

Africa: Cultural Dimensions of Corruption and Possibilities for Change

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KEYWORDS Africa; culture; modernity; corruption

ABSTRACT Corruption has seriously impeded the growth and effective utilization of Africa's vast economic potentials. This paper traces from a macro-sociological perspective, the roots of public service corruption in the socio-economic and political fabric of African countries as evidenced in traditional and modernistic conceptualizations of societal development. The relationship between this background and current trends in probity, accountability and efficiency in the African context is also examined. This paper partly employs a comparative strategy and relates the African picture of corrupt practices to an analysis of Nigeria's situation. In conclusion, it posits prescriptions for social change

INTRODUCTION

The existence of corruption among public officials dates back as far as ancient civilization. Even then, this phenomenon constituted serious problems for those nation states and required the institution of measures geared at its eradication. Today, corruption remains a serious social problem, which is manifest in both advanced and developing countries. In the latter countries, however, due to its endemic nature, it creates and fosters immense distortions in various institutional processes as a result of inherent erosion of essential checks and balances.

Social scientists are generally in agreement on the meaning of corruption despite differences in emphasis. Nye (1967: 417) sees corruption as involving behaviour, which goes outside the boundary of what are considered normal duties associated with a public role, or violates rules prohibiting the exercise of certain types of "private influence". In Bayley's view (1966: 720), corruption while particularly tied to bribery, also serves to cover all "misuse of authority" for the purpose of obtaining personal gains in whatever form desired.

Corruption has a variety of categories depending on the interest of the investigator. It may be broadly classified as being of a secret and isolated nature, or of an open or pervasive type, which floods the entire social apparatus. While the first category is found everywhere, the latter is predominant in developing countries. This second category distorts and debilitates administrative procedures. It also lowers morale

and frustrates those who are not involved in corruption and who would rather perform their duties with integrity. In addition, corruption promotes ineffectiveness and inefficiency especially in the public sector, whose structure and processes differ markedly from those of private sector enterprise.

Corruption has for many years generated much interest among social scientists, as an important factor in governance and socio-economic development. A major basis for this, resides in modernization theoretical point of view, which holds that internal structures have vital roles to play of development. Consequently, Leff (1964), Huntington (1990) and Myrdal (1990) have variously examined the role of laws and institutions in economic growth and development. Concern of social science with corruption in developing societies must be understood within the context of prevalence of this phenomenon in that sector of the world. Starting from their immediate post independence eras, most of these countries have been increasingly burdened with certain ills attendant on various forms of corruption.

Corruption has also been categorized on the basis of its location in society. There are public sector, private sector, political sector and other forms of corruption. This paper lays emphasis on public sector corruption. This category is very damaging to developing economies due to the important role that government/public agencies play in the formulation and implementation of policy. As such, this sector is seen as the regulator of public morality and an important

yardstick for assessing bureaucratic and political behaviour. In general, the nature of corruption is such that over time, it damages effective governance due to over time the negation of expected government focus on the public good.

In summary, corruption can be correctly said to have the following characteristics.

- ❖ It consists of deliberate subordination of public interest to personal ones.
- ❖ It has the tendency of secrecy of execution except where powerful individuals or their agents can be open about it.
- ❖ It consists of situations of mutual obligations and benefits in monetary and other forms.
- ❖ It requires interaction in a reciprocal framework between those who require certain decisions and those who can influence such decisions.
- ❖ It involves processes of covering up unlawful act under a cloak of lawful justification.
- ❖ It involves contradictory dual functions: correct official functions and incorrect corrupt ones. For instance, public officials sometimes use the same machinery, with which legitimate social functions are performed to engage in unethical behaviour, which negate public interest.

THEORETICAL BASIS

This paper views its subject matter, from a multi-dimensional perspective. In examining the background and characteristics of corruption in Africa, the paper takes off from a conflict perspective whereby Karl Marx views conflict between various groups as the basis of all societal processes throughout history. According to his view, there is an underlying trend of oppression in capitalism. Consequently, despite an attendant increase in wealth, poverty remains the lot of the majority: (Aron, 1965: 116-123). No doubt, there are some differences between social class divisions in the European context of Marx's view and what has generally been the case in Africa. However, the fact remains that there is acute need in Africa for measures geared towards the reduction of mass poverty, amidst excessive wealth among the political class. In line with this trend, public service corruption is "white collar" in nature and perpetuated by "respectable people" in positions of responsibility: (Sutherland and Cressey, 1995). It often results in middle and upper classes undermining the state of the already impoverished lower class.

