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ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

CORRUPTION AND ITS EFFECT ON NATION-BUILDING:

A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA FROM 1999-2019

MASTER'S THESIS

Nkiru Queen APUTAZIE

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

SEPTEMBER, 2021

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SEPTEMBER, 2021

ONAY FORMU

DECLARATION

I hereby declare with respect that the "CORRUPTION AND ITS EFFECT ON NATION-BUILDING A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA FROM 1999-2019", which i submitted as a Master's thesis, is written without any assistance in violation of scientific ethics and tradition in all the process from the project phase to the conclusion of the thesis and that the work i have benefited are from those shown in Bibliography. (27/09/2021)

Nkiru Queen APUTAZIE

FOREWORD

This thesis presents my work on the topic of Corruption and its Effect on Nation-building: A Case Study of Nigeria from 1999-2019. I have had the privilege to work with very talented people. The completion of this study would not have been possible without the great efforts and assistance of Asst. Prof. Dr Hazar Vural Jane my thesis supervisor for her great support towards the success of this thesis. My sincere gratitude also goes to my siblings Chinyere Laura Aputazie and Ogechi Christiana Aputazie, my friends, family members and staff of political science and international relations for their support directly and indirectly to the success of this thesis.

September 2021   Nkiru Queen APUTAZIE

CORRUPTION AND ITS EFFECT ON NATION-BUILDING:
A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA FROM 1999-2019

ABSTRACT

Corruption is a concept that affects all societies. It is present in all nations and does not relate to a particular nation. The universalist nature of corruption has made it inherently difficult for nations around the world to record serious development, growth, nor improvement. Although corruption is present in all parts of the world, some countries record higher levels of corruption in comparison to other countries, hence, this study seeks to understand the nature of corruption in Nigeria which has often been referred to as a nation with high levels of corruption.

Corruption in Nigeria is visible in all sectors of the country, for this reason, the effects of corruption are seen in every part of the nation. This study focuses on the influence of corruption in Nigeria's nation-building process. This is mostly borne out of the fact that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation with diverse cultures, hence, with such high records of corruption, nation-building is bound to be affected.

The study is concluded from interviews conducted amongst 6 professors and 4 members of the Nigerian House of Representatives selected from the three major ethnic groups in the country. This selection has been done to ensure that various ideas and sentiments of the members of these ethnic groups are collected. Similarly, the study focuses on a period between 1999- present time as this signified the fourth republic of the Nigerian nation.

Keywords: Corruption, Nigeria, Effects, Nation-Building

YOLSUZLUK VE ULUSAL İNŞA ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: 1999-2019 YILINDAN NİJERYA'DA BİR VAKA ÇALIŞMASI

ÖZET

Yolsuzluk tüm toplumları etkileyen bir kavramdır. Tüm uluslarda mevcuttur ve belirli bir ulusla ilgili değildir. Yolsuzluğun evrenselci doğası, dünyanın dört bir yanındaki ulusların ciddi bir gelişme, büyüme veya gelişme kaydetmesini doğası gereği zorlaştırdı. Yolsuzluk dünyanın her yerinde mevcut olmasına rağmen, bazı ülkeler diğer ülkelere kıyasla daha yüksek düzeyde yolsuzluk kaydetmektedir, bu nedenle bu çalışma, genellikle yüksek düzeyde yolsuzluk düzeyine sahip bir ülke olarak anılan Nijerya'daki yolsuzluğun doğasını anlamaya çalışmaktadır. yolsuzluk.

Nijerya'da yolsuzluk ülkenin tüm sektörlerinde görülmektedir, bu nedenle yolsuzluğun etkileri ülkenin her yerinde görülmektedir. Bu çalışma, Nijerya'nın ulus inşası sürecinde yolsuzluğun etkisine odaklanmaktadır. Bu, çoğunlukla Nijerya'nın farklı kültürlere sahip çok etnikli bir ulus olduğu gerçeğinden kaynaklanmaktadır, bu nedenle, bu kadar yüksek yolsuzluk kayıtları ile ulus inşasının etkilenmesi kaçınılmazdır.

Çalışma, ülkedeki üç büyük etnik gruptan seçilen 6 profesör ve Nijerya Temsilciler Meclisi'nin 4 üyesi arasında yapılan görüşmelerden sonuçlandırılmıştır. Bu seçim, bu etnik grupların üyelerinin çeşitli fikir ve duygularının toplanmasını sağlamak için yapılmıştır. Benzer şekilde, çalışma, Nijerya ulusunun dördüncü cumhuriyeti anlamına geldiği için 1999-şimdiki zaman arasındaki bir döneme odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yolsuzluk, Nijerya, Etkileri, Nlus bnşası

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ABBREVIATIONS

APC   **:** All Progressive Congress

BBC   **:** British Broadcasting Corporation

CJN   **:** Chief Justice of Nigeria

EFCC : Economic and Financial Crimes Commission

GMD **:** Group Managing Director

ICPC **:** Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission

IDP   **:** Internally Displaced person camp

JAMB : Joint Admission and Matriculation Board

NIA   **:** Nigeria Intelligence Agency

NSA   **:** National Security Adviser

NNPC : Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation

NPN   **:** National Party of Nigeria

NYSC : National Youth Service Corps

PDP   **:** People's Democratic Party

TI   **:** Transparency International

WB   **:** World Bank

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

Nigeria, like many developing countries, has continued to face many social and economic problems. These problems include poor public spending, horrible national budget planning, illiteracy problem, healthcare problems, high rate of unemployment, high poverty rate, growing level of inequality, inter-tribal crises, and many others. A major factor that has been blamed for the poor standards of living in Nigeria is the massive corruption in the public sector. Corruption can be viewed as a global phenomenon that is not peculiar to any ethnic, regional or political group. Its nature of universality has increased the subjective definition ascribed to it. According to some scholars such as Wells & Hymes (2012), corruption widely affects all nations of the world and is not limited to geography, economic system or political system. Since the late 1990s, corruption has reached such an extent that some governments who now look like glorified criminal gangs, are more after their own enrichment.

Sarah (2016) referred to them as kleptocrats who drive angry populations to extremes. She also included that Nigeria is a place where corruption flows downward, the top receives oil profit, and payments flow down in a patronage system. Corruption as a global policy issue is a result of both real and perceived increase in circumstances, the magnitude of corruption has increased in some parts of the world. But in other countries what was previously overlooked or ignored has been exposed and declared unacceptable by newly empowered media and voters. Countries like Italy, France, Japan, South Korea, India, Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, South Africa. It is a revolution that even Karl Marx could not predict. The end of the Cold War and the emergence of an integrated international economy clearly contributed to the widespread perception of corruption as a problem with inherently global ramification. This has been particularly obvious in Italy, the birthplace of the

1990s anti-corruption revolt where the fear of communism had long underwritten public tolerance of notoriously high levels of corruption. In South Korea the end of the cold war opened floodgates of public anger at the antidemocratic and corrupt practices of the politicians.

The European commission in its report found that corruption is costing the European economy about 120$ billion a year, and according to the European commissioner for home affairs Cecilia Malstotrom the corruption in Europe is most present in public procurement, financing of political parties and health care.

The United Nations stated that the cost of corruption in Afghanistan amounted to about $3.9 billion in 2012. According to transparency international the former leader of Indonesia, Suharto embezzled between $15 to $35 billion, whereas the embezzlement of Mobutu in Zaire, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines and Abacha in Nigeria are estimated to be $5 billion. World bank analysis shows that 1 billion in bribes both in rich and developing countries, is paid annually which means that even the developed countries are not immune to corruption. Political corruption is more present in large infrastructure projects.

According to Transparency International (2015), more than six billion of the world's population are living in regions of extreme levels of corruption, thereby, explaining that corruption is indeed universal. Corruption is widely spoken and means different things to different people based on their experience and perspective. The corruption discussion is now a multi-disciplinary discourse that is not only discussed in political offices or parliamentary buildings but is also discussed in marketplaces as well as in social gatherings. and inter-disciplinary discourse and a topical issue interested by academics, governments, private bodies as well as other non-governmental organizations. Because everyone is affected by corruption and products of corruption, its meaning varies according to the individual involved.

Irrespective of the various definitions accrued to corruption, the widely accepted definition proposed by Agatiello (2010) defines corruption as "a commission or omission of an action, an abuse of trust, or vice which ultimately changes the legal as well as the ethical obligations of a public function to the pursuit of the private objective of political, social, or economic benefits". Corruption rests on the agreement that in order to acquire benefits, a public agent misuses his/her authority

or abuses the resources that they supervise. During historical events, corruption has become a persistent phenomenon and is regarded as normal. It is highly evident the devastating effects of corruption in Nigeria because the foundation for economic growth is very weak with fragile political structures.

The selected topic for the study is 'corruption and its effect on nation-building: a case study of Nigeria from 1999-2019' which seeks to exclusively study the elements of corruption in Nigeria and relate this to the nation-building process in the country. Through this study, challenges to healthy nation-building caused by corruption will be analyzed.

Nation-building is clearly a more formidable challenge in post-colonial states, especially in territories that were primarily used by the colonial power to extract resources or obtain other economic benefits. In Caribbean colonies, where European colonizers do away with the indigenous inhabitants and most of the later population consisted of enslaved Africans, the absence of an original population with strong cultural traditions complicated any foundation for the development of national identities. Furthermore, some Caribbean countries, including Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Suriname, contained a profoundly multicultural and multi-ethnic population due to a sequence of forced migration movements from different regions of the world. As in many multi-ethnic societies in Africa and Asia, colonial rulers here often stimulated animosity and rivalry between different groups through divide-and-rule policies.

Nation-building for some countries happens by natural course, while for others it happens through revolution and other socio-political reasons, some also achieve it through print media and social media, good communication is key to establishing nationalism. For Nigeria however, millions of Nigerians will argue that due to the level of corruption plaguing the nation, nation-building processes are unhealthy and undemocratic, hence, a partition is imminent.

Nigeria became a democratic nation in 1999, however, from military rule, the nation has witnessed numerous cases of high-level corruption from public office holders. Nigeria, a country that gained independence from the British colonists in 1960, has been unsuccessful in building a unified national identity due to the insensitivity of leaders occupying different political posts. The Nigerian state which was once

revered by other African states is now experiencing contemptuous reactions from its African neighbors due to the inability of Nigerian leaders to organize the country in unity and growth. Similarly, the differences or dichotomy between ethnic groups in Nigeria is on a record high, due to pervasive poverty and corruption. It then comes as no surprise to anyone that a civil war may repeat itself if the ethnically influenced corruption continues to happen.

Ethnic corruption has been raised to an enviable height such that, when a member of a particular ethnicity clinches a political position, the other members of this ethnic group will visualize this newly appointed member as a goldmine who must put the fellow ethnic members first in whatever decision to be made. This has influenced the free action process of many political office holders and as such contributed to the problems associated with nation-building. As mentioned by an Action Aid Report (2015), corruption tends to promote and increase the affinity for ethnic conflicts, promote poverty and exert negative effects on humans and the use of natural resources.

This study will analyse the various components of corruption at play in Nigerian politics, and will further discuss what a healthy nation-building process looks like in comparison to Nigeria. Therefore, through this study, an intense analysis of the influence of corruption on nation-building will be provided.

B. Statement of the Research Problem

Corruption is in every sector of Nigerian society. There is corruption in the private sector and even greater levels of corruption in the public sector. For most countries, corruption has been effectively handled to highly minimum levels, for other countries, however, with Nigeria as an example, corruption is thriving and even transcending various social, economic, and political sectors. Corruption is the root cause of inequality, social instability as well as poverty. Hence, people are forced to express their dissatisfaction in a revolutionary or hostile manner which creates civil war and political intolerance. There are many available pieces of works of literature explaining corruption in Nigeria in its broad sense but very few have sought to analyse the nexus between corruption and nation-building.

