

Towards Solving the Problem of Corruption in Nigeria: The ICPC under Searchlight

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Abstract: For a long time now, the phenomenon of corruption remains one of the greatest obstacles to development in many nations, particularly the developing ones. With particular reference to Nigeria, the phenomenon has indeed been recognized as a major single cause of crime, poverty and some other social vices. The world over, attempts are made to combat or fight this social problem through the establishment of anti-corruption agencies or commissions. This study examines the phenomenon of corruption in Nigeria and it assesses the successes and failures of one of the anti-corruption agencies namely, the Independent Corrupt Practice and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) set up by the Nigerian Government to fight corruption.

Key words: Problem, corruption, ICPC, searchlight, poverty, social vices

INTRODUCTION

All nations (developing and developed ones) are often saddled with a number of responsibilities and functions, which include among others, maintenance of law and order, development and implementation of policies based on the national objectives as well as, distribution of goods and services to its citizenry. In other words, all nations have the responsibility to develop their societies in a way that will benefit all the humans found within their geo-political zones. How well any nation is able to meet or discharge these responsibilities or obligations is determined by a number of factors of which corruption stands out more prominently. Corruption, which is considered in the social sciences as an aspect of indiscipline, is the greatest impediment to development anywhere it rears its ugly head.

In Nigeria, the phenomenon of corruption is not only obvious, it is also well too known to a point where every citizen (the ordinary and the well-to-do) believes that every Nigerian is corrupt. For example a governor in the Eastern part of Nigeria, Mr Orji Uzor Kalu ever accused Mr. President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria of corrupt practices. He declared publicly by saying "Mr. President you are corrupt". The implication of this is that if a whole president of Nigeria can be publicly accused of corruption, one can then imagine the level of corruption in the country. Indeed and in concrete terms, the level of corruption in high and low places in Nigeria has consistently increased since independence. Reflecting on the situation of corruption in Nigeria, Smith as far back as 1976 once mirrored the Second Republic in Nigeria as an extremely corrupt era where according to him:

Human society is plunging compulsively into ever greater depths of corruption and decay-thus, the greater the development plans, the larger the scale of corruption which their implementation encourages by diverting efforts that are being made for the benefit of the community to private gain at the community's expense.

In most recent time too, a well known non-governmental organization called the Transparency International (TI) projected Nigeria in its Corruption Perception Index (CPI) as being the third most corrupt nation in the world {131st of 133 countries surveyed} (THISDAY, 2004). According to the reports, every single responsible institution in Nigeria is corrupt and has failed to appreciate fully the obligations upon them to do something concrete about corruption. This is to the extent that politicians, government officials, the police and saddest of all, the civil society in Nigeria have all failed to present a genuine attempt to improve the negative image of their country as far as the phenomenon of corruption is concerned. Consequently, the effects of corruption in the Nigerian state and the entire Nigerian society are so devastating to the point that the nation's political structures have significantly lost their capacity to perform their constitutional functions (Daily Trust, 2004). From what has been said about corruption in general and corruption in Nigeria in particular, the phenomenon has indeed become a social malady that must be addressed, if the millennium development goals must be achieved by the Nigerian government.

Prior to the inauguration of the ICPC in Nigeria by President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999, other past military administrations and civilian governments

fashioned various panacea or antidotes to cure the ills of the Nigerian state and society. Prominent among such ills that drew the attention of all the past administrations was the phenomenon of corruption. A more serious attempt at tackling this problem was made under Mohammed Buhari/Tunde Idiagbon regime (1984-85). Some of the steps taken to deal with the problem of corruption by the past administration include, the Corrupt Practices Decree of 1975; the Public Officer (Investigation of Assets) Decree no. 5 of 1976, which was supplemented by the Code of Conduct Bureau and Code of Conduct Tribunals as spelt out in the 1979 constitution. Others include the Shehu Shagari's Ethical Revolution (1979-83), the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) campaign under the Buhari/Idiagbon junta. The Babangida administration introduced what was then tagged the National Committee on Corruption and other Economic Crimes (NCCEC) also in the bid to deal with this ever present problem of corruption. However, a more serious attempt at tackling this problem was made under the Buhari/Idiagbon regime (1984/1985).

