



IMPUNITY IN NIGERIA: KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDE & PERCEPTION

FINDINGS FROM A NATIONAL SURVEY



STOP IMPUNITY NIGERIA CAMPAIGN

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IMPUNITY IN NIGERIA: KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDE AND PERCEPTION

FINDINGS FROM A NATIONAL SURVEY

Report

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Research Conducted

By



for



STOP IMPUNITY NIGERIA CAMPAIGN

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Impunity is a major impediment to the development of Nigeria. It has brought Nigeria to its knees such that in recent history the country ranks amongst the lowest in indicators of economic growth and development. Abundant human and natural resources notwithstanding, Nigeria has consistently ranked low in Human Development Reports of UNDP and Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index amongst other global indicators. Available evidence shows that a country's development is directly linked with the respect for rule of law and the absence of impunity. Thus, there is direct correlation between the rule of law and a country's ranking in poverty index, corruption perception index, justice administration, health and education rankings, attraction of foreign direct investments, citizen welfare and social security.

To address this malady four civil society organizations with the support of the Ford Foundation started the "Stop Impunity Nigeria" (S.I.N) Campaign. The main objective of the Campaign is to awaken public awareness to the corrosive effects of impunity on the prospects for development in Nigeria and galvanize public action with a view to eradicating impunity in Nigeria. The strategy is to use research, training, advocacy and media engagement to address the ills of impunity. The outcome of the research component is the content of this publication.

We are highly indebted to all the members of the research team across the country and all the respondents from the public, various agencies, key officials across all MDAs, arms and levels of government who participated in the survey. They have contributed greatly to the success of this project.

Our deepest appreciation goes to the National Orientation Agency (NOA), Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), and the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) who are collaborating organizations in this Campaign.

Finally, we thank the Ford Foundation for supporting this project to Stop Impunity in Nigeria.

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Executive Director,
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For:

Media Rights Agenda (MRA)
Community Life Project (CLP)
Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)

SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction and Background

Impunity plays a very significant role in the socio-economic and political development outcomes of any country. This is more so in democratic dispensations, where people expect public conscience and accountability to drive development positively, in order for the dividends of democracy to be visible. The word “impunity” derives from the Latin word *impunitas*, which means everyone does as s/he likes in blatant disregard for the law and state institutions however, without punishment. Impunity therefore, means ‘without punishment’. That is, no sanction for bad behavior, no punishment for misdeeds. Impunity can thus be likened to an unmitigated and an uncontrolled emancipation, freewill and free choice. It is the attitude encouraged by an unlawful liberty from retribution or recrimination among citizens and government of a country. It is an anti-social (although not necessarily criminal/but can be) behaviour that *disregards punishment or sanction and is a deliberate disregard for prosecutorial system. It is disobedience to the rule of law, due process/procedure, electoral misconduct, fiscal impropriety and lack of patriotism.*

States bedeviled with impunity are characterized by infrastructural decay, debt burden, poor welfare and inefficient public institutions. Impunity is therefore, a significant determinant of the socio-economic and political development outcomes of any state. It determines a state’s investment climate, both in the short and long run. This is due to its impact on Peer Nations’ Perception Index (PNPI) of a state. Thus, a state with a preponderance of impunity is perceived negatively and treated with disdain by its citizens, potential investors and the international community at large. The outcome of a negative perception is the poor flow of Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) and other supports to the state. Impunity is therefore, one of the most dangerous challenges a nation could face. It constitutes the fundamental root of most of the misdeeds, in both the public and private spheres of a nation. Impunity explains why government officials, groups and individuals act contrary to the expectations of the law of the state. In effect, impunity leads to bad governance with the attendant mass poverty, high rate of crime, corruption, unemployment, insecurity, etc.

In Nigeria, years of military dominance in governance created and entrenched the culture of impunity. The military ruled with absolute disregard for the rule of law and so created a national psyche of ‘militarization’. This has persisted till date, despite more than a decade of steady democratic governance, where it is expected that public conscience and accountability would drive development. However, the reverse is the case. Impunity has acquired its unique Nigerian meaning. In the Nigerian parlance, impunity can be regarded as the consciousness and belief of *nothing go happen, nothing dey, nothing go sele, na today? No be today yansh dey for back, only in my country* and so on. Impunity is so entrenched and prevalent in the country that every group and community has its unique local and sub-group code for characterizing it. Impunity manifests in diverse ways. It is what makes citizens and government’s officials to flout traffic rules, endanger fellow citizens, arrogate power to themselves, steal public funds, silence their conscience and evade justice. It is impunity that makes Nigerians to refuse to do their jobs without retribution. It breeds patronage, makes people to demand for bribes for the performance of official duties and to inflate government budgets without commensurate performance. Impunity is what is responsible for the many abandoned projects that would otherwise have benefited Nigerians. It is what causes widespread corruption, electoral hooliganism, theft of

crude oil and vandalization of pipelines. It makes security officers to extort money from the public without fear, causes executive high handedness, nepotism, perverse political climate, godfatherism, political infiltration of anti-graft agencies, rule of the rich, military hangover and scapegoatism. In fact, the list is endless.

These acts of impunity have resulted in a low level of public trust and confidence in state machineries. It has equally resulted in a Negative Doing Business Perception Index (NDBPI) for Nigeria. In other words, impunity could be attributed as the bed rock of Nigeria's development challenges. However, attempts by successive governments to tackle Nigeria's developmental problems have been focused on fighting corruption, without the realization of the overarching influence of impunity on corruption. This amounts to fighting the symptoms rather than the disease - IMPUNITY. This probably explains why attempts by successive governments to tackle corruption over the years have not yielded the desired result. Thus, without addressing the problem of impunity, there would be no meaningful development in Nigeria. This is because there is a positive correlation between Impunity, Institutionalization, Underdevelopment and Failed State phenomenon, as illustrated in the Impunity and Development Equation – (I&DE) $II=U=FSP=I=U=II$, where II (Impunity Institutionalization) = U (Underdevelopment) = FSP (Failed State Phenomenon) = Impunity=Underdevelopment=Impunity Institutionalization (II).

From the foregoing, it could be deduced that once impunity is entrenched in a state, the state, its agencies and machineries become incapable of meeting the benchmark of investigating rights and laws' violation, as well as taking important steps towards bringing offenders to book in ways that would serve as deterrents to others, thus bringing justice to the state. On the other hand, in a state where people perceived justice as entrenched and accessible, impunity is traded off and individuals act in conformity with the norms regulating behaviour. This invariably translates into growth and development.

It is against this background that this study investigated the phenomenon of impunity in Nigeria, with a view to unravelling its dimensions, manifestations, dynamics and impact on Nigerian development and thus proffers solutions towards its amelioration.

1.2. S.I.N Project Overview

The implementing organizations of the S.I.N Campaign are; Centre for Social Justice (CSJ), Community Life Project (CLP), Human Development Initiatives (HDI) and Media Rights Agenda (MRA). These organizations were chosen based on their core competencies and track records in related projects. Implementing Partners are; Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), National Orientation Agency (NOA) and Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA). Stakeholders targeted in the course of S.I.N Campaign are: Professional bodies like the Nigerian Bar Association, Nigerian Medical Association, Association of Professional Bodies, etc.; Organized Private Sector and Organized Labour; Government Institutions and Agencies such as Public Complaints Commission (PCC), The Judiciary; The Media and Press Agencies and Associations; International Institutions, such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the Open Government Partnership; Credible public figures and opinion leaders, including political, business and religious leaders, entertainment icons, academicians, and traditional rulers; Experts and professionals in media campaigns, social mobilization and implementation of selected thematic areas; Youths, with the capacity to organize on advocacy issues as well as possess skills in the use of new and social media.

The S.I.N Campaign has four thematic schemes - Public Finance Management; Rule of Law; Electoral Process and Civic Responsibility; and Patriotism.

The main objectives of the S.I.N Campaign are to:

1. raise public awareness about impunity and galvanize public action towards its amelioration in Nigeria.
2. make impunity a front burner issue in the political and public agenda.
3. influence decision makers and opinion leaders on the need to fight impunity cum corruption; and
4. formulate policies and programmes that would enhance the capabilities of public and private agencies as well as civil society groups to fight impunity in Nigeria.

The S.I.N Campaign Project adopts five key strategies as follows –

1. Training
2. Research
3. Media Campaign
4. Advocacy and
5. Documentation.

The Training strategy, which is the first strategy, incorporates -

1. Training for Implementing Organizations on the ‘Stop Impunity Now’ Campaign.
2. Training for the Media on ‘Buy-in and Partnership for the Stop Impunity’ Campaign.
3. Training for Researchers; and
4. Training for Community-Based, Faith-Based and Trade-Based Organizations.

The second strategy is Research and covers the following –

1. Quantitative Data Gathering at the Federal, State and Local Government levels on the thematic areas of the campaign.
2. Qualitative Data Gathering on the thematic areas, but targeting critical organizations such as the Public Complaints Commission (PCC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), Nigeria Communication Commission (NCC), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), National Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC), and Professional Associations, Politicians, Legislators (Senate and House of Representatives) and strategic individuals who are notable public figures.
3. Case study analysis based on the activities of civil society, media reports and key regulatory agencies involved in prosecution of cases of impunity, especially high profile ones.
4. Monitoring and Evaluation.

This report is the outcome of the Research component.

The third strategy - the Media Campaign includes using the print, broadcast and social media to raise public awareness on impunity. Media campaign deploys materials such as -

1. Short vignettes
2. Television and radio discussion shows
3. Magazines and sponsored programmes
4. Documentary
5. Press briefings
6. Newspaper story placements, and
7. Educational dramas.

The Advocacy strategy, which is the fourth, is done through -

1. The engagement of different stakeholder groups such as grantees, CSOs, public (government) and private sectors and other professionals
2. Sensitization on issues by experts
3. Social mobilization
4. Litigation of selected cases of impunity from the key thematic areas and production and dissemination of communication and information materials.

The fifth and the last strategy is Documentation. The core activities of this strategy are -

1. The documentation of the outcome of case studies and research findings; and
2. Publication and dissemination of reports to the three arms and tiers of government as well as other stakeholders.

1.3. Objective of the Research

The objective of the research component of the S.I.N Project is to investigate the manifestations, dimensions, trajectories and dynamics of impunity in Nigeria, with a view to developing data driven programmes towards its amelioration.

1.4. Significance of the Research

Paucity of data characterizes the sub-Saharan African continent and this has been a major setback to effective development planning. Hence, the high rate of failure of development programmes. Nigeria, as one of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa is not an exception. The Nigerian development landscape is characterized by project and programme failures due to the non-availability of requisite data as backup for effective planning. This research is of significance because its findings would contribute to the much needed data for effective planning, especially on a fundamental issue like impunity. The data will serve as a basis for designing, assessing, monitoring and evaluating project outcomes on impunity. Besides, the research will serve as the backbone of the entire S.I.N project. This is due to the importance of empirical data as key measurements of a project's performance, indicating areas of strengths and weaknesses that should be built upon.

SECTION TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 The Concept of Impunity

Impunity is as old as the society itself. The word “impunity” derives from the Latin “*impunitas*,” which literally means ‘*without punishment or exemption from punishment*’. However, there is no consensus as to the meaning of impunity. Hence, diverse definitions of impunity abound, with each definition reflecting the perception of the respective writer. Despite these divergences in definition, impunity is nevertheless, often associated with the outright disregard for law or the rule of law, violation of human rights and the abuse of legal-social power.

Impunity is a global phenomenon that permeates governmental structures of States. It is evident in ministries, departments, agencies and various institutions. However, the degree of its manifestation varies from one State to another, depending on the extent of the enthronelement of the rule of law by a State. As Louis Joinet (United Nations Special Rapporteur) observes, impunity is a consequence of the “failure of states to meet their obligations, investigate violations and take appropriate measures (against) perpetrators, particularly in the area of justice, to ensure that they are prosecuted, tried and duly punished; to provide the victims with effective remedies and reparation for the injuries suffered, and to take steps to prevent any recurrence of such violation”. From Louis Joinet’s observation, it is evident that the failure of a State to enforce the rule of law by meting out appropriate punishment to offenders and providing requisite remedies for victims is what ushers in a culture of impunity.

2.1 The Nature of Impunity

The nature of impunity is discussed from the background of its manifestations within the Nigerian context. In Nigerian common parlance, impunity refers to *nothing go happen, nothing go sele* and *a general I don’t care attitude*. This has pervaded the three arms (executive, legislature, and judiciary) as well as the three tiers (federal, state and local) of government. In consequence, it has fostered corruption, bribery, lack of diligence, absence of due process and infighting among public officials. This has correspondingly resulted in institutional deficiencies and entrenched negative socio-political culture. According to El-Rufai (2013) and Ekanem (2012), these have been the bane of Nigeria’s development. Similarly, Owasanoye (2009) observes the *unrule* of law or rule of politics has the capacity to retrogress development, since citizens will lose interest in the state and its institutions.

Impunity also manifests in blatant acts of corruption, bad governance and human rights abuse by public officials (governors, ministers, senators, military personnel, etc.). These acts are reported daily in the media. Occupants of public offices in Nigeria, see their tenure as an avenue for personal aggrandizement and as a means of getting their own share of the national cake. Thus, they steal from the public treasury with reckless abandon. However, their acts attract no sanctions. Only an insignificant few are apprehended, nevertheless these few do not get justice, as offenders get away with little or no commensurate punishment for their offence. Sometimes the case is totally buried and the offender walks away free. Thus, Owasanoye (2009) observes, justice in this sense is selective, nugatory and not blindingly applied. On the other hand, Nnonyele *et al* (2013) note, justice has become a cash and carry commodity and is given to the highest bidder. These observations show the Nigerian judiciary is no longer the last hope of the common man.

Instances of cases of impunity where offenders have walked free include – the corruption scam against Honourable Dimeji Bankole (during his tenure as Speaker, House of Representatives, 2008-2011) and Honourable Patricia Etteh (also during her tenure as Speaker, House of Representatives, 2007); The National Identity Card scam; Fuel Subsidy Scheme scam; Mr. Femi Otedola and Farouk Lawan scam; Otunba Gbenga Daniel Scam; Nigeria Governors' Forum saga and a host of others (see Ojukwu and Shopeju, 2010). This selective application of justice has rubbed off negatively on the ordinary citizens. Aware that impunity is the way with the rich, the powerful and the influential, they have also imbibed the culture of impunity. Hence, impunity permeates the entire landscape and has become a way of life for many.

Impunity also manifests in criminal disrespect of electoral laws and processes. Politicians and other public office holders rigged elections without regard for rules guiding it. They engage in the forgery of credentials (educational and birth certificates) tendered for elections; killing of political opponents and brazen violation of bureaucratic processes. For example, the annulment of an adjudged free and fair presidential election in 1993 by the then military head of state, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida was the highest disregard for electoral rules by a public official. Similarly, instances of rigging and malpractices during elections abound in every election ever conducted in Nigeria, till date. Thus, Owasanoye and Akanle (2009) posit, people's voices (their votes) do not count in elections, as elections are rigged and marred with violence and are consolidated on the altar of 'god-fatherism'. With regard to the killings of political opponents, the deaths of prominent politicians and personalities such as Chief Bola Ige, Chief Alfred Rewane, Dele Giwa, Engr. Funso Williams, Dipo Dina, etc. typify such killings. Their murderers have not been apprehended till date.

Apart from these high profile murder cases, several innocent Nigerians have been killed or punished unjustly by persons in authority and generally by the high and mighty in the society. Without substantial justice, many prison inmates have awaited trial for years. Equally, a number of innocent victims have been incarcerated in prisons for years, having committed no offence. Security agents indulge in extra-judicial killings with impunity, without being brought to book. Such killings include the execution of Muhammad Yusuf (see Iduh, 2011), as well as the popular Apo six case. Eight years after the brutal murder of five young male traders and their female companion (Apo six) by policemen in Apo village, Abuja on June 8, 2005, the perpetrators are yet to be brought to justice (The Guardian, June 15, 2013; ThisDay Live, January 7, 2013). This delay in the criminal justice system as well as the injustice that pervades the judicial system, has posed a lack of confidence in the system, by a majority of Nigerians. And by the International Human Rights Convention standards, the failure to bring perpetrators of offences to justice constitutes the denial of the victims' rights to justice and redress. Hence, where impunity reigns, the rule of law can never truly take hold and long term peace and justice then become elusive both for the present and future generations (Song, 2013).

2.2 The Political State and Impunity

Scholars have argued that historically, the state arose for the purpose of the common good. According to Thomas Hobbes, the state arose as a reaction to the brutish, selfish and violent nature of human beings who lived in a perpetual state of war. In order to check this brutish, selfish, and violent nature of human beings, Hobbes argues there was a need to enthrone an organ with a legitimate authority above and over the rest of society. This was what led to the emergence of the political state. The people entered into a social contract whereby they ceded all

authority and sovereignty to a single person or sets of individual in exchange for security. Although individuals would lose their liberty in this process, they would gain security and community. Thus, the state has the responsibilities of maintaining social order and the protection and preservation of individuals' rights, liberty and property. In this vein Ninalowo (2010) argues that the state is both historically and morally obliged to provide institutional instrumentalities towards the amelioration of the human condition. Thus, it behooves on the state to create an enabling environment for the enforcement and actualization of individuals' rights and privileges. This, the state should do through the enthronement of the rule of law. The rule of law allows for the actualization of rights and privileges of components of the state and civil society, without fear or favour. When this is done, Ninalowo further argues, it mitigates conflict and allows for political and economic stability. This invariably translates into popular empowerment of the citizenry. The citizens on the other hand are expected to reciprocate by way of paying taxes, discharging communal obligations and obeying the call to national service (see Ninalowo, 2010).

From the foregoing, it shows that the *raison d'être* of the state is to make social order possible through the enthronement of the rule of law, which guarantees the achievement of individuals' rights and duties within its jurisdiction. Thus, if a state fails to meet the obligations of social contract, underdevelopment and disempowerment of the citizens will be the outcomes. However, underdevelopment breeds lawlessness, which manifests in conflict, corruption, anarchy, impunity and numerous other vices among the citizenry. Impunity is therefore, the product of a failed state where the rule of law is not enthroned, hence individuals pursue their selfish interest as against the collective interest of the state. This typifies the Nigerian situation. As Ekanem (2012) observes, the worsening socio-political and economic situation in Nigeria could be attributed to the lawlessness and impunity that have been accepted as national norms, since the state has failed to establish the rule of law.

2.2.1 The Nigerian State and Impunity

The Nigerian state is characterized by a high level of corruption and a general disregard for the welfare of the citizenry by those in governance. This has made her a pariah in the comity of nations. However, attempts have been made by successive governments over the years to stem the tide of corruption and other associated vices such as fraud, money laundering, human rights violations, etc. In view of this, several agencies and programmes have been established and implemented to tackle these problems. These agencies and programmes include the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), War Against Indiscipline (WAI), War Against Corruption, Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), Advanced Fee Fraud and other related Offences, Public Complaints Commission (PCC), War Against Indiscipline Council (WAIC), Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), Nigerian Police Force (NPF), Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), *et cetera*.

The operations of these agencies have however, been marred by impunity, especially impunity by public office holders. The immunity provision enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution for public office holders has been a bane to the performance of some of these agencies, notably the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The immunity enjoy by public office holders has influenced their actions while in office. They act in total disregard for the rule of law, knowing they cannot be brought to book while in office (Owasanoye, 2009).

The judiciary (the third arm of the state) has a crucial role to play in stopping impunity. The essential function of the judiciary is that of interpreting, adjudicating and applying the law. And the judiciary is expected to do this with justice, equity and fairness, thereby upholding the rule of law. When the judiciary acts in this manner, the liberty of the citizens is guaranteed and they are protected from tyranny and the arbitrary exercise of powers by those in authority. The Nigerian judiciary has not lived up to this expectation. The judiciary is marred by corruption. There are reported incidents of corrupt judges whose judgments have been influenced by bribes. Similarly, the judiciary is plagued by delayed proceedings, especially with regard to impunity cases. This denies victims' justice, for as the popular maxim says 'justice delayed is justice denied'. Thus, unless the Nigerian judiciary wakes up to its responsibility and judicial officials are guided by the ethics of honesty, impartiality and fairness in the performance of their duty, while at the same time possessing a sound knowledge of procedural rules, the tradition of impunity will continue to permeate the Nigerian landscape.

2.3 Impunity: A Global Overview

The problem of impunity is not peculiar to Nigeria. Impunity is a global phenomenon, which has attracted the attention of the global community over the years and some steps have been taken towards its amelioration, albeit unsuccessfully.

Impunity emanates from the failure of the legal framework of States. Discriminatory laws and policies, where rights of citizens are violated without a proper system of redress has become the norm in most States, globally. This failure to punish perpetrators of crime on the one hand and to assuage the victims on the other hand, is probably the reason for the high prevalence of impunity in most States, globally. Below is a catalogue of cases of impunity in some States.

In Uganda, the culture of impunity reigns. The Ugandan leadership is one that is disconnected from the needs of its citizens. Bad governance characterized by huge embezzlement of public funds and other vices has resulted in the dysfunction of state's systems and a general breakdown of public services. As a consequence, the citizens have lost faith in their leadership (see Saturday Monitor, July 2, 2013). Yet, freedom of expression is curtailed. The Constitution places legal restrictions on the media's freedom and access to information (Article 41 (1)). The Constitution grants the media right of access to information but limits the public display of such information. Hence, there are restrictions to the freedom of expression, assembly, and association of Ugandans. Equally, the Uganda Police Rapid Response Unit and other security forces operate with impunity outside the law via arbitrary detention, torture, extortion and extra-judicial killings. For example, between 2009 and 2011, about forty nine persons were killed during protests (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Similarly, detainees are forced to sign statements under duress and are denied access to family or lawyers. An attempt by some civil society groups to protest against this inhuman treatment of citizens was banned by the Ugandan government. The government also stopped opposition groups from holding rallies, while journalists were harassed and intimidated.

In Somalia, impunity has heightened the disregard for fundamental human rights of citizens, such as the freedom of expression and the media, right to life, etc. According to the National Union of Somali Journalists (NUSOJ), forty-four male broadcast media practitioners were killed between January 2007 and October 2012. The perpetrators of the crime were not brought to book. Similarly, eighteen media workers were killed in the first ten months of 2012, making the

year the deadliest to practice journalism in the country (NUSOJ, 2013). Impunity is further entrenched through corruption, weak judiciary system, and feeble law enforcement agencies.

In Kenya, the political landscape is characterized by legitimation crisis. The legitimacy of the political leadership has been questioned by the people, due to the unconstitutional manner of acquiring power through rigged elections. The political leadership has responded by violence, corruption and impunity (Geir and Eli, 2009). This has resulted in a general state of anomie within the Kenyan state. For example, the unprecedented inter-communal violence that characterized the aftermath of the 2007 general elections, which left over 1,000 persons dead and about 700,000 displaced was as a result of a deep seated anger not only for the rigged elections, but also for the culture of impunity, violence, social and spatial inequalities, historical injustices, high unemployment rates, grievances over corruption and the monopolization of political power by a few elites, which have characterized the Kenyan landscape (Lynch and Zgonec-Rozej, 2013). Impunity therefore remains a threat to Kenya's quest for good governance, respect for human rights, citizens' socio-economic well-being, national growth and development.

The violation of citizen's civil and political rights in Sudan is also worrisome. Extra-judicial and unlawful killings by the police and security forces, arbitrary or unlawful deprivation of life, illegal arrests and detention, unwarranted attacks and threats, infringements of freedom of expression, speech, press, assembly, association, religion and movement, harassment and prohibition of human rights organizations and a host of other rights violations abound. Moshood Baderin, (United Nations Independent Expert) observed that these rights violations remains deeply disturbing (see Punch, September 27, 2013). This scenario is rooted in the bad governance, corrupt leadership and a weak judicial system that characterize the Sudanese state. The judiciary in Sudan has not lived up to expectations in protecting the human rights of citizens. It has also failed in the quick dispensation of justice. Instances abound where perpetrators of offences are not brought to book long after the offence. For example, the killers of the fifty people that were reported to have been killed by security forces in the protest over fuel and gas price hike and against the 24-year rule of President Omar al-Bashir are yet to be brought to book (see The Guardian, September 27, 2013).

The situation in Venezuela is similarly pathetic. The country is bedeviled with a growing gap between the rich and the poor and a worsening socio-economic environment, thereby hampering social equity and justice. Venezuela is marred by corruption, indiscriminate killings, violence and a high rate of mortality. Crisis Group's Latin America Report (2011) on violence and politics in Venezuela reveals that "every half hour, a person is killed in Venezuela. The presence of organized crime, combined with an enormous number of firearms in civilian hands and impunity, as well as police corruption and brutality, have entrenched violence in the society". Similarly, the International Bar Association Human Rights Institute observes:

Venezuelan citizens still live in a climate of impunity, and are excluded from the justice system. This lack of access to justice reinforces mistrust in the judicial system and has resulted in the use of extrajudicial mechanisms to administer justice and increased lawlessness. This has become a vicious circle – impunity weakens the Venezuelan rule of law, erodes faith in the system and engenders further violence. Impunity creates low expectations towards the administration of justice on the part of the Venezuelan people. This is compounded by legal uncertainty and confusion around the applicable juridical framework; delays in

proceedings; non-compliance with the guarantees of due process; and the partiality of judges and prosecutors, which in turn, generate a low quality of justice (International Bar Association Human Rights Institute, 2007:3).

From the afore going observations, one could rightly conclude that it is the inefficiency of the judiciary and the failure of the coercive apparatus of the Venezuelan state, to maintain law and order that have contributed significantly to the horrifying state of affairs in Venezuela.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, impunity remains a dilemma attributed to denial, exploitation, manipulation, politicization of justice procedures, slow and ineffective justice system, and corruption amongst others (Impunity Watch, 2012). To a greater extent, the manifestation of impunity cases in Bosnia and Herzegovina could also be said to be consequences of the legitimation crisis and feeble administration of justice. Thus, with respect to corruption and lack of transparency in government, the public not only perceived impunity in government procurement, but also in the country's MDAs such as education and health care sectors where common services often required bribes or other irregular payments or gifts (Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2012). The collection of bribes or extortions for services that was already provided by the government to improve the conditions of her citizens as displayed by the public officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina is illegitimate. This means that citizens also contribute in one way or the other to the prevailing corruption in the country.

Russia is also engulfed by the climate impunity. The Russian political system tends to benefit the well-to-do at the detriment of the masses. There is a preference for cultivating access to influential people rather than adhering to formal and legalistic procedures and norms. Despite the transition in Russian market economies, corruption has particularly benefitted the well-connected and newly rich (Arnold and Michael, 2002 cited in United States Institutes of Peace, 2010). Aside this, there were reported cases of violence against journalists in Russia. This actually resulted to assaults, killings, and disappearances of journalists (Article 19 and International Media Support (2011). The situation is a threat to freedom of expression owing to infringement on journalists' fundamental rights to seek, receive, and share information. The Russian government though aware of the criminal occurrences, has made inadequate substantial legal measure to further investigate the unresolved cases of killings in order to bring culprits to book.

In spite of the campaign against impunity across the globe, the United States of America (USA) has succeeded in persuading Romania and Tajikistan to enter into impunity agreements which seek to prevent US nationals accused of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes from being surrendered to the International Court (Amnesty International, 2002). This is impunity of the highest order in itself. The attendant implication of such agreements is that the possibility to indulge in criminal tendencies will be heightened in a way that citizens of the concerned states believed that they are not accountable for atrocity committed particularly within these territories. In essence, refusal to surrender accused persons for investigation or prosecution undermines the rule of law.

2.4 Impunity in Everyday Life: The Common Man Interface

Impunity persists in everyday life in diverse ways amidst the common men. In this vein, impunity could be described as the situation in which people in the society believe that they can do whatever they want or like, regardless of the dictates of the law. From this angle, impunity has permeated all facets of our national life. For example, the indiscriminate dumping of waste on the high ways, such as the dropping of empty sachets of water on the roads after they have been duly swept by paid sanitary workers is a typical manifestation of impunity in the daily life of an average Nigerian.

Similarly, an average citizen engages in arson, murder, assassination, greed, thuggery, vandalization, et cetera without restraint. Thus, impunity has become the norm of behaviour in the society. LEDAP Report, titled 'Impunity in Nigeria: Report of Extra Judicial Executions, Arbitrary and Summary Killings 2010-2011' reveals that an average of six persons were unlawfully killed every day in Nigeria, while one out of fifty six Nigerians similarly, died from gun violence, between 2010 and 2011. The Report also indicated that despite this high rate of killings, only 8% of the cases were prosecuted within the period, thus resulting in an impunity rate of 92%. The submission here is that as the vicious cycle of killings and retributions continue, peace remains a mirage in Nigeria (El-Rufai, 2013).

The act of kidnapping, in which individuals are forcefully and unlawfully taken, detained and deprived of their liberty, unless on the payment of a ransom has been on the rise in the last ten years. This could be attributed to the laxity to apprehend, arrest and prosecute offenders by the law enforcement agents (Editorial, Daily Sun, 2010), although its roots could be traced to the act of breeding thugs by politicians for the purpose of usurping powers from their political opponents (Okengwu, 2011). A number of Nigerians (both prominent and ordinary) have been victims of this menace. Worthy of mention are individuals such as Mike Ozekhome (SAN); Archbishop Ignatius Kattay (Dean of the Anglican Communion in Nigeria); Prof. Mrs. Mabel Kamene Okonjo (mother of Nigeria's current Finance Minister, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala) and Christian Obodo (an Italy-based former international footballer). Due to the connections of most of these kidnapers to those who are in authority (they serve as their political thugs), kidnapers rather than getting appropriate sanctions are sometimes praised and at times receive blessings from traditional rulers, churches and mosques. All these smack of impunity.

Another manifestation of impunity by Nigerians is in the violation of traffic rules. Motorists, cyclists and pedestrians are all guilty. Traffic rules in all ramifications are violated with ease. Traffic lights are not obeyed by motorists; one-way road signs are not observed; illegal stopping on the highways are common, especially by commercial bus drivers, etc. Similarly, disabled vehicles are abandoned on roads and these create traffic bottlenecks, which often result in traffic congestions, accidents, air, visual and noise pollutions. Pedestrian bridges and walkways are illegally occupied by street/road side vendors and beggars (Odeleye), while the pedestrians would rather cross the highways than use the bridge. The security forces (police, military and para-military) equally flout traffic laws with impunity. This often times, result in accidents. According to Oni (2005), irresponsible and indiscipline behaviour of both public and private drivers is a common feature of Nigerian urban transportation. A catalogue of instances of such irresponsible behavior could be enumerated. A few are mentioned here. These include the traffic violation by a female banker, Yinka Johnson, who crushed an official of the Lagos State Traffic Management Authority, Mr. Hameed Balogun, while driving against the traffic in the Ajah area

of the state. Similarly, Mr Mustapher Adeleke, another official of the agency was crushed by a bus driver, who was also driving against the traffic (Punch, 12 August, 2012). Two military officers, Colonel K. I. Yusuf and Sergeant A. J. Adeomi were also arrested by LASTMA for plying lanes assigned to the Lagos Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), (Vanguard, July 20, 2012). Also a police bullion van, loaded with money was impounded by officials of the Lagos State Taskforce on Environmental and Special Offences (Enforcement) for driving against the traffic (PM News, August 20, 2013). These instances show how entrenched impunity is among road users in Nigeria.

Unlawful eviction of tenants by landlords is another manifestation of impunity in Nigeria. This is a gross abuse of the rights of tenants. Landlords increase rent arbitrarily and threaten tenants with eviction without notice or recourse to the “Terms of Tenancy Agreement”. Despite the review of the tenancy law of Lagos State in order to address these excesses by landlords, the situation has not changed. Rather it has impoverished Lagosians the more, since house owners rather than obey the dictates of the law have increased house rent astronomically, from about fifty to ninety five percent (Odidi, 2012). In the same vein, landlords and agents are engaged in duping potential tenants of their money (PM News, July 17, 2013). Thus, hundreds of house seekers are daily defrauded by corrupt landlords and agents with impunity. Tenants have however, not folded their arms in helplessness. Some tenants have also reciprocated to these ill treatments by landlords. They have taken laws into their hands by engaging in unlawful acts such as pulling down the gates to buildings and removing parts of the roof (PM News, July 17, 2013). Some tenants also violate tenancy agreement by refusing to pay house rent to their landlords as and when due.

Human and child trafficking is also another dimension of impunity in Nigeria. The United Nations Economic and Social Council (1999) defines child trafficking as the transport of a child from one place to another, whether within or across country borders, where the traffickers experience economic or any other form of gain resulting from this movement. Trafficking in whatever ramification is a violation of human rights (Nwana, 2005; Dunphy, 2002; Bassey, 2000). Victims are concealed, bought, relocated, and sold as slaves in countries around the world for sexual and labour exploitation. For example, Senator Sani Yerima (an ex Nigerian Senator) “bought” a 13-year-old Egyptian girl for \$10,000, as a sex property, ignoring that both the Egyptian and Nigerian laws, as well as the Child Rights Act (2003), make it illegal to marry a girl under 18 years of age (Njoku, 2010). This act by a former law maker demonstrates the magnitude of child trafficking, child abuse and child slavery in Nigeria. Njoku (2010) accuses the federal government as an accomplice in the Senator Yerima’s case, for its silence and inaction, by not arresting and prosecuting him for violating the Child Rights Act. Doing this would have served as a deterrent to others. Although data are not readily available on irregular migrants, yet on a daily basis, hundreds of thousands of Nigerians who migrate, especially to Europe are victims of trafficking. Impunity in the sense of trafficking promotes the violation of human rights, such as threats to life. It similarly, contributes to the proliferation of organized crime. To stem this tide, Grassroots and Gender Development (2013), has advocated for a collaboration and consensus within the international community and between and among governments, as well as non-governmental organizations. Trafficking in human and otherwise should be incorporated into their anti-corruption agenda.

2.5 The Nigerian Political Class and the Culture of Impunity

The Nigerian political class is bedeviled with impunity. As Ogbeidi's (2012) observes, political leadership has been that of self-service and the pursuit of selfish and personal goals, rather than the broader national interests. The political class subverts the laws and violates the Nigerian Constitution at will. Their attitude shows they are not subject or answerable to the electorate. Thus, they are engaged in deceit, marginalization and oppression of the electorate (see Fagbadebo, 2007).

Observing this scenario, Achebe posits -

“the problem of Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land, climate, water, air, or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to their responsibility, to the challenge of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership (Achebe, 1984:1).

Soyombo, similarly agrees with Achebe's observation as he also asserts:

Our political leaders make promises that they break with impunity without any sense of accountability or responsibility to the people. They cannot be taken up on their promises and many consider it demeaning to explain or justify their actions to the people. People who insist on accountability are branded ‘detractors’ or ‘enemies’ of the government. The lack of transparency or accountability provides a cloak for corrupt practices. While the declaration of assets owned by officials [for instance] to the Code of Conduct Bureau is subject to public scrutiny in principle, the declarations are usually not easily accessible by the public. Further, barrier to public scrutiny/disputation is provided by the risk of conviction for anybody who makes ‘false accusation’ against public officers (Soyombo, 2006:273).

In the same vein, Ekanem (2012) rightly opines:

It is commonplace to find impunity arrogated by the Nigeria's political class at will. Since the inception of the oil boom and the appealing financial gains that accrue to politics, politicians are now playing god by reason of the paraphernalia of office. The law of the land seems not to affect these classes of persons because they know how to bend the law to their advantage. Even the ICPC (Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission) and the EFCC (Economic Financial Crime Commission) seem not to wield enough powers over these sets of leaders (Ekanem, 2012:52).

