

ANTI-CORRUPTION ACADEMY OF NIGERIA (ACAN)

INDEPENDENT CORRUPT PRACTICES AND OTHER RELATED OFFENCES COMMISSION (ICPC)



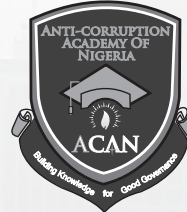
CORRUPTION AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA



ACAN Policy Brief

Series No. 5 - 2023

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About the Policy Brief

Over the last decade, Nigeria witnessed escalated levels of internal conflicts that threatened its social cohesion and national stability. For example, a 2022 report of the International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIRN) on the negative impact of insecurity in Nigeria revealed that kidnapping increased by 470% in the country between 2015 and 2017, and that in 2021 alone, at least One Billion Naira was paid as ransom to kidnappers in North-west and North-central Nigeria. The nexus between corruption and the rising insecurity has become a major issue of national concern. This Policy Brief which is an outcome of a national Policy Dialogue on corruption and insecurity in Nigeria provides insights into such nexus between corruption and insecurity. The analysis shows that social and economic ills can result from corruption in the public sector - a key factor that keeps Nigeria in both the poverty and conflict traps. When public officials choose to act in manners that satisfy their self-interests rather than public interest, an environment of corruption-induced conflict and insecurity is engendered. It is hoped that the recommendations in this Policy Brief will go a long way to stem the tide of insecurity by eliminating the corruption associated with insecurity.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACAN	Anti-Corruption Academy of Nigeria
CDS	Chief of the Defence Staff
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
MDA	Ministry, Department, and Agency
NACS	National Anti-Corruption Strategy
NOA	National Orientation Agency
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NSA	National Security Adviser
TI	Transparency International
UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against Corruption
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank

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FOREWORD

Nigeria's worsening insecurity challenge and its impact on the state and the economy is of big concern to Nigerians and leaders in the three arms of government including all state institutions. A publication by *BusinessDay* of May, 2022 shows that Nigeria's military spending grew by fifty-six percent (56%) in one year from two billion, four hundred million Dollars (USD2, 400,000,000) to four billion, five hundred million Dollars (USD4, 500,000,000) in 2021. If those figures were correct, it indicates that strengthening the security infrastructure and services, especially the military to beef up security against internal threats, has become a matter of very high national priority.

On September 9, 2022, the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) held a Policy Dialogue on *Corruption and Insecurity in Nigeria*. This Policy Dialogue was the 5th in the Series since the first one was held on April 16, 2019 on 'Eradicating Electoral Corruption (Focus on Vote Buying)'. This Policy Brief on Corruption and Insecurity aims at broadening our understanding of the causative and enabling factors, as well as policy gaps that weaken the country's capacity to decisively and conclusively eradicate insecurity from within her borders.

At face value, insecurity is seen to be and is sometimes treated as a matter requiring only a military response or reaction, but an in-depth look into its possible root cause(s) shows that corruption is a major contributory factor to the continued existence and propagation of insecurity in the country. In fact, a clinical diagnosis of the insecurity menace in the country reveals that to effectively combat insecurity we require the collaborative efforts of Security Agencies (the military, intelligence, Police, Customs, Prisons, and others), as well as Law Enforcement and Anti-Corruption Agencies.

ICPC's research and investigation findings on this subject show that public sector corruption directly or indirectly enables insecurity and also complements it. Cases of job racketeering abound in the security sector, many of which are under our investigation. There are also ongoing investigations into military contract spending.

Not too long ago, the ICPC arrested a military contractor who received almost a billion cash payments from the Nigerian Army contrary to the Money Laundering Act (MLA) and extant laws. The Commission made mind-boggling recoveries of huge cash sums of money, in different currencies, luxury cars, customised mobile phones, several designer watches including Rolexes as well as property documents. This pointer to the likelihood of huge but underestimated corruption in military procurement is worrisome and underscores the need to reform the procurement process for military contracts as done elsewhere.

Other examples of intersection between corruption and insecurity are found in some of the on-going investigations of military and security personnel by the ICPC and our sister agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) for embezzlement of funds and breach of national security. For example, a former head of one of the arms of the military, in the twilight of his tenure deposited the sum of four billion Naira (N4,000,000,000) from the military budget to his personal accounts in two companies where he is the beneficial owner and sole signatory. The proceeds from the laundered funds were used to purchase properties in Abuja using the names of cronies and proxies. Even properties that were paid for by the Agency were fraudulently converted by this said person for his private use.

The government of President Buhari and the Ninth National Assembly significantly increased funding to the security sector thus provoking the question: why has this increased funding and proactive effort not translated into commensurate effectiveness in the war against insurgency and insecurity? This is in spite of the gallant and sacrificial efforts of soldiers, policemen and other security operatives working daily to secure Nigeria.

Experts have attributed the aggravation of insecurity partially to misapplication and misappropriation of funds in the defence sector's procurement practice. Investigation by anti-corruption agencies seems to attest to this. What is worse is that soldiers are often reported in social media complaining of being poorly equipped and being poorly motivated. These challenges exist against the revelation by the Centre for Democracy and Development that about Fifteen Billion dollars (\$15,000,000,000) have been squandered through fraudulent arms procurement deals in the last twenty (20) years in Nigeria.

This Policy Brief focuses on the ideas and policy recommendations that will support the government in developing counter-measures against corruption-induced and corruption-enabling insecurity in Nigeria. It is our hope that this Policy Brief will become a valuable tool in the fight against corruption and insecurity in the country.

Professor Bolaji Owasanoye SAN, OFR

Chairman

Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC)

November, 2022

P R E F A C E

One of the key emphases of the 5th Policy Dialogue held in September 9, 2022 from which this Police Brief on *Corruption and Insecurity in Nigeria* was based, is on corruption prevention. It is now well known that corruption can only be best tackled when it is prevented. Fortunately, the prevention mandate of the ICPC is the fulcrum of the work of the Anti-Corruption Academy of Nigeria (ACAN), the training and research arm of the Commission.

