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## **SURVIVING THE TIDES, THE BUMPS AND THE JOLTS IN DEMOCRACY: BUILDING A SOLID ANTI-CORRUPTION FRAMEWORK TO CREATE A ‘USEFUL’ NIGERIA**

*It is no exaggeration of the tragic events that have taken place in the country since independence, to say that all efforts to establish efficient public institutions have been frustrated by corruption. The general consensus is that all public office holders are culprits, and as such, it would be impossible to eradicate corruption. In order for this present democratic government to forge ahead in its fight against the pervasive, corrupt administration in Nigerian, and in a bid to dislodge itself from the cankerworm of corruption in public institutions, it is working tirelessly to eradicate corruption. This article discusses the curbing of the menace, corruption in Nigeria, by carrying out a critical analysis and assessment of the current Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari's democratic government and his anti-corruption war as enacted in the last two years, and how viable and visible it has been.*

**Keywords:** *Anti-Corruption War, Nigeria, Democracy, Buhari's administration*

### **Introduction**

After the emergence of democracy on May 29, 1999 in Nigeria, the country has been plagued by a number of issues, chief of which is corruption. In the 2010 report of the Intergovernmental Action Group Against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA), ten former governors in Nigeria appropriated \$250 billion, just three years after the emergence of democracy in the nation, also, Nigeria had 87.3 percent when ranked as regards the size of its authority pay off.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the 2017 rating of the Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) discharged on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 2018 revealed that out of 180 nations assessed for corruption, Nigeria was 148<sup>th</sup>, other corrupt countries which held similar rankings were Russia, Cameroon, Iran, Kyrgyzstan and Lebanon.<sup>2</sup> These rankings are as a result of the gross underdevelopment of the country, general insecurity, savagery, lack of good administration, and the pauperisation of the local population. In their entirety, the aforementioned indices are detrimental to the nation's budding democracy.

The culpability of corruption in the nation has inspired various endeavors, and has led to the incorporation of some institutional approaches so as to eradicate the vice, in times past. Some of these approaches have been

subjected to academic investigation, which in turn, have produced many scholarly works. The recurring theme in these scholarly texts is the failure to stem the developing tide of corruption in the nation. However, corruption keeps burgeoning. Therefore, in light of this, new approaches have to be utilised to handle the putrefying issue. As voiced out by President Muhammadu Buhari, corruption is an unspeakable atrocity and “if Nigeria neglects to stop corruption, corruption is no doubt going to stop Nigeria”.<sup>3</sup>

Be that as it may, the problem with the use of many anti-corruption tactics in Nigeria is that, they are highly idiosyncratic, that is, they are often spun around the identity, impulses and inclinations of individual leaders. However, for an anti-corruption framework to be effective, it must be depersonalised, in addition, it must be controlled by the general population through re-orientation. There must also be a genuine non-factional development of the general population. One approach which can accomplish this is to trigger mass development, woven around the culture and the convention of the general population; this is similar to what happened recently in India. This investigation fundamentally analyses the strategy adopted by President Muhammadu Buhari in for war against corruption in Nigeria, and its suitability and prominence.

## **Methodology**

This study depends on the archival analysis and qualitative research mode. The qualitative research is fitting for this paper because it orchestrates, recognises, and assesses research-based confirmations. It is an efficient investigative endeavour which groups all proofs that fit the pre-determined qualification criteria, to answer a particular research question. It utilises express, efficient strategies that limit predispositions, in this way, it gives more dependable discoveries, from which conclusions can be drawn, and choices can be made. While the quantitative method gives a rundown of all the distributed and unpublished investigations identifying with a specific branch of knowledge, the qualitative method outlines consequences of various analyses and investigations, and utilises an unequivocal and thorough criteria to recognise, assess and integrate all the writings on a specific subject. In this article, the focus is to write about social attachment and urban emergency in Nigeria, and this was stimulated by contents on the internet, academic articles, books and academic papers.