It must be pointed out at this stage that corruption may be deemed to have some merit by some sociologists who are of functionalist orientation. From such a perspective, it is possible to view corruption as a channel for redistribution of wealth. This is because to a large extent, public sector corruption opens up channels for enriching the middle class who are otherwise very impoverished in most developing economies. It also may be seen as serving the purpose of cutting bureaucratic red tape, and thus reducing excessive government hold on private enterprise. Such a view however ignores the fact that corruption in government institutions is to a large extent extortionist in nature, thus reinforcing the dominance of the elite class over the impoverished masses.

This paper also acknowledges the validity of social control theory, which posits the view that without effective control measures; deviance becomes the norm; (Glaser, 1969). According to this theory, humans rationalize on what is more rewarding and proceed to take action on that basis. Thus, in the absence of fear of penalty or sanctions, there is nothing to deter people from fraudulently enriching themselves at the expense of others. As this phenomenon snowballs, it actually becomes accepted as a norm: as is currently the case with some forms of corruption in many African countries.

PUBLIC SERVICE AND CORRUPTION

The public service as the bureaucratic arm of the government, is centrally located in the socio-economic arena of most African countries. This is because it makes vital contributions to policy formulation and has virtually sole responsibility for implementation of government policies that govern all aspects of socio-economic and political life. It is therefore the sector of government that facilitates and coordinates day-to-day operations of private enterprise. Public service activities therefore have immense ramifications for local economic activities, international trade, as well as linkages within and between both areas. Inadequacy of checks and balances in this vital machinery of governance therefore has great negative import for economic, political and moral life of these nations. Since most African countries have highly centralized governmental systems, this further heightens the importance of efficiency in the public service and therefore the dangers of corruption. Yet, from all accounts, opportunities

often exist for corrupt manipulations of public service powers in most of these African nations.

Corrupt public officials usually carry out their activities under the protection of the political hierarchy whose interests corruption often serves. Indeed, increasing domination of the public service by the political hierarchy, and increased insecurity of tenure in this work sector has resulted in raising the importance of political patronage to public servants. Thus public sector corruption often serves the personal financial resource needs of top-level politicians. Furthermore, it is characterized by a mafia-like banding together of corrupt officials in symbiotic relationships, thus engendering perpetuation of corruption within the system. This also makes it very difficult for those threatened by public sector corruption to obtain redress. As a result of these characteristics, private enterprise survival increasingly depends on the satisfaction of the demands of public official for bribes and other form of corrupt servicing of their private interests.

Furthermore, dominance of corruption in the public service encourages private entrepreneurs to seek out and entice public officials with financial and material resources. Such enticement serves a dual purpose of obtaining assistance for these public sector entrepreneurs, while providing them an edge over their competitors. In such cases, public servants are expected to manipulate the laws and policies to the advantage of the highest bidder. Thus, the private sector also collaborates with public officials to maintain corrupt practices.

Public sector corruption provides public officials, particularly those in the civil service with opportunities to enrich themselves. Politicians also gain by utilizing their political leverage to acquire resources with which they then purchase security and continue to "monopolize the supply of legislation" as observed by Mbaku (1996: 3). Political corruption is often evidenced by vote-rigging, subversion of other electoral processes and falsification of results, and is usually aided by public servants in collaboration with politicians. Thus, the civil servants having set out the modalities for electoral practice then corrupt the processes in conjunction with politicians. In all this, the society remains at a loss in the midst of excessive personal gains fostered by corrupt practices. Furthermore, such corrupt environment deters entrepreneurship by leaving the ability to succeed in the hands of a few politically

connected and bribery empowered entrepreneurs. This situation is inimical to economic growth, social justice, and a balanced and sustainable development.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ROOTS OF CORRUPTION

Background

Corruption in developing countries is often associated with incongruities between traditional values and imported norms, which are evidenced in modernistic unbridled acquisition tendencies. In the first place, the origin and nature of the public service as a colonial instrument and the inherent contradictions between this and current nationalistic goals have continued to impede its efficiency, as a governmental machinery in the post colonial era. In its origin, the public service was based on colonial hostility to indigenous development interests. Furthermore, the authoritarian nature of colonial political order created an indigenous political elite that had little interest and regard for the local masses. This elite group, on the other hand needed to mobilize the masses for the purpose of hastening political independence. They were also quick during this period and the immediate aftermath, to inflame ethnic sentiments in ways that best served their individual and group goals. These situations did not augur well for accountability in the post-colonial public service.

