

Corruption and Ethical Issues in Law Enforcement in Nigeria: A Theoretical Experience

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Abstract:

Nigerian development problem is partly linked to corruption, which begets malnutrition, illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, ethnicity, banditry, hunger and infrastructural decay. It is a social problem that bedevils proper law enforcement in Nigeria. Due to the alleged and proven numerous corrupt practices across the country from 2015-2020, this paper provides an overview of ethical issues in law enforcement in Nigeria. It ascertain the relationship between corruption, ethical issues, and law enforcement in Nigeria, and the effectiveness of anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria. Three (3) theories were used in explaining the study namely: Social Learning Theory (SLT), Social Disorganization Theory (SDT) and Corruption Permissiveness Theory (CPT), but we adopted the latter. The study adopted a qualitative design. The major sources of data collection were secondary sources which include, journal publications, textbooks, government publications and newspapers. The secondary data collected were thoroughly subjected to content analysis.

The finding revealed that Nigerian policy on corruption was not effective as anticipated. This is due to a lack of Political Will in formulating and implementing robust policies that will curtail the proliferation of corruption in Nigeria. Relying on the results from theoretical reflections of the paper, it is cogent and reasonable for the Nigerian government to review its policies on corruption, especially, in line with some of the recent global barometers of the phenomenon which designated Nigeria as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. This will usher in a new ethical paradigm, emphasizing true leadership as a role for those men and women who desire to serve the State and citizenry, ensure adequate punishment of corrupt individuals. In addition, the study proposed that the fight against corruption should not be selective to a particular ethnic group, religion, or political affiliation.

Keywords: Corruption, Ethical Issues, Law Enforcement and Theoretical Perspective.

Introduction

It is a notable fact that Nigeria is a nation in the labyrinth of socio-ethical maladies. The repulsive moral and social crises be-devilling the nation today smacks of the bastardization of its socio-ethical values (Aristotle, 2015). Corruption perception index (CPI) released by Transparency International (TI), in its 2019 report placed Nigeria in the 32nd position as the most corrupt country in the world. This is closely followed by Botswana ranking 34th, Rwanda ranking 48th and Namibia ranking 53rd. Similarly, Transparency International in 2012 in its report placed Nigeria in the 35th position as the most corrupt nation in the world. The report was thoroughly misinterpreted by the Federal Executive Council (FEC) of Nigeria. Doyin Okupe and Reuben Abati, the then-presidential spokespersons in separate reactions, dismissed the report and accused Transparency International of acting in “bad

faith". They individually insisted that Transparency International's assessment was based merely on subjective "perception" than a true analysis of the "real situation" in Nigeria (Onyiloha 2013, p. 21).

In 2011, the global corruption barometer in Nigeria has not changed. Worried about the systemic nature of corruption in Nigeria, Onyiloha (2013, p.21) and Ejizu (2008, p. 20) makes the following assessments:

Interestingly, most available indices for evaluating the moral quality of a nation have constantly placed Nigeria at lower levels of the scale in the past ten years. One does not need to bore the audience with any litany of the moral woes of our country. It should only remind you that no single sector of life in this country is spared of the debilitating virus of corruption, indiscipline and moral decay..

Eze (2012, p. 62) in his article on "Graft allegations of 2012" in *The Sunday Sun Newspaper* manifests a very clear perception of the indices of corruption in Nigeria vis-à-vis the Transparency International's report code-named "Corruption Perception Index":

Several Nigerians were taken aback when Transparency International (TI) 2012 corruption watch report "Corruption Perception Index" placed Nigeria at 35th position in the league of most corrupt nations of the world out of 176 countries surveyed. And just as reactions for and against the report raged, and many Nigerians rued the spate of fraud in the country, the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), on the occasion of the 2012 International Anti-Corruption Day, opposed the introduction of maximum punishment (Death Penalty) for corruption-related offenses in the country.

