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Corruption in Nigeria

Bribery: public experience and response

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PREFACE

The problem of corruption is arguably one of the most significant global issues in the contemporary world. In the last three decades, in particular, international attention has been focused on the challenges of corruption though it has remained a serious and significant global issue throughout the millennia. Very recently, the international community has recognized its harmful impact by including a specific target to fight corruption in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Corruption is the bane of any progressive society. It stifles entrepreneurship, professionalism and erodes the values of hard work and honesty, and is one of the root causes of under-development in our society. Over the years we have seen the effect of corruption manifesting across all sectors of society with collusion across the public to private sectors to sports bodies and even civil society. Sadly, Nigeria as a country has experienced this menace for a long time but now appears to be tackling it head on. It is for this reason that the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) partnered with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to carry out this survey on the quality and integrity of public services in Nigeria, the result of which are published in this report.

This work is timely, especially in view of the rising importance and use of data in Nigeria for evidence based policy and decision making. This study complements attempts at deploying the use of data and statistics in understanding the nature and magnitude of corruption in Nigeria. This will assist government and policy makers in making informed decisions on how best to fight the problem, and ultimately, offer us a better chance of reducing it to its barest minimum.

This is the first comprehensive nationwide household survey on corruption to be conducted in Nigeria and in Africa at large. It covers all States of the Federation, including the Federal Capital Territory, and this report therefore provides very valuable and reliable information, which will no doubt support the national efforts in reducing the menace and blocking loopholes in our public services. While this is just the first step in the process of understanding corruption and tackling it, it is indeed a significant step and all Nigerians must be committed to seeing this process through to the end because of what is at stake for the future of our country.

Finally, we would like to convey our sincere gratitude to all survey respondents and the staff involved in the complex data process all around the country, whose valuable inputs made the publication of the report possible.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPP	Bureau of Public Procurement
CCB	Code of Conduct Bureau
CCT	Code of Conduct Tribunal
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FHC	Federal High Court
FMoJ	Federal Ministry of Justice
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HC FCT	High Court of the Federal Capital Territory
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices (and Other Related Offences) Commission
LGA	Local Government Area
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NEITI	Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
NFIU	Nigeria Financial Intelligence Unit
NGN	Nigerian Naira
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NSC	National Steering Committee
NTC	National Technical Committee
PCC	Public Complaints Commission
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PSI	Practical Sampling International
SCUML	Special Control Unit Against Money Laundering
TUGAR	Technical Unit on Governance and Anti-Corruption Reforms

TABLE OF CONTENTS

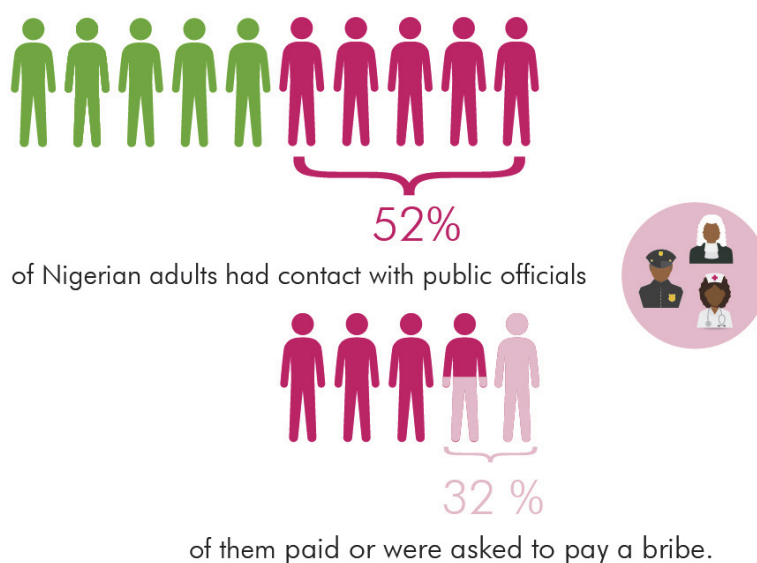
Preface	1
List of abbreviations.....	2
Introduction	11
Chapter 1. Reach of bribery.....	13
Chapter 2. How bribery works.....	23
Chapter 3. Who takes bribes	37
Chapter 4. Who pays bribes.....	49
Chapter 5. How citizens respond to bribery	59
Chapter 6. Selected findings and policy implications	75
State profiles.....	79
Methodological annex	119

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Reach of bribery

Almost a third of Nigerian adults pay bribes when in contact with public officials

Almost a third of Nigerian adults (32.3 per cent) who had contact with a public official between June 2015 and May 2016 had to pay, or were requested to pay, a bribe to that public official. The magnitude of public sector bribery in Nigeria becomes even more palpable when factoring in the frequency of those payments, as the majority of those who paid a bribe to a public official did so more than once over the course of the year. According to the survey, bribe-payers in Nigeria pay an average of some six bribes in one year, or roughly one bribe every two months.