Extensive Assistance and Patronage

Furthermore, several other aspects of African culture also tend to encourage and lend socio-structural support to corruption.

In the first place, in many African cultures extended family assistance and high level of community spirit encourage those who are economically better placed to act as their brothers' keepers through financial and other support to relatives and community members. Thus, the average person's financial and other forms of resources must be seen to assist the uplifting of others in his immediate community and even beyond. This often determines the status given to any individual and in particular the level of political support due to a person. Above situation, combines with a tendency towards ethnic allegiances and parochialism, to encourage the

average African to condone unethical acquisition of wealth by friends and relatives. A prominent community member or one aspiring to prominence is expected not only to give gifts to well wishers, but also to finance economic projects for the less privileged, constantly give financial support for the sustenance of the needy in his community and donate to public projects. Personal relationships with friends and relatives also extend to providing them with jobs and contracts. The wider an individual's largess extends, the wider the scope of the prestige that society allocates to that person. All this often results in an inbuilt system for looting of government coffers or bending the rules of probity in government business transactions.

Quite often the practice of bending the rules for unqualified employment candidates at the expense of those more qualified not only helps to enthrone patronage but also causes inefficiency. These unqualified and often unmotivated workers tend to have little or no respect for hierarchy of authority operational in their work place, as their main focus of loyalty is on their benefactor.

Above situation may constitute and facilitate tentacles of nepotism and dichotomy, which are often blamed for individual and public greed, disrespect for rules and regulations and consequent mismanagement in the public sector. Thus, personalized ties have tended to be incompatible with efficiency in these contexts.

Gifts and Tips

Gift giving is a formal valued aspect of African tradition. Gift may serve as informal symbol of expected gratitude for benevolence received. This may take the form of money, cloth, farm produce, animals and so on. It signifies gratitude on the part of a receiver of a benevolent act, or on behalf of such a person by friends or relatives. It also serves as a testimony of benevolence received. Thus, a patient in a government hospital, may on recovering his health, decide to take some gifts to a doctor whom he considers was very helpful to him while in hospital. He may buy a goat, chicken, yams and so on, or make a gift of money. The ex-patient may go to see this doctor with his own wife and other relatives; the idea being that the testimony of the doctors goodness to him should be spread as wide as possible.

Sometimes, gifts are given in anticipation of a favour; as when the parents of a potential trainee take some gifts to the expected trainer. This may

take the form of drinks and kola-nut, which are prayed over and partaken of as a way of cementing relationships. Gifts also may serve as a means for obtaining support. This may be for a planned venture, in order to gain a favour or to engender favouritism. In such cases, the gifts generate implicit obligations from the receivers, who are expected to reciprocate by providing some form of favour.

Gifts of drinks, tobacco, animals, birds, cloth, kola-nuts and so on abound in African culture, as means of showing gratitude, cementing relationships or signifying anticipation of favour. With industrialization and modernization, coupled with the difficulties of recession, people more and more do not wait for recipients of favours to show gratitude. Rather specific demands for apriori gratitude are often imposed for transactions regarding employment, admissions to school, elections, issuance of licenses, permits and so on. These demands, stipulations and specifications for gratitude for performance of official duties, have little or no bearing with traditional culture, and indeed constitute a major basis of corrupt practices of today. This situation is further reinforced by the fact that there tends to be no clear distinction between public and private roles in many African societies.

It should however, be noted that while above mentioned culture of patronage and gift giving may be seen as creating favourable environment for corruption, this does not in any way indicate that people generally mistake corrupt practices for culture of gift giving. Indeed, people do distinguish between appropriate traditional behaviour and corruption (Rose-Ackerman., 1999:91).

Traditional forms of Governance

The incredulous nature of corruption in Africa is sometimes attributed to a tradition of despotic ruler-ship. This is characterized by despoiling of the masses through plunder, plunder and slavery and are seen by some social scientists to be responsible for present day winner-take-all mentality displayed by many African governments. It could be reasoned that since many of these despotic traditional forms of governance continued to occur as recently as the early twentieth century, traces of their effect on citizens may therefore still remain. Consequently, the characteristic acquiescence engendered by such traditional despotic rules may still remain potent

among citizens of many African societies, thus rendering them docile in the face of severe constraints imposed on them by corruption.