From the foregoing, it could be deduced that the tradition of impunity that has pervaded the larger body polity has its roots in political leadership (civil or military). Years of bad governance have resulted in instability and the weakening of state's institutions. Hence, impunity is now an art of government, permeating the various arms and levels, including the judiciary. Thus, politicians who indulge in acts of impunity are not sanctioned by the law, rather such acts are condoned. For example, politicians accused of embezzlement, misappropriation of public funds,

electoral malpractices, et cetera, instead of being condemned by the judiciary and other relevant stakeholders, are rather hailed and supported for their misdeeds. They are honoured with the highest awards of the land and with various chieftaincy titles. Only a few are sanctioned and punished. Thus, as far as prosecution of offenders is concerned, Nigerian citizens are divided into two streams - “the touchables and the untouchables”. This is why the culture of impunity has been entrenched within the political class.

2.6 A Brief History of Nigeria Labour Congress

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) was formally constituted in February 1978, as the only national federation of trade unions in the country, with the mission to organize, unionize and educate all categories of Nigerian workers; defend and advance the political, economic, social and cultural rights of Nigerian workers; emancipate and unite Nigerian workers and people from all forms of exploitation and discrimination; achieve gender justice in the work place and in NLC; strengthen and deepen the ties and connections between Nigerian workers and the mutual/natural allies in and outside Nigeria and; lead the struggle for the transformation of Nigeria into a just, humane and democratic society.

NLC is a product of a merger of four labour centers that were in existence prior to its creation and inauguration, viz Nigeria Trade Union Congress (NTUC), Labour Unity Front (LUF) United Labour Congress (ULC) and Nigeria Workers Council (NWC). The emergence of the NLC ended decades of rivalry and rancor between these centers and the unions that were affiliated to them. The fundamental aims and objectives of the NLC are to protect, defend and promote the rights, well-being and the interests of all workers, pensioners and the trade unions; to promote and defend a Nigerian nation that would be just, democratic, transparent and prosperous and to advance the cause of the working class generally. With about four million memberships that spans the public and private sectors of the economy, the NLC has forty affiliate unions, with corresponding structures in the states and the thirty-seven state councils. The membership however, excludes the military and paramilitary services, as well as some civil establishments that offer services classified by law as essential (ibid).

The Congress has survived two instances of the dissolution of its national organs and the subsequent appointments of state administrators. The first was in 1988, under the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida. Congress' opposition to the anti-people Structural Adjustment Programme incensed the military administration causing it to take over the NLC. The second military intervention was in 1994, during the regime of General Sani Abacha, whose government also became fed up with the labour movement's agitation for the restoration of democracy. This led the military government to dissolve the NLC's National Executive Council and to appoint a Sole Administrator. The same treatment was meted out to the two unions in the oil and gas industry - the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG) and the Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN). As part of the Congress' commitments to the values of solidarity, ethics, social relevance, struggle against casualization of labour and consistency, its intervention in governance issues and concerns for the society as a whole is quite remarkable. Today, NLC is widely seen as the voice of the oppressed, especially in the struggle to enthrone the dividends of democracy for the people.

2.7 A Brief History of Civil Society Organizations

The concept of civil society has been variously described by scholars and activists from different spheres and ideological backgrounds. Dahrendorf (1990: 95) conceptualizes civil society as “the existence of a tight network of autonomous institutions and organizations which has not one but a thousand centers and ensures the protection of individual liberty by the state.” Similarly, the London School of Economics Centre refers to civil society as “the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interest, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family, and market though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated”.

Civil Society Organizations are broad and inclusive of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), Faith-Based Institutions, cultural and religious groups, professional associations, trade unions, fourth estate of the realm, and think tank within the civil society. CSOs mediate and negotiate between the state, business world, household and the citizenry on matters of public and private concerns. They are basically concerned with the promotion of popular empowerment, accountability, transparency, rule of law, good governance, democracy, freedom from penury and so on. They do this through the analyses of government’s policies and lobbying for reforms within the state. According to Ibitoye (2012) civil society plays a prominent role in the promotion and sustenance of democratic culture via educating, sensitizing and the management of conflicts that do arise between individuals’ and common interest in the political arena. Thus, the CSOs have been at the forefront of seeking for change in the society and do serve as opposition to governments.

In Nigeria, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) became prominent in the late 80s, as a result of their encounter with the state, particularly in their protest against the negative effects of the implementation of Structural Adjustment policies, as well as in their pursuit of human rights and the protection of democracy (see Babawale and Odukoya, 2005: 22–23; Fadahunsi and Babawale, 1996: 41–42).

2.8 Nigeria’s Political Leadership (1960 – 1979) and Civil Society Organizations/ Labour Unions

Political leadership in Nigeria is characterized by the appropriation of public funds for private use. This has been the case since the first republic. For the past five decades of post-independence, Nigeria’s resources have been excessively looted by the political class, thus leaving little room for development and the improvement of the human condition. This has occurred both within civilian and military regimes. Scholars have however, argued that corruption is not new to Africa, as it has been an entrenched practice. According to Akindele (1996), no regime in Africa can be exonerated from corruption. It has always persisted as far back as the First Republic (1960-1966) under the first political leadership of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister, and Dr.Nnamdi Azikwe as the President. The political thinking then was that of seeing politics as an avenue for material gain (making money and living well) (Ogbeidi, 2012).

This wrong political orientation and the attendant corruption was what led to the deposition of the first republic by military officers on 15th January 1966. Reasons given by the officers for the coup were poor governance, corrupt practices and misappropriation of funds. Several investigations and probations were carried out to examine the extent of the prevalence of

impunity in the deposed regime by the then political leader, General Aguiyi Ironsi. Findings of the investigations revealed that swindling of money, looting of public funds, lack of transparency and accountability had permeated government agencies and parastatals, both at the federal and regional levels. This was particularly so in agencies and parastatals that initiated controlled and influenced contracts. According to Okonkwo (2007), they were found guilty of misappropriation of funds as well as not abiding by due process in the award of contracts.

This attempt by the military rulers to punish the first set of public office offenders did not yield any fruit. Some of the notable politicians detained, gained their freedom. Subsequently, this development adversely affected bureaucratic structures and processes. Corruption increased, huge sums of money were swindled and contracts were inflated. The scenario clearly showed the military rulers were not better nor different from the ousted civilian leaders. However, the discovery of oil in the 1950s leapt Nigeria into sudden wealth. This became a significant factor in hiking the degree of corruption. The regime of General Yakubu Gowon who succeeded the Aguiyi Ironsi regime through a counter military coup was plagued by an upsurge of corruption and a general mismanagement of the economy. By 1974, reports of unaccountable wealth of Gowon's military governors and other public office holders had become the crux of discussions in public domain, both at the national and international levels. Gowon's administration was overthrown in July 1975 by General Muritala Mohammed through another coup d'état. The principal reason for the change in government was that of ending corruption in the public service. Thus, General Muritala Mohammed began his regime by declaring his assets and asked all public officials to do likewise. He instituted a series of probes of past leaders, which resulted in the conviction of ten of the twelve state military governors in the Gowon regime for acts of corruption (Ogbeidi, 2012).

2.9 The Shagari Regime (1979 - 1983), Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

The military exited the political scene in September, 1979. This ushered in a new dispensation of democratic leadership on the 1st October, 1979, led by President Shehu Shagari. The Second Republic witnessed a resurgence of corruption. The Shagari-led administration was marred by corruption and embezzlement of public funds. The President passively watched elected officials loot the public treasury and this was particularly made easier by the availability of cheap funds. For example, over \$16 billion in oil revenues could not be accounted for during this regime (Dash, 1983). With regard to labour union, the change of regime from the military (where the rule of force reigned) to a civilian regime, had heightened their hopes of having a free environment for union activities. However, to their shock and dismay, labour discovered they were in for a worst time. According to Comrade Ali Ciroma, the President of NLC from 1984-1988, the Shagari administration brought about new challenges. The recklessness in resource management that characterized the administration led to states failing in the performance of their basic duties such as the payment of salaries and wages to workers as and when due (Soji-Eze and Komolafe, 2008). States whose governors belonged to the ruling party were even worst off, with the situation being worst in Imo and Benue states, where teachers were owed accumulated salaries for over a year. These forced labour unions to embark on prolonged strikes and the administration could not curtail labour. The height of the situation was a two-day national strike organized by the NLC, which involved more than a million workers (Snelling, 2002).

Under the Shagari regime, politicians and political office holders earned fat and robust salaries. However, the administration refused to increase the minimum wages, as agitated for by workers. It was the two-day national strike (May, 1981, under the leadership of Comrade Hassan Sumonu) that eventually forced the government to raise the minimum wage from ₦120 to ₦125 (Iyayi, 2008). This was a paltry increase of 4.2%. Despite this, the government still did not respond to the rising salary arrears of workers. This forced the NLC to threaten a boycott of the 1983 general elections. Of course, this pushed the administration to immediately provide funds to the states to clear the salary arrears. In a nutshell, labour unions under the Shagari administration had to be radical and militant to secure the regular payment of their members' salaries. However, the Shagari administration did not just fold their arms and watch this militancy. The administration made efforts to garrote the labor unions and to divide the NLC (Imhonopi and Urim, 2011).

2.10 Muhammadu Buhari Regime (1983 – 1985), Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

With the forceful eviction of the Shagari-led government via a coup d'état by Muhammadu Buhari, the military once again had a grip over the leadership of Nigeria. Buhari regime has been variously described. To some the regime was corrosive to state capabilities, economic development, and social stability. For example, Soyinka (2007) described the regime as one that enslaved the nation and transmuted Nigeria into a slave plantation. Similarly, Isah (2006) maintains "horsewhip-wielding soldiers and policemen pounced on hapless Nigerians at the slightest opportunity, flogging them mercilessly for alleged acts of indiscipline (and) mass retrenchment of Nigerians in the public service of the federation was carried out with impunity. Decree No 17 of 1984 ousted the court's jurisdiction to enquire into the validity or legality of the whole exercise."

As the above comments have shown, the Buhari regime was characterized by the harassment and detention of members of civil society groups and the NLC. The period witnessed mass retrenchment of civil servants across the country, such that most Nigerians became aggrieved against the government and its policies. Soji-Eze and Komolafe (2008) observe "the regime said if it could not pay salaries, it would retrench. (Thus) from non-payment of salaries to non-retention of jobs, labour unions' attention was diverted to safeguarding jobs". This situation prompted organized labour to become even more militant. They stepped up opposition to challenge the militarism of the Buhari administration. Notwithstanding the promulgation of Decree No. 2, (Detention of Persons), which gave the government the right to detain indefinitely without trial, any person(s) it suspected to be a "threat to the nation" and the Public Officers (Protection Against False Accusation) Decree No. 4, which criminalized any unfounded allegation against government officials in the press in order to silence labour activities and other opponents; trade union movement, the fourth estate of the realm, National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Women in Nigeria (WIN), Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) and so on, were all strengthened in their struggle against the Buhari administration under the leadership of Comrade Ali Ciroma (see Oyelere and Owoyemi, 2011).

2.11 Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida Regime (1985 – 1993), Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

The Buhari -led government was over thrown in a palace coup by Ibrahim Babangida. Nevertheless, the change in power did not hold much prospects for labour unions, since the

change was from military to military regime (a regime usually characterized by the arbitrary exercise of power). The Babangida regime led to a great setback in labour unions' activities. According to Comrade Abdulwahed Omar (the present NLC president), the NLC experienced a serious setback that reversed the progress made over the years (Soji-Eze and Komolafe, 2008). The congress was dissolved by the military junta for 10 months. The killing of four students of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (ABU) in May 1986 had caused the NLC to engage in a solidarity march against the genocide (as it was termed by a section of the press). This provided an alibi for the dissolution. The NLC was accused of being provocative and insensitive to the national economic emergency. Its headquarters in Lagos was subsequently sealed up and a sole administrator was appointed to run the affairs of the union (Iyayi, 2008).

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) implemented by the Babangida administration as a way out of the economic doldrums the nation was experiencing, brought untold hardships to Nigerians. SAP was harsh due to its policies. The devaluation of the national currency, privatization of state enterprises, withdrawal of subsidies in order to reduce public expenditure, the marginalization of the middle-class, deterioration of the health care system among others were very harsh policies on Nigerians (Oyelere and Owoyemi, 2011; Oyekanmi, 2011; Ninalowo, 2007). This scenario gave rise to agitations by labour unions, especially over the rationalization of the work force. However, any attempt to protest by the unions resulted in the arrest and humiliation of labour leaders.

Organized labour was however, given the impetus to rise and challenge the Babangida administration through the ill-conceived June 12 presidential election annulment by the administration. The annulment of the June 12, 1993 general elections by the junta showed their utter disregard for the rule of law and the protection of human rights. The annulment led to a general unrest in many parts of the country (Sesay and Ukeje, 1999). This gave organized labour impetus to rise and wax stronger. However, the military junta responded by restructuring the NLC, in order to weaken its structure. Twenty nine of the unions were restructured and made to become NLC affiliates. The regime also enacted subtle decrees, aimed at subverting the unions. Despite this, organized labour was still active in the struggle for the enthronement of democracy and for the improvement in the living and working conditions of its members.

2.12 Earnest Shonekan Transitional Government, Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

After General Ibrahim Babangida was forced to step aside, Nigeria witnessed a regime that was neither democratic nor military tagged "interim government". Nevertheless, Nigerians hoped the contraption led by Ernest Shonekan will return Nigeria to civil rule. This arrangement was truncated by General Sanni Abacha (the Chief of Army Staff in the arrangement). Thus, the government was brief and was yet to find its footing, before it was booted out by the military. It is therefore, difficult to assess the activities of labour organizations under this regime.

2.13 General Sanni Abacha Regime (1993 – 1998) Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

The baseless and weak Shonekan led interim government was shown the way out by General Sanni Abacha in a palace coup. Immediately, on assumption of power in November 1993, Abacha dissolved all democratically elected structures of government, from the National Assembly to the local government councils. Interim military administrators were deployed to the

states to take over from the sacked civilian governors while a total ban was placed on all political and labour activities. Thus, the regime was termed the most brutal military government in the history of Nigeria. Abacha's regime according to Essia and Yearoo (2009) is regarded by many as one of the most repressive in the history of independent Nigeria. The disregard for Labour Organizations and the civil society reached its peak. Abacha was not prepared to put up with the threat of a vibrant, viral, and vocal NLC and labour forces that could threaten his political ambition. Nigeria under him gradually slipped into an autocratic and closed state (Imhonopi and Urim, 2011).

However, the aftermath of the annulled June 12 elections brought an eruption of protests in the civil society, calling for a restoration of democracy in Nigeria. The National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) was formed and it issued an ultimatum to the regime to hand over power to Moshood Abiola (the presumed winner of the annulled elections) on May 31st. NADECO waxed strong, although it was operating from the diaspora, in order to avoid the grip of military brutality by Gen. Sanni Abacha. The Radio Kudirat was midwived as a medium for keeping the populace and the international community abreast of the happenings in Nigeria. This scenario gave impetus to labour to act. Thus, in conjunction with the civil society, labour engaged the Abacha regime over the restoration of Moshood Abiola's mandate.

There was solidarity strike by National Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN) and the National Unions of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG). In the same vein, Human Rights Organizations like CLO, CDHR, Universal Defenders of Democracy (UDD), National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADL), Professional Associations like NANS, Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), Oil Workers' Unions (NUPENG and PENGASSAN), the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), among others demonstrated great courage in the face of General Sanni Abacha's repression (Babawale and Odukoya, 2005). However, in a swift reaction, General Abacha quickly suppressed the strikes, emasculates the labour movement by replacing the leaders of the militant oil unions and NLC with states' appointed administrators (Graham, 1998; Snelling, 2002). There were a lot of unlawful arrests and illegal detentions of labour leaders and civil rights activists. For example, Franks Kokori and Milton Dabibi (labour leaders) were detained without trial. Some notable Nigerians were also assassinated. Chief Alfred Rewane, Ahlaji Suliati Adedeji, Kudirat Abiola, to mention but a few were victims of these assassinations. Similarly, the conviction and execution of Ken Saro Wiwa, a renowned environmental right activist and eight other Ogoni land freedom fighters, put Nigeria on the watch list, both locally and internationally. Nigeria was then suspended from the commonwealth. In sum, the Abacha regime put labour and the civil society under perpetual fear, with threat to the lives of anyone who dared his arbitrary rule.

2.14 Abdulsalam Abubakar, Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

The sudden death of General Sanni Abacha paved the way for and brought in another military regime under Abdulsalam Abubakar, a fresh political ambience. The regime as part of its transitional commitments took a bold step and released all political detainees. It also besought support from the international community. Imhonopi and Urim (2011) observe "it was during this regime that the ban on political, labour and other associational activities was lifted". However, labour activities under the regime were not pronounced, but there was a successful transition to a civil and democratically elected government. Under this regime, minimum wage was introduced for the first time based on the platform that permits the organized labour to

negotiate for a national minimum wage. The transparency of the transition process made organized labour to support the government and to call on its members to exercise their franchise, in order to ensure the success of the transition to civilian rule programme (Oyelere and Owoyemi, 2011).

2.15 Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 – 2007), Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

After three consecutive military rule, Nigeria finally returned to democratic rule in 1999 under President Olusegun Obasanjo. He was sworn in as a democratic President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on May 29, 1999, on the platform of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) for a four-year term. He was re-elected in April 29, 2003, to serve for another four-year term. General strike actions by organized labour and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) were an inherent feature of this administration. Under this regime, petroleum products (fuel) price was increased six times, thus resulting in street protests and strikes by organized civil society organizations (CSOs), students, trade unions, Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and professional bodies. The strikes were spearheaded by the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and aimed at forcing the government to revert some of its harsh economic policies (see Okpaga, Ugwu and Eme, 2012; Oyelere and Owoyemi, 2011). The anticipated dangers portend in the deregulation of the oil sector influenced the decision of the NLC to educate the public, through a series of national mass protests, rallies and campaigns on the need to resist the policy. The campaigns, popularly tagged anti-deregulation protests were carried out across the country. The campaign was a pre-emptive warning strategy by the NLC, to show that it will not fold its arms, while the government implements policies that will ultimately bring untold hardship to workers and the masses.

One of such strike actions was witnessed in June 2000 nationwide, over the 50 percent increase in the prices of petroleum products. The strike brought the country to a standstill. Following the impact of the protests, the federal government was compelled to rescind its decision and to revert the prices back to what they were before the increase (Imhonopi and Urim, 2011; Oyelere and Owoyemi, 2011; Alubo, 2007). It is instructive to note that regardless of the rationale by government to increase oil/petroleum prices, such as the necessity to provide additional revenue to government, avoid perennial fuel scarcity, check smuggling of fuel to neighbouring West-African countries and encourage private sector participation and foreign investments in the downstream sector, step up the pace of the country's economic drive, etc., the exercise is often marred by high inflationary rate, imposed higher factor costs on productive activities, poor development indicators, heightened unemployment and under-employment, and an increase in the poverty level of Nigerians (Dauda, 2005). Thus, the various increases in prices of petroleum products under the Obasanjo administration as Nwabueze (2006) rightly observes, worsened the already poor conditions of living of the majority, due to their inflationary repercussions.

Among the salient issues protested by the organized labour under this regime was the mass retrenchment of civil servants across the country, the privatization of state-owned enterprises and workers' minimum wage (Oyelere and Owoyemi, 2011). Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and CSOs used these mandates as the rallying point for social movement aimed at enhancing the quality of lives and the general well-being of Nigerians, either through negotiation or by forcing the government to back down. Obasanjo regime remains as one in which labour activities was heightened. Although the organized labour (NLC) has always engage different regimes over

workers' wages and welfare however, most of the strike actions by NLC were carried out during the Obasanjo regime. This was particularly induced by the failure of the government to implement an agreement earlier reached. The non-implementation of the 2000 Wage Review Agreement that provided a 25 percent wage increase with effect from May 1, 2001 and 15 percent wage increase in May 1, 2002 resulted in frequent labour strikes (NLC, 2009).

Similarly, during this regime, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) went on strike in 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, which lasted for 5 months, 3 months, 2 weeks, 6 months, 3 days, 1 week, 3 months, respectively on issues related to poor university funding, salary increment, disparity in retirement age, non-implementation of previous agreements, such as the 2001 Federal Government of Nigeria/ ASUU agreement (which aimed at resuscitating the University System in Nigeria and saving the system from total collapse among others). In this regard, Madueme and Aneke (2011) maintain government's attitude with respect to responding to unions' demand such as ASUU, vary from indifference or neutrality to diplomacy, tolerance, support or confrontation. ASUU's disenchantment with the government on the aforementioned issues for academic pursuit had been the theme of fruitless negotiations and dialogue with successive federal ministries of education over the years (Pemedede, 2007). Government's indifference in response to ASUU's demands has affected the growth and development of university education and the educational sector in general.

Also, the contributions of the NLC during this regime, in the struggle for the implementation of government's policies and programmes towards the transformation of the country into a just, humane and democratic society cannot be over-emphasized. The Union (under the leadership of Comrade Adams Oshiomole) vehemently opposed undemocratic and unacceptable policies by the government. However, due the rigours of constant strikes, the activities of ASUU, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the organized labour, diminished and enervated (see Ikpe, 2005). In response to the strike actions, the Obasanjo administration amended the Nigeria Labour Law, through the enforcement of the Trade Act of 2005. Strike action was criminalized and attracts a fine of N10,000 or six months imprisonment for each striker. The Act also provides that membership of trade union is voluntary and no employee shall be forced to join any trade union or be victimized for refusing to join (Akinwale, 2011; Okene, 2007a; Nwabueze, 2006). By this act, the government intended to put the organized labour in disarray, with a view to making it docile. However, it failed to take into cognizance the fact that such regulation negates the global mandate of strike action as an essential tool in trade unionism, mostly in forcing government to accede to citizens' demands. Despite this Act and other repressive actions by the government against the activities of organized labour, their presence and struggles in preventing antagonizing decisions and policies of government and acts that violate human rights were remarkable, albeit amidst oppression, victimization, and tyranny.

2.16 President Musa Yar'adua, Impunity and Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

On May 29, 2007 President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua was sworn in as President of Nigeria and the 13th Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In the history of Nigeria, his inauguration marked the handing over of power from one civilian head of state to another. The election that brought him to power was not impervious to impunity via fraud, violence, rigging, intimidations, snatching and smuggling of ballot papers and boxes as decried by both international and local

observers (see Adetula, *et al*, 2010; Yagboyaju, 2007). However, his commitment to transform Nigeria centered on a seven-point agenda in the following areas: power and energy, food security, wealth creation, transport sector, land reforms, security, and education. Under this regime CSOs and labour unions did not close their eyes, but were awake mostly on matters of national interest. Noteworthy is the fact that President Musa Yar'Adua on resumption of office reversed the pump price of petrol from ₦70 to ₦65 per litre (increase was made by the immediate past President, less than a week before leaving office). The protests and contestations by organized labour and CSOs that resulted in negotiations between the Yar'Adua-led government and labour, no doubt influenced the decision to revert the petrol price (Okpaga *et al.*, 2012).

During his administration official corruption, extra-judicial killings by security forces, kidnappings by militant groups and impunity by the perpetrators was worrisome. This was despite the administration's commitment to fighting corruption, good governance and sustainable development, premised on the rule of law. The country witnessed an ebb in the *modus operandi* of the EFCC (the most active and functional anti-corruption agency during the Obasanjo administration), charged with combating the scourge of corruption and other financial crimes under the Yar'Adua-led government. Alluding to this fact, Nasir El-Rufai maintains:

It was in the reversal of the war against corruption that the Yar'Adua administration did the most damage to its credibility with Nigerians and the international community. The systematic destruction of the EFCC by the Yar'Adua administration began as soon as James Ibori – former governor of Delta State (and a recruiter, ally and financier of Yar'Adua), was charged for money laundering and corruption at the Federal High Court in December 2007. Ibori and his two wives are facing similar charges in UK courts. A quick succession of events led to the extra-legal removal, demotion, and dismissal of the EFCC's respected chairman – Nuhu Ribadu, and the deployment of all the investigating EFCC staff trained by the FBI and London Metropolitan Police.

It is instructive to state that the attitude of the president in the explicit above revealed that Yar'Adua was encouraging and promoting brazen corruption, looting of the treasury, and accumulation of public wealth at all levels/organs of the government via nepotism, immunity and impunity. In essence, there was interference in the judicial processes; the much touted respect for the rule of law of the administration thus became a mirage. The function of EFCC and ICPC were sufficiently incapacitated and made irrelevant (Owasanoye and Akanle, 2010).

2.17 Goodluck Jonathan, Impunity, Civil Society Organizations/Labour Unions

The Vice President Goodluck Jonathan was sworn in on May 6, 2010 as the 14th Head of State and President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, following the death of President Umaru Yar'Adua on May 5, 2010. This was in accordance with the order of succession as enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution. The tremendous efforts by Labour Unions and CSOs in mediating between the individual and the government in fighting for justice and good governance, through political education, social mobilization, popular struggles and mass political action for the protection of civil liberties, challenge to repression and repressive laws through the courts, and agitations against inconsistencies in political transitions and economic policies (Omotola, 2005) are laudable under President Goodluck Jonathan administration.

The removal of the fuel subsidy by the Federal Government of President Goodluck Jonathan on Sunday 1st, January 2012 as announced by the Executive Secretary of the Petroleum Product Pricing Regulatory Agency (PPPRA), upshot massive strike actions, protests and demonstrations by Nigerians, CSOs, CLOs, organised unions (NLC/TUC), and ASUU (see Ering and Akpan, 2012). In response to the Federal Government policy on deregulation in the downstream sector of the petroleum industry, which was a blatant disregard for people's welfare and the corrosive effects it would bring on Nigerians, the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and Trade Union Congress (TUC) issued an ultimatum on 4th January, 2012 to the government, requesting for a reversal of the policy and the subsequent subsidy removal. NLC/TUC promised to embark on a nationwide strike with effect from Monday 9th January, 2012 if the government failed to reverse the policy (Okpaga, Ugwu, and Eme, 2012). In response to the yearnings of organized labour and Nigerians, the House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who represent the interest of the populace from various constituencies, had an emergency sitting on January 8, 2012, a day before the rally and passed a resolution that the Federal Government should suspend its policy on removal of fuel subsidy. Notably, their views and opinions were mere expression since the Federal Government was not ready to reverse its decision (see BusinessDay, Thursday, January 12, 2012; Social Action, 2012).

The impunity displayed by the Federal Government by way of being adamant to reverse the petrol price from ₦141 to ₦65 per litre was disregarded by Nigerians, thereby leading to widespread protests across the length and breadth of the country. In the words of Dr. Tunji Braithwaite:

In the first weeks of 2012, the mass of the Nigeria people, in asserting their collective sovereign power, came out in a united front, to warn those in power (over the issue of the petroleum price hike inflicted on them by the Government) that the power of the people is greater than the power of the people in power. The solidarity of the entire populace in those protests was unprecedented. We speak authoritatively, from a position of active participation!!(Tunji Braithwaite, 2012).

In view of the protests championed by NLC, TUC, and CSOs, petrol stations were shut, and socio-economic activities were grounded nationwide. It is imperative to note that in the history of protests in Nigeria, people from different ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds were unanimously united in fighting their cause by challenging the government's irrational decisions. This could be attributed to the attendant consequences of the policy, which would further make the lives of ordinary Nigerians more miserable (Oladipo, 2012). Although protesters had envisaged a peaceful protest, demonstrations however, turned bloody in Kano, Lagos and Benin, where at least 12 persons were killed in controversial circumstances (Vanguard, January 10, 2012). As reported, a 23-year-old Muyideen Mustapha in Ilorin, Kwara State; and a 25-year-old Ademola Aderinde at Ogba, Ikeja area of Lagos State were shot dead by officers of the Nigerian Police Force in the course of the protests. The effort of the organized labour and civil society yielded result, as the government was forced to reduce the pump price of petrol from ₦147 to ₦97 per litre. Following the announcement of the new fuel price by the federal government, organized labour called off the strike without due consultation with other stakeholders in the protests (see Social Action, 2012). The decision of the organized labour did not go well with the CSOs and the generality of the public. On this ground, most Nigerians see the protests as futile efforts due to the failure to reverse the petrol price to ₦65.

With regard to minimum wage, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and the Trade Union Congress (TUC) issued a two-week ultimatum on June 30, 2013 to states and federal government to immediately commence the implementation of the ₦18,000 new minimum wage, signed in late March by President Goodluck Jonathan (see Eme and Ugwu, 2011). The *raison d'être* was to ensure the improvement in the working conditions and welfare of the workers. The organized labour threatened most of the state governors who had not paid the new minimum wage with strike action. While some states indicated their willingness to pay, others claimed that the monthly allocation from the federation account is insufficient such that they cannot afford to pay the new ₦18,000 minimum wage. The NLC and TUC tried as much to make it a law, by ensuring that the new minimum wage is binding on every employer of labour in Nigeria i.e. both government and private sector.

The Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) embarked on yet another indefinite strike on Monday, July 1, 2013 following the Federal Government's refusal to fully implement the agreement it reached with the union in 2009. It would be recalled that ASUU had embarked on a three-month strike that commenced in December 2011 and was called off in January 2012. Ensuing from this, ASUU on January 24, 2012 signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) under the title, "Meeting of the Secretary of the Government of the Federation with the Academic Staff Union of Universities" with the Federal Government as signed by Prof. Nicholas A. Damachi, Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Education (Vanguard, July 21, 2013). However, the non-implementation by the government of the terms of the agreement, such as rehabilitation, revitalization, and funding of the Nigerian universities through budgetary and non-budgetary sources of funds is on the backdrop of the ongoing ASUU nationwide strike. The poor quality of education, lack of facilities, and pathetic state of the Nigerian Universities is preposterous. With the numerous adverse effects the ongoing strike will have on the educational sector, the Joint Action Front (JAF), a coalition of students and civil right groups also galvanize over 1,000 university students, lecturers, human rights activist and other stakeholders to protest their displeasure over the poor funding of education by the government in Lagos (The Sun, August 14, 2013). Similarly, Education Right Campaign (ERC) beckoned on the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and the Trade Union Congress (TUC) to declare a one-day solidarity general strike and mass protest to back ASUU with a view to making the government to recognize its responsibility to the funding and provision of quality, standard and accessible public education (Nigerian Tribune, August 27, 2013).

The current ongoing ASUU strike has paralyzed academic activities, disrupts academic calendars, and made students idle. This has further worsened the quality and standard of our educational system so to say. However, the government has been slow in its response, despite the aforementioned implications of the strike. From all indications, the Jonathan-led administration offers no plan to resolve the crisis, most especially when he referred to the striking lecturers' demands as being "politicized", during a presidential chat on Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) on Sunday, September 29, 2013. Although several meetings have been held between the government and ASUU with a view to resolving the strike, the meetings have always ended in a deadlock. The government inability to concede to the yearnings of the union and well-meaning Nigerians by implementing fully the agreement signed is nothing but impunity. As the struggle continues, ASUU is determined to see the strike to a logical conclusion, in order to save and reposition the university system. This is a bold step in stopping the culture of impunity in our educational sector at all levels.

2.18. National Orientation, Anti-Corruption and Anti-Social Crusades in Nigeria

Corruption has to do with the abuse of public office for private or personal gain. It is a cancer that has eaten deep into all the socio-economic and political structures of Nigeria at various levels, thereby undermining her development. Chukwuemeka, Ugwuanyi, and Ewuim, (2012) identified indicators of corruption, that is: embezzlement, bribery, misappropriation, conversion of public funds to personal purse, manipulation of procurement processes, falsification of official financial records, awards of contracts by public office holders to cronies and personal held companies and rigging of elections. It is apposite in view of its consequences, to note that various successive governments at different point in time have made frantic efforts to fight and tackle the entrenched nature of corruption, mis-governance, human rights violations, economic and financial crimes, and other social ills over the years. Underneath are some notable programmes and campaigns established to curbing corruption in Nigeria.

In 1981, President Shehu Shagari initiated Ethical Revolution to intensify action against the culture of looting nation's treasury via corruption. He made significant effort towards curbing corruption such that the country and citizens' socio-economic conditions could be ameliorated. However, his efforts were not effective as corruption was deemed pervasive under the administration (Chukwuemeka, Ugwuanyi, and Ewuim, 2012).

In 1984, the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) was introduced by the duo of General Muhammadu Buhari and General Tunde Idiagbon's administration (see Ogundiya, 2009). The initiative aimed at inculcating public morality, social order, and civic responsibilities with a view to promoting Nigerian nationalism. Unfortunately, regardless of the commitments, this transformation agendum by the Buhari-led administration could not fully overhaul corruption following a palace coup by Babangida in 1985 that led to the overthrow of the government (see Derin, 2007).

The inauguration of Mass Mobilization for Social Justice, Self Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER) on September 2, 1987 under President Badamosi Ibrahim Babangida aimed to re-orientate Nigerians to shun waste and vanity; shed all pretenses of affluence in lifestyle; as well as propagate the need to eschew all vices in public life, including corruption, dishonesty, electoral and census malpractices, ethnic and religious bigotry failed. Babangida's administration was seen as the one that actually institutionalized corruption in Nigeria with his avowed maxim "use what you have to get what you need".

The amalgamation of Public Enlightenment (PE), War Against Indiscipline (WAI), National Orientation Movement (NOM), and Mass Mobilization for Social Justice, Self Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER) gave birth to the National Orientation Agency (NOA). The National Orientation Agency (NOA) was established by Decree 100 of 23rd August, 1993 to consistently raise awareness, provide timely and credible feedback, positively change attitudes, values and behaviours, accurately and adequately inform, and sufficiently mobilize citizens to act in a way that promote peace, harmony, and national development (<http://www.noa.gov.ng/index.php/about-us>). No doubt, the Agency has implemented diverse programmes since her inception. The question is to what extent is NOA through its projects and activities able to curb the menace of corruption in Nigeria? It could be concluded that the mindset/consciousness of most Nigerians have not been positively changed particularly in terms of disengaging them from corrupt acts like embezzlement or misappropriation of public funds,

election malpractices, forgery of personal credentials, Advanced Fee Fraud (419) amongst others.

The struggle against corruption was not put in abeyance under General Sanni Abacha's regime. Abacha introduced War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC) in 1994 to fight indiscipline and corruption in the Nigerian society. However, in spite of this measure in place, the nation's treasury was almost completely emptied so also Nigeria became a pariah nation and was ostracized from the comity of nations (Chukwuemeka, Ugwuanyi, and Ewuim, 2012). The scourge of corruption permeates through the entire structures such that the political leadership was not conscious of its attendant consequences on the nation, and the image of the country globally. This was against the visions of WAIC. According to Folarin (2013), the regime tyranny led to multiple violations of human rights and breaches of international moral and legal codes.

The President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime (1999 – 2007) set up the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) in September 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in April 2003 as a response to thriving corrupt practices and other related offences. The ICPC was given the mandate among others to receive and investigate any report of conspiracy, attempt, and commission from members of the public as well as arrest and prosecute offenders of corrupt practices and other related offences. On the other hand, the Act that established the EFCC mandates her to prevent, investigate, prosecute and penalise offenders (persons, corporate bodies or organizations) that have committed offences relating to the economic and financial. The duo of ICPC and EFCC were established and empowered by law to deter the ubiquity of corruption via investigation, prosecution and punishment of public officials/office holders and political appointees found guilty of such offences. Conversely, till date, the *modus operandi* of EFCC and ICPC have not been able to curtail looting of public funds but rather increase the propensity of corruption in the country. Inokoba and Ibegu (2011) maintained that "EFCC is not a panacea, rather it has become an instrument in the hands of the presidency to perpetrate political corruption".

From our assessment, the foregoing measures and programmes embarked upon by the government have been characterized by propaganda, politicization, coercion rhetoric and lack of integrity. The *raison d'être* for the abysmal performance in curbing corruption was made clear by Bakare (2011:68) who maintains that "...these efforts have not been fruitful in the past [because our] leaders have been using them as a political instrument to witch-hunt political opponents and distance themselves from its tenets and doctrines". This argument is further supported by Basse *et al.* (2013:427) who identified lack of continuity and change in policy framework, inappropriate organizational structure in implementation, politicization of policy and political opposition to policy implementation, lack of political will, inadequate public enlightenment, and socio-cultural constraints as factors that contribute to failure of anti-corruption policies in Nigeria.

