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CORRUPTION IN THE NIGERIA PUBLIC SECTOR: AN IMPEDIMENT TO GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to examine corruption in Nigeria public sector and the challenges of good governance and sustainable development. One of the greatest threats to socio-economic and political development of any nation is corruption. It is anti-social behavior conferring improper benefits contrary to legal and moral norms, and undermines the authorities' capacity to secure the welfare of all citizens. The paper used qualitative approach to analyses issues by adopts secondary data such as journal publications, newspapers, textbooks etc. The paper observes that Nigeria is faced with myriad of dilemmas Prominent among which are poverty, insecurity, kidnapping, ethno-religious crisis, bad governance, and many more, these problems can be attributed to corruption. The paper suggests that government should urgently initiate moves to work with the National Assembly to review Nigeria constitution and legal order so as to empower the anti-corruption agencies to work assiduously without being molested or interfered with by the government. The paper concludes that entrenchment of constitutional principle that will allow citizens in their respective constituencies the power to recall at any point in time any elected official who has been found by due process to corrupt, abuse or betray the people mandate.

Keywords: Corruption, Good Governance, Public Sector, Socio-Economic Development

Introduction

There is no generally agreed definition as to what constitutes corrupt behaviors. It is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that erodes the socio-economic and political value of any nation. Corruption is also a global phenomenon, intelligible only in its social context. There is a growing worldwide concern over its spread due to so many factors poverty, crime, low rate of saving, unemployment and to mention a few .Therefore, reforming public sector and government policies is essential but poverty

a product of corruption limits the available options. Corruptions in developing nations are more pronounced than developed nations hence it remain impediments to good governance and sustainable developments. Developed and developing nations have initiated and established various anti-corruption war and advocacy to eradicate the menace of corruption in their system. Such advocacy are the African Union (AU), the United Nation (UN), the United Nation Development Programme (UNPP), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank to mention a few (Ogbeidi,2012). The phenomena's usually encompasses abuses by government officials such as embezzlement and cronyism, as well as abuses linking public and private actors such as bribery, extortion, influence peddling, and fraud, to mention but a few. In this regard, impunity and corruption threatens good governance, democratic process, and fair business practices (Ogbeidi, 2012). Therefore corruption has become of the greatest threats to socio-economic and political development of any nation. The threats of corruption remain a major dilemma issue facing Nigeria since the time of colonial period, although corruption has become a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabrics of Nigeria system. Nevertheless, its remedies rely in our hands as a people. That is why many developed and developing nations have put in place different mechanisms to checkmate and curb this ugly incidence. In Nigeria for example, the menace of corruption has been a matter of discourse at different levels of institution of learning yet this pathetic incidence keeps resurface with us at all facets of our endeavors.

The Nigerian government has taken various measures and strategies to address the incidence of corruption and bad governance in the country. These measures includes public service reform (monetization to reduce waste and reduction or over-bloated personnel, reform of public procurement); establishment of anti craft agencies (such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corruption and other Practices Commission (ICPC) and the on-going sanitization in the Nigeria National Petroleum Co-operation (Adeshina, 2015).

Despite the successes attained by these institutions, the situation remains palatable as corruption continues to permeate and pervade every facet in our society and national life in Nigeria (Fatile, 2013). Against this backdrop, this study is to examine corruption in Nigeria public sector and state its dare consequences on good governance and social-economic development and provide possible solution to this menace. The central theme of the argument is that corruption has been responsible for bad governance, socio-economic and political under-development in Nigeria public sector. Therefore, corruption, which has come to survive despite all efforts at curbing it, this is at the center of our discourse.

Methodology

The paper adopts qualitative research design to gain an insight into corruption in Nigeria Public Sector. The research used descriptive analysis to examine the issue of corruption in Nigeria Public Sectors. The paper which is theoretical in nature drawn its argument from secondary data which include journal publication ,textbooks and internet sources. To realize the objective of this paper and for ease of analysis, the paper is thematically divided into the following six parts.

The first highlight the introduction, the second section discussed the conceptual and theoretical framework, the third historical background of corruption in Nigeria Public Sector, the fourth dealt with classification of corruption in Nigeria Public Sector, the fifth corruption in Nigeria Public Sector a cancerous to good governance and sustainable development and implication and finally concluding remarks.

