Empirical Evaluation of the Impact of Corruption on Nigeria's New Democratic Governance

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ABSTRACT

The new democracy in Nigeria has existed for twenty uninterrupted years since 1999 and four political regimes have presided over the realms of affairs so far. Even though many scholars believe that it has been an improvement over past military regimes, some other studies found that corruption which is pervasive and tends to distort the Nigerian economy is more profound in the public sector and is more prevalent in the new democracy. Besides, current leaders are in the habit of casting aspersion on past leaders as being responsible for the mismanagement of the Nigerian economy. This paper evaluates the relative performance of the regimes between 1999 to date. The total differential modeling approach was applied to test the impact of corruption in governance in the new democracy particularly as it affects food security, personal welfare, standard of living, purchasing power, poverty alleviation, health care, mortality, manpower development and job creation among others. An expounded, complete and ultimate model of the Nigerian economy was built for the years between 1981 and 2019 for this purpose and used to test this claim or hypothesis. It turned out that each administration had its cons and pros. However the Obasanjo/Atiku regime performed relatively better. Personal welfare, in terms of per capita income was highest at N505,045 and rising at N21per annum in Buhari/Osinbajo administration but, the Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations performed better in terms of standard of living, purchasing power and poverty alleviation. Standard of living was N192,135.70 and N45,903.32 respectively and increasing by N7.85 and N21.42 per annum respectively. Purchasing power was N5,124.76 and N2,443.42 respectively. In terms of food security, Jonathan and Buhari regimes performed better at N21,993.33 and N8,753.94 per caput respectively. Poverty alleviation fared better under Obasanjo and Jonathan administrations. The fight against corruption was won and lost under Buhari administration. Slavery, in terms of debt owed to the international community by every Nigerian, was highest during Obasanjo and Jonathan regimes at N217,775.90 and N80,549.13 respectively and increasing at N10.61 and N20.02 per annum respectively. Generally, the cost of running Government in Nigeria is too high and governance is largely corrupt across board and the military is not an alternative and so not an option.

Keywords: Governance, poverty, personal welfare, standard of living, purchasing power, food security, bondage, slavery, corruption, agitation, political regimes, new democracy.

INTRODUCTION

According Aruofor and Ogbeide (2017), Nigeria is a developing country desperate to join the ranks of the developed world. About thirteen (13) different regimes including the Military, have ruled over the country since Independence in 1960. The policy regimes were varied and numerous (see Aruofor, 1990, 2001, 2004, 2007 and 2014; EDD, 1999; Ayodele, 1999 and Osagie, 2004). In spite of this, the measure of development has been very low and has not translated to social emancipation of the Nigerian people (Nnoli, 1981; Aruofor, 2017). However, since 1999, Nigeria has embarked on a new democracy and it is believed that this is the panacea to all the problems faced by the country. Specifically, table 1.1 is a catalogue of the political regimes in Nigeria.

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Aboyi (2014) opined that democracy is "generally accepted by most modern states as the best form of government". In his opinion, democracy is the voice of revolt raised by human spirit against the application of coercion and imposition in government. It is a political system that is opposed to any form of arbitrary use of authority and tyranny in the management of the affairs of state of society. In spite of these lofty ideals of democracy it is worrisome if the new democracy in Nigeria is achieving the objectives of democracy. Since the present new democracy came into being since 1999, the level of poverty has remained pervasive and high.

Table1.1 Nigeria's Past and Present Political Regimes

S/no.	Period	Head of State	Type of Governance
1	1960 – 1966	Tafawa Balawa	Civilian
2	1966 – 1975	Yakubu Gowon	Military
3	1975 – 1979	M. Muritala/ Obasanjo	Military
4	1979 – 1983	Shehu Shagari	Civilian
5	1983 – 1985	Muhammadu Buhari	Military
6	1985 – 1993	Ibrahim Babangida	Military
7	1993 (Augst – Nov.)	Ernest Shonekan	Interim
8	1993 – 1999	Sani Abacha/ Abubakar	Military
NEW DEMOCRACY			
9	1999 – 2007	Olusegun Obasanjo/ Atiku	Civilian
10	2007 - 2010	Yar' Adua	Civilian
11	2010 - 2015	Goodluck Jonathan	Civilian
12	2015 - Date	Mohammed Buhari/Osinbajo	Civilian

Recalling the words of Nnoli, (1981), "today, Nigeria is involved in the second phase of its struggle for national liberation. The first phase ended with the achievement of political independence in 1960. Now, instead of the path to national freedom, Nigeria must tread the path to national development. In a historically short period of time, they must emancipate the vast majority of their population from the pervasive and high incidence of poverty, ignorance, disease, squalor, poor diet and poor shelter". This statement is even more relevant to the scheme of things in Nigeria of today. Indeed, Aruofor (2019) has found that corruption which is pervasive and tends to distort the Nigerian economy is more profound in the public sector and is more prevalent in the new democracy. Besides, current leaders are in the habit of casting aspersion on past leaders as being responsible for the mismanagement of the Nigerian economy and therefore the woes being experienced by the Nigerian masses. This state of affairs is worrisome and more than emphasizes the need to evaluate the impact of governance and corruption of the different political regimes since the inception of the new democracy in Nigeria on the Nigerian economy.

According to Onwioduokit (1999), the performance of a regime is measured in terms of a conglomeration of various macro-economic indicators. The usual variables include inflation rate, unemployment rate, national income, external reserve, etc. This type of analysis is not analytic enough and only allows comparison at a subjective level. To this end, existing quantitative tools are either subjective or are partial in their analysis. The total differential modeling approach (ecostatometrics) is a new paradigm in economic systems engineering that provides an avenue for achieving a comparison in governance. It was applied to test the impact of corruption in governance in the new democracy particularly as it affects food security, personal welfare, standard of living, purchasing power, poverty alleviation, health care, mortality, manpower development and job creation among others. An expounded, complete and ultimate model of the Nigerian economy was built for the years between 1981 and 2019 for this purpose and used to test the claim by current leaders.

Indeed, as rightly pointed out by Aruofor (2007), the performance of any government can be measured "in terms of the degree of social emancipation achieved in the domestic economy". Growth and development that does not touch the lives and standard of living of the citizenry of a country cannot be

considered as development in real terms. In the above connection, real development must not only reduce the level of poverty of a nation, but also the poverty rate of its citizens. As succinctly stated by Aruofor and Ogbeide (2017), Nigeria, a developing plural country has truly witnessed a list of checkered governmental systems since independence in 1960. However, after a series of military interventions between 1960 and 1999, Nigeria has witnessed a continuous civilian democratic system tagged the fourth republic since 1999. It is therefore safe after eighteen years to appraise its impact on the key welfare variables. Indeed, not just the impact of democracy this time, but the impact of political governance for that matter.

The objectives of this paper among others, include the following:

1. To build a complete and realistic model of the Nigerian economy (since existing models are either incomplete or belong to the realms of partial analysis) and test its predictive power on the Nigerian economy *a'la* the total differential modeling approach (ecostatometrics).
2. To evaluate to what extent each civilian political regime in the new democracy is corrupt and their feedback on corruption
3. To examine the comparative impact of governance in Nigeria since the new democratic experience of 1999.
4. To evaluate the impact of corruption in governance, with regard to the political regimes since the new democracy, especially on:
   - Food security
   - Personal welfare
   - Standard of living
   - Purchasing power
   - Poverty alleviation
   - Debt, bondage and Slavery
   - Savings, national and personal wealth
   - Employment and Labor productivity
   - Health care and mortality
   - Human resource development, and
   - Productivity, among others.
5. Contribute data for future Researchers
6. Draw conclusions and make some recommendations.

The paper is therefore divided into five parts. Part I is the introduction and the objectives are well spelt out. Part II is the literature review. In Part III, the methodology, model formulation and derivation of variables are covered. Part IV presents the results and discusses them, while Part V concludes the study and makes some recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the literature, Governance has been looked and defined from various ways and perspectives. Governance has been defined variously to include the manner in which a government administers and manages the territory and people under its jurisdiction. Indeed, it is the exercise of political power to move a nation's affairs (Landdell-Mills and Serageldim, 1991). According to Onwioduokit (1999), it encompasses the State's institutional and structural arrangements, decision making processes, and implementation capacity of government officials and the public. World Bank (1992) sees good governance as an efficient and accountable management of public resources by the public sector, and a predictive and transparent policy framework. These critical ingredients to sound economic policies, capable of promoting development have been elusive in Nigeria.

