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Bureaucratic Corruption and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria: A Study of Buhari Administration

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ABSTRACT

Bureaucratic corruption has been identified as a systematic practice that engenders low level of transparency and accountability and as such constitutes the major source of developmental failure in Nigeria. It is very clear that the present state of Nigerian bureaucracy is unable to tackle the growing challenges of governance facing a globalized and privatized world. The study is qualitative in nature as data collection was based on the secondary sources of data collection. The study utilized the Anomie and Contradictions Theory of Bureaucracy as the analytic framework. The study found out that, bureaucratic corruption engendered unemployment in Nigeria under president Buhari's administration between 2015-2020. Bureaucratic corruption contributed to poor infrastructural development in Nigeria under Buhari's administration between 2015-2020. Based on the findings, the study recommended that, first and foremost, there is need to strengthen the anti-corruption agencies through legislation that should spell out the time frame for the prosecution of corruption cases in the public service. Although there are existing laws, they seem too loose to allow for effective handling of corruption cases particularly the ones related to the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Offences Commission (ICPC) and even the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT). Such laws should also attract stiffer penalties for corrupt offences such as long years or life imprisonment once convicted. Secondly, government should make accountability and transparency an article of faith in Nigeria. This can be done by embarking on grassroots 'level education of Nigerians at homes and market places and youngsters at high school and university/college levels about the destructive effects of corruption and election of corrupt officers into public offices. This can appropriately be handled by the National Orientation Agency (NOA).

Keywords: Bureaucratic Corruption, Socio-Economic Development, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

There is a linkage between the transparency and probity of political leaders as well as bureaucrats of a nation and its level of development (Gbenga, 2017). Thus, any effort aimed at accelerating the pace of development in any country must take into consideration the actors in the system. Nigeria presents a typical case of a country in Africa whose development has been undermined and retarded by the menace of corrupt practices. To say that corruption has eaten deep into every aspect of the Nigerian Society is to affirm the obvious. This can be inferred from the revelations of probe panels that have been set up at different times by different regimes. In Nigeria, since independence, series of reforms have been carried

out in the Public service so as to make the Public bureaucracy more efficient and result oriented (Gbenga, 2017).

However, the anticipated gains of such reforms have not been visible due to series of factors which include that of corruption. Without doubt, corruption has permeated the Nigerian society and in the words of Achebe (1999), “anyone who can say that corruption in Nigeria has not yet become alarming is either a fool, a crook or else does not live in this country”. In those days when Nigerians still believed in the messianic role of the military, one of the convincing arguments normally put forward to justify their intervention in Nigerian politics was the need to curb corrupt practices and their damaging effects. Corruption has so permeated the Nigerian society that in the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index of 1995 – 1997, Nigeria was named as one of the most corrupt - ridden countries in the world. In 1999, Nigeria was equally named as being the second most corruption – ridden nation in the world (Gbenga, 2017).

The public service is the bureaucratic arm of government and in every country is saddled with the responsibility for the conduct of government businesses. This is not different in Nigeria where the civil service performs the same role. The public service of Nigeria by definition includes the following institutions, the federal civil service, the state civil services, local governments, statutory corporations of both the federal and state government, business enterprises with full or majority ownership by either the federal or state government, authorities or commissions established by the federal or state government, educational institutions established or financed mainly by federal and or state governments, the Nigeria Police Force, the armed forces, the judiciary, the prison service, customs, civil defense among others (FRN, 1999).

The public service is a creation of the collective sovereign will of the people or the constitution, and as such, it is an institution created to serve the collective will of the people. It is the body of men and women employed by the state to execute and implement the policies and programmes of the government of the day. It is the permanent infrastructure of government in a modern state (Obaro, 2004:183).

Accordingly, Gould (2017), identified more than twenty categories of corrupt practices in developing nations which are very much visible in the Nigerian state. These include bribery, fraudulent use of official stationary, payment for office visit, payment for letter of recommendation, kickback for hiring, phoney travel documents and travel related peccadilloes, misuse of official housing, two salaries, neglect of public service for personal business, salary computation fraud, embezzlement in its various forms among others. Within the context of the Nigerian state, it is not as if successive Nigerian governments have not realized the problem posed by corruption to the socio – economic development of the country. Without doubt, successive governments at one point or the other have been making series of attempts at combating corruption through series of anti – corruption campaigns. This study argues that the gains of good governance and development have been eluding Nigerians due to bureaucratic corruption. Corrupt practices of different shades continue to exist as normal way of life in Nigeria due to the attitudes and commitment of the government which have not translated into real action as against mere sloganeering and rhetorics.

It becomes pertinent for this research to focus on the relationship between bureaucracy and corruption in the Nigerian public service with the understanding that it would enhance the prospect of institutional reforms leading to improved public service delivery, economic development and human welfare best needed to drive the change mantra of the Buhari civilian administration. It is against this background that this study examines the effect of bureaucratic corruption on socio-economic development of Nigeria, with specific emphasis on Buhari’s administration, from 2015-2020.