In the words of Ogundiya (2009:290), "despite these measures, the country has consistently occupied one of the topmost positions among the most corrupt nations in the world. The persistence of the problem is an indication that constitutional engineering, institutional approach and socio-economic reforms have proved to be inadequate panacea to the problem". In essence, corruption has continued to escalate as a devastating problem facing the Nigeria polity

irrespective of the policies, measures, and strategies adopted owing to insincerity and lack of integrity on the part of the political leadership in this country. We therefore assert that there is a correlation between political leadership and corruption in Nigeria.

SECTION THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. The Research Methodology

This section gives an account of the research process and justification of every method adopted in the research.

3.2. The Setting: Research States

Image 1: Map of Nigeria showing states where the S.I.N study was conducted



Rivers State

The capital of Rivers State is Port Harcourt. The State is one of the most politically active States in the country, especially since the return to democracy in 1999. The State shares boundaries with Imo, Abia, Anambra, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa and Delta States. The state is one of the most prominent in the country given its economic and political significance. It is a cosmopolitan state with the dominance of the Ikwerre, Igbo, Ijaw, Kalabari, Etche, Ogba, and Ogoni ethnic groups. It is part of the Niger-Delta Region of the country and it is an oil producing state, making the state one of the richest in the country. It is also popular for its real estate, two refineries and many industrial activities, especially petrochemical ones. Although the state has tropical rainforest and mangrove swamps, it is somewhat surrounded by many rivers. The state has a rich political history and existence since it was created in 1967. The political consciousness of its

citizens is noteworthy and this was clearly demonstrated in the political battles witnessed in the state. Rivers State has 23 Local Government Areas.

The Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja

The Federal Capital Territory (FCT) is located in the North Central geopolitical zone of Nigeria. It is however preferred as the capital of Nigeria for its strategic geography as the centre of the country. It shares boundaries with Nasarawa, Niger, Kaduna and Kogi States. FCT was established in the year 1976 by the Federal Capital Territory Act of the military government of General Murtala Muhammed and became the official capital of Nigeria on December 12, 1991 after the capital was moved from Lagos State. FCT has an area of 7,753.9 square kilometres and has a population of 1,406,239 by the 2006 population and housing Census, making it just 1.3% of the country's population. The FCT has six area councils; each is headed by a council chairman. While these council chairmen are elected, the Minister (not governor like in other states) of the FCT is appointed by the President of the country. The FCT is thus important in the political trajectories of the country. The area councils in FCT are; Abaji, Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC), Bwari, Gwagwalada, Kuje, Kwali.

Kano State

The capital of Kano State is Kano. The state was created on May 27, 1967, making it one of the oldest states in the country. The state is located in North-Western Nigeria. It shares borders with Katsina, Jigawa, Bauchi and Kaduna States. Kano is reputed for being both a burgeoning agricultural and commercial state, with sensitive traditional, religious and political systems. The economy of the state has however, slowed down due to the activities of terrorism. It is the most populous state in Nigeria with a total population of 9,383,682 and has 44 local governments.

Lagos State

Lagos State is located in south west Nigeria. It is the smallest state in terms of landmass. It is officially the second most populous state in Nigeria, however the most cosmopolitan, most urbanized and the most economically vibrant. Although, the 2006 Population and Housing Census put the population of Lagos state at less than 10 million, critical estimates put the population at 15 million. The state is commonly referred to as mini Nigeria, given the cosmopolitan nature and vibrant economy. It was the capital of Nigeria until its movement to FCT. Lagos State was created on May 27, 1967 and currently has 20 Local Government Areas.

Enugu State

The capital of Enugu State is Enugu. The state has a very long and rich history. As a state, it was carved out of the old Anambra State in 1991. It borders extends to Abia, Imo, Ebonyi, Benue, Kogi and Anambra States. Enugu State generally has a fertile land and a climate that sustains agriculture. The state is a major hub of education in the region and is significant for education in the country. For instance, the first local university in the country, University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN), is located in Enugu State. There are also the Enugu State University of Science and Technology (ESUT), Institute of Management and Technology (IMT), Federal Cooperative College, Oji River (FCCO), Enugu State College of Education Technical, Caritas University, Amorji-Nike and Renaissance University. According to the 2006 Population and Housing Census, Enugu has a population of 3,267,837. Although Enugu has a mixed of ethnic presence, it is predominantly inhabited by the Igbo people.

Benue State

Benue State was created in February 3rd, 1976 with Makurdi as the capital. The estimated population of Benue state as at 1991 was 2, 780,398 and by the 2006 Population and Housing Census, the population of Benue has increased to 5, 181, 642 with a GDP of \$6.86 billion and per capita income of \$1,592. Benue is one of the Middle Belt states and is predominantly occupied by the ethno linguistic groups; Tiv, Idoma, and Igede. Other groups found in Benue are the Etulo and Abakwa. Benue remains one of the most agriculturally viable states in Nigeria. In fact, Benue is very rich in agriculture that it is nicknamed the Food Basket of the Nation. Commonly grown food crops in Benue are; potatoes, cassava, soya bean, guinea corn, flax, yams and beniseed. Benue state has three main universities. These are: Federal University of Agriculture, Makurdi, Benue State University [BSU], Makurdi and Mkar University, Gboko. There are also two polytechnics, which are Benue state polytechnic and Fidel Polytechnic, Gboko as well as the Akperan Orshi College of Agriculture. There are about four colleges of education, which are Federal College of Education, Agasha, College of Education, Oju, and College of Education Kastina Ala. There are 23 Local Government Areas in Benue state.

Gombe State

This state is nicknamed Jewel in the Savanna. The state was created on 1st October, 1996 with a total land area of 18, 768km² or 7, 246sq miles. It is the 21st largest State in the country. According to the 2006 Population and Housing Census, Gombe has a population of 2, 353, 000 and 33rd most populous state in the country. It has a Per capita income of \$1,036 and a total GDP of \$2.50 billion. Gombe city is the state capital of Gombe State. Borno, Yobe, Taraba, Adamawa and Bauchi States share common boundaries with Gombe State. The soil and climatic conditions of the state are suitable for agriculture; with an average rainfall of 850mm. Gombe State has 11 Local Government Areas and 14 Emirates /chiefdoms. The major ethnic group in Gombe is the Fulani.

3.3. Research Design

The research design adopted in this study was non-experimental. The study was heuristic and exploratory to gather data on the thematic areas of the S.I.N Campaign Project. It adopted triangulation; combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods for data complementarity to increase the validity and reliability of the data gathered findings, conclusions and recommendations.

3.4. The Study Population

This included members of the public, political office holders at the three arms and tiers of government. Study population also included critical organizations countering impunity in the country. They included; Public Complaints Commission (PCC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), Nigeria Communication Commission (NCC), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), National Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC), Professional Associations, Politicians and opinion leaders of the public. Population of study had age restriction of not less than 18 years without upper limit. 18 Eighteen years is the voting age as enshrined in the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, was the age of maturity by voting age in the Nigerian constitution of 1999 - The constitution in

use as at the time of the research. The research did not segment by gender as equal right of qualification was accorded the two genders.

3.5. Sampling: Size and Techniques

The study adopted a combination of simple random and purposive sampling techniques. The public respondents were selected through a simple random technique adopting a multi-stage process. For the targeted officials and organizations however, purposive strategy was adopted but based on willingness and availability of the officials and/or organizations. Both official Enumeration Areas (EAs) and political wards were utilized in selection of research communities

3.6. Research Instruments

The research used various instruments. In-depth Interview (IDIs) schedule 4 per State x 7 states (28), (2 per LGA – 2 Male, 2 Female), Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) guide 2 per State x 7 states (14) (1 Session per LGA – 1 Male; 1 Female), Key Informant Interview (KIIs) guide 12 per State except FCT (72), KII for FCT, Abuja (17). A total of 3, 500 copies of multi-variable, closed/open-ended questions questionnaires were administered in the selected states (Lagos, Rivers, Benue, Kano, Enugu, Federal Capital Territory and Gombe. This gives a breakdown of 500 questionnaires per State/7 x 250 per L.G.A/2 (3,500). Adoption of multiple instruments for data collection multi-data collection methods was to ensure robust data gathering and to prevent gaps in the research process. All data gathering activities (quantitative and qualitative) were completed in 10 days, 27th May to 7th June, 2013 after a 2-day training of research personnel at Asaba, Delta state Nigeria. Data collection activities were undertaken simultaneously across the country for quality assurance.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

All respondents, discussants and interviewees were given the right of exclusion and discontinuation. Their absolute rights were respected and consent document indicating the terms of the research were presented to them. Identities of respondents have been protected as they have been reported as anonymous. Hence, no respondent/subject is endangered. In cases where respondents/subjects expressed concerns, such concerns were sufficiently addressed before interviews/discussions continued. In cases where respondents/subjects were not clear about the intention of the research and so remain critically apprehensive, such respondents and subjects were excused. No subject/respondent was induced with money, gift, souvenirs, and so on. The research was therefore, in line with Ethical best practices and in compliance with Global Social Science Research Expectations.

3.8. Challenges Encountered and Lessons Learnt

There can never be a worthwhile research, without challenges and lessons. This research therefore, was not an exception. The major challenge faced was in Rivers State. The research accidentally coincided with a period of political and governance turbulence in the state. It was at a time the state governor, PDP (The Peoples Democratic Party) and the House of Assembly were at loggerheads. This made data collection in the state very difficult, especially as many of the respondents were political figures and state functionaries. This led to a lot of suspicion on the part of would-be respondents, who claimed they could not ascertain the *faction* researchers were working for perhaps they were agents of the *enemies*. Many also claimed they were interested in the research all together given the prevailing political situations in the state. Hence, general insecurity pervaded the states.

Another critical challenge the research faced was the difficulty in reaching government officials and agencies across the country. Many agencies subjected the researchers to frustrating bureaucratic procedures making it sometimes impossible for data collection. Many also were very uncooperative, referring to Oath of Secrecy in government service. Many political figures were also not available for discussions/interviews. Accessibility was thus a very big challenge the research faced. These challenges were however, professionally managed and as such did not negatively impact on data gathering and outcomes. The Research Assistants were resolute, persistent and professional in their conduct and so were able to gather useful data. Repeated and scheduled visits were organized for *difficult to reach and accessed* respondents, until such people were facilitated.

SECTION FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1. Table 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Age		
Mean Age	35.6 years	
Median Age	32.0 Years	
Mode	30.0	
Standard Deviation	12.822	
Range	74	
Minimum Age	18	
Maximum Age	92	
Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Grouped Age		
18 - 24yrs	585	16.9
25 - 31yrs	822	23.7
32 - 38yrs	532	15.4
39 - 45yrs	407	11.7
46 - 52yrs	214	6.2
53 - 59yrs	137	4.0
60yrs and above	172	5.0
No Response	595	17.2
Total	3464	100.0
Gender		
Male	1981	57.2
Female	1483	42.8
Total	3464	100.0
Marital Status		
Married/Cohabiting	1630	47.1
Separated/Divorced	120	3.5
Single	1545	44.6
Widow/Widower	120	3.5
No Response	49	1.4
Total	3464	100.0
Ethnic Background		
Hausa	904	26.1
Igbo	760	21.9
Yoruba	432	12.5
Middle Belt	516	14.9
Niger Delta	470	13.6
No Response	31	.9
Others	351	10.1
Total	3464	100.0

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Level of Education		
No Formal Education	329	9.5
Primary not completed	96	2.8
Completed primary	161	4.6
Secondary not completed	210	6.1
Completed Secondary	751	21.7
Tertiary not completed	629	18.2
Tertiary completed	1225	35.4
No Response	29	.8
Others	34	1.0
Total	3464	100.0
Capacity to read and understand newspaper		
Yes	2986	86.2
No	424	12.2
No Response	54	1.6
Total	3464	100.0
Capacity to listen to and understand news		
Yes	3090	89.2
No	187	5.4
No Response	187	5.4
Total	3464	100.0
Employment/Occupation		
Full time Formal	840	24.2
Part Time Formal	213	6.1
Full time Informal	608	17.6
Part time Informal	297	8.6
Unemployed/Does not work at all	378	10.9
Student	641	18.5
Housewife	239	6.9
Retired	69	2.0
No Response	53	1.5
Others	126	3.6
Total	3464	100.0
Religiosity		
Very Religious	1661	48.0
Averagely Religious	1490	43.0
Not Religious/nominal	232	6.7
No Response	81	2.3
Total	3464	100.0
Relations in Government/MDAs/Agencies like EFCC, ICPC, NOA, NAFDAC		
Yes	1851	53.4
No	1576	45.5
No Response	37	1.1
Total	3464	100.0

The respondents' age distribution was well distributed. The average age was 36.5 showing politically active population. The median age was 32 with a standard deviation of 13. The most frequent age (mode) was 30 with a range of 74. The minimum age sampled was 18 years and maximum is 92. The minimum age 18 was against the realization of 18 as the voting age in the country also marking the official age of maturity and informed judgement by capacity to vote. This is very important since the issue of impunity being explored was closely related with informed perception capabilities, maturity for involvement and judgement of state/national life. Most of the respondents were within 18-45 age categories (67.7 percent). As a single category, more of the respondents were in the 25-31 age brackets (23.7 percent). In respect of gender, a little over half (57.2 percent) of the respondents were males, while the remaining were females (42.8%). The slightly higher male representation resonates with males' activism in political and civil life. About half of the respondents (47.1 percent) were married, while the remaining 44.6 percent were single. These were two dominant extremes mirroring the marriage realities of Nigeria and most other societies in the sub-Saharan Africa. Equal proportion (3.5 percent) were separated/divorced and widow/widower. Only 1.4 percent of the respondents did not respond to the issue.

Ethnic background is a major and definitive issue in Nigeria. It is within it that most people construct and deploy identity, perceive issues and relate with the state entities. Thus, this was captured in the research to sufficiently comprehend the trajectories of the problematic. About 26.1 percent of the respondents were Hausa, 21.9 percent Igbo, 14.9 percent Middle Belt, 13.6 percent Niger Delta, 12.5 percent Yoruba, 10.1 percent, Others and 0.9 percent did not respond. The low representation of the Yorubas in the sample could be attributed to the nature of the state that represented the western part of the country. Unlike Kano (representing the north) and Enugu (representing the east), which are predominantly inhabited by the indigenes, Lagos (represented the west) is a cosmopolitan state with a strong blend of all ethnic nationals in the country.

The level of education of respondents was captured because literacy is an important indicator of an individual's capability to actively participate in national life. However, it is insightful to note that only 9.5 percent of the respondents claimed they had no formal education. About 2.8 percent attended primary school but did not complete it, while 4.6 percent completed it. Similarly, 6.1 percent attended secondary school but did not complete it, while as much as 21.7 percent completed it. About 18.2 percent did not complete tertiary education, while as much as 35.4 percent completed tertiary education. Response rate for this variable was appreciable with only 0.8 percent No Response rate.

Aside from levels of education, the capacity to read and understand newspapers and listen to and understand news is important measures of literacy and awareness. This research thus captured these elements. Almost 90 percent of the respondents could read and understand newspaper, while about the same proportion had the capacity to listen to and understand news. The employment and occupational status of the respondents was profiled. With regard to employment, about one fourth of the respondents were in full time formal employment, while 6.1 percent were in part time formal employment, similarly, about 17.6 were in full time informal employment, while 8.6 percent were in part time informal employment. Also, about while 10.9 percent were unemployed and had never worked at all. Students constituted about 18.5 percent,

while retirees and housewives were insignificantly represented constituting, 2.0 and 6.9 percent, respectively. Less than 5 percent of the respondents were classified as Others as they were out of the previous categories. Generally, over half (57 percent) of respondents were gainfully employed, while less than half were not in any form of employment. Almost half of the respondents were very religious and a little over 40 percent were averagely religious. Less than 10 percent of the respondents were not religious, while, 2.3 percent did not respond to the question. This finding is consistent with extant literature on religiosity in Nigeria, where citizens of the country are usually documented as religious. A little over half of the respondents claimed they had relatives working with government and its agencies, while a little less than half (45.5) percent said they had none. This distribution confirmed Nigeria as a civil service/servants country.

4.2. Understanding Impunity

This section presents the respondents' views on how much they were aware of different dimensions of impunity in the country. To have a robust and reliable view of respondents' impunity awareness, cases and data were unbundled and disaggregated by tiers and arms of government. The first measure engaged was punishment of impunity by peoples' rights violation without punishment.

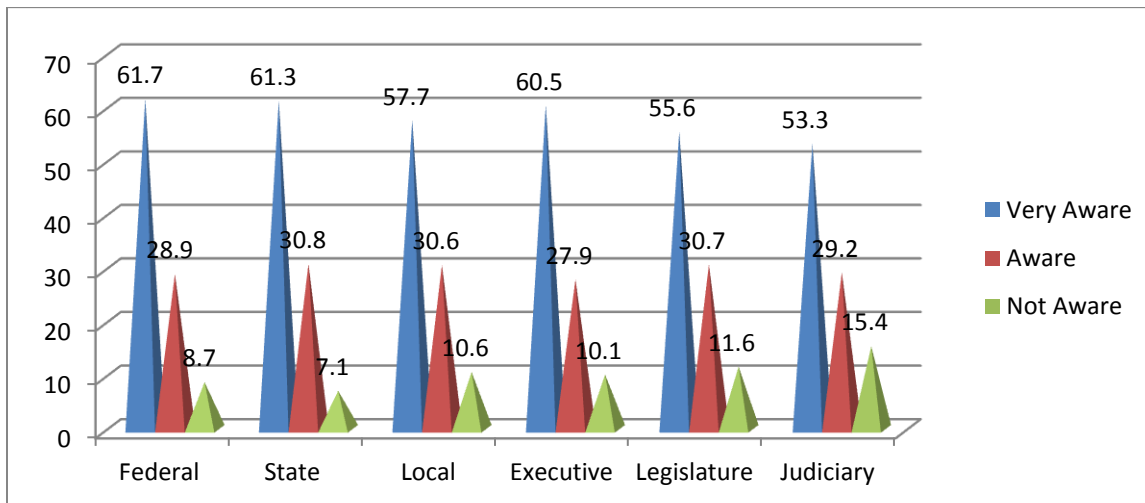
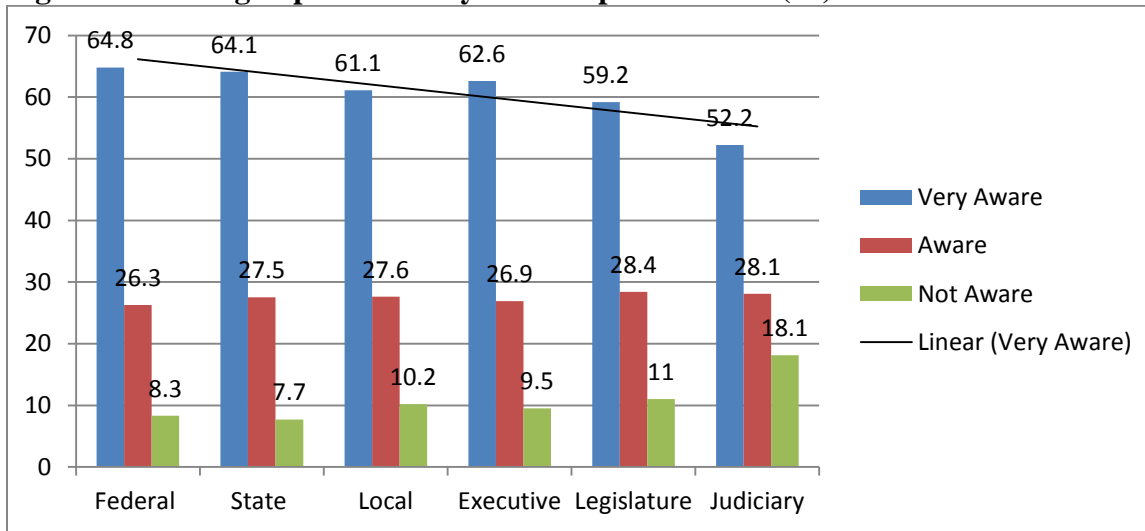


Figure 1: Awareness of Peoples' rights violation without punishment (%)

Based on the distribution in the figure above, it could be seen that there is a high level of awareness of impunity across the levels and organs of government. Most respondents were aware of impunity across all tiers and organs of government. A closer analysis however, shows that people were more aware of such cases at the federal tier and executive arm. Moreover, the level of awareness tends to descend by the level of government and organ of government. There is more awareness at federal level than at the state level and at the state level than at the local government level. The same could also be said of the organs, as there is more awareness at the executive arm than at the legislative arm and at the legislative arm than at the judiciary.

Figure 2: Stealing of public money without punishments (%)



The findings on this indicator (as shown in Figure 2 above) are consistent with the earlier one. There is consistently a high level of awareness across levels of government and organs of government. People have appreciably a high level of awareness of *stealing of public money without punishment in the country*. However, it is important to note that such awareness is more pronounced at federal level followed by the states and least known at the local governments. Such cases are also well known at the executive arm than the legislature and least at judiciary. This becomes easily observable with a closer examination of the Trendline 1 in the chart.

Courts and speed of prosecution of offenders

Courts are the barometers of impunity reversal potentialities. Also, courts are the conscience of the people in civilized societies. They build public confidence, restore justice and put the state on the path of growth and development. Courts thus become double-edge swords, the functional outcomes of which depend on the nature of deployment. Once people are aware misdemeanors and crimes will be punished swiftly, they tend to conform and the propensity for deviation becomes reduced. However, once courts fail, impunity thrives. Against the axiom of *justice delayed is justice denied*, once the courts falter in the discharge of their sacred responsibilities, impunity becomes the norm and the paths to growth and development become unclear and trapped. It is against this background that this crucial indicator (speed of justice dispensation) was explored to sufficiently capture the nuances of impunity in the country. For courts to sufficiently and positively counteract impunity, it must *always* punish impunity quickly to send a strong signal and serve as deterrents to would be perpetrators at the impunity corridors. Findings as presented in Figure 3 reveal that a majority of the respondents (91.0 percent) across both levels and organs of government submitted that *courts in Nigeria do not always punish offenders quickly in the cases they adjudicate, especially high profile cases*. Responses on this indicator were unanimous showing how deep seated the issue is. Across the levels and organs of government, a lot of the respondents were of the view that *courts only sometimes dispense justice quickly*.

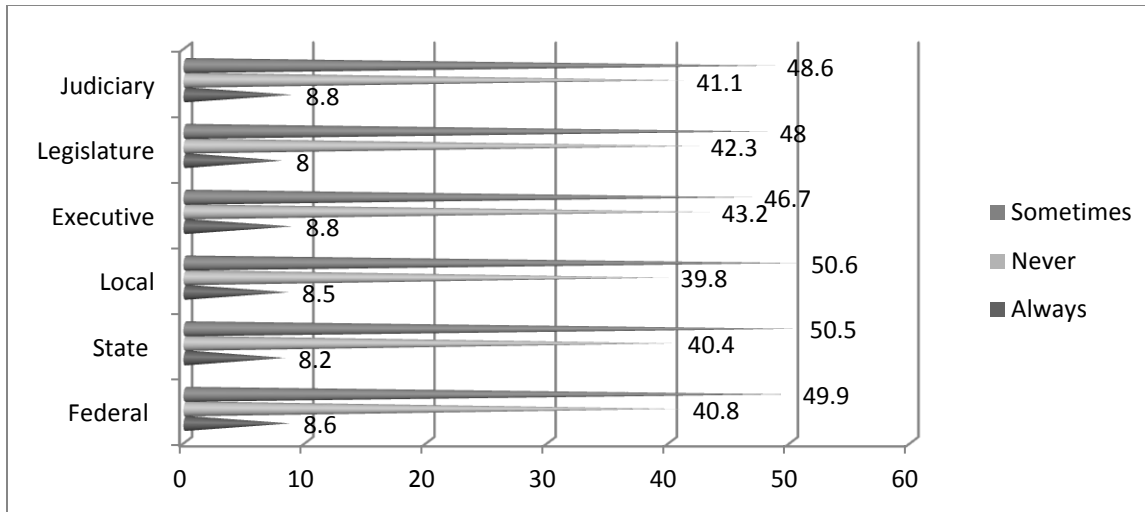


Figure 3: Courts and speed of prosecution of offenders (%).

Equality before the law is a major driver of development and impunity prevention. This is why it is commonly expected the law must be blind to status, creed, tribes, class and every other sentiment. Once humans are no longer seen as equal in the justice system, a fundamental problem of impunity and underdevelopment develops. Against this background, this research captured the ligaments of political existences and class in dispensation of justice in the country. Findings on this indicator were very insightful. As presented in Figure 4 at least 90 percent of the respondents were of the view that *the rich and the political are never always punished when in conflict with the law and norm of the society, by engaging in impunity whether in the judiciary, legislature, executive, local, state and federal governments*. At best, justice actions range from only *sometimes* punished to *never* punished across organs and tiers of government (see progression of responses through Trendline 2 particularly relative to preponderance at the federal tier and the executive arm).

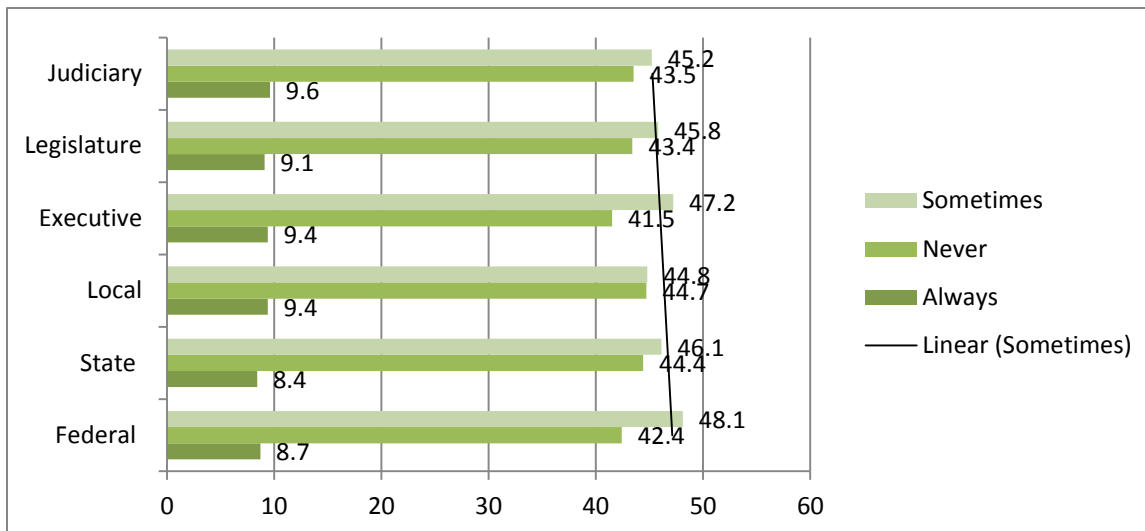
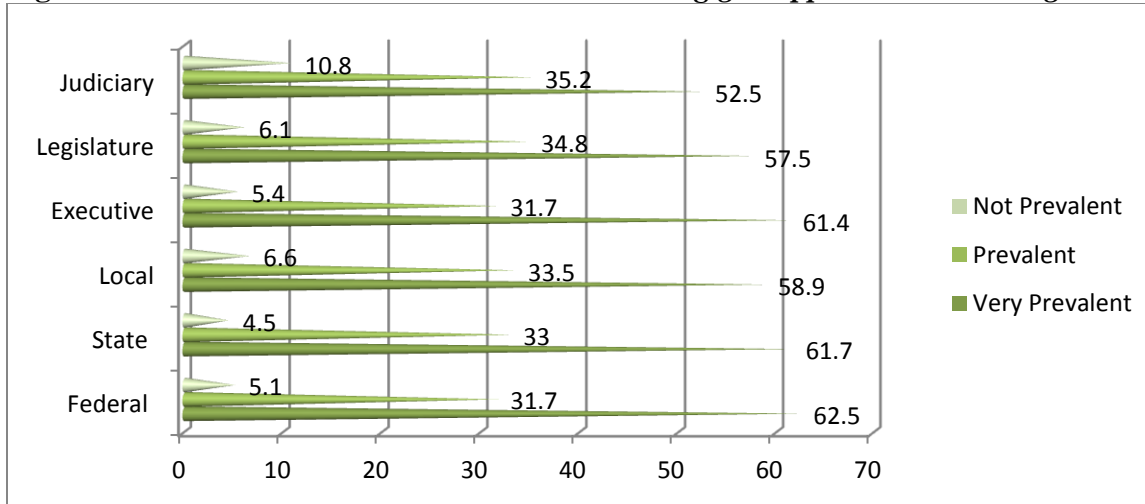


Figure 4: Rich/Political Class and punishment for offence (%)

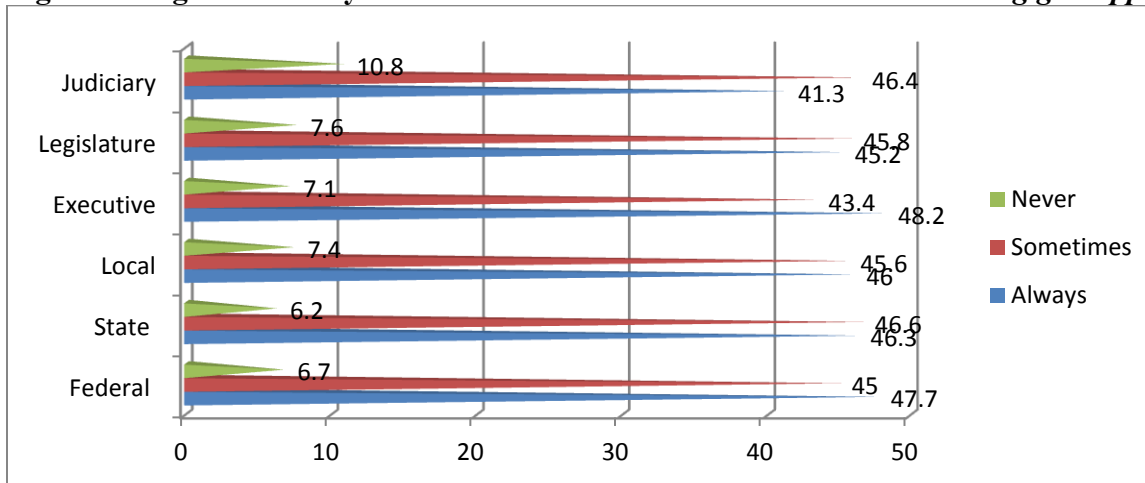
A very commonly used argot/slang in Nigeria depicting impunity is *I don't care attitude/nothing go happen*. To capture the understanding and awareness of impunity among the people these sayings were used as measures. Findings as presented in Figure 5, reveal that the people were very aware of these sayings and understood their ramifications. For instance, from the Figure shows, that, across the levels and organs of government, *I don't care* and *nothing go happen* are very prevalent. However, more people opined that this is more prevalent at the federal tier and executive arm, followed by the states and the legislature and then local government and the judiciary.

Figure 5: Prevalence of *I don't care attitude/Nothing go happen when breaking the law (%)*.



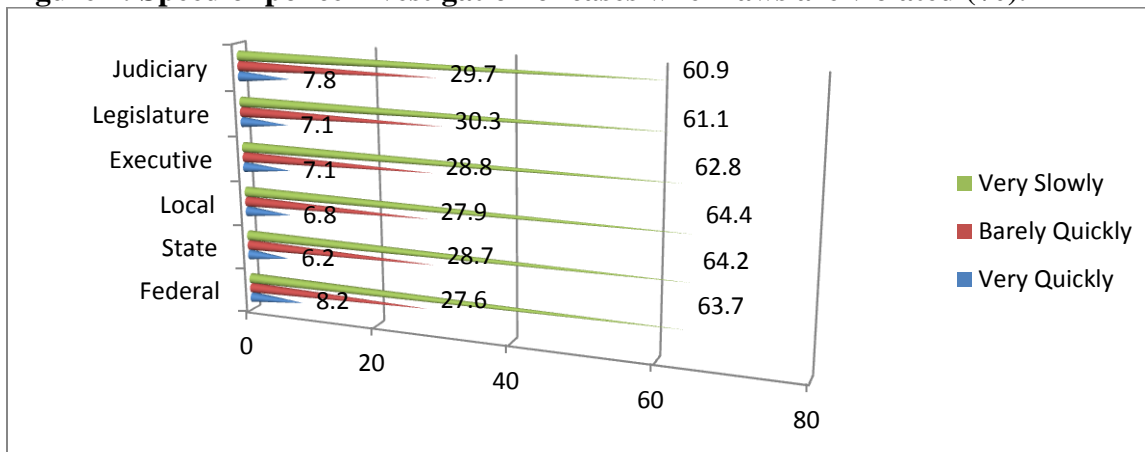
Having *I don't care/nothing go happen attitude* is only a side of the coin. Societal response and modal attitude are also critical. It is thus important to investigate societal response to excuse the nature and attitude of the society as a whole to comprehend the contours of the *I don't care/nothing go happen attitude* in the country. Figure 6 shows that below, it could be observed that consistently around 90 percent of the respondents across tiers and organs of government opined that the Nigerian society accommodates the attitude.

Figure 6: Nigerian society's accommodation of *I don't care attitude/Nothing go happen (%)*.



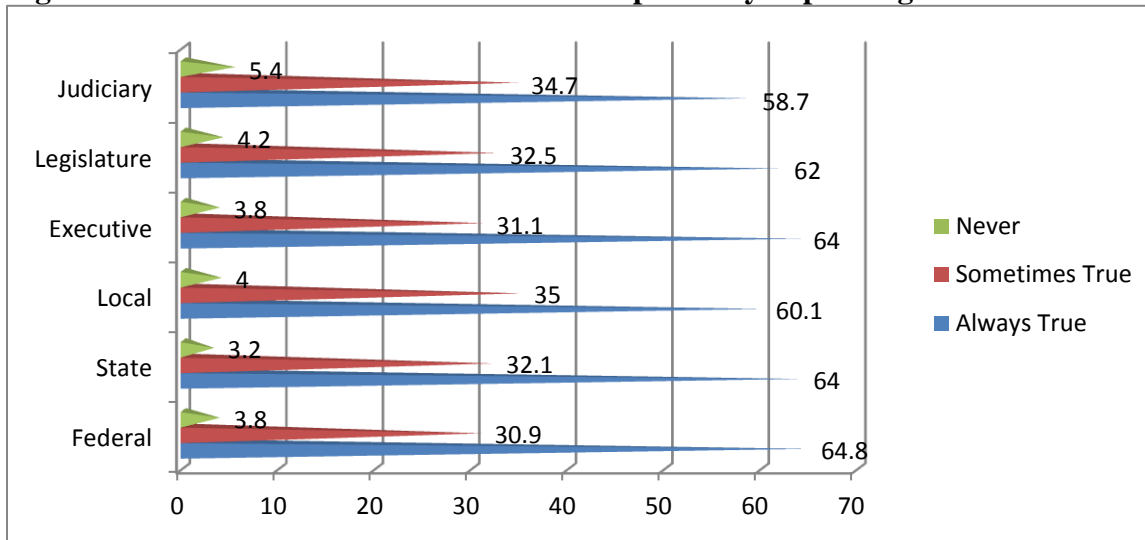
The speed with which the police investigate and resolve impunity and general issues ultimately affects and demonstrates society’s degree of tolerance of impunity. This also impacts on court’s functionality, particularly as it relates to the speed and quality of justice dispensed relative to quality of justice dispensation and speed. The Police component is thus critical as well in addressing impunity. The police are the first contact when the laws are breached and the police are also the enforcement arm when the court gives justice. The research thus captured police activities. Figure 7 shows that a majority of the respondents observed that *even when investigations are done at all, the police do so very slowly*. Whether at the level of the judiciary, legislature, executive, federal, state or local governments, less than 10 percent of the respondents have ever observed where investigations are done quickly by the police in Nigeria.

Figure 7: Speed of police investigation of cases when laws are violated (%).