Conceptual and Theoretical Analysis

For the purpose of conceptual clarification and to limit the level of ambiguity, which as a rule is hallmark of academic research, it is important to examine some of the concepts and terms that are used in this study i.e corruption, good governance and sustainable development. Corruption was not invented by, nor is it peculiar to Nigerians. On the contrary, it is a global phenomenon with deep historical roots, although it manifests itself with similarities direction in different societies, depending on the peculiar systems of power distribution and the legal and moral norms operating therein (Osoba,1996). In the view of Egwemi (2012) corruption is not an easy task to define. However, Andrig and Fjelstad (2001:4) see corruption as a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with multiple causes and effects, as it takes on various forms and contexts.

United Nations (2012) defined corruption as it as “abuse of power for private gain”. The Transparency International has chosen a clear and focused definition of the term as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”. It can also be defined as a pervasion or change from the general accepted rules or laws for selfish gain (Farida, 2010). The World Bank however defines corruption as the abuse of office for private gains. Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public offices and processes for competitive advantages or profit. Corruption, like all social phenomena, is intelligible only in its total social context, its peculiar form, dynamics and degree of social and cultural acceptability or tolerance being critically related to the dominant mode of capital accumulation; income, wealth and poverty distribution, power configuration; and the underpinning moral and ethical values operating in a given society (Osoba, 1996, Fatile, 2013). Corruption in Nigeria is a kind of social virus which is a hybrid of traits of fraudulent anti-social behaviour derived from British colonial rule and nurtured in the indigenous Nigerian context (Usman,2013).

The pervasive “climate of corruption” in Nigeria constitutes the greatest impediment to good governance and sustainable development. President Muhammed Buhari in his inauguration speech as the President of Nigeria when taken over power in 2015 he asserted that “corruption is the greatest bane of our society today no society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full blown cancer it has become in Nigeria (Adams, 2015). This menace has taken over nearly if not all the public institutions and parastatals likewise the private organizations. In the past administration president Good Luck Jonathan demonstrated no zero tolerance to corruption, the level of corruption and impunity was so pervasive where some of his cabinets like economic and finance minister Dr. Okonjo Iweala and CBN governor Lamidi Sanusi disagreed over unremitted fund into CBN account (Adams, 2015).

It is instructive to note that the Nigerian government and citizens have not totally committed themselves to the implementations and measures that can prevent or drastically reduce the extent and consequence of corruption in the country. That is not to say that laws, institutions and programmes for controlling corruption have not been introduced by successive governments (Fatile, 2013). On the contrary, every Nigerian government since 1975 introduced elaborate laws and programmes, only for officials to turn such programmes into fertile opportunity for corrupt practices and enrichment. Consequently, there has been a geometrical growth in the rate of corruption in the country (Adeshina, 2015).

It is an incontrovertible fact that corruption and impunity has been the bane of Good Governance in Nigeria. Thus, the phenomenon has ravaged the country and destroyed most of our cherished national

values. Unfortunately, the public officials saddled with the responsibility of formulating and implementing the affairs of the country policies, which have been the major culprit in perpetrating this act. Regrettably, since independence a notable surviving legacy of the successive elected leaders have managed the affairs of the country at different times has been the institutionalization of corruption in all agencies of the public service, which, like a deadly virus, has subsequently spread to the private sector of the country (Ogbeidi, 2012).

Agbu (2003:3) observed that public office can be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets, or the diversion of public resources. Thus, corruption connotes any behaviors that deviate from an established norm with regards to public trust. It also means theft of public trust whether the person concerned is elected, selected, nominated or appointed and it does not matter whether the person affected holds office or not since anybody can be corrupt (Usman, 2013).

Good Governance and Sustainable Development

To give clarification of what good governance is, it is important to define the term governance in order to fully understand good governance. The World Bank [1989] defines governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's socio-economic and political resources. Yaqub and Abubakar (2005) defined the term governance as the totality of the process of constituting a government as well as administering a political community. In the same vein Ninalowo [2005], acknowledge that governance as the totality of administrative functions of the state, with a view of fulfilling constitutional obligations to the populace. Natufe [2006], viewed governance as the process and system by which policies makers manages the resources of a nation to address socio-economic and political challenges facing the nation.