One of the salient points related to the earlier question of the sincerity of the Nigerian government to fight corruption in the private and public sectors of the nation is aptly described as "not a few Nigerians were taken aback" in the face of Nigeria's thirty-fifth 35th position in the group of most corrupt nations of the world. Again, the mention of the "death penalty" is an indicator of the high frequency of corruption and its devastating effects (Eze, 2012).

Similarly, the Lineamenta of the Second National Pastoral Congress analyses the state of the Nigerian nation and submits as follows:

One of the major areas in our nation in need of healing is the issue of corruption, whether as bribery, embezzlement, graft, fraud, nepotism. Corruption is on the rise threatening to destroy the fabric of our society. Corruption, as a deadly virus, insidiously attacks the nation's Central Processing Unit, i.e., administration of justice and rule of law – the last hope of the common man (Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria, 2nd National Pastoral Congress: Lineamenta, 2012, No. 37).

Trail of corruption are not difficult to find in the Nigerian nation. Based on the above citations, two broad categories, namely: Political/bureaucratic corruption, and corruption in the private/public sectors seem to be a recurrent phenomenon in Nigeria (Umechukwu 2011, p. 97).

Rousseau once pointed out that the legitimacy of the national public power comes from the people. The government is the executor of the sovereign (Liu, 2016), and its power comes from the people's trust. When the use of public power deviates from the original track, being abused, then a corruption problem arises. According to Liu, he believed that from the macro

level, the corruption of a country to a certain extent should be determined by the country's economic, political and cultural level. In addition, Liu (2016) posits that corruption has an effect on these three parties. From the medium view, system construction and execution of the decentralization degree between the national agencies, recruitment, appointment, compensation and punishment not only affect the bud of corruption but also has a significant impact on the spread of corruption. From the microscopic level, even when the individual is in the same or similar external environment or under the same system, there may be significant differences in the risk of corruption due to the influence of individual gender, education, values and other factors (Liu 2016, p.173).

Statement of Problem

Scholars like Ahmed, Saudat and Rasaq (2019); Kareem and Olufemi (2018); Aristotle (2012); and Akindele (2005) have emphasized the need for eradication of corruption in the public and private sectors of the country's polity.

Corruption is dangerous and inimical to the systematic existence of any polity. It is a socio-political, economic and moral malaise that permeates and cripples, as a result of its contagiousness and malignancy, the nerve of any polity. Corruption is not only found in the private sectors; Akindele (2005) sees corruption as a behavior, which deviates from the formal rules of governing the actions of someone in a position of authority. Moyosore (2015) and Akindele (2005) assert that corruption is the surest route that hinders development in any society and that this fact does not need contention because it has a direct relationship with poverty and development. This was why President Muhammadu Buhari during his presidential manifesto in 2015 and re-election in 2019 opined: *"If we do not kill corruption in this country, corruption will kill Nigerians"* (The Nation 2015, March 13).

Nevertheless, after six years of Buhari's administration in fighting corruption, the menace seems to be on an increase and the ethical issues in the country continue to deepen, broaden and widen following the recent alleged corruption cases against the former Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) boss Ibrahim Magu, National Centre for Disease and Control (NCDC). For instance, on the 4th of August, 2020 as reported by Linda Ikeji's Blog, the Minister of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development (MHADMSD), Sadiya Farouq who claimed at the Presidential Taskforce briefing on COVID-19 in Abuja, to have fed school students in the federation during the lockdown to the turn of N523.3 million naira, equivalent of (\$1,4119,311) million dollars. Similarly, on the 8th of August, 2020 as reported by Thisday Newspaper, President Muhammadu Buhari granted the request of the Minister of Niger Delta Commission, Senator Godswill Akpabio, to obtain N20 billion naira for the East-West Road, amidst the NDDC scandal (Olaleye, 2020). The report further has it that the working capital will be obtained from the Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF), and the East-West road, a 657 kilometer dual carriageway project was first awarded in 2006 by the Olusegun Obasanjo led administration but driven by the Yar'Adua/ Jonathan administrations. If the government is not promoting corruption, the minister is to be kept away from the seat until investigations are concluded or at least before such money is further released.