Statement of the Problem

Too often, the public service is seen by citizens as plodding, inefficient, bureaucratic, change-resistant, incompetent, and unresponsive and worst of it all, corrupt. Nigerian citizens often complain that the public service is habitual in providing services that are inadequate, inappropriate, inferior, or too costly for their hard-earned tax payments (Gbenga, 2017). Again, people see government officials too as acting in their own interests rather than responding to the needs of the citizens (Keeper, 2012). Therefore, the

Nigerian citizens are now calling for public institutions to be efficient in the use of public funds as well as effective in delivering public services. The ideal is that government resources earmarked for particular use flows within legally defined institutional frameworks, often passing through several layers of government bureaucracy through a well codified financial/accounting system down to the end point of service delivered (Gbenga, 2017). But information on actual public spending at all levels of the public service, especially at the frontline level is seldom available in the Nigerian public service thereby creating room for lack of transparency and accountability.

In Nigeria, public spending tends to yield poor outcomes and has limited impact on economic and social conditions (Gbenga, 2017). In her annual budgets, so much emphasis is placed on inputs and less on outputs and the quality of spending. The quality of spending has been so low in terms of efficiency and effectiveness that the resources spent annually are grossly disproportionate to the limited outputs realized and partly accounting for this is corruption, which is endemic. The World Bank (2018), concludes that the real problem with Nigeria's public sector is the low efficiency of budget spending and not inadequate funding. Indicators of low public spending efficiency include the poor state of the services – health, education, roads, power, etc, and the country's high Incremental Capital Output Ratio (ICOR) etc. Thus, the major improvement in public service delivery to meet 21st century demands of the citizenry should come from much better utilization of the existing allocations.

The role of the public bureaucracy in fostering a perfect and efficient administrative system in a country cannot be under estimated. This can be seen from the vital role it plays in the formulation and implementation of policies designed for the development of such a country. In Nigeria, the performance of the public bureaucracy has come under severe criticisms and questionings within the context of the gap that exists between its anticipated role and its actual output. The failure of the public bureaucracy to deliver the expected output to the society informed the series of reforms that have come to form the policy thrust of successive governments in Nigeria since 1980's (Gbenga, 2016). Suffice it to say therefore that the aftermath of such reforms has been on the need to have efficient and responsive public service that has the capacity to meet the challenges posed by the domestic and external environments. The efforts of the Nigerian government have not yielded the much expected results due to the problem of corruption which has eaten deep into the fabrics of the Nigerian society including her public bureaucracy. Nigeria presents a typical case of a country whose development has been undermined and retarded by the menace of corrupt practices in her public life (Gbenga & Ariyo, 2016).

In all this, Nigerians keep focusing on the politicians and other political office holders as the conduit pipe that drains government resources through corruption whereas the civil servants are enmeshed in bureaucratic corruption with a higher intensity. The problem here is that given the above scenario, the bureaucracy cannot function effectively and as such cannot also function as the change driver in the present political dispensation. Based on the foregoing the study poses the following research questions namely;

1. How has bureaucratic corruption affected unemployment in Nigeria under president Buhari's administration, 2015-2020?
2. How has bureaucratic corruption contributed to poor infrastructural development in Nigeria under Buhari's administration 2015-2020?

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Conceptual Review

Bureaucracy

Without entering into the old age debate about the relevant conceptual meaning of bureaucracy itself, we can simply state that bureaucracy' is a type of organization marked by a clear hierarchy of authority, the existence of written rules of procedure, and staffed by full time wage earning officials (Giddens, 2006). In the view of Konjoulas (1982), bureaucracy is a form of organization which is indispensable to the efficient operation of any complex structure while Hague and Harrop (2013) described bureaucracy as the institution that carries out the functions and responsibilities of the state: It is the engine room of the state.

Bureaucracy notwithstanding its qualities and differences is an administrative body of appointed officials. The term has been primarily used to denote the apparatus consisting of professional, full time officials subject to hierarchical supervision and carrying out their functions in a well ordered manner based on rules, regulations and orders coming from above. The bureaucrats are therefore seen as actors within the form and content of bureaucratic system (Lawal & Tobi, 2006).

The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, (2000 edition), sees bureaucracy as a complicated official system which is annoying or confusing because it has a lot of rules, processes etc. From the field of Sociology, bureaucracy is associated with Max Weber. It was a product of Weber's modernism, which was based on Western rationality (Burger, 1992). Accordingly, Onyeonoru (2015) argues that Weber (1976) explains bureaucracy as a triumph of "modern rational organization of capitalist enterprise". Weber views bureaucracy in terms of its "technical means of production" including the technical utilization of scientific knowledge based on application of rules. He further posits that Weber's theme of rationality pervaded his thesis on capitalism, organization and modernism. Weber's conception of bureaucracy is development oriented. He laid emphasis on: "rational rules or laws" (Weber, 1978), "rational book keeping", "exact calculation – the basis of everything else" (Weber, 1976); rational private enterprise involving "certainty of calculations" with rationality promoted by "the calculability of the most important technical factor"; derivable from the "exact and rational experiment" of the sciences (Weber, 1976; Onyeonoru, 2005).