Good governance can also be term as exclusive utilization of a country's resources to harness socio-economic and political development in a manner that is accorded with transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to the yearning and aspirations of the people (Adeshina, 2015). In the opinion of Fatile (2013), good governance entails participation of rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, Consensus oriented, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability that will enhance sustainable development to the citizen. Similarly Obaidullah (2001) and Ekpu (2009) see good governance and sustainable development as accountability, transparency, delivery on election promises, and creation of an atmosphere for the flowering of freedom that will lead to the achievement of the greatest number of our people (Adeosun, 2012).

Good governance plays an important role in the advancement of sustainable development. It promotes accountability, transparency, efficiency and rule of law. Besides, it allows for sound and efficient management of human resources for equitable and sustainable development (Moris, 2015). However corruption negates this merit. According to former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan [1998], "Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development". Good governance enhances human development and is the pivot around which other developmental activities revolve. Human development is the channel through which other forms of development are achieved.

Kayode, Oyejide and Soyode [1994], contend that a successful development effort requires good governance, managed by competent disciplined and corrupt free public officials operating in a stable

political system that creates an enabling environment that pave way for people to work effectively. Adeshina [2015], contends that the root cause of bad governance is not a lack of resources or international isolation. Rather, it is corruption. Good governance promotes development by generating and defending broad commitment to the public welfare.

Sustainable Development

The sustainable development according to Usman (2012) refers to the term as the type of economic growth pattern where the use of resources meets the needs of the human population while conserving the environment at the same time. Sustainable development means resources are used in such a way that both current and future human needs can be met .The sustainable development also describes the term as the development that meet the needs of present, without exposing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, (World Bank, 2013).

Adebayo (2013) also maintains that concept of sustainable development is the efforts at improving the environment or natural resources for the purpose of improving the quality of human life in way that the needs of the future generation are not jeopardized. To this end, sustainable development is the ability to preserve the existing resources of the state for the collective use of the citizens while conscious efforts are made to conserve the resources for the use of future generations.

Theoretical Analysis

The relevant theory to this discourse is the modernization theory. Modernization theorists were concerned with structural change in the economy and a state of primitive organization of production to the modern organization of economic activities (Huntington, 1968). Emphasis on the transformation of a traditional society into a modern one suggests that the outcry against corruption amount to a puritan reaction to modernization. In this view, corruption represents a deviation from ethical norms (Fatile, 2013). Thus, looking at corruption from the modernization perspective reflect a strong anti-state position which Hintington cited by Abu (2007) summarized best by stating that in terms of economic growth, the only thing worse than a society with a rigid over centralized, dishonest bureaucracy is one with a rigid, over centralized bureaucracy.

It is instructive to note that the modernization theory had been replaced with the principal-agent theory by the neo-classical economists. In their view, corruption amounts to principal-agent problem (Abu, 2007). In this case, it is the state which is the principal that entrusts the task of allocation rights to appropriate resources to its agents i.e. the administrators who's responsibility is to co-ordinate capital projects towards executing some development projects instead of siphoned and misappropriated for self enrichment of few group of undesirable public officials and their cronies to the detrimental of the populace and national development. .This means that there would be no corruption if the state had nothing useful for the private interests to allocate selectively.

Historical Background of Corruption in Nigeria Public Sector

The Nigerian society has never been well governed because of impunity and corruption since it gained its political independence in 1960 (Oluwasanmi, 2007, Ebegbulem, 2009). Oluwasanmi, (2007); Imhonopi and Ugochukwu, (2013) are of the opinion that from the first democratic experiment in 1960 to military regimes and back to democracy as practiced in the country today, Nigeria has unfortunately been managed by corrupt leaders who are visionless, weak, parochial, morally bankrupt, narcissistic, egoistic, greedy and corrupt. The leadership from 1960 has criminally managed the country's affairs, accumulate wealth at the expense of national development and throwing the people over the precipice where they now wallow in absolute poverty, illiteracy, hunger, rising

unemployment, avoidable health crisis and insecurity (Ebegbulem cited in Imhonopi and Ugochukwu, 2013).

The Former president Olusegun Obasanjo assumed office in 1999 as poor politician (all his bank accounts amounted to about N20,000) but eight years later he had refurbished and expanded a derelict agricultural (poultry) farm at Ota in Ogun State to be now worth hundreds of millions of naira (Oluwasanmi, 2007). Obasanjo now possesses educational institutions that run from primary level to university, he now has over two hundred millions of shares in various conglomerates, most especially Transcorp Nigeria Limited (Oluwasanmi, 2007). His effort at combating corruption made little or no impact in the war against political corruption as his friends and officials under him were corrupt (Ebegbulem 2012; Oluwasanmi, 2007).