Among the many responsibilities of ACAN is the continuous acquisition of anti-corruption intelligence through research and analysis of the data generated from and for the daily operational processes of governments in Nigeria. ACAN research findings into the connectedness between corruption and insecurity highlight the need for the development of a homegrown and easily implementable anti-corruption strategy. This also calls for synergy among stakeholders in the war against corruption and insecurity in Nigeria.

As aptly pointed out by the Honourable Chairman of the ICPC, Prof Bolaji Owasanoye during the 5th Policy Dialogue, corruption does not only enable insecurity, it also complements it. There is therefore, an urgent need for the removal of all impediments and barriers surrounding the assessment of government spending, especially, military spending, because as we now know, corruption in the defence sector, is a threat to the very survival of Nigeria and her citizens.

The Chief of Defence Staff, Gen. Lucky Irabor, captured this fact more succinctly when he said that "...the war against corruption and insecurity cannot be fought in isolation." This again highlights the need therefore, for interagency cooperation among our security, intelligence and law enforcement agencies especially regarding sharing intelligence sourced locally and internationally as this would give the government the strategic, operational and tactical edge it requires to successfully tackle the twin evils of corruption and insecurity in Nigeria. This 5th Policy Brief is geared towards promoting such interagency brainstorming on relevant ideas that would help to stem the tide of corrupt practices that enable and sustain insecurity in the country.

The Policy Dialogue and Policy Brief were made possible with the generous funding support of the MacArthur Foundation. We are very pleased to acknowledge with gratitude the funding support of the Foundation.

The success of the Policy Dialogue would not have been possible without the active participation of distinguished guests and speakers. ACAN-ICPC is very much indebted to all of them, too numerous to mention. Nevertheless, this appreciation cannot escape from mentioning the specific names of those who played one important role or the other towards the success of the Dialogue. In this regard, we thank the Senate President, Dr Ahmad Lawan; Hon. Minister of Interior, Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola; the National Security Adviser, Maj. General Muhammed Babagan a Monguno (rtd); and the Chief of Defence Staff, General Lucky E.O. Irabor.

Furthermore, we thank the representative of the Chairman Governors' Forum, ED, NGF; Representative of the Minister of Defence, Mrs. Ochida Susan; The representative of Minister of Police Affairs, Mr. Kalu Annah; other Service Chiefs represented; The representative of the Inspector General of Police; Hon Members of ICPC Board; The Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Archbishop Okoh; Representative of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), the Sultan of Sokoto and President-General of the NSCIA; His Royal Highness, Emir of Keffi, Nasarawa State, Dr. Shehu Chindo Yamusa III; Representative of Nigeria Immigration Service; Representative of Nigeria Customs Service; Representative of Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps; Representative of Nigeria Correctional Service; and President of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Comrade Ayuba Wabba.

We also express our gratitude to Prof. Etannibi Alemika (Professor of Criminology and member of PACAC); Prof. Amadu Sessay, (Professor of International Relations); Prof. Isaac Olawale Albert (of the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan); Dr. Nwambu Gabriel {Director-General, Centre for Credible Leadership and Citizens Awareness (CCLCA)}; the rapporteur team led by Prof. Elijah O. Okebukola, assisted by Dr Muritala Dauda, Mr. Okorn Okorn and Ms Yetunde Mosunmola; ACAN senior Faculty namely, Prof. Sola Akinrinade (former Provost), Mr Okey Igbudu (Director ACAN), Mr Samuel Lodam (Head, Administration), Mr Richard Bello (Head, Training and Consultancy), Mr Mark Faison (Head, Communications and Advocacy), and all other staff whose contributions to the planning and organisation made the Policy Dialogue a reality. Lastly, we thank specially Prof. Isaac N. Obasi for serving as an Editorial Consultant in the preparation of this Policy Brief.

Professor Olatunde Babawale

Provost

Anti-Corruption Academy of Nigeria (ACAN)

November, 2022

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Insecurity in Nigeria is negatively affecting every sector of the economy and society and is threatening the stability of its foundation as a country. In the North East, for example, the extremist sect, Boko Haram, continues to kidnap and claim lives and territory. In the South East, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), a secessionist group, is disrupting the peace and socio-economic activities of the entire region. Also in the South-South, the Niger Delta militants attack and destroy several crude oil infrastructures and have kidnapped many workers in the sector, including expatriates. Again, in the North-West, banditry has been on the rise with many people being kidnapped and killed, and in the South-West, the story is not different from what has been happening in the other geo-political zones.

To capture this dire situation more vividly, a 2022 report of the International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIRN) on the negative impacts of insecurity in Nigeria revealed that kidnapping increased by 470% in the country between 2015 and 2017 and that in 2021 alone, at least One Billion Naira was paid as ransom to kidnappers in Northwest and North Central Nigeria. Consequently, many concerns had been raised with the House of Representatives of Nigeria for instance urging the Federal Government to declare a national emergency on the rising state of insecurity and many incidences of killings across the country. This Policy Brief is a response to these concerns, as it examines the twin evils of corruption and insecurity and their linkages in Nigeria.

This Policy Brief is the outcome of a Policy Dialogue on corruption and insecurity in Nigeria which provided critical stakeholders the opportunity to share experiences on the subject matter. The discussions provided rich insights into the nexus between corruption and insecurity, particularly on how insecurity fuelled by corruption **from outside** the security, defence, law enforcement, and intelligence sectors on one hand, and how insecurity fuelled by corruption **from within** the security, defence, law enforcement, and intelligence sectors, on the other hand, significantly destabilise the state.

The analysis in the Policy Brief shows that social and economic ills can result from corruption in the public sector since it is the sector through which the government dispenses public goods and services. It also identifies corruption as a key factor that keeps Nigeria in both the poverty and conflict traps. When public officials choose to act in manners that satisfy their self-interests rather than public interest, an environment of corruption-induced conflict and insecurity is engendered.