Corruption is a multi-faceted phenomenon which exists in all societies. Its existence in, and impact on, a country however differs from society to society. This is because of the divergence of views over what is taken as corrupt in a society, being different from that, in another.

To Chinhamo and Shumba (2007), Corruption is a global threat to development in that it aggravates inequality, injustice and undermines the stability of societies.

The definitions of corruption are varied but the salient features connoting its negative tendencies recur. The term 'corrupt' is from the Latin word *corruptus* meaning 'to abuse or destroy'.

Transparency International which is the global civil society organization leading the fight against corruption defines it as 'abuse of entrusted power for private gain'.

The World Bank defines Corruption as 'the abuse of public office for private gain'. To Shleifer and Vishny (1993), when an office holder, both in private and public institutions, acts in official capacity for his personal gain, corruption is said to exist. It represents a deviation from the ideal. It is a fraudulent conduct.

To Elliot (1997), Corruption can be categorized into three main types namely, Petty, Grand and Systemic. Petty corruption is said to exist when small unmerited favours take place amongst a small number of people. This obviously relegates meritocracy to the background and deprives legitimate beneficiaries of situations. This could be in forms of exchange of improper gifts and use of illegal personal connections. There is Grand corruption when it affects government of a country in a large scale, usually at the highest levels. This is a case of political corruption (Morris, 1991) and it could be worse in centralized systems. There is Systemic corruption when this cankerworm is seen as part of everyday structure of society. It is endemic and principally due to the weakness of processes. It could be encouraged by discretionary powers, low levels of transparency and culture of impunity.

Systemic corruption could be centralized or decentralized depending on the level of penetration in the society. In this regard, corruption can cut across all the main political institutions of government namely, Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. For example, in the Executive, there could be police corruption in the form of its misconduct in areas of bribes, use of falsified evidence and participation in organized crimes. Legislative corruption could be in the process of being influenced by material benefits in law-making or Judicial corruption in the misconduct of judges in forms of bribes, improper sentencing of criminals and bias in hearing and judgement.

To Delattre (2006), there are different theories of Corruption including Society-at-Large theory, Structural Affiliation theory, Rotten Apple theory and The Broken Windows theory.

Society at-large theory of corruption views the vice from the angle that the societal structure is at fault. It believes that it is the society in which corruption is prevalent that is responsible. It exemplifies this with the case of the Police force. A country gets the police force it deserves, whether corrupt or not. A small gift offered today can encourage a larger one tomorrow. Under this theory, the participant in the corrupt act believes that the same thing is being done in other parts of the society. So, it is not seen as a crime.

Structural affiliation theory of corruption with proponents like Arthur Niederhoffer argues that corruption thrives from the fact that an intending participant or culprit watches the actions of veterans or superiors in the nefarious act and then is encouraged to be involved. The theory also believes that undue secrecy in the discharge of official duties breeds corruption. So, role models rather than display honesty and integrity merely pave way for others to be dishonest.

Rotten apple theory of corruption argues that there are situations in societies when people put in positions of authority already have established propensity for corruption. This ingredient of character might have been erroneously ignored out of indiscriminate hiring and/or inadequate training and supervision. A man cannot give what he does not have. So, a corrupt person in authority will perpetuate same.

The Broken windows theory of corruption which argues that there is a strong correlation between corruption and other public goods for example, civil liberties, economic welfare, political rights, standard of living and human development.

It believes further that societies that excel in productivity are obviously those who have effective anti-corruption mechanisms. However, those societies which lack such institutions will score poorly in their commitment to combat this vice. With corruption, there will be low human development scores which will affect education, birth rates and living standards. In the same manner, it will have low world economic scores in the society's global competitiveness and productivity.

While the first three theories show how and why the propensity for corruption evolves, they may or may not be mutually exclusive, the last theory shows what happens to the society with or without the vice.

At this juncture, it is necessary to take a look at the agenda and targets of the four political regimes that have ruled Nigeria since 1999.

The Obasanjo developmental initiative of the Federal Government was the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) which was the off shoot of the 2001 Kuru Declaration and based on the United Nation's International Development Target (IDTs), which were set in 1996 to improve economic wellbeing, social and human development and ensure environmental sustainability and regeneration (FGN, 2004). In the above regard the thrust of NEEDS was to address poverty, agriculture, human resources development and economic growth and political stability.

The targets include, among others:

- Growth of income of between 5 - 10% in 2003 to '07 per annum
- Growth of between 3.3% to 9.5% per annum in the non-oil sector
- Poverty reduction of 5% per annum.
- Reduction of unemployment rate by 2% per annum
- Growth in real private consumption of 4.8% per annum
- Reduction in the inflation rate by between 9% to 15% per annum
- Growth of 6% per annum in the agricultural sector
- Growth of 7% per annum in the manufacturing sector.
- Growth in exports by 10% to 30% per annum.
- Growth in credit of 30% per annum to the private sector.
- Electric power generation of between 4,000 to 10,000 mega watts.

The Umaru MusaYar'Adua administration was next and did not have an analyzable policy target. Its slogan was the 7 point Agenda as follows:

- ✓ Infrastructure Power and development of modes of transportation
- ✓ Niger-Delta Overhaul and empowerment
- ✓ Food: Adequate for consumption and export
- ✓ Human Capital: Educational sector reform
- ✓ Land Tenure: Easy access to mortgage
- ✓ Security: Lives and Property, and
- ✓ Wealth: Diversified revenue base and enhanced employment.

Dr. Goodluck Jonathan administration then followed:
2010 - 2011:
  ➢ He maintained Musa Yar'Adua's Agenda.
2011 - 2015:
  ➢ Transformation Agenda
  ➢ On Economic Restructuring and Development in Nigeria
    to be one of the 20 largest economies in the world by 2020;
    covering issues of Insecurity, Poverty, Unemployment and Diversification of the economy

Muhammadu Buhari administration is currently ongoing:
2015 - 2019:
- ✓ 3-Point Agenda
- ✓ 1. Fight Corruption
- ✓ 2. Fight Insecurity
- ✓ 3. Revamping the Economy.
  2019 - 2023:

- ✓ Next Level - 5-Key Programme
- ✓ 1. Jobs - N-Power etc
- ✓ 2. Infrastructure -Power, Rail etc
- ✓ 3. Entrepreneurship Development-People Moni bank etc
- ✓ 4. Human Capital Enhancement-Education, Healthcare etc
- ✓ 5. Inclusion -Gender sensitivity, Mentoring programmes (Youth).

All the above agenda, programmes and targets appear laudable and well meant but the means by which they would be achieved was not clear. Indeed, according to Aruofor, (2017), "Even though, some measure of infrastructural development and economic transformation has taken place in the period under review, the development has not translated into the social emancipation of the Nigerian People. Indeed, the pervasive and high incidence of poverty, ignorance, disease, squalor, poor diet and poor shelter and the attendant incidences of labour unrest, political instability, inflation, bankruptcy, war and revolution are a testimony that the planning and management of the Nigerian economy are defective (Aruofor, 1990; 2001; 2004 and 2005). This could be the result of poor understanding of the socio-economic system or to the limitations of the existing planning tool kits or both". It could also be due largely to corruption which makes this study apt and justification for it.

PREVIEW OF THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA BY PAST ADMINISTRATIONS

According to Jega in Monday Column in Daily Trust, July 20, 2020, "Osinbajo spoke at an Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission [ICPC] regional webinar on "Combating Corruption and Illicit Financial Flows: New Measures and Strategies." He said we must democratize the fight against corruption and protect whistle blowers. Very good. He is looking for another method to fight corruption. In the last 60 years in Nigeria, which tactic have we not tried in fighting corruption?

We have overthrown governments because of corruption. Those who overthrew the First Republic in January 1966; those who overthrew the Gowon regime in 1975; those who killed General Murtala Mohammed in 1976; those who overthrew the Second Republic in 1983 as well as those who voted out the Jonathan Administration in 2015 all alleged that it was due to corruption. We later realized that Sardauna, Balewa, Gowon, Murtala and Shagari had no money.