Corruption in the Nigerian media is centered on bribing, syphoning and stealing public resources. The effects of corruption are mentioned to only include economic problems as well as inequality. There is a need to create a study that will include the

effect of corruption on Nation-building. Nigeria has struggled in its nation-building processes with no valuable results. Nation-building institutions created by the government have failed due to corruption. Developing nations are stereotyped as building an extremely weak political society and national identity because of corruption. It is only important to carefully analyse how corruption affects nation-building, hence, this study.

C. Research Questions

Through this study, we shall answer the following research questions;

 a) What causes corruption?
 b) Does corruption have any negative influence on Nigeria's nation-building processes?
 c) What is the level of corruption in Nigeria, and how does it affect the nation-building processes?
 d) What necessary steps should be taken in curbing the corruption menace in Nigeria?

D. Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study is to examine the influence of corruption in the

Nigerian nation-building process. The specific objectives include:

 a) Analyse the effect corruption exerts on Nigeria's nation-building processes.
 b) Examine the past and current institutions created by the Nigerian government to promote nation-building.
 c) Proffer workable solutions that can reduce the influence of corruption in the Nigerian nation-building process.

E. Hypothesis

The following hypothesis will be tested through this study;

 a) H0: Corruption does not influence Nigeria's nation-building processes.
 b) Ho1: As the level of corruption in Nigeria increases, nation-building processes decrease.
 c) H02: As the level of corruption in Nigeria decreases, nation-building processes increase.

F. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of the study shall cover the effect of corruption on Nigeria's nation-building process from 1999. The year has been chosen as it marks the beginning of the Nigerian presidential democratic system (Dike, 2011). Only events from after this year shall be analysed. The specification is adopted to provide us with adequate information on the case study and time frame.

G. Significance of the study

Corruption is a strong factor impeding the growth of many nations. Corruption answers the question of why many nations are better than others economically, politically, and even in technology. Nigeria from 1999 has witnessed the rise and fall of many democratic regimes, however, the country currently is either stagnant or retrogressing. It is common to find in the streets of Nigeria, people discussing how their lives are being affected by corruption, but no one, however, discusses the impact corruption has on nation-building. Over 21 years have passed since Nigeria became a democratic nation, but the awareness of nation-building is not being developed by the citizens, hence our study. We intend to contribute to the existing literature on corruption and nation-building in Nigeria and to provide an exposition of how corruption hampers the Nigerian nation-building processes.

H. Methodology

To achieve the desired result, this study will be using a qualitative case study, research method. Seeing that the topic specializes in the impact of corruption on nation-building, there is the need to do deep research and to conduct interviews in order to conclude. Qualitative research is defined as, primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) among categories. From this definition, we can imply that data and meaning emerge organically from the research context.

Qualitative research is employed in the study because it provides a combination of observations, interviews, and document reviews. It gives the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found. In the process of qualitative research interaction between variables is important, hence, to complete the research, interviews will be conducted among our sampling audience. Our sample audiences are 5 male and 8 female professors of political science across Nigerian

universities. Similarly, the study shall interview 6 male members of the Nigerian House of Senate. The professors and senators will be interviewed for this study mainly because they have enough knowledge with regards to the project topic, therefore, expertise and reliability can be guaranteed. Through these interviews and intense study of existing literature, this study will be arranged.

I. Structure of the Study

This research will focus on the effects of corruption on the nation-building processes of Nigeria. Taking into consideration the ambiguity of the research, this study will only focus on the years 1999-2019. This study has chosen this time frame to provide deep and valuable information to the topic in question. Data sources for this study will be obtained from official Nigerian state documents and websites, publications done by researchers and experts in the field of political science and international relations. as well as other internet sources emanating the views of the Nigerian citizens.

The structure of the thesis begins with the introduction which will mention what is included and excluded in the study. We will similarly discuss the role of corruption in the nation-building process as well as a brief introduction to the meaning of nation-building. Chapter two shall discuss the relevant literature analysis concerned with our study. Moving on, chapter three shall include the conceptual review wherein the concept of nation-building, the concept of corruption and an extensive political history of Nigeria shall be provided. Chapter four shall in detail discuss the meaning of political corruption, causes of corruption in Nigeria and ways in eliminating corruption in Nigeria. In the last chapter, we shall analyse the Nigerian nation-building process, discuss the current issues and provide possible solutions to the Nigerian Nation-building problem. We shall then end the study by providing a conclusion.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Introduction

The building blocks upon which research is executed is known as the literature review. The literature review is seen as the commencement of research which provides the varying views of a topic matter, it also outlines the basic principles upon which a topic is written and serves as a sort of guideline for the writer. Most importantly, however, the literature review makes the writer aware of the vacuum about a topic that is yet to be explored, thus, structuring the writer's output. For this topic, the literature review shall examine the submissions made by various scholars about anti-corruption and nation-building and shall also provide in detail the ideas of existing works of literature regarding the conceptualization of our work. This chapter provides a conceptual framework of corruption for the thesis and the socio-political influence of corruption on nation-building in Nigeria. The study findings can be seen through the analytical lenses provided by this chapter. Thus, the base for this research is laid by the research works of other scholars.

Modern scholars have managed to explain corruption from a wide range of views, however, not many have tried to do so in the context of nation-building and even fewer for nation-building in developing countries. Tanzi (1998) explains corruption as a global phenomenon that is not peculiar to any ethnic, regional or political group. Wells & Hymes (2012) supporting this argument explains that corruption widely affects all nations of the world and is not limited to a sect. The notion of corruption has gained widespread recognition that GlobeScan (2015) argues it to be the most discussed problem globally. The global notion of corruption is also supported by Transparency International (TI) which argues that more than six billion of the world's population are living in regions of extreme levels of corruption, similarly, from the same source, over 60 per cent of states in the international system have record levels of corruption (Transparency International, 2015). To prove the global nature of corruption affecting both developing and developed nations, Transparency

International (2015) submits that over 50 per cent of the G20 states have corruption problems. Therefore, according to Colazingari & Rose-Ackerman (1998), corruption is a global issue that is affecting the world indiscriminately.

According to Nye (1967), it affects both the highly developed and the under-developed nations. Due to the universal nature of corruption, it has attracted different meanings and characteristics according to the preference of various scholars. As rightly explained by Berlinski (1997) its global element has further established the popularity of the discussion and to a certain degree increased the multidisciplinary nature of the corruption discussion. It is therefore important to analyse the various views and characteristics accrued to corruption by different scholars and to identify what they classify as a tenet of corruption. In the line of our study, we shall also provide a comprehensive view of corruption in Nigeria, how it is defined in the literature and what constitutes corruption according to the various literature concerning corruption in Nigeria.

According to Karl & William (1966), nation-building is an act of using the state apparatus to establish a single national identity which will, in turn, solidify the stability of a state. Carolyn (2005) mentions these state apparatuses to mean the development of economic structure and civil society awareness in conflict-prone states to increase stability. Nation-building must be an intentional process to specifically provide state stability with a definite layout, strategy and structure (Onuoha & Ugwueze, 2014). As submitted by Alesina and Reich (2015) nation-building establishes a common country wherein its citizens assume a uniform lifestyle and strive to solidify this lifestyle into a norm or even a law. This further explains the idea of imagined communities postulated by Benedict Anderson (1983).

Harris (2012) established a nation-state building method based on the state. According to him, the state planned structure rests on the influential political members in the state establishing differences with other nations and trying to remove the differences noted in their state (Hoefte & Veenendal, 2019). As already mentioned by Anderson (1983), the nation-building process is the establishment of an "imagined community" that aims to establish political autonomy. Hofte & Veenendal (2019) posits that in some states such as China, the national identities were already established long before achieving statehood, while in states like Italy, the nation-state followed after the structural arrangement of statehood. There are

various ways in achieving nation-building, it could be through the print media as underlined by Anderson (1983) or through social media and the internet as explained by Imre (2009). Regardless of any of the above-mentioned processes of nation-building, communication is key in establishing nationalism. Therefore, defining nation-building as a state-sponsored activity aimed at unifying citizens of a state and causing them to coexist in harmony all for the sake of stability (Bendix, 1996).

According to Hofte & Veenedal (2019) various methods in establishing a single national identity are adopted by political elites in the country, in the short term they analyse the use of national flags, the establishment of national holidays, while in the long term, they identify the use of education, shared language and other learning practices to solidify a structure of nation-hood.

The position of the political elite in upholding and establishing the nation-state is highly paramount. Regarding national politics, Calhoun (1993) submits that nation-building can be used negatively to destabilize the democratic process; this explains why post-colonial states experience dominant party systems and other political problems. Similarly, due to the irregularities in the political nature of these countries, corruption is prevalent, and this affects efficient nation-building processes. It could be argued that even though they are recorded successes in post-colonial nations, propaganda, as well as domestic instability, is usually inherent (Morely, 2000).

As mentioned by Hippler (2005), the dichotomy between nation-building and state-building is very thin, hence, the terms are used interchangeably. Goldsmith (2007) similarly posits that there is a confusing use of the term's nation-building and state-building. According to Ottaway (2002), the notions of nation-building and state-building processes are constantly being merged by foreign policy even though both terms oppose each other. Scott (2007) explains that state-building is concerned with establishing a single nation-state, whereas nation-building is concerned with the development of identities and cultural affiliations. Carolyn (2005) also highlighted this confusion between the usage of both words but also included modernization, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction to the list. This interchangeable usage of words was also noticed by Alesina & Reich (2015) and this caused them to highlight the differences between nation-building which is the construction of infrastructure and state-building which is the formation of national identity.

The literature review starts by analysing the ambiguous definition of corruption by combining the various ideas of different literature, this is important seeing that

corruption has no one definition and its definition is subjective from place to place. Preference will be allocated to the definition of corruption in the Nigerian context as this is the basis of the thesis. The literature review then moves to discuss the various elements of corruption and how it influences social, economic, and political aspects. The third section will then specifically analyse the thesis topic by providing valuable literature concerning the influence of corruption in the Nigerian nation-building process. The final section of the paper is on the conclusion which provides the summary and ultimately makes inferences on the paper.

B. Definition of Corruption

The notion of corruption as mentioned above is discussed in various domestic and political settings, each having its definition of what corruption means to them. This means the definition of corruption is highly subjective and is dependent on various social, economic and political factors. Wells & Hymes (2012) takes a more historical approach to the concept of Corruption by submitting that corruption is not a new phenomenon and mentions its visibility even in the ancient world. As Egwemi (2012) suggested, corruption is a global occurrence with no recognition of race, geography or ethnicity.

The corruption discussion is now a multi-disciplinary discourse that is not only discussed in political offices or parliamentary buildings but is also discussed in marketplaces as well as in social gatherings. and inter-disciplinary discourse and a topical issue interested by academics, governments, private bodies as well as other non-governmental organizations. Because everyone is affected by corruption and products of corruption, its meaning varies according to the individual involved. The literature in trying to find a single definition of corruption has provided numerous views as to what is considered corruption for people. There is the legal aspect of corruption provided by Colazingari & Rose-Ackerman (1998), the economic aspect of corruption which is posited by Mauro (1998), bureaucratic aspect of corruption as explained by DeGraff & Huberts (2008), and so many other dimensions of corruption that is not mentioned here.