In spite of the various efforts made and measures taken by successive military administrations to rid Nigeria of corruption, the phenomenon of corruption, as it presents itself in the Nigerian Polity is becoming more and more overwhelming to the extent that the pervasive mentality for the worship of money and materials has become the order of the day. The picture that is therefore painted of Nigeria today is that it is a nation which is characterized by extensive and intensive corruption properly protected by a law known as the 'Official Secret Act' and 'Immunity Clause' strategically embodied in the Nigerian Constitution of 1979. These two features of the constitution have encouraged corruption in Nigeria. The situation of corruption in Nigeria thus presents an anomic situation in which anybody can get away with his/ her loots no matter the amount of money involved and the material costs to the nation. Reports therefore have it that the level of corruption and other related crimes in Nigeria has attracted an annual \$25.76 billion loss to fraud related crimes in the last five years. On daily basis too, the country has been reported to be losing about \$70,575,342 to corruption and other related crimes (THISDAY, 2004). With the level of corruption reaching this magnitude, the phenomenon is certainly an issue that constitutes a national question with international dimension which needs to be examined in all its ramifications, particularly because of its international implications for the country.

This study is therefore, certainly not only about the histography of corruption in Nigeria, it is however more about an attempt to assess the anti-corruption agency-

the ICPC, being one of the recent attempts to deal with this hydra-headed problem of corruption, which is eating up the Nigeria nation and seriously affecting all her attempts to develop. To this end, the remaining sections of this study are organized to discuss the following: conceptualizing corruption, corruption in Nigeria: An Overview, the anti-corruption agency, the ICPC under search light, the problems of ICPC and suggestion for the way forward.

CONCEPTUALIZING CORRUPTION

Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon, which has been with all kinds of society throughout history as a global crime. It is a universal phenomenon which presents itself in different colorations and dimensions depending on where it rears its ugly head. Because of its wide spread in terms of its coverage, the concept attracts different meanings from different people particularly the social scientists. Some of these definitions are self-limiting in what they cover as constituting corruption while others are encompassing. A definition of corruption that falls into the first category sees the phenomenon as any transaction which violates duty of a public office holder with a partial motive of acquiring or amassing resources illegally for personal advancement and self gratification (Olusoga, 1981; Nkom, 1982; Odekunle, 1986; Otite, 1986).

From the above, it is common to find people referring to corruption as the perversion of public affairs for private advantage. Therefore, corruption in this sense include bribery or the use of unauthorized rewards to influence people in position of authority either to act or refuse to act in ways that are beneficial to the private advantage of the giver and that of the receiver. It also includes misappropriation of public funds and resources for private gains. One conclusion that can be drawn from this self-limiting definition is that a public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something which he is under a duty or an obligation to do. Also by this definition, it is a corruption for a public official to accept payment of cash or kind not to do what he is supposed to do or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons (Mcmullan, 1991).

The self-limiting definition reviewed above may not be so appropriate in understanding the concept of corruption in line with the objective of this study. This is because the definition has limited the phenomenon of corruption to the public officials alone as if private individuals in the civil society are corrupt free. In view of this therefore, there is a need to find at least a definition of corruption, which covers everybody in the society. That is, there is the need to look for a more encompassing definition.

A simple, uncomplicated and encompassing definition of corruption that is found to be useful in this study is the one that sees the phenomenon as the acquisition of that which one (as a member of society not public official alone) is not entitled (Akinyemi, 2004). Corruption, seen from this perspective therefore represents a departure from what the society considers as correct procedures in exchange of goods, services or money on the part of everybody that makes up the society. This explains why corruption has been seen in various societies mostly in line with the culture or prescribed social life of the people. The implication of this is that while some societies speak of corruption mainly in terms of illegal acquisition of material things, others tend to stretch it further by bringing social and moral values under it (Metiboba, 2002). The latter explains why what someone regards as corruption, another person may not regard as corruption.

