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The Intellectual Dimensions of Corruption in Nigeria

Abstract

Against the background of the deepening crisis of the Nigerian academy, this paper undertakes a critical analysis of the intellectual dimensions of corruption in Nigeria. It argues that the incorporation of the academy, particularly its intellectual components, into the 'corruption enterprise' has impacted on corruption discourses and analyses – most notably the polarisation into two realms, the public and the private. This characterisation represents in itself a distinct dimension of intellectual corruption, apart from its other forms as analysed in the paper. This development has had negative implications for both state and society, particularly on their democratisation and developmental drives through the reversal and perversion of routinised academic culture of quality teaching, research and publication. Unless critical measures are taken to sanitise the Nigerian academy within a broader framework of a reformist state, the crisis of the academy being a reflection of the deepening crisis of the state, the paper submits that corruption analysis and their outcomes may not advance the anti-corruption crusade of government.

Introduction

Corruption is unarguably one of the most topical issues in the discourses of the deepening crisis and contradictions of post-independence Nigeria. The level of attention devoted to it may not only be due to its rapid and unprecedented expansion to all facet of human endeavour and its menacing consequences, but also because of the seeming fecklessness of successive attempts at combating it. The problem has become so endemic that, as the present writer (Omotola 2006; 2004) has pointed out, one can begin to talk about the political culture of corruption in the country. To be sure, Transparency International, an international non-governmental organisation that is reputed for its exploits in its measurement of countries' Corruption Perception Index, ranked Nigeria as the most corrupt among the 52 countries ranked in 1996 and 1997. This could be regarded as of little significance as the country was then under the firm authoritarian grip of the military. The hope that the advent of democracy in 1999 would mark an appreciable breakaway from the past, including the country's perennial problem of corruption, largely remains in the pipeline. Nigeria, in what seems senseless squandering of hopes, ranked as the most corrupt in 2002, the second most corrupt in 2003, and the third most corrupt in 2004 (Omotola, 2006). These findings point to the fact that the anti-corruption war has hardly made a positive impact in the country perhaps due to the depth of the phenomenon.

Although the monumental upsurge in corruption has been accompanied by a corresponding emergence and growth of academic scholarship on the subject, it is

however a development that presents us with a paradox. While scholars have undertaken to unravel the causes, consequences and possible solutions of corruption, discourses on its intellectual dimensions are still far from crystallising. The result is that analyses of corruption in Nigeria tend to be undertaken in two realms. These are the public (others) and private (we) realms, the former connoting the government and characterised by strong radicalism and the latter representing essentially the academic community but not limited to it and characterised by liberal tendencies in analyses. There are, however, some notable exemptions to this latter categorisation (for example, Social Science Academy of Nigeria, SSAN, 2002; 2004). In spite of its concern, the SSAN would appear to have been mostly interested in the general theme of the governance of higher education in Nigeria, with occasional inputs on ethical issues and corruption in the ivory tower. As it rightly noted in an editorial comment: 'Nigeria's educational system is presently in a deep, infectious and outrageous crisis that cries, loudly and painfully, for attention' (SSAN, 2001: ii). Ever since and even before, the SSAN has continued to devote a substantial portion of its resources to the challenges posed by the crisis of the Nigerian academy.

Against the background of this renewed concern about the deepening crisis of the Nigerian academy, this paper critically examines the phenomenon of corruption in the academy, with emphasis on its intellectual dimensions, which seem so far to have eluded serious attention. It is this obviously yawning gap and how to fill it that this study addresses. In it, we argue that the incorporation of the academy particularly its intellectual components into the corruption enterprise, has impacted on corruption discourses and analyses most notably in the polarisation into two realms that is, the public and the private. This characterisation represents in itself a distinct dimension of intellectual corruption. Taken together, these developments have had implications for both state and society particularly with respect to its democratisation and developmental drives. Unless critical measures are taken to sanitise the system within a broader framework of a reformist state, the deepening crisis of the academy, being a reflection of the deepening crisis of the state, corruption analyses and their outcomes may not advance the anti-corruption crusade of government. In the end, it is the democracy and development agenda (which ideally should be people-centred) that will suffer. The rest of the paper is divided into four sections. The next section conceptualises intellectual corruption. This is followed by a discussion of the various dimensions of intellectual corruption. We then critically analyse the basic undercurrents of intellectual corruption. The last substantive part discusses the implications of intellectual corruption for national development, before concluding.