Militarism

Recent culture of military regimes, which govern by edicts and are responsible to none, have built up a practice of government supremacy over those who are ruled. Several decade of this form of government in many parts of Africa have created an impression, even among so-called democrats, of limitless scope of power of government machineries and functionaries. This has resulted in clashes during intermittent democratic regimes between various arms or machineries of government. For example, the Executive, the Senate and the House of Assembly, in Nigeria have been embroiled in various forms of conflicts, as they map out their boundaries of power and control amid allegations of corruption (Asaju, 2002: 42-44)

CASE REVIEWS

Nigeria

With regard to Nigeria, Ayeni (1992: 43) observes as follows:

"The generalized desire for rapid socio-economic development thereafter, the seeming determination of the political class to chart a new course for the nation. all these factors weakened democratic proclivities in the society and also made immediate considerations of accountability secondary to a generality of Nigerians".

In the Nigerian situation, from its beginnings, the state political machinery gave undivided attention to the economic dimensions of development to the exclusion of other areas. Individual economic growth came to be regarded, as representing modernization. The "national cake" syndrome was in ascendancy and gave boost to a focus on individual aggrandizement to the exclusion of national productivity. As is understandable, inordinate focus on 'sharing' of the 'national cake' led to minimal attention to 'baking' it. In this regard, public servants were as much affected as other Nigerians. Thus public sector position of responsibility for policy formulation/ implementation became generally construed as constituting opportunity for satisfying self-interests. No major changes have

occurred in this situation. Another problem was that several dimensions of conflict were inherent upon the nature and conduct of activities in the public service. For instance in Nigeria, there were conflicts of interests between high level and low level personnel. There were also conflicts between ethnic groups, and between local communities, emanating from disagreements over public office appointments and promotions. It is a well-known fact that Africans give political support on the basis of ethnic allegiance (Nwosu, 1977: 4). For the same reason, citizens do not condemn corruption if carried out by their relatives or members of their local communities or ethnic groups. Conflicts also exist between politicians and career civil servants in the conduct of civil service business. Corruption usually stems from these conflicts. Also as Ayeni (1992: 126) observed, generally in Africa, conflicts in the wider society tend to increase the powers of civil servants, as the formulators and implementers of public policy. This situation makes them an important tool for whoever is interested in power.

It should be noted that in Nigeria, much of the existing frictions between civil servants and the politicians came to light in the aftermath of the Civil Service Reorganization and Reform Decree of 1988 (Decree 43).

In the words of Nwankwo (1999: 55),

"This piece of legislation destroyed in a period of 6 years, what the civil service in pre and post-colonial era laboured for 60 years to build.... Decree 43 of 1988... allowed absolute power to corrupt absolutely... produced the octopus that is known as the Chief Executive".

This 'absolute power' of Chief Executive was particularly instrumental in thoroughly weakening security of tenure in the civil service (Nwankwo, 1999: 63). As a result of this decree the machinery for accountability in the civil service was greatly weakened for over a decade. While the stated aims of the decree was to cure the civil service of such ills as inefficiency and incompetence, it actually fostered corruption and increased the ills that it was meant to eradicate.

Nigeria is not alone in this situation of threat posed to job security in the civil service by the overriding power of the chief executive. In general, lack of job security and poor conditions of service created a class of desperate public officials who in many African countries institutionalized certain work practices that in turn have promoted corruption. Furthermore, the tendency

for politicians and their agents to enrich themselves blatantly from the public coffers also increased attraction of corruption and led to wholesale abandonment of the stipulations of official regulations. Added to all these, high inflation, especially in the post 1980s worsened the plight of salary earners. Lastly, undue government interference in day-to-day affairs of the Civil Service promotes the need for public officials to acquire political “god father” thus further perpetuating corruption. This is also typical of the Nigeria situation.

Nigeria is, however, not the only country in which the apparatus of government is diverted to the enrichment of members of the politically dominant groups. Indeed for Nigeria, the colonial experience was brief and conflict between groups has not been as damaging as in several other Africa countries.