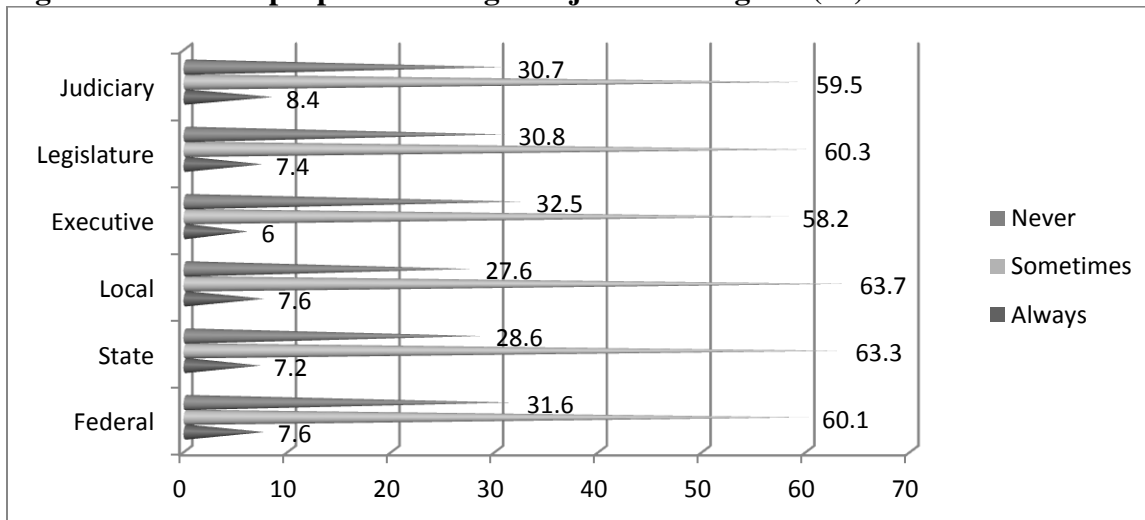
The police and the courts must discharge their duties without regard for status and class. It is by doing this that every citizen will know that actions and inactions, omissions and commissions leading to impunity will be punished. This invariably will cause all to abide by the law for the ultimate benefit of the society. Once this is not the case, impunity preponderance is inevitable. Interestingly, as presented in Figure 8, over 90 percent (a collapse of *always* and *sometimes responses*) of the respondents believed the police and the courts act with partiality, depending on the class and status of the accused. This corroborates the popularly held notion that *justice is for sale in the country* since the courts and the law enforcement agencies have respect for status and class. In fact, over 60 percent of the respondents were of the view that across organs and levels of government, police and the courts *always* act with partiality biased by class and status.

Figure 8: The Police and the courts act with partiality depending on status and class (%).



Generally, justice should pervade the polity. There must be a common belief that from the *common man/woman* to the *upper class*, people are brought to justice. This is when impunity can ever be reversed. Once this is not the case, the impunity domains are practically bound to be boundless. Figure 9 shows an interesting finding. Over 90 percent of the respondents were of the view that people are either never brought to justice or are only sometimes brought to book. This is also based on the belief of the people that there is a partial dispensation of justice based on class, status and creed as the previous reported findings have shown. This result shows a high level of internal consistency in the data and research process.

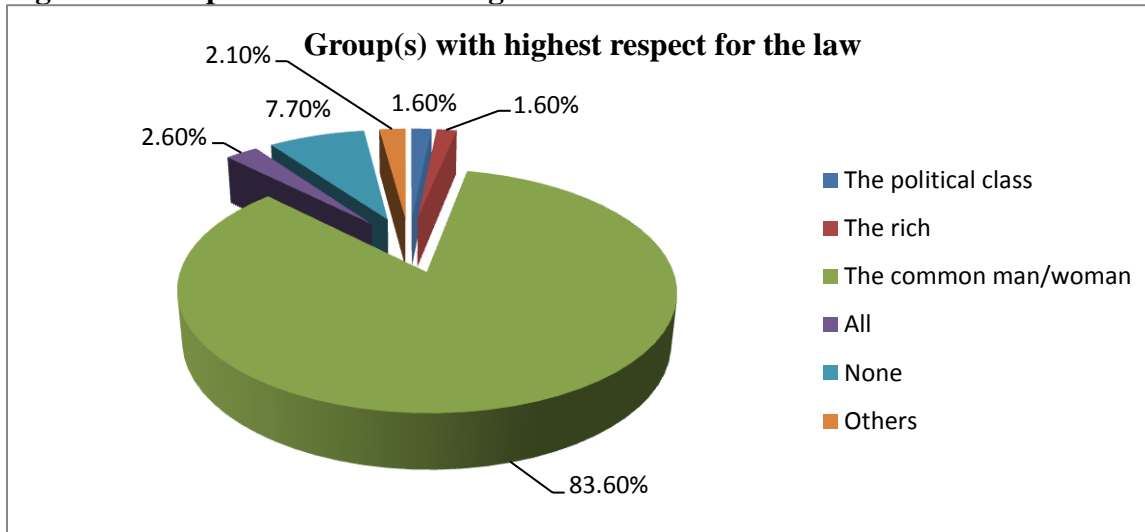
Figure 9: Whether people are brought to justice in Nigeria (%).



Against the backdrop of the dispensation of justice across the levels and organs of government as well as class and status, it is also important to capture the generality of the domains of respect for the law. This is to have a more nuanced and robust view of the problematic. Categories tested were; 1. The political class 2. The rich 3. The *Common man/woman* 4. None 5. Others. As shown in Figure 10, most people (83.6 percent) consistently maintained that only the *ordinary people* respect the law in Nigeria, while the influential and the affluent class seldom do. This is a

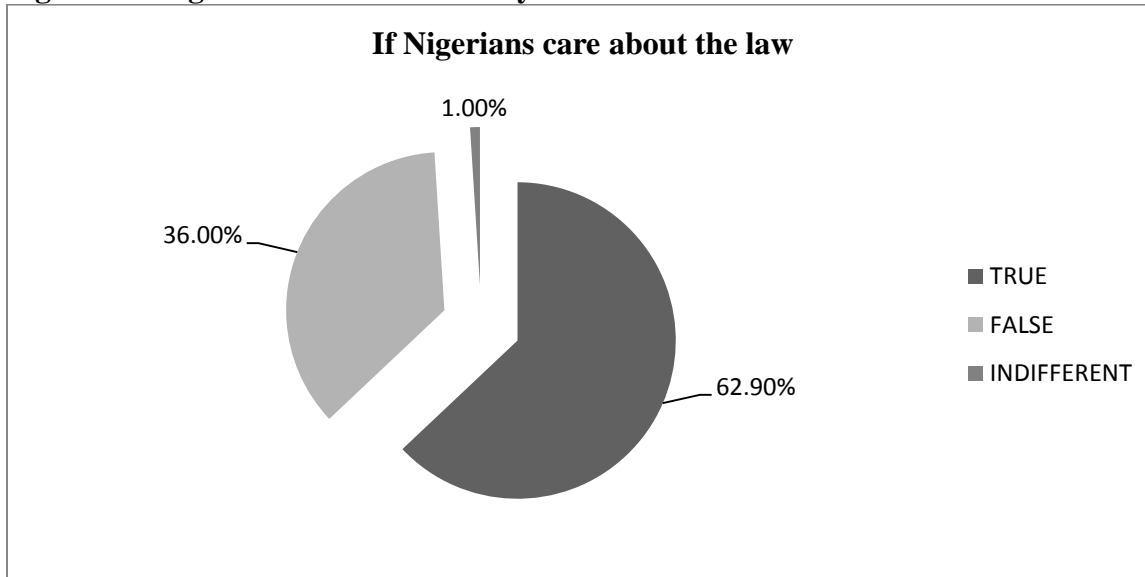
dangerous situation particularly as the rich and political classes are at the forefront of national life to drive development and are to show leadership worthy of emulation for the followers.

Figure 10: People and the law in Nigeria



It is still important to explore the general orientation of the generality of Nigerians to the law. That is whether they have regard for the law at all as a collectivity. As could be seen in Figure 11, as much as 60 percent of the respondents concluded that regardless of class and status, Nigerians generally have problems obeying the law. This may not be unconnected with the weak law enforcement in the country; hence people blatantly disregard the law.

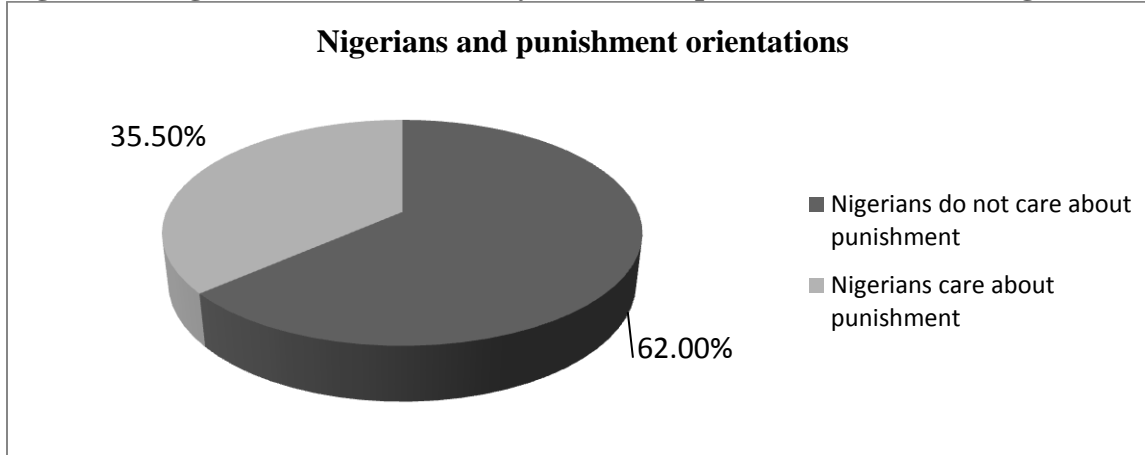
Figure 11: Nigerians and whether they care about the law



Whether a people or an individual will care about the law is a function of if there will be retribution or punishment for violation. It is thus important to unbundle the issues and examine the punishment orientation for outcomes of action. That is, do people actually care about

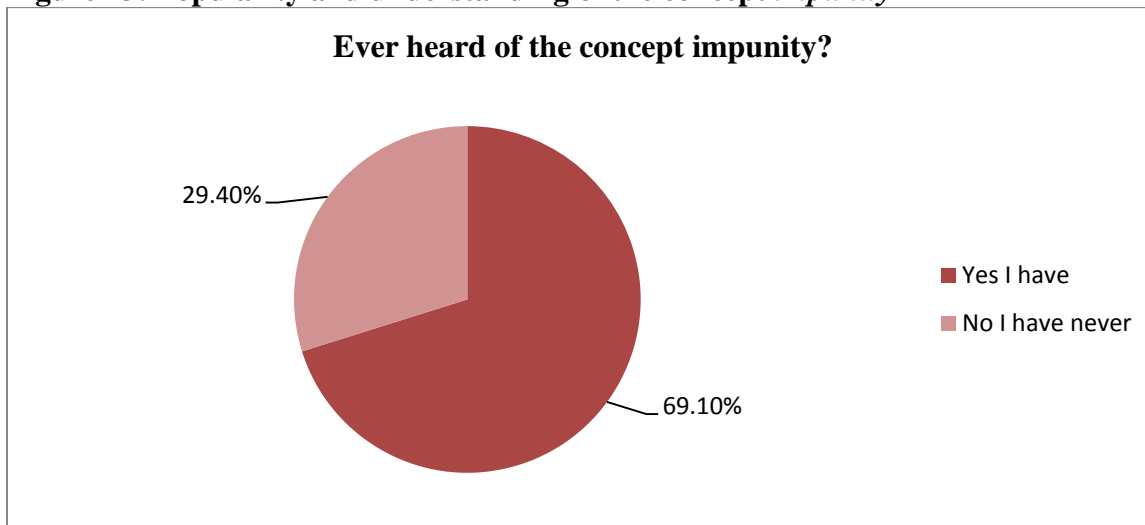
punishment relative to the law? Figure 12 is very revealing. Over 60 percent of the respondents agreed that Nigerians generally do not care about punishment for their actions when breaking the law with impunity because they are aware there will never be any punishment. This is a dangerous trend that needs urgent attention at the level of advocacy and governance.

Figure 12: Nigerians and whether they care about punishment for breaking the law



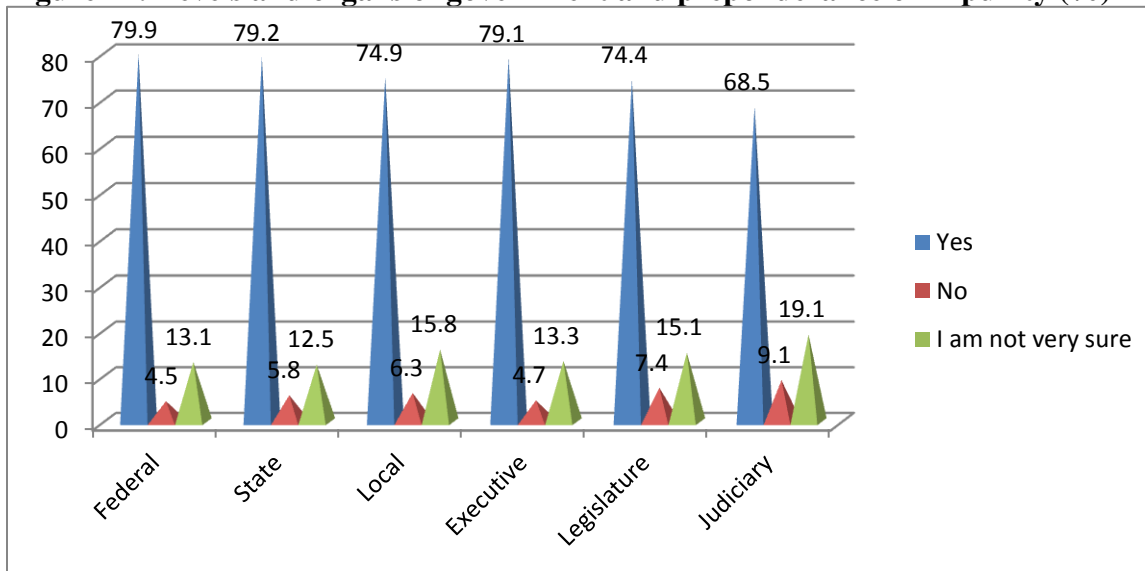
Even though people were aware of the manifestations and ramifications of impunity, it is very important to test the popularity of the concept. This is very important for programming, implementation, IEC design and general engagement activities. As can be seen in Figure 13, almost 70 percent of the people claimed they have heard of the concept. However, 30 percent said they have *never heard of it*. This result is rather high given the fact that most of the respondents have a measure of literacy (86 percent). Findings reveal that generally, people have some appreciable understanding of the ramifications of impunity in Nigeria. When respondents were asked to say impunity in their own way, common response categories, include; 1. Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights to justice (9.2%), Exemption from punishment (22.3%), Violations of rules and regulations (9.8%), Giving people applause for doing the wrong thing (0.7%), I don't care attitude (4.1%).

Figure 13: Popularity and understanding of the concept *impunity*



Respondents were asked to mention the level and organ of government where they observe impunity. This was to adopt a *respondents' centered approach for data validity* (RCAfDV) on the indicator. As presented in the Figure 14a majority of the respondents claimed that there is preponderance of impunity at all the levels and organs of government (over 70 percent except for the judiciary). It is noteworthy, however, that over 10 percent point margin difference exists between the executive organ and the judiciary as well as between the federal level and the judiciary. While almost 80 percent of the respondents decried the preponderance of impunity at the federal and executive level/organ, however, about 69 percent observed the preponderance of impunity at the judiciary. While this is not to claim a good judiciary, it is noteworthy that by a difference of 10 percent the respondents did observe less impunity at the judiciary. This must however, be taken with care as the people must have responded due to some landmark judgments by the bench in recent times, which have connected with the people and tallied with public sentiments. These include, for instance, the conviction of Bode George of corruption and the upturning of some election results like those of Ekiti and Osun States

Figure 14: Levels and organs of government and preponderance of impunity (%)



For a robust and comprehensive data gathering and presentation, qualitative data were also gathered and analyzed thematically. This is to complement the quantitative findings for validation and/or falsification. On the *understanding impunity* measure, the findings of the qualitative data are in tandem with the quantitative findings. This shows a high level of data consistency. A member of the House of Assembly in Gombe State said:

The laws are made by National Assemblies but the issue is that usage of these laws is not favourable to all. Impunity generally happens at all levels of government as well as at all organs of government

On the courts and dispensation of justice, an official of Code of Conduct Bureau in Gombe maintained that:

Yes, in fact the judiciary is actually trying her best but still it has more to do on these issues because they resist general complaints and the cases are being delayed or they are not handled at all that is why you find prison yards are always packed up with people awaiting judgment. So the judiciary should speed up again, should add more to what it is already doing, that cases should be looked into and handled because it is there the judiciary that they have this saying that is delayed is denied, so there certain cases that should not be denied. The problem can be identified at all levels of government. In fact the whole three organs at federal, at the state and at the local governments are culpable.

A Police officer at Nsukka LGA gave a very comprehensive view of the trajectories of understanding impunity. He shared his views on the violation of peoples' rights and the punishment of perpetrators in Nigeria at first:

The violation of peoples' right is something that most of us are aware of. Frankly speaking I am not all that impressed when I see what is happening to peoples' right in this our country. It is mostly the poor that are actually punished in Nigeria. Wealthy people (rich people) always have their godfathers and they always use money to get themselves free from being punished. It is very common I will use our local government as an example. I saw some persons being intimidated, you know, they will stop you and insist you park there without proper care for the safety of the individual in question and when you protest, they will beat you up. It is very prevalent across the level and organs of government but most the federal government because it is no news, let's look at the example of Bayelsa state where the ex-governor who embezzled money and shipped them out was arrested by the international body. But he maneuvered and came back to Nigeria and after all said and done, our President granted him pardon. It shouldn't be like that, people should be punished.

The official further shared his opinion on courts relative to speed of prosecuting offenders, prevalence of *I don't care attitude and class/status*:

The only thing is that if you don't have any godfather or if you are not wealthy, your case might be prosecuted and jailed. As far as you are rich, the case will continue to linger in court until the other party is tired due to the financial implications and withdrawn. But if the rich man prosecutes a poor man, he makes sure that the case is decided fast. It is a general thing because most of our leaders are too corrupt and where there is corruption, there is always impunity. From my experience, I can say that when it comes to lower class people, they are scared of going to prison and they always careful when doing thing. But for those with godfathers or wealthy parents, they don't care because they know that when they get there, they will be free. An example was one that happened in this local government. A senator's son and other guys went to rob and at the end, when they were

caught, the other two were killed and the senator's son was released. Punishment is meant for those without godfathers.

Findings at FCT (Abuja) were also consistent with the ones presented above. A Federal High Court official gave a very comprehensive and nuanced view of the understanding impunity in the corridors of power in the country:

Mostly people at various authorities and the high class violate law and order. But all the necessary enforcement agencies that are supposed to punish, fails to do so, due to love for money. And also due to immunity that covers the government official at all levels. So that is why the prevalence of the problem of impunity at federal, state, local government, executive, judiciary and legislature. *The issue of people stealing public money and were never punished in this country* has been a national problem that has been existing for quite a long time now and the government that supposed to tackle it is the main people that are doing or practicing impunity. It has become a cankerworm that is eating the fabric of our nation. Examples of government officials that steal government monies are Joshua Dariye of former governor of plateau state, who is now a senator. Look at the like of former governor of Edo state (Lucky Igbinedion), Lawan Farouk, Otedola, Dimeji Bankole, The former governor of Bayelsa, James Ibori of Delta state Abacha and OBJ and so on. They are uncountable yet no body to probe them. So the reality is that there is nobody that is found in the act that has been brought to book. So this has given room for more impunity at all the levels of Government. Almost all the bodies that have been given authority to prosecute offenders have also been corrupted by the same hand that put them there. Take for example, EFCC, ICPC, SON, Police and The courts. So the community of the government officials makes prosecution to delay. And which make most cases die naturally at all the government levels and organs.

On class and the political class he said:

The rich and political are always known to be above the law. Based on the way government has made them to be superior before the law. So no matter what they do they cannot be punishing so it applies in all levels of government.

Concerning *I don't care and/nothing go happen when breaking the law in Nigeria:*

It has become our trade mark because people always feel that once you do any wrong thing you easily get away with it so since there is no punishment most times they now cultivate habit of doing wrong acts or deeds. So since most government officials have been involving in corruption and they get away with it that now give them guts to perpetrate the act of impunity at all the levels of government. Most people in Nigeria knows that once you are connected (godfatherism), rich or government officials and you steal

government money you are cover by the immunity so is like being cover by insurance. So the mindset is that nothing will happen to you. That is the attitude of the government officials this now even make the common man to believe that since it has becomes a fashion, they too now enjoy in misbehaving or breaking law because I also feel is a lawless country.

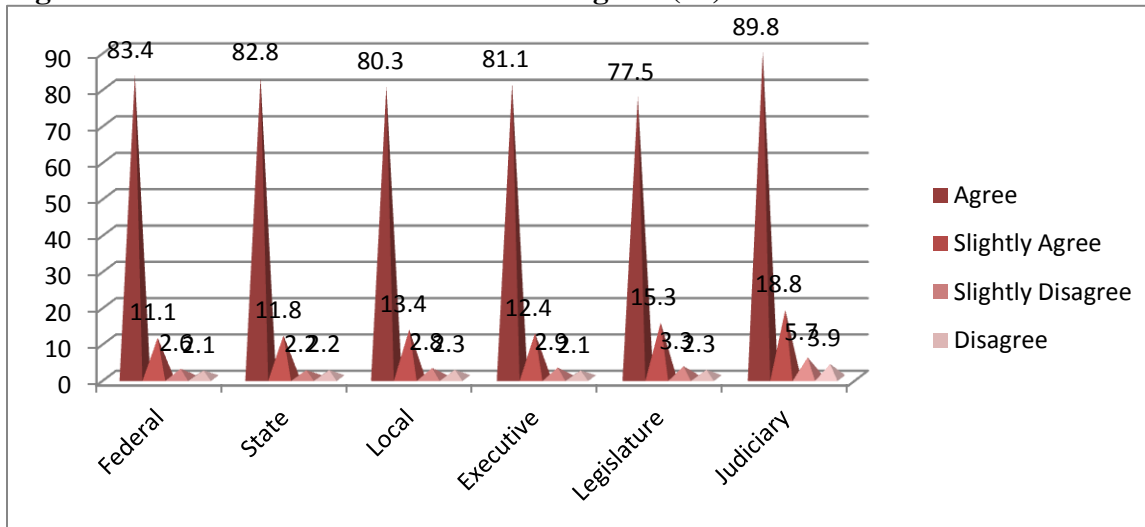
An EFCC official also gave a very useful view of the understanding of impunity in Nigeria: **On understanding of impunity generally**, he said;

It (impunity) is taking action and steps without recourse to law or due process. For example if somebody offends you, there are ways of going about it. You will ask the person “why did you do this” and further report the person to the police station or if you are in an office setting you can report to the boss. Impunity involves maybe you perceive that somebody insults you and you just beat him up. It is multifaceted and more obvious with less opportune people like Agbero, Okada Riders Touts but it’s more glaring with security agencies like the Police, Lagos State Traffic Management Authority (LASTMA). Even private individuals are products of impunity within their own areas. **On awareness and accounting for the degree of impunity in the country:** there is so much lawlessness pervading the country, insecurity, poverty and boko haram those are the people with the highest rate of impunity just go kill innocent people anyhow without any reason. And government is not able to tackle them effectively and so they keep doing it and so the degree of impunity in Nigeria is very high because there is no scope and they become embolden to do more and more.

4.3. Fiscal Responsibility

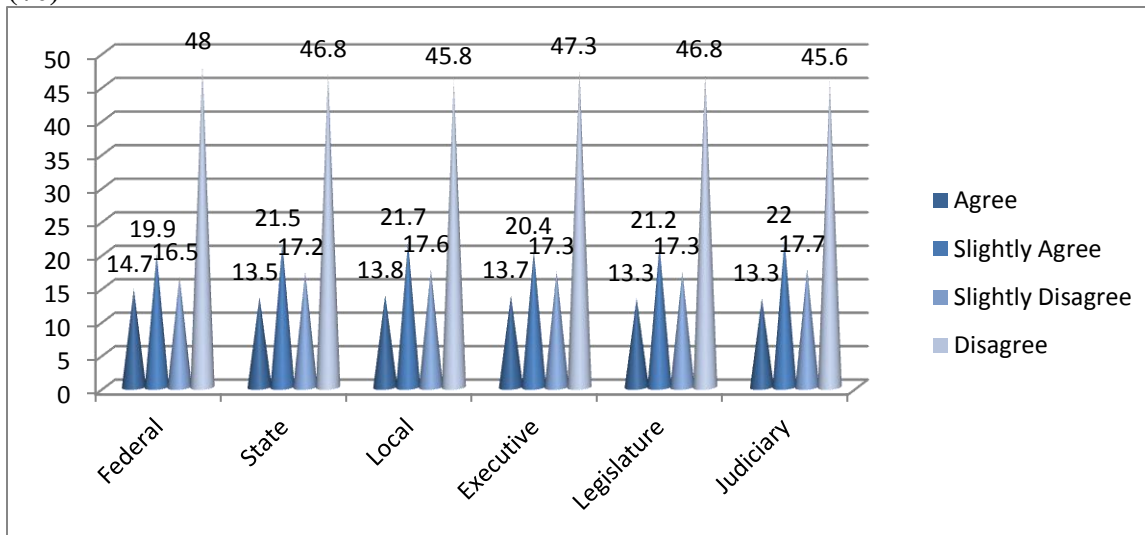
Fiscal responsibility is a critical component in the measure and capturing of impunity globally, especially in the developing nations. This is more so in nascent democracies and societies with weak budget and financial monitoring institutions and systems. This research project thus captured the ramifications of this measure scientifically. The first ramification examined was commonality of fund diversion. Overwhelming majority of the people sampled insisted fund diversion is common in Nigeria. This is consistently so across the tiers and organs of government as presented in Figure 15 below.

Figure 15: Fund diversion is common in Nigeria (%)



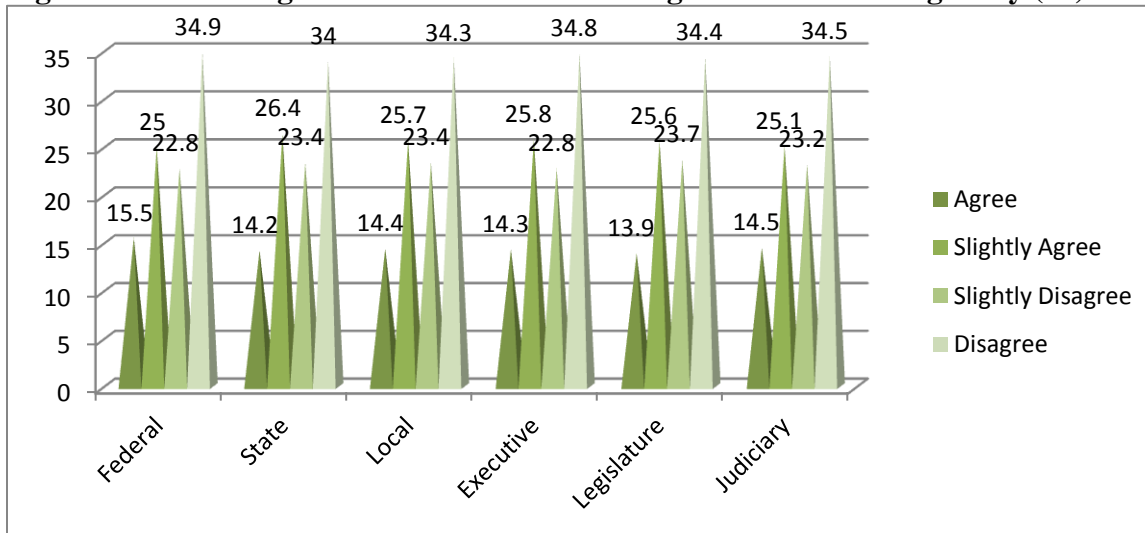
It is also important to capture impunity by non-release of public fund which is another important measure. As shown in Figure 16, over half of the respondents maintained that when funds meant for public projects are not released promptly, completely or at all in Nigeria, culprits are never punished under the law. This makes fund diversion related impunity very prevalent across organs and tiers of government.

Figure 16: Culprits are not punished when they don't release money for public projects (%)



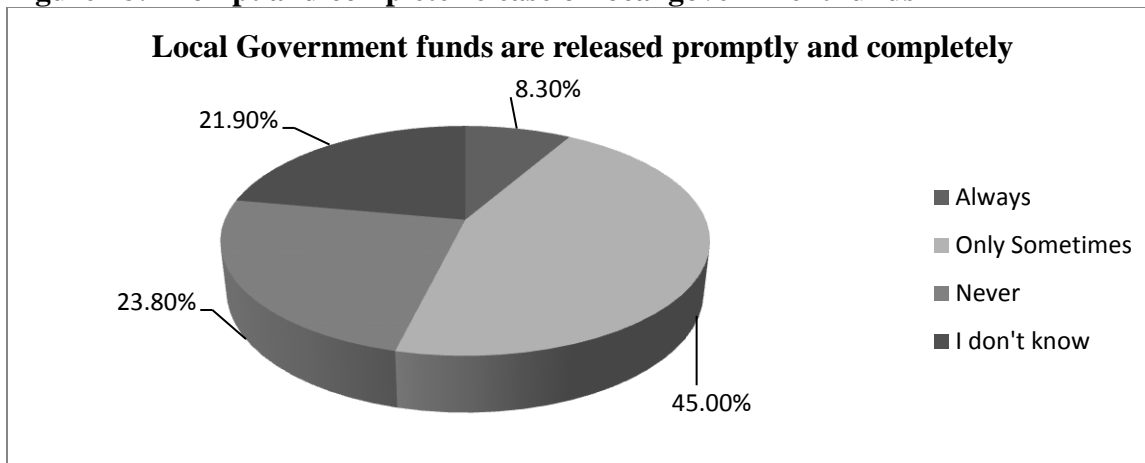
A veritable way of preventing corruption and impunity is audit of financial activities. Irregularity in the audit frequency and intensity is a good indicator of impunity. As such, this indicator was x-rayed. As presented in the figure below, over half (>50 percent) of the people concluded that across all tiers and organs of government, audit of government ministries and agencies are not done regularly.

Figure 17: Audit of government ministries and agencies are done regularly (%)



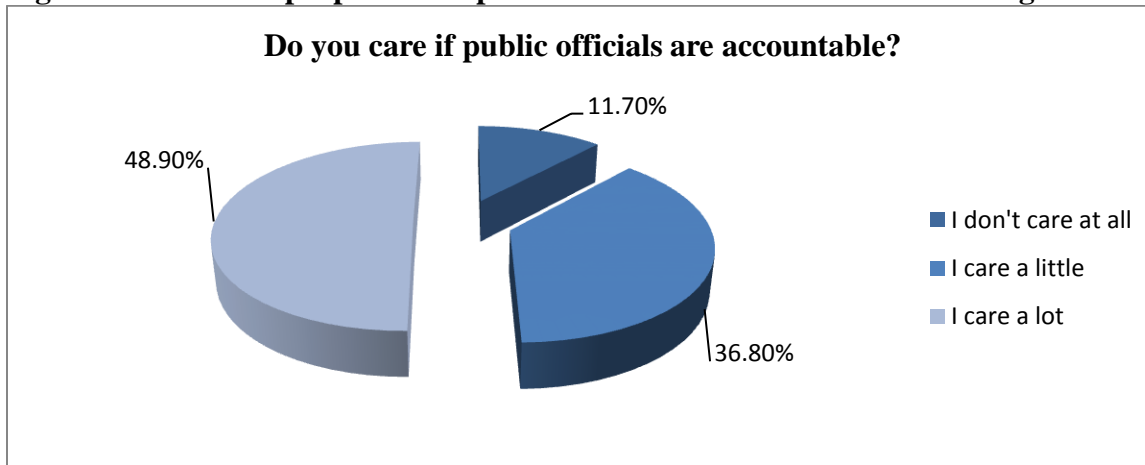
A major component of impunity in Nigeria is the release of local government funds (LGAs fiscal/financial autonomy). This was systematically captured from the perspectives of the respondents. As shown in Figure 18 as a single response category, more people opined that local government funds are only *sometimes* released promptly and completely, while another major category observed the case is *never*. Only, very few people (<10 percent) said local government funds are released adequately and promptly.

Figure 18: Prompt and complete release of local government funds



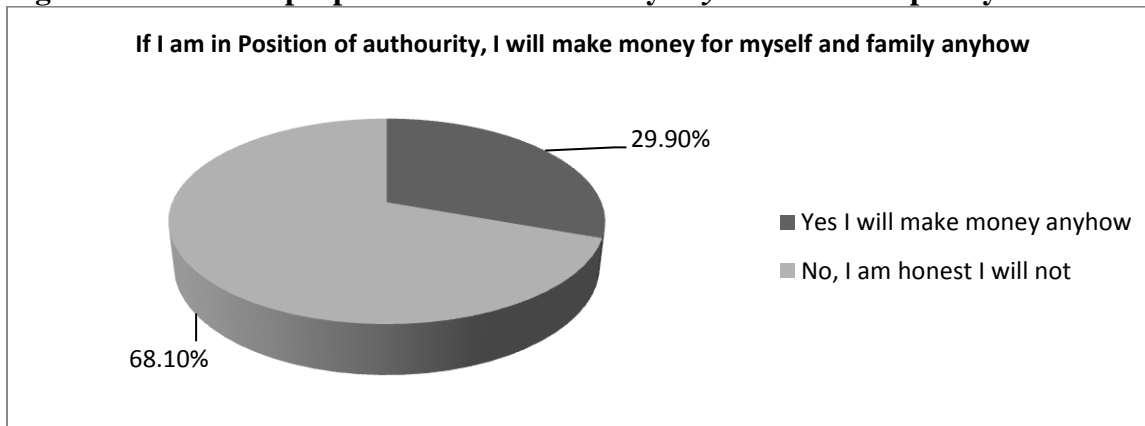
It is interesting to note that most of the respondents claimed they care about accountability on the part of public officials in the handling of funds. As much as >85.0 percent of the respondents insisted they are concerned about how funds are spent in the country. This is contrary to the commonly held belief that Nigerians are disinterested, disenchanted and apathetic about governance in Nigeria (see Figure 19 below).

Figure 19: Whether people care if public officials are accountable in management of funds



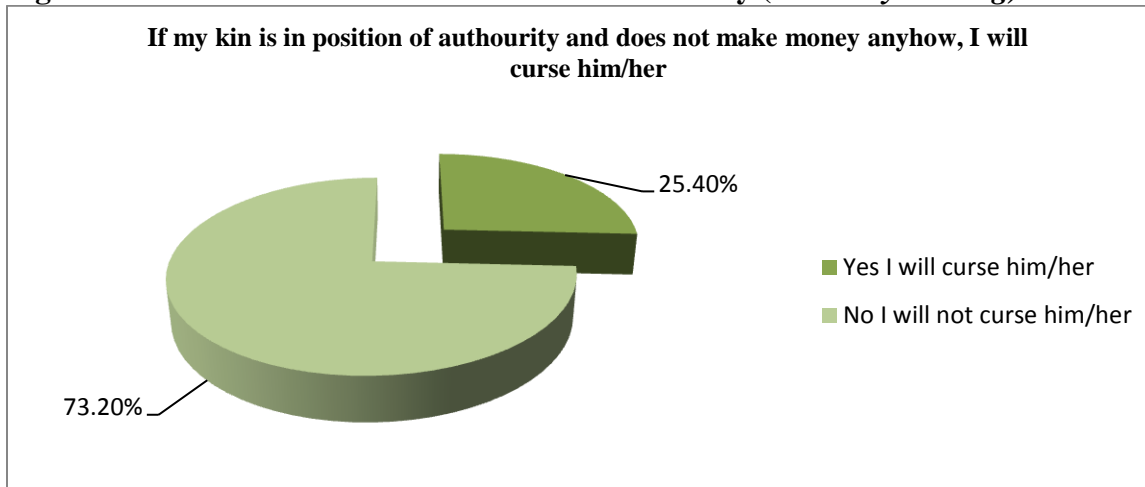
Since impunity is very prevalent in the country, from the foregoing, without retribution and punishment, it is to ordinarily be expected that the ripple effects would be an impunity oriented populace. If this hypothesis is upheld, impunity regimes become formidable necessitating creative and innovative actions and advocacy to reverse. As could be seen in Figure 20, it is interesting and surprising to find that a majority of people interviewed (>80 percent) insisted they will not engage in impunity by fraudulently and desperately embezzling public funds if in position of authority. This is contrary to the popularly held notion about Nigerians as desperate and fraudulent groups of people, with deep-seated impunity characters. This finding suggests a need for a shift of paradigm about Nigerians.