Ochulor, Metuonu, & Asuo (2011) explains that these varying definitions of corruption are dependent on the academic orientation of the author. However, irrespective of the multiple definitions accrued to corruption, it all points to the major factor explaining corruption to be a manipulation of some sort to obtain personal benefits at the expense of others (be it the state, organization, or the citizens).

Therefore, we can follow Agatiello (2010) to define corruption as "a commission or omission of an action, an abuse of trust, or vice which ultimately changes the legal as well as the ethical obligations of a public function to the pursuit of the private objective of political, social, or economic benefits". Corruption rests on the agreement that in order to acquire benefits, a public agent misuses his/her authority or abuses the resources that they supervise. Nye (1967) defines corruption as an unusual behaviour which does not follow the laid down rules and regulation and is often done by people for selfish reasons ranging from private relationship, status gains and other ill-gotten benefits. Some of these behaviours include bribery (which is the use of reward to distort the judgment of a person in a position of trust), nepotism (patronizing someone not because they deserve it but because of a personal relationship), and misappropriation (purposefully and illegally allocating public resources for private uses) (Agbiboa, 2012). Corruption can hinder so many positive things from occurring, its sphere of interest has also transcended individuals to groups and even nations. For the sake of our study, we shall analyse the position of corruption in Nigeria and how this has hindered the Nigerian nation-building process.

C. Corruption in Nigeria

In Nigeria, corruption is a widely discussed phenomenon and the citizens usually hold government officials responsible for the high levels of unemployment, poverty, and insecurity which drives the level of corruption. Public and private agencies would always organise Sermons, lectures, and workshops to raise awareness about corruption and proffer multiple solutions to corruption which has brought no lasting solution. Corruption according to Igiebor "is perceived as an act of moral degradation and a departure from the agreeable norms and objectives of proper societal behaviour" (Igiebor, 2019), but despite its widespread condemnation in the public society, corrupt practices continue to increase and deter the Nigerian nation-building process.

Nigeria, like many developing countries, has continued to face many social and economic problems. These problems include poor public spending, horrible national budget planning, illiteracy problem, healthcare problems, high rate of unemployment, high poverty rate, growing level of inequality, inter-tribal crises and many others. A major factor that has been blamed for the poor standards of living in

Nigeria is the massive corruption in the public sector. For example, Abu (2015) posits that corruption can be heavily witnessed in every section of the Nigerian economy including the various forms of government which consists of the executive, legislature and judiciary. The ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) won the 2015 and 2019 Presidential elections on the promise that it will tackle corruption head-on, fight insecurity as well as developing the economy, additionally, the President of Nigeria (Muhammadu Buhari) has repeatedly said that 'if Nigerians don't kill corruption, corruption will kill Nigeria' (Abu & Staniewski, 2019). It does not come as a surprise to Nigerians and the rest of the world that the government is investigating the alleged syphoning of over $2billion that was budgeted to combat the Boko-Haram insurgents by cabinet members and influential political figures (Schifrin, 2015). To this end, the former National Security Adviser (NSA) and Spokesperson of the PDP were apprehended and tried before the Nigerian Supreme court for corruption practices (BBC, 2015).

Similarly, the nature of corruption in Nigerian runs deep in a manner that the organization responsible for fighting corruption is highly corrupted. The former Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN) was suspended and is currently prosecuted for failing to declare his assets (properties and cash running into millions of dollars) (Ajewole, 2019). Recently, anti-corruption organizations set up by the government managed to successfully convict and sentence some former state governors to fourteen years in prison on account of defrauding and/or embezzling funds belonging to their states (Okakwu, 2018).

Additionally, the corruption in the public sector has equally transcended the private sector (Werlin, 2005). The private sector which was believed to exhibit lower levels of corruption is not guilty of just the same level of corruption as the public sector, as certain private firms were allegedly used to embezzle public funds by government officials. To this effect, the anti-corruption agencies are constantly sealing off private institutions and arresting executives of private firms as well as private financial institutions (ThisDay, 2011). To express the diversity of corruption, foreign firms operating in Nigeria such as Halliburton have been mentioned in corruption-related cases in the past (Smith, 2010).

In 2004, Peter Eigen who was the chairman of Transparency International at a meeting in Lagos, Nigeria defended the action taken by his organization to register Nigeria as the "third most corrupt country in the world" (Eigen, 2004). A World

Bank estimate in 2000 suggested that over "60% of rural Nigerians and 50% of Nigerian urban dwellers were all suffering from acute poverty" (World Bank, 2000). This estimate in present Nigeria has not changed much and has even grown worse. Corruption is likened to be the founder of poverty, hence, for a country with a high amount of foreign exchange in its oil production and producing poverty levels in great amounts, there is certainly a corruption problem. Werlin (2005) in his poverty and corruption Nexus explains that "considering that most Nigerians lacked access to clean water, sanitation, electricity, good roads, healthcare, and education, the ranking of Nigeria as the 12th poorest country in the world was not surprising". Supporting Werlin's argument was Nuhu Ribadu the former chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Ribadu submits in 2004 that "corruption does not allow our institutions to work" (Ribadu, 2004). This explains the difficulty in trying to lead an organization in Nigeria.

The Civil Service is heavily plagued by corruption. Not only are workers not paid early but most of them are not paid for months or even years (Adegoke, 2016). It is now a habit as submitted by Dike (Werlin, 2005) that before you get a paper signed in a public office you will have to 'drop some money' or a sort of illegal facilitation fee. This behaviour rests on the fact that some public office holders do not get their employment by merit, but through bribery, hence, they seek to use their office as a business venture to acquire the amount they spent on bribing before their employment (Agbiboa, 2012).

The judiciary is also less than stellar. Corruption in the Nigerian Judiciary sector is equally huge and sometimes scary. According to the US Department of State (2003), the Nigerian judiciary is characterized by "understaffing, underfunding, inefficiency and corruption". According to a 2003 report by the Comptroller of Nigerian Prisons, a large fraction of prisoners living in horrible conditions have never been charged (ARC Foundation, 2019). The same can be said for the present time as well, there are instances where people complain of not being in court for years and left in the prison to rot (Wilmot, 2020). For speedy trial at the courts, one may have to bribe the policemen and court officials to expedite this process, and in some cases, the judges show incompetence by not being present for hearings. Most of the courts in Nigeria are in terrible conditions because the funding allocated to its renovation have been embezzled and shared amongst the influential judicial members.

Corruption, throughout Nigerian history, has become a persistent phenomenon and is regarded as normal. According to Dike (2011), the devastating effects of corruption are increasingly evident in developing countries where the foundation for economic growth is often weak with fragile political structures. In a 2015 survey of 28 sub-Saharan African countries conducted by Transparency with Afro-barometer with over 43,000 participants (43,143), many participants expressed their dissatisfaction in the way their governments handled corruption and other corrupt practices (TI, 2015). The top 3 corrupt states from this survey were Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

The narrative of government corruption in Nigeria has attracted multiple academic interests characterized by numerous publications, research and seminars devoted to it. In 2015, the chairperson of TI, José Ugaz, speaking about corruption posits that "Corruption creates and increases poverty and exclusion. While corrupt individuals with political power enjoy a lavish life, millions of Africans are deprived of their basic needs like food, health, education, housing, access to clean water and sanitation" (Ugaz, 2015).

In the 2018 TI's Corruption Perceptions Index measurement, it was recorded that all the states in the world had elements of corruption in them, however, Nigeria was among the states concluded to exhibit greater problems of corruption in both domestic and public life (TI, 2018). Nigeria in this index was placed in the 144 positions out of 180 states, which signifies an extremely huge cause for concern.

Igiebor (2019) mentions that Nigeria suffers from the problem of endemic corruption which has affected its socioeconomic and political processes. Nigeria is often criticized in the media by various corruption evaluating institutions as among the most corrupt nations in the world. In the TI's 2018 corruption index, Nigeria received a score of 27 out of 100 (2018). Moreover, the various reports of reputable international organisations such as Transparency International (TI), Political Risk Service Group (PRS) and the World Bank (WB) have all highlighted the alarming rate of corruption in Nigeria, with public office holders using their authority to illegitimately enrich themselves.

Despite this discouraging level of corruption in Nigeria, Ades & Di Tella (1999) argues that it is still highly difficult to provide necessary steps in curbing this menace. Additionally, numerous researchers take the economic route by establishing the influence of corruption on economic factors which include trade,

underdevelopment, savings, investment, and growth, but they have paid very minimal interest to find out how corruption affects the nation-building process. Empirical research to analyse the determinants of corruption and its effect on nation-building in Nigeria is very scanty. Nguyen and van Dijk (2012) advocated for country-specific studies on corruption to increase the knowledge of how corruption affects the public life of each country which can then be used as a reference point on how best to solve the corruption problem. Similarly, Ali and Isee (2003) submits that as soon as the determinants of corruption are identified, the necessary regulations and safe practices to establish viable rules of action can then be established. Furthermore, Athukorala and Sen (2004) support the development of the country-specific approach to essentially provide important details and information that are regarded to be highly acceptable than the cross-sectional studies.

Considering the high level of corruption in Nigeria, one would assume to easily find a wide range of literature written to express how corruption affects Nation-building, but this is unfortunately not the case. Extraordinarily little has been done to highlight the impact of corruption in Nation-building. Akinpelu, et al, (2013) sought to bridge this gap but their research on the determinants of corruption in Nigeria was not specific on nation-building, it recorded numerous weaknesses which should have explained how nation-building is affected by corruption.

Therefore, it is, however, extremely important to fill this literature gap through this thesis, to highlight exactly the role corruption plays in nation-building and nation-building practices in Nigeria.

D. Influence of Corruption on Nation-building

According to Onuoha & Ugwueze (Onuoha & Ugwueze, 2014), nation-building is an extremely important aspect of state development that rests on the actions of many members of the society to achieve. The facets of nation-building consist of essential state development variables such as national integration, economic development, and human development. However, notable strides in nation-building have been impossible to achieve in Nigeria due to the increased rate of corruption.

Nations are without doubt an important part of modern society. Historically, the world was divided into empires and kingdoms. According to Gambari (2008) nations or nation-states have now in modern times replaced empires to form the basic unit of organization. As submitted by Okorn (2009), nations do not just appear as a result of

trial and error or through mere accident, they are rather carefully thought out and planned by men and women with a clear vision. From Okorn's submission, we can therefore infer that nation-building is a product of conscious, and well-organized statecraft. Nation-building for every state is always a work-in-progress, and an extremely volatile process if manhandled, which is the case in Nigeria.

Since Nigeria's independence, its leaders have yearned to organize the country together in a unified entity from the desperate communities whose members retain primary loyalties to the smaller units. The political environment of the country upon independence was based on regional and ethnic ties with no unified national identity, leaders tried to merge these differences, but this relapsed into the civil war. Okorn (2009) highlights the aspects of nation-building to include building a legal political entity that is supported by defined citizens in a given territory with the power to formulate rules and norms, secondly, nation-building equally involves setting up institutions with political authority and symbolism. These institutions include a structured bureaucracy, economic institutions, the judiciary, educational centers, public service offices, and civil organizations (Coleman, 1958). Thirdly, nation-building relies on the formation of a shared sense of purpose, it relies on an imaginative sense of belonging as mentioned by Anderson (1983).

As mentioned by Dinnen (2006) nation-building was heavily discussed in the 1950s and 1960s and was greatly resonated by modernisation theorists as a basis for development. During the 1980's state- and nation-building, not as popular as they were two decades earlier following the huge influx of new states, Fukuyama (2004) explained this period as one where the major agenda was focused on building international markets. In the 90s however, state and nation-building began to be reintroduced into the limelight under the umbrella of 'good governance'. It could be explained that the end of the Cold War was the defining factor for this re-introduction, ex-Soviet states needed a re-orientation and nation-building was introduced to them as a vital development strategy (Evans, 1997). Scott (2007) posits the 'good governance' agenda to be sung as a sort of mantra for the development of capacities and structures in developing countries.

