

The Implication of Corruption to Nigeria's Internal Security: Insights from Selected Security Agencies

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Abstract

The research on which this article reports, analysed corruption as a major threat to Nigeria's internal security. Studies have examined dimensions of corruption and their effects on security in the country, but this article sets out to analyse selected forms of abuse in the operations of two security agencies, the Army and Prison Services, in Nigeria's Ministries of Defence, and Interior respectively. The two represent military and paramilitary services in Nigeria, but they have overlapping duties and functions with other security agencies like the police, for example. Data is drawn from secondary sources for the conceptual and theoretical sections of the article. This is complemented by primary data from events analyses, especially from public hearings concerning the selected security agencies in Nigeria. A combination of the structural theory and the ecological approach is deployed for the article's analytic frame. The article finds out that the two agencies selected for study reflect the prevalence of corruption in several sectors of Nigeria's internal security architecture. It recommends a head-on combating of corruption which involves diligent closure of on-going cases of security breaches and corruption as well as the involvement of volunteers and communities.

Keywords: Threats by Corruption, Internal Security, Institutional Responsibilities, Citizens' Roles, Nigeria.

Introduction

Corruption will kill Nigeria, if the country does not kill corruption.⁴⁸⁷ This opening statement has often been made by President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria, in both the run-up to the 2015 general elections, before becoming the president, and after his election and re-election in 2015 and 2019 respectively. This assertion about a phenomenon known for its destructive capacity, and which has not abated since it became a public issue of concern in 1966,⁴⁸⁸ comes with implications. For example, it implies that almost six decades after its declaration as the 'most important obstacle to development and national integration', and despite successive 'admonitory anti-corruption measures and programmes', the problem of corruption has been a feature in the private lives of citizens but, more importantly, in government circles.⁴⁸⁹ Rather than abate, corruption has affected

not only almost every facet of life, but also internal security – the primary purpose of any government.

This article therefore proceeds by analysing the question on the concept of corruption and why it is regarded so serious a problem that it warrant concerns about the possibility of causing grievous damages in the country. The article highlights the interconnections between corruption and underdevelopment, with the focus on insecurity. Then it considers forms of abuse in aspects of the operations of the Nigerian Army (NA), the Nigerian Correctional (Prison) Service, and the consequences of these on internal security in the country. The Nigerian police have the primary role of ensuring day-to-day security in Nigeria, while the Department of State Services (DSS) – the Nigerian secret police – complements their work by defending the country against domestic threats as well as upholding and enforcing criminal laws.⁴⁹⁰ Going by information gleaned from the media, these agencies have been overwhelmed particularly by criminal activities ranging from communal clashes, clashes between farmers and herders and banditry, to kidnapping and oil pipeline vandalism, among others. These and other assignments given to special task forces on election duties and other have warranted the inclusion of personnel of the NA. The Nigerian Navy (NN) and Nigerian Air Force (NAF) are components of the Nigerian Armed Forces, and both feature prominently in the surveillance of waterways and the air space respectively. Personnel of these two agencies are also involved in other security-related assignments but none is involved in aspects of everyday life internal security in Nigeria as much as the NA. The NA stands out in its role as the defender of territorial integrity of the country and in its training in ground battle.

Following the introduction, the rest of the article is structured into four main sections. The first of these comprises conceptual clarifications and a review of relevant literature and a theoretical framework, followed by selected cases for analysis and, finally recommendations and the conclusion.

Conceptual Clarifications and Review of Relevant Literature

Corruption and internal security are the main concepts for which this article provides operational definitions. The concept of development comes up for clarification because development is adversely affected by the consequences of corruption and insecurity. Poverty, illiteracy, ill health, disease, malnourishment, hunger, deprivation, exclusion and frustration are other concepts and issues that are related to the main concepts, and are covered in the review of the literature.

According to its etymology, “corruption” involves any action by which a word or expression is changed from its original state to one regarded as erroneous or debased.⁴⁹¹ This implies pollution or putrefaction, and deviation from generally held standards of behaviour, especially involving a change from what is, as a rule, regarded as good or bad in any particular society. Looking at it from this perspective, means that corruption could manifest in social, economic, or political forms. From the economic point of view comes the general idea of limiting corruption to bribery and, in particular, monetary inducement. According to Mclean and McMillan,⁴⁹² corruption refers to an individual transferring a



benefit to another person who may or may not be entitled to such benefit, in exchange for an illegal payment. Such payment or bribe is often assumed to be monetary but may come as a favour in exchange for the performance of a legitimate task.⁴⁹³

There are overlaps in the economic, social, and political dimensions of corruption. The common characteristics are dishonesty and abuse of trust or privilege. In this regard, integrating three popularised definitions by the United Nations Global Programme against Corruption (UNGAPAC), Transparency International (TI) and the World Bank have been useful. For UNGAPAC,⁴⁹⁴ corruption is ‘abuse of power for private gain’. According to Transparency International,⁴⁹⁵ it is the ‘abuse of entrusted power for private gain’; while the World Bank⁴⁹⁶ defines corruption as ‘abuse of office for private gain’.

Defining corruption in Nigeria has been found not simple because of the gamut of what comes under the appellation of corrupt practices. According to Smith,⁴⁹⁷ when Nigerians talk about corruption, they refer to many things, including:

[T]he abuse of state offices for some kind of private gain ... a whole range of social behaviour in which various forms of morally questionable deception enable the achievement of wealth, power, or prestige as well as much more mundane ambitions. Nigerian notions of corruption encompass everything from government bribery and graft, rigged elections and fraudulent business deals, to diabolical abuse of occult powers, medical quackery, cheating in schools, and even deceiving a lover.

Owasanoye⁴⁹⁸ provides the official definition of corruption in Nigeria. This includes bribery, fraudulent acquisition of property, fraudulent receipt of property, the use of pecuniary advantage, gratification, influence peddling, insincerity in advice with a view to gaining an advantage, less than a full day’s work for a full day’s pay, tardiness and laziness. Failure to report any case of inducement to the appropriate authorities is also considered a punishable offence under the law. Criminalising failure to report acts or cases of inducement is not new in Nigeria, but incentivisation for reporting it – part of the whistle-blowing policy of the Buhari administration – is relatively recent, and this underlines the severity of the problem of corruption in the country.⁴⁹⁹

The fact and ubiquity of corruption in every human society have not been in doubt, but the problem is the *what*, the *how* and the *why* of corruption, according to ‘acceptable social science standards’.⁵⁰⁰ Corruption is neither exclusively part of a social system or an institution, nor is it a trait of an individual’s character but rather an illegal exchange that can be found in any society no matter the level of development. Although a global problem, corruption has diverse causes and has, therefore, attracted different types of attention. A president⁵⁰¹ of the United States of America was impeached for making a misrepresentation under oath, while another United States (US) president⁵⁰² has been investigated for several offences. A British prime minister⁵⁰³ was investigated for breaching Covid-19 lockdown rules. Top public officials have been prosecuted and penalised in the United States, the United Kingdom, and other places for various corrupt practices, breaches of trust, and abuse of privileges; yet, there are societies in these areas where same-sex



marriage is protected by law despite the moral issues it has generated.⁵⁰⁴ In Nigeria, where such issues are morally reprehensible as well as punishable by law, top public officials are hardly punished for offences that are related to breach of trust and abuse of privileges. Rather, corruption in public places has been rationalised for its ‘distributive efficiency’ or ‘marginal utility’, and as ‘the oil that lubricates the system’ or ‘the cement welding the system together’, particularly in cases relating to bureaucratic red tape.⁵⁰⁵

Corruption can be found in both the private and public life, but the dominant view of the phenomenon in the literature focuses on public life. This is not unconnected to the bigger size of the public and its salience in matters concerning every resident of society and the generality of citizens in a country. Johnson⁵⁰⁶ and Nye⁵⁰⁷ articulate the probability of more corruption in government circles – particularly in less developed countries (LDCs) where many socio-economic activities that draw citizens to the government are due to its monopoly over mineral wealth and natural resources (in Nigeria, as in other LDCs, citizens generally gravitate towards the government for opportunities, which hardly exist elsewhere). Although corruption in private activities of citizens and in private businesses has consequences on Nigeria’s internal security, this is insignificant when compared to the effects of corruption by public officials. The latter crystallises in the insights from selected agencies, as reflected later in this article.