South Africa

South African government and economy is rooted in decades of racism, which legally backed white minority use of state powers for its own enrichment. In the process, the black majority was relegated to extreme poverty, deprivation and degradation. Due partly to the deplorable racist foundation of governance in South Africa, corruption is to some extent tied to racialism, as well as having characteristics of elitist perpetuation (Dale, 2001: 59-66). Allegations of corruption in South African society are mostly rampant at Local Government Levels mobilized by Local Government officials and members of the police force.

Republic of Benin

This country's short-lived economic prosperity in the 1979's soon gave way to chronic negative trade balances and consequently a decayed commercial and industrial sector. The nation has witnessed a severe economic downturn onwards from the 1980's. The nation is currently bedeviled by corruption. There are constant allegations of corrupt practices by high-ranking public officials. The nation's continuing problematic economic situation has been attributed to the culture of corruption.

The Republic of Benin features a substantial level of tolerance for corruption. This is clearly indicated by proverbs highlighting public acceptance of the conversion of public wealth

for private use. Not surprisingly, the country has a long history of political leaders, law enforcement officials and soldiers' misappropriation of public funds and demand for bribes in order to perform their sworn duties, without fear of sanctions. The country's cultural context has generally supported the development of political cronyism through the allocation of positions deemed to be 'lucrative'; thus eventually legitimizing corruption. More recently “government has focused attention on anti-corruption measures” according to Jimo (2001: 86).

Uganda

This state was historically traumatized by civil war and state induced terror. Lawlessness, corruption and misappropriation had by the mid 1980's reduced the country to poverty. The civil service, which had been previously recognized for its high level of efficiency and motivation, had become inefficient, demoralized and unresponsive.

Forms of corruption in Uganda include bribery, embezzlement of public funds, diversion of government property, under or over-invoicing, payment for non-existing goods and services, payment of salaries to non-existing or ghost workers, nepotism, contract kickbacks and extortion. The police and court officials receive bribes. In particular, very difficult working conditions of court officials make them vulnerable to bribery, embezzlement and misappropriation of court fees and bail deposits according to Justice Ntagoba (Wagiri, 2001: 70).

In Uganda, the strategy for the eradication of corruption is centered on the Office of the Inspector General of Government. This has the mandate to investigate public officials and create public awareness for the “values of constitutionalism”. Public Service Reform and Leadership Code of Conduct are programs also geared towards the eradication of corruption. Corruption checks are also run by the Director of Public Prosecutions, the Auditor General and Public Accounts Committee. However, as Warigi observed, “the Ugandan government's reputation as a committed reformer has recently become sullied” (2001: 69). Reasons for this change are reports of corruption in the public sector and in the government's privatization program.

MODERNIZATION AND CORRUPTION

Focus on modernization generally results in

large increases in school enrollment, as the populace seeks to increase its knowledge and skill base. National budgets became focused on so-called 'modern' sector growth, thus relegating rural development to the background. There has been heavy reliance on western life-style to provide solutions to all national problems. The culture of corruption that now dominates most parts of Africa is related to the search for modernization involving wholesale importation of language, clothing, education, medicine, systems of government and bureaucracy. These changes were embarked upon without the necessary framework needed for efficient and effective accommodation. Consequently, they have generally worsened strife and greed, as individuals and groups struggle to acquire lion shares of national resources.

Another common feature of most African governments is over-centralization, resulting in state control of all areas of economic development. Employment, manpower development, commerce, banking, technology and health services are mostly controlled and operated by government. These services are overseen by government officials, whose enforcement of the required regulations for provision of services are often arbitrary and inefficient. Given this situation, officials are able to manipulate government rules and regulations for their personal gains. This situation constitutes a significant basis of corruption in many African countries. A major aspect of corruption has to do with the weakness of bureaucratic institutional checks in countries where it is prevalent.

Another situation, which encourages corrupt practices, is the existing extreme level of poverty, material deprivation and inequality in African countries. This situation tends to encourage unhealthy competition as people seek to achieve economic success at any cost. Further worsening this situation, is the fact that modern living especially in cities, presents no other form of status acquisition besides financial success. Indeed, since western education and elitism have tended to promote colonial culture at the expense of traditional ones, the hybrid of culture that is operative in the public sector of most African nations have been focused on the interests of these elite with very little incorporation of worthy traditional ideals. All this helps to foster public perception of the public sector as alien.

