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Original Research

UNDERSTANDING THE DRIVERS OF PRISON BREAKS IN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF KUJE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE

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Abstract
Prison breaks in Nigeria have become a recurrent security challenge, undermining national stability and public confidence in the criminal justice system. This study examined the drivers of prison breaks, using the Kuje Correctional Centre as a case study. Specifically, it sought to (1) identify and analyze the main determinants of prison breaks in Nigeria, and (2) assessed the interaction between institutional vulnerabilities and external security threats in facilitating these incidents. A content analysis methodology was employed, drawing on qualitative data from official reports, media accounts, and scholarly literature. Findings revealed that, institutional deficiencies; including overcrowding, dilapidated infrastructure, inadequate surveillance, and poor prison management, are key determinants of jailbreaks. Socio-economic factors, such as unemployment and lack of rehabilitation programs, further exacerbated the risk of inmate unrest. Additionally, external threats, particularly coordinated attacks by insurgent groups like Boko Haram and ISWAP, exploited these vulnerabilities, with intelligence gaps and weak inter-agency coordination amplifying their impact. The study concluded that prison breaks in Nigeria resulted from the convergence of systemic institutional weaknesses and external security pressures. Recommendations included modernizing prison infrastructure, reducing overcrowding, implementing rehabilitation programs, and establishing a centralized intelligence and security coordination framework to enhance proactive threat response. Addressing both structural and operational vulnerabilities is essential to mitigate future prison breaks and strengthen national security.

Keywords: Prison Breaks, Intelligence Failure, National Security, Kuje Correctional Centre, Insurgency

Introduction
Prison breaks have emerged as a recurrent and significant security challenge in Nigeria, threatening national stability and public safety. A prison break defined as the unlawful escape of inmates from custody often reflects deeper systemic issues within the criminal justice and security architecture of the nation (Abiodun &Akinlade, 2024; Afuzie, 2020). Historically, Nigerian prisons have lacked adequate infrastructural and technological safeguards, such as functional CCTV, robust perimeter defenses, and modern surveillance systems, factors that exacerbate vulnerability to attacks (Abdussalam, 2014; Bamigbose, 2010; Reuters, 2024). These deficiencies not only permit opportunistic escapes by inmates but invite coordinated assaults by organized criminal and insurgent groups (Deola, 2015; Arisukwu, Adejumo, &Asamu, 2015).

The July 5, 2022 attack on the Kuje Correctional Centre in Abuja starkly illustrates these vulnerabilities. Armed militants, widely believed to be linked to extremist groups

including ISWAP and Boko Haram, mounted a coordinated assault that resulted in the escape of hundreds of inmates from one of the country's most sensitive facilities (Wikipedia contributors, 2024; Ikenga&Agah, 2024). Despite the presence of military and police personnel, the attackers overwhelmed the compound, raising critical questions about the preparedness and resilience of custodial centers in Nigeria's capital. This incident became emblematic of broader systemic lapses that enable such breaches (Ojiochie& Oli, 2025a; Shittu Adenuga, 2025).

Nigeria's long struggle with violent extremism, particularly the Boko Haram insurgency, has contributed to a security environment in which prison breaks serve both tactical and symbolic purposes for armed groups (Deola, 2015; Afuzie, 2020). These groups exploit structural weaknesses and overextended capacities of the Nigerian Correctional Service to free detained affiliates and combatants, thereby replenishing their ranks and undermining the state's rule of law (Bamigbose, 2010; Ikenga&Agah, 2024). Attacks on custodial centres thus represent more than isolated criminal acts; they are interwoven with the nation's insurgency and counter-insurgency dynamics.Beyond extremist exploitation, chronic underfunding and infrastructural decay have long been identified as key drivers of prison breaks in Nigeria. Many custodial facilities operate well beyond their intended capacities, lack modern security technology, and suffer from poor maintenance and overcrowding, creating conditions ripe for both forced breakouts and inmate-led efforts to escape (Reuters, 2024; Associated Press, 2024). These structural conditions erode routine security protocols, making prisons susceptible to both internal disruptions and external assaults (Bamigbose, 2010; Abdussalam, 2014).