On Intellectual Corruption

What does it mean to describe someone as an intellectual? What are the main responsibilities of an intellectual? It is only by engaging these questions that we can advance to conceptualise intellectual corruption, the concept of corruption having become so familiar and less controversial. Generally speaking, intellectuals are those who cherish and pursue truth and knowledge not only for their own sake, but also for the advancement of the society. Montefiore (1990: 20) defines an intellectual as 'anyone who takes a committed interest in the validity and truth of ideas for their own

sake'. Addressing the same issue from a functional perspective, Said (1994: 3) defines intellectuals as 'those engaged in the production and distribution of knowledge'.

By implication, an intellectual basically has a responsibility to promote intellectualism. Or, as Adele Jinadu puts it, the basic task of intellectuals is essentially that of intellectual responsibility to, and for the pursuit and defence of, the truth and of the conditions that make them possible (Jinadu, 1997: 170; 2002: 178). Other responsibilities of the intellectuals are generally referred to as social responsibility, that of community services which Szacki (1995:235) explains to be primarily involving 'political involvement, with coming out of laboratories and libraries'. While both components of intellectual responsibilities – projecting and upholding the truth and community services – are important, the task of defending the truth at all times, whatever the odds, seems paramount. For, it is the truth, what Ronald Barnett (1997:47-61) characterises as 'the whole truth', that legitimises 'our knowledge activities in higher education'.

The foregoing raises some problems. For one thing, how do we explain the truth? What appears to be the truth to one person may wear a contrary look to another. Yet, we can simply explain the truth in this context as the pursuit of teaching, research, publication and community services, which represent the main planks of intellectual architecture (see for example, Bargh et al., 1996; Evans, 1999; Havey and Knight, 1996; Tenuche and Omotola, 2004; Omofa, 2005), within the best tradition of academic culture and excellence. For another, what conditions make the pursuit of the truth possible? In this context, the most notable of such conditions include the issues of academic freedom, autonomy and funding.

The issues of academic freedom, autonomy and funding have been central to the discourses of the deepening crises of higher education in Nigeria (SSAN, 2002; 2004). As a concept, academic freedom connotes 'freedom to think in peace, without distractions of worldly commitments'. (Butteridge, 1969: 190). It has also been defined as 'the freedom of members of the academic community, individually or collectively, in the pursuit, development and transmission of knowledge, through research, study, discussion, documentation, production, creation, teaching, lecturing and writing' (Adejoh, 2004: 38). This freedom is generally seen as a matter of right, not concession. Both the Kampala Declaration and African Charter acknowledge this when they note that:

Every African intellectual has the right to pursue intellectual activity, including teaching, research and dissemination of research results, without let or hindrance subject only to University recognized principles of scientific inquiry and ethical and professional standard (cf. Adejoh, 2004: 39).

With this background, we can now proceed to conceptualise intellectual corruption. We first examine the concept of corruption. Simply defined, corruption connotes the perversion of generally acceptable standards and ways of doing things for personal or other forms of benefits, often with negative consequences for the entire system and society (Ackerman, 1999). Accordingly, intellectual corruption connotes the perversion of intellectual responsibilities, be it deliberately or not, for personal gains at the expense of the system. This has manifested itself in several dimensions in Nigeria. For instance, the ultimate task of upholding the truth, whatever the odds, which requires that intellectuals continue to remain focussed and committed to a regime of

routinised academic culture symbolised by quality teaching, research and publication, has suffered serious reversal and perversion in recent years. More than ever before, the Nigerian academy is increasingly becoming crisis-ridden, radiating its deficiencies in sustaining the best academic tradition of excellence that characterised the decades of the 1960s and 1970s (Erinsho, 2004; Tenuche and Omotola, 2004; Obi and Agbu, 2002; Olukoju, 2002). Even in the realm of social responsibility where many Nigerian intellectuals would appear to have suddenly emerged as trail-blazers, particularly beginning from the Babangida regime (1984-93) till now, most of their activities have been an object of serious criticism. The argument is that they offer insincere advice and policy options to the government so as to advance selfish interests (Jinadu, 1997; 2002; 2004; Adekanye, 1993). These and related perversions fall into our conception of intellectual corruption.