On average, almost one bribe is paid by every adult Nigerian per year

By combining the total number of people who paid a bribe to a public official with the frequency of those payments, it is estimated that a total of roughly 82.3 million bribes were paid in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the survey. This results in an average of 0.93 bribes paid per adult, or almost one bribe paid by every adult Nigerian per year.

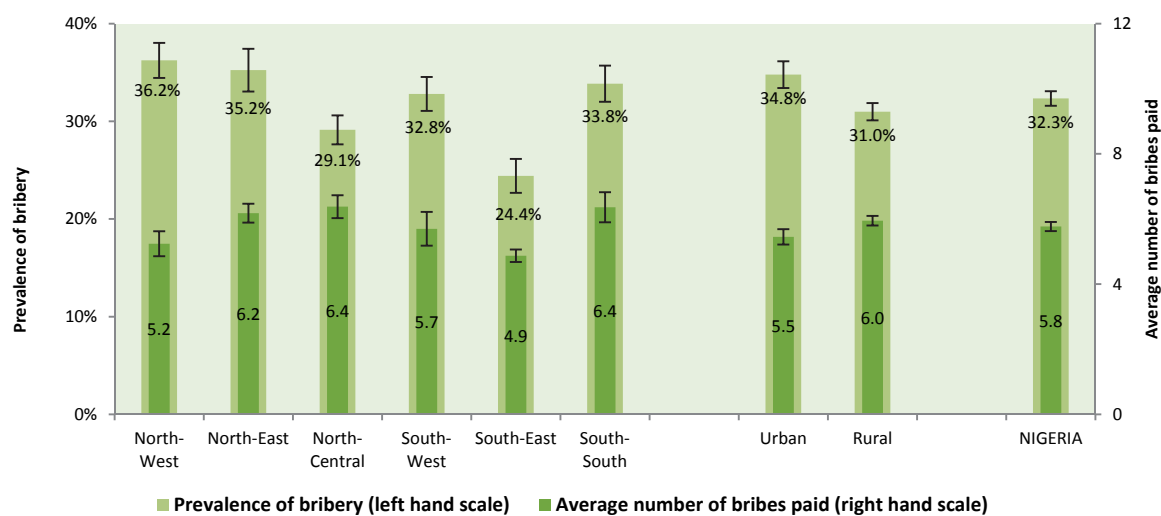
Roughly 400 billion Nigerian Naira spent on bribes each year

Taking into account the fact that nine out of every ten bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria are paid in cash and the size of the payments made, it is estimated that the total amount of bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the survey was around 400 billion Nigerian Naira (NGN), the equivalent of \$4.6 billion in purchasing power parity (PPP). This sum is equivalent to 39 per cent of the combined federal and state education budgets in 2016.

Bribe-payers in Nigeria spend an eighth of their salary on bribes

The average sum paid as a cash bribe in Nigeria is approximately NGN 5,300, which is equivalent to roughly \$61 - PPP. This means that every time a Nigerian pays a cash bribe, he or she spends an average of about 28.2 per cent of the average monthly salary of approximately NGN 18,900. Since bribe-payers in Nigeria pay an average of 5.8 bribes over the course of one year, 92 per cent of which are paid in cash, they spend an average of NGN 28,200 annually on cash bribes — equivalent to 12.5 per cent of the annual average salary.

Prevalence and frequency of bribery at the national level, urban/rural areas and by zone, Nigeria, 2016



Nigerians consider bribery the third most important problem facing their country

The above findings could explain why, after the high cost of living and unemployment, Nigerians consider corruption to be the third most important problem facing their country, well ahead of the state of the country's infrastructure and health service. Public sector bribery is not the only form of corruption affecting Nigeria: the prevalence of bribery in relation to selected employees of private companies is 5.5 per cent, meaning that bribery is also significant in the private sector in Nigeria. However, the payment of bribes to public officials is the most familiar and widespread form of corruption directly experienced by the population and the one that most affects the lives of ordinary citizens.