Nigeria, a country that gained independence from the British colonists in 1960, has been unsuccessful in building a unified national identity due to the insensitive leaders occupying different political posts. The Nigerian state which was once revered by other African states is now as Fakanbi & Ijisaki (2008) puts it, facing contemptuous

reactions from its African neighbours due to the inability of Nigerian leaders to organize the country in unity and growth. Similarly, the differences or dichotomy between ethnic groups in Nigeria is on a record high, due to pervasive poverty and corruption (Kanu, 2004). It then comes as no surprise to anyone that a civil war may repeat itself if the ethnically influenced corruption continues to happen.

Ethnic corruption has been raised to an enviable height such that, when a member of a particular ethnicity clinches a political position, the other members of this ethnic group will visualize this newly appointed member as a goldmine who must put the fellow ethnic members first in whatever decision to be made. This has influenced the free action process of many political office holders and as such contributed to the problems associated with nation-building. According to an Action Aid Report (2015), corruption tends to promote and increase the affinity for ethnic conflicts, promote poverty and exert negative effects on humans and the use of natural resources.

From the above analysis of the literature, it is a clear fact that Nigeria is still struggling with the nation-building project. This is so due to numerous factors but most importantly corruption. The inability of the leaders to live a non-corrupt life has set the nation on a rolling ball of conflict, poverty, civil war, inter-tribal clashes, inequalities, and many other traits harmful for nation-building. It is pertinent to note that the distrust and insecurity that began the first civil war are still very much in action in Nigeria.

Similarly, corruption in Nigeria is at an all-time high, the country is often mocked in the international arena as a very corrupt nation even former PM of the UK David Cameron branded Nigeria as a 'fantastically corrupt nation' (Landale, 2016). It is no secret that corruption breeds poverty, Nigeria records one of the highest oil reserves in the world but the proceeds from oil are shared amongst the few elites, hence, leaving a major part of the population extremely poor with the absence of basic amenities. As highlighted in the review, for efficient nation-building to take place, corruption must first have to be tackled head-on, although the government has put in place various organizations to tackle corruption, it is sad to note that not so much has been done by these organizations in fighting corruption.

Some nation-building processes erected by the states have been on the ground for too long they may not take flight, even the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) which is a national program for nation-building is reeking of extremely high

accusations of corruption that it has just recently lost over 100 thousand dollars to a 'snake': The officer in charge of accounting complained that a snake swallowed the money (2018). It is therefore especially important to tackle corruption which has become a second flesh often regarded as the 'new normal' before the nation-building process can be established.

Furthermore, we have discussed in this chapter the universal nature of corruption. It affects all countries irrespective of location, development status, language, or international position. It is also a universal phenomenon with a subjective definition depending on individual sentiments.

III. CONCEPTUAL REVIEW

A. Introduction

Corruption in Nigeria and the world, in general, is not a recent occurrence. Corruption as a concept can be traced to the Hobbesian notion of the state of nature, where the need for self-survival is a determinant for the aggressive, cunny and deviant nature of man (Fakanbi & Ijisaki, 2018, p. 51). As highlighted by Ogundiya (2009, p. 285), for one to fully grasp the problem of nation-building in Nigeria, it is essential to first understand the various issues contributing to the failure of nation-building such as corruption. Corruption according to Ogundiya is a major hindrance to nation-building in Nigeria, and this has, unfortunately, been evident from the inception of the Nigerian State, which he likened to be a state policy that was adopted upon independence.

We can see the influence of corruption in the First Republic of the nation in the 1960s, which then transcended to even a bigger model in the second republic (Fakanbi & Ijisaki, 2018, p. 53). The Second Republic was so notorious for corruption that the government led by Shehu Shagari was described as "the government of the contractors by the contractors and for the contractors' ' (Bangura, 1986, p. 31). To worsen the corruption narrative in Nigeria, the military era which was introduced to reduce corrupt practices in the country came on board and corruption became "institutionalized" (Aiyede, 2006, p. 37).

Although evident in various aspects of life, this thesis focuses on the political aspect of corruption which has been a recurring negative phenomenon hindering the overall national development of the Nigerian state. As earlier mentioned, the First Republic (1960 – 66), was created to satisfy the insatiable needs of the political elites. It is also important to note that from the First Republic to the Second Republic (1979-83) through the Third Republic (1999 to date) many political elites in Nigeria have been indicted and found guilty of different levels of corruption. The most alarming aspect of the phenomenon called corruption in Nigeria is the level and impunity with which

it has grown from the 1960's First Republic through the military era to the contemporary period that it is now viewed as a way of life.

This chapter firstly starts by providing a conceptual review of corruption before progressing to discuss the concept of nation-building.

In this chapter, we shall also include multiple references to the Nigerian state and discuss the nexus between corruption and nation-building in Nigeria.

B. Contextual Review of Corruption

Corruption is not an easy context to define seeing that it possesses different meanings according to various regions over the world. Similarly, as already highlighted, there is no official definition that separates political corruption from other forms of corruption, however, for the sake of this contextual review, we will be focusing more on the political outlook of corruption. A general definition of corruption provided by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary classifies corruption into four parts:

> 1) impairment of integrity, virtue, or moral principle;
>
> 2) decay or decomposition;
>
> 3) inducement to wrong by improper or unlawful means;
>
> 4) a departure from the original or from what is pure or correct (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2020).

As described by Transparency International (2020), political corruption is an abuse of entrusted power for private gain. The term entrusted power illustrates the political primacy in theories of corruption. However, there are several problems with these definitions, one of which is that they are from a Western perspective, not necessarily consistent with the situation in Nigeria, and another problem is the ambiguity of this definition which does not completely cover the basis of corruption in Nigeria. Similarly, various authors have tried to define corruption in a manner that is suiting the Nigerian narrative. For example, Todaro and Smith (2015, p. 578) define corruption as the abuse of public trust for private gain, Sen (1999, p. 9) explains corruption to be a violation of established rules and ways of doing things to obtain private gain or profit, while Eiras (2003, p. 3) defines corruption as a form of unethical behaviour or wrongdoing.

Nwabuzor provides a more acceptable definition of corruption concerning the Nigerian context where he defines corruption as the "outright diversion and conversion of public funds to private use by public officials; the bribery of public

officials by multinationals or other private sector entities as inducements to obtain government patronage and contracts; and the extortion of money and other consideration by public officials as a condition for awarding the same patronage" (Nwabuzor, 2005, p. 134).

For Goldsmith (1999, p. 868), political corruption is defined as the "abuse of public positions of trust for private gain, including theft of public funds (embezzlement) extortion and bribery, and nepotism". Owing to the diverse nature of the term corruption, it is pertinent to note that what is considered in another country as a corrupt act may be considered as a non-corrupt act by another country. Hence, corruption is not peculiar to any particular country or culture. For example, references to corruption in Nigeria could range from simply paying local police for passage on a roadway to the embezzlement of billions of dollars by high-level political leaders. Political corruption only persists in Nigeria because the country simply lacks sufficient institutional mechanisms to fight against this menace. For a better understanding of the concept of corruption in Nigeria, it is important to consider other terms associated with corruption such as graft and neopatrimonialism.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines graft as bribery and other corrupt practices used to secure illicit advantages or gains in politics or business. Graft is however not peculiar to the political sector alone but is visible in business, education, and civic life. Neopatrimonialism is prominent in Nigeria in the form of Prebendalism, which is a relationship between a government official and the private citizen in which the citizen is rewarded by the government for its political support (Joseph, 1987, p. 32). This form of a social contract was formulated by Richard Joseph wherein he defines a prebend as a state office obtained through examinations or as a reward for loyal service to a ruler.

It is important to note that corruption also exists in non-political areas of Nigerian society, such as the private sector and everyday life; however, there are alternative views on this kind of corruption. Corruption between the private and public sectors are frequently connected. Contracts awarded by the government to private individuals and companies for infrastructure construction and maintenance are usually pegged at a very high amount, usually higher than the amount needed to complete the infrastructure. The balance is then shared between the government public office holder and the private companies. In some cases, the infrastructure is left undone, while the public office holder shares the money awarded for the contract

with the government. It is often through this procurement process that corruption between the public and private sectors converge. This aspect of corruption transfers wealth from the state treasury to the business elite as well as political officials.

C. Corruption in Nigeria

According to a report provided in 2019 by Transparency International, Nigeria is ranked as the 146th country from a total of 180 countries with a score of 26 out of 100 in the corruption perception index (Transparency International, 2020). This shows that Nigeria is performing very poorly in tackling corruption. It is important to note that corruption in the public sector can be traced back to colonial times in Nigeria. The British exercised direct and indirect rulership in the country, therefore, employing local officials as administrators to oversee the newly colonized territories in different parts of Nigeria.

Due to the famous divide and rule rulership model of the British, a select few from a particular ethnic group were chosen to oversee other regions of the country, therefore, most of these administrators found this opportunity as a means to establish wealth and authority for their gains as well as for the enjoyment of their local ethnic group (Joseph, 1987, p. 39) . These administrators abused their power by only granting favours to those who were close to them or those who were from the same ethnic group as them, hence, their public duties were not conducted based on merit but out of favouritism.

After independence from the British, the first elected politicians and their civil servants were also characterized as being corrupt. During the election periods, votes were manipulated and some political candidates hired thugs to intimidate and sometimes eliminate their political opponents. These corrupt public officials who had attained power wanted to use it to acquire more influence and authority for their selfish interests. The public interest was not a priority to these administrators. Military intervention was therefore needed to restore law and order in the country, and in 1966, a military government was installed, which will later be known as the most corrupt political regime in the country.

It became normal that each military regime brought about an increase in the level of corruption, and these regimes were notoriously popular for their lack of transparency, abuse of power, and greed (Fakanbi & Ijisaki, 2018, p. 49). Similarly, owing to the military control over the government, the judiciary system was also controlled by the

military, hence, there were no checks and balances, and the military could not be held accountable by the citizens.

Due to the lack of citizen interaction in the state, the only means of changing a military government was through coups, hence, Nigeria faced serious coups in the late 1960s. The military ruled with an iron fist and they were unanswerable to the citizens, as a matter of fact, anyone who questioned the military government was either imprisoned or killed. Therefore, this system created a culture of corruption in government where public officials did not need to be accountable for their actions and the citizens could not demand accountability (Ogundiya, 2009, p. 285). The country returned to democracy in 1999, however, the nature of corruption was deeply embedded in the minds and activities of the nation. It is important to note that before 1999, Nigeria had 2 earlier republics wherein corruption in civilian activities were highly visible.

For the average Nigerian in a position of authority, that position must be utilized as a means to benefit from the "national cake", he cannot survive in an atmosphere that is corruption-free (Azeez & Adenuga, 2015, p. 17). Benefiting from the national cake is a metaphor that simply means looting from the country, whichever means possible. Benefitting from the national cake in Nigeria has been in existence since independence. Before Nigeria's independence in 1960, the Western Region Marketing Board in 1954 stored in its reserve over 6.2 million pounds sterling, however by May 1962, the board ran into debts and strived to survive on overdrafts amounting to over 2.5 million pounds sterling (Nzeribe, 2017, p. 6). A judicial commission known as the Coker Commission was established to check these sudden irregularities, the Commission found Chief Awolowo who was the Premier of the defunct Western Region guilty of corruption (Magid, 1962).