## **Revisiting the Discourse of Corruption**

In depicting or justifying the debauched nature of Nigerian, political and public institutions, an evident factor is the underlying foundation of its culture of corruption. Corruption has stood out amongst the most well-known ideas which experts have tried to investigate.<sup>4</sup>The truth is that, corruption was never

an integral part of Nigerians in times past, rather, Nigerians were known for sterling character traits such as decency and honesty as apparent in ideas like *omoluabi* (the upright one in Yoruba language) and *Mutum Kirki* (the honest individual in Hausa language). In fact, in pre-leader, Nigerian democratic setting, the disciplinary measures against the misuse of public assets, or the conversion of public assets to private additions, ranged between expulsions, bans, banishments, ejections and annihilations. Peter Ekeh stated this in his exposition on the two publics – the primordial and the metro.<sup>5</sup> While the primordial is represented by profound quality, the municipal is dispossessed of it. The authority of the municipal culture in Nigeria explains the pervading nature of corruption in all the divisions of the economy. Presently, primordial sensibilities are fast eroding evinced in the high rise of corruption in the nation.

Corruption is fast becoming a lifestyle; this is reflected in the high record of corrupt officials in the country. What this comes down to, is the way that the primordial circle, which is girded by moral virtues, is fast ebbing away.<sup>6</sup> Thus, for the war against corruption to succeed, the primordial sense must be made to win. The nation has a long history of corruption, which started as far back as the military period.<sup>7</sup> Before then, the Nigeria had the capacity to keep up the smooth running of the law, and political stability, which were deciding elements in shielding the nation from the development of corruption. Corruption in Nigeria is notably high among the individuals from the political class and public authorities, who are presumed to be familiar with long standing customs.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, it is also expedient to draw attention to the fact that the nation does not have a legalistic culture of enforcing compliance to laws and lawful principles, especially as regards public authorities and those in the domain of politics. Even when these degenerate practices are identified in public institutions, it is noteworthy that those who benefit from such activities tend to 'manage' the situation, and to endorse the individuals who have carried out such wrongdoings. Except for these former Head of States, General Muhammodu Buhari and Late General Tunde Idiagbon, whose administration from 1983-1985, installed a solid legal framework and proficient controlling state offices, an example was WAI-War Against Indiscipline, which contributed to high moral standards in the nation.<sup>9</sup>

Post and Vickers offered a compact depiction of the idea of corruption, after observing that it was a common factor, affecting political conduct in political workplaces.<sup>10</sup> Also, Richard Joseph, who first presented the idea of Prebendalism as an investigative device for the Nigerian political initiative style in 1983, proposed that, given the brief time frame which the democratic structure places the workplace holder, government officials have come to think that it is legitimate to utilise their positions as tools for riches gathering.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, on the grounds that the common type of social relationship is one described by supporter customer trades; political office holders in Nigeria utilise the plunder they amass to get and bolster support

groups Accordingly, the pith of state control becomes a political gladiatorial battle for those who control the distributive system of state assets. It must be noted that corruption, cannot be comprehended outside the more extensive democratic setting in which political workplaces or decisions are challenged. The bulk of the populace in Nigeria are often compelled to pitch with a given government official from their ethnic groups, recognising (legitimately or not) that such would be their exclusive certification to get a cut from the public coffers.<sup>12</sup> It is significant that this disposition was acquired by years of social and financial disregard, which has made the populace view the state as a paramount merchant of state riches. These political justifications unavoidably propagate an endless loop, whereby the workplace holder feels obliged to convert the public office to a private business endeavour.<sup>13</sup> Also, much like any run of the mill business geared towards capital collection, legislators will assemble any instrument which will secure or protect their stay in office. On Nigeria's democratic and political scene, corruption can also be seen in the dispersion of electorate remittance, and the monthly allowances received by political leaders. It is a settled idea in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, that the public assets in each state can be shared, at the command of the political leaders. In light of this, the political leaders have the opportunity to plunder the treasury as they wish. Their partners in crime and assistants are also guaranteed of their share of the loot.<sup>14</sup> Many people, who are in the least unit in the prebendal order, will risk their lives to hold a position also.<sup>15</sup> This is because, winning means the privilege to manage asset rents, for which they too are pretty much—sponsors. Along the democratic continuum, there is a yearning for political leaders and office holders on one side, meanwhile at the opposite end—a large number of people seek to form alliances with the very elites who have plundered the public patrimony.<sup>16</sup> The democratic framework in Nigeria is run on the wheels of the voracious appetites of public office holders and political leaders, hence, some group of people would rather find ways of getting their own share of the loot rather than to fight and transform the insidious, Machiavellian structure.<sup>17</sup>

Corruption is a significant hindrance to socio-political and financial advancement in Nigeria. It affects the progress of the nation, and influences the masses, negatively.<sup>18</sup> For institutions in Nigeria, corruption blocks business development; rather, it heightens expenses, and reputational danger. Additionally, it raises exchange costs, undermines healthy rivalry, blocks long haul remote and residential ventures, and contorts advancement needs. Generally, people are also of the opinion that corruption can adversely affect their esteem and create monetary, operational and reputational dangers to their ventures.