Corruption can be categorised into three main types: incidental (individual), institutional (for example, from the selected agencies discussed in this article), and systemic (societal). The taxonomy by Page⁵⁰⁸ is apt. Page explains, ‘20 overarching contexts (sectors) that are especially vulnerable to corruption’, as well as ‘28 corruption tactics in 8 behavioural categories’,⁵⁰⁹ which have been highlighted in the political economy of Nigeria. Some forms of corruption are confined to instances of abuse on the part of individual public officials, and are episodic rather than systemic. In other cases, corruption is found in particular institutions or sectors of activities, whereas the practice is much less pervasive in others.⁵¹⁰

The 1987 report of the Nigerian Political Bureau gives a vivid description of the dimensions of corruption in the country. According to it,⁵¹¹ the manifestations of corruption in Nigeria include:

The inflation of government contracts in return for kickbacks; frauds and falsification of accounts in the public service; examination malpractice in our educational institutions including universities; taking of bribes and perversion of justice among the police, the judiciary and organs for administering justice; and various heinous crimes against the state in the business and industrial sectors of our economy, in collusion with multi-national companies, such as over-invoicing goods, foreign exchange swindling, hoarding and smuggling.

In fundamental terms, these manifestations and dimensions have not changed significantly over the years. However, the patterns and trends of corruption and corrupt practices have been affected by globalisation as well as the increasing complexity within and outside Nigeria. For example, there are effects of digital transformation on corruption,



in view of changes that have been brought about by information and communications technology (ICT), in particular. These dimensions include internet fraud, identity theft, cyber harassment, stalking and e-mail phishing. Today, the chances for corruption are more, the types have increased, and the potential loss is significant.⁵¹²

No matter the angle from which corruption is viewed, the consequences associated with the phenomenon can hardly be overestimated. Corruption distorts systems by changing morally or legally approved courses of action. It reduces the confidence of the people in relationships, and the confidence of citizens in their government, especially in instances of massive corruption without consequences for offenders. It also undermines the capacity of institutions to formulate and implement public policies for effective governance. This implies that crimes and criminalities would hardly abate – especially when institutions in the judicial and security sectors have been compromised. Corruption causes misappropriation and misapplication of resources, meaning that security and other sectors would suffer from insufficient resources. With little left to cater for the large less-privileged population, especially in terms of what they need in functional public infrastructure, there is evidence for Nigeria ranking as one of the world's poorest countries,⁵¹³ despite the country's material endowment. Nigeria has been dubbed one of the most corrupt countries in the world and one of the world's 'most complex corruption environments'.⁵¹⁴ This poses an image problem for the country and, at the same time, it could erode the confidence of development partners and others in the international system. Page⁵¹⁵ succinctly summarises these consequences as follows:

Corruption is the single greatest obstacle preventing Nigeria from achieving its enormous potential. It drains billions of dollars a year from the country's economy. It stymies development, and weakens the social contract between the government and its people. Nigerians ... struggle daily to cope with its effects.

In the summary above, as in other studies,^{516,517,518,519,520} development failure in LDCs, including Nigeria, has been linked to uncontrolled corruption. The concept of development has been employed in this study to include improvement and advancement, as well as becoming more mature, more complete, more organised and more transformed. In this light, development involves improvement in income and output, 'and radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as popular attitudes, customs and beliefs'.⁵²¹ To the Society for International Development (SID), these changes that constitute development are in the form of an addition to physical, economic, environmental, social, and demographic components of society.⁵²² The Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations (UN), the Annual Prosperity Index (API) of the Legatum Institute, and the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) share similar views on what development entails.⁵²³ Following a review of their criteria, certain indexes have been isolated as constituents for development. These are economy, entrepreneurship and opportunity, governance, education, health, safety and security, personal freedom, and social capital. Every item in this list is connected to personal or group security, implying threats to security once they are unattainable.



Internal security, the second major concept in this article, is an aspect of national security; the latter which can be described as the ability of a country to cater for the protection and defence of its citizens. According to Adesina,⁵²⁴ national security entails the requirement to maintain the ‘survival of the state through the use of economic power, diplomacy, power projection and political power’. For Odekunle, internal security is broadly conceptualised as ‘protection or defence against all kinds of victimisation’, including ‘protection/defence against economic want, poverty, illiteracy, disease/ill health, social exploitation, psychological trauma, oppression and criminal victimisation’.⁵²⁵ This is perceived in terms of the economic, political, and social security of the average citizen. Internal security therefore encapsulates human security, which emphasises the individual in understanding global vulnerabilities. This implies protecting people from critical (severe) pervasive (widespread) threats and situations, including freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom from indignity. The position of the UN on the importance of human security has been succinctly stated,⁵²⁶ as it requires that the major indices of internal security in any country are for the majority of the population to be economically well and for the system to be politically stable.

In light of the above, security and development are mutually reinforcing. Security accelerates development just as development enhances security. It is common sense that an average citizen of a country that is characterised by justice, fairness and opportunities for self-actualisation would regard him- or herself as a stakeholder in the sustenance of peace, stability and progress in his or her home country. This disposes citizens toward law-abidingness and against unlawful or criminal conduct that are antithetical to human and material development. Conversely, citizens who feel unjustly and unfairly treated are more than likely to be socially discontented and do not want the progress of a system that is less concerned about their wellbeing. However, a crime-free society hardly exists, making the fact of crime in every human society “normal”.

Security is considered a matter of paramount importance in Nigeria. Section 14(1) of the country’s 1999 Constitution (amended) states, ‘the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government’.⁵²⁷ A simple explanation of the statement above is that the main business of the Nigerian government is to protect the citizens and to provide an enabling environment for their wellbeing. Stretched further, it can be deduced that security of the citizens is paramount because without it, every other thing is meaningless. The multi-dimensional sectors of security in Nigeria can be broadly categorised as external or territorial and internal. The Armed Forces (Army, Air Force, and Navy) and the external arms of the intelligence agencies have been assigned the duty of external and territorial security. However, evidence from counter-insurgency operations, surveillance of oil pipe lines and other national installations, as well as in other national assignments, including election matters and emergencies⁵²⁸ are sufficient indicators that the Nigerian Armed Forces also have roles in matters of internal security. Among the paramilitary agencies in the country, are:

- The Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), prominent in playing supporting roles for the Nigeria Navy in surveillance of oil installations, and for the Army, in election monitoring assignments;



- The Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC);
- The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA);
- The Nigeria Customs Service (NCS); and
- The Nigeria Correctional Service, which stands out in terms of its punitive and rehabilitation duties in turning offenders into law-abiding citizens.⁵²⁹

Theoretical Framework

The importance of inter-agency collaborations in performing these functions cannot be overemphasised. Insight for this article was therefore drawn from the NA and the Nigeria Correctional Service as well as other agencies involved in matters of internal security in Nigeria. These agencies perform their assigned roles independently but they connect mostly to attaining the goal of internal security for Nigeria. Radcliffe Brown and Parsons, as well as Easton discuss the logic behind inter-agency dependency and collaborations in the structural-functional approach⁵³⁰ and the systems theory⁵³¹ respectively. Major dysfunctions in any of these agencies or in any other of the sub-systems constitute threats to the functionality of the entire Nigerian system. Crime prevention and crime control are effectively attained in functional systems, examples of which are Switzerland, Finland, Norway, and Germany that have been ranked consistently high in notable international development assessments.⁵³²