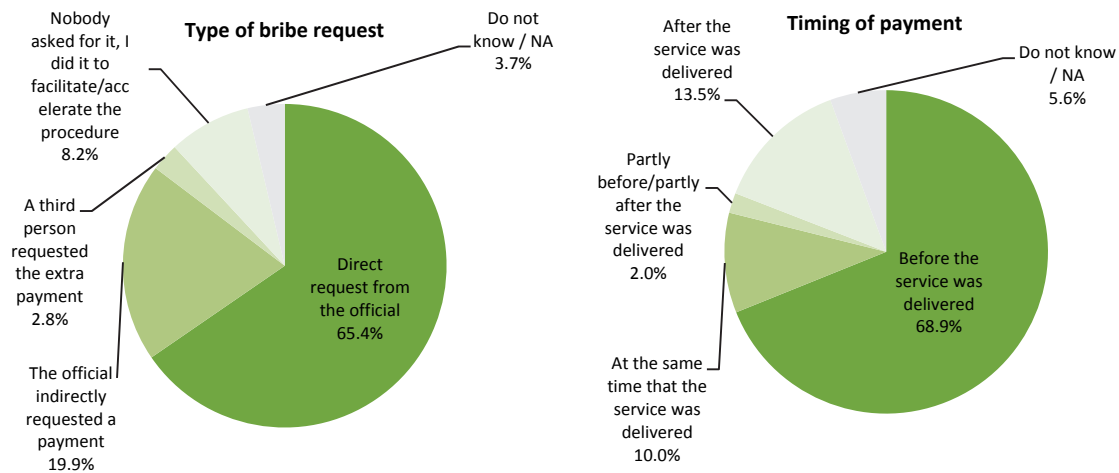
How bribery works

Public officials in Nigeria show little hesitation in asking for a bribe

The vast majority of bribery episodes in Nigeria are initiated either directly or indirectly by public officials (85.3 per cent) and almost 70 per cent of bribes are paid before a service is rendered. With such a large portion of public officials initiating bribes, which are paid up front, it seems that many public officials show little hesitation in asking for a kickback to carry out their duty and that bribery is an established part of the administrative procedure in Nigeria.

While money is by far the most important form of bribe payment in Nigeria, the survey shows that other forms of bribe payment, such as the provision of food and drink, the handing over of valuables or the exchange of another service or favour, also exist. Qualitative research shows that such exchanges may sometimes include sexual services, although the actual extent of that particular form of bribe payment is unknown.

Percentage distribution of bribes, by modality of bribe request and timing of payment, Nigeria, 2016



Provision of the most basic amenities can be subject to abuse of power

The survey shows that a large proportion of bribes in Nigeria (42 per cent) are paid to speed up or finalize an administrative procedure that may otherwise be delayed for long periods or even indefinitely, thus making bribery the most effective option for facilitating that service. The second largest proportion of bribes (18 per cent) is paid to avoid the payment of a fine, a frequent request in citizens' encounters with the police, while 13 per cent of all bribes are paid to avoid the cancellation of public utility services, an indication that the provision of the most basic amenities, including water and sanitation, can be subject to abuse of power by public officials in Nigeria.