In order to achieve the mission of this study, the following objectives of the study were raised:

1. To ascertain the relationship between corruption, ethical issues and law enforcement in Nigeria;
2. To examine how well the federal government of Nigeria is fighting corruption;
3. Examine Nigeria's policy on corruption;
4. To explore theoretical explanations on corruption and ethical issues in law enforcement in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Corruption

Corruption is a Social problem (Aristotle, 2012, p.3). The Term "*Corruption*" as a concept in social and classical science does not have a universally accepted definition. For Aristotle, "Corruption is the intentional misperformance or neglect of a recognized duty or the unwanted exercise of power, with the motive of gaining some advantage more or less directly personal".

To buttress the definition above, Nkom (2005) in his article on "*Ethical revolution as an antidote for corruption in Nigeria: The futility of bourgeois idealism*", posited that corruption is the perversion of public office, for the private advantage".

Looking at a broader and operational definition that suits this paper "Corruption is a deliberate act of indiscipline against the legalized moral norms of the state and the natural law of justice, as it affects the realization of the common good of the citizen; whereby an individual or a group of individuals, directly diverts or misuse, appropriate with the tool of political maneuvering, the wealth of the state to his/her personal use". (Aristotle, 2012, p.2).

Ethical Issues

According to Aristotle (2012), ethical issues refer to that problem or situation that requires a person, organization, or nation to choose between alternatives that must be evaluated as right (ethical) or wrong (unethical). Ethical issues can also be defined as a situation where a moral conflict arises and must be addressed. In other words, it is an occasion where a moral standard is questioned or challenged (Aristotle, 2012, p.3).

Law Enforcement

Law enforcement refers to the action or activity of compelling observance of or compliance with the law. Law enforcement can be seen as any system by which some members of society act in an organized manner to enforce the law by discovering, deterring, rehabilitating, or punishing people who violate the rules and norms governing that society (Aristotle, 2012; Aristotle, 2008).

Review of Related Literature

The Nigerian Military Government and Corruption

The military has ruled Nigeria through coups. The historical trajectory of Nigeria shows that the military officers showed by all intent and purpose, that they were not after all vaccinated against the bug of corruption Ugo (2011, p. 231). He further observed that: "The military, the self-appointed messiah and corrector of evil showed to be corrupt if not more than the civilians it came to correct." The Ibrahim Babangida military administration had a

commission of inquiry inaugurated and mandated to look into the financial sector of the nation's resources before and after the "Gulf War". Pius Okigbo, an economist, chaired that commission Ejiru (2008). The commission's report, also known as the "Okigbo Report", indicted military officers and their cohorts for meddling with the federation accounts during the era under review. Some military officers and their civil suspects are going about freely without the required investigation or prosecution. The non-implementation of the "Okigbo Report" is a reminder about the non-enforcement of extant anti-corruption laws in Nigeria. It has shown the complicity of the leaders and the followers in crippling the structures and processes that would have met the global anti-corruption practices (Eze, 2012). The corruption that eroded the country in General Sani Abacha's regime whose proceeds are now being repatriated to the country by the Swiss bank and others is another unfortunate circumstance.

Democratic Government

Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999 and there were hopes, among the people including other nationals, that the country would embrace the path of reason in its national development. President Olusegun Obasanjo made some efforts to establish structures to control or eliminate some social ills like corruption and also to heal the national wounds occasioned by the Nigeria-Biafra War. The "Truth and Reconciliation Commission", also known as the "Oputa Panel" was established to achieve the latter. Part of the objective of the commission was to invite the key players in the nation's history, to engage their compatriots in reconstructing the nation through dialogue and reconciliation. Unfortunately, the "Oputa Panel" report has not been implemented and it shows the lack of political will for the Nigerian government to do the right thing and also set a good record (Onyiloha, 2013). Nothing was done to some of the key players who ignored or rejected the commission's invitation. The "Oputa Panel" report was stuffed with findings of corruption in the military, injustice, sectional marginalization, terrorism, among others.