The analyses of the performance of the NA and the Nigeria Correctional Service in terms of realisation of the goals in internal security in the country are situated within the framework of the structural theory and ecological approach. It is appropriate, therefore, to provide some preliminary statements on the two perspectives and on their relevance to the matter of internal security in Nigeria. The structural theory focuses on the nature of the state and the character of the ruling class. It is deployed in this article based on postulations about the effects of the rentier character of the state in Nigeria and the predatory nature of the ruling class on the performance of security agencies and other public institutions.⁵³³ Based on pioneering efforts in the deployment of the ecological approach to political and administrative sciences,⁵³⁴ the perspective utilised in the study on which this article reports, had to underscore the position that no organisation exists or operates *in vacuo*. The NA and Nigeria Correctional Service operate within the Nigerian environmental milieu, consisting of technological, economic, political, cultural, and demographic factors, among others. These factors affect the operations of the security agencies as the latter operates to moderate happenings in the environment.⁵³⁵ This implies that the selected security agencies can be effective in their operations to the extent permitted by the members of the ruling class and their acolytes in their official capacities. Furthermore, historical, technological, and cultural factors – among others – in the Nigerian environment affect the performance of such agencies. The level of corruption in Nigeria reflects the character and capacity of the state and, therefore, it is part of the environment and impedes the operations of the NA and the Nigeria Correctional Service. The state is largely personalised in Nigeria, in that it lacks autonomy, making its officials strong and its institutions weak. Rules and procedures are hardly effective because of the dysfunctionality of the state.⁵³⁶



Selected Cases for Analysis

Instances of corruption that have been linked to officers and men of the NA and Nigerian Correctional Service are multi-dimensional. These range from abuse of privileges as senior officials of military regimes⁵³⁷ to unprofessional conduct in recruitment and planning, transfer and posting, delayed or unpaid allowances, logistics and procurement, and inappropriate implementation of rehabilitation policies, in the case of prison inmates. Owasanoye⁵³⁸ is apt in his opinion on the connection between ‘corruption in the military’ as well as in certain para-military agencies, and the ‘worsening insecurity in Nigeria’.

The Nigerian Army

Of the many cases of corruption and corruptive tendencies by military officers and men, which can be linked to the worsening of insecurity in Nigeria, two have been selected for analysis. These are issues of unpaid allowances on the one hand, and arms procurement scams and issues of poor equipment on the other.

Issues of unpaid allowances

Prompt payment of salaries is a matter of welfare and motivation.⁵³⁹ Not only does the principle of wage and salary administration require that salaries are fair and equitable; it asserts that non-payment leads to workers feeling rather alienated from their work, and the ultimate decline in productivity.⁵⁴⁰ As shown in this analysis concerning unpaid allowances to certain personnel of NA, corruption and corruptive tendencies, which expose the internal Nigerian security to threats, are also involved.

The matter in question involved a group of Nigerian soldiers who participated in a UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia. The practice is that peacekeepers are paid by their own governments, to be reimbursed by the UN at a standard rate determined by the UN Assembly.⁵⁴¹ Usually, this does not take long to pay. Having waited for weeks after their return to Nigeria, the group of 28 soldiers (out of which one was exonerated) from Owena Barracks in Akure, Ondo State, alleged diversion of their allowances and, therefore, staged a protest that involved blocking of major highways and disruption of vehicular movement in parts of Akure.

Going by military tradition and laws guiding the profession, which abhor group actions against the authority of commanders, the protesting soldiers were rounded up, and had charges of mutiny pressed against them. There was public outrage, which, in part, accounted for the summoning of Yayale Ahmed and Patrick Aziza, then Minister of Defence and Chief of Defence Staff respectively, by the Nigerian House of Representatives’ Committee on Defence. Ahmed and Aziza convinced the Committee of the wrongness of the conduct of the protesting soldiers and, based on the report of a panel set up earlier by the NA, the 28 soldiers – except one, Private Bala Aliyu – were convicted, and given life sentences.⁵⁴²

Human rights activist and senior lawyer, Femi Falana, and Peters Ike Adonu, another lawyer, represented the soldiers at different levels of appeal in law courts against the punishment meted out to them. Despite the issue of discipline, which the military



emphasised in its decision on the matter, there was a moral dimension in the delayed allowances, which was the main reason for the protest and act of disobedience by the group of soldiers. Following persistent calls for clemency, particularly from Falana and civil society organisations, who emphasised the difference between an action that was traceable to frustration and anger, and other forms of disobedience, including disloyalty and desertion, the 27 soldiers were granted presidential amnesty and were released⁵⁴³ in 2010.

Although the selected case of 28 protesting soldiers has been settled, with the pardoning and release of the 27 who had been convicted, certain consequences in the aftermath of this outcome must be put in perspective. First, having been discharged without retirement benefits – to which most of the soldiers were not yet entitled in view of age and length of service – they were considered threats for the internal security in Nigeria. Second, friends and sympathisers of these soldiers, or those aggrieved by a system that may be regarded as unfair and unjust, constitute threats to both their profession, in terms of low morale and low productivity, and to national security. For example, there have been reports of soldiers and ex-soldiers linked to abduction and kidnapping in the country.⁵⁴⁴ Finding a solution to insecurity problems becomes quite difficult when security agents are involved in crimes and criminal acts.

Arms Procurement Scams And The Issue Of Poor Equipment

The strength of the NA⁵⁴⁵ and its operational requirements make it attractive to suppliers. Apart from everyday items (such as uniforms, belts, shoes and hats), the need for arms and weapons cannot be overemphasised. Weapons are part of the conventional war requirements of the Armed Forces but in Nigeria the criminal activities of armed robbers, insurrectionists, insurgents and kidnapers among others make the need for weapons compelling even in the absence of conventional wars. The Nigerian defence budget had consequently risen significantly, particularly since 2009, when the activities of the Boko Haram group became a serious security issue of national importance. According to Malaquias,⁵⁴⁶ Nigeria spent ‘not less than \$6 billion on defence in 2015 alone’. The country’s military spending between 2015 and 2022 stood at an average of \$2.0 billion annually,⁵⁴⁷ while ₦2.41 trillion or 15% of the ₦20.51 trillion (\$47.3 billion) proposed in the 2023 budget has been allocated to defence.⁵⁴⁸ Arms purchases for the country have been criticised for misapplication of funds and for procuring inappropriate weapons,⁵⁴⁹ particularly as seen in the deployment of weapons better suited for conventional warfare in its counter-insurgency operations against Boko Haram in the country. This is despite the hugeness of its budget allocations, some of the largest in Africa.⁵⁵⁰ Defence budget spending came under the searchlight when, in September 2014, a sum of \$9.3 million found in a Nigerian private aircraft in South Africa was linked to arms procurement.⁵⁵¹ Based on the explanation offered in official quarters, it is curious that arms of this magnitude were procured through personal channels, despite well-known rules for arms purchases.⁵⁵² The then President Jonathan and the National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki, put up efforts in explaining but this was hardly convincing. The deal looked every bit like a money laundering case.



Dasuki, as National Security Adviser (ONSA), was directly responsible for the South African cash-for-arms transfer, and several arms transactions have been under prosecution. The investigation of Dasuki, which started in November 2015, has been about various arms deals totalling \$2.9 billion. Former service chiefs (Army, Air Force and Navy), cabinet ministers, top civil servants, and chieftains of the then ruling party (among others) connected to the release of funds for arms transactions have been interrogated. Many of them have refunded money as part of plea-bargaining arrangements, while others had personal properties – acquired with proceeds of arms purchase scams – confiscated.^{553,554,555} This implies a misapplication of funds allocated to security, leaving the sector underfunded. It is no surprise that Boko Haram became so bold⁵⁵⁶ and, that in view of operational and strategic inefficiencies that have taken root, internal security has been massively threatened in Nigeria. The two selected cases aside, as part of the everyday internal security arrangements in Nigeria, personnel of the NA have been linked to collection of bribes during election duties as well as harassment of citizens during other engagements with the rest of the society.