When this becomes prevalent, there is a significant (negative) impact on the development of the state, its people and its legitimacy. This is simply because corruption undermines the capacity of the state to provide welfare and security, two cardinal pillars upon which the legitimacy of the government is built. There is therefore an urgent need for the state to develop intelligent and effective accountability measures to checkmate the freedom of

its agents to commit such corrupt acts that would endanger the security and stability of the state itself.

These entail for instance that first, the state should put in place internal Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) to check the monopoly power of representative actors appointed, elected, or promoted to head and manage public institutions. These SOPs, we recommend, should include, among other things, the right legal frameworks, more transparent procurement procedures and the use of bespoke technologies to develop internal mechanisms for overseeing MDA operations, in real time, at all levels of the government. Secondly, the state should develop standards to provide guided discretion for people in public offices. Accordingly, the development of a National Corruption Prevention Plan (NCP) is recommended. Thirdly, the state should establish minimum standards for admitting people into public office and should also clearly state whose responsibility it is to develop, monitor and enforce those standards. Lastly, the state should build and implement a reward and punishment system that is fair and applicable to all regardless of social status, political affiliation or financial means.

It is hoped that the recommendations in this Policy Brief will go a long way in providing the necessary guides towards stemming the tide of insecurity by eliminating the corruption associated with the war on insecurity.

1. Introduction

According to Transparency International,¹ there is a strong link between corruption and insecurity. In Nigeria it says, weak institutions, the public's distrust for its security forces, and weak borders give terrorist organisations room to flourish within its territory. The impact of insecurity in Nigeria is threatening and negatively affecting every sector of the economy and society. In the North-East, for example, the extremist sect, Boko Haram, continues to kidnap and claim lives. And in the North-Central, herdsman-farmers clashes have been on the rise with many people of the local communities rendered homeless. In the South-East, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), a secessionist group, is disrupting the peace and socio-economic activities of the entire region. Also in the South-South, the Niger Delta militants attack and destroy several crude oil infrastructures and have kidnapped many workers in the sector, including expatriates.

"In the North-East kidnapping which was also used as a sustenance fundraising Strategy by insurgents, remains a fast growing menace flooding the country with exhausting financial demands."

- Auwal Rafsanjani (CISLAC Executive Director)

Again, in the North-West, banditry has been on the rise with many people being kidnapped and killed, and in the South-West, the story is not different from what has been happening in the other geo-political zones. Consequently, a 2022 report of the International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIRN) on the negative impacts of insecurity in Nigeria revealed that kidnapping increased by 470% in the country between 2015 and 2017 and that in 2021 alone, at least One Billion Naira was paid as ransom to kidnapers in North-West and North-Central Nigeria².

Nigeria's worsening insecurity challenges and the resulting impact on the Nigerian state, economy, and image, continue to receive local and global attention. Of interest to scholars have been the causes and enablers of the co-dependent but independent concepts of insecurity and underdevelopment in Nigeria.

¹ Transparency International, 2014. Nigeria: corruption and insecurity - News. [online] Transparency.org. Available at: Ozah, M., 2022. Insecurity, corruption and Nigeria's future. The Guardian, [online] p.A Single page. Available at: <<https://guardian.ng/opinion/insecurity-corruption-and-nigerias-future/>> [Accessed 16 June 2022].

² Abolade, L. 2022. Tracking the ransom: How multi-million naira kidnapping industry is growing in Northern Nigeria, The ICIR- Latest News, Politics, Governance, Elections, Investigation, Factcheck, Covid -19. Available at: <https://www.icirnigeria.org/tracking-the-ransom-how-multi-million-naira-kidnapping-industry-is-growing-in-northern-nigeria/> (Accessed: 23 May 2022).

Expectedly, the rising levels of insecurity were reflected in the 2022 Global Terrorism Index, where Nigeria ranked 3rd in West Africa and 6th globally. This rating reflected a dire situation for the Nigerian people, economy and levels of foreign investments. A recent study³ revealed that over three million persons were internally displaced (IDPs) and living in camps across the country. The study also revealed that there was a drop in oil production by almost one million barrels per day (1m bdp) in 2018, resulting in a decline in government revenues from crude oil production.

Similarly, the agricultural sector which is Nigeria's largest employer of labour and which contributed approximately 23.78% to her GDP in the second quarter of 2021⁴ has also been terribly disrupted due to repeated and rising incidences of farmer-herder clashes, banditry, cattle rustling, boko haram insurgency, and communal clashes, among others. This also resulted in rising inflation and an impending food crisis in the nation. Furthermore, Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and the accompanying capital inflows have declined due to insecurity. Nigeria witnessed a 31% decline in capital inflows in 2021 compared to 2020, which represented the lowest recorded inflows since 2016.⁵ Undoubtedly, the Nigerian state, her economy and peoples have been threatened seriously by insecurity and this is at variance with the expectation that the security of lives and property (from foreign and domestic threats and dangers) is critical to the survival of any nation.

Consequently, many concerns had been raised with the House of Representatives of Nigeria for instance urging the Federal Government to declare a national emergency on the rising state of insecurity and many incidences of killings across the country. This Policy Brief is a response to these concerns, as it examines the twin evils of corruption and insecurity and their linkages in Nigeria.

1.1 Linking Corruption to Insecurity in Nigeria

The rising cases of insecurity in Nigeria have been attributed to youth unemployment, poverty, inequality, and ethnic and religious intolerance.⁶ These identified causes of insecurity are social problems, which are sometimes defined as issues in society that

³ Yusuf A, Mohd S. Growth and Fiscal Effects of Insecurity on the Nigerian Economy. *Eur J Dev Res.* 2022 Apr 19:1-27. doi: 10.1057/s41287-022-00531-3. Epub ahead of print. PMID: 35464616; PMCID: PMC9016214.

⁴ Izuaka, M. (2021) *GDP: Agric contribution improves in 2021 second quarter, Premium Times - Nigeria leading newspaper for News, investigations.* Available at: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/agriculture/481533-gdp-agric-contribution-improves-in-2021-second-quarter.html?tztc=1> (Accessed: 15 May 2022).