A similar corruption issue was noted in 1956, this time in the Eastern Region of the country. A judicial tribunal known as the Forster-Sutton Tribunal of Inquiry was established to investigate the corruption in the Eastern part of the country, especially with the defunct African Continental Bank (Nzeribe, 2017, p. 8). The tribunal reported that the Premier of the defunct Eastern Region, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe was guilty of his involvement in the affairs of the Bank (Sklar, 2004, p. 85). Dr Nnamdi was accused of using the bank for his selfish interest.

Under the Shehu Shagari (1979-1983) regime, this trend continued unabated with such alarming gravity, enormity and dimensions. This led to the imprisonment of

most of the governors and ministers that served under the President Shehu Shagari regime (1979-1983) to outrageous jail terms of a minimum of 100 years and a maximum of 340 years by General Muhammadu Buhari (1983-1985) led military government that overthrew the civilian elected government of Shehu Shagari (1979-1983) (Nzeribe, 2017, p. 7). Official sources claimed that Nigeria lost over US$16 billion in oil revenue between 1979 and 1983 during the Shehu Shagari regime (Dash, 1983). Important examples of high-level corruption during the Shagari regime were the mismanagement of 4 billion Naira by his transport minister. This money was budgeted for the importation of rice. Another notable example was the Chairman of the ruling party then, National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Chief Adisa Akinloye, who allegedly ordered special cartons of champagne from France specially made for him on his birthday (Nzeribe, 2017, p. 8).

In 1994, the Okigbo panel report indicted some persons including former military President, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, former Head of State Gen. Sani Abacha, a former governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed for mismanaging US$12.4 billion between 1988 and 1994 (Uzochukwu, 2011). This shows a continuous trend in looting the national treasury with each new case making a previous one look like a child's play. It is pertinent to note that Abacha's loot is still recovered to this day from various parts of the world, with the most recent look only recovered in August 2020 (Sanni, 2020).

Looking at recent times, not so much has changed. In 2015, the nation was flung to a state of shock when the former National Security Adviser Sambo Dasuki was listed as the mastermind of a US$2.1 billion 'Dasukigate' arms scandal (Agbugah, 2015). The money was borrowed to facilitate the procurement of arms to fight against Boko Haram. It was also reported in 2015 that somewhere in the Kaduna State of Nigeria, the sum of USD 9.6m was discovered in a fire-proof safe in a building allegedly belonging to Mr Andrew Yakubu, a former Group Managing Director (GMD) of Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). While this case was ongoing and still very fresh, another corruption story rocked the Nigerian media, this time the sum of over 15 billion Naira in different currencies was found in a private residential apartment at Osborne Towers Ikoyi, a highbrow area of Lagos. The Director of the Nigeria Intelligence Agency (NIA), Ambassador Ayo Oke came forward to claim that the money belongs to his agency and that it's for covert operations (Nzeribe, 2017, p. 7). Equally in the news is the Secretary to the Government of the Federation,

David Babachir Lawal who awarded a contract to his company for the removal of grasses in Yobe State Internally Displaced person camp (IDP) (Nzeribe, 2017, p. 7).

A high-profile corruption scandal is the Halliburton bribery case where it was believed that before the contract of the LNG project at Bonny Island was awarded, several high-profile Nigerians serving in and out of government as of the time received various sums of money as bribes to facilitate the award of that contract to the awardee (Daniel, 2009). The contract sum was $6 billion. As of the year 2010, when this scandal blew open, three Nigerian Presidents, a Vice President, a minister, intelligence chiefs and corporate titans were mentioned. The sum of US$182m was allegedly shared among these individuals. No arrest nor indictment was made in this case, it died a natural death.

Only very recently, in October 2020, COVID-19 relief materials that were donated by private and government bodies were discovered in warehouses around the country. These materials are not for sale, however, public office holders stored them in warehouses and rebranded them for sale (Obiezu, 2020). The government following the creation of the Third Republic in 1999 has established numerous bodies and offices to check corruption and to increase nation-building, however, all these have met little or no effort mainly because the heads of these agencies and offices would rather employ staff from their ethnic zone irrespective of merit or fitness for the job. Therefore, a body set to fight corruption and improve nation-building is beginning its recruiting process based on corruption and ethnic differences.

D. Theoretical Framework

Since the study seeks to discuss how corruption affects nation-building, it is pertinent to note that leaders in Nigeria play a great role in enforcing a healthy state-building process in the country. For this reason, an understanding of how the Nigerian elites operate in the political atmosphere of the country will provide us with an important understanding of corruption and nation-building. It is no doubt that elites in all parts of the world play a great role in the provision of a strong state, stable democracy, and an excellent judicial system in their countries, for this reason, elites are important figures in nation-building.

Similarly, elites may enjoy rational-legal, traditional, or charismatic authorities that makes them honoured and respected by the masses, hence, people would follow what

the elite says and does without hesitation. The situation in Nigeria is similar, as elites are usually respected in all parts of the society, hence, this study adopts elite theory as the theoretical framework through which it highlights how elites influences nation building.

1. Elite Theory

Concerning the theoretical framework of our study which is based on elite theory, Hoefte & Veenendal (2019, p. 179) suggests that a bulk of nation-building processes is dependent on the influential members of the society. Influence in this instance may be alluded to various means which as mentioned by Max Weber includes rational-legal, political, or traditional authority (Rigby, 1966, p. 6). Similarly, elites in Nigeria play a greater role in nation-building since they have easier access to capital, labour, legislative decisions and even mass supporters than non-elite members of the society. Should the elites provide efficient nation-building policies, then other members of the society develop a greater affinity to believing in the central nation.

Additionally, due to the respect and acknowledgment granted to elites, nation-building rests a great deal on the comportment and organization of these elite groups. For this reason, in regions where elites are democratic and are bound by the rule of law, there will be no avenue for the masses to reject nation-building policies.

There are different discussions of elitism in the literature but this study focuses on the elite theory discussion of Gaetano Mosca. Mosca (1939, p. 34) provides a discussion of the ruling class where it is seen that every society is divided into two; the rulers and the ruled. The class that rules are usually lesser in number when compared to the rule, hence, the members of the ruling class are usually very organized, providing policies that will ensure their longevity in power. Hence, we can see a formation of an organized minority over a disorganized majority.

To consolidate power, the minority ruling class in most cases may act according to their interest. Therefore, it is common to find undemocratic tendencies in elitist societies, since the aim is to ensure the continuance of the elite. For this reason, elements such as corruption, inequality, political instability, and weak state infrastructures are common in elitist societies. According to Michels (1965, p. 68), the iron law of oligarchy is maintained by the elites since state power is contained amongst very few members of the society. In such instances, the majority who are

ruled loses faith in nation-building, therefore, forming sub-identities or even secessionist tendencies.

In oligarchic societies, illiberal models of democracy are recorded. At most, these societies are regarded as quasi-democracies, exhibiting elements of a healthy democracy, however, deeply rooted in illiberal values. Since power is vested in the hands of a few elites, communication and teamwork which is one major element of nation-building is missing, therefore, leading to poor nation-building structures. Similarly, in societies where the goal of the elite is only to enrich their pockets, it becomes impossible to achieve any meaningful nation-building goal as the leaders are minimally interested in the public society.

For Hofte & Veenedal (2019, p. 181), elites are the most important members of the society in issues of nation-building due to their influence. Elite organize state functions, state remembrance events, pass laws, initiate public directives, organize a public budget and are actively involved in public spending. Similarly, they influence the education, history and cultural values of the nation, placing them as the most valuable members of the society. Additionally, due to their prime position in politics and social life, people look to them and accord them charismatic values, for such reasons, a majority of ordinary citizens would do as directed or as they have seen the elites act.

Regarding the Nigerian discussion of elite influence in nation-building, Eliagwu (1985, p.14) highlights that the majority are coerced or lured into accepting the policies provided by the elites in issues relating to nation-building. This further adds volume to our argument that elites do play a huge role in nation-building. Additionally, Nigerian elites are strong forces encompassing political power and change. For this reason, they are important in determining the nature of nation-building in the country.

According to Calhoun (1993, p. 224), nation-building can be used negatively to destabilize the democratic process; this explains why post-colonial states experience dominant party systems and other political problems. Similarly, due to the irregularities in the political nature of these countries, corruption is prevalent, and this affects efficient nation-building processes. It could be argued that even though they are recorded successes in post-colonial nations, propaganda, as well as domestic instability, is usually inherent (Morely, 2000, p. 27).

In regions such as Nigeria where the majority of elites are famous for corruption, various attempts to formulate nation-building continue to fail, more so, in a worse manner. The constant reports of diversion of funds meant for public projects by individuals and influential members continue to damper prospective nation-building. Similarly, the multi-ethnic nature of the Nigerian society has made the country susceptible to social clashes and domestic instability, hence, a little upset from corruption and other corrupt practices by people responsible for maintaining democracy in the nation creates significant negative effects on nation-building. The next section of the article discusses the nexus between nation-building and corruption in Nigeria.

E. Nation-building

In its simplest form, Almond., et al (2014, p. 65), defines nation-building as a process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller ethnic groups, villages or petty principalities to the larger central political system. Smith (1991, p. 23) explains this process to mean the cultivation of a people of political attitudes, beliefs and values. Regarding the Nigerian narrative, Eliagwu (1985, p. 23) defines nation-building as the "progressive acceptance by members of the polity of the legitimacy and the necessity for a central government, and the identification with the central government as the symbol of the nation". Another important aspect of Nation-building would be the acceptance and belief of the equality of every other member of the nation.

Nation-building gained huge popularity in the 1950s and 1960s strategically as a result of the formation of new states due to decolonization. The theory of Nation-building was primarily used to describe the processes of national integration and consolidation that led up to the establishment of the modern nation-state. This is distinct from the various forms of traditional states such as feudal and dynastic states, church states and empires. As explained by Friedrich (2010, p. 28), nation-building examines conscious strategies initiated by state leaders, as well as unplanned societal change that is initiated in a country. Similarly, nation-building is also regarded as an integral element used in analyzing the "macro historical and sociological dynamics" that have produced the modern states.

Hippler (2005, p. 6) defines nation-building as a process of socio-political development that allows loosely knitted communities to become a common society

with a nation-state corresponding to it. It also connotes the different dimensions through which a diverse segment of the society is fused into a functional whole. It has within it economic integration, cultural integration, political centralization, bureaucratic control and democratisation, and the establishment of common citizenship (Falode, 2019, p. 184). In examining nation-building in Nigeria, it is important to discuss the notion of the nation-state and how colonization in Nigeria affected nation-state formation. Similarly, we must also look at the various contextual theories about nation-building and how this influences the Nigerian nation-state.

The concept of the nation-state dates back to the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia in Europe (Farr, 2005, p. 156). Historically, it is believed that territorial acquisition, power and resource control are the major reasons wherein wars we fought, hence, leading to highly diversified ethnic groups clustered in a particular territory. However, the goal of creating defining territorial boundaries arose with the introduction of the modern nation-state, therefore, providing sovereignty to each state within its borders. Although in recent times border changes are still visible, mostly through secessionist policies, ethnic conflicts or state disintegration, it is pertinent to note that international borders are generally static. Before the colonial era, the social setting in Nigeria was organized according to smaller tribes with tribal heads ruling over their local tribal population. However, the introduction of the state as a Western concept in Nigeria came with colonization in the early 1900s. Due to the colonial authority of the British, these scattered ethnic groups and tribes in Nigeria were all forcefully infused into a state, hence, colonization observed the respect for ethnic differences or tribal boundaries.