The phenomenon of corruption that has engulfed the nation takes different forms at different scales. This explains why the various dailies in Nigeria are often replete with cases of illegal practices which take different forms but commonly called corruption. One of the commonest types of corruption in Nigeria is classified as looted funds and wealth, which are kept secretly abroad. This usually involves billions of dollars of stolen money by both political and military leaders. Another classified form of corruption in Nigeria is the one commonly referred to as misappropriation of public funds. This includes embezzlement, swindling and looting of public treasury.

Gratification as a form of corruption has also entrenched itself in the Nigerian social structure. This type of corruption as it exists in Nigeria involves monetary, pecuniary, material or physical favours (e.g. sexual relation) as a condition or reward for performing official duty. Other examples of gratification include the famous 'Ten percent kick-back' on contracts, commission on contracts or other official deals like bribes and other favours. It is important to note that all of the above mentioned forms of gratification are either received or given with the sole objective of influencing official decisions and behaviour.

Abuse of office is yet another form of corruption which is common in Nigerian society. This embraces both political and official forms of corruption in which an incumbent of an official position violates the oath of office and debases official procedures for personal financial and non-material gain for political advantage over opponents by obstructing the course of justice as well as due process of rule of law and offering undeserved

advantage or favour for self or others. This type of corruption has been so entrenched by excessive centralization, concentration and personalization of power and above all, by a corruption protection law known as Official Secret Act.

Nepotism also constitutes another known type of corruption in Nigeria. This is a kind of favouritism, which unlike gratification form of corruption confers undeserved favours and advantages without receiving or giving gratification except that of primordial identity. From the above therefore, nepotism is a corrupt practice based on ethnic, clan, familial and similar biological or primordial relationships as an 'us', 'we' and 'them' categorization of members of institutions, political parties, organizations, ministries etc.

It is important to note that all the forms of corruption briefly mentioned above have gone rampant in Nigeria. On daily basis cases of various forms of corruption hit the headlines of the Nigerian Newspapers. The phenomenon of corruption in its various forms has become a stumbling block to the people enjoying the economic and social fruits of democracy and indeed the gifts of nature with which Nigeria is greatly and abundantly endowed.

CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA: AN OVERVIEW

As pointed out earlier, corruption is as old as human society and a universal phenomenon, which cuts across all ages and indeed all shades of society. The antiquity nature of corruption can be found in the gospel instructions in Ten Commandments in the Holy Bible. Using this to prove that the phenomenon of corruption is not a new creation in human societies. Akinyemi (2004) pointed to some aspects of the Ten Commandments in which human beings were instructed among other things 'not to steal', 'not to bear false witness' and 'not to covet'. That these instructions formed part of the Ten Commandments points to the fact that people must have been stealing, bearing false witness and coveting, which are behaviours that fall squarely in the realm of corruption.

The ancient lineage of corruption is also found in the Laws of Hammurabi in 2100BC. Very importantly, the Hammurabi period was characterized by anti-corruption moves with laws which are related to corruption. In Nigeria, there are some historical records to show that corruption existed even in pre-colonial period. For example, as far back as 1884, one of the reasons advanced for the execution of the Sokoto Jihad was corruption by the ruling elite.

Also, a study of the history of the Yoruba Kingdoms reveals stipulated penalties for corruption right up to exiling or death of the ruling monarchs. Corruption of one sort or the other may be a characteristic of the pre-colonial Nigerian societies; the phenomenon was not as widespread as it is today. This could be due to the fact that the earlier generation of Nigerians believed that honesty was the best value and children were then brought up to protect the name, the honour, image and integrity of their families. Consequently in the pre-colonial Nigerian societies, conviction for corruption, stealing, misappropriation of public funds, cheating and fraudulent act attracted public odium and condemnation from relations and neighbours who held honesty as their paramount value. In those good old days therefore, all that mattered to public officers was their honour and dignity and that of their families.