### **The Anti-Corruption Policy-War So Far!**

In measuring the war against corruption system set up by this present democratic

government, it can be perceived that the current downturn of the economy was because of the mistakes made by past democratic legislature bodies of the nation, many of these mistakes can also be traced to the long stretch of military rule in the past.<sup>19</sup> Nigeria's battle for autonomy and the end of the military regime, through the installation of civilian rule in May 29, 1999 was to a great extent, driven by a want to wean itself off exogenous arrangements, thoughts, and frameworks of all types of degenerate practices. As regards this desire, diverse monetary stages were shaped during the administration of former President Olusegun Obasanjo (who incorporated the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)), to defend and advance the interests of Nigerians.<sup>20</sup> In the Buhari administration, the reality of building a degenerate-free Nigeria, fit to settle its own corruption challenges, has picked up force, as the nation keeps depending on the government's battle against corruption. Nigeria has gained some ground in tackling the problem of degenerate political office holders.<sup>21</sup>

Since the takeoff of President Muhammodu Buhari administration on May 29, 2015, a great deal of affirmations of corrupt practices has come to the attention of the masses, these include the following: \$2.2 billion was illegitimately pulled back from Excess Crude Oil Accounts, of which \$1 billion was allegedly endorsed by President Jonathan to finance his reelection crusade without the knowledge of the National Economic Council, which is made up of the state governors, the vice president, and the president;<sup>22</sup> Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative discovered that \$11.6 billion was missing from Nigeria Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) Company's profit installments; 60 million barrels of oil esteemed at \$13.7 billion was stolen under the watch of the national oil organisation, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation between 2009 and 2012;<sup>23</sup> Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative revealed that as a result of sponsorship and residential unrefined distribution between 2005 and 2012, \$11.63 billion was paid to the Nigerian National Petroleum Cooperation however "there is no proof of the cash being transmitted to the alliance's account";<sup>24</sup> there was a diversion of 60% of \$1 billion remote advances gotten from China by the Ministry of Finance.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, there were loopholes in weapons and resistance purchases, and the misappropriation of 3 trillion naira safeguard fund allocated to battle the Boko Haram insurgency, others include: the misappropriation of the \$2.2 million inoculation prescription store funds, by the Ministry of Health;<sup>26</sup> the misappropriation of the Ebola battle fund subsidy of 1.9 billion naira; the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) fund extortion which is under scrutiny by the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), this was used to finance the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and was also used in the purchase of a real estate parcel worth 13 billion naira; the Ministry of Finance, headed by Mrs. Okonjo Iweala paid a rushed installment of \$2.2 million for questionable solicitations by wellbeing

service contractual workers;<sup>27</sup> 2.7 billion naira worth of agreements were siphoned into the Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC) despite the fact that this did not conform to the Public Procurement Act;<sup>28</sup> the Police Service Commission Scam researched by the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) uncovered cases of fund misappropriation worth over 150 million naira which were identified with race related trainings.<sup>29</sup> The Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) recommended that refunds be made by the guilty parties as regards the looted funds enumerated above, however, numerous experts suggested that arraignments were more suitable.<sup>30</sup>

The present democratic government has recovered money totaling N78,325,354,631.82 (Seventy eight billion, three hundred and twenty-five million, three hundred and fifty-four thousand, six hundred and thirty one Naira and eighty two kobo);<sup>31</sup> \$185,119,584.61 (One hundred and eight five million, one hundred and nineteen thousand, five hundred and eighty four United State (US) dollars, sixty one pennies);<sup>32</sup> 3,508,355.46 Pounds Sterling (Three million, five hundred and eight thousand, three hundred and fifty-five Pounds and 46 Pence) and 11, 250 Euros (Eleven thousand, two hundred and fifty Euros) between the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 2015 and the 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 2016.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the Minister of Information and Culture, Lai Mohammed reported that the recovered loot under break relinquishment (money and resources) totaled N126,563,481,095.43 (One hundred and twenty six billion, five hundred and sixty three million, four hundred and eighty one thousand, and ninety five Naira, forty three Kobo; \$9,090,243,920.15 (Nine billion, ninety million, two hundred and forty three thousand, nine hundred and twenty Dollars, fifteen pennies);<sup>34</sup> 2,484,447.55 Pounds Sterling (Two million, four hundred and eighty four thousand, four hundred and forty seven Pounds, fifty five Pence) and 303,399.17 Euros (Three hundred and three thousand, three hundred and ninety-nine Euros, 17 pennies).<sup>35</sup>