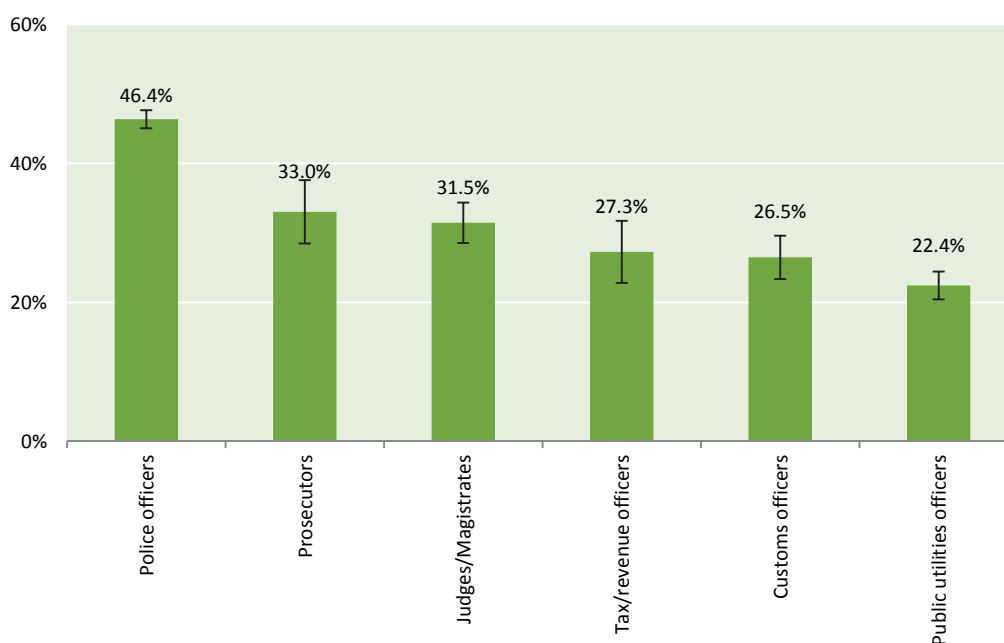
Who takes bribes

Law enforcement and the judiciary are areas of particular concern

Police officers are the type of public official to whom bribes are most commonly paid in Nigeria. Of all adult Nigerians who had direct contact with a police officer in the 12 months prior to the survey, almost half (46.4 per cent) paid that officer at least one bribe, and in many cases more than one since police officers are also among the three types of public official to whom bribes are paid most frequently (5.3 bribes per bribe-payer over the course of 12 months) in Nigeria. At the same time, the average bribe paid to police officers is somewhat below the average bribe size.

Although fewer people come into contact with judiciary officials than with police officers over the course of the year, when they do, the risk of bribery is considerable: at 33 per cent, the prevalence of bribery in relation to prosecutors is the second highest, closely followed by judges and magistrates, at 31.5 per cent. The experience of corruption in encounters with public officials whose duty it is to uphold the rule of law can lead to the erosion of trust in public authority.

Prevalence of bribery in relation to selected types of public official, Nigeria, 2016



Certain types of public official have a disproportionate impact on the lives of Nigerians

Other public officials with a high risk of bribery include car registration/driving licence officers (28.5 per cent), tax and custom officers (27.3 per cent), road traffic management officials (25.5 per cent), public utilities officers (22.4 per cent) and land registry officers (20.9 per cent). This shows that corruption takes place across a number of different sectors of the public administration and that certain public officials have a disproportionate impact on the daily lives of Nigerians.

Recruitment of public officials in Nigeria is itself subject to abuse of the system

In addition to the propensity of public officials to request/take bribes from citizens, the survey points to the influence of bribery in the process that enables public officials to secure their jobs in the first place. The survey indicates that among those households with a member who applied for a post and was actually recruited into the public administration, more than 15 per cent admitted to the payment of a bribe to facilitate their recruitment. This type of behaviour is likely to have implications on the exercise of their duties throughout their civil service career.

Who pays bribes

Gender and age play a role in the vulnerability of citizens to bribery

In terms of the demographic profile of the people most vulnerable to bribery, a remarkable disparity in the prevalence of bribery exists between men and women in Nigeria: 37.1 per cent of men who had contact with at least one public official paid a bribe in the preceding 12 months, whereas the proportion among women was 26.6 per cent.

Young adults in Nigeria are more vulnerable to bribery than other age groups, especially those in the 25 to 34-year-old age group (36.4 per cent), after which the prevalence of bribery decreases, particularly after the age of 50. In fact, the highest age-specific prevalence rate of bribery — among 25-34 year olds — is almost twice that of people aged 65 years and older.

It is also noteworthy that the residents of urban areas in Nigeria are slightly more affected by bribery than people living in rural areas, and that the prevalence and frequency of bribery vary across the different zones of Nigeria.

Higher levels of education and income lead to a greater risk of bribery

While older age groups are associated with lower levels of bribery, the prevalence of bribery increases with the educational attainment of Nigerian adults, although the result varies greatly according to the type of public official receiving the bribe.

This pattern is paralleled in the distribution of the prevalence of bribery by income level as persons with a higher income have a higher prevalence of bribery than those who are less well remunerated. The disparity in the prevalence of bribery between individuals in the lowest income households and those in the highest income households reaches 15 percentage points (29.4 per cent versus 40.0 per cent). In other words, when they come into contact with public officials, households in the highest income group in Nigeria are 58 per cent more likely to pay bribes than households in the lowest income group.