Figure 20: Whether people will embezzle money *anyhow* due to impunity in the country



To further capture public attitude to impunity, a third party indicator prompt was adopted. According to Figure 21, there is consistency between this indicator and the previous one in findings. Over 70 percent of the respondents concluded they will not curse kin who refused to embezzle in positions of authority. This further suggests that unlike common belief that primordial relations compel political office holders and people in positions of authority to embezzle public and/or private funds in their custody, anti-social/embezzlement orientations are not too ingrained/rigid and is not to be seen as given.

Figure 21: Attitude to kin's embezzlement in authority (*Authority stealing*)



The quantitative findings above were also tested and complemented by quantitative data. It is noteworthy that a huge consistency exists in the findings through the two sets of data. Some cases and views; ethnographic summaries are presented below.

According to an EFCC official in Lagos responding to the question on the ways and manners people steal public money and are never punished in Lagos State:

It is a throwback to the enforcement we are saying. In Nigeria there are so many laws to check mate corruption especially in public office and public officers' embezzlement of public funds from local/state/federal governments, houses of assembly, legislature but there is no proper enforcement. For example, EFCC and ICPC were set up to curb corruption in government offices. They have tried their best in the larger society but when staff of ICPC and EFCC put together are less than 5,000 how are they supposed to effectively checkmate 150 million and above how? And in any case every government i.e ICPC or EFCC are political structure more or less. So they would need the political will by the government of the day. We can see from the regime of Olusegun Obasanjo who set up ICPC and EFCC he had the political will to a large extent to give the necessary bite to these two bodies. But we notice that after the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo the fight against corruption has dwindled. The fortunes of these two bodies especially EFCC have practically gone to sleep. Whereas if they were sharpened properly to do their work. Yes, it would not end corruption and graft in Nigeria, but it would discourage it. No proper regime of enforcement put in place but that's why we have so many cases of even local government level. They embezzle money and it does not even come to light and even though it comes to light nothing is being done about it. And if we continue like that until the proper political will and bracing act of corruption and graft are tackled.

In a related fashion, a judge in Benue observed:

Funds to a large extent are not managed properly because if they are managed properly we won't be suffering from bad roads, poor electricity, and the list is endless. You see that funds are diverted up to the extent that sometimes salaries are delayed. Take for instance, the case of Maina, many of those pensioners are sure are dead already, their families go hungry and cannot even take care of themselves.

An official of the Public Complaint Commission (PCC) at FCT Abuja (2013) shared her views on the situation where people steal public money and were never punished.

It is very common, you hear a lot of people stealing, embezzling, looting government money but who punishes them. Nobody, all these are done at the top management level. When any allocation comes in, they sit there and share the money after all who will question and if you do, they will buy you with the money. In some ministries and government offices, salaries, entitlement what have you are not paid to workers yet the money has been given. Some even go to extent of lodging the money into their accounts so that they can use the interest when their workers are suffering. At times, because their politics is all about compensating themselves, those who do not care for their workers are put in there as Director-Generals, Permanent Secretary etc. In these cases what do you expect happen? All these things are happening in our offices but people are not given the opportunity to speak what they see.

Findings based on group consensus from FGD among men in AMAC (Abuja Municipal Area Council) were consistent with ones above:

Discussant 6: Actually the issue of stealing public fund and getting scot free is because nobody gets punished for it. The impunity itself we should understand is more danger as than corruption.

Discussant 8: Impunity has to do with stealing because I will always get someone to cover me.

A respondent, The Attorney General/Commissioner of Justice of Kano state, during KII (Key Informant Interview), also gave a consistent view on Fiscal Responsibility in Nigeria:

This (stealing of public fund and fiscal irresponsibility) is common, and it occurs across all levels, only that it is more common in certain areas than others. **Cases:** past administration in Kano State awarded a fraudulent contract for purchases of vehicle worth over 100 million few weeks before it handed over power to the present admin in 2011. Most public office holders particularly top level officials are corrupt elements and do not perform their functions according to regulation. The checks and balances put are not functional enough to regulate activities and the way funds are manage, hence leading to wastage and stealing of such funds. This

problem is however more common at the federal level e.g. police pension fund scheme where billion of naira were stolen and the perpetrators were released for example. The government at that level promotes corruption for recruiting individuals lacking in personal integrity. **On prevalence**, prevalence: more common and on the increase in the federal government is more or less in the state and local government level due to proper checks and balance. **On Fund diversion**: today the federal government is more or less broke because there is no account ability & sincerity. Oil bunkers are friends to the local government, collaborate with government officials. **On regular auditing of accounts**: This only exists on paper, not done properly due to corruption very common extra measures should be taken to control this problem or else we find ourselves in serious problem.

Findings of FGD conducted among educated females, 18-30 years at Okrika LGA Rivers State, are also consistent with these results.

Respondent 3: They refuse to be audited because they have skeleton in their cupboard.

Respondent 7: "They are afraid of the EFCC that is why they always run to court to stop them from auditing their accounts.

Respondent 8: They (the political class/federal and state governments) release Local Government Fund only when they like and to the Chairmen of the Local Government Council that are loyal to them for instance the Governor of Rivers State refused to release funds meant for Obia/Akpor L.G.A. because the Chairman was not loyal to him, he rather fought through the State House of Assembly for that the Chairman will be removed.

KII with a village head/community/opinion leader at Benue State further corroborated the findings above.

Before petroleum was discovered in Nigeria, funds were properly managed because it was not much but with the discovery of petroleum, funds were mismanaged because there is money everywhere. **On Fund diversion**: very common the prevalence is very high in the executive arm of government at all levels. **Why?** Greed on the part of the executive. **None release of project funds is very common** the prevalence is very high in federal and state government and the executive organs of government. **Refusal to be audited**: in any situation in which people in public office or public office holders refused to be audited there are some secrets which they don't want the government or the public to know about. **On none release of local government funds**: since the local government begins to operate a joint account with the state government, the local government has been denied access to the funds due for it and this has

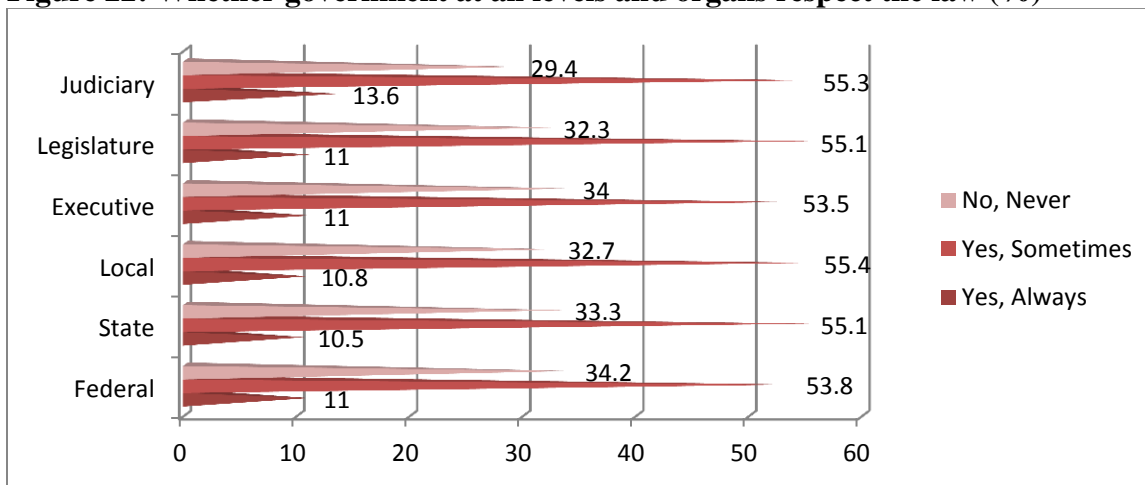
hindered development at the local government level very much. **On the prevalence of this problem** it is with the federal and state government and with the legislature for not allowing the local government to operate independently. **On generality of Nigerians and ingrained fiscal irresponsibility, findings at quantitative level are corroborated at the qualitative level:** we all have our values. Some people may want to have their own share of the national cake any how when they get to position of authority but as for my case it is not possible. Because I will not do it myself even my relatives that get there I will not advise him to do it rather encourage him to be honest.

4.4. Rule of Law

Rule of Law is the hallmark of democracy. For democracy to survive and deliver development, the rule of law must be well entrenched, such that the law is supreme. This is only when impunity can be prevented and be sustainably tackled. Also, the level, degree and nature of adherence to the rule of law will give the trajectories of prevailing rule of law of environments. It is against this backdrop that the rule of law and its elements relative to impunity was captured.

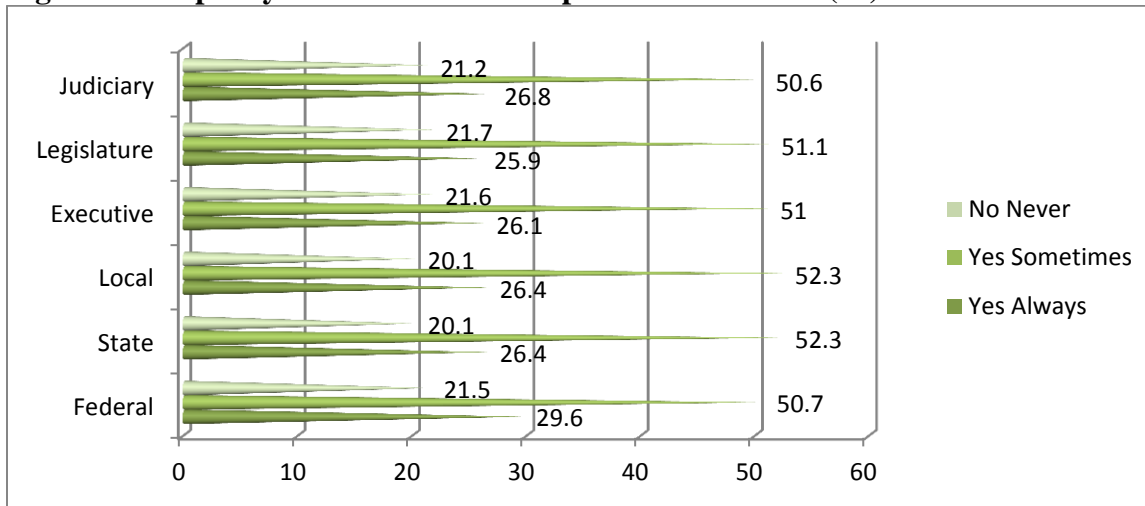
The first issue measured under this sub-theme was respect for the rule of law across levels and organs of government. As shown in the Figure 22, more than 80 percent of the respondents maintained that governments at all levels and organs do not always respect the law. In other words, people in positions of authority only either respect the law once in a while or they never respect the law at all, as they break the law with impunity.

Figure 22: Whether government at all levels and organs respect the law (%)



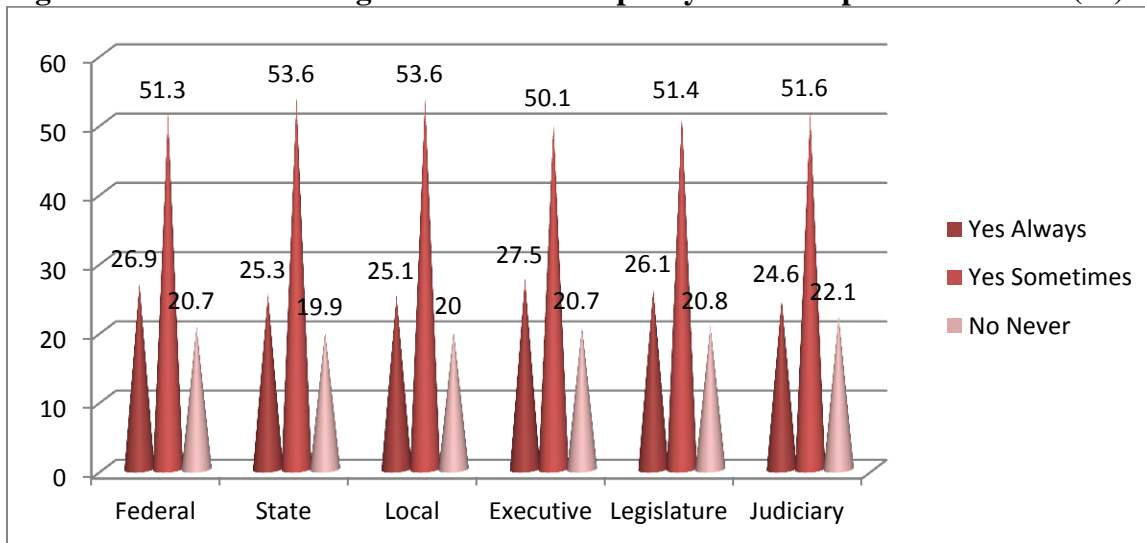
It is very important to identify peoples' worldviews about the capacity of the law to catch up with offenders in the country. This is because there is a difference between the letters of the law and the potency/efficacy of the law to punish offenders and these have implications for impunity entrenchment in the country. As shown by Figure 23 a majority of the respondents affirmed that, at the executive, legislative and judicial organs of government, as well as at the federal, state and local government levels, the laws lack the capacity to catch up with offenders.

Figure 23: Capacity of the law to catch up with offenders in (%)



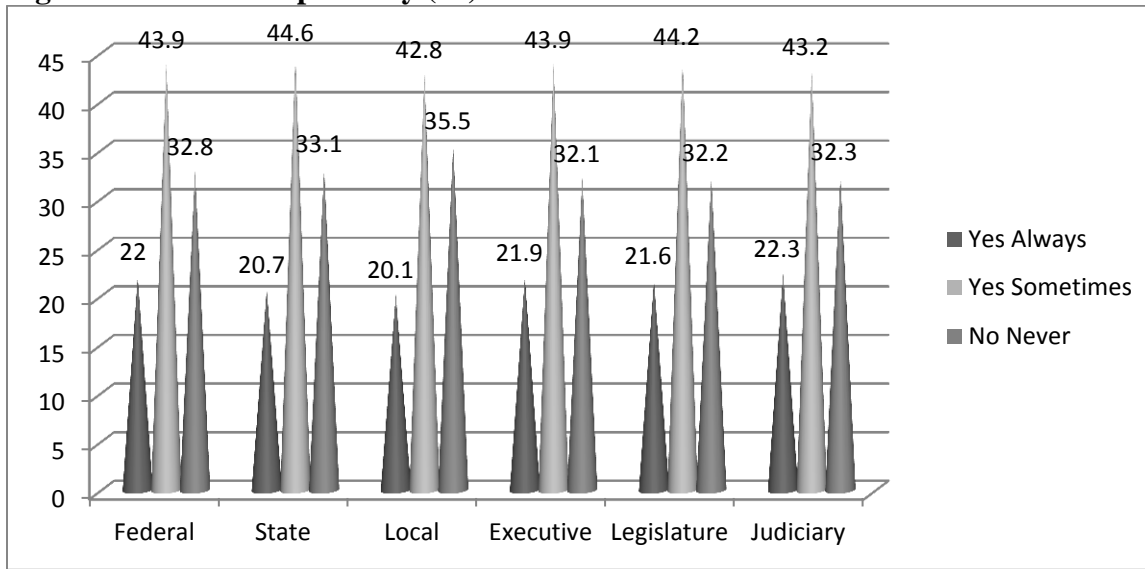
The landmark and cornerstone of democracy and good governance for development is institution building. It is the institutions of government and the state that can sustainably regulate human actions for the ultimate development of the society. Once institutions lack the capacity to deliver on this fundamental remit, consequences can be very grave. It is against this backdrop that the study explored the ligaments of state/government institutions and capacity to bring offenders to justice. Figure 24 shows that an overwhelming majority of the respondents insisted institutions of government and the state lack the capacity to bring offenders to justice in the country demonstrating deep-seatedness of impunity and prolonged pathways to impunity.

Figure 24: Institutions of government and capacity to catch up with offenders (%).



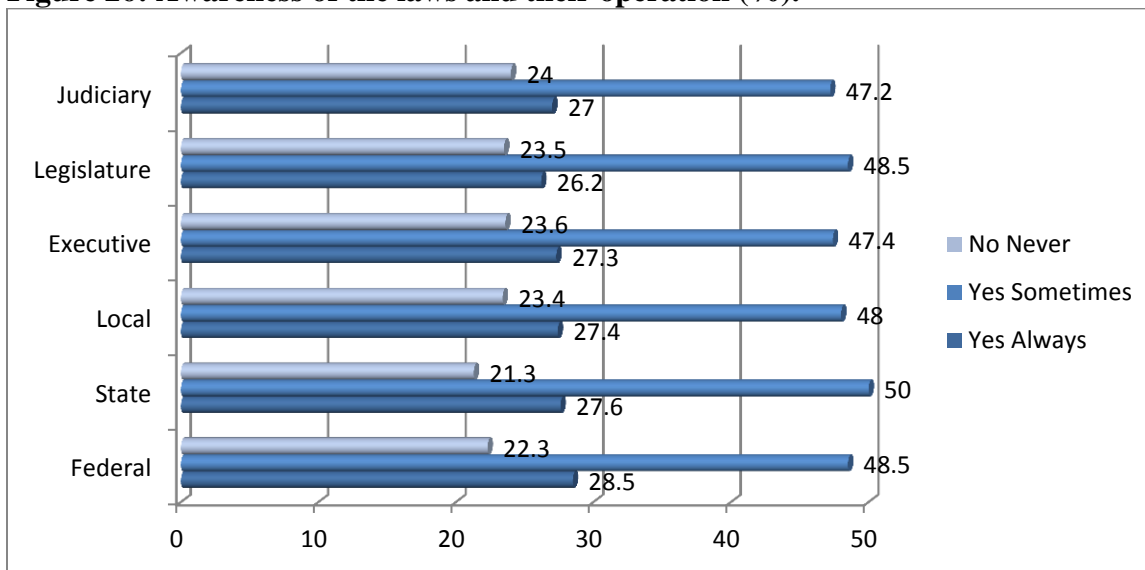
If laws will be obeyed and offenders will be brought to book, it is important for those laws to be publicized for their existences and potency to be known. Although ignorance is not an excuse in law, laws must still be publicized for justice not to be miscarried and for impunity to be minimized in the short run and eradicated in the long run. It is interesting to note that, as shown in Figure 25, more than 70 percent of the respondents claimed laws are never always publicized at all levels and organs of government in Nigeria.

Figure 25: Laws and publicity (%).



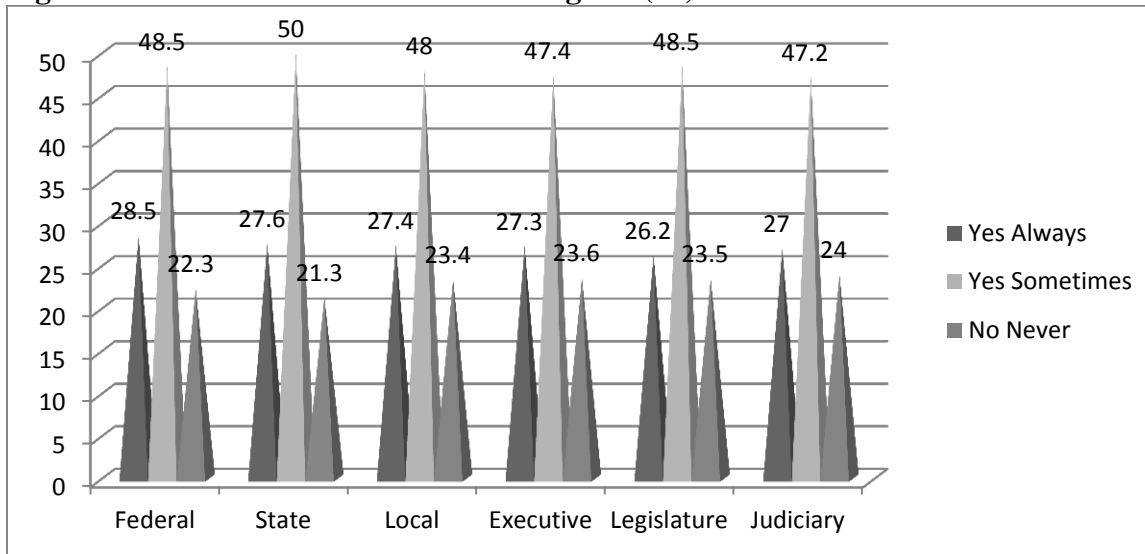
The publicity of the laws was recaptured based on individuals' personal experiences. As shown in Figure 26, more than 70 percent of the respondents observed they are not always aware of the laws and their operations in the country, whether as it relates to the executive, legislature and judiciary or federal, state and local governments. They only sometimes get to know about the laws and their operations or they are not even aware at all.

Figure 26: Awareness of the laws and their operation (%).



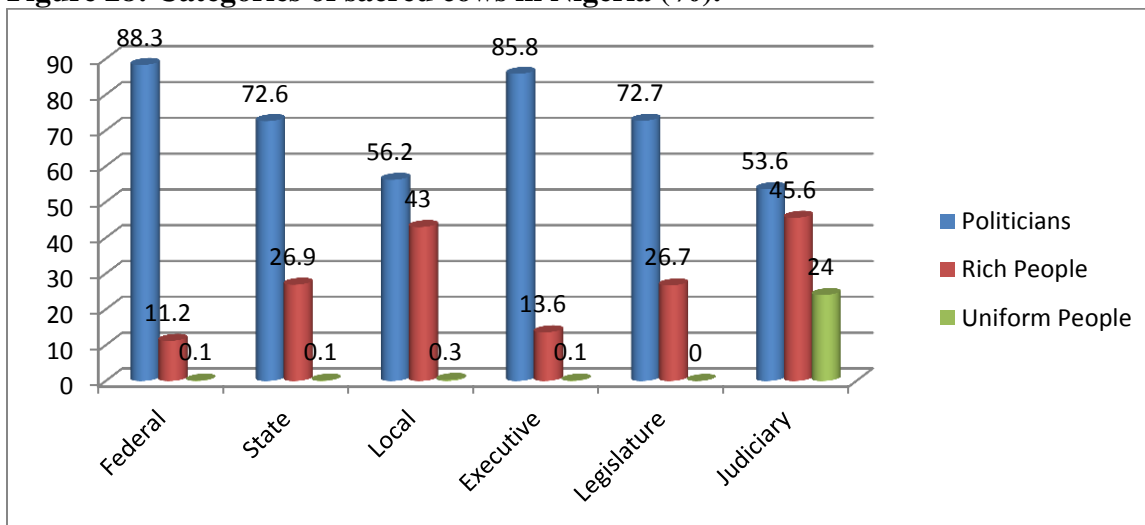
Sacred cows phenomenon also indicates the bounds of impunity. Once sacred cows phenomenon exists in the country, it is a strong indication of impunity. This indicator was therefore, measured in order to comprehensively capture the problematic. As shown in Figure 27, more than 70 percent of the respondents maintained that there are sacred cows too big for the laws in Nigeria at all levels and organs of government.

Figure 27: Sacred cows and the law in Nigeria (%).



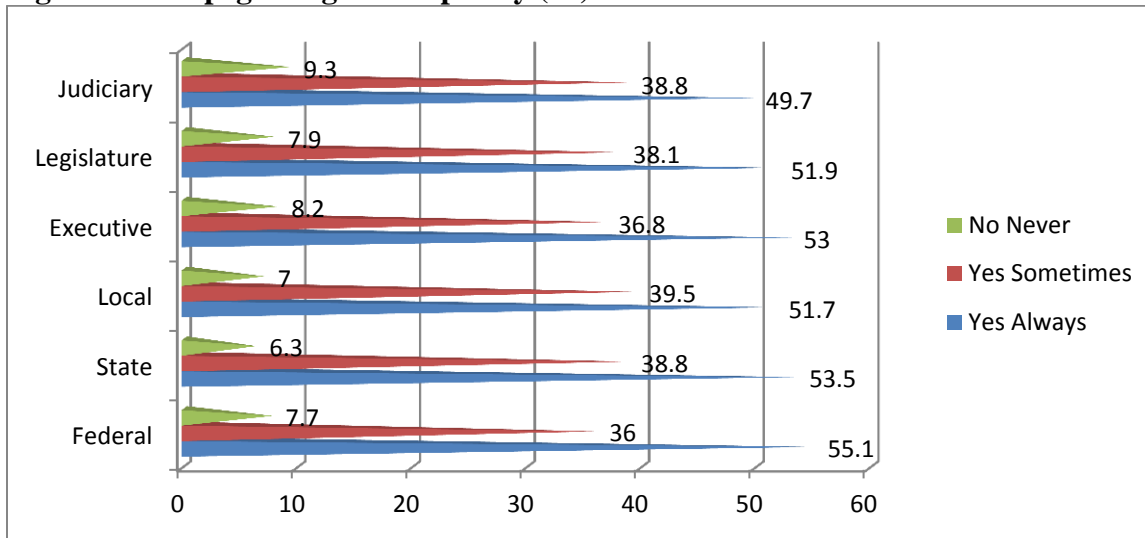
Given the predominant of sacred cows in Nigeria, it was important to identify categories of sacred cows in the country. As shown in Figure 28, the two most prominent categories of sacred cows identified by the respondents were politicians and rich people. The most and commonly identified were the politicians, at all levels and organs of government, but most especially at the federal and executive level and organ, respectively. This was followed by the rich people, while uniformed personnel were the least mentioned. This finding is in tandem with the present socio-political climate of Nigeria as during democratic dispensations the presence of uniformed personnel is least visible.

Figure 28: Categories of sacred cows in Nigeria (%).



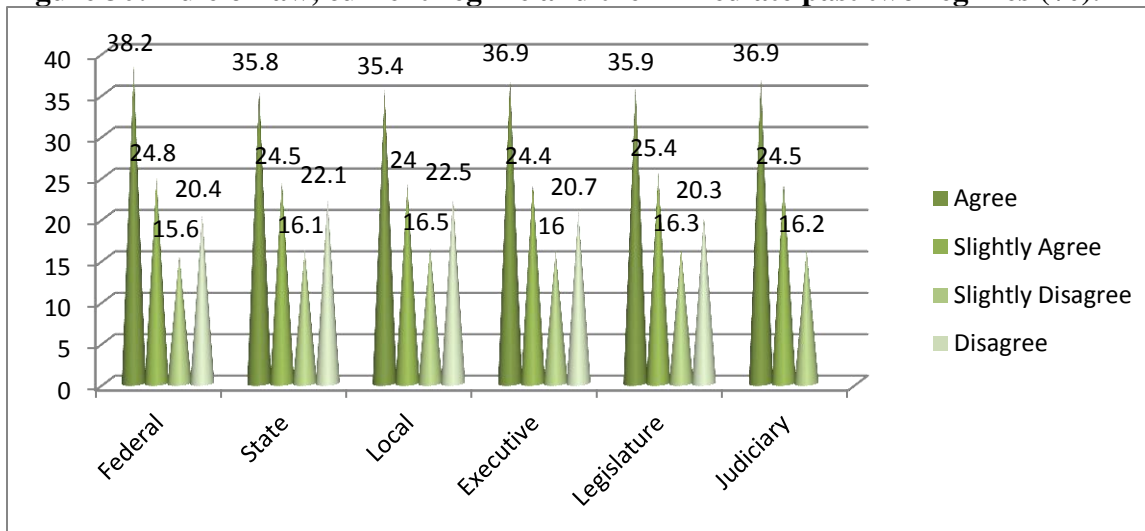
In an attempt to demonstrate the veneer of the rule of law mantra in the country, it is possible to select a few individuals as a show case of the political will to counter impunity. Yet, this is a dangerous act and further signifies preponderance of impunity in the society. The study examined this indicator of impunity. Figure 29 shows that more than 90 percent of the respondents claimed scapegoating is very prevalent across all the levels and organs of government.

Figure 29: Scapegoating and impunity (%).



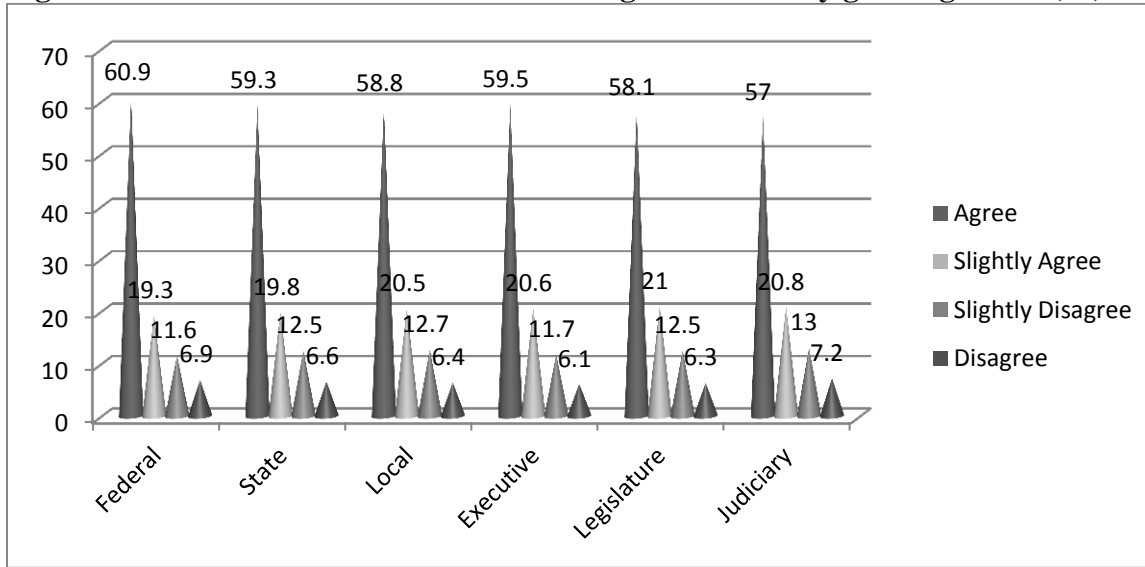
A pragmatic cross comparison of regimes may offer a picture of the progression of the rule of law and impunity in Nigeria. Thus, this was captured relative to the current regime and the previous two regimes. Findings did not give a very clear cut difference of this variable among the regimes. Opinions were fairly divided on the regimes' rule of law and impunity domains. Just about half (50 percent) of the respondents claimed there was better rule of law domains in the previous two regimes than the present one, while about a half maintained there has not been any major difference across the organs and levels of government.

Figure 30: Rule of law, current regime and the immediate past two regimes (%).



Given the importance of progression of the rule of law environments in Nigeria, this indicator was recaptured directly based on the current observed environments. This yielded a clearer finding. A majority of the respondents (around 70 percent) opined that the rule of law experiences and realities in the country, in all the levels and organs of government, are actually growing worse (see the Figure 31 below).

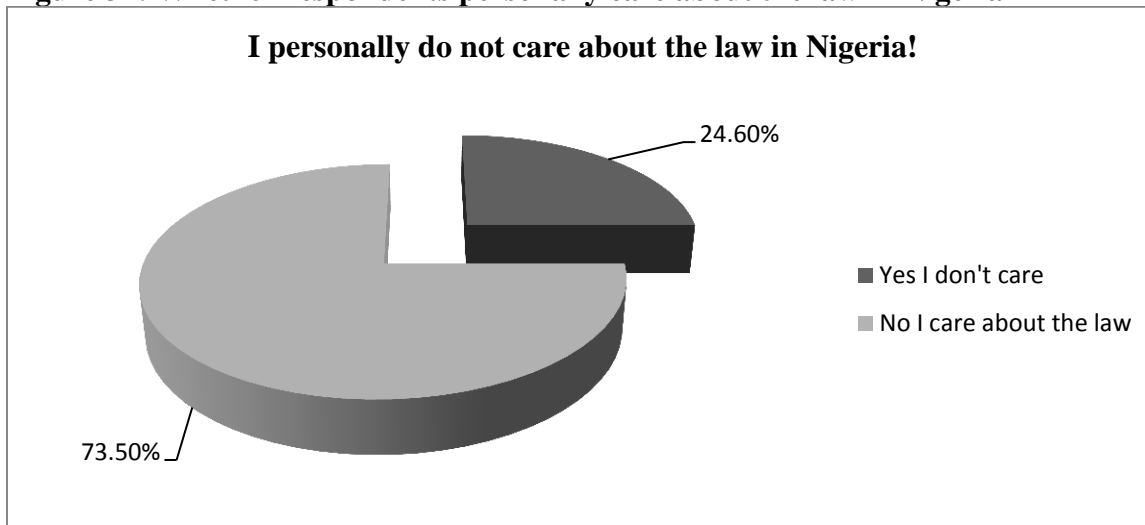
Figure 31: The rule of law environment in Nigeria is actually growing worse (%).



Respondents were also asked whether they care about the law generally. As against commonly held belief that Nigerians are generally lawless, an overwhelming majority (73.50 percent) insisted they care about the law.

Reasons mostly given by the respondents for respecting the laws in the country were; 1. *So that there will be order* 2. *It is my responsibility and I need to do the right thing* 3. *I don't have God fathers* 4. *I am not corrupt and I am a good citizen* 5. *I don't want any embarrassment* 6. *I don't want to be punished* 7. *The system is corrupt already.*

Figure 32: Whether respondents personally care about the law in Nigeria



Qualitative data presented below shows a lot of consistency on the rule of law domains in the country. Across, KIIs, IDIs and FGDs findings were consistent within data and across data.

The laws are strong enough to catch up with offenders; the problem is those saddled with the responsibility of enforcing these laws sometimes compromise their stand. And that is where our problem comes from. The

law catches up with offenders as long as they have been reported and their cases carried to court. Like I said earlier the only issue is that people are not satisfied with the judgment.

(KII/Judge/Benue state/2013)

Another response with high level of consistency was given by the Kano state Director of Public Complaint and Anti-Corruption Commission (2013):

Some government officials, but very few of them, respect the rule of law, don't have respect for the rule of law. At every level, respect for rule of law depend on leadership, if leadership respect it and obeys it others will be forced to also have respect for it. But in this situation whereby the leader are selfish and break the law, what do you expect? Nigeria`s law are fine and O.K. the problem is not with the laws, but is having to do with using such law for the purpose of which they are made. In most cases people are allowed to behave the way they want to behave. We are in a situation of, moral decadence, we are unethnical. Scapegoats exist because such people are very influential. You can find them among law enforcement religious leaders, the legislators or executives, but not the judiciary because judiciary officers know implications of doings thing not in the right way.

The same pattern of responses was found among The Police in Enugu:

The political class and public officeholders don't obey the law per se because they are all corrupt. They spend a lot of money during elections and the president has the sole power to appoint whoever he wants to appoint and the senators will approve. For instance, if you are the Chief Judge and you are appointed by the President, they will flock together because they are of the same feathers. So they do not obey the law and do whatever they like. We have good laws but our problem is implementing it. If our laws are implemented appropriately, I believe that Nigeria will be good and free from impunity and corruption. There are sacred cows in this country and some people are definitely above the law. There is something called immunity clause and it is being used by governors and the president. They use it to avoid being questioned while in power. There are people in this country that cannot be touched no matter the offense they committed.