The Kuje incident also revealed specific tactical vulnerabilities, including the absence of functional CCTV systems and inadequate perimeter defenses such as low fencing lapses cited by security officials during post-incident investigations (Sky News, 2024; The Guardian, 2024). Such gaps undermined early warning capabilities and diminished the ability of security forces to effectively deter or respond to the attack. The prevalence of similar deficiencies across the custodial system suggests that the Kuje attack was not an isolated operational failure but part of a broader pattern of infrastructural neglect (Arisukwu, Adejumo, &Asamu, 2015; Ojiochie & Oli, 2025b). Consequently, understanding the drivers of prison breaks in Nigeria necessitates a holistic analysis that integrates institutional weaknesses, governance challenges, and the strategic behavior of non-state armed actors. This paper argues that persistent breaches are the result of intersecting factors systemic underinvestment, outdated infrastructure, inadequate surveillance, and exploitation by insurgent groups that collectively undermine prison security. By focusing on the Kuje Correctional Centre, this study contributes to a deeper comprehension of how and why such episodes occur, with implications for policy reforms aimed at enhancing custodial security and national stability (Abiodun &Akinlade, 2024; Shittu Adenuga, 2025).

Statement of the Problem

Despite the strategic importance of correctional facilities in maintaining public order, Nigeria's custodial centers have been repeatedly compromised by prison breaks, culminating in the highly publicized Kuje Correctional Centre attack in July 2022 (Wikipedia contributors, 2024; Ikenga&Agah, 2024). This persistent trend signals systemic weaknesses in infrastructure, security protocols, and institutional capacity, which have left prisons vulnerable to external assaults and internal breakdowns. The resultant escape of hundreds of inmates not only undermines the rule of law but also exacerbates the nation's security crisis by enabling fugitives, including violent offenders and insurgents, to rejoin criminal networks (Ojiochie& Oli, 2025a; Reuters, 2024).

Existing literature and reports highlight a constellation of factors such as inadequate surveillance technologies, dilapidated infrastructure, overcrowding, and underfunding as contributors to jailbreaks (Abdussalam, 2014; Bamigbose, 2010; Sky News, 2024; The Guardian, 2024). However, there remains a gap in comprehensive, empirical analysis of how these variables interact to precipitate major breaches like that at Kuje. Moreover, the specific role of broader security dynamics, including insurgent exploitation of custodial weaknesses, has not been sufficiently examined in scholarly research, necessitating focused investigation (Afuzie, 2020; Deola, 2015).

The inability to clearly delineate the proximate and structural causes of prison breaks significantly limits the development of effective preventative strategies. Without understanding both institutional shortcomings and external pressures, policy responses risk being superficial and reactive rather than systemic and preemptive. This research therefore seeks to identify and analyze the key drivers of prison breaks in Nigeria, using the Kuje Correctional Centre attack as a focal case, to inform evidence-based reforms in prison management and security provisioning (Abiodun &Akinlade, 2024; Shittu Adenuga, 2025; Ojiochie& Oli, 2025b).

Research Questions

Premised on the above identified gaps, the following research questions are here posited:

1. What are the primary factors driving the occurrence of prison breaks in Nigeria, with specific reference to the Kuje Correctional Centre?
2. How do institutional weaknesses and external security pressures interact to facilitate major prison break incidents in Nigeria?

Research Objectives

The broad objective of this study is to analyze the causes of prison breaks in Nigeria, using Kuje Correctional Centre as a case study. The specific objectives are:

1. To identify and analyze the main determinants of prison breaks in Nigeria, using the Kuje Correctional Centre as a case study.
2. To assess the interaction between institutional vulnerabilities and external security threats in facilitating prison breaks in Nigeria.

Research Hypotheses

H_0: There is no significant relationship between institutional security deficiencies and the incidence of prison breaks in Nigeria.

H_1: Institutional security deficiencies are significantly associated with the incidence of prison breaks in Nigeria.

Conceptual Framework

Concept of Prison Breaks / Jailbreaks

Prison breaks, also referred to as jailbreaks, are defined as the illegal escape of inmates from custodial facilities (Orakwe, 2016; Arisukwu et al., 2015). Such events represent a major breach of law and order, challenging the authority of the state and posing serious risks to public safety. Beyond being mere escapes, prison breaks often reflect deeper systemic issues in the administration of correctional facilities, encompassing weaknesses in infrastructure, security management, and governance. In the Nigerian context, these incidents have been recurrent, ranging from small-scale escapes to large, coordinated assaults, such as the Kuje Correctional Centre attack in 2022 (CBS News, 2022; Afuzie, 2022).