⁵ Oyekanmi, S. (2022) *Nigeria's capital inflow drops to \$6.7 billion in 2021, lowest in 5 Years, Nairametrics.* Available at: <https://nairametrics.com/2022/03/25/nigerias-capital-inflow-drops-to-6-7-billion-in-2021-lowest-in-5-years/> (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

⁶ Augusto, C. (2022) *The economics of insecurity: Nigeria's rough patch, Nigeria's First Credit Rating Company.* Available at: <https://www.agusto.com/publications/the-economics-of-insecurity-nigerias-rough-patch/#:~:text=Causes%20of%20Insecurity%20in%20Nigeria,centre%20of%20Nigeria%27s%20insecurity%20problem.> (Accessed: 15 May 2023).

hinder people from achieving their full potential. Underdevelopment problems are associated with inefficiencies in governance and the failure of the state to properly allocate scarce resources for the public good. In developing countries such as Nigeria, the misappropriation of public resources is attributed to widespread and systemic corruption.

In his Foreword to the 2004 United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), former United Nations Secretary General, Koffi Annan, in affirming the negative impact of corruption on a country stated that the diversion of funds intended for development undermines the ability of governments to provide basic services, increases inequalities and injustice, and discourages foreign aid investment.⁷

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) also pointed out that there is a strong causal link between corruption and ineffective, unaccountable, and exclusive [government] institutions which weaken and incapacitate the state and leads to such social ills as organised crime, armed conflict, and crimes.⁸ It can be seen that corruption occurs when people in positions of [public] power and authority misuse or abuse their offices and public resources for selfish interest, rather than act to serve the public interest, and the result, as seen above, is widespread social ills that can, and often, cause conflicts and insecurity. A 2018 NBS report showed that Nigeria lost more than \$19 billion (N7 trillion Naira) as revenue leakage in addition to \$1.5 billion lost monthly on the Gulf of Guinea due to terrorist attacks, piracy and militancy.⁹ Also, a Transparency International (TI) report on the prevalence of corruption in Africa (from 35 countries surveyed) stated that one in four people paid a bribe to access a public service, like health and education.¹⁰ See chart 1 below. Similarly, an NBS¹¹

⁷ Annan, K.A. (2003) *United Nations Convention Against Corruption*, UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME Vienna. Available at: https://www.unodc.org/documents/brussels/UN_Convention_Against_Corruption.pdf (Accessed: 15 May 2022).

⁸ UNODC, 2019. Anti-Corruption Module 1 Key Issues: Effects of Corruption. [online] Unodc.org. Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/e4j/en/anti-corruption/module-1/key-issues/effects-of-corruption.html> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

⁹ National Bureau of Statistics (2018). Nigeria's Socio-Economic Statistics. <https://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng>

¹⁰ Transparency International, 2019. Citizens speak out about corruption in Africa - News. [online] Transparency.org. Available at: <https://www.transparency.org/en/news/citizens-speak-out-about-corruption-in-africa> [Accessed 6 June 2022].

¹¹ National Bureau of Statistics (2018). Nigeria's Socio-Economic Statistics. <https://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng>

BRIBERY RATES BY SERVICE*

* Percentage of people who used these services and paid a bribe in the previous 12 months.

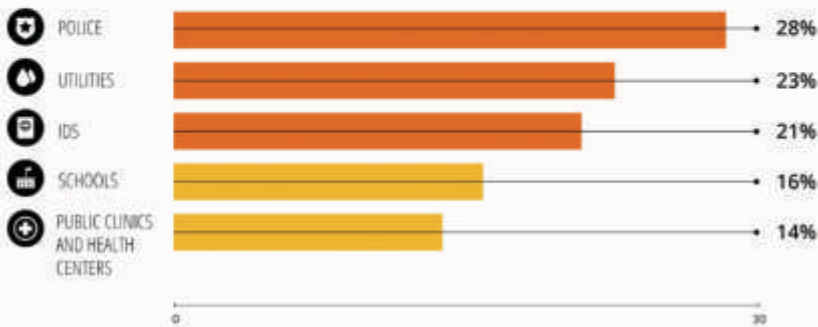


Chart 1 shows that the Police and their services attracted the most bribes paid. If the Police who are meant to secure lives and property demand bribes to do their job, it should be unsurprising why corruption enables insecurity.

In another related study, poverty in Africa was attributed to the “personal rule paradigm”, a situation where people seem to treat public offices as a form of personal property for private gain and where public offices are managed on the principle of bias and bribery (kith and kin take precedence over national identity).¹² We know that when people in positions of (public) entrusted power put self-interest above public interest, corruption happens.¹³ Corruption, as we have seen, when prevalent creates violent conflicts that destabilise regions and countries resulting in insecurity and sometimes, even a civil war.

Clearly, corruption makes countries poorer. Research findings have established the connectedness between poverty and conflict, stating that poverty weakens the ability of government institutions and the state to resist conflicts, provide public goods, and project (their) power and authority. When poverty results from unemployment, inequality, low education, and underdevelopment (all of which can be outcomes of corruption), then there is a higher vulnerability to insurgency at community and individual levels, since the opportunity cost of mobilisation for violence is lowered making it easier to recruit and motivate followers.¹⁴ Another point to note is that the existence of inequality, which is the exclusion of ethnic, religious, or other identity groups from accessing public goods, services and opportunities causes a polarity which increases the risk of violent conflict. This was exemplified in southern Nigeria, in the Niger Delta region where militia groups took

¹² Brennan, K. (2019) *Identifying the multiple causes of poverty in Africa, The Borgen Project*. Available at: <https://borgenproject.org/causes-of-poverty-in-africa/> (Accessed: 15 July 2022).