A female opinion leader in Gombe also shared her view:

The rich ones are the leaders. Those that are the political class are being given lenient landing and consideration in terms of punishment compared to those with no position. The rich usually enjoy this special consideration because the politicians used to beg them to sponsor them activities during politics all these is in our society, but it is not like that because some rich men can find richer than the state Governor itself. Even there are those

that are rich whose riches prevent them from being punished. The feeling of I don't care and/ or nothing go happen when breaking the laws in Nigeria is highly common in the society, especially the political figures. It is always increasing if you have someone at the top you will do whatever you want. At the level of local government it is more. At the state it is more common. At the top level of government this is more rampant followed by state then local government. It is more rampant from the grassroots (local government) because they are located at the remote across so the authority at the top would not know. But for the organs it is too much at the executives, because they are the absolute leaders if they are good, everyone will be good and vice versa, so it is more at executive.

A legislator in Lagos State shared his view (2013) on the rule of law and *scapegoatism* in the country during KII and the views were consistent within and across data, since data collection methods were triangulated:

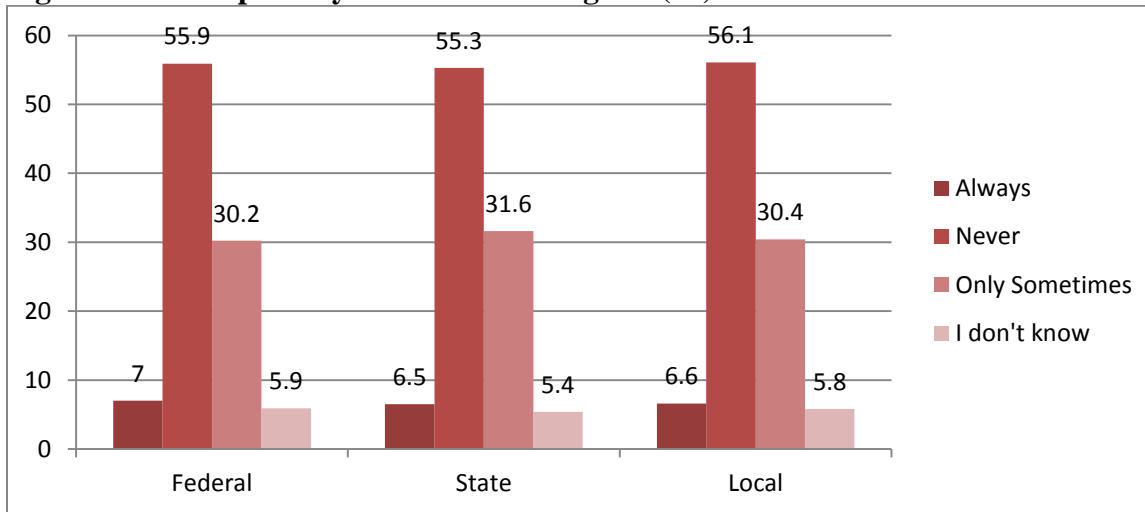
That is the truth (there is *scapegoatism*). Once you are in the government parastatal or uniform you do what you like and by the time they see you even some of the law officers they are to guide the law and see you in uniform even greet you and throw you a salute when they know you are breaking the law and these are the things that happen. Only the less privileged (common man) suffer and are harassed, slapped for breaking a law that they also break. Call it (*esprit de corps*). So it does not work like that, until people that are carrying out the law start obeying the law. In overseas they don't do all that once you break the law, you will not even break the law, I was in United States Of America in a complete quiet area and my taxi driver I saw him at the stop sign he stopped and I asked him hope there is no problem. He said, excuse me this is stop I have to stop even if there is no vehicle coming before I move further and I felt sad because there is nobody, no police and it's a quiet place completely you hardly see two cars it was an isolated area.

4.5. Electoral Process

The process of electing public officials is very critical and crucial in democratic societies. Once this process is fraught with impunity, democratic gains are bound to be compromised. Also, the nature of the process is a good indicator of impunity situation in the country. Against this background, this research explored the trajectories of the electoral process in order to capture the prevalence of impunity within the process.

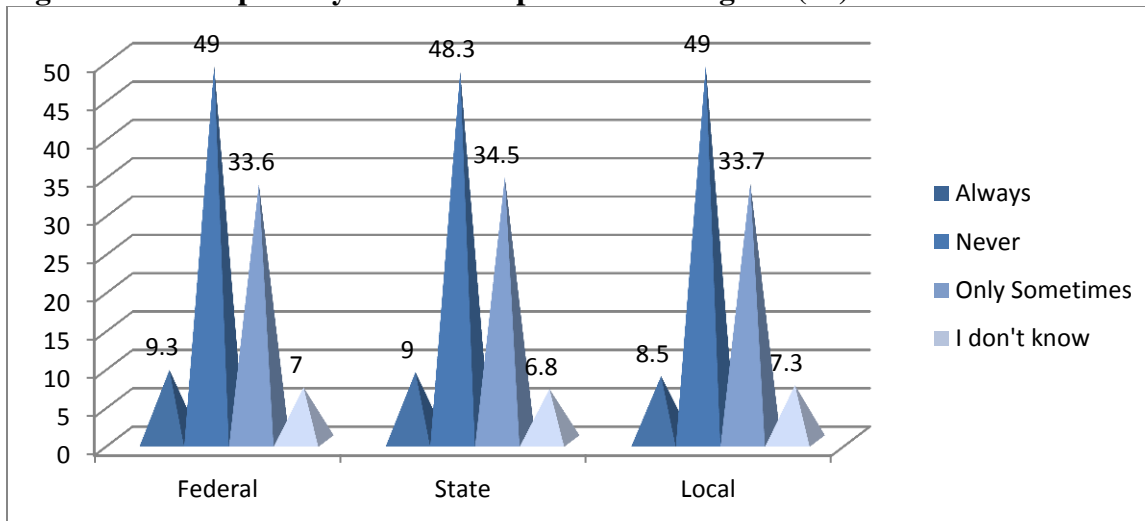
The first indicator examined was the transparency of elections in the country. This was captured only at the three levels of government because these are the levels direct elections are conducted for elective offices. Figure 33 shows that most of the respondents (over 80 percent) observed that elections are *never* always transparent at the three levels of government in Nigeria.

Figure 33: Transparency of elections in Nigeria (%).



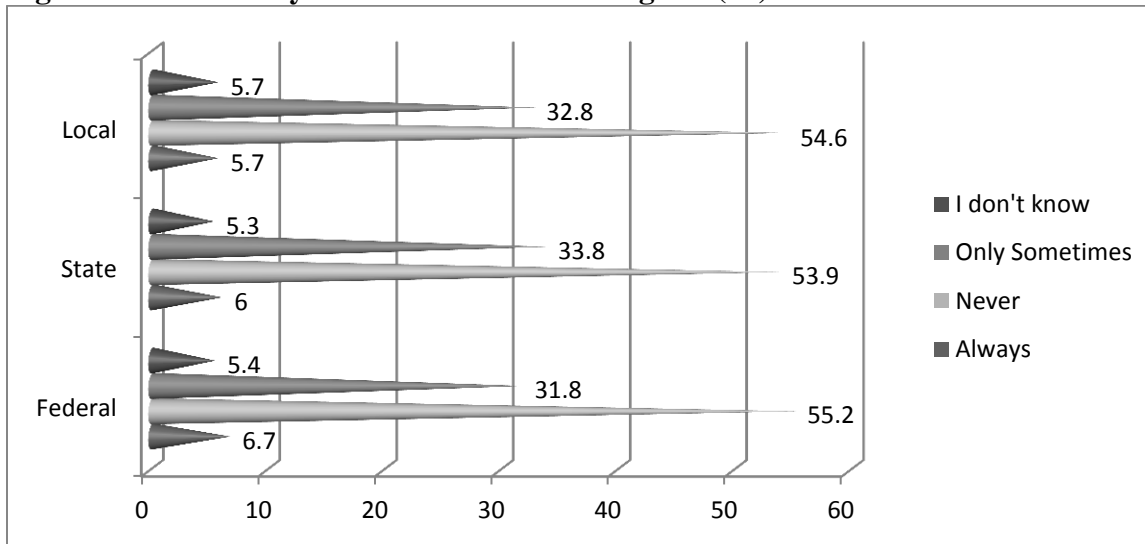
There is a fundamental difference between elections and the processes of election. The only relationship however, is that the processes affect the credibility of the election outcomes. By global standards for democracy, election processes are the most important and they are the most prioritized. Thus, the survey captured the credibility of election process in Nigeria to gauge impunity at that level. Findings revealed that over 80 percent of respondents claimed elections processes are *never always* transparent at all levels of government. In other words, whether federal, state or local elections; processes are abused with impunity (See Figure 34).

Figure 34: Transparency of elections processes in Nigeria (%).



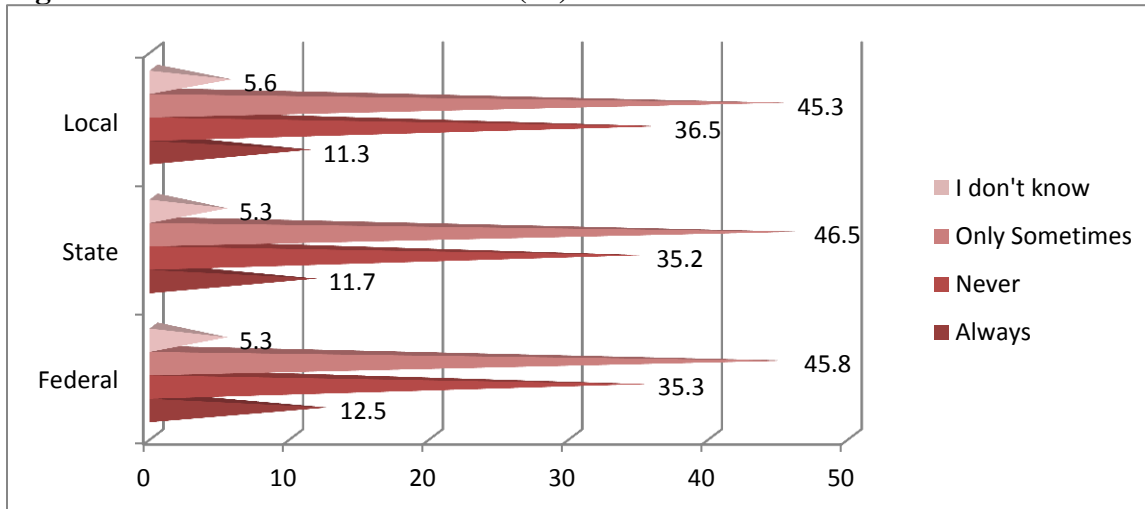
Since elections and processes are perceived as not always credible, it is therefore, not surprising that most of the respondents (more than 80 percent) maintained that elections result in the country are *never always* credible (see Figure 35).

Figure 35: Credibility of elections results in Nigeria (%).



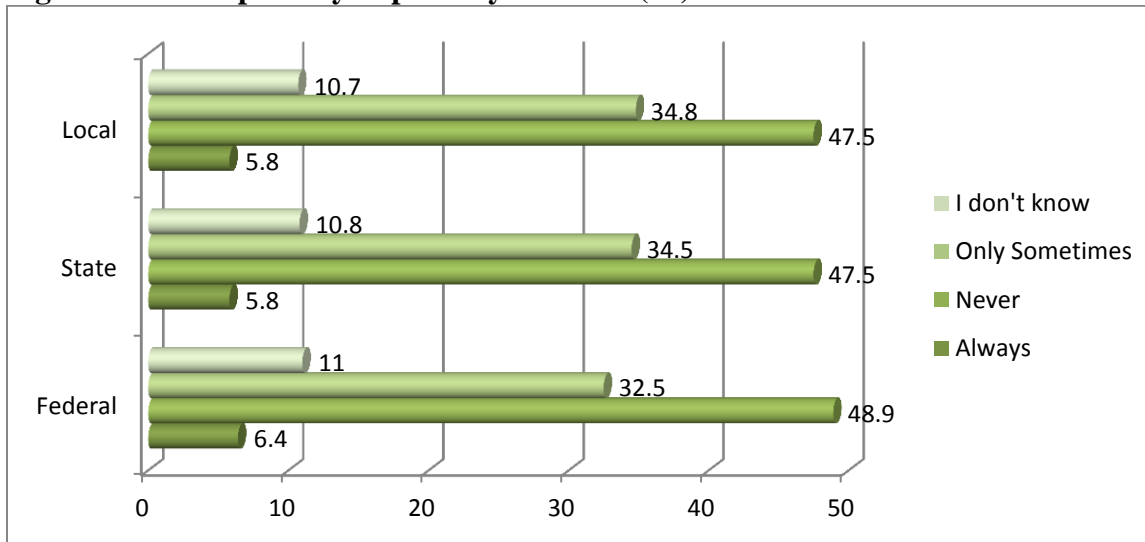
A critical component of democratic institutionalization is voter education. To get the electorates informed about issues around elections and governance so they can make relevant choices and contribute to democratic process meaningfully. Once this is not the case, the electorates are left in limbo and disempowered. As presented in Figure 36, more than 80 percent of the respondents observed that voters are never sufficiently educated in Nigeria, as politicians and governments at all levels operate the democratic space with impunity.

Figure 36: Sufficient voter education (%).



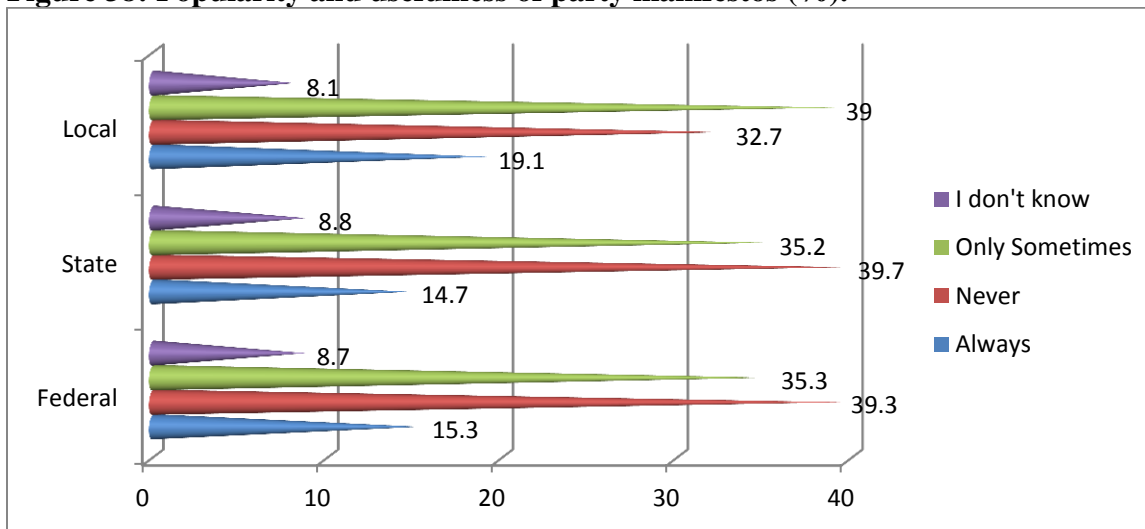
Primary elections are important in democratic systems. It is at primary elections that candidates that will lead parties are selected. Hence, it is whoever parties pick that electorates will be left with and these are the people that will assume authority to lead the nation. It is thus a critical component of the democratic existences of any nation and is thus a good measure of impunity in democracies, especially relative to transparency and credibility. Over 80 percent of the respondents claimed primary elections in Nigeria *are never always* transparent and they lack credibility at all levels of government in the country (see Figure 37).

Figure 37: Transparency of primary elections (%).



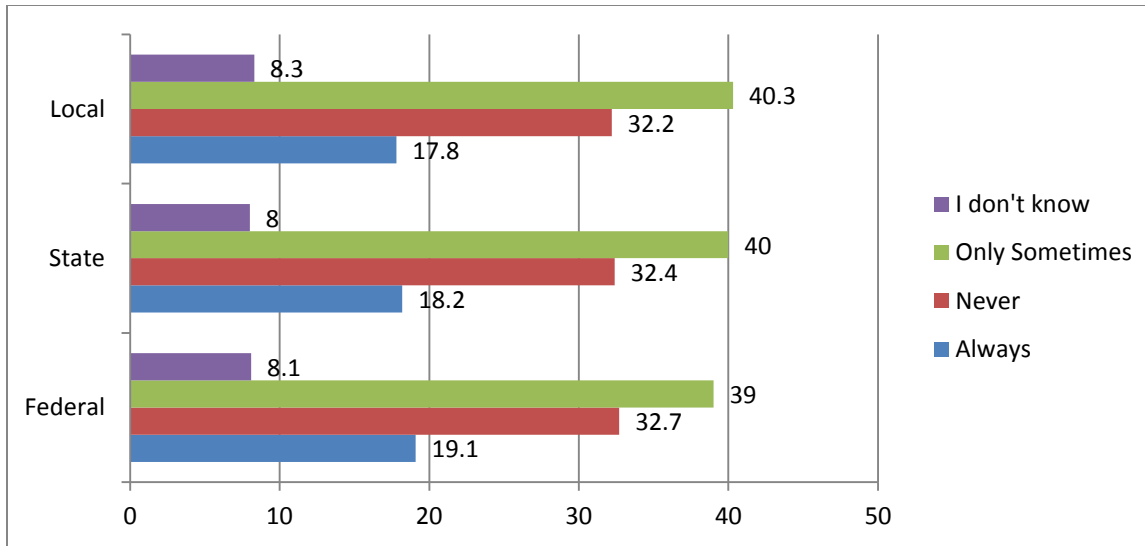
Political parties' manifestos are very useful instrument in democratic dispensations. They spell out programmes of political parties. They are thus political check lists through which electorates assess political parties and hold them accountable. Once party manifestos are not popularly known to the *ultimate consumers* (electorates) and do not serve any influential purpose in the democratic equation, it portends danger, especially when political actors are not called to question. As could be seen in Figure 38, over 70 percent of the respondents insisted *political parties' manifestos are never always popular and they seldom influence voting patterns and election outcomes*.

Figure 38: Popularity and usefulness of party manifestos (%).



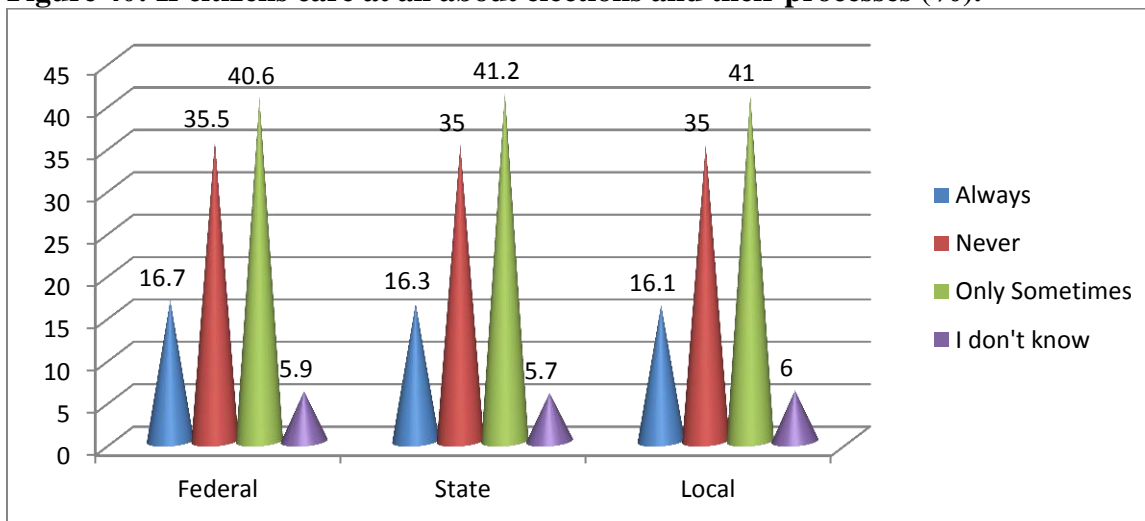
The research also explored campaign related issues, since campaign is the primary avenue through which political parties *sell* their programmes to the electorates and win voters over for elections. More than 70 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that *political rallies and campaigns are never always issues based and they do not always influence the voting patterns of the electorates* (see Figure 39).

Figure 39: Issues based campaigns and influences (%).



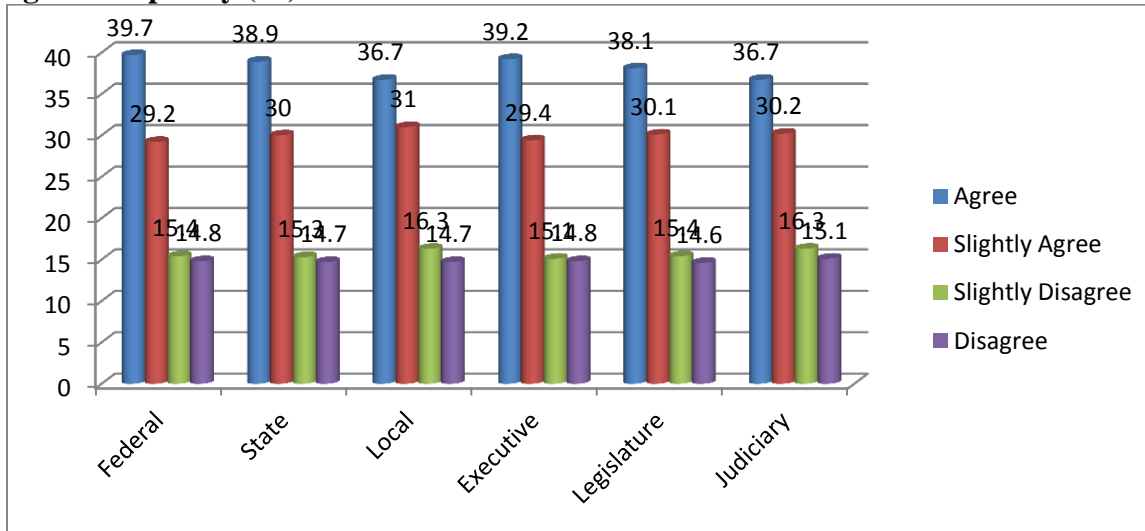
From the foregoing, it is important to know if citizens are already disenchanted with elections and their process given the deep-seated impunity at that level. Over half (>50 percent) of the respondents said they care about elections and their processes. It is important to note however, that only very few of the respondents (16 percent) claimed they always care about elections and their processes.

Figure 40: If citizens care at all about elections and their processes (%).



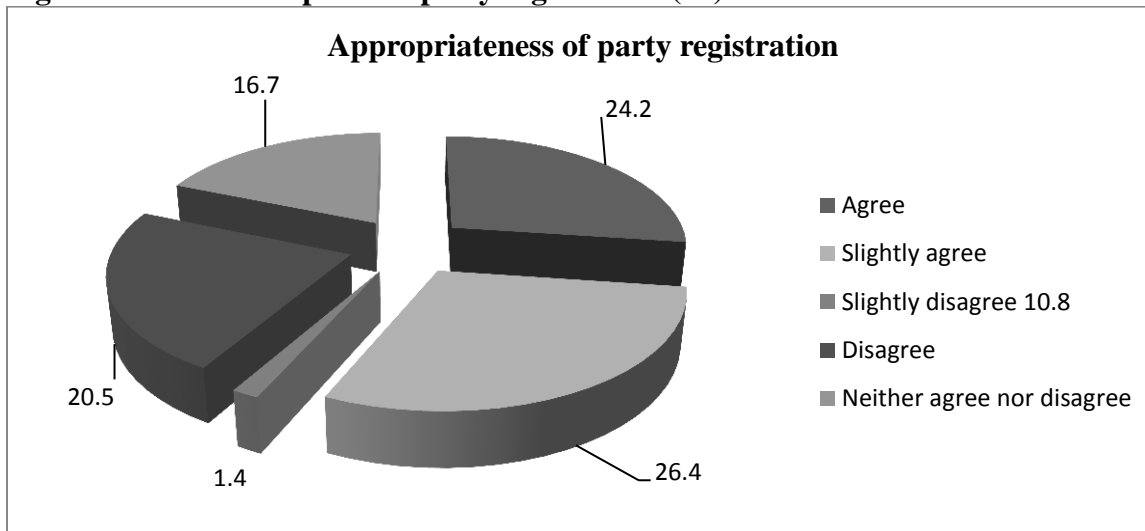
The perceived prevalence of impunity in Nigeria may not be as much of a problem as the perceived attitude of law enforcement officers and organizations saddled with the responsibility of combating the scourge of impunity. Once people see the law enforcement officers as incompetent and frustrated in their duties, the possibility of reversing the trend of impunity becomes somewhat hopeless as the tendency for everyone to engage in impunity becomes enlarged. As presented in Figure 41, about 70 percent of the respondents claimed law enforcement organizations and officers are frustrated in their fight against impunity in the country.

Figure 41: If law enforcement organizations and officers are frustrated in their fight against impunity (%).



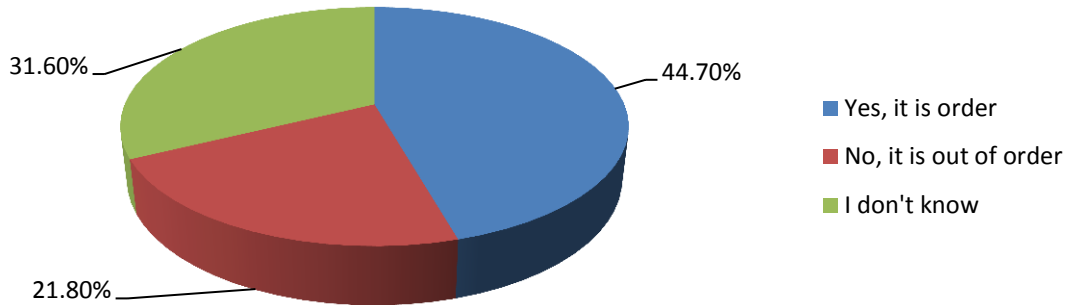
Against the background of the political arena, particularly the delisting of some political parties, respondents were asked their views on these. About one percent of the respondents claimed the process of delisting of political parties was appropriate.

Figure 42: Process of political party registration (%).



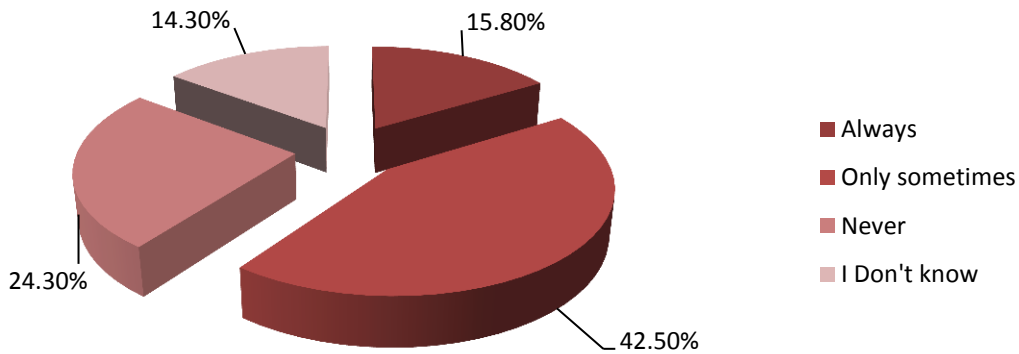
However, opinions were divided on if the delisting of political parties was in order. It is important to note the high *I don't know* response. As much as over 31.6 percent of the respondents did not have the necessary knowledge about the delisting. This shows a high level of ignorance on political issues among the populace/electorates.

Figure 43: Recent delisting of political parties by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in order?



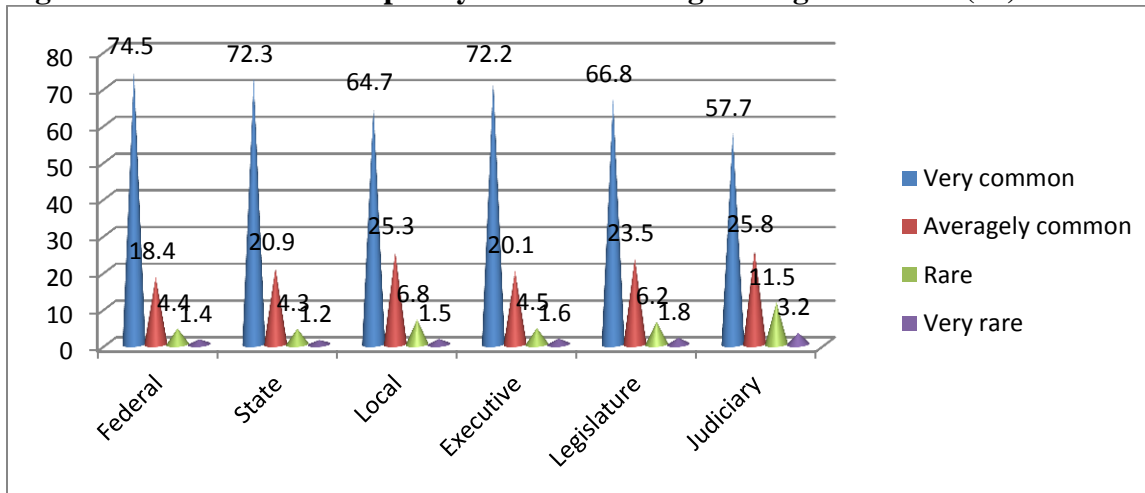
Over 60 percent of the respondents claimed voters' registration in the country is not credible (see Figure 44).

Figure 44: Credibility of voters' registration



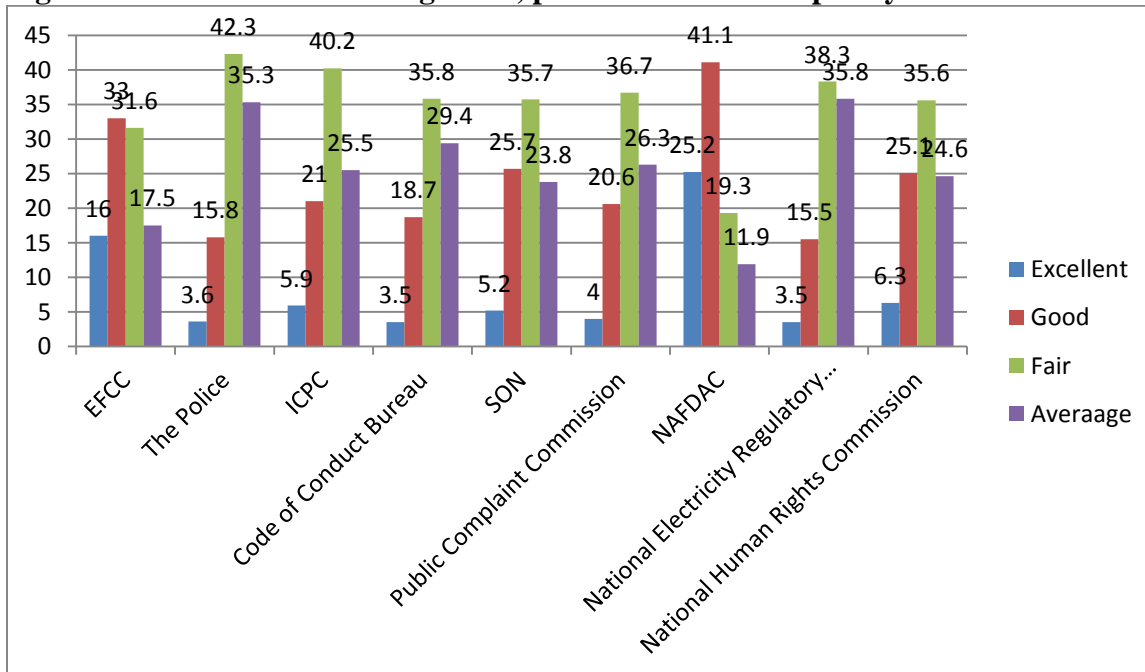
The respondents were asked to assess the prevalence of impunity in the levels and organs of government. This was to enable a very precise finding on the very crucial indicator. An overwhelming majority of the respondents maintained impunity is prevalent at all the levels and organs of government. It is however worthy of note that the judiciary has the least perceived prevalence rate (LPPR), while the federal and executive have the highest (see Figure 45).

Figure 45: Prevalence of impunity in levels and organs of government (%)



Findings were widely dispersed on this rating platform. Very few people rated the organizations as excellent and good, while more rated them as fair and average. It is noteworthy that all the organizations have identical ratings (see Figure 46).

Figure 46: Law enforcement agencies, performance and impunity



FGD conducted among councilors in Okrika Local Government Area of Rivers State, yielded important findings on electoral process in Nigeria (2013). A respondent who captured group consensus submitted:

I want to talk about political parties. It is only in Nigeria that we celebrate party chairmen. In America, do you know who Obama's party chairman is? This is so because there are established rules and procedures in political parties. In Nigeria reverse is the case because the rules are written

in black and white but not carried out. INEC must monitor party primaries with recorders to follow it up. There is what political parties call 'CONSENSUS' and it's undemocratic. Every party is adopting it because the leaders want to be in charge of who contests for positions. The electorate are therefore not given the power to choose who they want. That is why democracy in Nigeria will still be difficult. Whether there are cameras or not, it can still be scuttled, but the most important thing is the personal change of orientation that Nigerians need. Edo state practiced it there was rigging yet it was fair enough. The Governor was in the opposition but he advertised himself in the state and they have seen what they have never seen before. He campaigned for one man one vote it worked out for him because of his developmental strides. If we begin to work towards a higher office, why don't you exercise every vision, skill and policy you have to put projects down for the people to see? It really helps a lot. The issue of selection in parties would be difficult to rule out; it will take us another 100 years again to achieve western democracy. Those societies that achieved this did so through protest and revolution. We need to do the same to cause reform.

A FGD conducted among males in Ajah in Lagos State led to an insightful finding on electoral process:

The quality is very low it is not well organized. The person in charge is not taking care of it well. In this country Nigeria elections are very expensive to plan. The parties should be reduced, the more we have them the more corruption continues. All the parties should be merged. They use the public fund to run elections. Election generally; election violence in Nigeria has on and on. We should still make use of the registration than making a new one because it will cause violence. Elections are not conducted well, primary elections is conducted with money. Nigeria government should please reduce the number of parties. A party are based on philosophers but in Nigeria is based on ethnicity. Election violence has come to stay, we don't have primary elections rather we have primary selection. For example, Obasanjo brings in a candidate etc, manipulation has taken the whole of election processes.

The same pattern of relationship was found during KII with a legislator at the National Assembly:

Party registration, as done by INEC is O.K, with very few problems. But the opposite is the case in respect of voter registration, which is often marred by the irregularities. The same thing applies to party primaries, which is usually characterized by imposition and fraud. Party manifestoes are abstract and hollow in most cases, while campaigns are sometimes marred by violence. Election result particularly at local level, lack credibility.

A judge at the FCT Abuja also shared her view on elections in Nigeria during KII (2013):

Well am not a politician so I have no idea about the processes before elections. But I think based on the uproar in the country an assessment of elections in Nigeria have not been credible and fair, be it local, state, federal, executive, legislative, and this brings about violence in some parts because people feel their votes have not been counted.

A Village head in Karfi, Kura LGA, Kano State also gave a consistent view on the electoral process in Nigeria during KII (2013). According him:

Electoral, world over is the backbone of a true democratic system. In Nigeria, it is a different case because *election is a do or die* affair. This culture of *do or die* has eaten deep into our electoral processes thereby making it weak due to lack of transparency and more prominent is the violence that always comes with it. In fact, one can readily submit that, there is nothing positive to write about our electoral processes. The registration process, campaigns etc are all characterized by one shortcoming or the other.