Institutional and infrastructural weaknesses are a primary factor contributing to prison breaks. Many Nigerian prisons are characterized by dilapidated facilities, outdated security

systems, insufficient surveillance, and poorly maintained perimeters (Abdussalam, 2014; Ogundipe, 2006; Bamigbose, 2010). Such deficiencies render prisons vulnerable to both opportunistic inmate escapes and organized external assaults. Overcrowding exacerbates these vulnerabilities, as facilities often operate well beyond their intended capacities. This undermines not only the security apparatus but also the rehabilitative functions of the prison, creating chaotic conditions that facilitate escapes (Dataphyte, 2023; Afuzie, 2022).

Insurgent and criminal exploitation is another key driver. Terrorist groups, including Boko Haram and ISWAP, have orchestrated attacks on prisons to free members, thereby replenishing their ranks and demonstrating operational capabilities (Bamigbose, 2010; Manu, 2022). Finally, corruption and poor utilization of resources have significantly contributed to the frequency and success of jailbreaks. Mismanagement of allocated funds for security infrastructure, arms, and personnel weakens prison defenses, allowing perpetrators to exploit systemic lapses (Dataphyte, 2022). Collectively, these factors create a complex environment where prison breaks become not only possible but recurrent and highly disruptive to national security.

Intelligence and Security Management

Intelligence and security management are critical components in the prevention and mitigation of prison breaks. Intelligence refers to the process of collecting, analyzing, and disseminating information that is crucial for national security and operational decision-making (Awanem, 2023; Abiodun &Dahiru, 2020). The quality of intelligence directly influences the capacity of security authorities to anticipate, detect, and prevent unlawful escapes. Effective intelligence enables the identification of potential threats, the mapping of criminal networks, and the timely deployment of security resources to vulnerable custodial facilities. Conversely, lapses in intelligence compromise situational awareness and leave institutions exposed to both internal and external threats.

Scholars have identified several categories of intelligence failures that contribute to security vulnerabilities. Betts (1978) and Lowenthal (1985) classify intelligence failures into collection errors, analytical errors, psychological errors, and bureaucratic or organizational failures. Collection failures occur when relevant information is not gathered or is misrepresented; analytical errors arise when information is misinterpreted or key connections are overlooked. Psychological errors relate to biases or preconceived notions of analysts, while bureaucratic or organizational failures reflect inefficient structures, poor communication, and lack of timely decision-making (Awanem, 2023). In the context of Nigerian prisons, these failures have been documented as contributing factors to high-profile attacks, such as the Kuje Correctional Centre incident.

In addition to the quality of intelligence, systemic issues within the intelligence and security community exacerbate vulnerabilities. Gaps in inter-agency coordination, poor communication, and misallocation of resources hinder the effectiveness of preventive measures (Godfrey, 2019; Mungadi, 2020). When agencies operate in silos or compete for information rather than collaborate, intelligence is fragmented, delayed, or ignored. Inadequate funding, outdated technologies, and insufficient personnel further diminish the capacity of security agencies to act decisively on intelligence reports.Therefore, intelligence and security management are pivotal in mitigating the risk of prison breaks. Comprehensive intelligence collection, rigorous analysis, inter-agency coordination, and strategic resource deployment are essential for strengthening custodial security and safeguarding public safety. Without such measures, prisons remain highly susceptible to both opportunistic escapes and coordinated attacks.

National Security Context

Prison breaks in Nigeria are not isolated criminal events; they represent broader threats to national security and public safety. National security encompasses the protection of a nation's citizens, institutions, economy, and territorial integrity from both internal and external threats (Namwambah, 2020; NSS, 2019). When prisons are compromised, the escape of inmates—many of whom are violent offenders or insurgent affiliates—poses immediate and long-term risks to the safety of communities and the stability of the state. These incidents undermine public confidence in the criminal justice system and create opportunities for organized crime and terrorism to flourish, reflecting the intersection of law enforcement inefficiencies and national security vulnerabilities.