Furthermore, corrupt leadership has also been visible in the past administration. The people of Nigeria and the world have observed the cluelessness and low credibility of the past Goodluck Jonathan administration. New York Times Newspaper of May 6th 2014 describes him as “leading a corrupt government that has little credibility” (Moris, 2015). In a similar vein, Jonathan government was also described by former US Republican presidential nominee, Senator McKay as a practically non-existing government that has lost credibility in providing security of life and property (Ijewereme and Dunmade, 2014).

In addition, Hillary Clinton, the former US Secretary of State in separate events in New York City said the Nigerian government under President Goodluck Jonathan, squandered its resources, and indirectly helps corruption to fester in the troubled country (Moris, 2015). Falana (2012) opines that, under president Goodluck administration: “some of the governors and his party members under investigation posted their orderlies and relations to man departments in the EFCC”. Falana further posits that corruption is being carried out with impunity under past President Goodluck Jonathan administration to the extent that the war against corruption has been lost completely. The minister of petroleum, “Mrs. Daziani Allison Madueke has been indicted of corruption by five different investigative panel Committees reports at different time, yet she confidently remains in charge of the Ministry unperturbed” (Melaye, 2013), without the president demonstrating political will to bring the minister to book. Madueke has also being recently indicted (for squandering 10 billion naira on private jet maintenance expense) by the House of Representative. The house called her to defend the indictment; instead she took court injunction restraining the house from further investigation and indictment of her office (Ijewereme & Dumande, 2014). Presently she was indicted in UK for money laundry and charge to court (Punch, 2015).

Classification of Corruption in Nigeria Public Sector

Private Corruption: By private corruption, we mean people outside government, private individuals engaging in unethical acts. These could be individuals outside organizations who commit acts of immorality (perversion, show of dementia, and acts of fraud or scamming). The other groups of people is persons in the organized private sector who may loot or carry out other acts of fraud in their companies or who colludes with those in government to perpetrate sharp financial practices.

Private corruption has manifested in Nigeria as everyday bribery to obtain a desired objective, breaking of traffic laws, piracy, plagiarism, alteration of school grades, illegal inflation of petroleum pump prices by dealers, robbery, sexual gratification for higher grades or promotion, et cetera.

Public Corruption: This is the familiar corruption that takes place in government or by government officials and their accomplices in the private sector. Another name for public corruption is official, grand or institutional corruption. This is the kind of corruption involving public office holders. In this case, persons in position of authority exploit the position to take from the commonwealth.

i. Political corruption: This is the kind of corruption that obtains in the three arms of government in a democratic rule, namely, executive, legislative and judiciary. Corruption at this level is the highest because it involves state fund. The issues of personal and primordial attachments in appointment, award of contracts; as well inflation of contract monies, embezzlement of funds, and misappropriation of fund are critical examples of public corruption in the executive. The Federal cabinet in Nigeria has in recent times been in the news for high profile bribery scandals (the former minister of petroleum Alson Madueke and others). The judiciary becomes vulnerable when it looks away from an obvious case of crime, tries to downplay the veracity of a crime, or commits travesty of justice for a particular political interest. The Federal Court of Appeal has been in a state of crisis for sometime leading to the suspension of its president on alleged complicity in election cases involving some western states which the president was said to have served the interest of a political party (Ketefe, 2012).

ii. Bureaucratic corruption: Corruption here is still at the level of government. It involves the technocrats and civil as well as public servants who implement government policies. These include the leadership and personnel in ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs). The corruption at this level is the worst as the allocation, release and use of money is executed by these government offices. The staff are the ones that propose and submit financial needs of the units or projects and they are the ones that transfer and effect payment. Corruption becomes rife at this point (Buhari, 2015). We have had cases of heads of ministries and parastatals busted and arraigned before competent courts and tribunals on charges of high profile stealing and fraud. Bureaucratic corruption also manifests in favouritism and nepotism in appointment, promotion and reward systems in public offices. Some persons get rapid promotion and rewards on the basis of family, friendship, ethnic or religious affiliations to the boss; while some never get promotion because of such frivolous considerations.