We tried affidavits. In 1974, Godwin Daboh filed an affidavit against Federal Commissioner for Communications Joseph Tarka while Aper Aku filed another affidavit in court against Benue Plateau State Military Governor, Police Commissioner Joseph Gomwalk, both alleging corruption. We tried a purge. In 1975-76 Murtala purged thousands of public servants in all sectors. He used the harshest words and the sternest language including summary dismissal, dead woods, with ignominy, with immediate effect, betrayed the ethics of their professions, and they should be ashamed of themselves.

We tried Public Complaints Commission, which Murtala formed in 1976 with the hyper-active Yusuf Maitama Sule as its first Federal Commissioner. When that did not work, we tried exhortation. In 1977, Head of State General Obasanjo went to Jaji and made the Jaji Declaration, that Nigeria must create a society that is fair, just, humane and African. It failed.

In 1981 President Shehu Shagari tried an Ethical Revolution. It hardly got off the ground so in 1983, he created an Egypt-style Ministry of National Guidance with Yusuf Maitama Sule as the minister. It made no impact either, so in 1984-85 we tried a War Against Indiscipline, WAI. Buhari/Idiagbon regime launched it in five brutal phases, complete with a WAI Brigade that became notorious for its excesses.

General Buhari also signed the Recovery of Public Property [Special Military Tribunals] Decree no 3 of 1984. The Special Military Investigation Panels turned the doctrine of justice on its head. They said based on a former public office holder's declaration of assets, he was presumed guilty until he could prove his innocence. Though who couldn't do so were turned over to Special Military Tribunals, which jailed dozens of former governors, ministers and other top officials, some for up to 300 years. Many governors were jailed for donating public funds to their political parties.

We tried court cases. Gani Fawehinmi filed an innumerable number of suits to challenge every suspected corrupt act by the Babangida regime, including Mrs. Babangida's pet Better Life for Rural Women. We

tried Failed Banks Tribunals. General Sani Abacha created them with much fanfare. They jailed many bankers and bank debtors, even though Abacha himself nearly bankrupted the Central Bank.

Under General Abdulsalami Abubakar, we began efforts to retrieve looted assets. Recovering the Abacha loot has been on for 22 years now. In 1999, President Obasanjo promised in his inaugural address to fight corruption. Five years later he created EFCC and ICPC. Later, EFCC created NFIU, which is now an independent body. We even tried an Anti-corruption Advisory, which EFCC issued just before the 2007 elections.

We tried a Freedom of Information (FOI) Act but unlike in America, government agencies here routinely ignore FOI requests. Obasanjo also did a Servicom, with units in every ministry and agency but that did not dent corruption. A lot of human rights and anti-corruption NGOs also sprang up in Nigeria, mostly populated by left-wingers who were left ideologically stranded by the East Bloc's collapse in 1989.

We tried Code of Conduct Bureau for public officers but since their assets declaration is kept secret, the Code of Conduct Tribunal that tries violators has very little work to do. We tried parliamentary Public Accounts Committees. They were very powerful in the First Republic but these days they have no audit reports to work on, since most government agencies never audit their accounts. We tried preaching; Muslim Imams and Christian Pastors have shouted themselves hoarse from the pulpits against corruption, to no avail. Sometimes they practice if you cannot beat them, join them.

Newspaper editors, reporters and columnists also did what they can in the war against corruption. Nearly every day in the last 50 years, exposes of corrupt deeds were the lead stories in many Nigerian newspapers. No one can count the feature articles, opinion columns and editorials written against corruption. In recent years the social media joined in the fight, not always appropriately.

Nigeria Police too did its best, arrested and charged to court thousands of people for acts of corruption, even if they were less than one-tenth of the culprits. Ditto for the courts; they have jailed thousands of people for corruption in the last 60 years, after ponderous trials and appeals, but let many thieves off the hook. In 2007 President Umaru Yar'adua tried adherence to rule of law as an anti-corruption strategy. That did not work either. President Jonathan's biggest contribution to the anti-corruption war was to make a distinction between ordinary stealing and corruption, which he later said he heard from the Chief Justice.

We tried whistle blowing but the blowers were left unpaid. In the last 10 years, we deployed technological tools including BVN, TSA and EFCC's Eagle claw against corruption. They made a dent, but not all that much. President Buhari's anti-corruption campaign, launched in 2015, at first held the highest promise but it had no blueprint and totally relied on EFCC. It recently came crashing down in flames.

Even the force of personal example did not help. You can't have a simpler national leader than Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. That iconic 1965 photo of him, on leave in Bauchi, taken by a white journalist, sitting on a local mat, his two children around him, eating sugar cane, no sign of security guards or limos, no mansion behind him, no exquisite furniture, no Persian rugs, no contract files in sight and no fawning aides nearby. Yet he was killed by totally misguided soldiers for alleged corruption.

Sardauna Ahmadu Bello, after being overwhelming Premier of the North for 12 years, governing 20 of today's 37 states including FCT, had only one personal car, a Pontiac, when he was killed in the January 1966 coup. When his personal driver, Nuhu Direba was interviewed in Sokoto in January 1991, he told me that two days after the coup, he evacuated Sardauna's family to Sokoto in that lone car. It was too small to accommodate their bags so Sardauna's Principal Private Secretary, Hassan Lemu went and borrowed another car. The family left for Sokoto in that two-vehicle convoy.

Sardauna had no house in Kaduna that his family could return to. Even though under his rule, Ministry of Lands carved out hundreds of GRA plots and allocated them to senior civil servants and merchants, Sardauna got none. In Sokoto too, he had only one modest house even though before he became Premier in 1954, he was the Northern Region's Minister of Works, Community Development and Local Governments, in charge of all Emirs, Chiefs and Native Authorities. Before that, he was Councillor in charge of Sokoto NA's Central Office, i.e. SSG of today's Sokoto and Zamfara states combined. Which personal example again is anyone talking about?

I wish Prof.Osinbajo luck in his search for a new tactic. I can't think of any that has not been tried already". Is it really true that all efforts at fighting corruption have failed? Do we just throw our hands up in frustration and despair and blame it all on the environment (see Guobadia, 2017)?

METHODOLOGY
The approach used in this study is termed the total differential modeling approach (see Aruofor, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2017and 2019) and Aruofor and Okungbowa (2018). It assumes and rightly so, that in the real world situation, every economic variable or subsystem depends on and is depended upon by other variables or subsystems. This theory was first mooted by Walras as early as 1874. The total differential modeling approach relies on statistically significant multiple simple linear regression coefficients as opposed to multiple linear regression parameters. It is a blend between the traditional Input Output Analysis and Econometrics and assumes the structure of programming models. The theory behind it is that an economy is not truly dynamic but only dynamically static. It is the change that occurs in an economy in the current year(t) that determines where the economy (the endogenous variables) will be at the end of the current year (t) and not in the next year(t+1). This model is a departure from the normal econometric approach, where the structure of the economy is determined by combinations of economic theories. The true structure of an economy is so complex that economic theory will be self defeating (see Duesenberry et al , 1965 and Gordon, 1968). ***Indeed, Adeyoju (1975) had rightly noted that "the unstable nature of population and its growth, national income and its distribution, investment capacity, employment opportunities, balance of payments and raw material base often lead to conflicting theories of economic development.*** Thus, we do not need any elaborate theories to explain the working of an economy. To see this, when a simple regression is run between two variables, we have:

$$Y_t = a + \hat{b}X_t + u$$

b is the marginal change in Y due to X. However if we differentiate the above function with respect to X, we have:

$$\frac{dY}{dX} = \hat{b} \text{ so that} \qquad dY = \hat{b}dX$$

This reduces to differential specification and dY and dX become incremental changes and b the derivative, $\frac{dY}{dX}$. The differential expression becomes $dY = \frac{dY}{dX}dX$.