The Nigerian Correctional Service

The two selected sources of threats to Nigeria's internal security, which are linked to abuse by certain personnel of the Nigerian Correctional Service are the problem of reoffenders and prison attacks and/or jailbreaks.

Problem of Reoffenders

The issue of reoffending convicted criminals have been found to be a source of threat to Nigeria's internal security. The country's prison and correctional centres are promoted and utilised as both punitive and rehabilitation instruments for turning offenders into law-abiding citizens with possible contributions to development. This is done by adopting different methods⁵⁵⁷ with a view to reintegrating felons successfully into society. However, this has not been particularly so in Nigeria.⁵⁵⁸ It has been proved that, since independence in 1960, dimensions of corruption – including inappropriate and inadequate recruitment and posting of prison officials, extortion of inmates and their visitors, and unapproved rationing of foods and medications by vendors in connivance with prison officials – have adversely affected the welfare of inmates and the lessons they ought to take away from the correctional centres and, in particular the rehabilitation programmes. This has become increasingly evident since the country's encounter with prolonged military rule between 1983 and 1999.

Faulty recruitment,⁵⁵⁹ in which trainees and newly appointed officers hardly have the right educational backgrounds, implies entry point problems and, therefore, nepotism and incompetence over time. While effective on-the-job training could be useful, where available, it is by far more appropriate to have individuals with background knowledge and training in the fields of psychology and sociology, among other humanities, than to employ those from the mathematical sciences, for example. Inadequate and insufficient equipment and implements also contribute to the poor outcome of rehabilitation programmes. For example, equipment for vocational and skill acquisition programmes in carpentry, shoe



making, electronic repairs, sewing and dress making, in the Ibadan and Oyo centres, and farming implements for the Ogbomosho Centre were not only insufficient by the time of this study, but also did not match up with the announced budgetary allocations.⁵⁶⁰ This could be due to budgetary allocations without cash backing or misapplication of funds. Sports as well as health facilities are hardly functional, with only the Ibadan centre having a functional ambulance for the need of inmates at the time of writing.

It is apt to argue that exposing inmates to the abuse of privileges and other acts of corruption by prison officials constitutes a psychological problem that has hardened many criminals.⁵⁶¹ According to Oyewo,⁵⁶² ‘inadequate social and physical infrastructure’, which has been in part traced to acts of corruption, constitutes a major ‘disincentive to learning and participation in inmate rehabilitation programmes’ in Nigerian prisons and correctional centres. This defeats the idea of rehabilitation instead of punishment and the goal of returning offenders to society as law-abiding members of the community. Add this to the challenge of stigmatisation of the less privileged ex-convicts in Nigerian society, then it should not be difficult to explain why and how this category of ex-convicts are threats to the internal security of the country and why they are therefore caught due to reoffending.

Prison Attacks and/or Jailbreaks

The problem of jailbreaks is not strange to Nigeria, but its frequency – 20 attacks between 2015 and 2022 – has generated concern in view of the implications and consequences for the security in the country.⁵⁶³ Between 2007, when the revolt in Agodi, Ibadan prison or correctional centre led to the ‘death of 40 inmates’, and 2022, most reports on jailbreaks and attacks on prisons in Nigeria have emphasised the conditions of the facilities as key factors.⁵⁶⁴ In 2021 alone, over 5 000 inmates escaped in incidences of jailbreaks and attacks, causing the deaths of dozens of inmates as well as the loss of lives on the part of prison officials. Many of the escapees were dangerous inmates, waiting for trial or being convicted of offences related to acts of terrorism, insurrection, abduction and kidnapping among other security-threatening crimes.⁵⁶⁵ Pointing to a system that is out of step with reality, it is not uncommon to find certain recurring factors in studies and reports on jailbreaks and prison attacks in Nigeria. These include the infrastructural deficit, overcrowding of cells, the prolonged trial of suspects, underfunding, poor remuneration and equipping of staff, inadequate technology, ineffective participation of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and bribery and corruption as well as other institutional challenges bedevilling the Nigerian prison system.^{566,567,568} The prison population, for example, rose from 44 450 in 2000 to 73 248 by May 2020,⁵⁶⁹ without corresponding enhancement of infrastructure and human capital. The logic of inadequacy can therefore not be overemphasised.

Budgetary allocations and claims about reinforcing prison facilities by way of constructing more and rehabilitating existing ones, are not evident going by what is happening on the ground. A review of the 2022 budgetary allocation to the Ministry of Interior,⁵⁷⁰ and a report by Oyedeji⁵⁷¹ reveal the importance and considerable budgets of the Ministry, a unit of which is the Nigerian Correctional Service, in carrying out the duty of internal security. The increase in budgetary allocations to the Ministry of the Interior and, in



particular, the NCS – all of which were higher than the allocations to other agencies – indicated some level of importance. However, none of the projects listed in the budget presentations were completed successfully between 2018 and 2022. These are issues that concern the head and other senior officials of the ministry, and can be connected to the internal security threats caused by the several prison attacks and jailbreaks around the country at the time.⁵⁷² It must also be noted that conditions for inmates, especially those awaiting trial and living in environments that are not ideal, amount to violation of their human rights, which threatens internal security in a way.

The Koton Karfe (Kogi State), where there were three cases of jailbreak between 2014 and 2016, and another in 2019, was selected for analysis. It is a medium-security prison and, by Nigerian standards, it therefore houses criminals who need to be locked away from society because they are dangerous.⁵⁷³ The distinguishing factors between such a prison and the maximum-security prison, in which other types of dangerous criminals are kept, include the stages of investigation and trial, as the latter houses dangerous criminals whose cases have been finally determined. Nonetheless, the movement of certain inmates in the medium-security prisons has to be restricted with a pair of lockable linked metal rings around their wrists or ankles. In this category, there are inmates held in connection with acts of terrorism, insurrection, banditry and high-profile armed robbery or other crimes that constitute threats to life and property as well as to the peace and stability of national sovereignty.

In the attacks and jailbreaks in Koton Karfe, in 2012, 2016 and 2019, a total number of 119, 13 and 200 inmates escaped respectively.⁵⁷⁴ Reports⁵⁷⁵ show that these and other attacks on the prison were invasions, implying contestation of sovereignty by the Boko Haram terrorist group whose members were among the forcefully released inmates. This also raises questions on the fortification of the prison for which budgetary allocations have been made.⁵⁷⁶ Corruption manifests in other ways, and this can be linked to connivance or negligence on the part of certain prison officials.⁵⁷⁷ This implies, overtly or covertly, the presence of spies or saboteurs who deliberately allow dangerous criminals to have access to gangs outside the prison walls via unauthorised devices or negligence. Indulging certain categories of inmates, which has fetched collaborators among prison officials' undue rewards, by way of bribes, has in part fuelled other types of unethical and unprofessional conduct in the prison.⁵⁷⁸ It is disturbing to note that, at the time of writing, hardly anyone of note has been punished for the several high-profile jailbreaks analysed above.

Recommendations

Insights have been drawn from the Nigerian Army and Nigerian Correctional Service, representing the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Interior, respectively, in analysing aspects of corruption and the effects on internal security in the country. However, head-on combating of corruption is required in every facet of Nigeria in view of the widespread manifestations of the problem of corruption, including its weakening effects on the social contract between the people and the state as well as on the societal fabric. This requires that on-going investigations and prosecutions are completed diligently to forestall re-occurrence. Leadership at political level is pivotal, but communities, especially through



volunteers, need to take ownership, first through prevention, but also through sanctions, if the need arises.

Restoration of the autonomy of structures for optimal performance of functions requires directional and transformational leaders. The role of the ecology of these structures, institutions and agencies in being autonomous and functional cannot be overemphasised. In this light, volunteer groups, community-based organisations and other types of civil society organisations have roles to play in finding leaders in a bottom-up approach to issues of internal security and public affairs in general.