Corruption

Corruption is a term that has been perceived from various ways by various scholars. Its conceptualization has attracted in recent past, competing and numerous views and approaches. It is therefore seen as a worldwide phenomenon which has long been with every society. Incidentally, it has been identified as the bane of most political and economic problems in societies. Corruption according to Khan (2015) is an act which deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private - regarding motive such as wealth, power or status". Onigu (2016) in his own attempt at defining corruption, states that "corruption is the perversion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity". He further states that corruption takes place when at least two parties have interacted to change the structure or processes of society or the behaviour of functionaries in order to produce dishonest, unfaithful or defiled situations".

In his own view, Otite (2009), believes that corruption transcends bribery but includes "treasury looting and also the deliberate bending of rules of the system to favour friends or hurt foes. It is clearly an evidence of absence of accountability; law and order Yemi (1999.) in his presentation assert that corruption refers to the conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person. The view presented by Dandi (2018), is not at variance with the above conception of corruption. Ojaide (2016), asserts that corruption is "any systemic vice in an individual, society or a nation which reflects favoritism, nepotism, tribalism sectionalism, undue enrichment, amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power, position and derivation of undue gains and benefits – it also includes bribery, smuggling fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of document and records, window dressing, false declaration, evasion, underdevelopment, deceit, forgery, concealment, aiding and abetting of any kind to the detriment of another person, community, society or nation".

Following from the above, corruption can be described or referred to as the conscious attempt or deliberate diversion of resources from the satisfaction of the general interest to that of selfish (personal or particular) interest. The disdain for corruption is clearly felt mainly on ground of morality. There is no doubt that it inflicts some sort of adverse effects on any society where it exists and persists until such society is purged of its immorality.

Bureaucracy and Corruption in Nigeria

The study of bureaucratic corruption is one of the utmost values in the Nigerian context. Politics being the seat of power, the manifestations of corrupt politics are observable at all levels of power hierarchy.

Broadly speaking, political corruption is the misuse of political power for private profits. Political corruption implies exercise of more pressures and influence with the use of money power. Major manifestations of political corruption are defection, factionalism and political bargaining. In Nigeria, the continued existence of “winning party” the unconvincing opposition and political apathy of the common people have provided unintended support to the phenomenon of political corruption (Srilatha, 2003).

Furthermore, Agboola (2019), agreed that political corruption is the use of powers by government officials for illegitimate private gain. An illegal act by an office holder constitutes political corruption only if the act is directly related to their official duties and done under colour of law or involves trading in influence. Forms of corruption vary, but include bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, parochialism, patronage, influence peddling, graft and embezzlement. Corruption may facilitate criminal enterprise such as drug trafficking, money laundering, and human trafficking, though is not restricted to these activities. Misuse of government power for other purposes, such as repression of political opponents and general police brutality, is also considered political corruption.

He explained further that the activities that constitute illegal corruption differ depending on the country or jurisdiction. For instance, some political funding practices that are legal in one place may be illegal in another. In some cases, government officials have broad or ill-defined powers, which make it difficult to distinguish between legal and illegal actions. Worldwide, bribery alone is estimated to involve over 1 trillion US dollars annually. A state of unrestrained political corruption is known as a kleptocracy, literally meaning "rule by thieves". Some forms of corruption – now called "institutional corruption"– are distinguished from bribery and other kinds of obvious personal gain. A similar problem of corruption arises in any institution that depends on financial support from people who have interests that may conflict with the primary purpose of the institution.

Corruption and Poverty Alleviation in Nigeria

The consequences of corruption on a nation’s socio-political and economic development are myriad. The foremost effect of corruption is that it not only leads to a reduction in economic growth and development by lowering incentives to invest, but also leads to a divestment in such economies. Serious investors are always wary of offering bribes before being allowed investment rights or operational licenses. This is due to the fact that there is no guarantee that greased officials may keep their side of the agreement, and with no official cover of the address in case of contract breach, the fleeced investor is on his own (Epele, 2016). Applied to the above is the fact that foreign investors are also prone to withdraw their capital from a country with high incidence of corruption because the risk involved in doing business in such countries sometimes far outweighs the benefits. Granted that it has been argued that corruption provides both local and foreign investors the leverage to surmount bureaucratic impediments, yet the number of such successful deals is a far cry from the avalanche of investors that have been stripped off their hard earned money.