In light of the details provided above, in all, the assets anticipated, add up to \$321,316,726.1 (Three hundred and twenty one million, three hundred and sixteen thousand, seven hundred and twenty six Dollars, one penny); 6,900,000 Pounds (Six million, nine hundred thousand Pounds) and 11,826.11 Euros (Eleven thousand, eight hundred and twenty six Euros, 11 pennies).<sup>36</sup> It was also reported that the non monetary assets, recovered (Farmlands, Plots of Land, Uncompleted Buildings, Completed Buildings, Vehicles and Maritime Vessels) were 239 in number.<sup>37</sup> If the counter corruption war of government runs smoothly without interruption, Nigeria will change positively and the level of corruption will drastically reduce among public institutions holders.<sup>38</sup>

The following is a recent analysis of Buhari's administration as regards money related and resource repossession, two years into his tenure. Drawing from this investigation, it is evident that the present democratic government intends to eradicate corruption completely. Many Nigerians were satisfied when the eagerly awaited rundown on the plunderers' activities was

released by the government,<sup>39</sup> as the release of the rundown on stolen public assets has helped the masses to have greater trust in the present government's anti-corruption war.

### **Buhari's Interim Report On Financial and Asset Recoveries Between 29, May 2015 and 25, May 2016**

#### **CASH RECOVERIES**

<b>Serial</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Naira</b>	<b>US Dollar</b>	<b>GB Pounds</b>	<b>Euro</b>
1	EFCC Cash at hand	39,169,911,023.00	128,494,076.66	2,355	11,250
2	Royalty/tax/payment to FGN account in JP Morgan account New York	4,642,958,711.48	40,727,253.65		
3	ONSA Funds Recovery Account in CBN	5,665,305,527.41	8,000,000.00		
4	VAT recovered from companies by ONSA	529,588,293.47			
5	EFCC Recovered Funds Account in CBN	19,267,730,359.36	455,253.80		
6	ICPC Revenue Collection Recovery in CBN	869,957,444.89			
7	Office of the Attorney General	5,500,000,000	5,500,000		
8	DSS Recoveries	47,707,000.5	1,943,000.5	3,506,000.46	
9	ICPC Cash Asset Recovery	2,632,196,271.71			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>78,325,354,631.82</b>	<b>185,119,584.61</b>	<b>3,508,355.46</b>	<b>11,250</b>

#### **RECOVERIES UNDER INTERIM FORFEITURE**

<b>Serial</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Naira</b>	<b>US Dollar</b>	<b>GB Pounds</b>	<b>Euro</b>
1	Cash in bank under interim forfeiture	8,281,577,243.92	1,819,866,364.73	3,800.00	113,399.17
2	Amount frozen in bank Value of properties	48,159,179,518.90	7,131,369,498.49	605,647.55	
3	under interim forfeiture Value of cars under	41,534,605,998.00	77,844,600.00	1,875,000.00	190,000.00
4	interim forfeiture	52,500,000.00			
5	ONSA Funds under interim forfeiture	27,001,464,125.20	43,771,433.73		
6	Value of Assets Recovered by ONSA	512,000,000.00			
7	ONSA Assets under interim forfeiture	260,000,000.00			
8	DSS Recoveries Frozen in Banks	658,929,000.00	226,476.20		



	EFCC Cash in Bank			
9	under	103,225,209.41	17,165,547.00	
	final forfeiture			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>126,563,481,095.43</b>	<b>9,090,243,920.15</b>	<b>2,484,447.55 303,399.17</b>
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>204,888,835,727.25</b>	<b>9,275,363,504.76</b>	<b>5,992,803.01 314,649.17</b>

**FUNDS AWAITING RETURN FROM FOREIGN JURISDICTIONS**

	<b>Jurisdiction</b>	<b>US Dollar</b>	<b>GB Pounds</b>	<b>Euro</b>
1	Switzerland	321000000		
2	UK		6900000	
3	UAE	310501		11826.11
4	USA	6225.1		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>321,316,726.1</b>	<b>6,900,000</b>	<b>11,826.11</b>