An official at the National Orientation Agency (NOA) gave very practical, dynamic and comprehensive views on the Nigerian electoral process in manners that are ultimately consistent with earlier findings (KII/2013/Enugu State):

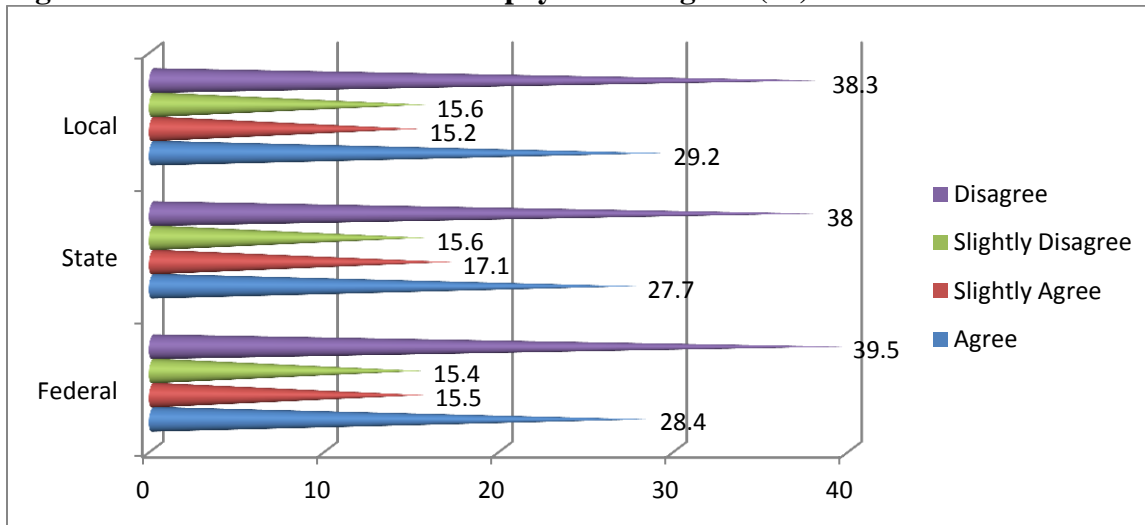
The truth is that because of greed, because everyone now wants to be government functionary so that they can join in the meeting. Today we were at National Examinations Commission (NECO) to see how they conduct examinations and make sure it does not leak. I am trying to liken NECO to elections because they move essential and non-essential materials just like elections. People fail to get what they want. If the materials are not delivered on time, there is no way it can be retrieved before 3 pm to deliver and sort at the polling centers. If you deliberately plan to fail there is no way you will succeed but if you want to make a mark, then you clean the system. The use of Ad Hoc staffs by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has been criticized by me because they only come, conduct elections and leave and if any issue crops up, how will they sort it out. The adhoc staffs are not bonafide staff of INEC so they have no stake to hold. They cannot be forced to testify and even if they do, it will be looked down upon. So it is planning to fail by not planning to recruit staffs who will own up to their actions and activities during elections and after elections. INEC have to provide an enabling environment for success. The institutions like Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB), West African Examinations Council (WAEC), and NECO and so on need to be streamlined, strengthened and sanitized. So from schools, you come to examination bodies and move to NYSC and maybe INEC. So they are interconnected. I don't think they

campaign at all because as NOA if the parties do the campaign and do voters education and proper guiding for their followers, then we will have a little work to do. Ours will be icing on the cake. They don't have manifestoes, they don't campaign and internal democracy in the party system (primary elections). You find members of a party going to court to contest results. They even go to the extent of sending another name different from the winner of the primary election. These are the major things we need to do to scrap impunity out. It will have multiplying effect. The tactics are not original whereby we have plenty ballot papers even those with no followers protest if their names were omitted on the ballot paper. Until we have a two or three party system whether it is legislated or they finally come to that, we will know what the various parties have to offer. People will now have a choice to make; one pro-poor and the other pro-rich. The parties in Nigeria have no direction; there are no manifestoes, philosophy, and principle. Someone will leave his party and join another. For instance in Sokoto state, the governor of the state was in ANPP, two weeks to the election he was called to cross over to take the position of Shagari who was the candidate of PDP. What happened was that Shagari became deputy governor while he became the governor. Am sure that PDP's agenda is different from that of ANPP, so how do you mix it up? They lack vision, anything goes. The last election was adjudged the best so far in terms of conduct and the integrity of the head of fish because if the head is better, the rest will be.

4.6. Civic Responsibility, Patriotism and Ethics

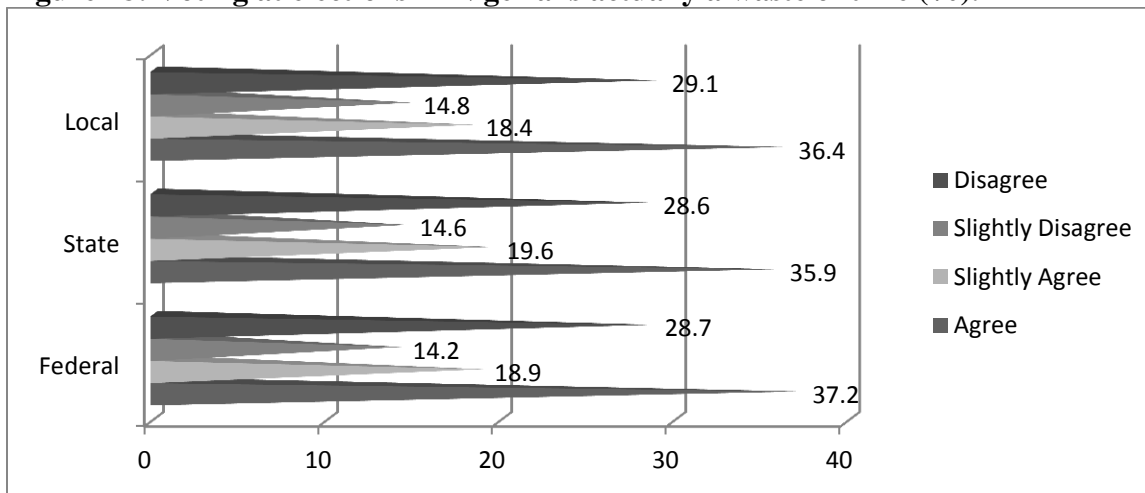
Against the backdrop of previous findings, it is important to examine the implications of the continuous underdevelopment and impunity in the country's civic responsibility, patriotism and ethics. The first indicator explored was the payment of tax at the tiers of government; federal, state and local. As presented in Figure 47, opinions were sharply divided on payment of tax. Across all the tiers of government a little over half of the respondents believe it makes sense to pay tax in Nigeria.

Figure 47: It does not make sense to pay tax in Nigeria (%).



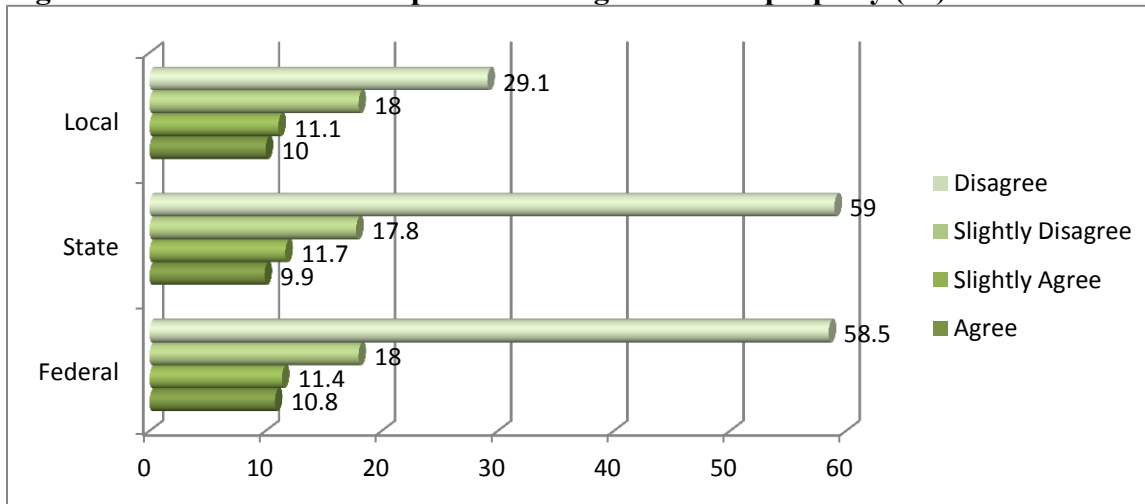
The voting orientation of the people was also captured. Findings on this indicator are identical to the one on tax. A little above 50 percent of the respondents claimed voting is a waste of time due to impunity at that level.

Figure 48: Voting at elections in Nigeria is actually a waste of time (%).



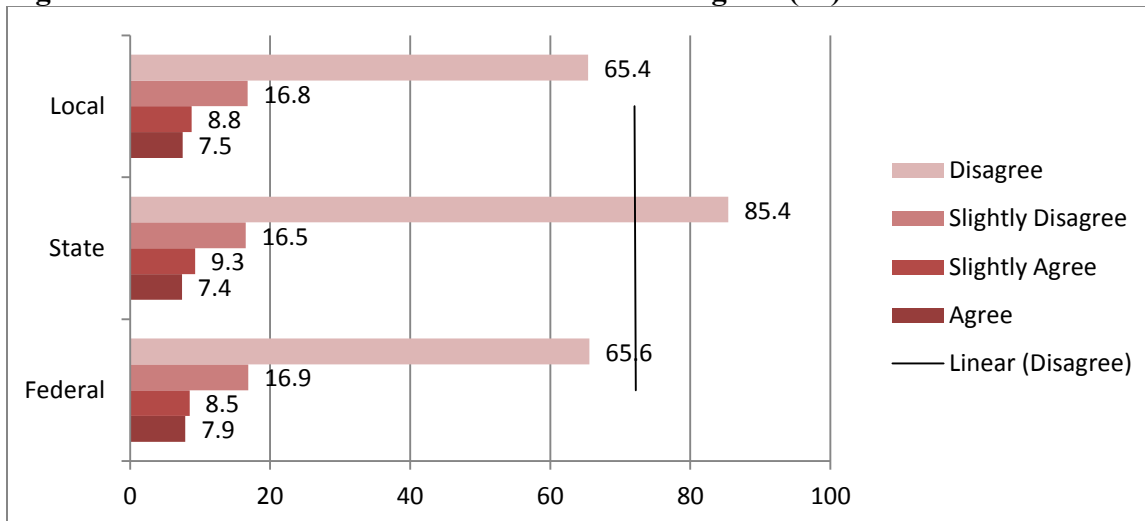
Protection of government property is a major responsibility of the citizens and a sign of patriotism. The research thus captured this indicator. Interestingly, as much as over 70 percent of the respondents claimed they always care about the protection of government property (see Figure 49).

Figure 49: I don't care about protection of government property (%).



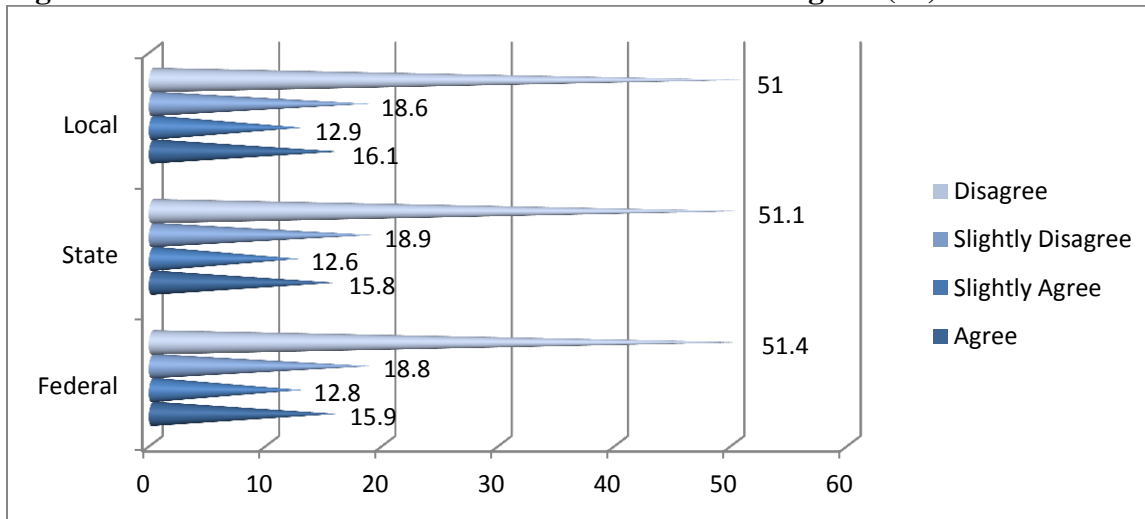
It is also important for citizens to respect the law as a mark of their patriotism and responsibility. When people disregard the law, it signals a dangerous position for the country and order needed for national development. As presented in Figure 50, more than 80 percent of the respondents across all the tiers of government claimed they still care about obedience to law. It is however, worthy of note that the *care for law average* was highest at the state level in the region of 20 percent.

Figure 50: I don't care about obedience to law in Nigeria (%).



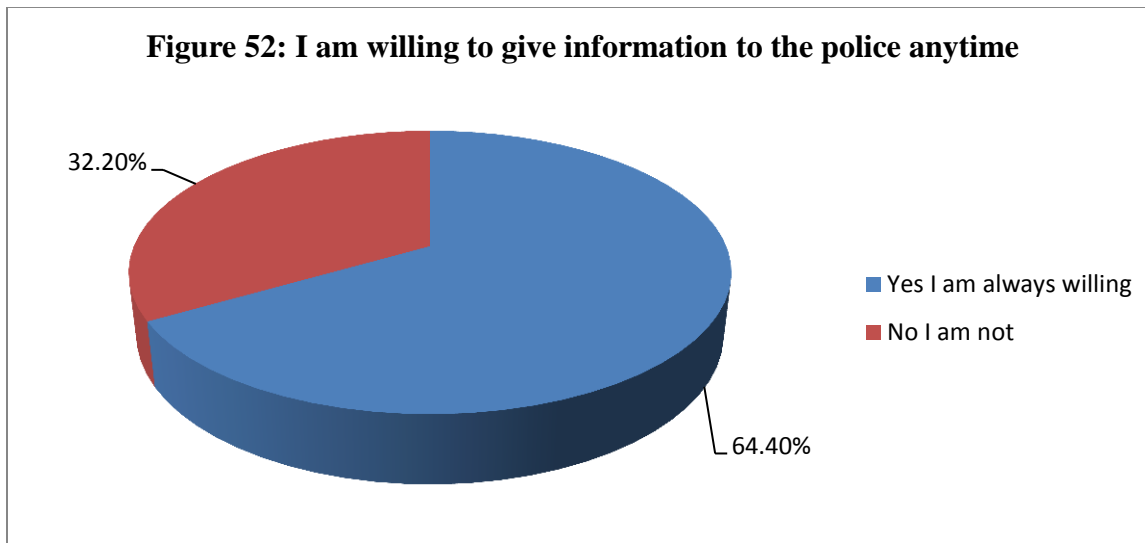
Assistance to law enforcement officers is another key responsibility of all citizens and this is a measure of patriotism also. However, the people must respect, trust and appreciate the law and the officers and believe in the nation before this can be done. About 70 percent of the respondents insisted they can assist law enforcement officers in Nigeria (see Figure 51).

Figure 51: I can never assist law enforcement officers in Nigeria (%).



Volunteering information to the police is also a critical responsibility of all citizens and a sign of patriotism. Interestingly, a majority of the people maintained they are willing to give information to the police anytime (see Figure 52).

Figure 52: I am willing to give information to the police anytime



Because of the importance of the civic responsibilities indicator, the measures were recaptured to include *perceived responsibilities* and *performed responsibilities*. It was found that a little difference existed between the two layers. As could be seen in Figure 55 across measures, proportions of performance were slightly lower than perceived, except at *obeying the law*. In fact, at the level of *helping the police*, performance proportion was lower by almost 20 percent difference, while at the level of payment of tax, performance proportion was lower than perceived by over 10 percent. This means even when people perceive positively, actual actions/performance may be slightly lower, as perception may not necessarily always translate to performance.

Figure 53: Perceived and performed responsibilities by the citizens.

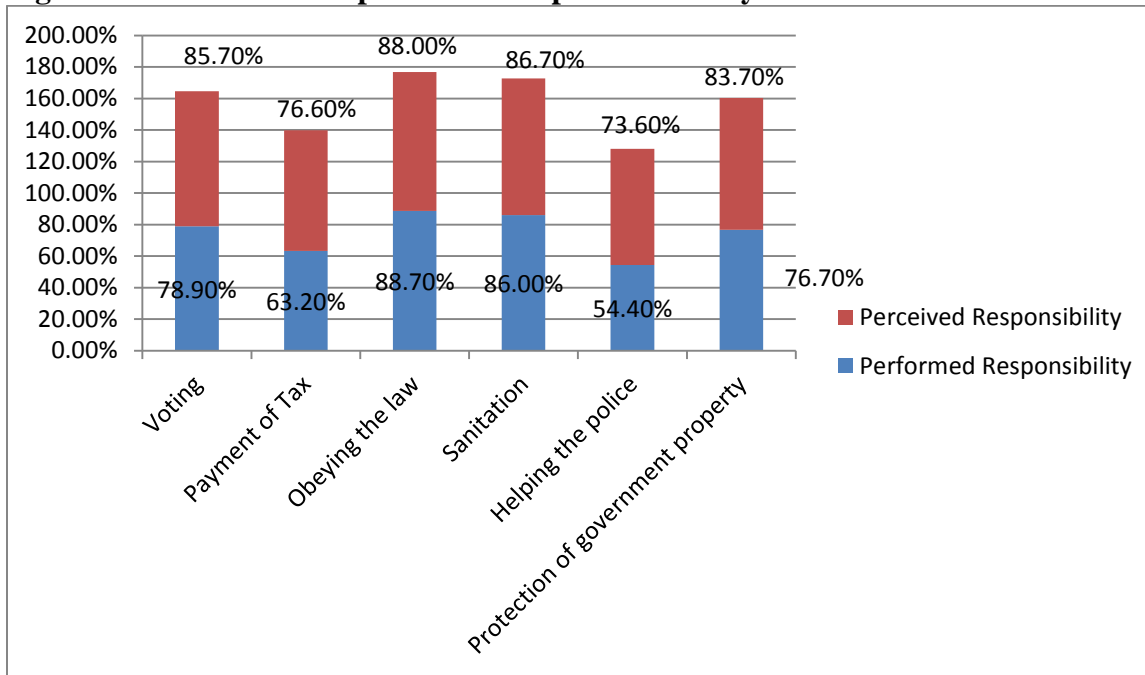
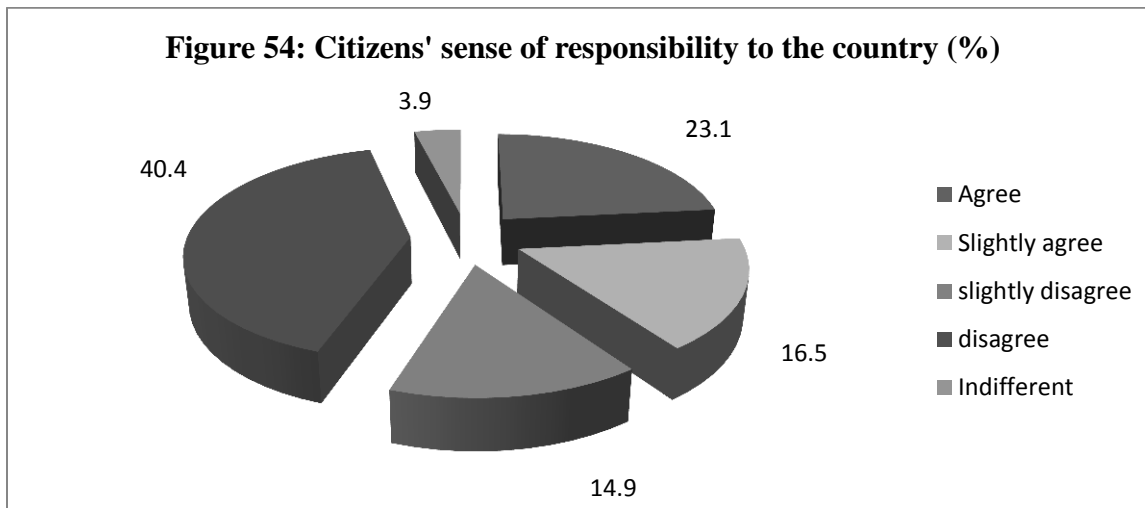
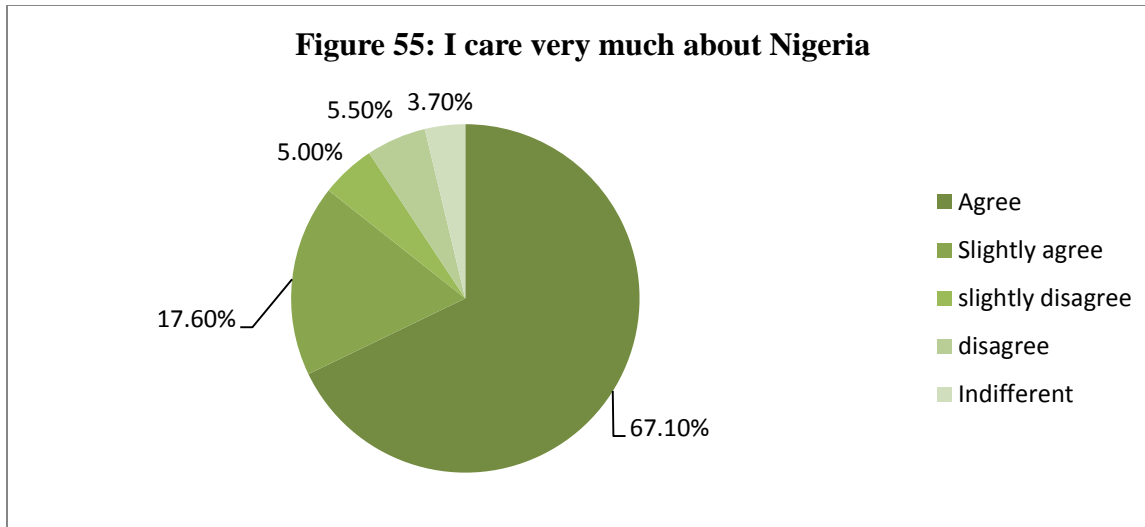


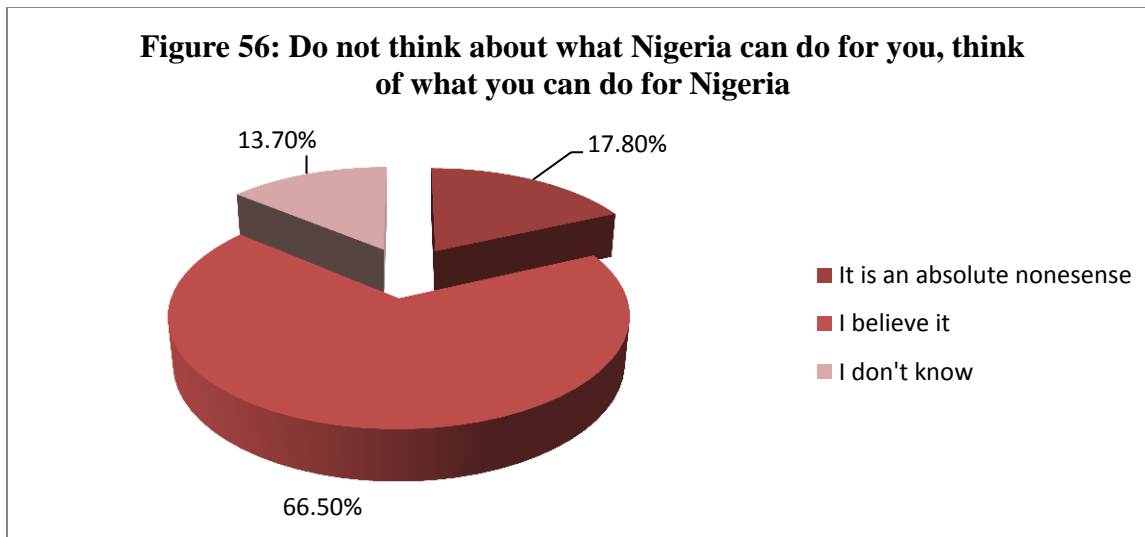
Figure 54 shows respondents' responses with regard to sense of responsibility to the country. It is interesting to note that over half of the citizens claimed they owe responsibility to the Nigerian state even if the country has failed them in the discharge of its primary responsibilities to the citizens.



To further measure the patriotism of the people, they were asked if they actually care so much about the wellbeing of the country. More than 80 percent of the respondents claimed they cared very much about Nigeria, regardless of the level of irresponsibility at the governance and political domains (Figure 55).

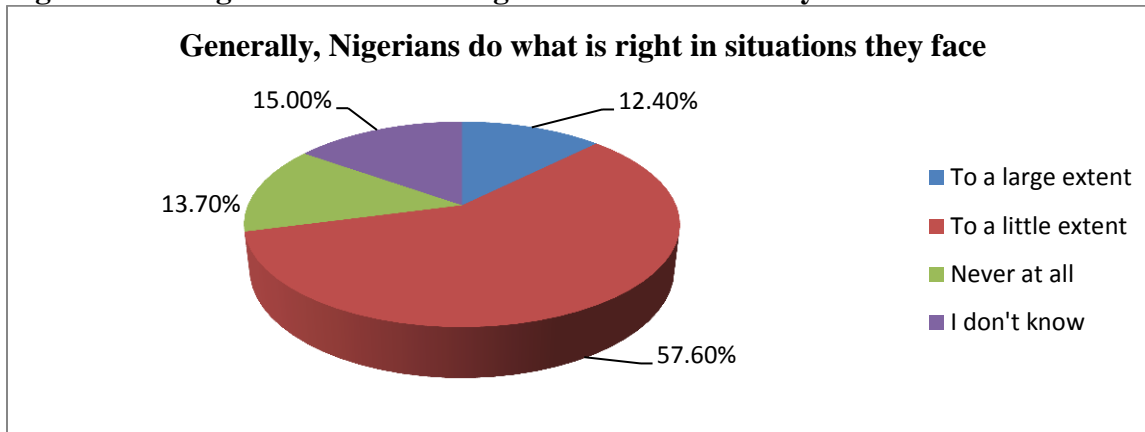


Responsibility, patriotism and ethics were recaptured through a popular saying adapted from the United States of America as *do not think about what Nigeria can do for you, think of what you can do for Nigeria*. A majority of the respondents maintained they believed the saying (see Figure 56).



Almost 60 percent of the citizens claimed that at the moment, most Nigerians do not make moral choices for the good of all parties in the situations they face. They therefore, do not do what is right most of the time.

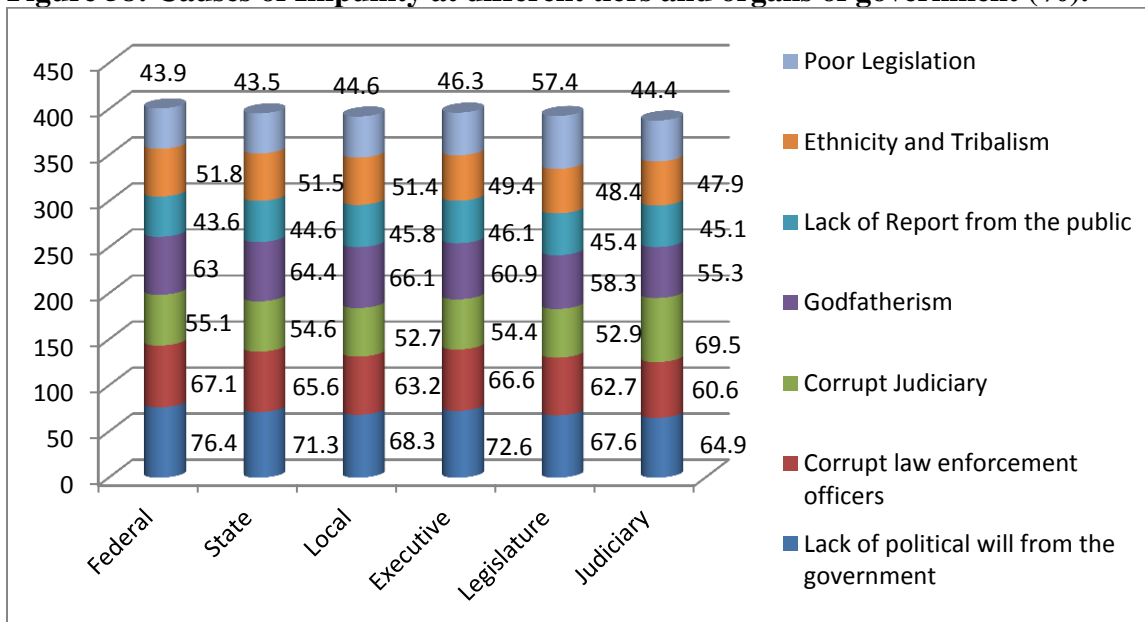
Figure 57: if Nigerians do what is right in the situation they face



4.7. Causes and Solutions to Impunity in Nigeria.

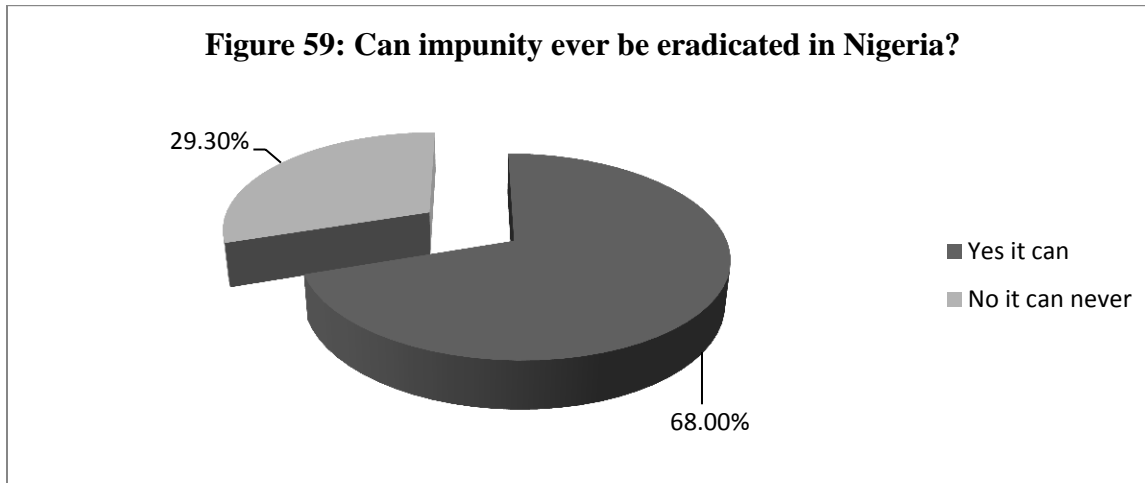
To sustainably achieve the objective of this section, Respondents were asked to identify the causes of impunity in Nigeria, as well as solutions to the problem. Figure 58 shows that seven factors were commonly identified as the causes of impunity. The factors are; 1. Lack of political will by the government to deal with impunity 2. Corrupt law enforcement officers 3. Corrupt judiciary 4. Godfatherism 5. Lack of report from the public 6. Ethnicity and tribalism 7. Poor legislation. It is interesting to note that lack of political will on the part of government (all tiers and organs) was the most emphasized by the respondents (about 70 percent). This was closely followed by corrupt law enforcement officers and corrupt officials (about 60 percent) and over 50 percent points. Godfathersim and poor legislation/enabling laws were also found to be prominent reasons for the prevalence of impunity in the country (see Figure 58).

Figure 58: Causes of Impunity at different tiers and organs of government (%).



For effective programming and advocacy, it is important to gauge public sentiment and orientation towards the possibility of ending impunity in the country. Almost 70 percent of the

respondents submitted that impunity can actually end in Nigeria if all hands are on deck with the deployment of political will, reorientation of the law enforcement officials and the judiciary, enactment of enabling laws and elimination of godfatherism (see Figure 59).



Discussants and interviewees were also engaged with the issues and parameters of patriotism, civic responsibility and ethics. Findings were not different from those of the quantitative data.

The nature of the discussion during the FGD among rural women at Kura, Kano state (2013) illustrated the findings pattern. The nuances, dynamics and elements found in the quantitative presentations were strongly replicated in the qualitative data as well, showing a high level of data consistency:

Respondent 1: I will help my country Nigeria (*I feel responsible to this country*). I will be honest to my country obey the laws of the country as well because it's my responsibility

Respondent 5: Payment of tax should be enforced on the rich men in Nigeria. That is the way it is in any other country. But the law is being enforced on the common man in Nigeria and the tax funds must be used for the community.

Respondent 7: Voting in Nigeria is good; you have to vote for who you want

Respondent 4: To me voting in Nigeria or election is at will, because what you elect is not what you will be given. Even the one you elect may not do what you want or he may likely not do what Nigeria want instead they will enrich themselves. If anyone says the Nigerian governments are doing election tell him is a lie they appoint those that will play their role.

Respondent 8: It is good to protect the government property because it is our property. Everythings belong to us electricity, water, hospital, road etc

Respondent 2: But at times to destroy government property is easy, some say even if you destroy it, it is not my father's own and moreover the government has the money to repair it or builds another one. Some people don't protect government property.

Respondent 5: Yes it is good to assist the law enforcement agencies and officers. If we do not assist them, who will stop violation or the corruption in our community? So you have to give them information over the crime being committed in your area. It is good to assist the police .

An official of The Public Complaint Commission (PCC) FCT, Abuja also gave a consistent view on this measure during KII:

I should because it is my responsibility to care for my country. If we can do the right thing this country will be blessed because God has already endowed the country. Look at how Ghanaians have managed to put their own together. Nigerians must do that now. On regular feeling of responsibility to the governments at local, state and federal levels, it is reciprocal. As a citizen, the country has its own duty by provision of infrastructures, and social welfare, I will be able to have a sense of belonging to also render my services to the country. Concerning I think more of what I can do for Nigeria than what Nigeria can do for me, I frequently feel obliged to contribute my quota to the development to Nigeria; that is if I am given the opportunity and the right incentive as well as conducive environment. On reactions towards payment of taxes, left to me, they should be abolished because those who are receiving them are misappropriating them. On voting at elections, protection of government property and obedience of law, people should go out to vote because it is their right. They should also protect government property because it is the people's money that was used to purchase the property.

The National Orientation Agency (NOA), official at Enugu, during KII 2013 also gave comprehensive views that corroborate earlier findings on civic responsibility, patriotism and ethics:

Presently, Nigerians think about themselves. For now there is no patriotism; that is what we are lacking now, that is why some people evaded the country in the name of *Boko Haram* and some people are saying that they should go and negotiate with them; some people are saying that the government should not attack them, that the use of the military by the federal government to chase them away means that the federal government is attacking the north and so on. A responsible government should chase away Boko Haram first before any other thing. There are no issues to debate in Nigeria because there is nothing to participate in. on impressions about responsibilities, Nigerians are good people, the problem is the system; they are patriotic people in the sense that the system have not got them to doing what is right. Nigerians are not doing the right thing. NOA is calling on the people to do the right thing and someone asked me "if everybody is doing the right thing, who will be doing the wrong thing". Impunity has so many definitions. The first is that complete, absolute, arbitrariness; Impunity also means lawlessness and doing what one wishes and want without recall to the rule of law;

Impunity also means lawlessness because where there is no law, there comes impunity. On possibility of ending impunity in Nigeria, everything that has a beginning must have an end. If proper orientation is given, if those at the helm of affairs govern with example (leadership by example is the best form of leadership). If you want people to tighten their belt, you tighten yours; if you want people to conserve funds, you show how you conserve fund; if you want people to live according to their means, you live according to your means and if you do that, everyone will toe the line. I think Nigerians are not very bad people but all that is needed to be adjusted is the system, strengthen the system, strengthen the laws, strengthen the judicial and the criminal justice administrations, and when that is done, I think in no distant time, the transformation of Nigeria will be a reality. On cases in recent years where investigations or prosecutions/trials of cases of impunity were terminated before justice was done, there is this case of discussions and debate about plea bargain. If justice has to be seen to be done fully, provide it. But there are sometimes like the social justice system and the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), the important thing is to resolve the issue. If there is an agreement whereby the person has learnt his lessons and has gotten some punishment and he has confessed his sins with most of his acquisitions seized, then they can now find a way to terminate the course of justice but that is an agreement between the states. Some judges are under the line now. There is a reform going on in the judicial system. The Chief justice of Nigeria have now decided to take the bull by the horn so it seems now that judges have committed offences of corruption, offences of not following the due processes of law or trying to abridge justice or try to not follow the provisions of the law. They violate the sanctity of their office. It happens once in a while as a human beings and the system. Some have been suspended and even dismissed. This has never happened before. Things have gradually come up and it shows that someone is doing something and we hope in the next 5 or 10 years, we will begin to breathe a sigh of relief because the justice system has a lot to do in sanitizing the system and in removing impunity. On causes and solutions to impunity, these are; ethnicity and tribalism. You see people defend someone because he is from his own ethnic group, the weak judicial system, weak structures, the inability of people to carry out their duties as a result of corruption. I recommend 1. Do the right thing because God gave us conscience. The difference between a human being and animals is conscience. Whenever you do the wrong thing, you will know. So when you don't have conscience, you try to rationalize your actions. 2. Government punishes anybody who disobeys the law there shall be no sacred cows. 3. Everybody who knows the right thing should do it because this is what we call orientation. If everybody in Nigeria comports themselves as dictated by their faith, then there will be no need for orientation. 4. Reformation of the judicial system.