If we can estimate all the independent relationships among the variables of the economy taken two at a time, (depending on whether they are statistically significant) and classify the significant coefficients into a matrix**B**, then we would have,

$$dY = \hat{B}dY \text{ or} \quad \Delta Y = \hat{B}\Delta Y$$

If however the independent *Ys* are segregated into endogenous and exogenous variables as in econometrics, then we have,

$$\Delta Y = \hat{B}\Delta Y + \hat{C}\Delta X$$

Where, Y=endogenous and X=exogenous variables. The fact that the relationships are not estimated by multiple regressions means that the issue of simultaneous equation bias is by-passed. We can view the whole economy at a glance and the structure of the economy is determined automatically. The solution of the above model becomes:

$$\Delta Y = \left[I - \hat{B}\right]^{-1} \hat{C} \Delta X \qquad \text{Or} \qquad \Delta Y = Z \Delta X$$

Where: $\qquad Z = \left[I - \hat{B}\right]^{-1} \hat{C}$

This last equation is the reduced form or the incremental change impact multipliers. This is a static model of the economy but goes a long way to describe the working of the economy. It is static because if the exogenous variables change, the endogenous variables will change too. However if the change in the exogenous variables are within the limits that are realizable within one year, then the endogenous variables will equally change by the same amount. Also by extension, if the anticipated change in the endogenous variables is within the limits that are realizable within one year, then a commensurate change in the exogenous variables can be predicted to bring about such a change.

The above static model can be transformed into:

$$Y_t = Z \Delta X_t + Y_{t-1}$$

That is, the state of the economy in the current year is determined by the change in the exogenous variables in the current year plus the state of the economy in the previous year (penultimate year). The above appears to be consistent with observation in real life. We cannot discard the change in the current year as in dynamic models.

If we can estimate all the independent relationships among the variables of the economy taken two at a time, (depending on whether they are statistically significant) and classify the significant coefficients into a matrix **B**, according to whether they are endogenous or exogenous, then we would have in matrix notation,

$$Y = BY + CX + A + U$$

$$\therefore [I - B]Y = CX + A + U$$

$$Y = [I - B]^{-1} CX + [I - B]^{-1} A + [I - B]^{-1} U$$

$$\frac{dY}{dX} = [I - B]^{-1} C$$

$$\therefore dY = [I - B]^{-1} C dX$$

i.e $\Delta Y = [I - B]^{-1} C \Delta X$

$$\therefore Y_t = [I - B]^{-1} CX_t - [I - B]^{-1} CX_{t-1} + Y_{t-1}$$

Where, Y=endogenous and X=exogenous variables. The fact that the relationships are not estimated by multiple linear regressions means that the issue of simultaneous equation bias is by-passed and all the estimation difficulties, including multi-collinearity associated with econometric multiple linear regression, which renders it inconsistent and therefore non-operational, are also by-passed. Moreover, no

complicated econometric and economic theories are needed to proceed. It is then possible to view the whole economy at a glance and the structure of the economy is determined automatically.

Thus, given a simple linear regression between two variables, X *and* Y, we proceed as follows and state the equation as below:

$$Y = a + bX + u$$

Where Y = the dependent variable

X = the independent variable

$a \& b$ = parameters

u = error term.

The estimate of the parameters $a \& b$, is achieved by the application of least squares to the data on the variables, with a view to minimize the sum of squared deviations around the regression line (Koutsoyiannis, 1977 and Aruofor, 2001).

The parameters can be estimated by solving the following normal equations:

$$a\sum 1 + b\sum X = \sum Y \qquad (1)$$
$$a\sum X + b\sum X^2 = \sum XY \qquad (2)$$

This was the basic procedure adopted and the coefficients were estimated by means of a computer software, ESM-Lab 4.4, that tested for statistical significance at the 5% level of significance using the asymptotic t-ratios. It was designed jointly by the author and Microcraft Nigeria Limited. The procedure is to determine the important variables required for the solution of the problem, classify them into endogenous and exogenous variables before feeding them to ESM-Lab 4.4. The model is then estimated, and the statistically significant coefficients are automatically classified into a matrix B and the structural relationship of the economy is automatically specified. Further analysis can then be performed. (The computer software can be downloaded as esmlab.com.ng from the internet and ran as administrator).

For this study, the data were assembled from the Central Bank Statistical Bulletin (CBN, 2017, 2018 and 2019) and Aruofor, (2017). The time series ranged from 1981 to 2019. The list of variables consists of one hundred and twenty nine (129) endogenous variables followed by eight (8) exogenous variables (see fig 1). This is because extant models of the Nigerian economy are either incomplete or belong to the realms of partial analysis and therefore a composite model of the Nigerian economy is required to investigate the issues involved. The variables have been chosen to take cognizance of the gaps that exist in the literature as well as to enable a total escalation of the subject matter.

Fig. 1:   LEGEND OF VARIABLES NIGERIAN ECONOMY COMPOSIT

S/no.	ACRONYM	ACTIVITY	UNIT
1	AGRSEC	1. Agriculture	N million
2	CROP	(a) Crop Production	N million
3	LIVSTK	(b) Livestock	N million
4	FORSTY	(c) Forestry	N million
5	FISHY	(d) Fishing	N million
6	INDUST	2. Industry	N million
7	PETROLM	(a) Crude Petroleum & Natural Gas	N million
8	SMINRL	(b) Solid Minerals	N million
9	COAL	Coal Mining	N million
10	METORE	Metal Ores	N million
11	QURYOTI	Quarrying & Other Mining	N million
12	MANUFC	(c) Manufacturing	N million
13	OILREFN	Oil Refining	N million
14	CEMNT	Cement	N million
15	FOODBEV	Food, Beverage and Tobacco	N million
16	TEXTLS	Textile, Apparel and Footwear	N million
17	WOODS	Wood and Wood Products	N million
18	P&PAP	Pulp, Paper and Paper Products	N million
19	CEMCALS	Chemical and Pharmaceutical Products	N million
20	NONMTL	Non-Metallic Products	N million
21	PLST&R	Plastic and Rubber products	N million
22	ELECETR	Electrical and Electronics	N million
23	METALS	Basic metal , Iron and Steel	N million
24	MOTOVH	Motor vehicles & assembly	N million
25	OTHS	Other Manufacturing	N million
26	CONSTN	3. Construction	N million
27	TRADE	4. Trade	N million
28	SERVCS	5. Services	N million
29	TRASPOT	(a) Transport	N million
30	ROAD	Road Transport	N million
31	RAIL	Rail Transport & Pipelines	N million
32	WATER	Water Transport	N million
33	AIR	Air Transport	N million
34	TRANSEV	Transport Services	N million
35	POSTCUR	Post and Courier Services	N million
36	INFOCOM	(b) Information and Communication	N million
37	TELECOM	Telecommunications & information services	N million
38	PUBLSHN	Publishing	N million
39	MPIC&SN	Motion Pictures, Sound recording & Music	N million
40	BRODCST	Broadcasting	N million
41	UTILTYS	(c) Utilities	N million
42	ELECTSS	Electricity,Gas,Steam & Air conditioner	N million
43	WATER	Water supply, sewage, waste Mang.	N million
44	ACCOFOC	(d) Accommodation and Food Services	N million
45	FININSUR	(e) Finance & Insurance	N million
46	FINANCE	Financial Institutions	N million
47	INSURAN	Insurance	N million

Fig. 1: LEGEND OF VARIABLES NIGERIAN ECONOMY COMPOSIT (CONTINUED)

S/no.	ACRONYM	ACTIVITY	UNIT
48	REALEST	(f) Real Estate	N million
49	PROFSER	(g) Professional, Scientific & Technical Serv.	N million
50	ADMINSU	(h) Administrative and Support Services Business Services	N million
51	PUBADM	(i) Public Administration	N million
52	EDUCATN	(j) Education	N million
53	HEALTH	(k) Human Health & Social Services	N million
54	ARTRECR	(l) Arts, Entertainment & Recreation	N million
55	OTHSERV	(m) Other Services	N million
56	NGDP	Total Nominal GDP	N million
57	DISPINC(t)	Disposable Income	N million
58	REALINC	Real Income	N million
59	REALGDP	Real GDP	N million
60	GROWTRT	Growth rate	%
61	GROWTH	Growth	N million
62	CONS	Consumption	N million
63	INVST	Investment	N million
64	CAPITAL	Capital accumulation	N million
65	FDI	Foreign Direct Investment	N million
66	CPI	Consumer Price Index	
67	INFLTD	Inflation Dummy = 1 when CPI increases, otherwise = 0	
68	INFLATN	Inflation = INFTD X CPI	
69	INFLTRT	Inflation Rate	%
70	UNEMPL	Unemployment Rate	%
71	LABCOMP	Labor Force Compensation	N million
72	CHLDRN	Children Population (16 years and below)	Million
73	EPAWF	Estimated Potencial Active Work Force	Million
74	POPOLD	Population of Old People (80 years and above)	Million
75	UNEMWF	Unemployed Work Force	Million
76	EMPWF	Employed Work Force	Million
77	EMPLMNT	Employment	Million
78	PRDTIVTY	Productivity	
79	LPROVITY	Labor Productivity	
80	AVWAGE	Average Wage Rate	Naira
81	DDEMENT	Demand for Employment	
82	EMDDPR	Employment Demand Pressure	
83	POOR	Poor	Million
84	EXTPOOR	Extremely (Absolute) Poor	Million
85	POVRT	Poverty Rate	%
86	EXCHRTRP	Exchange rate or Relative Poverty	N/US$
87	SLAVERY	Slavery	
88	SAVINGS	Savings	N million
89	BOT	Balance of trade	N million
90	BOP	Balance of payments	N million
91	EXTRES	External reserve	N million
92	DBTBDN	Debt burden or Bondage	