iii. Military corruption: This was obtainable in Nigeria during military dictatorship. Ironically, the military was an institution that saw itself as a corrective regime in the face of bad leadership and festering corruption. That was the original intention of the army when they struck in January 1966. But we also know that the counter-coup of July was an ethnic-motivated coup meant to avenge the assassination of some persons of northern extraction in the first coup. With this mentality, professionalism that formed the fulcrum of the “corrective” notion of the institution began to fade out as corruption gradually crept in. By 1971, the military had become debased as all sorts of allegations were raised against General Gowon’s military ministers and state governors. It got worse with the Babangida and Abacha regimes which came under the spotlight as the two most corrupt leaderships in the country (Folarin, 2014).

iv. Other forms of institutional corruption: The other forms of institutional corruption include that in the media and entertainment industries and even in the labour movement. The media is particularly known for the graft or ‘brown envelope’ syndrome in which news reports are only publishable when certain individuals or groups in the story pay their way; or when an image polishing is done for those who can pay the reporter for it; or negative stories are stepped down when money has been paid to destroy such story. In the entertainment industry, persons for musical or movie auditions may have to

“sort” or “settle” with money or sexual gratification to be given roles in films even when they are good or very bad. Labour groups are sometimes compromised by government not to embark on industrial action or to betray the cause of the movement by “sorting” labour leaders through the fattening of their accounts (Folarin, 2014).

Corruption in Nigeria Public Sector: An Impediment to Good Governance and Sustainable Development

The fraudulent accumulation process has resulted, over time, in the progressive and phenomenal enrichment of Nigerian leaders (both civilian and military), the emptying of the national treasury and the indebtedness of the country as a result of bad governance almost to the point of bankruptcy (Moris, 2015) hence the critical dearth of resources for investment on the social, economic and overall cultural development of the masses of our people. Nigeria is, therefore in a paradoxical situation in which the scandalous, almost legendary, wealth of key ruling class members exists to mock the unspeakable mass poverty, misery and degradation of the Nigerian people (Fatile, 2013).

This situation is also highly productive, at the attitudinal level, of mass cynicism about, and distrust of the political leaders and constitutes a major factor in the persistence of inter and intra communal disunity, antipathy and strife, as well as the progressively worsening problem of social and economic in the country. Since the public treasury has been the primary and ultimate source of rapid and sensational private accumulation by the Nigerian political leaders the struggle to capture state power (and therefore, the national treasury) among factions of the political leaders has become progressively acrimonious and bitter.

This kind of struggle which ends in a winner-take-all resolution, the losing factions tend to be rigorously excluded from sharing in the loot. Hence, the invariable tendency among political leaders factions to use the poor masses from their areas of origin (village, town, local government, state or ethnic group) as cannon fodder and battering rams against their rivals and competitors from other areas, thus further dividing the people and undermining the stability of a Nigerian state and society that is already profoundly unstable that consequently tend to social unrest and terrorism in the nation (Usman, 2013).

Rampant corruption among the political leaders cabal has, over time, taught a dangerously disruptive lesson to the generality of the people; being honest and law-abiding does not pay (Osoba, 1996). Consequently some of the public officials who have learnt this lesson from the top then try to replicate the corrupt practices of their leaders at their own lowly levels in the form of petty acts of bribery, peculation and embezzlement of public funds. It is in this way that corruption as a way of life has become pervasive and cancerous domiciled in Nigeria democracy.

The obsession of many political leaders with primitive private accumulation at the expense of the public means that they tend to divert resources earmarked for running and maintaining public institutions in their charge (institutions like hospitals, schools, universities, public utilities, the judiciary, the police and even the armed forces) to corrupt private purposes. By so doing, they subvert these institutions and their capacity to perform their assigned tasks efficiently, thereby damaging the substantive interests and endangering the lives of citizens whom these public institutions are meant to serve (Fatile, 2013). According to Osoba (1996) the systematic pillage of the nation’s wealth by its supposed custodians over several decades, many young Nigerians of lowly origins, after successfully

passing out of schools, universities and other institutions of learning, cannot find gainful employment. This is because resources, which could have been used for job creation, have been looted by the leaders. As a consequence many of these educated young people are either 'brain drained' to other lands in search of greener pastures or get diverted into various criminal ways of making a livelihood like terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery, prostitution, drug peddling and trafficking and all manner of racketeering. In this and other ways, greedy Nigerian leaders have squandered the future of their country and its children there by reduced Nigeria to its present status of a parish in the comity of nations (Osoba, 1996)

Implications of Corruption on Good Governance and Sustainable Development in Nigeria

Leadership problem and corruption are the bane of Nigeria's socio-economic development. Ijewereme & Dunmade (2014) noted that corruption has largely retarded the quest for sustainable growth and development in Nigeria. It is a cancer attacks the vital structures and systems engender progressive functioning of the Nigeria society (Ogbeidi, 2012).