The current set of Nigerian citizens seem to have inherited from the past ones' different categories and tricks of corruption. A lack of the will to fight corruption accounts for the uncritical assimilation of such local slangs as "*Man know man*", "*My man*", "*Chop make I chop*" (complicity in crime), "*Grease my hand*" (giving or taking bribe), "*If you can't beat them, join them*" (the whole is corrupt, one should join the trend), among others (Ejizu in Onyiloha, 2014). The non-countering of these pro-corruption terminologies, perhaps, means that the present generation of Nigerians has equally accepted corruption as a norm. This portends a generational apathy to fight corruption. Again and according to Achebe in Ezech, (2012), the assessment of the scale of corruption has passed the alarming stage and entered the fatal stage in Nigeria.

An Examination of Nigeria's Policies on Corruption

Under this section, we shall review the relevant policies on corruption as ratified by the successive Nigerian governments from the 1980s and up to the present period. The policies in the review include such programmes or agencies as War Against Indiscipline (WAI), War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt

Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). These are juxtaposed to such anti-corruption bodies as the United Nations Organization (UNO), the United Nations Global

Programme Against Corruption (UNGPAC), the United Inter-Regional Crime and Justice Institute (UICJI), the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (UNCCLEO), the Manual on Practical Measures Against Corruption (MPMAC), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the International Police Organization (INTERPOL) and Transparency International (TI) (Onyiloha, 2014; Onyiloha, 2013).

A historical review of the military government of Buhari/Idiagbon shows some commendable efforts to tackle corruption and indiscipline, since perhaps, after the nation's independence. The administration launched what it called the "*War Against Indiscipline, WAI*", as a platform to fight misconduct. Many Nigerians praised the good results of WAI. At this time, the country was almost relapsing into lawlessness, environmental pollution, economic embezzlement, among other cases of delinquency. However, the strategy deployed by the military to enforce the WAI policies was considered to be too handy (Ogbozo, 2011). Some are of the view that persuasion is more effective than autocratic action concerning the WAI campaign. Again, some argued that WAI would have been more successful if the military administration had brought in a coalition of professionals both at the stage of its design and also the stage of its implementation. The Buhari military regime was cut short following the coup that ushered in the Ibrahim Babangida administration. Babangida justified the ouster of the Buhari/Idiagbon on grounds of "*War against insensitive governance*" (Ogbozo 2011, p.183).

The General Abacha military regime signed the "*Anti-Fraud Code*" (anti-419, using a Nigerian colloquial) into law. But the anti-fraud policy during and after Abacha's regime has suffered and continues to suffer owing to many current cases of fraudulent activities among some Nigerian government officials (Ezeh, 2012). The Olusegun Obasanjo democratically elected government came in with some sort of a sparkle of hope in the overall fight against corruption by the signing into law acts establishing two foremost anti-corruption bodies, namely, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). ICPC is the apex body vested by law with the responsibility to fight corruption and other related offenses in Nigeria. It was set up and empowered by the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission Act 2000, which was signed into law on June 13, 2000 (Onyiloha, 2014). The ICPC therefore was inaugurated on the 29th of September 2000 by President Olusegun Obasanjo, with a Chairman and 12 Members (Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission 2007, p. 1). The fact remains that EFCC and ICPC have achieved some successes, however and most importantly, Nigeria's and other global anti-corruption organizations' policies and regulations have not been aggressively applied to the nation's national life thus making corrupt persons weakening Nigeria's fabrics (Onyiloha, 2014; Onyiloha, 2013; Umechukwu, 2011; Igwe, 2010).

The United Nations (UN) programme on the fight against corruption especially the Security Council Resolution 1373 of 2001 urges member states to i) criminalize all forms of bribe-taking, ii) criminalize all forms of corruption, iii) criminalize embezzlement, misappropriation or another diversion of property by a public official; iv) criminalize bribery of foreign public officials and officials of international organizations; v) criminalize trading in influence, abuse of functions, illicit enrichment; vi) criminalize bribery in the private sector among others. Arguably, these are the resolutions that were domesticated as ICPC and

EFCC.