Fig. 1:   LEGEND OF VARIABLES NIGERIAN ECONOMY COMPOSIT (CONTINUED)

S/no.	ACRONYM	ACTIVITY	UNIT
93	OILREV	Oil revenue	N million
94	NOILREV	Non-oil revenue	N million
95	CORPTD	Corruption Dummy = 1 when DDMOPR increases, otherwise = 0	
96	CORRPTN	Corruption= CORPTD X DDMOPR.	
97	DDMONY	Demand for money	N million
98	DDMOPR	Demand for money pressure	
99	DEMOCY	Dummy Variable 1.0 for New Democracy and 0 elsewhere.	
100	CORDEM	Equals DEMOCY x CORRPTN	
101	PWLFARE	Personal Welfare (Per capita income)	Naira
102	STDOLIVN	Standard of Living	
103	PUPWER	Purchasing Power	
104	FODSRITY	Food Security	
105	HLTCARE	Health Care	
106	DDHCARE	Demand for Health Care	
107	HCRDDPR	Health Care Demand Pressure	
108	HRESDEV	Human Resource Development	
109	DDEDUC	Demand for Education	
110	EDUDDPR	Education Demand Pressure	
111	WEALTH	National Wealth	
112	PWEALTH	Personal Wealth	
113	IMPDPEN	Import Dependence	
114	DDIMP	Demand for Imports	
115	PENCIMP	Penchant for Imports	
116	TIME(t)	Time	
117	POP(t)	Population	Million
118	IMPORT	Imports	N million
119	XPOTOIL	Oil export	N million
120	XPTNOIL	Non-oil export	N million
121	DODBT	Domestic debts	N million
122	EXTDBT$	External debts	$ million
123	GEXPDN	Government expenditure	N million
124	PRIMELR	Primary lending rate	%
125	INTSAV	Interest rate	%
126	MONYSS	Money supply	N million
127	TAX	Tax	N million
128	ACGSC	Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme	N million
129	DFUELP	Domestic fuel price	N/Litre
		EXOGENOUS VARIABLES	
130	OBASAJO	Dummy Variable = 1 during Obasanjo and 0 elsewhere	
131	OBJCORP	Corruption during Obasanjo regime	
132	YAR'ADU	Dummy Variable = 1 during Yar'Adua and 0 elsewhere	
133	YARCORP	Corruption during Yar'Adua regime	
134	JONATHN	Dummy Variable = 1 during Jonathan and 0 elsewhere	
135	JONACOR	Corruption during Jonathan regime	
136	BUHARI	Dummy Variable = 1 during Buhari and 0 elsewhere	
137	BUHACOP	Corruption during Buhari regime	

The construction of the composite model of Nigeria economy

The Nigeria model consists of the real sector comprising of the agricultural sector and sub-sectors, the manufacturing sector and sub-sectors, industry and sub-sectors, construction, transport, real estate and services; national income, consumption and investment, population, labor and employment, foreign sector, economic indicators and policy instruments. Together, they comprise the endogenous variables of the model, while the exogenous variables consist of governance (see Appendix I for data and details).

The Population Model and Derivation of Variables

Extant models of the Nigerian economy lacked data on total active work force, employment, etc. These are major defects and according to Stolper, (1966), the development planner cannot afford to assume his facts; he must find them as best as he can. We therefore proceeded as follows:

The population of Nigeria is growing at approximately 3% per year. Given this fact, we back cast the population at 3% discount rate to 1901 and projected it to 2019 assuming that the population has been adjusted for deaths.

1) Going by international standard, children are those people of ages Sixteen (16 years) and below and was derived as:

   Children $= Pop_t - Pop_{t-16}$

2) Population of people eighty years and below was derived as:

   $Pop_t - Pop_{t-80}$

3) Estimated potential active work force (EAWF) $= Pop_t - Pop_{t-80} -$ Children.

4) Population of old people equals the residual.

5) Unemployed work force $=$ EAWF x Unemployment rate.

6) Employed work force (EMPWF) $=$ EAWF - Unemployed work force.

7) Employment $= \Delta EMPWF$

8) Average wage rate $= Labor \quad Force \quad Compensation/EMPWF$

9) National Productivity $=$ NGDP/Labor force compensation

10) Labor Productivity $=$ NGDP/ EMPWF

11) Demand for Employment $= \Delta EMPWF_{-1}$

12) Demand Pressure for Employment $= (\Delta EMPWF_{-1})$/Unemployed Work Force

13) Demand for Health care $= \Delta HGDP_{-1}$

14) Demand Pressure for Health care $= \Delta HGDP_{-1}/Pop$

15) Demand for Education $= \Delta EdGDP_{-1}$

16) Demand Pressure for Education $= \Delta EdGDP_{-1} / Pop$

17) Demand for Imports $= \Delta IMPOTS_{-1}$

18) Penchant for Imports $= \Delta IMPOTS_{-1} / Pop$

19) Import Dependence $= IMPOTS/NGDP$

20) Slavery $=$ EXTDEBT/Pop

Some other variables were derived from existing data as follows:

- $GROWT \quad RATE \quad = \quad ((\Delta GDP)/GDP_t)*100)$

- $DINNCOM \quad = \quad GDP - TAX$

- $COLIVN \quad = \quad (CONS_{t-1}((1+(^{INFRT_t}\!/_{100}))))$

- *POOR* $\quad = \quad POP/((^{RGDP}/_{EXCHRT}) * \$720)$

- *ABPOOR* $\quad = \quad POP/((^{RGDP}/_{EXCHRT}) * \$360)$

- *RPOVRT* $\quad = \quad (1 - ((^{RGDP}/_{EXCHRT})/RGDP) * 100)$

- *DDMONY* $\quad = \quad (\Delta MONYSS)_{-1}$

- *DDMOPR* $\quad = \quad ((\Delta MONYSS)_{-1}/POP)$

- *IMPDD* $\quad = \quad (\Delta IMPORT)_{-1}$

- *IMPDDPR* $\quad = \quad ((\Delta IMPORT)_{-1}/POP)$

- *XPOTDD* $\quad = \quad (\Delta XPORT)_{-1}$

- *DBTBDN* $\quad = \quad (EXDBT/(^{GDP}/_{EXCHRT}))$

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The impact of corruption in governance will be presented in two parts. In the first part, we shall present the impact on the real sector, population, income, consumption and investment among others; while in the second part we shall concentrate on the impact on welfare indicators, such as poverty, standard of living, bondage and slavery among others.

Impact of corruption in governance on the economy

The variables with which we intend to forge a comparison on the impact of the different regimes in this section are as presented in Table 2.1. In terms of the Agricultural sector, Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations made the greatest impact with positive shifts of N2331.0 billion and N2426.0 billion respectively; and a change of N64.7 million and N295.3 million annually. Education also did well under the Obasanjo/Atiku regime where it caused a shift of N110.6 billion and a change of N16.17 million per annum. The Buhari/Osinbajo administration on the other hand caused a negative shift of N827.47 billion and a positive change of N2.76 million per annum. However, Buhari/Osinbajo administration did better in the Health sector where it caused a shift of N126.24 billion and a change of N4.6 million annually.