The implications of bad leadership and corruption in Nigeria are outrageous. In the opinion of Aiyede (2006) "corruption poses a serious development challenge". Ijewereme & Dunmade (2014) observed that Nigerian political realm shows that corruption have undermined democratic values of trust, credibility of government, and good governance. Corruption in the democratic process reduces accountability, transparency, integrity and distorts quality representation in policy making (Ebegbulem, 2012). Corruption in Nigeria slows down the pace of good governance because it weakens efficiency and effectiveness of public service and discourages genuine prospective investors. Corruption and mismanagement of public funds have direct bearing on the Nigeria's collapsing infrastructure like potable water, good road networks, health facilities, standard of education, security, justice, employment and other challenges which are interconnected (Ribadu, 2013). Corruption remains the biggest barrier to ending extreme poverty and stands in the way of progress in the development of all areas mentioned here; preventing funds reaching healthcare and education, limiting individuals, abilities to access jobs and social benefits, corroding systems of law and stopping aid working effectively in the poorest parts of the world (Adebayo, 2013).

The past Nigerian leaders from Formal president Olusegun Obasanjo to Good Luck Jonathan administration (that is PDP led government 1999 to 2015) siphoned money that would have been invested in the power sector, while those that invested in the sector misappropriated the money with nothing to show (Buhari, 2015). The consequences of corruption are largely on the negative side. Corruption widens inequality, aggravates mass poverty, militates against efficient resource planning and allocation, and undermines economic growth by discouraging investment, and compromises economic efficiency, results in high governmental expenditures as a result of inflation of contracts and cost supplies. There is no doubt that corruption is poisonous to good governance in Nigeria (Alemika, 2012).

The Nigeria's 2011 corruption Index by the EFCC maintains that Nigeria is certainly not immune to corruption. The damage of the scourge to the economy and the fabric of the society is seen in the schools that are not built, the hospitals without medicines, the roads that are not passable and the failure of occur citizens to be inspired (Usman, 2013). Presently in Nigeria, the greatest challenge to corruption is impunity. Because of its sheer scale and level, corruption is no longer secret, it is celebrated (The Nigerian 2011 Corruption Index) Alemika (2012).

Concluding Remarks

The critical challenge which the stubborn persistence and growing virulence of corruption poses to all Nigerians of integrity and conscience is, therefore, how to roll back the escalating phenomenon of corruption in our public life and terminate the culture of impunity that underpins it. Meeting this challenge will involve the mounting of a determined and robust struggle to change the constitutional and legal order and the power configuration in the Nigerian society such that the vast majority of marginalized Nigerian men and women are empowered to participate freely, actively and maximally in the politics, economy and overall culture of the society.

The necessary expedient of empowering the Nigerian working people vis-à-vis the corrupt and subversive political leader can be facilitated by pursuing the minimum political agenda of democratic governance. The constitutional entrenchment of the principle that the Nigerian people in their respective constituencies have the power to recall at any point in time any elected official who has been found by due process to abuse or betray the people's mandate.

The constitutional requirement that only men and women with proven ability and integrity should be appointed to the governing boards of public institutions, corporations and businesses to ensure that the public resources and assets therein will be safeguarded and enhanced rather than looted and squandered by their official custodians as has hitherto been the case (Buhari, 2015).

Freedom of information as an entrenched legal norm to include: (a) the requirement of open declaration of assets by all public officers, on entering and leaving office and irrespective of rank or status. Such asset declaration should be available for verification and monitoring by any interested citizen; (b) open and uninhibited access by interested citizens to all documents relating to, or dealing with any aspect of public policy, (This will mean, effectively, the death of all secrecy laws, behind which past and present governments have covered up all manner of crimes against the people). The constitutional entrenchment of the principle of independence of the judiciary and the insulation of the appointment and tenure of judges from interference by political decision makers whose conducts might be subjects to adjudication by the courts.

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