The good values of the pre-colonial Nigerian societies were carried into the colonial period as there still existed great probity especially as it related to the public funds. Hence, the colonial period has been described as a golden period of honesty and probity when people upheld the good ethical values of the societies. According to Akinyemi, this golden period however came to an end with the introduction of party administration/government in 1954. Actually, beginning with this period, corruption started to take different forms and magnitude in the Nigerian society. The civilian government that took over from the colonial administrators was accused of corruption and was overthrown by the military in 1966. The unfortunate thing however is that the military that took over in 1966 from the civilian government ostensibly to wipe out corruption in the Nigerian political system seemed to have ended up entrenching corruption itself in the nation. That same regime that overthrew the civilian administration on account of corruption had ten of its twelve governors dismissed from the Nigerian Army also on account of corrupt practices when it was overthrown in 1975 by the Muritala/ Obasanjo junta.

Reports have it that from 1975 up till now, the situations as related to corruption, have gone from bad to worse. This observation has been corroborated by the reports of Transparency International (TI) on the state of corruption in Nigeria. The reports have indicated this worsening situation and ranked Nigeria the third most corrupt nation in the world. The depth of corruption in Nigerian is also expressed by Chinua Achebe in his book titled, 'The Trouble with Nigeria. He wrote in the book that 'Nigerians are corrupt because the system under which they live today makes corruption easy, fanciful and profitable'. Chinua Achebe also maintained in the book that they (Nigerians) would however cease to be corrupt only when and if corruption is made difficult, inconvenient and of course, unprofitable.

In a similar nationalistic mood, President Obasanjo in his 1999 inaugural address described corruption in Nigeria as a 'full-blown cancer' and the single bane of the country today. The situation today is such that the system is so corrupt to the extent that every sector of the Nigerian society is corrupt as full-blown corruption is found in all socio-economic institutions like the National Electric Power Authority (now renamed the Power Holding Company of Nigeria), the Nigeria Police, the Nigeria Customs and Excise, local government administration, government ministries and agencies, commissions and government parastatals.

The ugly picture that has been painted so far is that since independence, Nigeria has been a country which has been battling with the problem of corruption. Most of the national earnings particularly from the oil sector since independence have been gulped by different forms of corruption which have gone rampant. This legacy of corruption and lack of accountability bequeathed on Nigeria since independence has remained a critical factor that is hampering the development process and responsible for the increasing level of poverty in the country

ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCY: THE ICPC UNDER SEARCHLIGHT

There is no doubt that cases of corruption on are reported all over the whole world, but what makes a difference and gives concern in any political system is its prevalence, pervasiveness and scale (extent). Hence, where the prevalence, pervasiveness and scale of corruption are as high as they are in Nigeria, the system or the government in place needs to do something about it in order to avert, to some level, its attendant problems. This as it may be, it is unfortunate to note that before now, just about every single responsible institution in Nigeria has failed to appreciate fully the obligations upon them to do something concrete about corruption. What this means is that, the politicians, government officials, the police, the military, the legal profession and most unfortunate of all, the civil society have all failed to present a genuine attempt to improve the negative image of Nigeria as far as corruption and related crimes are concerned.

Consequent upon the ugly situation of corruption x-rayed above and in unparallel reaction to it, the first budget speech to the National Assembly in 1999 by President Obasanjo focused more on the issue of corruption. In the speech, Obasanjo revealed that in the period preceding the transition, about \$120 billion has been stolen and taken out of Nigeria and only \$20 billion has been recovered at that time (New Nigeria 25/11/1999).