Security lapses within the intelligence and law enforcement communities exacerbate these vulnerabilities. According to Godfrey (2019) and Mungadi (2020), lack of inter-agency cooperation, delayed communication, and inadequate resource allocation create systemic gaps that criminal and insurgent actors exploit. Terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and ISWAP have leveraged these institutional weaknesses to orchestrate prison attacks, freeing detained operatives and expanding their operational capacity. Furthermore, bureaucratic inefficiencies and politicization of intelligence constrain timely decision-making, leaving custodial facilities exposed to threats.

The Nigerian National Security Strategy (NSS, 2019) highlights the role of multiple intelligence and law enforcement agencies—including the Department of State Services (DSS), the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), and the Nigerian Police Force (NPF)—in safeguarding national security. However, the fragmented nature of intelligence sharing and enforcement responsibilities often results in delayed or ineffective responses to security breaches. In this context, prison breaks become symptomatic of wider national security challenges, illustrating how weaknesses in institutional structures, governance, and operational coordination can be exploited to threaten the safety and stability of the country.

Empirical Studies

Nigeria has witnessed numerous prison breaks over the past decades, which have frequently resulted in fatalities, mass inmate escapes, and severe security challenges (Afuzie, 2022; Manu, 2022). These incidents reveal persistent patterns of both external assault and internal facilitation, demonstrating systemic vulnerabilities in custodial facilities across the country. Empirical studies indicate that such breaches often involve the use of lethal weapons, explosives, and coordinated attacks by insurgent groups or armed criminal elements. Overcrowding, outdated infrastructure, and insufficient surveillance exacerbate these vulnerabilities, creating conditions ripe for successful escapes.

Several high-profile case studies exemplify these trends. On September 7, 2010, Bauchi Prison was attacked by over fifty gunmen suspected to be Boko Haram members, resulting in five fatalities, six injuries, and the release of 721 inmates. In August 2012, Oko Prison in Edo State was assaulted by unknown gunmen, allowing ten inmates to escape. Kirikiri Medium Security Prison in Lagos experienced an attack on October 10, 2014, which resulted in twenty deaths, eighty injuries, and the escape of twelve inmates, highlighting both the severity of violence and the operational challenges faced by prison authorities. Later in 2014, the Minna Prison break released 270 inmates despite minimal direct confrontation, pointing to internal facilitation issues.

More recent incidents underscore the escalation of prison vulnerabilities. The Owerri prison attack during the April 2021 End SARS protests freed 1,844 inmates, reflecting how civil unrest can compound custodial insecurity. The Kuje Correctional Centre attack of July 5, 2022, orchestrated by ISWAP, saw 879 inmates escape, including over sixty Boko Haram affiliates, demonstrating the direct involvement of insurgent groups in exploiting institutional

weaknesses (CBS News, 2022; Dataphyte, 2023). These empirical cases illustrate recurring factors such as poor security infrastructure, inadequate intelligence implementation, corruption, and overcrowding, which collectively facilitate prison breaks in Nigeria.

Empirical research consistently identifies overcrowding, dilapidated infrastructure, and outdated security technology as major contributors to prison breaks in Nigeria (Abdussalam, 2014; Ogundipe, 2006; Bamigbose, 2010). Overcrowding often results in prisons operating well beyond their intended capacities, which undermines routine security measures and the rehabilitative functions of custodial facilities. Structural decay, such as crumbling walls, non-functional surveillance cameras, and poor lighting, further weakens institutional defenses, leaving prisons vulnerable to both internal and external breaches. Additionally, terrorist and criminal groups have been observed exploiting gaps in intelligence and security to orchestrate prison attacks, often targeting high-value inmates for liberation (Manu, 2022; CBS News, 2022). For example, the Kuje Correctional Centre attack in July 2022 enabled the escape of 879 inmates, including over sixty Boko Haram affiliates, highlighting the role of organized groups in leveraging security lapses. Corruption and inadequate utilization of security budgets further exacerbate vulnerabilities. Despite significant allocations for prison security, reports indicate that mismanagement and underutilization of resources have left facilities under-equipped and inadequately staffed (Dataphyte, 2022). Collectively, these factors create a conducive environment for jailbreaks, demonstrating a complex interplay of structural, operational, and human elements in Nigeria's custodial system.