**NON CASH RECOVERIES**

<b>Serial</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>ICPC</b>	<b>Quantity EFCC</b>	<b>ONSA</b>
1	Farmland	22		
2	Plot of Land	4		
3	Uncompleted Building	1		
4	Completed Building	33	145	4
5	Vehicles	22	3	
6	Maritime Vessels		5	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>4</b>

Source: Premium Times, May 29, 2016<sup>40</sup>

**A “Useful’ Nigeria”**

Within the time spent battling and building an independent and democratic nation free of corruption, the President Muhammadu Buhari administration has portrayed financial downturn as the cost being paid for transforming Nigeria into a mono-economy state.<sup>41</sup> It was mentioned earlier that the huge amount which accrued to the country from the sales of unrefined petroleum was mishandled by past democratic governments. The government’s anti-corruption strategy plans to put the nation on the right path by straightening out the economy. The 2019 budget is aimed at import substitution and fare advancement, and the rejuvenation of the assembling segment, especially to produce fundamental crude materials, so as to provide more jobs, and to fast track the use of different systems to ease work, in addition, this is geared towards drawing more business speculators to Nigeria.<sup>42</sup> The present democratic government has revealed that the matter confronting the present government is battling corruption in different facets of the government. As indicated in President Buhari’s announcement:

We have been working together with all arms of government to restore our public institutions so that they are more proficient and fit, for these reasons: This implies an administration that is ready to create and convey right approaches to doing things. This implies



an autonomous legal, unquestionably sound system, ready to guard the subject's rights and apportion equity impartially. This implies an assembly that enacts properly; this implies that political gatherings and lawmakers are focused on serving the Nigerian people as opposed to themselves. These are the mainstays of the state on which democracy can flourish and flourish, however, this is just in the event that they are solid and upright.<sup>43</sup>

Buhari's democratic, administrative team is working hard to effect some crucial and basic changes, which in turn will advance the government and establish a strong framework for change. Buhari's administration has put some structures in place which will help the political leaders and those in public authority to evade excess fund misappropriation through the establishment of the Treasury Single Account (TSA). About the TSA, the government had the following to say:

It is an imperative advance to get our housekeeping right. So we have diminished the extreme spending of the past. We began with the treasury single record, halting the spillages in public consumption. We discovered forty-three thousand, phantom specialists through the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information framework. Thus, pay parcels totaling N4.2 billion were stolen each month. Likewise, we will cut Twenty-Three Billion Naira per annum from official voyaging and sitting stipends, and the proficiency unit will cut expenses and take out duplications in services and divisions. Each cut makes a difference.<sup>44</sup>

The present democratic government rebuilt and legitimised its Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs).<sup>45</sup>This was completed within two years so as to make public institutions more proficient, as this will also ensure the smooth running of democracy in Nigeria. As a public servant, President Buhari has ensured and proven that his spending procedure is more straightforward, more comprehensive and all the more firmly attached to improvement needs. 30% of the spending plan was allotted to capital projects.<sup>46</sup> Besides, the government anticipates non-oil incomes to counter the reliance on oil money. As far back as two year ago, some political and monetary experts portrayed the projected, spending exercise as being cumbersome. However, this is a decent case of agreement building, which is vital to democratic government. The present administration is pleased with its accomplishments, and keeps stating that democracy is the best type of government. As indicated in one of President Buhari's speeches, he said:

It is one year today since our organisation came into office. It has been a time of triumph, union, torments and accomplishments. By age, impulse and experience, my inclination is to look forward, to get ready for the difficulties that lie ahead and rededicate the organisation to the errand of settling Nigeria. In any case, I trust we can gain from the obstructions we have overcome and the advances we have made so far, to help fortify the plans that we have set up, to place Nigeria on the path of advancement.<sup>47</sup>

This is an assertion and conviction that the democracy is the type of government that best guarantees the dynamic support of, and works to the advantage of the general populace. In spite of the numerous times of hardship and dissatisfaction, the general populace of Nigeria has been productive, tolerant, quiet and liberal.<sup>48</sup> Though there has been a financial meltdown in the past two years, it is evident that this came about as a result of the fight against corruption, and the present administration's bid to rebuild the economy.<sup>49</sup> The President and his team stated the following:

While assuming office, we discovered that the oil cost had been declining since 2014, yet because of the disregard of the past governments, the nation was not prepared to stop the economy from declining. The framework, rail, and streets were in a weather beaten state. All the four refineries were in a condition of dilapidation, the pipelines and terminals were no longer in use. Enormous obligations owed temporary workers and providers had accumulated. Nigeria has been managing the impacts of three critical and concurrent worldwide stuns beginning in 2017. A 70% drop in oil costs; a Global development log jam and the standardisation of money related approach by the United States Central Bank. Before the end of 2016, EFCC was given the flexibility to capture degenerate authorities, and the legal system has been made aware of what Nigerians expect of them in the war against corruption.<sup>50</sup>

The President Buhari's administration has spared billions of dollars from being spent on foreign trade and this has drastically reduced the nation's import charge.<sup>51</sup> The government has set out to keep the Naira from falling.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the government has bolstered financial experts' plans to work out arrangements between money related approaches and monetary strategies. The government has also kept a steady watch on how the current financial improvement measures influence the Naira and the economy.<sup>53</sup> In any case, the government cannot make tracks in an opposite direction, because a good economy ensures the smooth running of government.<sup>54</sup> Also, a solid economy pre-assumes a modern beneficial base; therefore, the measures the Buhari

administration must take may bring about some level of hardship.

The Buhari government stated that the strategic measures and moves made so far by his administration were not to be viewed as mere analyses, the team also stated that there was bound to be opposition from the injured parties, as a result of the anti-corruption war;

We are completely mindful that those who have personal stakes and have kept Nigeria down for so long would not surrender without a battle. They will sow divisions, support abominable press reactions at home and abroad, and instigate the public with an end goal to make disorder; as opposed to giving up their bad habits.<sup>55</sup>

The monetary adversity the nation is encountering as regards low oil costs has armed the government with a chance to rebuild the economy and differentiate. Muhammodu Buhari's government and his team are advancing horticulture, livestock farming, and extending modern and assembling bases.<sup>56</sup> They are also empowering social ventures for a large and gifted workforce. The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) has offered more financial motivations for businesses that have items that are globally aggressive. The government is also focused on adjusting the administrative system for financial experts and professionals by enhancing the simplicity of working together in Nigeria.<sup>57</sup>

### **'The Useless' Nigeria-Bail out system/Spatial Manifestation of Corruption**

In two years, the present administration has also given out two bail-outs to help states governors with pay rates and state formative ventures.<sup>58</sup> At the beginning of the Buhari-driven government on 29 May, 2015, 23 states were financially past due dates of pay instalments, which ranged from two to thirteen months. Benue, Kogi, Osun and Cross River States had the highest number of months, while states like Ogun, Kogi, Ebonyi, Gombe, Plateau owed workers different derivations and beneficiaries' stipends running from four to sixteen months.<sup>59</sup> Just before the lapse of the past administration, the previous Minister of Finance and the Coordinating Minister for Economy, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala stunned Nigerians by when she declared that the previous democratic government had been obtaining loans since 1999 to pay government employees.<sup>60</sup>

The parlous condition of the economy, which was occasioned by lessening oil receipts, necessitated the need for bailouts. In July, 2015, the government affirmed the allocation of 804.7 billion naira as bailout fund for states.<sup>61</sup> The first eleven states were Osun, ₦88.6B; Delta, ₦69.8B; Ogun, ₦55.4B; Imo, ₦37.1B; Ekiti, ₦18.8B; Kwara, ₦15.6B; and Edo, ₦11.9B. Others were Benue, ₦10.9bn; Oyo, ₦9.1B; Bauchi, ₦6.5B and Kogi, ₦0.81Billions.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the Buhari administration spelt out twenty-two stringent conditions, which the 36 states must satisfy to be qualified to draw

from the 90 billion naira, bailout fund. It is pertinent to note that most state governors have demonstrated that they cannot be trusted with the assets of their states. After, the principal bailout was gotten by state governors; there was no examination of how the assets were utilised. Unfortunately, some of these states still owe their workers.

Corruption, with respect to numerous state governors, is evident in the inability to pay workers and retirees, while a few expresses reservations that the monthly allocation is low and cannot oversee such supports prudently; it is ironic to note that those with high allocations and high Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) are the states who owed workers for a considerable length of time.<sup>63</sup> States like Oyo, Ondo, Bayelsa, Rivers, Akwa Ibom, Delta states and others owed pay rates for quite a long period of time. At the moment, Delta state owes 653 billion naira in spite of her huge, month allocation from the government and high IGR.<sup>64</sup> On the off chance that Delta state, which has such a high allocation, and has the third highest IGR in the nation, could owe its workers, 635 billion naira. It is highly paradoxical that Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states, which are the epicentres of the political insurgencies in the nation, do not owe their staff, and still carry out some formative ventures.<sup>65</sup> Also, states like Sokoto, Katsina, and a few states in the Northern area which have the lowest monthly allocation do not owe workers. While oil producing states, and states in the South-Western area of the country (the most serene zone) owed their workers for a while.