According to the President, no society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria. To him, society can only survive and develop in an orderly, reasonable and predictable way, if laws are made and enforced to check corruption (Newswatch, 2004).

In view of the above, when President Obasanjo assumed power in 1999, he identified corruption as the bane of Nigeria and he has consistently expressed his determination to fight this social evil so as not to compromise the future of the Fourth Republic. The President's resolve has been expressed in vow to eradicate the cankerworm from the Nigerian polity and turn the country to Eldorado. Under the President's administration, therefore, all the rules and regulations designed to help honesty and transparency in dealings with government are being restored and enforced. More importantly, the President has also established numerous anti-corruption agencies and processes over the last five years. One of such anti-corruption agencies which this study tries to assess is the Independent Corrupt Practice and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC).

The ICPC is an anti-graft panel established by President Obasanjo Administration to bring corrupt public officers to book. The body was established by passing into law of the bill on anti-corruption known as the corrupt practices and other 'Related Offences Act'. The mandates of the body are contained in section 6(a)-(f). As mentioned by Akanbi (2003); they include:

- a. To receive and investigate complaints from members of the public on allegations of corrupt practices and in appropriate cases prosecute the offenders.
- b. To examine the practices, systems and procedures of public bodies and where such systems aid corruption, direct and supervise their review.
- c. To instruct, advise and assist any officer, agency or parastatal on ways by which fraud or corruption may be eliminated or minimized by them.
- d. To advise heads of public bodies of any changes in practices, systems or procedures compatible with the effective discharge of the duties of the public bodies to reduce the likelihood or incidence of bribery, corruption and related offences.
- e. To educate the public on and against bribery, corruption and related offences.
- f. To enlist and foster public support in combating corruption.

From the mandates of the ICPC stated above, it is clear that the commission's work extends beyond mere investigation, arrest and prosecution of people for

corruption. What this means is that the commission has other responsibilities which are corrective, preventive and educational duties. With this Anti-Corruption Bill, the commission has resolved to fight corruption. As a testimony to the resolve of the commission to fight corruption, it is not uncommon to find in the news items headlines like 'FG vows to deal with---', 'FG promises Corrupt Offences Hell---' 'we'd Be Ruthless with Corrupt Persons-FG' etc. (THISDAY, 2003). In addition to such news items headlines, the chairman of the anti-graft commission has boasted to some American visitors to his office that he was so determined to stem the tide of corruption in Nigeria. The logical question emanating from the resolve of the Anti-corruption commission to fight the disease of corruption in Nigeria is do these boasts match the commission's achievements since its inauguration in 1999?

Although, the commission has indeed carried out series of investigations on some public office holders (i.e., State Governors) in Nigeria based on some petitions the commission received, the outcome of such investigations has not been that fruitful. This is because, such people under the commission's investigation always succeeded in securing court injunction stopping their continued investigation (New Nigeria, 2004). By this, the commission's effort to at least catch one 'big fish' is always being jeopardized. Consequently, corruption rather than decreasing is increasing. Ezekwesili who was a one time Senior Special Assistant to the President on Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU) was quoted by the Newswatch (2004) as having an indication of the level of corruption in Nigeria. To show that corruption is still alive in the country despite the existence of ICPC, she said, 'the Unit (BMPIU) had saved N125billion from over-bloated contracts. The figure is considered an equivalent of 30% of the capital budget for the fiscal year 2004'. The amount quoted above is quiet a lot of money which would have passed into the corrupt hands but for the intervention of the Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit and not the ICPC.

The former Senate President, Pius Anyim, while commenting about the state of corruption in Nigeria inspite of the existence of ICPC was quoted to have said that:

... Obasanjo is not seriously doing something to check corruption. For instance, there is a particular minister in the President's cabinet who built a castle just close to the Aso Villa first gate within 6 months. Neither the president nor ICPC will see this house irrespective of the fact that it is by the gate of the Presidential Villa (Newswatch, 2004).