Theoretical Framework on Corruption

Corruption is a complicated phenomenon. Olusola (2016) called it “simultaneously economic-political criminal and sociological in origin” (p.57) Zhang, Cao, and Vaughn (2009) argued for criminological and criminal-justice-based research on Corruption. They noted that despite the proliferation of studies on corruption most research on corruption comes from such disciplines as economics and political science. Meng and Friday (2010) argued since corruption is a criminal act, it demands an integrated theoretical approach that considers the prevailing criminal justice, economic, political, environmental and social norms of a given society (Olusola, 2016, p.58).

For this paper, Social learning theory (SLT), Social Disorganization Theory (SDT) and Corruption permissiveness theory (CPT) can be adequately utilized as a lens to view the institutionalization of corruption in Nigeria and how it has affected values and behavioral norms. These theories help explain the behavioral and environmental determinants that facilitate corruption, as well as the social environment in which corruption operates in Nigeria (Olusola, 2016).

Social Learning Theory (SLT)

Social learning theory has been used by some researchers to explain criminal behavior (Sandholtz and Taagepera, 2005). This theory is based on the assumption that a similar learning process can produce both deviance and conformity. Four variables are thought to influence social behavior: definitions, differential association, modeling and reinforcement. The interaction of their variable predisposes one to either conforming or deviant behavior (Olusola, 2016, p.58; Singer and Hensley, 2004; Title, 2004).

According to social learning theory, behavior is influenced by standards of legal and illegal behavior, peers, and positive or negative reinforcement. A key variable is a differential association or peer influence. Definitions of deviance are developed in interactions with peers and are reinforced, positively or negatively, by rewards and punishments (Akers and Sellers, 2009).

Bernard, Snipes and Gerould (2010) characterized social learning theory as an acknowledgment that learning involves an interplay of environmental behavioral and cognitive influences. Criminal or deviant behavior, then, result in part from the observation of consequences that particular behaviors have for other people (Akers and Sellers in Olusola, 2016). Although Social learning theory addresses potential influences on criminal behavior, it does not address the particular environments that create such behaviour. Bernard et al, (2010), suggested that social structures affect crime because it affects one's exposure to norms and the consequences of violating norms.

Social learning theorists argue that behavior is influenced by ones' self-concept, one's social role, and how one perceives a social situation (Sandholtz and Taagepera, 2005). Each of these, in turn, is the product of the socialization that occurs at the institutional level (Meng and Friday 2010). A social problem such as corruption, then, is affected not only by material incentives but also by cultural orientations, which are the result of socialization (Olusola, 2016; Travits, 2010; Meng and Friday, 2010; Sandholtz and Taagepera, 2005).

According to Aluko (2002), despite the fact that social learning theory has been extensively

studied, efforts to examine the mechanism linking social structure to corruption and its effects on social attitudes have been lacking. The result is a poor understanding of how particular social conditions lead to corrupt practices in the political system. This Current study helped test the utility of social learning theory by applying it to an analysis of Nigerians perceptions of corruption and how those perceptions are determined by their social role and definition of corrupt practices.

Travits (2010) found that for citizens and officials, the decision of whether to engage in Corruption is mostly affected by individual's definitions of corruption and personal perceptions of how widespread corruption is.

Moreover, Travits (2010) noted that research by political scientists and economists has addressed cross-national differences of perceptions of corruption. This research focused mostly on structural features, with less emphasis on why some officials are more susceptible to corrupt behavior than others. Based on social learning theory, corruption although socially influenced, is ultimately a result of individual choices. Although institutions and systems can be restricted, if individual motivations are not taken into account, restructuring may be difficult to achieve (Olusola, 2016, P.59).

Title (2003) linked band social structural conditions to individual learning. A subculture of deviance is transmitted inter-generationally through beliefs, values, and attitudes. Social learning theory, then proposed that a willingness to engage in corruption reflects an acquired belief that it is not morally wrong but rather is an acceptable form of behavior. Although social learning theory has been influential in criminological circles, it has been used mostly to explain crime and delinquency in general rather than corruption specifically (Olusola, 2016, p.59; Chappell and Piguero, 2004, p. 90).