The forceful integration of various ethnic groups into one state could serve as a basis for local tension, especially if one group is favoured over another. An important example that can be used here is the Rwandan genocide, wherein the Tutsi were targeted by the Hutu mainly because they (Tutusi) were greatly favored over the Hutu by the Belgian colonialists. Similarly, colonialism initiated the centralization of power due to its creation of a single state, hence, to maintain law and order in this new centralized state, the British colonialist devised a divide and rule policy, wherein people from the predominantly Northern part of the country were favoured. The Northerners were the most preferred for the police and military, therefore, establishing the North as the supreme region over the South, East, and West (Azeez

& Adenuga, 2015, p. 18). As a result of the seeds sown by the British colonialist policy, it did not take long until the civil war erupted after independence in 1960.

Following the nation's independence, it has been the goal of different Nigerian governments to turn the heterogeneous and multiethnic Nigerian state into a functional and integrated polity that is easily regarded as a single nation. The process that is involved in becoming a nation is what is referred to as nation-building. A major theory relating to nation-building is Ernest Gellner's Modernisation Theory which for the sake of this study answers the Nigerian nationalist approach, especially during colonial rule.

2. Ernest Gellner's Modernization Theory

As mentioned by Canovan (1998, p. 60), this theory is focused on how modernization affects the dynamics of culture in society. The theory stresses the primacy of material conditions in shaping political thought and social change (Gellner, 2006, p. 10). Gellner's modernization theory posits that the rise of nations in industrial society is mostly a result of economic factors.

A notable example would be the industrial revolution that occurred in most parts of Europe following the end of the eighteenth century, and in Nigeria during the colonial era. Economic advancement was important for shaping Gellner's theory where he makes a strong distinction between the categories of those who were educated and governed, and who, because of their power and their literacy, had access to a great tradition; and the former, who were those who worked on the land and who bore a 'little tradition' (Gellner, 2006, p. 15).

It is no doubt that as modernization appeared in every nation, the domestic policies of these nations had to change to adapt to the newer changes caused by modernization. Similarly, the higher the levels of modernization, the greater the affinity for nationalism as nationals of the country may adopt various policies to preserve the cultural elements of their nation against foreign intrusion.

To explain nationalism, Gellner adopted a historical perspective as it shows how a nation moves from one stage of nationalism to the next. According to Minologue (1996, p. 109), the movement from one stage of modernity to the other implied that political and economic changes had to occur to match with the new social system. During the colonial era in Nigeria, the idea of nationalism was formed around anti-colonialism since this sought to end the colonial rule of the British and to create an

independent Nigeria. In this instance, nation-building was targeted at one major goal, creating a single national unity that will revolt against the British.

Owing to globalization, communities from around the world were faced with an increased level of modernity which in this case sought to create a higher level of interaction between domestic cultural values and foreign nationalist elements. For this reason, the elites in such communities try to challenge the foreign cultures by initiating policies and other mechanisms for defending their own culture and language successfully. In most cases, the initiatives or mechanisms provided by the elites are geared towards serving their selfish purposes rather than that of the whole nation. This may then introduce corruption to the society.

Similarly, for Gellner, nationalism relates to socialism which influences the political and cultural aspects of a society. In particular, he focused on the unifying and culturally homogenizing roles of the educational systems, national labour markets and improved communication and mobility in the context of urbanisation. Another major defining factor for Gellner's theory was culture. According to Ernest,

> "The emergence of the industrial society goes on to promote cultural homogenization at the end of a long process inherent in the economic logic of this society: based on an evolutionary technology and idea of progress. It involves a permanent-growth of productivity; this results for the working population the necessity for extreme professional mobility, and a versatility which implies a solid genetic training" (Gellner, 2006, p. 41).

The Nigerian nation-building process fits perfectly with Gellner's theory. The colonial era in Nigeria set the tone for printing success following the creation of the Calabar printing press in 1847 (Nwagbara, 2010, p. 13). Hence, there have been numerous local efforts to publish and translate books into the vernacular. Similarly, strong nationalist supporters such as Nnamdi Azikiwe and Herbert Macauley saw the importance of capitalist printing, in this regard they both established indigenous newspapers in the 1930s to promote Nigeria's nationalist agenda. Anderson also talked about modernisation as a factor for nation-building which is synonymous with what Ernest Gellner mentioned in his Modernization Theory.

F. Corruption and Nation-building in Nigeria

As earlier mentioned, corruption is a multi-dimensional phenomenon exhibiting different meanings across regions in the world. Bello (2005) describes corruption in Nigeria as the abuse of public office or public roles to facilitate private gains. This is

highly evident in the Nigerian public office sector. Holders of public office may award preferential treatment to people coming from their ethnic group or tribe while disregarding those coming from other parts of the country. This nature of preferential treatment is highly disastrous to the nation-building process as it hampers the idea of a single nation wherein everyone is equal.

Otite (1986) submits a personal definition of corruption in Nigeria as the lack of integrity in conducting public duties. This lack of integrity could arise as a result of seeking bribes before carrying out official duties, asking for favours before conducting official duties, and even through moral depravity. Igbuzor (2008) supports this definition of Otite where he defines political corruption in Nigeria as behaviour on the part of officials in the public sector through which they improperly or unlawfully enrich themselves. Public office holders acquiring ill wealth is a constant occurrence in Nigeria from the inception of the nation. This explains why election fraud is rampant in the nation as everyone is glamouring for the ill-gotten wealth at easy reach of public office holders. Similarly, due to this election corruption, the faith in the workability of the nation is greatly destroyed as most people avoid elections, and refuse to participate in constitutional projects.

We can therefore understand that corruption destroys nation-building projects in Nigeria. Corruption in Nigeria takes the form of accepting money or other rewards for awarding contracts, violations of procedures to advance personal interest, the diversion of public resources, overlooking illegal and unconstitutional activities, intervening in the justice process, nepotism, influence peddling and misappropriation. The failure of Nigeria to effectively manage and tackle the different manifestations of corruption impeded the country's nation-building efforts. Corruption is endemic in the Nigerian nation, as highlighted by Audu (2008, p. 212), a major reason for the nation's first military coup was systematic corruption. Similarly, the cause of the Biafran civil war in the early years of independence was also a result of corruption. This corruption grew over time and in 1980, the administration of Alhaji Shehu Shagari witnessed an unprecedented level of corruption, setting a record of over 87.5% undetected incidents of corruption in Shagari's regime (Falode, 2019, p. 193).

Interestingly, despite the anti-corruption stance of the Obasanjo administration during the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007, and that administration's creation of the ICPC and EFCC to battle corruption, the corruption genie could not be contained.

Political corruption festered during the Fourth Republic under successive administrations. It took on a life of its own during the Goodluck Jonathan administration between 2010 to 2015. For example, the former Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun was indicted for corrupt practices; and Adolphus Wabara, the fourth senate president in the Fourth Republic was also disgraced out of office because of official corruption. Thus, the state's inability to adequately tackle the challenge of corruption, in all its various ways, negatively affected the nation-building efforts of the state.

G. Conclusion

Today in President Muhammadu Buhari's era, not so much has changed. Interestingly, Buhari's manifesto before the election was to fight against corruption, however, just recently his Minister of Education explained that millions of dollars were spent on the free food for school children program during the COVID-19 lockdown when schools were closed. This drew widespread condemnation from Nigerians with many asking what school children were fed during the lockdown and at a time when kids were forced to stay at home. There has been other mismanagement of public funds by elites and political big-wigs in the country.

The Anti-SARS campaign, although aimed at fighting police brutality, has shifted to combating corruption in the Nigerian political unit. The youths are now calling for accountability and integrity in public service and a total overhaul of the national political system. This campaign was met with brutal force from the Nigerian Army, however, as a result of the international recognition enjoyed by the campaign, there is hope that the Nigerian nation will one day conquer corruption and establish a healthy nation-building process for all.

IV. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Introduction

This chapter comprises the interview section conducted amongst our research audience. The study adopts a qualitative research method of conducting interviews. The interviews were conducted using a close-ended format, hence, allowing for a vast provision of in-depth information from our interviewees. To ensure ethics in research, all our interviewees expressed to remain anonymous, hence, we shall denote the interviewees with alphabets instead of names. The plea for anonymity by our audience may be understood following the scrutiny attached to publicly discussing corruption by members of high positions. Similarly, since our audience is all influential members of society, stiff consequences may arise if their identities are revealed upon conducting the interviews.

Our audience consists of 6 professors of political science in Nigeria as well as 4 members of the Nigerian House of Representatives. These audiences have been carefully selected from the three main ethnic groups since the aim of the study is to find out the effect of corruption on Nation-building. Therefore, 3 of these audiences were *Igbos* from the Eastern part of Nigeria, 3 were from the *Yoruba* tribe, in the Western part of Nigeria, and the remaining 4 were *Hausa*s from the Northern part of Nigeria. In the study, we will also understand how each interviewee from the same ethnic background shares similar sentiments to corruption and nation-building in comparison to those from other ethnic groups. Similarly, we may understand a resonance in the view of college professors when compared to politicians in the parliament. This shows how individuals may be easily influenced.

B. Interview Questions

Outlined below are the interview questions asked to our audiences:

1. How has corruption affected the Nigerian Nation-building Process?

2. How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

3. Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

4. How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

5. What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

6. What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

7. Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

1. Interviewee A: Male (Hausa Professor of Political Science in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: Interviewee A responds to this question using a historical approach. He analyzed Nigerian nation-building as being conflictual, mostly due to the state formation process conducted by the British during the colonial process. Our interviewee continues by saying since we have numerous ethnic groups scattered across various parts of Nigeria, it is inherent to have problems regarding the nation-building process. Concerning the nation-building process, interviewee A continues by providing examples from other multi-ethnic countries around the world that were once colonized by European countries. Citing Rwanda as an example, he mentioned that the nation-building process in the country was affected by the colonial style of leadership employed by the Belgians, hence, leading to genocide. So according to interviewee A, corruption does not influence the Nigerian nation-building process.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: Corruption in the late 1990s compared to current times are of varying degrees. The year 1999 marked the beginning of the third Nigerian republic, hence, the actions of Obasanjo presidency in 1999 was to ensure that military coups do not repeat themselves, therefore, creating policies to fight against corruption. In today's era, however, corruption can be said to be limited compared to previous years, however, these are seeds planted by the 1999 democratic regime of President Obasanjo.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: Interviewer B explains that there is no reasonable change that could be identified in the current Nigerian political atmosphere. This is because the dominant party system of the Nigerian state makes this change impossible. Similarly, the

position of women and youths in politics is constantly diminishing, leading to a slowed progress in the current political atmosphere in Nigeria.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: President Muhammadu Buhari's era has been effective in fighting corruption, especially in public offices. We are beginning to see that public office holders around the world are now arraigned in court for charges of corruption, something that was almost impossible in the previous administrations. Similarly, there is more openness to public offices as people are now allowed to report directly to the presidency, issues of corruption regarding public officeholders.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: I think the current administration is working effectively in fighting off corruption. However, there is always room for improvement. Education, if properly conducted will reduce the effects of corruption. Similarly, the provision of basic amenities to people in poorer regions as well as the building of solid educational institutions will help in combating corruption.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: A healthy nation-building process is one where I, as a Hausa man can conveniently travel to the Eastern part of Nigeria with full pride, dressed in my cultural regalia and proudly praying in a mosque. To achieve this, everyone must first learn the skill of tolerating. Toleration of one's culture is what is constructed, hence, this must be taught across schools and even in prayer houses, as well as in public centers. The interviewee also expresses that a healthy nation-building process in Nigeria can be attained as we continue to integrate one with another.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: Interviewee A in this last question mentions that Nigeria can indeed establish true nation-building policies and cites some examples to complete this case. Firstly, the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) is one where young graduate from all parts of Nigeria are sent to a mandatory one-year service in another region of Nigeria. This increases interaction and promotes nation-building in the country. Similarly, efficient nation-building arises when we appreciate our diversity, and when we teach our offspring to be accepted by others.