Corruption also alters the pattern of government expenditure. Experience has shown that in highly corrupt countries, officials through government funds more “large and hard-to-manage projects”, such as airports or highways than on social services like health and education. It has been a stumbling block to people enjoying the social fruits of good governance (Ibrahim, 2003). Corruption contributes immensely to inhibition of economic performance; it negatively affects investment and economic growth, which is antithetical to national development. If corruption discourages investment, limits economic growth and alters the composition of government spending, it unconsciously hinders future economic growth and sustainable development (SelloTmam, 2004). Corruption contributes to the problem of mass poverty and renders millions of Nigerian citizen’s unemployed and uneducated. The poverty profile of Nigerians appears to be worsening. The UNDP Development Report 2001 places Nigeria at number 148 out of 173 countries surveyed. The situation worsened in 2003 report, which put Nigeria at 152 among the 175 countries covered. It is truism that mass poverty has been a breeding ground for all forms of extremism in the frequent outbreak of ethno-religious violence in some parts of Nigeria (FRN, 2001 & Obadan, 2001).

Empirical Literature

There has been plethora of scholarly works on this subject matter. While most of them are strictly aligning with the fact that corruption has affected socio-economic development in the public service, others are on the country. Accordingly, Gauri (2018), in a study titled “Impacts of Bureaucratic Corruption on Socio-Political and Economic Development in Africa” argued that, “Corruption deprives our young citizens of opportunities to develop meaningful livelihoods.” The aforesaid was spoken by the Nigerian President Muhammad Buhari at the 30th African Union Summit which took place at the beginning of 2018. The goal of the summit was to construct new ways to end corruption and promote transparency on the part of Government and the society. Africa has been a victim of corruption for decades now. According to Transparency International, 80% of the African Population earns less than \$2 per day. With such low level of income, the inhabitants must face daily struggle to procure food and address basic health issues. The Government is deeply exhausted trying to find ways to fix the problem of corruption as it is rotting the nation from the inside.

In a more robust study, Nweke (2018), in a study on “Bureaucratic Corruption in the Administration of Military Pension in Nigeria” argued that corruption is a social problem that demands critical attention. This study sees corruption as an offshoot of the lapses of bureaucracy in both private and the public sector. It is discovered to be more prominent in government establishments as formal organizations. The revealing negative effects of corruption are heavy on the society since corruption hinders development at all levels of governance. The citizens suffer heavy loses too. The work reveals that the military pensioners suffer denial, neglect and are not cared for because of the bureaucratic lapses of government. The study recommended among other things a less bureaucratic measure which will work towards ensuring that pensions are delivered to the retirees on time and as at when due. This measure will build hope on both the serving and retired personnel in all sectors of the Nigerian economy.

Similarly, Gbenga and Ariyo (2016), in a related study on “Bureaucratic Corruption, Good Governance and Development: The Challenges and Prospects of Institution Building in Nigeria” posits that the role of the public bureaucracy in achieving good governance cannot be under estimated. This can be gleaned from the central role it plays in the formulation and implementation of policies designed for the development of the society. In Nigeria, the role of the state bureaucracy has come under severe criticisms within the context of that gap that exists between its anticipated role and its actual output in guiding the society along the course leading to the desired goal - attainment. The failure of the public bureaucracy to deliver the expected output to the society informed the series of reforms that have come to form the policy thrust of successive Nigerian governments since the 1980’s. Suffice it to say that the hallmark of such reforms has been on the need to have efficient and responsive public sector that has the capacity to meet the challenges posed by the domestic and external environments.

The efforts of the Nigerian government have not yielded the much expected results due to the problem of corruption that has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian society - the public bureaucracy not spared. Thus, the gain of good governance has been eluding the average Nigerian citizen. This work argues that good governance encompasses three different but not unrelated dimensions. These are political dimension which centers on the establishment of good objectives and the exercise of good leadership. Second, technical dimension which relates to the constraints which are imposed by natural resources, level of education, manpower etc and thirdly, institutional dimension which relates to the ability to get things done or precisely efficiency in public management. In view of this, any effort geared towards promoting development in the society must take the three dimensions into consideration. It further posits that the bane of Nigerian public administration is that of corruption which has not allowed the interrelationships that exist among the three variables to provide built – in- mechanism that has the capacity of engendering good governance. It therefore submits that corruption must be positively addressed and reduced in the public bureaucracy for it to be able to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

More so, Ibrahim and Gunda (2016) in a study on” Bureaucratic Corruption and Anti-Corruption Strategies in Nigeria: An Overview”, argued on the contemporary concern facing good governance and the sustainability of democratic government in Nigeria. The phenomenon of corruption i.e. bureaucratic

corruption has negative implications on the nation and therefore capable of terminating our nascent democracy, hence, the need to curb or reduce to the barest minimum the menace of Corruption in the country. The work examines the effects of bureaucratic corruption on the socio-economic as well as the political development of the country and concludes that no democracy can thrive or survive where pervasive corruption is an enduring feature of such a country and hence, recommends amongst others the need to fight corruption at all levels of government. This fight must be a collective responsibility of all Nigerians and not an exclusive preserve of the government. By so doing, the country will attain a higher level of development in the 21st century and beyond.