Social Disorganization Theory (SDT)

Social disorganization theory originated as part of the Chicago school, a body of work focusing on urban sociology in the 1920s and 30s (Olusola, 2016; Bernald, Snipes and Gerould, 2010). According to social disorganization theory, dysfunctional behavior has cultural, political, and economic causes (Akers and Sellers, 2009). Established communities experience increases in deviance and crime when their way of life and the established order change. Disorganized communities experience crime because informal social controls break down, resulting in the emergence of deviance and criminal cultures. Such communities lack the collective efficacy to fight crime and disorder (Hochstetler and Copes, 2008; Vito, Maahs and Homes, 2007). The theory posits that more crime will occur in neighborhoods with fraying social structures, such as failing schools, vacant or vandalized buildings, changing ethnicity, and high unemployment.

The Sociological perspective out of which social learning theory emerged does not consider specific behavior as a problem of an individual but instead considers individual behavior as reflecting the social order in which an individual live. This assumption agrees with Durkheim's notion that all behavior is socially generated. Social problems like corruption must be addressed by focusing on society, not a particular individual behavior (Steenbeek and Hipp, 2011). Johnson in Olusola, 2016, p.60) used social disorganization theory to argue that in many nations corruption is embedded in the overall society. In the words of Johnson, economic and political, processes perpetuate corruption rather than resist it. In line with the assumptions of social disorganization theory, corruption can be reduced by developing

enhanced criminal justice, political social economic and religious institutions, which will bring about social empowerment (Olusola, 2016).

Corruption Permissiveness Theory (CPT)

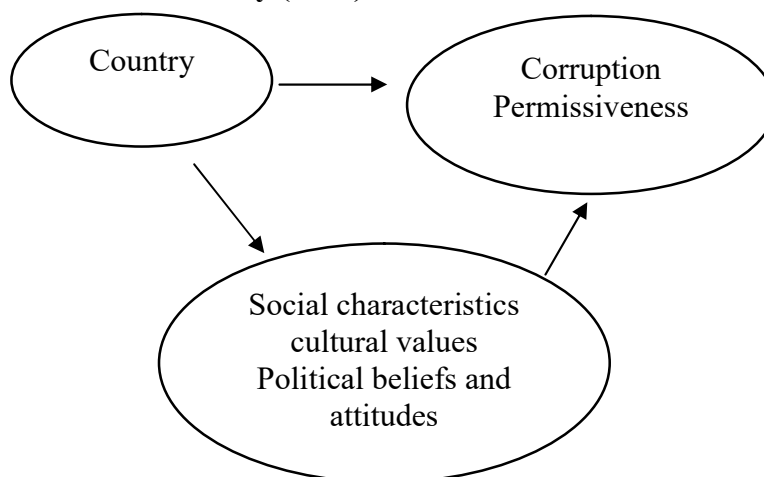


Figure 1. Source: - Lavena, 2013, p. 340).

Corruption permissiveness theory is coined or propounded by Aristotle Isaac Jacobs in 2019, this theory draws inspiration from the work of Cecilia Lavena, (2013) in her article titled: What determines permissiveness toward corruption? A study of attitudes in Latin America.

Lavena (2013) observed that corruption is seen as damaging the public realm, reducing the credibility of institutions and endangering the status of public ethos (p.346). She further observed that when studying the theoretical perspective of corruption, one should focus on understanding corruption permissiveness or cultural value and attitude behind increased levels of justification of rule-breaking behavior among citizens of the country.

Cecilia Lavena stated that moving beyond the study of corruption perception, her work aimed to describe and explain what is behind citizen justification or rule-breaking behavior by analyzing cross-national differences in corruption permissiveness (Lavena, 2013, p. 349).