Dimensions of Intellectual Corruption

The foregoing provides the foundation for the analysis of the intellectual dimensions of corruption in Nigeria. These dimensions encompass the domains of academic recruitment, publication regime, promotion, extortion and mentoring. The requirements for recruiting academics into higher institutions, be they federal or state, like other government establishments, are very clear. First, the issue of merit based on academic qualification is of utmost importance. Next is the question of federal character, a power sharing device in Nigeria that seeks to prevent a situation whereby any given institution is dominated by people from a particular background to the marginalisation of others. This is predicated upon the necessity to avoid a situation whereby the dominant group can hold others and the system to ransom. Consideration is also given to the location of such institutions especially in terms of lower cadre staff. But today, the whole idea of recruitment along these lines has been reversed. Federal universities are the worst hit, where in the last couple of years, most universities have become federal only by name. At all levels – management and academic – the recruitment enterprise has been effectively privatised and based on a system of patronage where the ultimate decider is ‘man know man’. As long as one belongs appropriately to the right camp (and you must strive to be seen so by the powers that be), recruitment into the university system becomes a formality, not minding the qualification, competence and capability of the person to deliver. This was the personal experience of this researcher in his search for placement in the academics. For example, I lectured part-time for three and half years at Kogi State University (KSU), Anyigba, ‘our’ state university. Throughout this period, recruitment was undertaken at least three times but I was not considered despite the fact that all stakeholders including management kept eulogising what they called my academic potential, because there was no ‘godfather’ to push my case for me.

Closely allied to the above is the issue of promotion exercise. While the rules are also very clear, emphasising quality of teaching, research and publication, as much as professional association membership and participation, it would appear that circumventing these criteria has become the rule rather than the exception in most instances. As it has become of recruitment, so also has promotion been privatised and used as an instrument of reward to the ‘loyal’ academics and penalty for ‘deviants’ who have refused to play along. It is so serious now that the promotion of the loyal boys is

not only regular, but in some cases, also accelerated even when the so-called deviants have been in the queue for years stagnating. Omofa (2005) noted this at KSU and warned in a public lecture organised by the university's ASUU about the impending danger such portends. Since the system has become prebendal and neo-patrimonial based on incorporation, the place of academic research and publication has waned probably because the managers of the system can always devise an escape route for their clients. This is usually done either by changing the rules of the game at critical moments in a way that will accommodate their interests, or by issuing letters of acceptance on papers that are at best merely under assessment and at worst only exist at the realm of imagination. These are concessions that the 'bad boys' will never enjoy.

The publication regime remains one of the most notorious areas of intellectual corruption. Perhaps, the schismatisation of the system into the pro and anti-elements has contributed to this. Since the emphasis is on 'publish or perish', at least for those caught on the wrong side of university politics, the tendency has been to devise alternative means of surviving that are usually criminal. These include the resort to desk-top publishing made possible by the revolution in information technology, and the use of road-side publishers that have no regard for publication ethics as a way of circumventing the rigours of academic publishing. The academic landscape has always witnessed the massive proliferation of journals, which suffer major deficiencies in all respects. The phenomenon of volume one, number one has been a recurrent decimal in journal production in Nigeria. After the first issue, many of them go into extinction. Those that manage to survive are few and far between, and have been totally commercialised and politicised. And because they depend on financial contributions from prospective authors, little attention is accorded to peer review by many of those journals. This is worse with the surging private journals established as business ventures. This development is most rampant in the South Eastern part of the country where several of such outlets are commonplace. For these and related reasons, Nigerian journals can hardly be found beyond the publishing institutions with very low patronage and readership and can hardly compete in the international arena (Tenuche and Omotola, 2004; Erinosh, 2004). In separate studies, Tenuche and Omotola (2004) and Erinosh (2004) lend credence to these incidents. Specifically, Tenuche and Omotola found out that most journals in Nigeria remain in circulation because of subscriptions from contributors, which range between N3 – N10,000.