More so, Ottong, Bassey and Archibong (2018), in a study titled “Bureaucratic Corruption and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: A Study of Public and Private Organizations in Cross River State” provided an empirical analysis of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria. It examined the relationship between bureaucratic corruption and underdevelopment. It follows from a survey of three hundred (300) subjects drawn from public and private sector organizations. The questionnaire approach was complemented with in-depth interview of some strategically placed/selected persons in public and private organizations. The study also compares its findings with the Transparency International Ranking of Nigeria in the Global Corruption Perception Index. The findings of the study corroborated the Transparency International Ranking. It was concluded from the study that corruption is the cause of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of bureaucratic organizations, and that corruption leads to the failure of development projects and programmes thus, resulting in underdevelopment. In view of the findings, the study recommends a holistic approach to the fight against corruption and a comprehensive review and streamlining of anti-corruption policies and programmes in Nigeria. It also recommends profesionalization of services, as well as internationalization of anti-corruption programmes by the United Nations Organization.

Again, Agboola (2017), in a study titled “Corruption And its Effect on Social Service Delivery in Nigeria” examined one of the social ailments that have become endemic in Nigeria - “corruption” and its effect on social service delivery in the Nigerian society. It also analysed its effects on state governance. Furthermore, it critically looked at the social causes and sources of both political and bureaucratic corruption. The paper utilized primary and secondary sources of information to elicit the opinions of academicians, political and market men and women as well as students of tertiary institutions. The gathered opinions of the respondents were descriptively summed up and on aggregate, the paper viewed corruption as inimical to effective governance, service delivery and the entire Nigeria’s political system as well as its national and international integrity. The study concludes that what Nigeria needs most, today, is a moral revolution to tackle corruption, snap out of the present phase and co-ordinate moral, intellectual and physical resources to make a final thrust to break the bonds of poverty.

Gap in the Literature

This apparent paradox of rising economic growth with high level of corruption has raised the issues of concern among different studies on whether corruption was beneficial or harmful to growth and under what circumstance the channels of influence does it affects economic growth. Thus, the dominant literature such as the study of Mauro (1995), Knack & Keefer (1997), Gupta, Davoodi & Alonso- term (2012) reports empirical evidences confirming that corruptions are much more damaging in a context where it is higher as a result of growth retarding pattern of accumulation. They went further to argue that corruption lowers investment and consequently, economic growth. But the findings of these studies are doubtful. For one hand, they failed to provide a clear transmission mechanism through which corruption retards economic growth. Secondly, these types of studies heavily draw conclusion on cross- country panel data analysis ignoring the country unique context specificity. Even though there are quite a number of country specific case studies such as the studies of Adenike (2013), Uma and Eboh (2013), Ajie and Wokekoro (2012), Agba, (2010), Aliyu and, Elijah (2018) these studies are not far free from certain limitations. As most of these studies have failed to pay much attention to other channels of the transmission mechanism through which corruption affect economic growth such as inequality of income, which causes potential bias of endogeneity and missing variables.

Theoretically, the literature reaches no consensus about the effect of corruption on economic growth. Some of the studies hold the views that corruption might have been beneficial to economic growth (Leff, 1964, Huntington 1968, Khan 1998, 2012 and Chang- Ju Huang 2012). Corruption stimulates bureaucrats to provide more efficient government services, and it enables an easiest ways for entrepreneurs to dodge inefficient regulations. Corruption could result in more efficient resource allocation. In the sense that every poor country could be analyzed as having restrictive rules in certain sectors and also in private monopolies.

On the contrary, corruption may constrain economic growth by hindering both internal and external productive investments through tax and discouraging entrepreneur manpower development, which will, in turn, reduce economic growth and decline in economic growth. In another way, corruption reduces the quality of social infrastructures such as roads, electricity, housing and water supply. Corruption also diverts marginal talent into rent seeking, which discourages the composition of public expenditure. Corruption also reduces tax revenue where entrepreneurs are diverted into an informal arrangement of excessive rent taking which reduces taxes in exchange due to excessive rent taking by the officials. In fact, corruption may lead to lower output due to low level of investment and low level of output (Mo, Pak Hung, 2017, Gupta, 2012, Gyimah- Brempong, 2012).

Theoretical Framework of Analysis

This study is anchored on the theory of Anomie and Contradictions of bureaucracy. Bureaucratic processes are developed, presumably to facilitate effective public service. Effective and efficient public service requires that rules and regulations be widely known and understood and that mechanisms for public consultation regarding their modification be well developed. But in Nigeria bureaucracy has turned out to be an obstacle. Bureaucratic red tapism, ritualism or abuses and corruption often undermine efficient public service (Obaro, 2014).