The assumptions of corruption permissiveness theory (CPT) hold that social characteristics, cultural values and political beliefs or attitudes may affect levels of corruption permissiveness in different ways. In the study of cultural dimensions of corruption, Swamy, Knack, Lee, and Azfar (2001) found that women are less likely to condone bribe-taking (Rivas, 2006).

Most scholars are interested in the role of age differences and educational level in increasing or reducing individual willingness to justify corrupt behavior (Lavena, 2013; Seligan, 2002; Hofstede, 2001). Their findings suggest that a generational effect might evidence lower levels of corruption permissiveness. Swamy, et al, (2001) consider that public knowledge of the written codes of conduct and laws reduces levels of corruption permissiveness, as more education is an indicator of being more critical and knowledgeable of the political system and less willing to tolerate corruption. In areas of ethnic diversity, researchers suggest that an ethnic and linguistic difference determines individual levels of corruption permissiveness (Lavena, 20213, p. 351; Dreher, Kotsogiannis, and McCorriston, 2007; p. 449). Deeply divided societies may reflect more demand for corrupt services at any given price, making members of certain ethnic groups feel that demanding favour from co-ethnics in the office is

the only effective way to obtain service, hence systematically allowing for wrongful behavior (Lavena, 2013).

You and Khagram (2005) study on whether greater levels of inequality are conducive to corruption and from their findings concluded that inequality in income increases corruption through material and normative mechanisms since survival is key. Thus, the wealthy are more likely to believe that corruption is an acceptable way of preserving and advancing their position in society since such behavior goes unpunished and social networks of corruption expands. In the same manner, Melgar and Rossi (2009, p.6) observed that income determines higher levels of permissiveness among citizens of different employment statuses (class struggle and consciousness). Their study showed that unemployment does not influence willingness to justify an illegal action, but being employed full time decreases the probability of being permissiveness (p.6).

Inglehart, (2000, p.80) in his study on culture and democracy, opined that “culture is path dependant”, demonstrating that “distinctive cultural zones exist” with highly distinct value systems that persistently help to shape important phenomena (p.80). He proposed that there are two key dimensions of cross-cultural variation: traditional/rational-legal and survival/self-expression values. The traditional dimension reflects “the contract between societies in which religion is very important and those in which it is not; emphasis on interpersonal trust; as pro-life stands on abortion, euthanasia, and suicide; social conformity; high level of national pride” (p. 83).

The survival dimension is related to societies reflecting “low levels of subjective wellbeing; low interpersonal trust; relatively intolerant towards out-groups; emphasizing materialist values; favouring authoritarian governments” (Lavena, 2013, p.351; Inglehart, 2000, p.84). The desire for freedom is considered to be a universal human aspiration among cultures moving from survival values to wellbeing and self-expression value. Thus, this shift is expected to be reflected in the levels of corruption permissiveness; citizens who feel they are free to choose their destiny and control their own lives will be more prone to endorse democratic values and express lower levels of corruption permissiveness as a way of exercising accountability (Lavena 2013).

Similarly, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) observed that strong self-expression value seems to be a sufficient condition to create a minimum amount of support for democracy. They view participation as a political attitude related to self-expression values. The possibility of power abuse by institutions such as the police, department of state security, military and political parties may influence the level of corruption permissiveness in Nigeria. Mistrust in institutions allows for increased levels of permissiveness, the feeling of alienation toward government might result in few citizens holding politicians accountable. Political corruption is strongly influenced by “party preference” or ideology, study has shown that extreme right voters are more likely to think that politicians are corrupt (Lavena, 2013; Van de Walle, 2008, p.225; Inglehart, 2000).