Also, according to Pius Anyim, the ICPC still leaves much to be desired as there are numerous petitions against the State Governors with allegation of corruption, while action has not been taken against those ministers that the President had sacked because of corruption. The most interesting thing is that even when the governors who were involved in large-scale corruption did not get re-elected and the immunity granted them by section 38 (1) (a) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution has consequently been vacated, the commission is yet to re-open the case (s) against such governors. This is an obvious indication of outright failure of the ICPC in fighting corruption in Nigeria.

Another indication of the failure of the ICPC as far as fighting corruption is concerned is evident in the case of corruption involving the National Assembly, which according to several reports ranks high in terms of corruption. The commonest case associated with the National Assembly is that of using money as means of getting decisions through. In recent time, Daniel Saror, the Deputy Minority Leader in the senate lamented that he regretted being a senator due to widespread criticism of the upper house over corruption.

Femi Falana, a constitutional lawyer and human rights activist in an attempt to show the failure of ICPC remarked that Nigeria should be the first on the list of the most corrupt nations in the world because of the glaring cases of corruption in the polices and the way Nigeria is being governed. He explained that the President himself had, from time to time, given the impression that he runs a corrupt government. This view is supported by the claim made by a minister under President Obasanjo that about twenty-eight governors in Nigeria were engaged in corruption.

The above mentioned opinions about the ICPC notwithstanding, it is important to note that there are other opinions, which claim that the ICPC is not a total failure. In particular, the former chairman of the Commission once campaigned against the scrapping of the Commission nothing that it was the best thing that ever happened to Nigeria. In expressing his opinion, the chairman said: 'You can kick the chairman out if you think he is the problem, but please we must do everything to keep the ICPC alive'. The chairman justified his position by the fact that before the Anti-Corruption Agency was established in 2000, no single recorded prosecution for corruption was made in any of the regular courts. But with the establishment of the ICPC, there are seventeen criminal matters which involve thirty-nine accused persons in some designated courts. It is also on record that five hundred and eighteen petitions are being processed while two hundred and eighty seven petitions have reached various levels of investigation (Ogbonna, 2004). With the establishment of the commission, it is

interesting to note that many important personalities in the country have to be put in the dock to face charges of corruption.

THE PROBLEMS OF ICPC

From the discussion above, it can be seen that the commission has its failures and successes since its establishment. However, if the general opinion is that the ICPC as an anti-corruption body has recorded more failures than successes in its duty, it is important to explain why the ICPC has failed. The courts in Nigeria have always been mentioned as one of the major obstacles that negatively affect the performance of the ICPC. Section 52 of the anti-corruption law, for example, states that the commission shall send a report of its investigation to the Chief Justice of Nigeria who if satisfied that an offence is disclosed shall appoint an independent counsel to conduct further investigation into the allegation made against the suspect. This section as quoted above may not be bad on its own face value. It however ties the work of ICPC to the Nigerian Judiciary System with some negative implications. For example, the accused usually use the flaws in the judicial system to halt further or continued investigation by securing an injunction. The chairman of ICPC himself has complained on many occasions about the Nigerian Judiciary. He noted at such instances that cases of corruption are adjourned several times and at the end, such cases end up being transferred to some other judges. For example, the chairman of ICPC once complained about a judge who after several adjournments over a one year period simply transferred the case to another judge without giving any reason (THISDAY, 2004). In another development, the chairman had complained that the courts, rather than assist the Commission in its work in tracking down corrupt officials, have been throwing spanners into the works of the Commission by granting injunctions almost indiscriminately to hinder the works of the Commission (THISDAY, 2003). Cases actually exist where public officers, fearing that the commission may expose their dirty deals rush to the courts and secure what can be described as some black-market injunctions stopping the commission from investigating them pending the determination of the substantive suits. But the tragedy is that more often, such suits never get 'determined' as they may never be heard again. Equally, the granting of ex-parte orders by courts in Nigeria in spite of the Supreme Court Judgement which holds that both ICPC and EFCC are constitutional has been hampering the operations of the commissions in their anti-corruption drive as many Nigerian Judges still continue to issue injunctions stopping these anti-corruption bodies from performing their investigative functions.