In terms of nominal income, the Buhari/Osinbajo regime recorded a change of N6.0 billion per annum while the others recorded a decline. However, the Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations performed better with regard to real income because inflation and inflation rate fell as opposed to the Buhari/Osinbajo administration where inflation and inflation raterose by 0.016 points and 0.009% per annum. Growth under the Obasanjo/Atiku regime was N4.2 million and this increased by N273.00 annually. The Jonathan administration on the other hand, recorded a growth of N1.32 million, which increased by N296.00 per annum.

Table 2.1: THE IMPACT OF GORRUPTION IN GOVERNANCE

	OBASANJO(t)	OBJCORP(t)	YAR'ADU(t)	YARCORP(t)	JONATHN(t)	JONACOR(t)	BUHARI(t)	BUHACOP(t)
AGRSEC(t)	2331181	64.79423	-9009746	0	2426618	295.3889	-2849830	-116.466
CROP(t)	1404034	15.19225	-6406670	0	1988874	207.4385	-1763436	-69.6826
LIVSTK(t)	530270.5	18.72061	-1143229	0	265836.6	44.90618	-380070	-21.2556
FORSTY(t)	53835.46	1.342689	-118154	0	31255.04	4.905193	-35312.3	-2.12007
FISHY(t)	97870.86	5.334597	-312566	0	-20012.1	9.563595	-156133	-6.1447
INDUST(t)	-2644629	-239.261	3355493	0	796786.6	-94.85	2157492	3.490077
PETROLM(	-1E+07	-517.82	29387907	0	-2750170	-899.233	12219935	583.3775
SMINRL(t)	-1.6E+07	-908.86	44336350	0	-4475682	-1391.67	17147270	862.3983
MANUFC(t	5523903	341.636	-1.4E+07	0	618464.6	452.0611	-6603750	-287.498
OILREFN(t)	183080.5	6.265441	-675612	0	86479.68	23.80775	-243314	-15.4532
TEXTLS(t)	3410944	193.5217	-9114779	0	1182645	322.7565	-4004635	-185.214
CONSTN(t)	6227593	349.7657	-1.7E+07	0	2142248	610.1189	-7428695	-342.622
TRADE(t)	-2.9E+07	-1499.24	81370238	0	-1.1E+07	-2937.7	34111823	1636.507
SERVCS(t)	-50167.2	199.9946	9097591	0	-6662301	-420.606	516943.5	148.6631
TRASPOT(t	188843.7	12.76591	-569409	0	-120570	12.71638	-298784	-10.3977
UTILTYS(t)	771050	40.86093	-2298156	0	291324.1	69.38467	-871638	-41.9678
ELECTSS(t)	205749.5	13.87059	-445872	0	-10475.1	14.24566	-236670	-9.1568
REALEST(t)	-3182030	-152.575	8927932	0	-777349	-276.502	3998800	191.1267
EDUCATN(	110619.9	16.17269	-47648	0	-292268	-14.942	-82747	2.752507
HEALTH(t)	-79825.4	-5.35997	218852	0	-315513	-15.2701	126244.9	4.596445
NGDP(t)	-1.1E+08	-6067.27	2.85E+08	0	-3.6E+07	-9999.51	1.29E+08	6021.316
DISPINC(t)	-1.1E+08	-6059.82	2.89E+08	0	-3.7E+07	-10008	1.29E+08	6041.38
REALINC(t)	882646.5	50.71779	-2241557	0	338942	78.90784	-926328	-43.5777
REALGDP(	91683472	5471.653	-2.5E+08	0	30579085	8481.73	-1.1E+08	-4985.94
GROWTRT(	-13.6725	-0.00098	-16.7669	0	-4.24065	0.000126	-0.22185	-8.1E-05
GROWTH(	4.234904	0.000273	-10.433	0	1.318454	0.000296	-4.35389	-0.00023
CONS(t)	-1.4E+07	-643.532	53353060	0	-1.3E+07	-1900.9	15148029	860.5602
INVST(t)	36487027	1627.656	-1E+08	0	13799049	3321.146	-3.9E+07	-2133.27
CAPITAL(t)	5447923	243.4087	-2.6E+07	0	2601553	935.791	-1.1E+07	-524.446
FDI(t)	80406.35	13.14537	-116104	0	-298124	3.853673	-174392	-2.76064
CPI(t)	-325.978	-0.01994	780.2253	0	-130.897	-0.02556	316.9383	0.015283
INFLTD(t)	0.455287	2.89E-05	-1.1013	0	0.320213	4.51E-05	-0.49295	-2.2E-05
INFLATN(t)	-348.706	-0.02158	834.1521	0	-133.636	-0.02724	337.4025	0.016197
INFLTRT(t)	-186	-0.01063	470.641	0	-78.3694	-0.01773	210.8758	0.009532
UNEMPL(t)	16.88351	0.000291	-69.8629	0	10.64377	0.002607	-20.8863	-0.00118
LABCOMP	-1.9E+07	-587.763	61437587	0	-4845302	-1993.72	22322712	1263.856
CHLDRN	-58.3491	-0.00333	131.6864	0	-23.6064	-0.00491	56.81459	0.002812
EPAWF	2.748042	-7.3E-05	-32.3259	0	6.770472	0.000752	-9.49208	-0.00046
POPOLD	-3.44727	-0.00019	4.86004	0	-0.21649	-0.00021	2.383219	0.000144
UNEMWF	-29.61188	-0.001184	63.45571	0	-9.57599	-0.00244	33.41569	0.001562
EMPWF	-46.3672	-0.00251	120.9586	0	-28.365	-0.00476	50.37228	0.002293
EMPLMNT	5.382567	-0.00011	-32.1767	0	7.27978	0.001448	-13.4443	-0.0008
PRDTIVTY	64.99509	0.005963	-181.469	0	-6.33282	0.00579	-84.6261	-0.0036
LPROVITY	-1107113	-61.4149	3254453	0	-265812	-105.374	1401067	67.67862
AVWAGE	-214002	-9.72733	6155387	0	-44846.4	-19.4984	265841.5	13.68156
DDEMENT	30.37342	0.001696	-83.9902	0	8.814456	0.002638	-32.0541	-0.00162
EMDDPR	-0.73938	-2.6E-05	3.532556	0	-0.99935	-0.00014	1.536153	6.1E-05

The others recorded negative growth across board. The economy did not grow very much during the new democracy. Consumption was highest in the Buhari/Osinbajo regime with no investment to show for it. The Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations caused a shift of N36.5 trillion and N13.8 trillion respectively and a change of N1.6 billion and N1.3 billion respectively in investment. Capital accumulation also increased under the Obasanjo/Atiku as well as in the Jonathan administration. However, unemployment rate fell in the Buhari/Osinbajo regime as opposed to the others (see Table 2.1). In terms of mortality, children (16years and below) and old people (80 tears and above), were the worst hit under the Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan regimes. Mortality in the above groups was as much as 58 million and 3 million respectively during the Obasanjo/Atiku administration; while in the Jonathan administration, it was 23.6 million and 120,000 respectively. In contrast, in the Buhari/Osinbajo and Yar'adua regimes, it was the able bodied citizens that died to the tune of 9.5 million and 32.3 million respectively, with an annual increase of 460 deaths under the Buhari/Oshibanjo regime. This may not be unconnected with the Boko Haram insurgence and the Niger-Delta crisis. Even though unemployment rate fell under Buhari/Osinbajo regime, employment was higher in the Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations and agitation for employment was highest in the Yar'adua and Buhari/Osinbajo regimes. Productivity was higher in Obasanjo/Atiku regime; though labor productivity was higher in the Buhari/Osinbajo administration at N1,401,067.00 and increasing at N67.57 per year.The average wage also was better in the Buhari/Osinbajo regime than in the others at N265,841.5 per caput and increasing at only N13.68 annually. The implication is that an average worker in Nigeria, currently receives only N22,153.46 per month in a country where a Legislator is receiving an undeserved, whooping salary of N36 million a month not including allowances. This is criminal and is the height of corruption.