Volunteerism and whistle blowing should be incentivised, particularly since the official definition of corruption in Nigeria criminalises concealment and refusal to disclose information about corrupt acts. Strengthening of political will at every decision-making level, including ministries, departments and agencies saddled with responsibilities concerning internal security and others making up the Nigerian socio-economic and political system.

Conclusion

Nigeria's internal security is threatened by corruption and corruptive tendencies in the activities of certain officials in the Nigerian Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Interior, represented in this article by examples drawn from Nigerian Army and the Nigerian Correctional Services. These are instances of misapplication of funds, exploitation of personnel, indecent treatment of prison inmates, poor work ethics leading to dangerous exposure of government agencies, and poor staff treatment with attendant consequences, including protest, desertion, and human rights abuse. There have been instances of abuse when personnel of the Nigerian Army were deployed for election duties and during certain rescue operations. Every system, consisting of structures and their functions, has a mutual relationship with its environment. Corruption as a feature in the Nigerian political environment has affected the Nigerian Army and the Nigerian Correctional Service in the performance of their internal security functions.



ENDNOTES

- ⁴⁸⁶ Dhikru Adewale Yagboyaju obtained a PhD in Political Science from the University of Ibadan (UI), Nigeria's premier university. He is a professor in the Department of Political Science at UI. His areas of research interests are public sector reforms, political institutions, policy and strategic studies. His recent publications include a co-edited book, *Democratic Practice and Governance in Nigeria* (Routledge, 2021) and a chapter contribution in *The Encyclopedia of Informality* (UCL, 2018). His works have also been published in the *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, *African Journal of Public Administration and Management*, *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, *Africa's Public Service Delivery & Performance Review*, *African Studies Quarterly*, and *Journal of African Elections*, among others.
- ⁴⁸⁷ This assertion has been traced to President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria. It was first stated publicly in the run-up to the Nigerian general elections in 2015. See A Ejekwonyilo, 'Updated: Buhari Lauds His Anti-corruption Performance', *Premium Times*, 1 October 2022. <<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/557001-updated-buhari-lauds-his-anti-corruption-performance.html?tztc=1>> [Accessed on 4 October 2022].
- ⁴⁸⁸ Although there had been concerns about the problem of corruption in public places under the colonial government, this became a public issue of national concern in Nigeria in 1966 when the brains behind the country's first military coup stated that corruption was the main reason for their action.
- ⁴⁸⁹ DA Yagboyaju, 'Nigeria and Corruption: Till Death Do Them Part?', *Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, 6, 1 (2016), 69–79.
- ⁴⁹⁰ O Mbachu & MU Bature (eds.), *Internal Security Management in Nigeria: A Study of Terrorism and Counter-terrorism* (Kaduna: Medus Academic, 2013).
- ⁴⁹¹ *Merriam-Webster*, 'Corruption', 2022. <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/corruption>> [Accessed on 5 October 2022].
- ⁴⁹² I Mclean & A McMillan (eds.), *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics* (London: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- ⁴⁹³ JT Noonan, *Bribes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
- ⁴⁹⁴ [United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Corruption in Nigeria: Bribery, Public Experience and Response* \(Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2017\), <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B6jjulMocLrOXFpMDh1Q111bm8/view>](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B6jjulMocLrOXFpMDh1Q111bm8/view) [Accessed on 6 October 2022]
- ⁴⁹⁵ JG Lambsdorff, "TI Corruption Perception Index 1996", *Transparency International and Goettingen University (1996)*, https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/1996_CPI-EN.pdf [Accessed on 6 October 2022]
- ⁴⁹⁶ The World Bank, *Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 1997), <https://www.worldbank.org/helping-countries-combat-corruption-the-role-of-the-world-bank/>. [Access on 6 October 2022]
- ⁴⁹⁷ DJ Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).



- ⁴⁹⁸ B Owasanoye, chairman of the Independent Corrupt Practices and allied Offences Commission (ICPC), at the 4th National Summit on Diminishing Corruption in the Public Sector, 2022, in collaboration with the office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation and the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB).
- ⁴⁹⁹ Although there have been punishable offences concerning complicity and accessory to crimes, the law incentivising a whistle-blower was passed in 2018. See also AM Jega, 'Assessment of the Implementation of the Whistle-blower Policy in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and the Way Forward', Presentation at the Zonal on Whistle-blower Conference, 14 December 2021.
- ⁵⁰⁰ This has been at the centre of discourse in terms of the peculiarities in conceptualising and defining corruption and corrupt practices. See F Odekunle, 'Corruption in Development: Definitional, Methodological and Theoretical Issues', in F Odekunle (ed.), *Nigeria Corruption in Development* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1986), 24–36.
- ⁵⁰¹ President Bill Clinton of the USA (1993–2001) was impeached by the US House of Representatives in connection to the Monica Lewinsky sexual allegations - President Clinton Impeached, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history> [Accessed on 6th October 2023].
- ⁵⁰² President Donald Trump (2017–2021) has been accused of rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment, including non-consensual kissing or groping, by at least 25 women. In September 2022, Trump was investigated for various offences, including tax evasion, illegal possession of classified information, interference with the 2020 election in the State of Georgia and the 6 January 2021 attack on The Capitol. (See, Ian Millhiser, "The 4 major criminal probes into Donald Trump, explained" - <https://www.vox.com/platform/amp/policy-a-ary-6-election-georgia-new-york>. 16 February 2023. (Accessed on 13 June 2023).
- ⁵⁰³ Prime Minister Boris Johnson was investigated for breaching Covid-19 lockdown rules. See C. Okafor, "Prime Minister Boris Johnson under fire for breaching Covid-19 rules". Premium Times, 10 July 2022. <https://www.premiumtimes.com/news/prime-minister-Boris-Johnson-under-fire-for-breaching-covid-19-rules/>. [Accessed on 6th October 2022].
- ⁵⁰⁴ Same-sex marriage is the marriage of two people of the same legal sex. It is a criminal offence in Nigeria, but 34 countries, including the USA, Spain, the Netherlands and certain countries in the West have recognised it as at 2022. See, Pew Research Center, "The Global Divide on Homosexuality: Greater Acceptance in More Secular and Affluent Countries". Pew Research Center, 4 June 2013. www.pewresearch.org/global/2013/06/04/the-global-divide-on-homosexuality/.
- ⁵⁰⁵ A school of thought is of the opinion that corruption has its own advantages, in that beneficiaries of corruption in bureaucracies tend to work for the 'good' of the system. See M Beenstock, 'Corruption and Development', *World Development*, 7, 1 (1979), 15–24.
- ⁵⁰⁶ M Johnson, 'Historical Conflict and the Rise of Standards', in L Diamond & MF Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1993), 193–205.
- ⁵⁰⁷ J Nye, 'Corruption and Political Development: A Cost Benefit Analysis', *American Political Science Review*, 56, 1 (1967), 417–427.



