local councils is rampant because it has risen in unprecedented proportions at the federal and state levels unabated. The reality is that Local Government political functionaries are simply emulating what their counterparts at those levels are doing. Therefore the reduction of corruption at the Local Government Level is tied to its reduction at the upper levels.

The value of the Nigerian currency (Naira) — Whether we like it or not the value of the naira is contributing in no small measure to corrupt practices in the country as a whole. There is inflation in the country. An average Nigerian can hardly afford the basic necessities of life with his income. As a result he begins to think of how to steal or cheat. The situation is worst with Political functionaries who want to live in affluence. No Chairman of a Local Government with his salary for three years will be able to build a comfortable house without resorting to bribes or stealing. Though there has always been corruption in Nigeria, the rate today cannot be compared with what it was in the 70s just like the rate of inflation today cannot be compared with what it was then. To solve corruption therefore, the Federal Government must address the value of the naira or inflation in the country.

CONCLUSION

There is no gain saying the fact that no nation can thrive with corruption. There are so many implications of corruption to any nation just as it is to the local government. First, corruption makes it possible for limited but valuable funds and resources that are earmarked for various social and developmental amenities to either out rightly be embezzled, misappropriated or otherwise severely depleted through kick-backs and over invoicing (Amaechi 2003). Furthermore, corruption stifles businesses that are unwilling to engage in its nefarious activities. Similarly, in a most ironic twist, the

cankerworm of corruption also eventually turn round to destroy even the people and organization that yield to its snare, thus halting or at least delaying considerably, the march toward economic prosperity and ultimately sustained development (Amaechi 2003). Added to this, is that corruption scares investors and it breeds poverty. Nigeria's poverty ratio of 70:30 is simply as a result of corruption. The various hues and cries of poor performance at the Local Government level are simply as a result of corrupt practices. Corruption has greatly reduced public spending in the Local Governments leaving most social services to collapse and new ones untouchable. As a result, most people at the Local Government levels have been migrating to the cities. The implication of this migration is not only for the Local Government areas but the country as a whole. For example, energetic young people in the Local government areas especially those in the rural settings on migrating leaves agricultural production to their aged parents and young ones. This by implication will have effect on agricultural productions which will consequently affect the Gross Domestic Product, the Gross National Product and the National Income of the nation. Similarly, on migrating to the cities, they get the cities over populated. Beyond this, food in the cities will become scarce. First, because those who are supposed to help beef up its production have migrated to the cities, secondly, because in the cities, too many people will be chasing few agricultural products and this will no doubt bring about inflation going by the simple law of Supply and Demand.

Further to this, the migrants will join and compound the rate of unemployment, the end result of which is that most of them will resort to crime to make ends meet. The female ones in particular will go into prostitutions while the males will go into armed robbery. All these, have implications for National Development. For example, Government will of necessity begin to pump in money to tackle crime rate and of course various diseases (for instance, HIV) borne out of prostitution and armed robbery. The war against corruption is not a one - man battle (Ayoola, 2006) neither should the concentration be on the Local Governments alone. The fact is that wittingly or unwittingly every Nigerian has become a victim of corruption and should join hands to combat the virus at all levels.

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APPENDIX I: CORRUPTION PERSPECTIVE INDEX (1996/1997)

Rank	Country	Score	Rank	Country	Score
1	New Zealand	9.43	1	Denmark	9.94
2	Denmark	9.33	2	Finland	9.48
3	Sweden	9.08	3	Sweden	9.38
4	Finland	9.05	4	New Zealand	9.23
5	Canada	9.86	5	Canada	9.1
6	Norway	8.87	6	Netherlands	9.03
7	Singapore	8.8	7	Norway	8.92
8	Switzerland	8.76	8	Australia	8.86
9	Netherlands	8.71	9	Singapore	8.66
10	Australia	8.6	10	Luxembourg	8.61
11	Ireland	8.45	11	Switzerland	8.61
12	UK	8.44	12	Ireland	8.28
13	Germany	8.27	13	German	8.23
14	Israel	7.71	14	UK	8.22
15	USA	7.66	15	Israel	7.97
16	Austria	7.59	16	USA	7.61
17	Japan	7.05	17	Australia	7.61
18	Hong Kong	7.01	18	Hong Kong	7.28
19	France	6.96	19	Portugal	6.97
20	Belgium	6.84	20	France	6.66
21	Chile	6.8	21	Japan	6.57
22	Portugal	6.53	22	Costa Rica	6.45
23	South Africa	5.68	23	Chile	6.05
24	Poland	5.57	24	Spain	5.9
25	Czech Rep	5.37	25	Greece	5.3526
26	Malaysia	5.32	26	Belgium	5.25
27	South Korea	5.02	27	Czech Rep	5.2
28	Greece	5.01	28	Hungary	5.18
29	Taiwan	4.98	29	Poland	5.08
30	Jordan	4.89	30	Italy	5.03
31	Hungary	4.89	31	Taiwan	5.02
32	Spain	4.31	32	Malaysia	5.01
33	Turkey	3.54	33	South Africa	4.95
34	Italy	3.42	34	South Korea	4.29
35	Argentina	3.41	35	Uruguay	4.14
36	Bolivia	3.4	36	Brazil	3.56
37	Thailand	3.33	37	Romania	3.44
38	Mexico	3.3	38	Turkey	3.21
39	Ecuador	3.19	39	Thailand	3.06
40	Brazil	2.96	40	Philippines	3.05
41	Egypt	2.84	41	China	2.88
42	Colombia	2.73	42	Argentina	2.81
43	Uganda	2.73	43	Vietnam	2.77
44	Philippines	2.65	44	Venezuela	2.77
45	Indonesia	2.65	45	India	2.75
46	India	2.63	46	Indonesia	2.72
47	Russia	2.58	47	Mexico	2.66
48	Venezuela	2.5	48	Pakistan	2.27
49	Cameroon	2.46	49	Russia	2.27
50	China	2.43	50	Colombia	2.23
51	Bangladesh	2.29	51	Bolivia	2.05
52	Kenya	2.21			
53	pakistan	1.0			

Source: Transparent International. Internet corruption perception Index, 200

**APPENDIX 2: TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL'S MOST CORRUPT
NATIONS IN THE WORLD AS AT 28/8/2002**

1. Bangladesh (1.2)
2. Nigeria (1.6)
3. Angola (1.7)
4. Madagascar (1.7)
5. Paraguay (1.7)
6. Indonesia (1.9)
7. Kenya (1.9)
8. Azerbaijan (2.0)
9. Uganda (2.1)
10. Moldova (2.1)

Countries are given a score out of a possible perfect 10 Sources: Vanguard, August 29, 2002:1-2.
NB: Nigeria is presented here as the second most corrupt nation in the world

**APPENDIX 3: TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL'S MOST CORRUPT THREE
NATIONS IN THE WORLD 1999-2003.**

COUNTRY	YEAR 1999	YEAR 2000	YEAR 2001	YEAR 2002	YEAR 2003
Nigeria	2 nd	1 st	2 nd	2 nd	2 nd
Cameroon	1 st	2 nd			
Bangladesh			1 st	1 st	1 st

Source Igbinovia (2003)

NB: In 1999, Nigeria was presented as the second most corrupt nation in the world. In 2000, she was presented as the world's most corrupt nation. Having scored lowest in the ranking of Transparency International from 2002-2003 She maintained the position of the second most corrupt nation in the world. I low are the mighty fallen?