Durkheim (1974) gave two rather different meanings to anomie or a state of normlessness by distinguishing between two forms of solidarity: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity, and their accompanying modes of division of labour and control. Durkheim asserts that a society without an elaborate division of labour rests on the mechanical solidarity of people who not only react much alike to problems but also see that everyone around them react alike to those problems thereby lending objectivity, scale and solidarity to moral response, and bringing massive disapproval and repression to bear on the deviant. Such a social order is conceived to lie in the simpler past of pre-industrial and bureaucratic society or traditional society (Durkheim, 1974).

However, it is Durkheim's analysis of the luminal state between the two forms of solidarity that is of real interest to criminologists. In the transition from the mechanical to organic solidarity, capitalism and or colonialism is thought to impose a —forced division of labour. People acquiesced neither in the appointment of rewards nor in the moral authority of the state. They are obliged to work and act in a society that enjoy little legitimacy and that exercised an incomplete control over their desires. In such a setting, it is held, man's nature is to be eternally dissatisfied, constantly to advance, without relief or rest, towards an indefinite goal (Durkheim, 1974).

In Durkheim's second meaning of anomie he argued that people are not endowed at birth with fixed appetites and ambitions. On the contrary, their purposes and aspirations are shaped by the generalized opinions and reactions of others, by a collective conscience. When society is disturbed by rapid change or major disorder, however, that semblance of solidarity and objectivity can itself flounder, and people may no longer find their ambitions subject to effective social discipline. The condition of anomie is experienced as a malady of infinite aspiration 'that is accompanied by weariness and disillusionment, disturbance, agitation and discontent (Lukes, 1997).

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study adopted the documentary design. Documentary research design is based on the examination of the independent and dependent variables after the events have taken place and the data already in existence. In documentary research design, the test of the hypothesis involves observing the independent and dependent variables at the same time because the effects of the former on the latter have already taken place before the investigation. The research applied the documentary research design because it is ideal for conducting social research when it is not possible or acceptable to manipulate the characteristics of human participants. It is a substitute for true experimental research and can be used to test hypotheses about cause-and-effect where it is not practical or ethical to apply a true experimental design. Documentary research shares with experimental research design some of its basic logic of inquiry. For example, attempts were made at explaining the consequences based on antecedent conditions; determine the influence of a variable on another variable.

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

It is evident that a number of public officials have been indicted by various anti-corruption agencies as shown in the table below. When a member of the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC), when indicted noting would be done to the indicted members, while the members of the opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) members have been arrested and prosecuted by various courts, various political analysts have seen the president Muhammadu Buhari's anti corruption fight as selective.

Bureaucratic Corruption and Public Administration in Nigeria

Bureaucratic corruption has been identified as a systematic practice that engenders low level of transparency and accountability as the major source of development failures in Nigeria (National Planning Commission, 2015).

The above notion goes to simply indicate that the effects of corruption on the practice of public administration in Nigeria are enormous. Lipset & Lenz (2018), simply stated that a bureaucratic corrupt government would always shift government expenditure to areas where they can collect bribes. And this is exactly the case with Nigerian State.

When corruption permeates into bureaucracy, public administration crumbles in so many ways. Firstly, performance becomes an "eye-service" practice which would consequently bring about sub-optimization and reduces productivity. Secondly, it creates a feeling of frustration on the few incorruptible ones in the system, and low morale. Thirdly, it increases the cost of running of the government. This underscores the reason why Nigeria spends huge sums of money in her public service yet no meaningful result is anchored. Bureaucratic corruption deepens poverty and makes it difficult for a smooth running of the system. This is because it undermines the original characteristics of transparency, accountability, impersonality etc. for which an administrator stands for. We would therefore subscribe that bureaucratic corruption would affect the practices of public administration in ways as listed by Gbenga (2016) as we explained, as follows:

Monopoly of Public Office

This has to do with the situation where some public officers see political offices as an everlasting position. This explains the reason we still have over aged public servants and political appointees in our governance nowadays.

Corruption is responsible for the collapse of Nigeria's First and Second Republic. Government officials in Tafawa Balewa's government in the First Nigerian Republic looted public funds with impunity. Balewa did not take any policy position to wipe out the menace (Ijewereme & Dunmade, 2014). The history of electoral corruption in Nigeria started in 1964 and 1965 elections. The 1964 and 1965 elections of the Nigerian First Republic were flagrantly rigged by the ruling Northern People's Congress (NPC) government headed by Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa (Ajayi, 2008). Dudley (1982) observes that the

ruling party abused the electoral procedure to the detriment of the opposition parties, especially the Action Group (AG). The result of the election was completely rejected by all the opposition parties and consequently resorted to widespread violence such as killing, arson, and destruction of properties in the western region of Nigeria (Ogundiya & Baba, 2005). Corruption, massive rigging of the 1964 and 1965 elections, violence in the western region, avarice, internal strife, and drifting of the country were said to be the reasons middle-ranked army officers sacked the Nigerian First Republic politicians from power through a coup d'état on January 15, 1966 (Ijewereme & Dunmade, 2014).