- ⁵⁰⁸ M Page, *A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2018).
- ⁵⁰⁹ M Page, *A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2018), 3.
- ⁵¹⁰ In Nigeria, institutions and agencies such as the police, vehicle inspection unit and the Department of Customs and Excise have been notorious for corrupt practices. However, JAMB and the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (monitoring units) have been among agencies that could be regarded as ‘oases in the desert’ in the country. These two categories reflect varying levels of opportunities and controls.
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- ⁵¹² There have been reports of huge serious cybercrimes and huge losses in Nigeria. For example, it has been reported that the country loses about ₦127 billion (US\$ 298 823 507) yearly to internet fraud. See S. Aragba-Akpore, “Digital Literacy and Rising Cyber Crimes” <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/06/01/digital-literacy-and-rising-cyber-crimes/>. (Accessed on 6th October 2022).
- ⁵¹³ Nigeria has, despite its huge mineral resources and arable land for agriculture, been ranked among the world’s poorest in a decade, 2010-2020. See, Y. Kazeem, “Nigeria Has become the Poverty Capital of the World”, *Quartz Africa*, 25 June 2018. <https://qz.com/africa/1313380/nigeria-has-the-highest-rate-of-extreme-poverty-globally/>. [Accessed on 7 October 2022].
- ⁵¹⁴ In the 2021 Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International, Nigeria was ranked in the 154th position out of 180 countries, with a score of 24 out of 100 (*transparency.org*).
- ⁵¹⁵ M Page, *A New Taxonomy for Corruption in Nigeria* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2018), 2.
- ⁵¹⁶ P Mauro, ‘Corruption and Growth’, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110, 3 (1995), 681–712.
- ⁵¹⁷ P Collier & JW Gunning, *Explaining Economic Performance*, Working Paper No. WPS/97-2 (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1997).
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- ⁵¹⁹ MH Khan, ‘A Typology of Corrupt Transactions in Developing Countries’, *IDS Bulletin*, 27, 2 (1996), 12–21.
- ⁵²⁰ RA Olopoenia, ‘A Political Economy of Corruption and Underdevelopment’. Lecture Series No. 10, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, 7 October 1998.
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- ⁵²² Society for International Development, ‘What is Development?’. – Sid Israel – <https://sid-israel.org.what-is-development?/>. [Accessed on 10 October 2022].
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- ⁵²⁵ F Odekunle, 'Internal Security: A Priority for the Nation', Inaugural lecture, National Think Tank, SM Yar'Adua Centre, Abuja. 23 May 2007.
- ⁵²⁶ The United Nations, "What is Human Security?" – the United Nations, <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/what-is-human-security?/>. 10 April 2018 [Accessed on 11 October 2022]
- ⁵²⁷ The emphasis on security in Section 14 (1) of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution (amended) is instructive. See *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (Abuja: Federal Government Press), 1999.
- ⁵²⁸ Nigeria's Armed Forces are involved in many aspects of internal security in the country, including counter-insurgency in the matter of Boko Haram; checkmating the activities of armed robbers/bandits (in cattle rustling); abduction and kidnapping; special election duties; and protecting Nigerian's oil installations (especially oil pipe lines). For example, see C. Kinsey & A Krieg, "Assembling a Force to Defeat Boko Haram: How Nigeria Integrated the Market into its Counterinsurgency Strategy", *Defence & Security Analysis*, 37, 2 (2021), 232-249; G Ofurum, "Navy, NNPC launch special operation against oil theft", *Businessday NG*, 3 April 2022. [https://businessday.ng/news/article/navy-nnpc-launch-special-operation-against-oil.theft/](https://businessday.ng/news/article/navy-nnpc-launch-special-operation-against-oil-theft/). [Accessed on 12 October 2022].
- ⁵²⁹ There have been works on the prison and correctional aspects of the policing for internal security functions of the state. See M Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1995); DA Yagboyaju, 'Peace and Security', in DA Yagboyaju (ed.), *Reflections on Politics, Governance and Economy in Contemporary Nigeria* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 2016), 35–68. The role and functions of the Nigeria Correctional Service (formerly the Nigeria Prison Service) are spelt out by Decree 9 of 1972, as well as in CAP 366 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990.
- ⁵³⁰ Alfred R Radcliffe Brown (1881–1955) and Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) were early proponents of structural functionalism, in which certain structures perform specific functions for the overall good of the citizens in any particular country. See T Parsons, *The Social System* (London: Glencoe, 1951).
- ⁵³¹ David Easton (1917–2014) popularised the systems theory, an idea borrowed from biology and the general systems theory, for political analysis. See D. Easton, *A System Analysis of Political Life* (New York: Wiley, 1965).
- ⁵³² These and certain other countries known for high life expectancy, economic prosperity, political stability, equitable opportunities and freedom have been ranked consistently high in UN HDI and the API by the Legatum Institute.
- ⁵³³ Structural theory has been linked to the pioneering efforts of Karl Marx (1818–1883), German philosopher, and Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), French sociologist. The character of the state in Nigeria and the nature of the ruling class have been linked to the weakness of rules and procedures in Nigeria, making it easy for public officials to take advantage of their positions. See C Ake, 'The Nigerian State: Antinomies of a Periphery Formation', in C Ake (ed.), *Political Economy of Nigeria* (London: Longman, 1985), 9–32; EE Osaghae, 'The Character of the State, Legitimacy Crisis and Social Mobilisation in Africa: An Explanation of Form and Character', *Africa Development*, xxiv, 2 (1988), 27–47; LA Jinadu, 'Elections, Democracy and the State in Africa: The 2019 Nigerian General Elections in Perspective', in VA Isumonah & EE Osaghae (eds.), *The 2019 General Elections in Nigeria* (Ibadan: John Archers, 2020), 7–34.



- ⁵³⁴ Fred W Riggs (1917–2008) popularised the ecological approach in political analysis. See FW Riggs, *The Ecology of Public Administration* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1961).
- ⁵³⁵ There is a mutually reinforcing relationship between the environment and the performance of its institutions. It is hardly conceivable that Nigeria’s security agencies will perform effectively in view of the nature of the political class and the character of the state, both of which are exploitative. See DA Yagboyaju, ‘Cultural Impact on Public Administration and Governance in Africa: The Nigerian Case’, *African Journal of Public Administration and Management*, xxvi (2019), 109–123.
- ⁵³⁶ DA Yagboyaju, ‘The State and Political Corruption in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of S Shagari Civilian Administration (1979 - 1983) and IB Babangida Military Regime (1985-1993). Doctoral Thesis. Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. 2004’.
- ⁵³⁷ Large sums of money believed to be stolen have been traced to many senior officials of successive military regimes in Nigeria. For example, 24 years after the death of General S Abacha, in 1998, monies traced to foreign accounts of the late head of state have been repatriated in tranches. See A Ejekwonyilo, ‘US to repatriate fresh \$23m Abacha loot to Nigeria’, *Premium Times Nigeria*. 23 August 2022. [https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/US-to-repatriate-fresh-\\$23m-Abacha-loot-to-Nigeria](https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/US-to-repatriate-fresh-$23m-Abacha-loot-to-Nigeria) [Accessed on 14 October 2022]; The World Bank, ‘World Bank Monitoring of Repatriated Abacha Funds’, *The World Bank*. 4 December 2017. <https://www.worldbank.org/news/world-bank-monitoring-of-repatriated-abacha-funds/>. [Accessed on 14 October 2022]; For the story of another army general who played active roles in military regimes in the 1980s to 1990s, see *Jersey Evening Post* ‘Ex-General fails in bid to recover £2m from seized Island accounts’, *Jersey Evening Post*. 5 June 2022. <https://jerseyeveningpost/news/2022/06/05/ex-general-fails-in-bid-to-recover-£2m-from-seized-island-accounts/>. [Accessed on 14 October 2022]
- ⁵³⁸ The chairman of the ICPC, a leading anti-corruption agency in Nigeria, Professor B Owasanoye, identified corruption by senior military officers as prominent among factors that have been responsible for the worsening insecurity in the country. See *THISDAYLIVE*, ‘ICPC: Corruption by Military responsible for worsening insecurity’.
13 September 2022. <https://thisdaylive.com/index.php/ICPC-corruption-by-military-responsible-for-worsening-insecurity/>. [Accessed on 14 October 2022]
- ⁵³⁹ PI Iweoba, ‘Non-payment of Salaries: The Implication on the Legal, Economic and Social Rights of Workers in Nigeria’, *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 7, 1 (2017), 1–9.
- ⁵⁴⁰ PI Iweoba, ‘Non-payment of Salaries: The Implication on the Legal, Economic and Social Rights of Workers in Nigeria’, *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 7, 1 (2017), 1–9.
- ⁵⁴¹ This was approximately US\$1 428 per soldier in 2022, and was at the time of the matter in question, in 2008, approximately US\$1 100. Whichever it is, this pay is handsome for average Nigerian soldiers who earn far less as monthly salary if they are not part of such a foreign mission.
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- ⁵⁴³ Nairaland Forum, ‘Finally! Army Grants 27 Convicted Soldiers Pardon’, *Politics-Nairaland*. 4 December 2010. <https://www.nairaland.com/56206/finally-army-grants-27-convicted-soldiers-pardon/>. [Accessed on 27 June 2022]