Conclusion

The beauty and relevance of democracy depend on creating a conducive political society and an economic environment devoid of discrimination, fear, poverty, disease, ethnicity and marginalization where every citizen has a stake in the survival of the country; where the necessities of life are guaranteed. A situation whereby the rule of law and fundamental

human rights are relegated does not augur well for the sustenance of democracy (Aristotle 2012, p.13). Nigeria is on the verge of a systemic collapse if indices of corruption continued unabated and such a reality, no doubt, has cast Nigeria into a bad light among the union of nations. Nigeria is dreaded among other nations because of its irredeemable carriage of corruption in almost all aspects of life. Aside endemic nature of corruption in Nigeria, the government has not done enough in fighting the phenomenon, let alone applying global anti-corruption measures to criminalize corruption and bring culprits to book. Fighting of corruption should not be selective based on culture, religion or tribe as corrupt persons are having a field day in Nigeria and some of them are active participants in government; worse still, some convicted ones receive state pardon – thereby trivializing the crusade against corruption in Nigeria. The lawmakers rather than sponsoring bills on hate speech and social media bills, should channel their efforts and make laws on sentencing corrupt politicians to hanging, as corrupt acts are worse than hate speech. The writer views the hate speech bill as an attempt to the victim the defenseless and silent their voice by the oppressors. The military, security agencies, the political class and the general public have all been identified as some institutional frameworks fueling a rise in the cases of corruption in Nigeria. The military, security agencies and political classes are adjudged corrupt, given the wave of “multi-millionaire clubs” of which former Nigerian leaders (military or political) make the membership (Onyiloha, 2014). The EFCC and ICPC have not risen to their constitutional duties to investigate the sources of the wealth such as Nigerians as well as other categories of corrupt Nigerians in order to prosecute them accordingly.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are offered to address issues of corruption and ethical problems in law enforcement in Nigeria:

1. A total overhaul of the nation’s psyche through ethical and moral orientation programmes. The orientation would provide a new template capable of tilting Nigerians’ outlook to the things that matter in life, self-esteem, self-awareness and self-renewal Onyiloha (2014), Ezech (2012).
2. Restructuring of the present system of public governance in Nigeria to usher in a new ethical paradigm, explaining leadership as a role for those men and women who desire to serve the state and citizenry. This is because when such leaders emerge, corruption shall diminish.
3. Review of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to deliver “a people’s constitution” as many Nigerians have yearned; a brand new constitution that introduces clauses, definitions, ideas, policies and ethics that would engender the rule of law, civility, good leadership, and above all, the culture of life (a conscious correspondence between good intention and right action at all times and in all places for the good of the self and others) Ejizu (2008). The immunity enjoyed by public officials shall be expunged from the new constitution and thus empower anti-corruption agencies to prosecute suspected corrupt public officers in the three arms of the government including their partners-in-crime in the private sector (civil or religious) Ezech, (2012).
4. Encourage ethical re-orientation by making mandatory in school curriculum subjects like ethics, fundamentals of anti-corruption laws, spiritual views of the human person, and

etiquette of good living; training the young people to become fulfilled and selfless Nigerians that abhor corruption and other related offenses.

5. The various anti-corruption and related bodies such as EFCC, ICPC, or the Police should be repositioned and revamped in structure and resources to be truly anti-corruption agencies that fight the malaise to the satisfaction of all and sundry. The arrangement in which the EFCC is loaded with three functions of investigating, prosecuting and recovering looted assets, calls for a review.
6. The EFCC and ICPC should be merged into one new body to be called “Corruption and Related Crimes Commission (CRCC)”, for investigation; and the creation of two more agencies to be known as “Corruption and Related Crime Prosecution (CRCP)” for and “Assets Recovery Agency of Nigeria (ARAN)” for prosecution and asset recovery, respectively (Onyiloha, 2013).
7. The study proposes that the Lawmakers at the National Assembly should as a matter of urgency make a law that sentences corrupt politicians to hanging and all gains confiscated, instead of a hate speech bill.
8. The fight against corruption by the Federal government should not be selective to a particular tribe, religion and political affiliation. Also, it must not be used as a political tool of intimidation. Appointment of heads of security and anti-corruption agencies should be based on merit, seniority and must be done within the respective services and ratified by the National Assembly and not to be left in the hands of the President.
9. Officers and other personnel of security or anti-corruption agencies should be exposed to good incentives to enable them to reject gratification and enforce the laws according to professional ethics and standards.

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