Between 2011 and the present, the nation earned about \$315 billion from unrefined petroleum deals alone,<sup>66</sup> other income sources were excluded; therefore, it is ironical that the nation cannot afford pay its government workers. The question then arises, would state governments keep on seeking for bailouts in the Buhari administration? Especially as these governors will embezzle the main tranche of the bailout fund and still neglect to pay their workers. As Buhari's administration proceeds with a second bailout, with a desire to lessen the suffering of Nigerian, state workers, can these governors handle the second bailout wisely? It is hoped that states governments will implement policies which will boost the economy of their states (such as agricultural ventures and so on), and put a stop to the degenerate practices which have impoverished the states.<sup>67</sup> Buhari's anti-corruption war should bring degenerate political office holders, to book, as most of these individuals still owe workers, and are plundering state assets. There should be an arraignment of those state governors who cannot pay these salaries, such that, the whole scenario does not repeat itself with the second bailout attempt.<sup>68</sup> Thus, this question emerges: Is the money called 'bailout reserves from Abuja' not really a disincentive to inventive reasoning by most states governors?

The Nigerian economy is undergoing startling changes despite the setbacks from many angles. There is a mutual consensus among individuals who study the Nigerian economy that, were the present rate of financial

development of 3 to 3.5 for every penny to continue in the nearest future, it would generate a lot of political and social inconvenience, which the nation cannot handle at the moment; apart from economic crises, the country is also experiencing insurgencies and uprisings.<sup>69</sup> The Present Minister of Finance, Kemi Adeosun proposed that the economy must develop at about seven for each penny a year, to ingest two million workers who enter the work force each year.<sup>70</sup> The huge increments in the population size imply that this level of increment in the workforce will proceed for a while. Subsequently, a seven for every penny yearly extension in the economy should be maintained.

In addition, it is not an exclusive right that financial extensions should end up being accessible to all states in the nation. Nigerian business analysts' call this approach the 'comprehensive improvement'.<sup>71</sup> How can a multiplication in the rate of development and its even-handed appropriation be accomplished in a nation like Nigeria? To accomplish these two objectives, do those who are accountable for implementing improvement strategies, require another hypothesis of development? This is not the first time these inquiries have been made – and have been replied – by administrators in Nigeria. The outcomes of such disappointments are obvious in the gross underdevelopment of the country, as marked by general insecurity, brutality, deficiency of good administration, pauperisation of the Nigerian individuals, which in turn pose a danger to the nation's budding democracy.<sup>72</sup> The culpability of corruption in the nation has inspired various endeavors, and has led to the incorporation of some institutional approaches so as to check the spread of corruption by the Buhari administration. These approaches have been subjected to several academic analyses, and have spun many scholarly works. Be that as it may, the recurring theme which runs through many of these experiences is the failure to stem the developing tide of corruption in Nigeria.

## Conclusion

The issue with the strong, anti-corruption war of the present democratic government is that it is identity based, woven around the identity, impulses and whims of the individual pioneer. However, for the anti-corruption war undertaken by the present Buhari administration to be effective, it must be depersonalised and the masses have to assume control over it through re-orientation. There must be a genuine non-factional development of the general populace. One of the ways to do this is to trigger a mass development, which will engage the masses. From all indications, is Buhari not battling political enemies and not corruption? The Nigerian state has empowered the counter corruption war through the institution of the New Criminal Justice Act of 2015. This law allows for fast tracked arraignments of criminal instances of corruption under the Buhari government and it has begun yielding positive outcomes.

It is evident that the war has done more about what can be viewed as the non-verbal communication of the president. For the war to succeed, it must be depersonalised. The masses must assume control through moral reorientation and attitudinal changes, both to corruption and to degenerate individuals. The re-orientation of the masses appears to be one noteworthy approach to supplement the war against corruption. In the event that the general populace is not engaged as a mass development component against corruption, the endeavour will be seen from the crystal of political adversaries, ethnicity, religious, provincial and land local points.

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