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- ⁵⁴⁵ T David, “Nigeria Military Ranked 36th Globally, 4th in Africa”, *Leadership*. March 2023. <http://leadership.ng/nigerian-military-ranked-36th-globally-4th-in-Africa>. [Accessed on 14 June 2023.]
- ⁵⁴⁶ A Malaquias, *Corruption: A Major Threat to Military Effectiveness* (Washington DC: Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, 2015), 2.
- ⁵⁴⁷ Trading Economics, “Nigeria Military Expenditure – 2022 Data – 2023 Forecas-1960-2021 Historical”, Trading Economics. <https://tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/military/expenditure/2022/data/2023/forcase/> [Accessed on 15 October 2023].
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- ⁵⁵⁰ A Malaquias, *Corruption: A Major Threat to Military Effectiveness* (Washington DC: Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, 2015), 2.
- ⁵⁵¹ The news of a Nigerian private aircraft impounded by South African authorities in 2014 generated much controversy before the government of Nigeria claimed ownership. *Premium Times Nigeria*, “Nigeria government admits ownership of \$9.3 million arms money seized by South Africa”, *Premium Times Nigeria*. 16 September 2014. [https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/nigerian-govt-admits-ownership-of-\\$9.3million-arms-money-seized-by-south-Africa/](https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/nigerian-govt-admits-ownership-of-$9.3million-arms-money-seized-by-south-Africa/). [Accessed on 28 June 2022]
- ⁵⁵² The seized cash for arms was transported by two Nigerians and one Israeli. At the time, South Africa said the transaction violated its laws on movement of cash. See *Premium Times Nigeria*, “Nigeria talks tough, warns South Africa over seized \$5.7Million arms money”, *Premium Times Nigeria*. 6 October 2014. [https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/nigeria-talkstough-warns-South-Africa-over-seized-\\$5.7million-arms-money/](https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/nigeria-talkstough-warns-South-Africa-over-seized-$5.7million-arms-money/). The conflicting figures quoted by the South African authorities and the Nigerian government fuelled suspicion too. [Accessed on 16 October 2022].”
- ⁵⁵³ Leading Nigerian newspapers have mentioned several senior military officers and other categories of top-level public officials who have been investigated for their roles in the embezzlement of funds allocated to security. See *THISDAYLIVE*, “ICPC: Corruption by Military responsible for worsening insecurity”. 13 September 2022. <https://thisdaylive.com/index.php/ICPC-corruption-by-military-responsible-for-worsening-insecurity/>. [Accessed on 14 October 2022].
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- ⁵⁵⁷ The methods entail all activities aimed at treating and training convicts through the provision for adult/remedial education as well as preparing them for gainful employment after release. See O Oyewo, *Prison Management, Vocational Training Infrastructure and Inmate Rehabilitation Policy in the Nigerian Correctional Service*, *Oyo State Command* (PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 2021).
- ⁵⁵⁸ Evidences gathered from prison (change of name to correctional centres in 2019) Ikoyi (Lagos State) as well as interactions with officials of two faith-based NGOs involved in correctional programmes indicate that four out of ten, or 40%, of the inmates are at least second-time offenders.
- ⁵⁵⁹ Instances of faulty recruitment, usually involving favouritism, nepotism and incompetence, abound in Nigeria. See B Saheed, A Owonikoko & K Ashindorbe, 'Nigeria Prisons Service and Internal Security Management in Nigeria', in OO Oshita, IM. Alumona & FC. Onuoha (eds.), *Internal Security Management in Nigeria* (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), 501–511.
- ⁵⁶⁰ Nigeria's Ministry of Interior, which oversees the Prisons and Correctional Services, Nigeria Immigration Service and Nigeria Customs Service, among other paramilitary agencies involved in internal security matters, has been known for its special attention in terms of budgetary allocations. For example, see THISDAYLIVE, "Senate Committee Seeks Increased Budgetary Allocation for Interior Ministry", ThisDayLive. 29 October 2021. <https://www.thisdaylive.increased-budgetary-allocation-for-interior-ministry/>. [Accessed on 22 October 2022].
- ⁵⁶¹ O Oyewo, *Prison Management, Vocational Training Infrastructure and Inmate Rehabilitation Policy in the Nigerian Correctional Service*, *Oyo State Command* (PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 2021).
- ⁵⁶² O Oyewo, *Prison Management, Vocational Training Infrastructure and Inmate Rehabilitation Policy in the Nigerian Correctional Service*, *Oyo State Command* (PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 2021).
- ⁵⁶³ Twenty attacks and jailbreaks have been recorded from 2015 to 2022, occurring in Bauchi, Ogun, Plateau, Ondo, Oyo, Lagos, Ekiti, Niger, Kogi, Edo and Imo States, and in Abuja, the country's capital city and seat of power. See, N Aytogo, "Analysis: Why jailbreaks have become commonplace in Nigeria", *Premium Times Nigeria*. 6 December 2021. <https://www.premiumpremtimesng.com/new/analysis-why-jailbreaks-have-become-commonplace-in-Nigeria/>. [Accessed on 22 October 2022].
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- ⁵⁶⁵ It is worrying that over 5 000 inmates escaped from prisons around Nigeria in 2021 alone. The consequences are obvious, as many of them were either waiting for trial or convicted for serious security threatening crimes, including acts of terrorism, insurrection, abduction and kidnapping. See Premium Times, "Timeline: Over 5000 inmates escape from Nigerian prisons in one year", *Premium Times*, 1 December 2021. <https://www.premiumpremtimesng.com/news/headlines/498227-timeline-over-5000-inmates-escapes-from-Nigerian-jails-in-one-year.html/>. [Accessed on 22 October 2022].



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- ⁵⁶⁷ A R Rotimi, 'Prison Administration in Modern Nigeria', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 6, 1 (1982), 73–83.
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- ⁵⁶⁹ O E Joseph, 'Prison Overcrowding Trend in Nigeria and Policy Implications on Health', *Law, Criminology and Justice*, 7, 1 (2021), 124-139; O Oyedeji, "As Nigeria Experiences its 20th Jailbreak in 7 years, Here are Four Issues of Concern", *Dataphyte*. 11 July 2022. <https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-report/as-Nigeria-experiences-its-20th-jailbreak-in-7years-here-ar-four-issues-of-concern/>. (Accessed on 27 October 2022). Among the four issues addressed, a review of the budgetary allocations to the Ministry of Interior is important from 2018 to 2022, the sum of N27.858 billion was allocated for the construction of 3000-capacity model prison in Kano, FCT, Bori and Damaturu, and for additional cells in Maiduguri new prisons, among others, Also, a sum of N16.654 billion was budgeted for prisons/barracks rehabilitation from 2018 to 2021. In 2022, a sum of N5.585 billion was budgeted for the construction of prisons without any description of location. Prison overcrowding is still a serious issue in Nigeria despite these budgetary allocations.
- ⁵⁷⁰ *The Cable NG*, "2022 Budget: Works, finance, defence ministries get highest", <https://thecable.ng-2022-budget-works-finance-defence-ministries-get-highest/>. (Posted on 25 August 2021. Accessed on 27 October 2022 @09.11hrs).
- ⁵⁷¹ O Oyedeji, "As Nigeria Experiences its 20th Jail break in 7 years, Here are Four Issues of Concern". *Development*. Among the four issues addressed, a review of the budgetary allocations to the Ministry of Interior is important. From 2018 to 2022, the sum of N27.858 billion was budgeted for the construction of 3 000-capacity model prisons in Kano, FCT, Bori and Damaturu, and additional cells in Maiduguri's new prisons, among others. Another sum of N16.654 billion was budgeted for prisons/barracks rehabilitation from 2018 to 2021. Also in 2022, a sum of N5.585 billion was budgeted for construction of prisons without any description of location. See *dataphyte.com* (Posted on 11 July 2022. Accessed on 27 October 2022 @09.13hrs).
- ⁵⁷² Some of the consequences of prison attacks and jailbreaks that can be traced to facility inadequacy can be found below. In July 2022, the Kuje prison in Abuja was attacked, leading to the escape of 879 inmates, 64 of whom are linked to the Boko Haram terrorist group; December 2021, Jos (Plateau State), nine inmates dead, 252 at large; April 2021, Owerri (Imo State), gunmen invaded the prison and released 1 844 inmates; October 2019, July 2016 and February 2012, Koton Karfe (Kogi State), jailbreaks led to the escape of dozens of inmates. See C Asadu, "Nigeria jailbreak raises more questions over insecurity". *AP News*. 11 July 2022. <https://apnews.com/article/africa-prisons/nigeria-jailbreak-raises-more-questions-over-insecurity/>; A Oluwafemi, "Jos jailbreak: Nine inmates dead, 252 at large, says prisons spokesman", *The Cable*. 29 November 2021. <https://www.thecable.ng/amp/jos-jailbreak-nine-inmates-dead-252-at-large/>; J Ojo, "Owerri jailbreak and attacks on police", *The Punch*. 7 April 2021. <https://punch.com/overri-jailbreak-and-attacks-on-police/>. [All accessed on 27 October 2022].