The issue of academic book publishing is not very different. Though a general problem, the case of edited books is worse. We have seen instances where the editor(s) of a book only publish(es) himself with few other chapters from colleagues. Where the book enjoys some geographical and institutional spread, we still discover that some editors have more than the two papers as demanded by the ethics of standard publication. To make matters worse, most of these books are published by road-side printers, with little or no professional expertise regarding book publishing, let alone having independent assessors to assess the publishability of manuscripts. The result is the massive proliferation of books without a corresponding production of knowledge. Such books have become the order of the day across Nigerian higher institutions. The excruciating condition of this development may have informed a new regime of censorship across universities where lists of accepted journals and publishers are gradually being generated and institutionalised. Though far from crystallising and

uniform, it has been such that most of the applicants for the 2005 promotion exercise at the University of Ilorin, Nigeria, where I lectured, failed because these new regulations were fully applied.

Academics have also demonstrated their ingenuity to devise means of extorting money from students. In most cases, this is usually done through the production of handouts, otherwise known as reading material. While the production may not be entirely bad in itself, the form and character it has assumed is worrisome. First, in the absence of a regulated price regime, such materials are sold at exorbitant prices. For instance, a twenty-page material goes between N200 and N300. Second and more worrisome is that such handouts are forced on the students with the use of open threats of failure (carry-over) against the students: 'if you don't buy we will be here together next year to celebrate your academic funeral'. 'I will be glad to teach you the course again', etc., are some of the ways of threatening the students into submission. I was a victim of these slogans in my university days as an undergraduate in the late 1990s. And despite institutionalised sanctions against such practices, it is far from being totally over as they continue by other means.

Admittedly, the authorities of most universities have responded very well by deligitimising the production and sales of handouts. In some places where it has not been totally outlawed, a regime of regulated pricing has been instituted, as has been the case at the University of Ilorin. In such cases, the request must first be made by a majority of the students in a letter to the head of the department (HOD). The HOD will then liaise with the lecturer in charge to work out the modalities and price. Such regulatory measures have also been put in place concerning sales of books such that no lecturer is allowed to sell books directly to students. The new regime is that such books be deposited at the school's bookshop where interested students can buy them. Nice measures! Yet we observe that these are honoured more in the breach. From personal experience and observation, these measures have not been able to yield the magic formula for taming the monster of academic extortion. In some instances where students have written to their HODs for handouts, it has always been at the behest of the course lecturer via the use of subtle threat or a gentleman's agreement with the students. Today, students are still forced to buy books at exorbitant rates. As long as the affected staff is in the good books of authorities, there may be no raising of an eyebrow and vice versa.

Beyond extortion through sales of books and handouts, academics also extort money directly from their students. It is now commonplace in higher institutions for lecturers to demand money in exchange for marks. In some other instances, lecturers hide under the pretext of 'consultancies' in order to extort money from their students, especially those under their project supervision. This is done in many ways. For one, the lecturer may allow the student to do the work, which must be submitted to him/her for typing, editing and binding at a fee usually imposed by the lecturer. In some other instances, the lecturer undertakes to write the project and deliver a finished product to the student, also at a fee. Some 'liberal' ones however give the student the freedom to do the work but the latter must type and bind at a given place dictated by the lecturers usually owned by his or her or relatives. This latter dimension is the most common and seems to be gaining increasing patronage especially in the face of increasing economic hardship.