Empirical studies emphasize that the quality and utilization of intelligence are critical to preventing prison attacks. Effective intelligence enables authorities to anticipate threats, identify potential insurgent actions, and implement preemptive measures (Awanem, 2023; Abiodun &Dahiru, 2020). Conversely, intelligence failures—whether due to collection errors, analytical oversights, or bureaucratic inefficiencies—have repeatedly contributed to successful prison breakouts. Poor inter-agency collaboration and delayed decision-making exacerbate these vulnerabilities, leaving prisons exposed to well-coordinated attacks (Godfrey, 2019; Mungadi, 2020). In the Kuje attack, for instance, although intelligence reportedly existed regarding ISWAP's plans, the delayed and fragmented response among agencies contributed to the large-scale inmate escape, highlighting systemic gaps in coordination and operational readiness.

Prison breaks pose immediate and long-term threats to public security. The release of violent offenders and insurgents elevates crime rates, strengthens terrorist networks, and undermines the rule of law (Afuzie, 2022; Namwambah, 2020). Beyond security implications, high-profile jailbreaks, such as the Kuje Correctional Centre incident, generate widespread public fear and panic, disrupting communities and straining law enforcement resources (BBC News, 2022). The societal consequences include diminished public confidence in the criminal justice system, increased perception of insecurity, and potential escalation of vigilante actions. These impacts underline the critical importance of addressing both structural weaknesses and intelligence deficiencies to safeguard national security and societal stability.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts Richard Betts' (1978, 2007) Theory of Intelligence Failure as its central theoretical lens. The theory provides a robust framework for analyzing why intelligence, despite its availability, sometimes fails to prevent critical security breaches such as prison attacks.

Betts posits that intelligence failures are inevitable but can be mitigated through effective decision-making and institutional reforms. Crucially, failures often do not arise

solely from inadequacies in intelligence collection or analysis. Rather, they result from the misinterpretation of information, cognitive biases, or inaction on the part of policymakers (Betts, 1978; Awanem, 2023). In essence, even when accurate and timely intelligence is available, its impact depends on how decision-makers perceive, interpret, and act upon it.

Three Dimensions of Intelligence Failure

Failure in Perspective: Intelligence successes are often ignored, while failures are disproportionately highlighted. This creates a skewed understanding of security risks and undermines confidence in intelligence assessments (Betts, 2007).

Pathologies in Communication: Poor transmission of intelligence between agencies and policymakers can lead to critical misjudgments. Gaps in inter-agency coordination, delayed reporting, and inadequate dissemination reduce the operational value of intelligence (Betts, 2007).

Paradoxes of Perception: Policymakers' preconceived notions, biases, or political considerations can distort the interpretation of intelligence. These mental and cognitive barriers hinder objective evaluation, resulting in suboptimal or delayed responses (Betts, 2007).

The Kuje Correctional Centre attack exemplifies the consequences of intelligence failures. Despite available intelligence regarding ISWAP's planned assault, the information was inadequately acted upon or ignored, contributing to the large-scale escape of inmates (Ejiofor &Afunanya, 2022; ISS, 2022). Coupled with organizational inefficiencies, corruption, and poor infrastructural conditions, Betts' framework provides a critical lens for understanding the recurring nature of prison breaks in Nigeria. It highlights that, systemic vulnerabilities, coupled with flawed decision-making, form the nexus through which custodial facilities remain exposed to internal and external threats.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research design to investigate prison breaks and intelligence failures in Nigeria, focusing on the Kuje Medium Correctional Centre. Qualitative research is suitable for exploring complex social phenomena and human behavior, enabling an in-depth understanding of participants' perspectives and the significance they attach to events (Creswell, 2012). Open-ended research questions allow flexibility to examine the causes, consequences, and intelligence dynamics surrounding prison breaks.

The population includes senior military and intelligence personnel, Nigerian Security and Intelligence Community officials, policymakers, academics, and residents of Pasali, Kuje, who witnessed the 2022 prison break. Purposive sampling was used to select 12 key informants, including five inmates, two prison officials, one ex-ambassador, and four intelligence/security personnel, ensuring diverse and informed perspectives. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Primary data involved semi-structured, face-to-face Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), allowing participants to provide detailed responses while enabling clarification of emerging insights (Aberbach& Rockman, 2002; Bryman, 2020). Secondary data included academic literature, books, journals, newspapers, and official reports for context and triangulation. Ethical considerations were observed throughout, with informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality ensured, and pseudonyms used where necessary (Bryman, 2012).