¹³ Wang, H., & Rosenau, J. N. (2001). Transparency International and Corruption as an Issue of Global Governance. *Global Governance*, 7(1), 25–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800285>

¹⁴ Marks, Z. (2016) *Poverty and conflict, GSDRC*. Available at: <https://gsdrc.org/professional-dev/poverty-and-conflict/> (Accessed: 19 June 2022).

to arms to fight against the economic neglect of the region which produces the oil that sustains the Nigerian economy.¹⁵

2. Conceptual Analysis

2.1 The Concept of State

The concept of a state is largely constructed around a sovereign people within a definite geographical territory, who have a system of governance that is guided by laws and implemented by institutions with (s)elected representatives to oversee and apply these institutions for the welfare, security, and development of all. Britannica defines a state as “a form of human association distinguished from other social groups by its purpose, the establishment of order and security; its methods, the laws, and their enforcement; its territory, the area of jurisdiction or geographic boundaries; and finally by its sovereignty”.¹⁶

It can be deduced, therefore, that a state represents a sovereign people within a geographical territory who through social cooperation are ruled by a type of governance structure to further their common interest. One such type of governance structure is a democracy which is the form of governance practised in Nigeria today, though practised as indirect democracy where representatives are elected by the people to make laws and policies, as well as implement such on their behalf.

2.2 Democratic Governance

In a democracy, however, the construct of a state subsists as “rule by the people” and as a type of governance structure, it provides for the sovereignty of the people. Nigeria practises a [indirect] democracy where public institutions are managed by representatives elected by the people to represent communal interest, guided by the rule of law. The need for Security has been identified as the [primary] basis of this social contract that exists between the people and the state, which makes people willingly surrender their rights to a government that oversees the survival of all. For example, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in Chapter 2, Section 14, states that “The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”, affirming the significance of security and welfare (development) to the continued existence of the social contract between the Nigerian people and the Nigerian state. A democracy,

¹⁵ Kaur, S., 2020. Do Economic Inequalities Generate Political Conflict? An Insight into Civil War and Niger Delta Crisis in Nigeria. *Insight on Africa*, 12(2), pp.160-174.

¹⁶ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "State". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 20 Oct. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/state-sovereign-political-entity>. Accessed 13 June 2022.

therefore, ensures that people and institutions are governed by the same laws, regardless of status; a philosophy called the rule of law.¹⁷

It comprises the principles and procedures by which a government operates and has been identified by the United Nations (UN) as being fundamental to international peace, security, and political stability, all of which are essential for social and economic development. And as a principle, the rule of law provides that people, institutions and even the state itself be bound by the same laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced, and independently adjudicated.¹⁸ These laws and principles are enshrined in the country's constitution which serves as the binding contract between citizens, the state and those who act on its behalf, to advance the safety, well-being and development of all natural and non-natural resources.

National security is said to be the capacity of a state to control those domestic and foreign conditions or threats that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and wellbeing.¹⁹ When insecurity is caused by domestic threats, it arises when individuals or groups within a state lose confidence in, or challenge the capacity of the state to protect or advance their interests. They may decide to act, operate or seek justice outside the rule of law causing conflicts and sometimes civil war, ultimately resulting in insecurity at a national scale. As stated earlier, the public expects the state to have the capacity to control domestic and foreign threats to ensure the security and well-being of all. Insecurity opens the public to the fear of dangers and exposes them to mortal threats and this is usually an indication that the state lacks the capacity to protect the citizens. When this happens, the public interprets it as a breach of contract by the state and its representative leadership and can begin to question the legitimacy of the state.

2.3 Public Institutions and the Public Sector

Institutions of the state and of its politics, bureaux, and public policies, controlled by the government, collectively refer to the public sector.²⁰ The public sector, through its civil and public service structures, is responsible for executing the social contract that exists between the people and the state, and generally, where this sector is run efficiently and transparently and is accountable to the people, there is rapid development and good

¹⁷ Waldron, J. (2016) *The rule of law*, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rule-of-law/#:~:text=The%20role%20of%20Law%20comprises,norms%20that%20govern%20a%20society>. (Accessed: 18 May 2022).

¹⁸ Infopoint, U.R. (2022) *UNRIC library backgrounder: Rule of law, United Nations Western Europe*. Available at: <https://unric.org/en/unric-library-backgrounder-rule-of-law/#> (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

¹⁹ MAIER, CHARLES S. *Peace and security for the 1990s*. Unpublished paper for the MacArthur Fellowship Program, Social Science Research Council, 12 June 1990. As quoted in Romm 1993, p.5

²⁰ Lane, J. E. (2000). *The public sector: concepts, models and approaches*. Sage.

governance. However, where it is run corruptly, unaccountable to the people, and not serving public interest, there is bad governance and (s)low development. Public sector corruption creates environments that are most favourable for corruption to thrive leading to the inability of the government to, through its public sector, enforce the rule of law within itself and in society at large.

3. Corruption as Enabler of Insecurity in Nigeria

As earlier argued, there exists a relationship between corruption and the social ills in society which is in turn related to insecurity. The following arguments show how corruption enables insecurity.

3.1 Corruption, Directly and Indirectly, Enables Insecurity

This argument proposes that while underdevelopment is a direct result of corruption, insecurity under this assumption is an indirect result of corruption. For example, if the procurement department diverts funds allocated to the purchase of arms and equipment for military personnel to private pockets, the personnel are incapacitated when confronted by insurgents with more sophisticated arms and equipment. The insurgents then acquire more territory and weaken the state's capacity to protect its citizens from the horrors of insurgency.

3.2 Corruption Complements Insecurity

A study by Transparency International (TI) shows that Corruption and insecurity complement one another and that there is a strong relationship between high levels of corruption and violent conflict (see table 1).²¹ The study further noted that it is difficult to say which is caused by the other or that they both arise from a common cause like weak institutions. The report stated, however, that corruption, weak institutions, conflict, and insecurity, though independent phenomena share a common feedback loop.²²

²¹ Transparency International, 2014. Corruption as a Threat to Stability and Peace. [online] Ti-defence.org. Available at: <https://ti-defence.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/2014-01_CorruptionThreatStabilityPeace.pdf> [Accessed 15 June 2022].