Impact of Corruption In Governance On Welfare Indicators Of Nigeria
Poverty was highest in the Buhari/Osinbajo regime where those living and surviving on $1.00 or less per day increased to 133.5 million with an annual increase of 5,710 people falling below the poverty line. Poverty alleviation was better in the Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations where those living below the poverty line were reduced by 108 million and 15.7 million respectively in absolute terms. They were further reduced by 6,330 and 10,390per annum respectively. Relative poverty increased more under the Buhari/Osinbajo regime where a shift of 18.26 was caused in the exchange rate and a change of N1,282 to the US dollar was caused annually. Personal welfare in terms of per capita income was better in the Buhari/Osinbajo regime where it was as high as N505,045.8 per caput and increased by N24.14 per annum. However, standard of living and purchasing power were highest in the Jonathan administration followed by the Obasanjo/Atiku regime. This was because inflation and inflation rate fell under both regimes.
Food security was highest in the Jonathan administration followed by the Buhari/Osibanjo regime. Health care and human resource development was better in theObasanjo/Atiku administration, followed by the Jonathan regime.
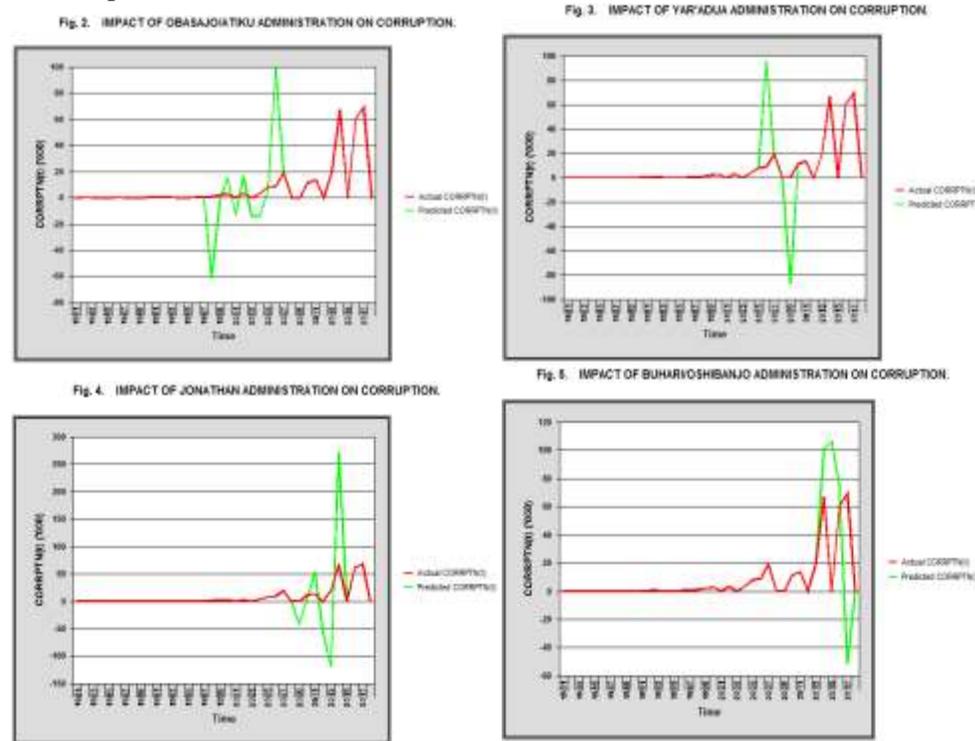
Table 2.2: THE IMPACT OF GORRUPTION IN GOVERNANCE

	OBASAJO(t	OBJCORP(t	YAR'ADU(t	YARCORP(t	JONATHN(	JONACOR(t	BUHARI(t)	BUHACOP(t)
POOR(t)	-108.173	-0.00633	276.3094	0	-15.6617	-0.01039	133.557	0.00571
EXTPOOR(	-108.16	-0.00633	276.2767	0	-15.6598	-0.01039	133.5411	0.00571
POVRT(t)	-3.37825	-0.00019	9.991673	0	-0.83263	-0.00032	3.901244	0.000192
EXCHRTRP	-67.5242	-0.00586	-13.4653	0	-17.1039	-0.00051	18.2596	0.001282
SLAVERY	217775.9	10.61482	-593163	0	80549.13	20.02067	-242719	-11.9521
SAVINGS(t	-4340523	-284.015	9555756	0	-2270729	-349.983	5167206	209.5996
BOT(t)	-1.9E+07	-1190.7	51011260	0	-7464884	-1684.4	22502574	1004.817
BOP(t)	4331073	289.8924	-8906677	0	1915744	343.2749	-3811238	-176.559
EXTRES(t)	-140262	-8.3016	366910.6	0	-51505.3	-11.9772	147220.2	6.843159
DBTBDN(t)	1.146176	6.06E-05	-3.27516	0	0.577407	0.000117	-1.31236	-6.3E-05
OILREV(t)	-6586228	-349.939	13380760	0	-2383965	-410.273	4413839	268.5391
NOILREV(t)	2548187	138.6076	-6945841	0	1242206	260.8167	-2844938	-131.328
CORPTD(t)	-1.29362	-9.1E-05	2.193719	0	-0.23623	-7.7E-05	0.877361	4.39E-05
CORRPTN(	-54541.7	-3.90067	87007.3	0	-6105.88	-2.95291	33978.75	1.745845
DDMONY(	-9157018	-617.507	24805091	0	-3246331	-831.782	10406101	421.7452
DDMOPR(	5167.346	-0.19611	-13822.7	0	-5852.71	0.781443	-10751.4	-0.77166
DEMOCY(t	2.4988888	0.000154	-6.90339	0	0.974736	0.000219	-2.64312	-0.00013
CORDEM(t	-54770.5	-3.90607	87764.72	0	-6221.24	-2.97908	34228.9	1.759981
PWLFARE	-3880208	-20.7144	1189565	0	-80763.2	-37.6127	505045.8	24.14055
STDOLIVN	192135.7	7.83031	-599602	0	45902.32	21.42563	-253557	-13.6373
PUPWER	5124.764	0.30487	-13055.7	0	2443.472	0.468851	-5409.03	-0.26743
FODSRITY	-4059.63	-1.20619	12402.39	0	21993.33	0.498965	8753.94	0.417234
HLTCARE	1128.812	0.037995	-2214.08	0	802.7914	0.091084	-774.406	-0.04508
DDHCARE	2272200.8	14.49415	-525833	0	53879.69	18.35345	-245563	-11.1046
HCRDDPR	1184.805	0.078014	-2713.71	0	256.6195	0.091919	-1244	-0.05572
HRESDEV	6099.163	0.277659	-17966.6	0	2643.347	0.566317	-6107.13	-0.33338
DDEDUC	848509.5	51.68118	-2020642	0	248020.4	68.71517	-854752	-42.0004
EDUDDPR	5003.968	0.295229	-12553.8	0	1456.396	0.42819	-5529.03	-0.25938
WEALTH	-0.099891	-8E-06	0.198929	0	-0.04237	-5.1E-06	0.069263	3.02E-06
PWEALTH	29545.6	1.59943	-90025	0	-1054.68	2.748698	-36970.1	-1.64591
IMPDPEN	0.041073	7.64E-06	0.222277	0	-0.02216	-4.4E-06	0.013322	2.56E-06
DDIMP	-7516518	-442.956	21212366	0	-2622404	-655.669	9576358	444.0006
PENCIMP	-47180.1	-2.75576	133830.1	0	-16499.5	-4.14774	58603.79	2.754661
TIME(t)	-6.60235	-0.00018	21.10613	0	-0.89433	-0.00075	6.779663	0.000461
POP(t)	-89.4967	-0.00534	185.29	0	-39.3827	-0.00663	81.74508	0.004162
IMPORT(t)	7080224	404.6493	-1.9E+07	0	1879986	465.0926	-5113949	-307.426
XPOTOIL(t)	-1.8E+07	-930.694	51943004	0	-9313645	-1745.51	19609520	974.8058
XPTNOIL(t)	7183309	410.616	-2.1E+07	0	2218099	689.2186	-8540188	-393.387
DODBT(t)	6537919	84.57211	-854995	0	727348.8	-45.9368	-665376	8.00825
EXTDBT$(t	179556.5	10.25297	-514917	0	72329.05	17.71261	-209096	-9.92954
GEXPDN(t)	-4312081	-276.618	12293993	0	-901977	-390.069	5085128	249.6404
PRIMELR(t	-3.12406	-8.5E-05	13.36507	0	3.432915	-9.5E-05	3.898491	0.000248
INTSAV(t)	-24.334	-0.00131	69.95	0	-8.76636	-0.00222	30.06992	0.001352
MONYSS(t)	4804069	382.5798	-1E+07	0	3012490	207.5668	-5415201	-172.324
TAX(t)	3996035	213.9722	-1.3E+07	0	6197281	311.2001	-3811439	-206.567
ACGSC	14784380	810.4567	-4.5E+07	0	3228121	1606.494	-1.9E+07	-986.127
DFUELP(t)	-185.8888	-0.01015	537.7197	0	-60.2083	-0.01792	225.9952	0.010827