Comment: According to interviewee A he believes the state formation is part of the problem caused by the British colonial masters, since we have too many ethnic groups scattered all over Nigeria it is normal to have problems concerning Nation building. He stated that corruption is not the main challenge hindering nation-building process in Nigeria but the dominant party system of the Nigerian state makes this change impossible.

2. Interviewee B: Male (An Igbo Professor of Political Science in Nnamdi Azikwe University)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: Corruption has greatly affected the Nigerian nation-building process in the sense that there is a constant distrust amongst members of various ethnic groups in the country. It is not uncommon to find Easterners expressing their love to fellow ethnic groups to the detriment of people from other ethnicities, and vice versa. Similarly, in the present administration, we see the partial appointment to political positions, mostly Northerners by a president who is from the North. This is a form of political corruption that continues to hinder the nation-building process.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: Interviewer B expressed that not so much has changed in the political arena, if nothing, it gets worse as time progresses.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: The interviewee expressed mixed feelings when asked this question. Stating that he is not sure if there is any positive change ongoing in the Nigerian political sector. Similarly, interviewer B mentioned that while globalization, education, and technology has increased human knowledge about politics, the Nigerian political system is still saturated with the same old individuals who had held leadership positions 2-3 decades ago.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: This administration came into power under the pretext of fighting corruption; however, every truthful individual can notice that corruption in Nigeria is at an all-time high since the creation of the third republic in 1999. Interviewee B continues by citing some notable examples of corruption in the current dispensation,

one of which involves the chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission; "an office which is supposed to fight against corruption is in itself corrupt even from the head". Such things could not happen in the previous administration, but now it is almost becoming a common experience.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: Education is the key to fighting corruption. Poverty breeds corruption, and when people are educated, poverty is reduced, therefore, leading to a reduction in corruption. The fight against corruption is not only for the leaders but also for all citizens, hence, the need for complete education to understand the various forms of corruption and how we can control it.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: Interviewee B maintains that healthy nation-building must be organized following acceptable policies by all ethnic groups in Nigeria. While this may be difficult to achieve, he maintains that these processes should at least be accepted by a majority of the population, preferably 80-90 per cent of the population should accept these building processes. Similarly, a viable building process must acknowledge the presence of various ethnic groups in the country, therefore, ensuring maximum representation of each of these groups.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: Nigeria may be unable to establish true nation-building policies if they continue to side-line the Igbos in political positions. The Igbos make up the economic hub of the country with a large population, hence, to establish a true nation-building policy, the Igbos must be duly represented.

Comment: as understood, he clearly doesn't believe there are any positive changes in the country. Rather, corruption gets worse every day and some ethnic groups are being side-lined in the affairs of the country. He believes Nigeria might not be able to get a true nation building, and education is the key to fighting corruption.

3. Interviewee C: Male (A Yoruba professor of Political Science at the University of Lagos State)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: The Nigerian nation-building process is flawed mainly as a result of corruption. Nigeria is a great country with peaceful citizens; however, the political

sector is filled with wolves that are willing to do anything to increase their political power, hence, observing corrupt practices at the detriment of our nation-building process.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: The situation is not any better. As a nation, we still have a long way to go in terms of fighting corruption. Interview C continues saying citing references from Transparency International that Nigeria continues to rank low in the corruption index year-in-year-out. Hence, the fight against corruption is one that the Nigerian state is losing since everyone is looking for quick money or illegal favours.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: Quoting interviewee C "…. *are you joking? You are from Nigeria; you must know these things. We are nowhere near any positive political atmosphere. The Nigerian political atmosphere is in a state of social Dawarnism which is characterized by man vs man*".

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: Although certain policies have been put into place, especially at the state level, the federal government under this current administration may need to work harder in fighting corruption, since it was their everyday message during the election. However, it could be argued that none of these campaign promises has been met.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: Interviewer C takes his point of view from a socio-economic perspective where he analyzed that when people's needs are catered for by the government, there would be no need for them to encourage corruption or try to steal public funds. He continues by saying that Nigeria is rich in oil resources, yet it is known as the poverty capital of the world. Finally, he mentions that the government must provide poverty alleviation programs to fight against corruption, especially amongst the rural population.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: A healthy nation-building process must take everyone along. A similar style is employed in Singapore and Malaysia. Nigeria may be a multi-ethnic nation when compared to these countries, however, the attitude of uniformism must be built

by all. We must all learn to be Nigerian and if possible, avoid creating ethnic differences, especially in public areas.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: Interviewee C mentions that Nigeria can establish true nation-building policies, and he believes that the growing generation will be the ones to effect these changes. Citing examples from the recent End-Sars Campaign, Interviewee C mentions that never in the history of Nigeria has there been people from all parts of the nation fighting for a better country except during the End-Sars Campaign. However, our interviewee does not mention how these changes may come about.

Comment: As can be understood, he believes that greedy politicians are the main issue of the country and engage in all sorts of activities just to maintain their political power, which in return affects the country. He insisted that Nigeria is nowhere near any positive political atmosphere. Nigerians need to stop creating ethnic differences, especially in public areas to be able to achieve true nation building.

4. Interviewee D: Female (An Igbo Professor of Political Science in Nnamdi Azikwe University)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: The Nigerian nation-building process is not only affected by corruption but by ethnic differences as well. Corruption as a concept exerts a minimal effect on the Nigerian nation-building process.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: Interviewer D mentions that corruption, unfortunately, has continued to increase across every part of Nigeria. Previously, people would be ashamed to boast of being corrupt but now we celebrate corrupt individuals and even elect them to leadership positions. Interviewer D makes an example, citing a governor of a state in the Northern part of the country that was caught on video collecting bribes of thousands of dollars, yet, with no punishment or repercussion to his political career. Rather, the same person was re-elected to the same position.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: Our interviewee argues that there is no positive change in the Nigerian political system. The position of women in politics continues to dwindle, and people are continually losing faith in politics in Nigeria.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: Quoting our interviewee "*for a president who claims to know so much about politics and how to cure Nigeria of it, the corruption level in Nigeria is continually increasing and this is visible in every aspect of the country, therefore, the anti-corruption effect of the current administration if graded by me would be a D*".

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: The interviewee mentions that corruption in Nigeria, although endemic can be curtailed. She further explains that since Nigeria is mostly experiencing political corruption, viable leaders, mostly those fit for the position should be elected and appointed. A political appointment should not be based on ethnic or religious ties as what is obtainable now but on expertise and merit.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: Quoting our interviewee, "*not to sound pessimistic, I do not see a healthy nation-building process for Nigeria, perhaps not in my time*". However, she mentions that a healthy nation-building process is one where rule of law is held and maintained, politicians are not granted immunity for crimes committed, and citizens are excited to participate in politics. She further continues by saying all these are absent in Nigeria, and the present situation, does not make one optimistic.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: With the right education and quality judiciary system, efficient nation-building policies can be created. The NYSC is the right step towards that direction, only more participation is needed from all.

Comment: According to the interviewee the nation building process in Nigeria is not only affected by corruption, but by ethnic division, she explained further that there is no positive change in the country, the position of women in politics continues to dwindle. Since we have more political corruption to curb this. Those fit for the position should be elected and not based on ethnic or religious tier.

5. Interviewee E: Male (A Hausa Professor of Political Sociology in Ahmadu Bello University)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: Interviewee E makes no correlation between corruption and the nation-building process in Nigeria. Rather, he explains that the nation-building process is affected by the enmity between the various ethnic groups in the country.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: The interviewee explains that there is no visible change between 1999 and current times. Nigeria in the global ranking of corruption continues to rank even lower, and this is an issue as corruption in recent times is now seen as a normal occurrence. In 1999, he mentions that people were hideous in their corrupt practices but now everything is done in the open.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: Our interviewee answers from a position of political sociology where he mentions that positive change may not be recorded owing to the political nature of individuals in Nigeria. Most people in Nigeria mostly engage in politics to satisfy their selfish needs, not necessarily to improve the political life of the nation, therefore, there is no positive change in the Nigerian political atmosphere.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: There are commendable efforts in the current administration against corruption, albeit, these efforts are coming at a very slow pace making it look as though nothing is happening. The current administration may need to put in more effort as corruption is fast engulfing the nation.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: Interviewee E mentions that state leadership is made up of individuals, therefore, individual education, learning, and teaching of the right ethical practice is important. Similarly, a constant reminder of the various forms of corruption may be provided through webinars and seminars at office places.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: A healthy nation-building process is characterized by a single civil identity. He mentions that a healthy nation-building process is experienced when we recognize that we must uphold our duty to the Nigerian state before any other ethnic identity.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: Interviewee E mentions that it is a difficult process for any country to establish a healthy nation-building process, however, with the right education, anything can be achieved, even for Nigeria.

Comment: Basically, he believes there is no correlation between corruption and the nation-building process in Nigeria. He explains that nation building is affected by the hostility among ethnic groups in the country. and there are commendable efforts in the current administration against corruption but at a low pace, the governments need to put in more efforts in fighting corruption in the country.

6. Interviewee F: Female (A Hausa professor of Political Science in Ahmadu Bello University)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: Corruption has significantly deterred the nation-building process in Nigeria. People from all parts of the country are mostly concerned about others belonging to them, therefore, creating favours and other illegal acts that are detrimental to a healthy nation-building process.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: Interviewee F mentioned that the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari has tried in combating corruption in Nigeria, however, this is a long continual process in Nigeria as corruption is a long aspect of Nigerian politics that will require a longer period of action.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: The Nigerian political atmosphere has not changed much since the last decade. She mentions that there is still a great deal of work to be done as the Nigerian political arena is still operated by elites and godfathers that have crippled the political system.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: During the campaigns, the current administration proved to Nigerians that they have a clear mapped out plan to curbing corruption, hence, raising our hopes for a new corrupt-free Nigeria, however, recent developments suggest otherwise as corruption is even increasing that what it used to be.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: Our interviewee mentions that a complete revamp of the police force, as well as a change of heads of banking institutions, are the most paramount to combating corruption in Nigeria. When this revamp is done, with a more trained and highly efficient police officer, we can begin to see changes in Nigeria.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: A healthy nation-building process according to our interviewee is one where people from all ethnic groups in Nigeria are represented in the government.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: Our interviewee believes that Nigeria can establish true nation-building policies. However, this is a top-down approach that must stem down from the leaders. Since most leaders assume charismatic leadership roles, especially in the North, any words or actions from these leaders are held in high esteem and are usually followed.

Comment: In the final analysis from her view, corruption has affected nation building, and the only way to curb corruption is by strengthening the police force and replacing old banking head institutions to new ones that will help reduce corruption in Nigeria. To establish a nation building policies, starts from our leaders when they start allowing people from different ethnic groups to participate in the affairs of the country.