The scourge of sexual harassment represents another dimension of corruption. Although there has been widespread argument as to the question of who harasses whom between the lecturers and the female students (see Fayankinnu, 2004; Ezumoh, 2004; Pereria, 2004), the fact remains that sexual harassment has become a frequent feature of staff-students relations in Nigeria. The academic dimension is that sex is now traded for marks. There have been several instances where those that refuse the advances are victimised, especially by deliberately failing such students. Unfortunately, higher institutions in Nigeria do not seem to have well institutionalised mechanisms for redressing this ugly development (see Erinosh, 2004). The result is that such cases are most often ignored, swept under the carpet and the victims having to contend with the psychological trauma associated with it. Only recently specifically August 2005 was a lecturer in the department of English at the Lagos State University, Nigeria caught in a widely celebrated case of sexual harassment. In this case, the student reportedly accepted to play along, with the active connivance of the university authority to which she had reported the case. In most universities in Nigeria, several lecturers have had one reason or the other to appear before disciplinary panels for sexually related allegations but discharged for want of evidence. These are well captured in a preliminary but comprehensive study on the subject at Lagos State University (see Adedokun, 2005).

Understanding Intellectual Corruption

The Nigerian academy has boasted of itself as one of the best across the globe in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, exhibiting the best of academic tradition and culture (see Ajayi, 2002; Yaqub, 2002). During this golden era, academics live up to their intellectual responsibilities of quality teaching, research, publication and community services. Beginning from the 1980s, there has been a reversal of the trend. Why has this been so? First, any attempt to understand the crisis and contradictions of intellectualism in Nigeria must of necessity begin with the crisis and contradictions of the Nigerian State. By implication, the deepening crisis of the Nigerian State offers a good point of departure in explaining the crisis of Nigerian academy. It would be recalled that the decade of the 1980s was an era of economic recession in Nigeria, as in several other African countries. The search for an enduring solution led to the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) whose conditionality the Babangida regime implemented. Studies have continued to show how the SAP regime brought about more severe distortions and disarticulation in the domestic political economy in forms of rising inflation, unemployment, inequalities and dependency (see, Olukoshi, 1991; 1993; Badejo, 1990). As the cost of living heightened, with the poor getting poorer, Nigerians had to devise alternative coping strategies. While the entire country was engulfed in this struggle for survival, especially the rural settings, (see, Mustapha, 1993), the universities suffered serious consequences.

The most glaring effect on university education was the fluctuating fortunes of funding. This resulted in a series of strikes and confrontation between the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), accompanied by the search for greener pastures at home and abroad. On the home front, the military government through patrimonial incorporation had to co-opt articulate scholars and critics into top government positions such as Ministers, advisers and ambassadors. The potency of ASUU's

engagement with the state led to the hardness of the latter in its deployment of force against the former, resulting in massive exodus of scholars from Nigerian universities to foreign lands (Amuwo, 2003; Olukaju, 2002). Those who could not make it along the above route had little or no choice than to devise alternative means such as venturing into several other engagements – trading, part-time jobs etc., all with implications for their intellectual responsibilities.

The deepening crisis of the funding of higher education in Nigeria (Adegun, 2002; Olaniyan, 2002; Odekunle, 2002; Obikoya, 2002), coupled with the foregoing, was to have negative effects on academic research, publications and conferences. Scholars now find it extremely difficult to be represented at reputable international conferences owing to financial constraints. Locally too, several hitherto reputable and regular journals disappeared also for similar reasons. Given the condition that you either ‘publish or perish’, Nigerian scholars had to evolve coping strategies for sustained academic research and publishing. It is perhaps this that led to the idea of the proliferation of journals across disciplines and institutions, which hardly go beyond their domains. They also go into extinction shortly after their debut and have limited reach, not beyond what Olukaju (2002:6) called their ‘captive market’. This is a situation whereby students were required to subscribe to the journal as part of their registration requirements.

It is however important to note that the problem cannot be totally blamed on the Nigerian state. The universities too have contributed to the crisis in many respects. The task of governing the universities rests with their management. Unfortunately, most managers of the system, particularly Vice Chancellors, have come to see their offices as their own share of the national cake. As such, basic rules must be relegated to the background so as to accomplish their primordial agenda. In furtherance of this, they may deliberately refuse to promote and ensure quality assurance in recruitment, promotion and publication. As Omofa (2005: 12) has pointed out, the question of fairness, equity and justice have been replaced by considerations regarding identity, particularly ethnicity, religion and several other political factors. As such, the best brains are sacrificed to roam the street while the mediocre fill the system.