Data analysis employed thematic and content analysis to identify patterns and insights relevant to intelligence failures and prison security (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Interviews were hand-written due to restrictions within Kuje prison and analyzed

according to relevance to research objectives. This methodology provides a credible, reliable, and ethically sound framework for understanding the drivers and impacts of prison breaks in Nigeria.

Results and Discussions

The analysis of this study addresses the three central research questions: the causes of persistent prison breaks in Nigeria, their effects on national security, and the role of intelligence gathering in enhancing security.

Causes of Persistent Prison Breaks

The analysis revealed that institutional security deficiencies are primary drivers of prison breaks. Content from key informant interviews and official reports highlighted dilapidated infrastructure, overcrowding, and inadequate surveillance as critical factors (Abdussalam, 2014; Bamigbose, 2010; Arisukwu, Adejumo, &Asamu, 2015). Kuje Correctional Centre, for instance, had a capacity of 700 but housed over 1,000 inmates in 2022, 78% of whom were awaiting trial. This systemic overcrowding creates opportunities for unrest and inmate-led escapes.Socio-economic pressures also emerged as key determinants. Unemployment, poverty, and lack of rehabilitation programs were cited as motivating factors for inmates to engage in escape attempts (Dataphyte, 2022). Additionally, internal facilitation through contraband phones or collusion with corrupt staff increased vulnerability. These findings align with Onah et al. (2019), who identify institutional decay and human factors as predictors of custodial violence and jailbreaks. Overall, the interplay of structural deficiencies and internal pressures directly contributes to the frequency and scale of prison breaks.

Institutional vulnerabilities and external security threats in facilitating prison breaks

External threats, particularly coordinated attacks by insurgent groups such as Boko Haram and ISWAP, exploit institutional weaknesses to execute large-scale jailbreaks (Ejiofor &Afunanya, 2022; Deola, 2015). The July 2022 Kuje attack exemplifies this dynamic: despite prior intelligence reports indicating a planned assault, delayed communication and poor inter-agency coordination allowed militants to breach the facility and free 879 inmates, including high-risk affiliates.Intelligence and security management failures further amplified vulnerability. Betts' Theory of Intelligence Failure (1978, 2007) provides a useful lens, highlighting how collection errors, communication pathologies, and decision-making biases compromise preventive actions (Awanem, 2023). Mismanagement of resources, inadequate manpower, and outdated surveillance technology created conditions that insurgent groups could exploit effectively. This interaction between internal vulnerabilities and external threats underscores the complex systemic factors enabling recurrent prison breaks in Nigeria, demonstrating that structural deficiencies alone are insufficient to explain the phenomenon without considering external pressures.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study establishes that institutional deficiencies such as overcrowding, dilapidated infrastructure, inadequate surveillance, and poor prison management are primary determinants of prison breaks in Nigeria. Socio-economic factors, including unemployment, poverty, and lack of rehabilitation programs, further exacerbate inmate unrest and the likelihood of escapes. Internal facilitation, such as the use of contraband phones or collusion with staff, compounds these vulnerabilities. Collectively, these factors create conditions conducive to both opportunistic and planned jailbreaks. The findings also indicates that external threats, particularly coordinated attacks by insurgent groups like Boko Haram and ISWAP, exploit institutional weaknesses to orchestrate large-scale prison breaks. Intelligence

failures, inter-agency coordination gaps, and resource mismanagement amplify this risk. The Kuje Correctional Centre attack in 2022 exemplifies how the combination of weak internal controls and external threats can culminate in catastrophic security breaches.The study therefore recommends that;

1. The Nigerian government and prison authorities should prioritize the rehabilitation and modernization of prison infrastructure**,** including reducing overcrowding through expediting trial processes, improving surveillance systems, and implementing structured rehabilitation and vocational programs to address the socio-economic drivers of inmate unrest.

2. Authorities should establish a centralized intelligence and security coordination frameworkto enhance information sharing, timely threat response, and inter-agency collaboration. This framework should include proactive risk assessments of custodial facilities and joint contingency planning to prevent the exploitation of institutional vulnerabilities by external actors.

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