INTERVENTION STRATEGIES AND CONCLUSION

Quite clearly responsibility for corruption in the public sector does not reside only with public officials. It is not just the outcome of uncontrolled greed among government workers or just their economic survival. The society as a whole shares in the responsibility for corruption in the public service. The media, education system, politicians, as well as civil society organizations would also need to contribute in the eradication of this social ill. Any comprehensive plan to eradicate corruption will involve the whole society for this objective to be met. The media will play a vital role in this regard. In a democratic setting corruption is to a large extent attributable to the entire society's ignorance and/or inability to assert their human rights to good governance. People can remove governments that do not serve their interest through proper use of their votes. Well organized civil society can, therefore, contribute effectively to moving government policies in directions that serve purposes of maintaining public good. The problem, however, is that in a country like Nigeria, the public good is distorted by ethnic divisions and strife which government officials and politicians exploit for their own ends. In addition, mass poverty to which most of Africa is subject, tends to debilitate public monitoring of governance and coordinated popular action in specified directions.

Focus on civil society is especially important because of a prevalence of cultural traits, which promote gratification. For instance, patronage, extensive hospitality and extended family responsibility all tend indirectly to foster corruption. People therefore require to be enlightened about existing complacency about corruption. (Harbeson, et al: 1994: 231-237). It should be noted that even those who perpetuate corruption usually lack adequate insight into its long-term devastation on the economy, and the eventual connection to their own long term well-being.

The need to adequately remunerate and encourage public servants cannot be overstated. Interview of Nigerian public servants indicated a high level of bitterness and alienation to the very instrument of governance, which they operate. The following comment by a top level retired civil servant speaks for itself.

"... retired civil servants. ... now realize what is their retirement benefit, they could have picked

up in one month from transactions based on selfish interests while in the service. Even with risk of prosecution, if the present treatment of civil servants persists, some may be tempted to obey the eleventh commandment: do not get caught" (Nwankwo, 1999: 63).

Prosecution of offenders is an urgent necessity for deterring corruption. Failure over the years to institute appropriate sanctions against offenders has encouraged and escalated corruption. In Nigeria, the Public Complaints Commission Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau and several constitutional amendments since the 1970's have not served useful purpose. This is due mostly to lack of adequate provision of necessary infrastructure, manpower and legal authority. Investigating and sanctioning corrupt officials is vital to eradication. Without this, corrupt has fast become the norm in Nigeria. Indeed, it can be said to represent glamour and success. People compete with each other to amass wealth through corrupt means. Many citizens of African countries extend their corruptive activities to foreign countries and businesses, and parade their ill-gotten wealth quite openly in their countries.

In reality, corruption involves a whole set of offences such as outright bribery, patronage, nepotism, abuse of office, wrong use of official and public property, leakage and abuse of government information, absenteeism, influence peddling, malpractices and a host of others. Social problems tied to corruption continue to mount. For instance, interviewees on a 2001 television program in Nigeria on Minaj Broadcasting International, attributed increase of crimes such as ritual murder to increase of corruption.

Responsibility for corruption also resides beyond national boundaries. Inter-national business transaction have since the era of Independence of African Nations reinforced and promoted international bribery as a legitimate means for export promotion and even as the source for importation of dilapidated technology, with disastrous consequences on budding industrial endeavours. This was known in the 1960's and 70's as the 10% syndrome. Further more, billions of dollars are currently siphoned annually from poor African countries by government officials, and deposited into foreign banks with the active protection of these banks: (Akar, 1988). There is therefore, need for the international community to embark on concerted

action to eradicate such activities. It is not enough, as is the current practice, to dub or acclaim nations as first or second in corruption world-wide. Some form of international sanctions should be instituted to serve as deterrent to escalation of corruption.

Whatever the sources and features of corruption, the end result is that the poor bear the brunt of its devastation. All sectors of economic life suffer from its attendant mismanagement, dilapidation and retrogression. Worse still, new areas of crime spring up as a result of corruption. Money lost through corruption would otherwise have served useful purposes in the provision of education, health care, water, power-supply and other basic needs for the suffering masses (Sowole, 1999; Okolo, 1999; Awowode, 1999; Akinola, 2000; Akpan, 2000; Ekeinde (2000). Eradication of corruption in all its possible forms is, therefore, an urgent responsibility of all sectors of society.

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