The cry against corrupt practices in Nigeria became public glare and worrisome under General Yakubu Gowon's administration. Gowon's administration was unashamedly corrupt to the macro-level, and corruption was not hidden from the public gaze (Lawal & Tobi, 2006). According to Nigerian Tribune August 1st, 1975 (cited in Lawal & Tobi, 2006), his promise to enact anti-corruption decree like other promises was never fulfilled. The level of corruption under Gowon's regime came under intense public scrutiny when Murtala Mohammed became the head of state and set up Assets Investigation Panel to probe the governors and other public officers that served under Gowon. The panel indicted 10 of 12 military governors, and so their assets were confiscated. The anti-corruption crusade spread to the entire public service; thus, the purge of the public service led to the retirement and dismissal of more than 10,000 public servants nationwide (Anazodo, Okoye, & Chukwuemeka, 2012). Accordingly, one would have expected Murtala war against corruption to enthrone deterrence in Nigerian public service. Unfortunately, it is disheartening that the politicians of the Second Republic during Shehun Shagari's administration were not deterred, despite the ignominious ways the indicted governors that served under Gowon were treated.

The politicians of the Second Republic engaged in all forms of corrupt and unethical practices of different shades. The period was marked by fragrant abuse of power by virtually all public officers—career and political office holders. The political office holders used their offices to siphon and misappropriate public fund (Lawal & Tobi, 2006). The military administration led by Major-General Muhammed Buhari who took over power from the Shagari's administration was extremely determined to eradicate corruption from Nigeria through the WAI crusade. Various tribunals both at the federal and state levels were instituted to probe the political actors of the Second Republic. The Paul Omu-led tribunal found most of the politicians guilty and sentenced them to long jail terms (Lawal & Tobi, 2006). The Babangida administration that ended the Buhari's administration through a coup d'état on August 27, 1985, did not show any commitment to the anti-corruption drive of its predecessor.

Bureaucratic Corruption and Infrastructural Development in Nigeria Under Buhari's Administration 2015-2020

Irrespective of economic or political arrangement, it is the responsibility of the government to initiate policies that will assist to accomplish the basic macroeconomic goals, Appah (2010). According to Medee and Nenbee (2011), these goals include price stability, full employment, reduction of poverty levels, sustainable economic growth, favourable balance of payment, and reduction of the nation's debt. The government is therefore saddled with the provision of certain goods and services to invigorate the economy. However, corruption has become a factor that inhibits the fulfilment of these responsibilities by various governments in Nigeria. There seems to be obvious mismatch between the massive government expenditure and the performance of the Nigerian economy. Government spending unarguably should have a significant effect on economic growth in Nigeria. However, the extent and magnitude of this impact remains questionable when compared with the expenditure volume. Earnings from sale of crude oil determine the expenditure profile of the country. Nigeria's annual budget estimates are bench-marked with the international oil price. This makes the Nigerian economy grow in response to the oil prices, thus replicating the boom and burst syndrome.

While the aggregate economic growth in 1999 is 12.77%; that of 2013 and 2014 were 10.34% and 33.74% respectively. The economy contracted to -0.31% in 1995 and -1.63 in 2016 (CBN, 1999, 2015, 2004, 2017). Irrespective of these growth rates, the expenditure profile of the Nigerian government has

been on a steady increase. This growth in expenditure profile however is not reflected in the governments' investment in physical and social infrastructures, health care, education etc. over the years, hence cannot be said to be yielding the desired results. The question that arises therefore is what is responsible for the poor performance of government expenditures in Nigeria.

Despite periodic fluctuations in Nigeria's major export (crude oil) prices, the country earns enough foreign exchange/revenue to "modernize" and provide infrastructural facilities to develop the economy. In the last decade, Nigeria has experienced remarkable growth in Gross Domestic product and perhaps its per capita component at an average of 6.5 percent and 2,600 US dollars respectively (African economic outlook, 2012). This growth is not completely unconnected with the revenue windfall from petroleum which normally should be used to provide and modernize existing soft-core and hard-core infrastructures in Nigeria. To the contrary, the oil earnings has led to the execution of ambitious and unviable projects which have served as a conduit pipe for the emerging business class and the bureaucratic/political bourgeoisie to siphon public funds into personal pockets at the expense of infrastructural development. Perhaps, this explains why Nigeria's assumed impressive economic growth has nothing to show in terms of concrete development as basic macroeconomic indices such as unemployment is high, 23.9%, inflation rate is double digit high, 12.1%, per capita income is low and below the African average of 3,000 US dollars, investment is barely 18.8% of GDP and above all, 70% of the population live below the poverty line (Atuanya, 2012). Infrastructural decay around the country can to a greater extent be traced to corruption and lack of accountability and transparency by public/private office holders in Nigeria. Corruption as a phenomenon is a global problem and exists in varying degrees in different countries (Agbu, 2003).