7. Interviewee G: Female Politician (Member of the Nigerian House of Representative from the East)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: Quoting the Honourable Member of the House of Representative "*Nation-building process in Nigeria is greatly affected by corruption, and this has eaten deep into every facet of the Nigerian society, it is almost a way of life for many now*". She continues by mentioning the nature of political appointments in Nigeria that is mostly granted based on ethnic affiliation rather than merit.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: Interviewee G mentions that corruption in 1999 was rampant, except it was kept a secret. The same frequent cases of corruption occur today, however, in lower frequencies than what was in occurrence in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: Quoting our interviewee, "*as a woman in a position of authority, I am grateful for this opportunity to serve my constituency, however, at this age and time one would expect more women at the National assembly but this is not the case, of over 320 members of the house, we are only 21 women, which is a very low score*". She continues by saying this is a lower mark than what is experienced in other countries.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: Our respondent answers by saying that the anti-corruption effort of the current administration, especially at the presidency is significantly low. Citing examples from the Niger-Delta Corruption scandal as well as the scandal involving the chairman of the EFCC. She continues by saying such actions are usually met with stiff punishment, however, these men are shielded from facing justice.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: A greater servitude to the citizens must be groomed by politicians. When politicians remember that they are first servants, then the quest to deny the citizens of amenities will disappear.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: A healthy nation-building process according to our respondent is developed when an idea of one Nigeria is shared by all, notwithstanding our cultural differences.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: The respondent believes that Nigerians can develop true nation-building policies when everyone is educated on the dangers of corruption.

Comment: The Honorable Member feels corruption is now a way of life in Nigeria. She mentioned that to curb corruption the leaders should first know that they are servants to the citizens hence the need to do the right thing. She added that Nigeria can develop if everyone is educated about the after effects of corruption and how it ruins the country.

8. Interviewee H: Female Politician (Member of the House of Representative from the Western part of Nigeria)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: Our respondent submits that the Nigerian nation-building process is almost diminished due to corruption which is visible in all government and private offices in Nigeria.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: She mentions that the case of corruption now in Nigeria is worse than what was obtainable in 1999 and that is because the newly democratic government tried to evade another military coup by providing valuable democratic policies. However, in current times, the military scare is no longer available, hence, everyone is left to act as they please.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: The respondents note that the current Nigerian political atmosphere is getting even worse, however, there are visible improvements in the section of social responsibility and civil society that may raise a level of optimism.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: The respondent answers by maintaining a view that the current administration has not been successful in the fight against corruption as it claimed it would be when elected.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: Education and constant awareness of social responsibility in society are important in combating corruption.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: The respondent submits that a healthy nation-building process is achieved when the rights of minorities, especially those for minor ethnic groups are upheld. This creates trust in the political system that is therefore visible in the country.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: Nigeria can establish true nation-building policies depending on the readiness of the leaders to effect this change.

Comment: Basically, the political atmosphere in Nigeria is very poor and thereby making the Nigeria nation building process a failure. The current administration has not been successful in the fight against corruption as it claimed. Nigeria can only build the nation when the leaders are truly ready for a change.

9. Interviewee I: Male Politician (Member of the House of Representative from the Western part of Nigeria)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: The respondent submits that corruption affects the nation-building process strategically and could be termed as a reason for Nigeria's developing status in the international community.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: The current administration continues to sternly fight against corruption in Nigeria, however, our respondent submits that this is a gradual process that is better than what was obtained in 1999.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: Interviewee I answer that there is indeed a huge change in the Nigerian political atmosphere with the creation of new parties and an increase in civil society participation.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: The respondent submits that the fight against corruption by the current administration is laudable, expressing that Nigeria is better off than where it used to be from previous administrations.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: Interviewee I mentioned that people must be educated about the dangers of corruption and its effect. When education is conducted, the government's policies towards controlling corruption can then become efficient.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: The respondent submits that a healthy nation-building process occurs when people from various ethnic groups are involved in important political decision-making actions.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: The respondent answers that Nigeria can establish true nation-building policies and this is already underway in the appointment style of the current administration.

Comment: With his analysis he feels the current administration is fighting corruption and it is a gradual process which is better than what we had in 1999. He believes Nigeria is a working progress.

10. Interviewee J: Male Politician (Hausa member of the House of Representative from the North)

Interviewer: How has corruption affected the Nigerian nation-building process?

Response: Corruption has affected all parts of Nigerian society, more so, in terms of an efficient nation-building process. He continues by maintaining that corruption is a great limiting factor to nation-building.

Interviewer: How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Response: He responds by comparing both eras. According to him, corruption has grown to infest the total working structure of the country, before, only corruption in the oil sector was discussed, but now, corruption is available everywhere.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

Response: Interviewee J mentions that the Nigerian political sector needs a complete overhaul to save it from God-father politics. This is a growing problem as it hinders efficient political growth.

Interviewer: How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

Response: He responds by expressing his satisfaction at how the current administration has dealt with corruption. He, however, explains that this is a gradual process, hence, patience and constant development is needed.

Interviewer: What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

Response: Our respondents highlight that maintaining a reliable judicial system that is capable of punishing offenders is needed to efficiently combat corruption in Nigeria. Current judicial systems are flawed and could easily be corrupted, hence, a steady legal system is needed.

Interviewer: What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Response: He responds by advocating for a more congruent political system where civic activities are taught at school and in society. Similarly, he concludes by saying a healthy nation-building process involves everyone as this is a joint activity.

Interviewer: Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

Response: He mentions that Nigeria is on the path to formulating true nation-building policies through the national development program advocated and created by the presidency.

Comment: as deduced from the interviewee he believes corruption has limited the growth of the nation and has affected all parts of the society. God-father issues in politics are obstructing political growth in the country. To fight corruption, we need a reliable judicial system that is capable of punishing offenders and a joint activity from everyone to grow the country.

V. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The discussion concerning corruption in Nigeria has consistently grown to include issues such as economy, foreign aid, government spending, oil management, and even political matters. However, in regards to nation-building and how this is affected by corruption, the available literature is exceedingly low, hence, not so much is known about Nigeria's nation-building challenges.

Being a multicultural country with over 700 tribes, Nigeria's population of over 200 million has also added to its multi-cultural nature. Regions are composed of multiple tribes, some of which exhibit a sharp and noticeable dichotomy. Additionally, the presence of multiple tribes highlights the volatile nature of the country, especially in a situation where one tribe is favoured more than the other. This is what corruption continues to do in the country.

Corruption in Nigeria has continued to further divide the country amongst cultural lines as people belonging to different cultures share different understandings and beliefs to what corruption entails in the country. A member of a favoured ethnic tribe would not believe that corruption dampens nation-building because he or she is receiving the benefits of democracy. In most cases, this member may not even agree that there is corruption in Nigeria since his or her ethnic group are the privileged group. The same belief may not be obtained by those in less privileged ethnic groups who are constantly faced with the ugly side of corruption and whose rights are constantly trampled upon.

Corruption in Nigeria affects nation-building in the sense that equal sharing becomes an issue. It becomes inherently difficult for the government to share in the right proportion what is obtained from the national revenue to various regions. It is seen that due to corruption, some regions with a considerably lower population and little income generation enjoy a greater part of Nigeria's government budget when compared to regions with a higher population and a higher income generation for the federal government.

The inequality in sharing is not only limited to the federal government but may also apply to the state government, especially in the multi-tribal region. In some regions in Nigeria, members of different ethnic groups are constantly engaged in inter-ethnic conflict, therefore, making them fight for power, position, and influence. In these regions, when a ruler comes from a particular tribe, he or she seeks fellow tribal members to political positions, despite the status of their eligibility. Hence, the political position is seen to be influenced by corruption and this further destroys steps to efficient nation-building.

Similarly, individuals may influence the effects of corruption on nation-building as they continue to give preferential treatment to their fellow ethnic members while putting members of other groups in a difficult situation. This explains why in some places in Nigeria, it is common to hear a significant level of distrust against another national group. Nigerians in the local community have grown a significant level of distrust and detest for members of other national groups based on how that person has been treated. This clearly shows that the corruption level in Nigeria is more political and has now eaten deep into the society. It is now a way of life to so many people who see nothing wrong in collecting bribes, using state resources to secure loyalty, elected and government workers feeling they have the right to share government revenues among themselves, using political authority for personal gains, and sees nothing wrong in favouring a particular tribe.

When distrust sets in the local state formation idea of a citizen, it becomes inherently difficult to ensure efficient nation-building as individuals are forced to coordinate their actions based on their constructed belief. This thesis, therefore, becomes important to highlight how corruption in Nigeria has shaped the constructed beliefs of fellow Nigerians against nation-building policies. The study made use of an interview-style qualitative method to understand in detail how corruption has transformed the minds of Nigerians concerning nation-building.

The interview section composed of professors and politicians across the three major ethnic groups of Nigeria showed to a great extent the belief held by these ethnic groups concerning nation-building in Nigeria. Those from the East, who are glamouring for separation from Nigeria are very vocal about the influence of corruption in Nigeria. They see themselves as the unprivileged group, despite the level of modernization that they provide in the country, therefore they are dissatisfied and are pessimistic about nation-building in Nigeria. In comparison with those in the

North who are less vocal about corruption in Nigeria but instead relates the influence of corruption in Nigeria to other factors. The Northerners are regarded as the most privileged group in the country with a higher volume of representation in politics, military, oil production, mining and agriculture, and in other parts of government apparatus.

For this reason, a Northerner will share varying degrees of belief when compared with a southerner or those from the West. This in most cases further influences how each view and constructs the nation in their minds. The nature of government-sponsored inequality across different ethnic groups as a result of corruption is consistently affecting nation-building projects in the country. A Nigerian from the East is wary of the Nigerian identity and would most identify with the state of Origin. Hence, leading Nigeria to exhibit a form of Middle East identity problem where individuals are wary of the country's identity but would rather identify by their tribes, religion, or by region.

In recommendation, it is for a fact that the Nigerian government continues to include other nation-building programs such as the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) as well as the intra-regional events, however, nation-building in Nigeria is a top-down approach as the political heads set the standard for the citizens to follow. The NYSC comprises fresh university graduates, who based on the political environment in present Nigeria are not offered the incentives to engage in politics. Politics in Nigeria is still conducted by famous names of the 1970s who are ethnically inclined and highly corrupt. Hence, the audience going through the nation-building programs are not granted the opportunity to showcase what they have learnt from these programs.

Similarly, for some who manage to clinch political positions, the status of elite politics in Nigeria has significantly reduced the efficient nature of building solid and efficient nation-building mechanisms. They are taught that pleasing the members of one's ethnic group at the expense of another is the way of life and should be maintained, this further harms the nation-building policies of Nigeria.

As a prerequisite, to build efficient nation-building, a government-sponsored approach either through efficient power-sharing, quota system, or rotation system could be applied. This makes it possible for members of various ethnic groups to gain access to power while interacting with those in other ethnic groups and setting political agendas with them. Hence, no single ethnic group will at a point in time exercise all-round power, but they will be forced to deliberate with the members of

other ethnic groups, hence, grooming increased relations with members of the whole country. Similarly, if this form of political authority is provided, democracy is guaranteed and individuals will gain immense trust in the political system. And also, the government needs to strengthen all the existing institutions like Efcc, Npf, Icpc, judicial arms and more. End impunity, there shouldn't be an exemption of punishment to any public offender, block loopholes to launder money abroad and promote transparency and accountability in the public and private sector.

Finally, every Nigerian citizen wants to be held, every Nigerian national group wants to be represented, every Nigerian ethnic group wants to be respected. A fully functional democratic system in Nigeria that is concerned with combating corruption will as a corollary breed development, increased representation, efficient nation-building policy and trust in a single Nigerian identity.

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APPENDIX

Interview Questions

How has corruption affected the Nigerian Nation-building Process?

How would you compare the status of corruption in 1999 and currently?

Do you think there is a positive change happening in the Nigerian political atmosphere?

How would you describe the anti-corruption efforts of the current administration?

What do you think could be done to combat corruption effectively in Nigeria?

What is your imagination of a healthy nation-building process?

Can Nigeria establish true nation-building policies?

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