Findings from FGD among Males in Ajah Area of Eti Osa Local Government, Lagos State (2013) also substantiated earlier findings on the indicator:

Discussant 1: I am not responsible because they don't care about me.

Discussant 2: Agreeing with respondent 1: If I am in a good position, I will work for Nigerians.

Discussant 1: I pay tax but what did they do with the money.

Discussant 3: After paying tax, I was told that I had a fake receipt.

Discussant 4: I don't pay tax and I won't pay until they change the people in charge.

On giving information to the police:

Discussant 1: How can you assist someone who will kill you?

Discussant 2: I can't, I will be held responsible for what I did not know.

Discussant 4: I can't risk myself.

On cases in recent years where investigations or prosecutions/trials of cases of impunity were terminated before justice was done

Discussant 1: Stealing peoples' property. Ajah is an example of impunity prone area. Alesh hotel was destroyed and the offender was released immediately. The former Bayelsa state governor should be hung, they gave him state pardon. Bode George again. The judiciary should be monitored and disciplined.

Discussant 2: Let's kill all the people destroying this nation. Let's follow the way Ghana followed.

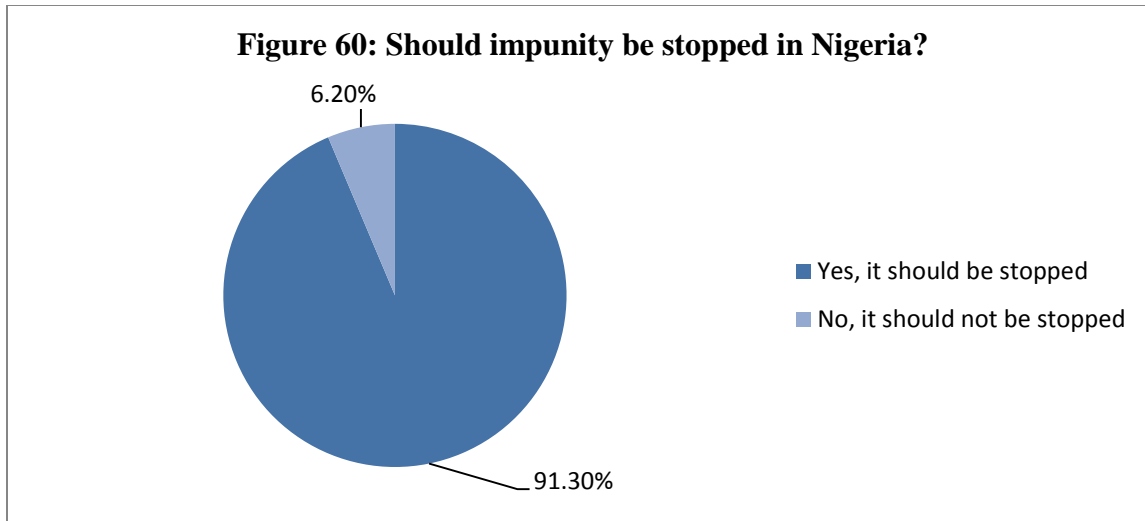
Discussant 5 argued to the contrary: We are more than Ghana. It will not be easy to capture these people in Nigeria. My own opinion is that during the election, we elect the right people.

Discussant 8: Americans has passed through this. There is nothing God cannot do

4.8. Message Testing

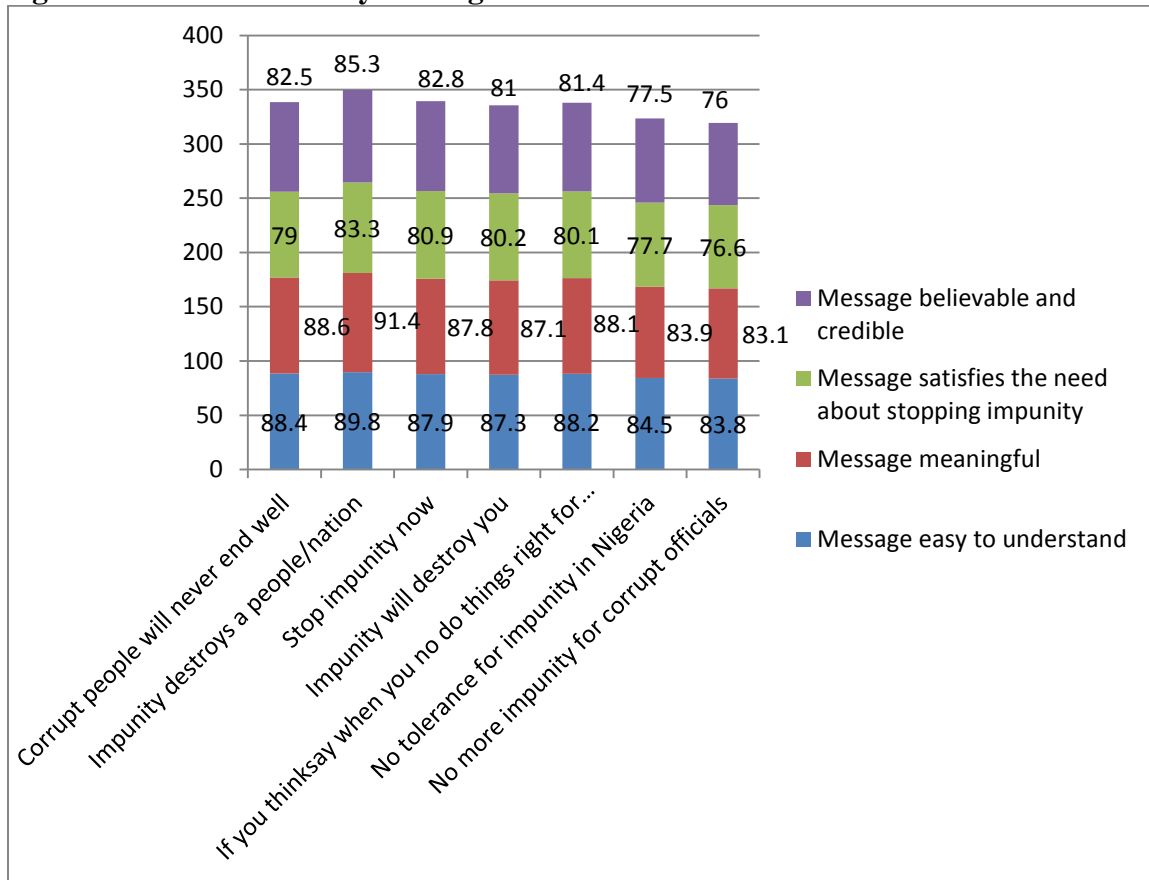
Some messages that could be used during programming and advocacy were tested empirically for 1. Easy understanding 2. Meaningfulness 3. Satisfaction of the need to end impunity 4. Credibility. Seven messages were tested.

The Message Testing (MT) section however started with the necessity of stopping impunity. This is important because ultimate responses to messages will depend on if at all the people believe there is a need to stop impunity in the first instance. As presented in Figure 60, overwhelming majority of the citizens sampled (>90 percent) insisted impunity should be stopped in Nigeria given its negative implications for national development.



The messages tested for the four critical parameters of 1. Easy understanding 2. Meaningfulness 3. Satisfaction of the need to end impunity 4. Believability and Credibility. were; 1. Corrupt people will never end well 2. Impunity destroys a people/nation 3. Stop Impunity Now (SIN) 4. Impunity will destroy you 5. If you think say when you no do things right for Naija nothing go happen, na lie something go happen to you 6. No tolerance for impunity in Nigeria 7. No more impunity for corrupt officials. As could be seen in Figure 6, all the messages passed the four parameters test, as most of the respondents (over 70 percent) agreed that all the messages were easy to understand, meaningful, satisfy the need to end impunity and were believable/credible. Findings were consistent in both the quantitative and qualitative data.

Figure 61: Distributions by Messages Tested



4.9. Engagement Activities

On whether and how impunity is frustrating law enforcement and anticorruption agencies, a sharp contrast was found between the response of the law enforcement agents and that of the public on this indicator. Many of the law enforcement and anti-corruption agencies/officials interviewed claimed impunity is not frustrating their efforts but the public and other categories of respondents insisted anti-corruption and law enforcement agencies are actually frustrated by impunity elements judging from observable performances.

According to an EFCC official in Lagos during KII (2013):

Most of these agencies if they want to prosecute I don't see how impunity can stop them because EFCC, ICPC, SSS are all bodies that I know that they have their machineries for prosecution. If you want to prosecute a case except they want to abort a prosecution no impunity can disturb their operations. Those being prosecuted are not in a position....In answer to that question I don't think we can say to any extent that impunity is frustrating prosecution. *On performance rating of organization* he gave: Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)-Above Average Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)-Average Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON)-Below average (they still have substandard product)

Police-Average
Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) - Average
National Agencies for Food Drugs Administration and Control (NAFDAC)-Below Average
National Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC)-Fail
National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)-Average

An Opinion Leader in Gombe State also gave insightful but contrary views during IDI (2013):

The issue is that the agencies themselves are not always obeying the laws but few and this makes people to hesitate in giving them any sort of assistance to avoid implication. On performance of the agencies:
EFCC – it is trying in terms of assisting to stem crime especially diverting fund – by public and private sector.
ICPC –may be preferred to EFCC
SON – They are also trying their best in the duty even though there is a case of corruption in it
The police – Policemen do perform better but they need more adjustment to their duties
CCB: This is also trying its best
PCC - also trying
NADFAC: This performance is highly recommended because they are trying in detecting fake drugs sold to the innocent people theirs is good absolutely.
NERC: what they are doing is bad; I cannot see anything tangible among their duties
NHRC: They are also good and to give the possible best

According to the official of National Orientation Agency, Kano during KII (2013):

All these government agencies need to come out and pick some people need to take up some cases before public domain and in the court and push it forward and I think the Nigeria Bar Association will be part of these organizations doing because they need legal issues. So we need to take action. The *ogas at the top* are the one interfering with their official and legal action causing impunity in their work. Like EFCC they arrest so many people but office of the Attorney General of the Federation created problems. Sometimes if they refuse to open their files or keep it in their offices, all these are impunity. Sometimes the EFCC will push a case to them but they will say they don't have the power to do that, they have to come through them and when they come through them nothing still will happen. People will stop impunity by the time they want to deal with people doing corruption and other things, we have violated the law of the land, they will ask to stop, they spend a lot of money to investigate, come with the fact, look at what happened to Farida up till now they dismiss her, you see that's impunity. The agencies are pushing some of these cases,

they have their godfather's they are still pushing and they are succeeding in prosecuting some of the offenders, some are pending while some are prosecuted. All these agencies are trying I salute them, without their internal challenges of inadequate finding impunity corruption etc despite the challenges are still trying in public.

Another EFCC official in Kano during KII (2013) maintained:

Most institutions fighting impunity are experiencing serious bottleneck due to inadequate legislation to ease their work. Also their actions are at time misinterpreted and given political meanings. The cases of impunity are too numerous for them to handle.

On performance of following organizations:

EFCC – Average

ICPC – Average

SON – Good

POLICE – Good

Code of conduct Bureau: Don't know, but the state organ is very good

PCC – Average

NAFDAC – fair

NERC – Average

NHRC –Don't mind

The general perspective of the public was captured during FGD among women in Nsukka, Enugu State (2013):

They are frustrated; they do not have the materials to work with. You send a policeman to the road with just a baton or double-barrel against armed robbers with machine guns and sophisticated weapons you are just sending him to die when he confronts these people. What they do is to run for cover. If a commissioner's child commits an offence and a teacher's child commits the same offence that of the commissioner will be exonerated. No commissioner or governor child will become a policeman. It is only the poor man's child who becomes a policeman just to make ends meet. The right people are not even put on the road to check anything. It is only those who can deliver (money to the boss) that are left there.

According to the village head in Kura, Kano State during IDI (2013):

The law enforcement agent contributes largely to the prevalence of impunity because of the corruption that has eaten deep into the minds of majority of the agents. In essence, they are partly the cause of such problem.

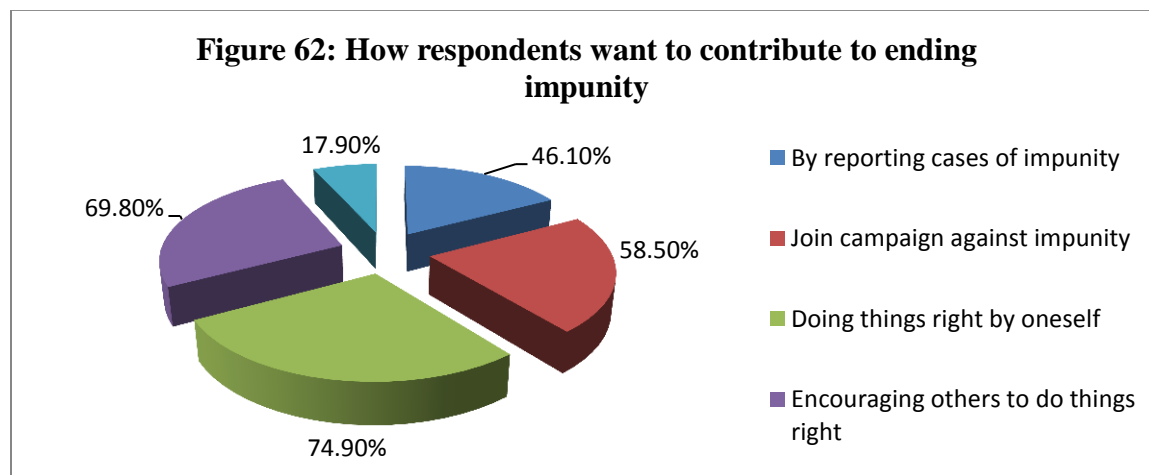
A state legislature in Lagos State during IDI identified executive interference as the main source of frustration of the anti-corruption and law enforcement officials and organizations. For him:

The federal government needs to re-arrange and when you give power to people to operate you should give them a free hand, all these associations need to be given complete free hand to operate on their own without interference.

This perspective was also shared and elaborated by a judge in Lagos state during IDI (2013):

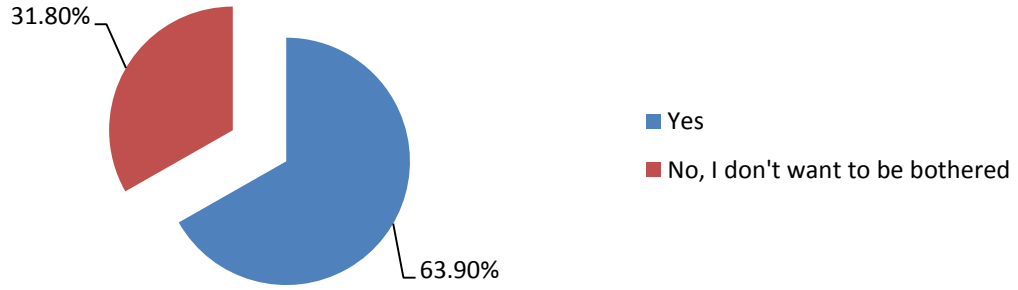
For EFCC (for instance) they are doing the work which they are established to do but the problem we have with them now is that they still do not follow the sacred cows and also find out that they are not really doing their work. ICPC the same goes. The police the same goes to them. That one (the police) is even something else. In all, each and every one of them is trying except for the sacred cow issue.

Respondents were asked how they would like to contribute to the fight against impunity. Interestingly, while over half (58.5 percent) expressed their willingness to join the campaign and crusade to end impunity, over 70 percent insisted they will do things right themselves and another significant proportion (almost 70 percent) said they would also encourage others to do things right (see Figure 62). These findings suggest sustainable pathways and networks for fighting impunity in the country. Other activities respondents would like to engage in are 1. Making oneself available for the crusade 2. Sensitizing the public 3. Beseeching government to be more proactive 4. Inculcating moral values in oneself and others 5. Supporting the government 6. Preaching against impunity 7. Fighting for equality before the law.



For a project as central as this, it is very important to continue the engagement of the respondents and the public generally. Thus, the respondents were asked if they would like to be further contacted in the future. Over 60 percent of the people said they will like to continue to be a part of the project through regular updates on the campaign (Figure 63).

Figure 63: Would you like to receive updates on the SIN Campaign?



SECTION FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Discussion of Findings

This study examined the trajectories of impunity at all levels and organs of government in Nigeria. None-experimental research design was adopted and both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection were adopted. Questionnaires were designed and distributed while FGDs, IDIs and KIIs were organized. Ethical considerations were observed and data were analyzed. It is noteworthy that major findings were made through this research particularly relative to the objectives and themes of the survey. It was found that impunity remains prevalent in the country, as people break the law blatantly. This does happen without the law taking its due course. The generality of Nigerians are aware of this. The problem of impunity is commonly perceived at the federal level and executive organ of government. People are bound to be more aware of impunity at the federal level and at the executive organ of government, since they are at the core of national life and activities. Most impunity cases in the country are also expected to be resolved at the federal level just as the media houses tend to sensationalize federal and executive issues because of their reach and marketing potentialities. The judiciary was perceived to be the least culpable of impunity. This finding must also be viewed with caution as this could be traceable to some landmark judgments given by the judiciary in recent times.

This is however, not to water down the gains of the judiciary in the democratic dispensation. Across all levels and organs of government generally, impunity is perceived as pervasive judging, by the un-redressed cases of embezzlement, delay in justice delivery, scapegoatism, political and affluent highhandedness where a few cabal and godfathers and their godchildren are above the law and beyond the state. Generally, the sense where the Nigerian society is seen as inherently on life support for impunity due to obvious *I don't care, nothing go happen, no be today, yansh dey for back, nothing dey sele, in Naija anything can happen, anything goes and only in my country attitude* across all organs, levels and generality of the society. The leaders failed to show leadership and direction and lack the political conviction and will to reverse the dangerous progression of impunity being a disaster going somewhere to happen.

Based on the findings of this research, it is most appropriate to observe that Nigeria is definitely sitting on a time bomb and a keg of gun powder needing extreme care and strategy beyond tactics to handle. This is more so in a situation where investigations are done very slowly, justice is only done sometimes, common men are the only ones forced to obey the law, yet most people in authority do not care much about the laws of the land. Till date, fiscal irresponsibility is still prevalent and this is supported by public sentiment as the norm, the perpetrators are never brought to book completely even when they do not release public funds quickly and completely as such funds are diverted, embezzled and never accounted for. Regular auditing of ministries and MDAs is irregular, people across organs and tiers of government do not respect the law and the institutions of government are compromised to the extent that the law lacks capacities to catch up with offenders. This is why it has been found that the rule of law regimes in the country is actually growing worse. Sacred cows phenomenon is rife and laws are never sufficiently publicized for everyone to be aware of them and abide by them for public knowledge and positive actions.

The electoral process is compromised to the extent that primary elections are actually selections, and manifestos are worth not more than mere papers. Campaigns are nothing but jamborees and noise making events such that electorates lack sufficient and needed knowledge making election process. Election results lack credibility as wrong candidates ultimately get to power. This has affected the credibility of the electoral body and law enforcement institutions somewhat to the extent that people generally perceive them as accomplices of the political class who put them in positions. Interestingly, majority of the populace in Nigeria still believe in their discharge of civic responsibility. They still see the need to be patriotic and responsible to the nation even when the nation appears to be failing them.

Despite the pockets of unpatriotic tendencies in the country, it is important to note that civic, patriotic and ethics orientations of Nigerians are commendable. This is why finding reveals that many would be willing to support programmes targeting impunity and would like to receive updates on such programmes. The country is thus not a lost nation and a failed state given the orientation of Nigerians to want to do things right, if given the enabling environment through supportive leadership. Many reasons are adduced for the prevalence of impunity and they include lack of political will on the part of government and the institutions, corrupt law officers, corrupt judiciary, godfatherism, lack of public report, poor legislation and ethnicity and tribalism.

Unfortunately, the anti-corruption and the law enforcement agencies have not done too well and are themselves compromised in the eyes of the public, making them to be in need of desperate and urgent intervention and reforms in impunity issues will be addressed in the country. However, since most Nigerians still have a sense of responsibility to the Nigerian state, they believe impunity can be eradicated through conscious efforts by all and display of political will beyond scapegoating and selective justice. It is important to leverage on the positive public sentiment to reverse the dangerous trend of impunity in the country through the deployment of relevant messages and programmes. The public themselves and the political/rich class also ironically become human resources to fight impunity against the backdrop of the findings of this study.

5.2. Summary of Findings and recommendations

Understanding Impunity

- There is a high awareness of the violation of peoples' rights without punishment across levels and organs of government. There is however a higher awareness at the federal and executive levels. There is still the need however, to keep raising awareness until awareness is total and there is attitudinal change.
- Cases of embezzlement without punishment are common and known across tiers and organs of government but mostly known at the federal and executive levels followed by legislature and state and judiciary and local government. There is a need to constantly blow the whistle on embezzlement of public fund and offenders must be brought to book. Nigerian Bar Association and National Judicial Council should make lawyers take impunity cases as *pro bono* and should be part of the requirements for some privileges in the legal profession. More NGOs and civil society should also focus this issue in their programmes.

- Courts do not always dispense justice quickly. Special courts should be established and empowered to treat some peculiar cases and judges should henceforth be assessed by the time they take in deciding cases as some of the delays are not institutional but personal.
- The rich and the political class are never always punished when they break the law with impunity. The courts should be restructured regularly to make them free from sentiments and the media and NGOs/civil society should follow such cases up even after they have stopped being newspaper headlines.
- *I don't care attitude and nothing go happen mentality* is very prevalent in the country across organs and tiers of government. This can only change when offenders are brought to book promptly and publicized. The courts should be reformed to decide cases quickly.
- The Nigerian society has the culture of *I don't care attitude and nothing go happen mentality*. Cases of impunity should be decided quickly and publicized to serve as deterrent. Anti-impunity campaigns must also be increased to the extent that they will sink into the mentality and fabrics of the Nigerian society.
- Investigations are never done promptly by the police. The police should be reformed and made more decent and accountable. IPOs should be assessed based strictly on their performance in the speed it takes them to resolve cases at the level of investigation.
- The police and courts act with partiality based on class and status. Reforms should be introduced to accommodate status and class in assigning cases to IPOs and judges such that police officers and judges are sufficiently profiled to identify their primordial and sentimental leanings that may affect cases.
- People are not always brought to justice across tiers and organs of government. The courts should be structured and restructured to accommodate delivery beyond the organs of government and tiers' sentiments
- Only the *common man/woman* respects the law. The people should be encouraged to continue to respect the law while the systems are worked upon to bring the rich and the political class to justice. This could be through public awareness and public campaigns and restructuring.
- Nigerians mostly do not care about the law. This will change once the institutions are restructured and sufficient information about the need to obey the law publicized. This is particularly important as the laws are not regularly and sufficiently publicized in the country.
- Awareness of the concept of impunity is very high but must be improved as it is not yet total.
- There is ultimately apparent preponderance of impunity across the tiers and organs of government.

Fiscal Responsibility

- Fund diversion is a common occurrence in Nigeria. Public officials and even those in the private sector should be made to be more accountable and anyone found wanting should be made to face and have justice.
- When funds meant for public projects are not released, people are not brought to book. This impunity should be made a criminal matter and offenders should be brought to book promptly.
- Audits of government MDAs are not done regularly. The office of the Accountant General of the Federation/Auditor General of The Federation should put measures in

place to ensure this is done regularly. Failure to do this should lead to sack and prosecution of culprits promptly. Once this is done, the conviction should be publicized widely in the country.

- Local government funds are not released promptly and accurately. Local governments should be granted total autonomy including fiscal ones. They should not be under the supervision of the state as most state governors are violating the rights of the LGAs with impunity. People that tamper with the right of the LGAs should be prosecuted promptly and the judgement should be circulated and publicized widely.
- People care about accountability in the public service. This should be encouraged by further building the knowledge base of the populace in the country.
- The attitude of many Nigerians to impunity is negative. As a result they and their kin are less likely to engage in act of impunity when in position of authority.

Rule of Law

- People across organs and tiers of government only sometimes respect the law. This should be discouraged by court judgement against every act of conflict with the law.
- State machineries should be strengthened to enforce the laws as even the existing enabling laws are not sufficiently actioned making them lack effective capacity to punish offenders.
- Institutions of government lack capacities to bring offenders to justice. State legal machineries and institutions should be strengthened to be able to bring offenders to book promptly and adequately.
- Laws are not sufficiently publicized in all organs and tiers of government. Special votes should be given and monitored for publicity of laws. Many laws are passed at legislatures across the country yet most are never sufficiently publicized.
- People are not always very aware of the laws in the country. This is understandable as the laws are never sufficiently publicized. More awareness and publicity of the laws are thus very necessary. A project should be developed for publicity of the extant laws in the country.
- There are sacred cows too big for the law in Nigeria. This is a problem. Judges should be encouraged to bring such people to book against all odds. This is only when this can be reversed. Even if the political class does not want this, there should be galvanized class and public actions for this and the public and civil society should reward such people by mobilized actions once such issues are out in the public.
- Politicians and rich people are the most prominent sacred cows in the country. The bench should be empowered to convict such people.
- Scapegoating is prevalent in the country. The political class and the rich should be clearly engaged through public and collective actions against scapegoating but maintained and total punishment for impunity across board; organs, tiers and public as well as private sectors.
- There has not been any improvement in the rule of law of the country. In fact, the public view is that it is growing worse. The political class should be encouraged to show leadership by having respect for the law. This is how the rule of law in the country can improve and every other citizen will emulate the political leadership and not the other way round as it is currently the situation.

- At the moment, most common man/woman still personally care about the law and this should be encouraged and built upon.
- Law enforcement officers and anti-corruption agencies are frustrated and are not seen to be doing well in their remit. Most respondents rated the organizations and their officials fair. These organizations that will ultimately be at the forefront of the fight against impunity therefore should be reformed and freed from the political and rich class if they will ever perform creditably well.

Electoral Process

- Elections and electoral process are never always transparent in Nigeria as people abuse the electoral process with impunity at all levels of government. INEC should be strengthened and given more freedom to operate by severing the cords among it and other organs and levels of government. Officials of INEC more also be none-partisan and credible people.
- Elections results are not always credible in Nigeria. This is bound to be so once the process is not transparent and not credible. The process of elections must be made to be very transparent to have a credible result. A major recommendation is to make process of voting total open ballot or in the minimum, open secret ballot.
- Voters are never sufficiently educated. INEC and political parties as well as NGOs and CSOs/FBO/CDAs and so on should make it their responsibilities to educate the masses during elections rather than the current personalities' attacks that are the norm.
- Primary elections are never always transparent and lack credibility. INEC should be more involved and concerned about the process of primary elections in Nigeria. It should stop primary elections being seen as a *family* affair. Process of primary elections should be transmitted and publicized in the media and *selection/consensus candidates/heir apparent syndrome* should be discouraged. INEC should make competitive primary elections preconditions for all political parties if they want to contest general elections.
- Party manifestos are never popular and they do not influence voting patterns. All political parties must sufficiently publicize their manifestos in the media and they must also, in addition to conventional media, use the prevailing social media platforms to get across to all the segment of the society.
- Political campaigns are not issues based and they do not influence voting patterns. Political parties must be made to address issues in their campaigns and not personalities. This should be done through screening and publicity of recordings and INEC presence at such campaigns. Parties that are found wanting should be sanctioned.
- People should be more encouraged to get involved in the elections and the processes even though they care now as against the commonly held believe that Nigerians are now politically apathetic and disenchanted.
- The process of INEC's party delisting is appropriate and should encouraged through public commendation
- Opinions of people were divided on the appropriateness of actual delisting and there is high ignorance around the issues leading to the delisting. INEC should therefore engage in more publicity when engaging in activities especially controversial ones.
- Voters' registration is not seen to be credible at the moment. INEC should therefore improve and get connected with the public with ongoing and regular registration of

voters. Events around this should be well publicized. Situations where voters' registers are discredited by politicians in public will certainly yield negative public perspective and attitude.

- Impunity remains prevalent in the country and the organs of government and tiers of government are at the forefront of perpetrating impunity. Campaigns should then be stemmed up against impunity across the institutions of the country.

Civic Responsibility, Patriotism and Ethics

- ✚ Majority of Nigerians do not believe it is appropriate to pay tax in Nigeria. Governments should therefore engage in public sensitization. However, the most important recommendation is that governments across levels should be more transparent and prudent in handling of public funds. Once public waste and corruption are minimized, people will be encouraged to pay tax.
- ✚ Most Nigerians consider voting at elections necessary. This view will be total once votes begin to count in the country
- ✚ Most Nigerians care about protection of government property. This should be improved by the political class by being more responsible to the people via delivery of dividends of democracy. The need to protect government property should also be publicized by stakeholders.
- ✚ Most people care about obedience to the laws. The political class should show more examples and offenders should be brought to book regularly and publicly.
- ✚ Most Nigerians can assist the law and willingly volunteer information to the police. However, the law officers must protect assistants' identity and use information and assistance discretely.
- ✚ It was found that there is gulf between perception and actual performance. Nigerians should therefore be partnered and encouraged to act positively at all times as against just sentiments and perception.
- ✚ Most Nigerians still have a sense of responsibility to the Nigerian state. This is a positive finding showing high sense of patriotism and potentialities. The political class should therefore build on this to get positive response. This will however also depend on the level of responsibility to the public at the governance level.
- ✚ Majority of Nigerians care about Nigeria and care about what they can do for the country. It is however important that the state through the government be responsible and declare/ensure public goods and basic responsibilities of government to the people.
- ✚ A lot of Nigerians do not make informed moral choices for common good most times and this is due to the pervasive impunity regimes in the country. The political class should thus empower the institutions and show leadership to reverse impunity in the country.
- ✚ Causes of impunity in Nigeria are; lack of political will by government, godfatherism, lack of enabling legislations, corrupt judiciary, corrupt law enforcement officials, ethnicity and tribalism, lack of report from the public.
- ✚ It is interesting to note generally that most Nigerians believe impunity can end in Nigeria if appropriate actions are taken directly against the causes of the problems. The political class should display enough political will against impunity and godfatherism should be eradicated. The judiciary and law enforcement institutions should be sanitized while enabling legislations and restructuring should be put in place. Thus, ethnicity and

tribalism should be addressed and the totality of the country should be flooded with anti-impunity campaigns and messages for necessary orientation and attitude change. Religious values should also be appropriated just as family values should also be built upon. Special courts and forces should also be established to address some peculiar impunity cases.

- ✚ Most Nigerians maintained impunity should be stopped and are ready to partner with anti-impunity campaigns. This is a positive sign that should be appropriated in programming and engagements.
- ✚ All the messages tested passed the parameters test as most Nigerians consider them easy to understand, meaningful; satisfy the need to end impunity, believable and credible. The messages should therefore be adopted and used appropriately.

5.3. Conclusion

This research has explored and examined the impunity domains, corridors and trajectories in Nigeria. It was a blend of primary data and secondary ones with robust methodology. Important findings have been made major among which is the fact that impunity is very prevalent in Nigeria and people are aware of it and want it stopped with the political rich class being more culpable. Law enforcement agencies are also not living up to responsibilities. However, most Nigerians want impunity to stop in the country due to its negative development implication. Hence, most Nigerians do not have fixated and jaundiced affinity for impunity and are convinced impunity can be stopped if the political class and everyone do things right as against the current scenario where people do not make informed moral decisions for public good. The impunity situation in the country is not hopeless and can be minimize in the short run and eradicated in the long run. If there is enough political will and propensity to show leadership by the rulers and the rich, the end of impunity may be nearer than imagined but all must also be willing and ready to join the campaign and fight against impunity in Nigeria. This is only when it will be possible to practically Stop Impunity in Nigeria sustainably. The fact as found through this survey is that IT CAN BE DONE and IT IS POSSIBLE. Based on findings from the survey as presented in this report, it is very appropriate to conclude that *there is “moral outrage” against impunity in Nigeria.*

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Appendix

**STOP IMPUNITY IN NIGERIA (S.I.N) CAMPAIGN PROJECT
MAIN SURVEY, 2013**

Research Officials

S/N	NAMES	DESIGNATION
1	Prof. Bolaji Owasanoye	Principal Investigator (PI)
2	Olayinka Akanle, PhD	National Coordinator of Research (NCR)
3	Yinka Saka	Project Administration/Accounts
4	Ajayi Samuel	Program Officer, HDI
5	Olayemi Sunday Samuel	Research Officer, HDI/ Supervisor, South West/Lagos State
6	Kabiru Bello, PhD	Supervisor, North West/Kano State
7	Comfort ErimaUgbem	Supervisor, North Central/Benue State
8	Adamu Abba	Supervisor, North East/Gombe State
9	Chukwuedozie K. Ajaero, PhD	Supervisor, South East/Enugu State
10	Paul Nyulaku	Supervisor, South South/Rivers State
11	Kari Abubakar Garba, PhD	Supervisor, FCT, Abuja
12	Modile Adenife	Research Assistant
13	Olusola Esther Ayodele	Research Assistant
14	Hope Odimgbe	Research Assistant
15	John Emah	Research Assistant
16	Adebayo Ayinde	Research Assistant
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19	William Dogo	Research Assistant
20	Zikrullah Abdulhamid	Research Assistant
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37	Emmanuel Ogbodo	Research Assistant
38	Helen Amucheazi	Research Assistant

*Impunity in Nigeria: Knowledge, Attitude and Perception
Findings from a National Survey*

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Some Publications by Human Development Initiatives

1. Impunity in 2012, 2013 Budget of Nigeria: “Wastage, Duplication and Illegal Expenses to Avoid in 2014 Budget” – November 2013.
2. HDI-LGA Budget Watch Manual – November 2011.
3. Rule of Law Compliance in Nigeria – March 2010.
4. Impact of Globalization on Human Trafficking: An Era of Globalized Servitude – 2007.
5. Enhancing The Rights of Child by Eradicating Child Labour in Nigeria – 2007.
6. Justice To The Poor: Implementing the Administration of Estates (Small Estate Payments Exemption) Law 2005 and Further Suggestions for the Reforms of Probate Law and Practice – February 2006.
7. A report on Reform of the Wills Law of Lagos State – March 2005.
8. Street Children and the Juvenile Justice System in Lagos State: Nigerian Report (joint publication with CSC-UK) – January, 2004.
9. Reform of the Administration of Estate Law of Lagos State and A Draft Bill for A Law on Administration of Estate (Small Payments) Law – March 2003.
10. Women’s Political Participation Through Economic Empowerment – 2001.
11. Suppressed Rights: Constitutional Rights Violations in Military Decrees 1984 – 1999 (joint publication).



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