²² *ibid*

Table 1.: Highly Corrupt Countries and their experience of conflict and peace operations

Country	CPI Score 2011	CPI score 2012	WGI score 2011	WGI score 2012	Violent Internal Conflict since 2006	Peace Operation since 2006
Afghanistan	1.5	0.8	-1.55	-1.41	Yes	Yes
Angola	2	2.2	-1.34	-1.29	No	No
Burundi	1.9	1.9	-1.12	-1.46	Yes	Yes
Cambodia		2.2	-1.22	-1.04	No	No
Cameroon	2.5	2.2	-1.04	-1.24	No	No
Chad	2	1.9	-1.26	-1.25	Yes	Yes
DR Congo	2	0.8	-1.4	-1.3	Yes	Yes
Equatorial Guinea	1.9	2	-1.49	-1.56	No	No
Haiti	1.8	1.9	-1.23	-1.24	Yes	Yes
Iraq	1.8	1.8	-1.21	-1.23	Yes	Yes
Libya	2	2.1	-1.29	-1.4	Yes	Yes
Myanmar	1.5	1.5	-1.68	-1.12	Yes	No
North Korea	1	0.8	-1.37	-1.37	No	No
Somalia	1	0.8	-1.7	-1.59	Yes	Yes
Sudan	1.6	1.3	-1.23	-1.51	Yes	Yes
Turkmenistan	1.6	1.7	-1.44	-1.34	No	No
Uzbekistan	1.6	1.7	-1.31	-1.23	No	No
Venezuela	1.9	1.8	-1.16	-1.24	No	No
Yemen	2.1	2.3	-1.18	-1.24	Yes	No
Zimbabwe	2.2	2	-1.38	-1.27	No	No

3.3 Globalisation may enable Insecurity where Corruption is prevalent

The 21st century has witnessed large-scale and dynamic interactions and integrations of trade, finance, culture, technology, and conflicts globally, a phenomenon often referred to as globalisation. These interactions and integrations, purportedly aimed at improving

human development within a global environment have, unfortunately, been reported²³ to also produce negative outcomes like corruption and economic insecurity which manifests especially in unequal and unfair distribution of development, opportunity, and competition.²⁴ Under these circumstances, inequality and unfair competition may create distortions to the anticipated realisation of the human development agenda and trends of globalisation since large corporations from the developed world with more resources, experience, and capital are already more advantaged than their smaller counterparts from developing countries. Yet, developing countries have been seen to suffer the negative impacts of globalisation such as corruption, economic insecurity, and trade imbalances, among others.²⁵ Where there is widespread corruption and weak, unaccountable public institutions, big corporations may through corrupt officials create contractual agreements that are not in the best interest of the people. A similar situation was witnessed in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

3.4 Unaccountable Governance creates an enabling environment for Corruption & Conflict

As Robert Klitgaard shows, corruption needs an enabling environment to thrive. His hypothesis holds that corruption is a crime of calculation and not of passion.²⁶ His formula: $C = M + D - A$ (where $C =$ Corruption, $M =$ Monopoly, $D =$ Discretion, $A =$ Accountability), further shows that Corruption thrives where Monopoly decision makers apply absolute Discretion without Accountability. Klitgaard draws attention to the importance of the environment as an enabler of corruption since it makes corruption a system and not necessarily just a crime of opportunity.²⁷

In application, the Klitgaard formula which shows that when a person, organisation, or system has Monopoly power over the distribution of public goods and services or resources and can apply Discretion to determine who gets how much and is not accountable to anyone else but himself, there is a higher incentive for corrupt behaviour. It also shows that in an environment where the reward of corruption is higher than the risk of getting caught or the penalty for getting caught is lower than the reward of the corruption, there will be a high manifestation of corruption. Where those practices exist, to stay in power, Political Actors may sponsor violent conflicts to retain, usurp or overthrow power.

²³ Fernando, J., 2022. Understanding Globalisation. [online] Investopedia. Available at: <<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/globalization.asp>> [Accessed 17 June 2022].

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Mishra, Prachi & Topalova, Petia. (2012). How Does Globalization Affect Developing Countries?

²⁶ Acuna-Alfaro, J. and Mordt, M., 2022. The Anti-corruption Formula | United Nations Development Programme. [online] UNDP. Available at: <<https://www.undp.org/latin-america/blog/anti-corruption-formula>> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

²⁷ Klitgaard, R., 1998. International Cooperation Against Corruption. [online] imp.org. Available at: <<https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/1998/03/pdf/klitgaar.pdf>> [Accessed 14 June, 2022].

3.5 Public/Private Sector Collaboration Indirectly Enables Insecurity

Wang and Rosenau²⁸ assert that corruption is “the collaboration between public officials and private actors for private [financial] gains in contravention of the public's interest”. This is reinforced by the neo-institutionalist approach of scholars like Ollie Hellman²⁹ who argue that “corruption can become institutionalised as an informal system of norms and practices that shape individuals’ strategic thinking and behaviour.” This school of thought deviates from the argument that corruption is motivated by individual greed, grievance, and selfish interests and rather argues that corruption is systemic and is both environment and social systems enabled. When society develops values that justify and protect (public sector) corruption, it creates strong men in weak institutions who use violence and conflict to retain their hold on power at any cost.