While it is true that Nigerian universities have been under-funded, it is equally true that university funds have been mismanaged. This takes the form of over-invoicing, allocation of contracts to oneself or agents and direct embezzlement of funds. This may have been made possible by the fact that some Vice Chancellors have become sort of emperors, who run the system like an estate (Iyayi, 2002: 31-32).

The complete politicisation of the system is another dimension of the crisis. It is such that while some enjoy a good patronage from the system for playing along, others are periodic victims of victimisation. The response of ASUU to this hardness through a radicalised struggle has not helped matters either. While the instrumentality of strike seems the only language that the managers of Nigerian universities and State understand, it has to be observed with moderation. The inability of ASUU to do this has added to the deepening crisis of intellectual corruption. This is because academics always look up to ASUU for rescue during crises. Now that ASUU has become seemingly irredeemably incapacitated to act effectively, given its castration in most universities, Nigerian academics are wont to devise other means of survival.

Implications for National Development

The deepening crisis of Nigerian academy, particularly the phenomenon of intellectual corruption, has had direct impacts on national development. The first and most basic is in terms of the loss of power it has brought to bear upon the state. The perversion of intellectual responsibility with the active connivance of the managers of the system and some segment of the academics has contributed to the massive exodus of scholars from the ivory tower. While the problem may not be about the exodus per se, it becomes worrisome given the fact that it is unidirectional, without an influx of expatriates to Nigerian universities. Worse still, it is the best brains that are lost to the outside world. The implication is that the affected constitute 'a permanent loss of skills to a country's economic development' (Amuwo, 2003: 98). This is basically so because, as Amuwo has argued:

They do not participate in their country's socio-economic production and knowledge structures. While they may be involved in diasporic skills and logistics networks with their countries of origin, their location outside of the main theatre of domestic knowledge production has effectively resulted in creating a missing link in intellectual capital and energy extant at home (2003: 98).

The foregoing has had implications for the quality of education in the country. Most graduates today can hardly compete favourably internationally. Observers now talk about half-baked graduates who are not well grounded in the basics and methodologies of their disciplines. This has been most played out in terms of the quality of post-graduate research in the country. Apart from 'the low level of theoretical, comparative and applied perspectives' that has characterised postgraduate research, studies have shown, drawing lessons from the social sciences, that graduate training in Nigeria:

has not been internationally competitive. A lot of their products are poorly equipped; lack the international exposure that can mainstream them into the current debates and discourses in their disciplines (Obi and Agbu, 2002: 49).

Closely related to the above is the sharp decline in the number of qualified and competent hands in universities to handle post-graduate training. It is disappointing to observe that some Nigerian universities of the second generation (established in the 1970s) do not have well-functioning post-graduate programmes for lack of qualified manpower. Those that manage to initiate them have been epileptic in their operations, resulting in a longer duration of programme at greater cost to students. To survive the system, students too, like their lecturers, have had to engage in some other money-making activities to supplement their ever-dwindling financial base due to the declining state of the economy. The implication is that they too have limited time for their research, with telling impact on the quality of the students and their research.

The cumulative effect of these has been the emergence of an image crisis for Nigeria within the international knowledge community. The most eloquent testimony has been the declining recognition accorded Nigerian certificates not only abroad but also at home. Graduates from Nigerians universities now find it hard to enrol for direct post-graduate studies abroad. While there are obviously some exceptions, it however constitutes a dimension of the country's image crisis. Even at home, some employers now have to subject graduates from Nigerian universities to a multi-stage test to ascertain the authenticity of their degrees. This is apart from the fact that some

institutions, most especially state universities, have been blacklisted as below the standard, where anything goes.