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- ⁵⁷⁵ See, UA Bello, "Nigeria: Gunmen set 144 inmates free from Koton Karfe Prison", *Daily Trust*. 3 November 2014. <https://allafrica.com/stories/20141104022/-nigeria-gunmen-set-144-inmates-free-from-Koton-Karfe-prison/>. [Accessed on 27 October 2022]
- ⁵⁷⁶ See O Oyedeji, "As Nigeria Experience its 20th Jailbreak in 7 years, Here are four Issues of Concern", *Dataphyte*. 11 July 2022. <https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-report/as-Nigeria-experiences-its-20th-jailbrak-in7years-here-are-four-issues-of-concern/> [Accessed on 27 October 2022]
- ⁵⁷⁷ The author, as a participant observer in a visit by a prisoners' rights advocacy NGO, noticed a section of the facility labelled informally as the VIPs apartment. Inmates in the 'VIPs' apartment looked physically well off and privileged. During interactions, a less-privileged inmate revealed in confidence that there are inmates who, with a fee to prison officials, have access to personal cell phones, laptops and other information technology communication devices. In addition, there is a report that even in maximum-security prisons, there are such privileged inmates, based on illicit relationships with prison officials. See T Ojoye, "Nigerian prison cells where inmates live like Kings, use co-prisoners as servants", *The Punch*. 3 March 2018. <https://punchng.com/nigerian-prison-cells-where-inmates-live-like-Kings-use-co-prisoner-as-servants/>. [Accessed on 26 October 2022].
- ⁵⁷⁸ Prison officials have been found to prefer duty posts where they interact directly with privileged inmates or their families as well as other categories of visitors, while they seek to influence, by blocking, their posting as guards or sentry. See GE Emerho, *Factors Affecting the Correctional Functions of Prisons in Nigeria: A Study of Aguata and Onitsha Prisons* (MSc Dissertation, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, 2016).

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Book Review

The Worst Military Leaders in History

Edited by John M Jennings & Chuck Steele

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Cruelty, callousness, poor judgement, political ambition, impulsiveness, fear of failure – these and several other characteristics are identified and highlighted in the 15 military leaders discussed in *The Worst Military Leaders in History*.

The question pertaining to what it is that makes a good military leader has been discussed by academics and serving officers (as well as a few armchair warriors) for aeons. The answer is often as confusing and as complex as the difference between the terms “military leadership” and “military command”. However, the answer to the question is often less important than the discussion and awareness that it provokes. Military biography studies military leaders within a military-historical context in order to understand how and why leaders made decisions, how their characters and personalities, their backgrounds and training, and their socio-political contexts interacted on the battlefield to achieve specific results – sometimes successful, sometimes not. Traditionally, the focus of these studies is on successful military leaders in order to teach future military officers valuable lessons based on the successes of these historic figures. As valuable as this time-honoured approach is, it is also limited, as it only provides a one-sided view of military leadership and does not necessarily develop the critical evaluation skills of future officers.

Any nation needs military officers who are willing, empowered, and able to lead and command the security forces of their country. This necessity becomes more pressing as future battlespaces become increasingly volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous, requiring military officers to display strength of character, problem-solving abilities, and critical thinking skills to deal with the demands of the modern battlespace. The dilemma faced by military academies and officer training institutions is often not only finding the right personnel but, more importantly, also ways to develop the right combination of skill sets effectively. One of the methodologies often used is to study the lives and careers of previous military commanders and leaders.

John M Jennings and Chuck Steele, two military instructors at the United States (US) Air Force Academy, decided that they needed a tool that would not only assist in the study of military leadership but which would also elicit critical discussions and develop critical thinking within their students. The authors were given the task to study and describe the

lives, careers, and impact of one military leader who, in the author's opinion, deserves the title of "worst military leader". The result was a book reporting on the lives and careers of 15 military leaders who could be classified as the "worst military leaders". The 15 leaders were grouped into five categories: criminals, frauds, the clueless, politicians, and bunglers – ranging from Roman Fedorovich von Urgern-Sternberg and Lewis Brereton to George A Custer and Lord Wolseley.

Although most military biographies focus on well-known military leaders, I found the discussions in this book fascinating and refreshing, mixing some of the lesser-known military leaders with more famous ones. Although some of the leaders discussed in the book seem – in my opinion – somewhat undeserving of the title "worst military leader" or rather that there are several military leaders more deserving of this title, it is certainly a thought-provoking book.⁵⁷⁹ When one keeps in mind that this book was primarily written as a developmental and educational tool that may be used to enhance critical thinking and develop future military officers, it certainly achieved its intended purpose. Every military leader discussed in this book would be a wonderful case study that could be used to elicit class discussions and foster awareness of the qualities that are unwanted in military leaders. The topic in general represents a refreshing approach and, if used effectively, would certainly contribute to the development of critical thinking and awareness amongst future military officers.

As a military psychologist, I tended to read the book from an applied psychology perspective and not from the historical perspective as it was intended. However, even from this perspective, the book emphasised not only the need for the selection and development of certain qualities in future officers but also what to avoid. As highlighted by the review of Robbins in the "Army Magazine" of September 2022, the book focuses on the characters of the individual leaders – something that is always of interest to psychologists.⁵⁸⁰ All the case studies emphasise the importance of personality, judgement, and ability at tactical, operational, and strategic levels for military commanders, and the fact that an individual might be exceedingly successful at tactical level as a military commander but he or she might not necessarily perform well at operational or strategic level where different skill sets are needed for successful leadership. In addition, the chaotic and ambiguous nature of war is emphasised, highlighting the need to prepare and empower future military leaders with the abilities, qualities, and attitudes required to deal with warfare. All in all, I would recommend this book to military historians but, more specifically, also to practitioners who can use it as a tool to illustrate the requirements for military leaders, and to develop critical thinking amongst students of military leadership.

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ENDNOTES

⁵⁷⁹ M Robbins, *Important Case Studies in Lousy Leadership*, Association of the United States Army, September Book Reviews. 2022. <<https://www.ausa.org/articles/september-2022-book-reviews>> [Accessed on 4 January 2023].

⁵⁸⁰ M Robbins, *Important Case Studies in Lousy Leadership*, Association of the United States Army, September Book Reviews. 2022. <<https://www.ausa.org/articles/september-2022-book-reviews>> [Accessed on 4 January 2023].