3.6 Poverty Enables Insecurity

Another school of thought exists that argues that poverty causes civil conflicts. These researchers establish the existence of a reciprocal relationship between poverty and conflict known as the “conflict trap”. The notion provides that once a country experiences conflict like a civil war, economic development takes a downward spiral increasing the likelihood for further conflict. There are two arguments in this regard, one is that economic circumstances are responsible for civil conflicts and insecurity. They argue that poverty increases conflict by making it easier for rebels to recruit fighters with better economic offerings compared to the prevailing economic circumstances around them. They also argue that increased enrolment of males at school reduces the risk of war.³⁰

The second group of scholars, represented by Fearon and Laitin (2003), argue that poverty increases the chances of civil conflict but not by making rebel recruitment easier. Rather, it does so by weakening the state financially and in terms of its military capacity, increasing the odds of rebels succeeding in civil wars waged against the state.³¹

3.7 Misallocation of Public Resources through National Budget

Analysis conducted by the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) on the 2022 appropriation law, reveals that there is a misallocation

²⁸ Wang, H., & Rosenau, J. N. (2001). Transparency International and Corruption as an Issue of Global Governance. *Global Governance*, 7(1), 25–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800285>

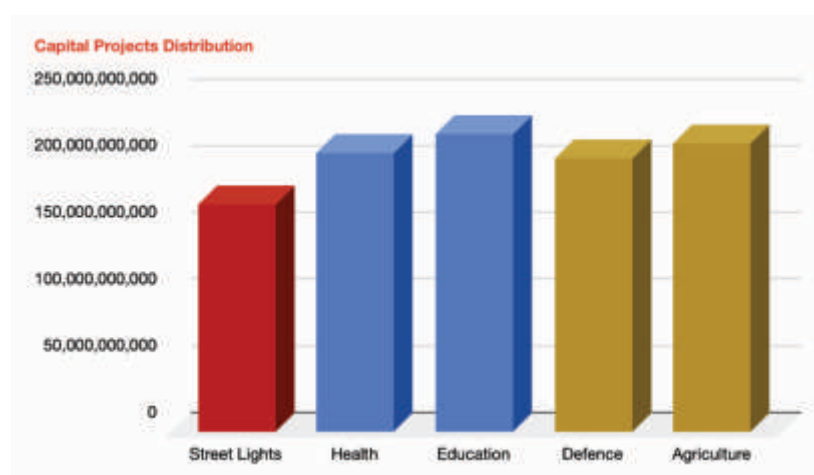
²⁹ Hellmann, Olli. (2017). The historical origins of corruption in the developing world: a comparative analysis of East Asia. *Crime, Law and Social Change*. 68. 10.1007/s10611-016-9679-6.

³⁰ Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in the civil war. *Oxford economic papers*, 56(4), 563-595.

³¹ Fearon, J., & Laitin, D. (2003). Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 75-90. doi:10.1017/S0003055403000534

of public resources through the national budget. The Commission's study of capital projects in the 2022 budget of the federal government found anomalies indicative of systemic corruption, misplaced priority, and well-calculated fraudulent efforts aimed at embezzlement of public funds.

The study revealed for example, that the total sum allocated for the purchase of solar street lights across MDAs without the competence or capacity to implement power related projects, in the 2022 budget was N177,020,158,693.00 (One Hundred and Seventy-Seven Billion, Twenty Million, One Hundred and Fifty-Eight Thousand, Six Hundred and Ninety-Three Naira) only, which is close to the amount allocated for capital projects in other sectors like Health (N208,014,941,838), Education (N222,212,089,508), Defence (N204,621,431,758) and Agriculture (N215,872,238,074). This finding is illustrated in chart 2 below:



This revelation indicates the absence of good faith in the budgetary process since the channels (MDAs) of utilisation of the funds are not the most capable for such.

4. Combating Corruption

4.1 Efforts by Past & Present Administrations

Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 has witnessed some remarkable efforts in the fight against corruption following the establishment of anticorruption agencies and other initiatives, some of which include:

- The Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences (ICPC) Act 2000 created a specialised agency (the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission) with the mandate for corruption prevention, Enforcement, and Education. Its Academy, the Anti-Corruption Academy of Nigeria (ACAN) is a Research and Training arm of the Commission.

- The Economic and Financial Crimes (Establishment) Act 2004 (as amended) created the EFCC, an agency of the government with the mandate to investigate, prevent and enlighten about/against financial crimes.
- The Public Procurement Act 2007 which empowers the Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP) to harmonise existing government policies and practices on public procurement and ensure probity, accountability, and transparency in the procurement process.
- The Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) and the corresponding Code of Conduct Tribunal has the mandate to prevent and sanction the illicit enrichment of public officials through the asset declaration and verification regimen.
- The Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative - NEITI is the Nigerian subset of the global EITI and works to ensure transparency and accountability in revenue receipts and expenditure from the extractive sector. NEITI carries out its functions through a physical, process, and financial audit of the extractive sector.
- The Office of the Auditor-General for the Federation is provided for in the Constitution and has the mandate to audit all public accounts of the Federation. He submits his reports to the National Assembly and enjoys the security of tenure provided for in the Constitution.
- The Public Complaints Commission created by the Public Complaints Commission Act is the ombudsman and addresses issues of administrative injustice. The Commission reports to the National Assembly and has offices in the thirty- six states of the federation.
- Technical Unit on Governance and Anti-Corruption Reforms (TUGAR): TUGAR was set up to respond to the critical need for a dedicated institution to monitor anti-corruption and Governance initiatives, evaluate both the structures and their outputs for impact, access public feedback, and generate empirical data which will feed into the policy framework, and enable reforms.

4.2 Towards A Corruption-Free and Secure Future

A Corruption free future is achievable for any state including Nigeria and it begins with the ability of the state to build its institutions' capacity to detect and prevent the activities of greed, primitive acquisitions, and primordial divisions by state actors.

Following the arguments of the ethnological theory that there exists within animals an innate criminal desire for (their) survival³² in an attempt to mitigate certain internal insecurities, the state must, therefore, build its capacity to provide internal and external

³² Nnaemeka CA, Chukwuemeka AFO, Tochukwu MO, Chiamaka OJA (2015) Corruption and Insecurity in Nigeria: A Psychosocial Insight. *J Pol Sci Pub Aff* S1:003.

security for its citizens as well as effective control measures within the rule of law to guide, check and punish erring citizens, if it must be corruption free.

Robert Klitgaard's definition of corruption as $C = M + D - A$ (where C = Corruption, M = Monopoly, D = Discretion, A = Accountability) formula, shows that corruption needs opportunity and an enabling environment to thrive. A hypothesis, therefore, arises that corruption is a crime of calculation and not of passion³³ and to beat it, the state needs to be more intelligent than its representative actors.