CONCLUSION

It is very clear that the present state of Nigerian bureaucracy is unable to tackle the growing challenges of governance facing a globalized and privatized world. They are still in the mental framework of "Mafia" without realizing that they have few powers of control left except recourse to law if they have to be an effective adjudicator in modern governance. As such a drastic reorientation of their thinking and training is necessary for making them relevant in the 21st Century. Corruption is endemic everywhere but is more harmful in developing countries. Nigeria is a high-corruption state, a political system where there is entrenched corruption. We have argued that corruption in whatever form it takes is an ill wind that portends evil for any nation. Although, there are socio-economic and contextual factors that contribute to corruption, the most fundamental variable remains a weak and ineffective state which rather than transform the oppressive state structures it inherited from the colonial masters, it has only succeeded in perfecting its strategies for exploiting and oppressing people.

Corruption in our setting is an instrument of class expansion, consolidation and preservation and the state remains the principal arena of that corruption, as well as a tool for reproduction in cover-up and exoneration of culprits by the entrenched interests. It is the position of this paper that until the state is transformed to make it people centred, responsible and accountable to them it will continue to slip deeper into the crisis of legitimacy and mismanagement. Poverty is the major obstacle to development, transparency and accountability will remain elusive unless the economy is rescued from its dangerous slide to total collapse. Many have so acclimated with corruption that they cannot survive in a decent, corruption-free society. To succeed, therefore, what Buhari needs is social revolution not just reformation. But can he afford to lead or rather, does he possess.

It is stating the obvious that Nigeria's bureaucracy is riddled with corruption which in turn has the capacity to impede its role as a change driver as demanded by the policies and programmes of the present Muhammadu Buhari led government. In its current form, the public service lacks the capacity to serve as the arrow head of the fight against corruption and the change agenda of the present government because it has also been entangled with corruption itself, a development which has far reaching negative consequences for the change mantra of the Buhari government. In fact, to say that bureaucratic corruption remains widespread in Nigeria and that it portends evil for the nation is no longer a subject of debate.

Rather the debate is usually about what causes bureaucratic corruption and what can be done to curtail it. However, this study differed in its focus by attempting instead to analyze the bureaucratic corruption and socio-economic development in Nigeria: a study of Buhari administration. From all indications, it is clear that corruption in whatever form it takes is not desirable. It is the single most debilitating factor that has stalled the progress, growth and development of Nigeria and as such that of the bureaucracy must be eradicated if it must perform the function of driving the change anticipated by the present government. In the light of this, we suggest some measures that can help in this direction in the next section of this work.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This study recommends the following measures,

First and foremost, there is need to strengthen the anti-corruption agencies through legislation that should spell out the time frame for the prosecution of corruption cases in the public service. Although there are existing laws, they seem too loose to allow for effective handling of corruption cases particularly the ones related to the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Offences Commission (ICPC) and even the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT). Such laws should also attract stiffer penalties for corrupt offences such as long years or life imprisonment once convicted.

Secondly, government should make accountability and transparency an article of faith in Nigeria. This can be done by embarking on grassroots' level education of Nigerians at homes and market places and youngsters at high school and university/college levels about the destructive effects of corruption and election of corrupt officers into public offices. This can appropriately be handled by the National Orientation Agency (NOA).

Thirdly, government must seriously address the issues pertaining to the salaries, wages, pensions and gratuities of public servants. The existence of wide salary disparity between the different cadres of officers does not augur well for the service as such cannot motivate the officers for greater efficiency and productivity. This generates the idea of struggling to gather funds for retirement by all means including outright stealing of public funds. These emoluments should be paid appropriately to make public servants resist corrupt practices.

Fourthly, there is greater need for the investigation of past cases of corruption involving public servants and affected public officers must be made to face the wrath of the law, else the average Nigerian will just think the ongoing crusade against corruption is a continuation of the rhetoric and sloganeering of the past.

Fifthly, there should be a reorientation of Nigerians across all walks of life about the importance of not according credence and credibility to ill-gotten money by means of worshipping the culprits and accumulators of such illicit wealth in public places like churches, mosques, universities, clubs and so on in form of awards, praise singing, image laundry and the likes in return for a share of such illicit wealth in the form of donations, fundraising and so on. This is where both the Federal and State Ministries of Information and their agencies have greater role to play.

We also recommend for the creation of state command headquarters of economic and financial crimes commission (EFCC) in the 36 states of the federation, so as to make it closer to state Government in order to checkmate the activities of public officers and immediate action be taking on them when found culpable.

Finally, these educational forums should be organized on regular basis all-round the year and across all major cities and universities in Nigeria in the form of lectures delivered by renowned human right and anti-corruption activists, local paper advertisements, local radios and televisions jingles and advertisements and T-shirts and post able signs as well as the social media.

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