THE WAY FORWARD

There is now a general belief the world over that the war against corruption is not a battle to be waged by the national governments alone. Instead, it is a war to be fought by all sectors of the society and with good understanding and cooperation among nations that have common interest in solving the problem of corruption. Even with this belief, the task of solving a national problem like corruption starts with the efforts of the national governments and their leadership. Consequent upon this, there is no doubt therefore that the government in Nigeria has major and primary roles to play in fighting corruption.

In the past years, the national government in Nigeria established several anti-corruption entities such as the Code of Conduct Bureau and the Public Complaints Commission. These bodies judged from the several public opinions have been perceived as having failed in their missions as Nigeria continues to face serious corruption problem. Thus, as we have seen, the Nigeria's democracy is today confronted with problems of institutionalized corruption. Corruption is now obvious in every area of the country's national life - politics, economy, education, healthcare, judiciary, law enforcement agencies, traditional institutions and even religion.

It is in the light of the above, the Obasanjo administration's first Bill to the National Assembly in 1999 was on corruption related issues. The Bill which eventually became law with the president's assent on it on Tuesday 13th June, 2000 established an anti-corruption body, which is known as the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). The import of this new anti-corruption law is that it represents a renewed commitment on the part of a national government in Nigeria to eliminate corruption that has made transparent accountability in governance at all levels extremely difficult (Ogbonna, 2004).

However, inspite of the activities of the anti-corruption body (the ICPC), corruption within the polity continues to play the key role of causing a steady decline in the quality of governance and in the commitment to accountability thereby leading to increasing poverty and declining efficiency of all public utilities. This is not to say however that the anti corruption body should be scrapped. Instead, this study suggests the following as ways by which the activities of the ICPC could yield more positive results in curbing corruption within the polity:

- The government should remove all the legal, political and social constraints that hampers the effective operation of the anti corruption body.

- The controversy surrounding the Commission's crisis of definition and relevance due to the various executive and legislative wrangling on its operational law should be settled once and for all if the body is to live up to its expectations.
- The traditional values of transparency, high moral standard, high level of discipline, etc should be re-instituted into our school curriculum and made part of the national ethics that should guide all citizens.
- All cases of corruption currently under the investigation of the ICPC must be concluded so that those convicted as a result of the investigation will serve as deterrent to others.
- The country must continue to seek international cooperation on issues related to corruption so that funds wrongly acquired by corrupt Nigerians cannot be easily transferred abroad.
- The political leaders at all levels of governance should serve as role models to others in curbing corruption in the country.
- A branch of the anti-corruption board should be established in all public institutions and made functional so that cases of corruption can be detected early enough and reported for prosecution.
- The constitution should be reviewed in such a way that all pro-corruption clauses should be expunged from it. For example, the 'Immunity Clause' which protects people in power from being prosecuted while in office has not only hindered effective prosecution of corrupt public officers in Nigeria, it has also made corruption to thrive.
- The anti-corruption body more than ever before should step up its campaigns against corruption with the objective of implanting transparency, honest living and fiscal discipline in the heart of the citizens.
- The practice of honouring honesty should receive boost from the government at all levels.
- The Civil Service Reform that is ongoing should be workers-friendly in such a way that the take home pay and the conditions of service of an average civil servant in Nigeria should be motivating enough to deter them from corrupt practices.
- The anti-corruption body should be up and doing by way of research into new techniques, practices, systems and procedures of minimizing corrupt practices in the various public organizations. Such research results should be readily available to all persons and organizations that may want to use them to curb corruption in their areas of operation.
- The government should encourage the more the participation of the civil society in its anti-corruption crusade.

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