Klitgaard's definition of corruption provides a formidable foundation upon which anti-corruption countermeasures can be developed to checkmate the corruption in the public sector. These entail for instance that first, the state should put in place internal Standard Operating Procedures to check the monopoly power of representative actors appointed, elected, or promoted to head and manage public institutions. Secondly, the state should develop standards to provide guided discretion for people in public offices. Thirdly, the state should establish minimum standards for admitting people into public office and whose responsibility it should be to develop, monitor and enforce those standards. Lastly, the state should build and implement a reward and punishment system that is fair and applicable to all regardless of individual status.

5. Recommendations

The following key recommendations (categorised into short, medium and long term recommendations) are hereby made.

5.1 Short-Term Recommendations

³³Acuna – Alfaro, J. and Mordt, M., 2022. The Anti-corruption Formula | United Nations Development Programme. [online] UNDP. Available at: <<https://www.undp.org/latin-america/blog/anti-corruption-formula>> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

S/N	Recommendation	Responsibility
5.1.1	The practice and procedure of Seizure and recovery of unexplained wealth and illegally acquired assets need to be strengthened, not only to support the fight against corruption but also to sustain social security. It is equally important to expedite the prosecution of terror suspects, including those funding Boko Haram operations.	The Federal Ministry of Justice
5.1.2	Without prejudice to the freedom of the press, security and law enforcement agencies and the media should be more circumspect in publicising negative findings on the security sector to avoid the negative outcome of undermining the sector or escalating fear. Rather, back channels may be used to communicate concerns.	National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), the Nigerian Press Council, and all Security and Law Enforcement Agencies
5.1.3	A national policy for securing and monitoring our territorial borders needs to be developed. The policy should spell out the tactical and strategic steps for securing the country's borders to prevent the harmful influx of criminals, enemies of the state, and illegal weapons.	the Presidency, all Intelligence Agencies, Nigeria Immigration Service, Nigeria Customs Service, National Population Commission
5.1.4	Procurement in the military, intelligence, and security sectors needs to be brought under a bespoke system that protects means, methods, and sources while preventing corruption. It is also imperative to conduct a periodic forensic audit of the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces to identify loopholes (if any) in the management of security allocations.	ONSA, Defence Forensic Audit Unit comprising representatives from the Office of the Auditor General, Accountant General, Ministry of Finance and Budget Office, the ICPC, the EFCC and the Ministry of Defence.
5.1.5	Internal audit and external oversight of the security, military, and intelligence agencies should be overhauled with a view to preventing leakages and corruption.	Presidency, ONSA, Ministry of Defence, ICPC & EFCC

S/N	Recommendation	Responsibility
5.1.6	Security and law enforcement agencies should be encouraged and assisted to build capacity and to deploy bespoke technologies in the fight against corruption as this will reduce the obscurity of corrupt transactions which finance terrorism and similar activities. Deploying relevant technologies will also promote internal accountability systems and support/strengthen internal investigation units to conduct integrity checks, following established standards and procedures for dealing with corruption issues.	Intelligence Agencies including the NFIU, the ICPC, the EFCC, the National Information Development Agency (NITDA), the Nigeria Police Force, and the Ministry of Defence and the National Security Adviser.

5.2 Medium-Term Recommendations

S/N	Recommendation	Responsibility
5.2.1	There is a need for the development of a National Corruption Prevention Plan (NCP) for the security and law enforcement sectors.	ONSA, the ICPC, the EFCC, the NPF, NFIU, and all Intelligence Agencies and Ministry of Defence and the National Security Adviser
5.2.2	There is need to strengthen the collaboration and synergy among the security community in order to close gaps that are explored to carry out corrupt practices and undermine national security.	All Intelligence Agencies, the National Security Adviser
5.2.3	There is a need for rigorous background checks to prohibit the selection of candidates that lack integrity, especially during recruitment and or appointment into security and law enforcement agencies.	All Intelligence Agencies and the National Security Adviser.
5.2.4	There is a need for the promotion of National Values which help diminish the impact of negative attitudes that support corruption and insecurity. Emphasis must be placed on the implementation of the National Ethics and Integrity Policy (NEIP) in the security sector.	Office of the Secretary to the Federation, the Ministry of Education, the National Orientation Agency and the ICPC

5.3 Long-Term Recommendations

S/N	Recommendation	Responsibility
5.3.1	The provision of basic infrastructure, jobs, and general growth of the economy will create the enabling environment for winning the hearts and minds of citizens in the war against corruption and insecurity.	All levels of Government (Federal, State and Local Governments).
5.3.2	The development and deployment of early warning and early response strategies can help prevent the types of corruption that feed insecurity. In developing the systems and strategies, emphasis should be placed on enhancing collaboration and communication among the key implementers.	Intelligence Agencies including the ICPC, EFCC, NFIU, the Ministry of Defence and the National Security Adviser.

6. Conclusion

The Policy Dialogue on corruption and insecurity in Nigeria provided an avenue for critical stakeholders and members of the public to present their views and share experiences on the subject matter. The discussions provided rich insights into the nexus between corruption and insecurity, particularly on how insecurity fuelled by corruption **from outside** the security, defence, law enforcement, and intelligence sectors on one hand, and how insecurity fuelled by corruption **from within** the security, defence, law enforcement, and intelligence sectors, on the other hand, significantly destabilise the state.

The analysis in the *Policy Brief* shows that social and economic ills can result from corruption in the public sector since it is the sector through which the government dispenses public goods and services. It also identifies corruption as a key factor that keeps Nigeria in both the poverty and conflict traps. When public officials choose to act in manners that satisfy their self-interests rather than public interest, an environment of corruption-induced conflict and insecurity is engendered.

When this becomes prevalent, there is a significant (negative) impact on the development of the state, its people and its legitimacy. This is simply because corruption undermines the capacity of the state to provide welfare and security, two cardinal pillars upon which the legitimacy of the government is built. There is therefore an urgent need for the state to develop intelligent and effective accountability measures to checkmate the freedom of its agents to commit such corrupt acts that would endanger the security and stability of the state itself.