Slavery was more profound during the Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations implying that every Nigerian, including babies, is owing N217,775.9 and N80,549.13 respectively to the international community and this increased by N10.61 and N20.02 respectively, every year under both administrations, meaning that both of them borrowed more money. Bondage, in terms of debt burden under the Obasanjo/Atiku regime was 1.146 implying that our national income was not enough to pay for the debt we are owing. Under Jonathan, it was 0.577 meaning that more than half of our GDP was required to pay for our debts. Import dependence was higher during the Obasanjo/Atiku regime followed by the Buhari/Osibajo regime. Agitation for imported goods was highest in the Buhari/Osibajo administration.

Impact on Corruption
Corruption was still highest in the Buhari/Osinbajo administration with a shift of N34 billion and a change of N1.74 million per annum caused by the regime; implying that the fight against corruption was not a total success as can be inferred from Figs 2 to 5 showing the impact of the different administrations on corruption.

Fig. 2. IMPACT OF OBASAJO/ATIKU ADMINISTRATION ON CORRUPTION.

Fig. 3. IMPACT OF YAR'ADUA ADMINISTRATION ON CORRUPTION.

Fig. 4. IMPACT OF JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION ON CORRUPTION.

Fig. 5. IMPACT OF BUHARI/OSHIBANJO ADMINISTRATION ON CORRUPTION.

Even though the Buhari/Osinbajo administration succeeded initially fighting corruption, the war was lost in 2017. The incident of corruption was more common during the Obasanjo/Atiku regime but the impact is more profound in the Jonathan administration.

CONCLUSION
Corruption is still rife in Nigeria in spite of all the interventions and there is no growth in the economy. Every regime has its cons and pros and a straight comparison is difficult. While the Obasanjo/Atiku and Jonathan administrations condemned Nigerians to bondage and slavery, the Buhari/Osinbajo and Yar'Adua regimes condemned the nation to poverty and insecurity. Indeed, a situation where able-bodied people are dying en masse, is an indication of insecurity. The Buhari/Osinbajo administration is highly insecure. Appointments are lopsided and sectional under the regime and are not responsive to the hue and cry of the masses. Corruption remains unabated mainly because those found to be corrupt cannot be punished as a deterrent to others. The following recommendations are made given the peculiar nature of Nigeria polity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. To start with, the cost of running government in Nigeria is too exorbitant and needs to be reduced considerably. This should cut across all tiers of government, Federal, State and Local government.

2. Salaries of all Public Servants including all categories of Politicians should conform to a reviewed Civil Service salary structure to make politics and government less attractive. In this regard, Legislators, Executives (Ministers), Judiciary (Judges), Chairmen and Heads of Parastatals including the Central Bank, should not earn salaries above a University Professor. Anybody who wants money should aspire to work in the Private Sector.

3. Government must review all policies that promote corruption such as quota system, differential cut-off marks into Unity Schools, and anything that promotes mediocrity for that matter. Appointments should be by merit alone to avoid too many square pegs in round holes.

4. The Nigerian Constitution must be amended to deemphasize Religion and religious bigotry; to this end, the constitution should emphasize good governance and economic development, security and the common good and the rule of law. All modifications in respect to salaries of public workers should be enshrined into the constitution. Enforceable laws, sanctions and penalties against corrupt persons and swift dispensation of justice should all be also enshrined into the constitution.

5. Immunity clause for Politicians during tenure should be removed or reviewed to avoid abuse and should be enshrined in the constitution.

6. Aso Rock and other Government houses across States should be converted to other useful institutions, such as universities, schools, hospitals etc but not Mosques or Churches. Public Office holders, including the President, Governors, Legislators, Judges etc should live in modest houses and not the empires they now occupy. Ruling should become sacrificial and a voluntary service and not a gold mine or money spinning machine as it is now.

7. The paraphernalia of servants, security aids, etc for public office holders and fleet of cars and associated monetary allowances and the like should also be discontinued. The Police and the Army should be left to work as security agents for the nation and not for individuals.

8. The National Assembly should be down-sized to the barest minimum and reconstituted. The qualifications for membership reviewed and should not be based on political lines but on ability to contribute to overall national development. Only selfless, sacrificial volunteers with proven track records and right academic qualifications who have something to offer and not the present crop of opportunists and treasury looters who are looking for undeserved salaries and allowances, should be considered.

9. Hotel allowances for public officers, should not exceed those paid in the Civil Service and should apply to all public service office holders, including Politicians, Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, Military, Police, Customs, Traditional Leaders, Parastatals, etc with no exceptions and all politicians must seek their levels in the Civil Service according to their qualifications.

10. Anyone and whosoever, even the Head of State, who has not put in continuously at least the required 35 years in present position should not be entitled to any disengagement benefits, gratuity or pension, unless those entitled to by Civil Servants. The active working age of Politicians working in the Public Sector should not exceed 80 years.

11. Anybody who joins the Public Service on political grounds, should find his or her level in the Public Service in terms of academic qualifications, experience and job description. By this is meant that a School Certificate holder in the Legislature cannot receive the salary of a university Professor just because he or she is in the National Assembly.

12. There shall be no independent review of wages and salaries. Any review should be holistic and only when necessary at the national level. Whosoever is not satisfied with the conditions in the Public Service, should resign and join the Private Sector. Your job or profession may be essential but that does not give you the right to a higher and privileged salary or that you work harder than

others who are also working behind the scene. You are either in the Public Sector or Private Sector but not in both simultaneously.

13. The Public Service should be transparent and accountable and the oath of "Keep our Secret, secret" should be abolished.

14. Only patriotic qualified people who volunteer to protect the security and integrity of Nigeria, should be enlisted into the Military, Police Force, Customs, Immigrations, Road Safety Corp and indeed any other security outfits or services.

15. All State banquets should be banned and only minimal refreshments or food or drinks should be served at Public Service lectures, seminars, workshops or any training sessions. These are the main sources of seepages and corruption in the public service. Working in the Public Service should become voluntary and sacrificial.

16. Political campaigns should be done on mass media and not in the present way. Political parties should state their ideologies clearly and politicians should be required to articulate their manifestoes openly and the means for achieving them and not vain promises that cannot be fulfilled as is being done now.

17. Major contracts should be made public and advertised. The awardees, contract sum and terms of contract should also be made public.

18. External borrowings should be minimized except for building or establishing strategic factories or industries, like the iron and steel industry. The terms of contract must be made public.

19. Kickbacks should be prohibited. Indeed, the law on bribery and corruption in Nigeria should be modified to reflect that any bribe taker in the Public Service or anyone caught fronting for a bribe taker, be they in the Private Sector, must face the full wrought of the law, on conviction. No Public Sector worker is allowed to receive any form of gratification or cola for doing the work they are paid for. Any such act by omission or commission is tantamount to receiving or taking bribe with the attendant penalty.

20. The Law should be sacrosanct with no sacred cows. Justice must be swift, just and served. Since the fate of all Nigerians will be in the hands of the Judiciary, any Judge who is found and proven to have perverted the Law must face a severe punishment.

21. Law makers are prohibited from legislating on these issues and not even the courts of law should tamper with them. They are to be regarded as sacrosanct and enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution.

22. Any coup de tat in Nigeria shall be illegal and the coup plotters must face capital punishment no matter how long it may take to seek redress.

23. All government accounts must be audited and the audit reports published annually.

24. No Politician should be accorded absolute power. Every politician must be accountable for their actions, even the President and Head of State.

25. If in spite of the above amendments, changes and interventions, corruption persists and appointments and allocation of resources remain lopsided and sectional, then, an option for Nigeria will be to try a "United Confederating States of Nigeria".

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