By implication, there is bound to be a dearth of intellectual and intellectualism. The best hands are hardly recruited as forces of identity have taken the lead in every issue relating to university governance. And since such people depend on patronage to survive, the managers of the system are wont to capitalise on this weakness to perpetuate all sorts of atrocities. The most notable of this is the total rape of academic freedom that is so pivotal to the University system as a whole and the academics in particular for the effective discharge of their responsibilities. Today, the question of job security that has for long been associated with the academic community is fast disappearing into thin air. Lecturers are now being sacked without recourse to the due process. ASUU that has usually been a beacon of hope for the redress of these vices seems to have lost out completely in the struggle and can no longer play the role of a balancer. In some cases, it is either they no longer exist or have been crippled. Where they exist, they do at the mercy and instance of management and to that extent could be seen as an appendage of management with no power of its own. This underscores the depth of this dimension of the crisis, having implications for academic productivity and enthusiasm.

In the final analysis, it is the Nigerian State and society that suffer. Across time and space, the importance of scholars, especially in terms of their intellectual responsibilities, has always been acknowledged. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Marx and so on were great intellectuals who made great contributions to the governance and development of the societies in which they lived. Scholars have also been seen as central to the sustainability of the democratisation and development project in their countries. They are expected to provide the knowledge framework through which the state and society can be mirrored. Unfortunately, the deepening crisis of the academy has not enabled them to do this well. While some have been in government in various capacities for long, we cannot say in precise terms what their role in the governance of the country has been. But there is a feeling that their activities are driven more by concern with coping with the strain and stress of a dwindling economy than any selfless commitment to promoting good governance. Yet there is a seeming acute shortage of manpower in the midst of plenty. This paradox derives from the fact that in terms of quantity, there are excesses but when measured quality-wise, there are serious shortages. Nothing captures the scenario better than this:

The most critical issue ... in Nigeria is the glaring decline of capacity in a period of national reconstruction, democratization and globalisation, when such capacity is most needed ... The 'brightest and the best' are abandoning research for the lush splendor of the private sector, the allure of political office, or the hard-currency denominated paychecks of the international arena. Those left behind clearly survive under desperate conditions, especially if they are unfortunate enough to be on the wrong side of the local politics. The state of social science research is dire; but there is still more hope (Obi and Agbu, 2002: 50).

Conclusion: Is There Really Hope?

The paper has examined the intellectual dimensions of corruption in Nigeria, its causes and implications. Our analysis indicates that the Nigerian academy is enmeshed in a deepening crisis of integrity, which has taken heavy tolls on the intellectual

responsibilities of scholars. In the long run, it is the state and society that suffer the most, given the inevitable consequences of this state of affairs for the democracy and development projects of the country. It is therefore important that urgent steps be taken to address the situation.

Since the problem is largely a reflection of the deepening crisis of the Nigerian state, whatever measures to be taken must happen within a broader framework that targets the state for reform. There is a need to critically re-interrogate the Nigerian state to ascertain why it has been dependent, unproductive and predatory, and appropriate measures must be designed to address these problems. Democratising public policy making processes at all levels of governance, decentralising political power to reduce competition for the centre and efforts made to sustain the democracy project, can be helpful. It is within this framework that higher institutions stand the chance of pursuing university autonomy, adequate funding and greater productivity.

There is also the need to address the problem of internal democracy that is conspicuously absent in the universities. This tendency has contributed more to the rape of academic freedom, leading to a sharp decline in the discharge of the intellectual responsibilities of scholars. The question of funding also remains central. As centres of knowledge production and dissemination, universities should be able to develop independent sources of revenue for their needs. They can do this by partnering with the private sector, generating the mass body of knowledge necessary or the advancement of businesses, science and technology. However, only a regime of good governance predicated upon accountability, transparency and control can sustain this.

Above all, there is need for a sustained effort to change the value system at all levels. The fact is that Nigerians have jettisoned the values of honesty, hard work, discipline, self-reliance and so on. The get-rich-quick syndrome would appear to have taken over. This has contributed to the collapse of most basic ethical issues in teaching, research, publication and community services. Only a sustained socio-political re-engineering that emphasises value reorientation at all levels may serve to reverse the trend. It may even be appropriate to inculcate such values into the academic curriculum of schools beginning from the elementary schools to university level. The assumption is that when the mind is right, the actions are likely to be right too and vice versa. Since this is a long-term measure, punitive measures that can serve as deterrents to others should be institutionalised for the short run. This should be done in an open, transparent and just environment. The effective execution of these measures offers some hope.

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