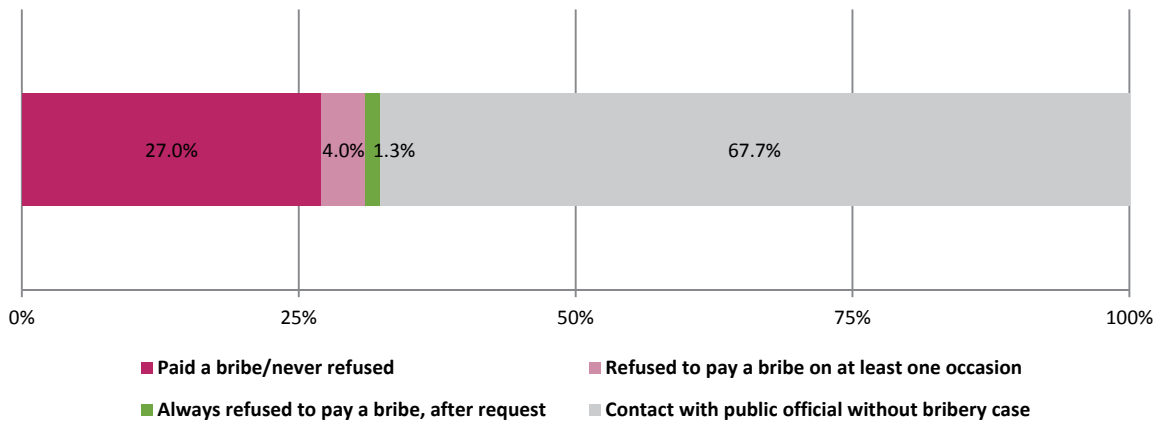
How citizens respond to bribery

Inability to refuse bribery may be caused by fear of negative consequences

Nigerian citizens confronted with a bribe request do not always pay it. For example, 5.3 per cent of those who had contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey turned down the bribery request made by a public official on at least one occasion. On the other hand, 27 per cent always paid a bribe when requested to do so. Put differently, out of every 100 people who paid a bribe every time it was requested, 20 refused to do so on at least one occasion

It should be taken into account, however, that of those 5.3 per cent, only 1.3 per cent never paid a bribe, while the remaining 4.0 per cent refused to pay a bribe at least once but paid a bribe on other occasions. Perhaps these figures are so low because more than half (56 per cent) of those who refused to pay a bribe after a request by a public official suffered negative consequences as a result of that refusal.

Prevalence of bribery, by selected types of public official, Nigeria, 2016



Nigerians seem to have little faith in the capacity of authorities to deal with corruption

Very few bribe-payers in Nigeria report their experience of bribery to anyone. Of all those who paid bribes in the 12 months prior to the survey, just 3.7 per cent reported the incident to official authorities. Limited trust in a number of state institutions in Nigeria, not least in the law enforcement and criminal justice system, may explain why Nigerians have little faith in the capacity of authorities to deal with corruption.

Apathy, fear and ignorance of authorities may explain limited reporting of bribery

In addition to the poor reputation of official authorities when it comes to corruption, further evidence of why most bribery incidents remain unreported can be found in the experience of those

Nigerians who did report a bribery incident: there was no follow up in more than one third of cases (33.7 per cent); one fifth (20.0 per cent) of those who filed a report were advised not to go ahead with the complaint and almost one out of ten Nigerians (9.1 per cent) who reported a bribery experience suffered negative consequences in connection with reporting the incident. A formal procedure against the concerned public official was only initiated in slightly more than one sixth of cases (17.6 per cent).

Bribe payers who did not report their bribery experience to any authority explained that reporting would be pointless as nobody would care (34.6 per cent) or that payment and the giving of gifts are such common practices that reporting would not make a difference (33.4 per cent). In some cases, however, bribe-payers did not report their experience because they did not know to whom to report it (6.5 per cent), while others refrained from reporting because they were afraid of reprisals (5.8 per cent).

Bribery and other corrupt acts may not always be perceived as corruption in Nigeria

While the experience of bribery is widespread, and the refusal and reporting of bribery are still limited, the question arises as to whether bribery is actually a universally accepted practice in the country. On this point, the data are very clear: some two thirds of Nigerians actually consider most forms of corruption to be completely unacceptable, while only a minority of Nigerians find corrupt practices “always acceptable”.

However, even for those who engage in them, certain corrupt acts may not always be perceived as amounting to corruption. For example, almost a third of Nigerians consider the recruitment of public officials on the basis of family ties and friendship networks to be an acceptable practice, despite the fact that the Nigerian civil service professes to base professional recruitment purely on merit rather than on personal ties.

Moreover, 86 per cent of survey respondents declared that they would report a bribery incident to an official or unofficial authority, a figure in stark contrast to the bribery reporting rate of 3.7 per cent and a clear indication of a disconnect between the perceptions of many Nigerians as to how they think they would react when encountering corruption and how they actually behave in practice.

INTRODUCTION

Corruption is seen as a major problem in many countries, none of which is immune to the negative effects of bribery and other corrupt acts, yet the hidden nature of corruption often prevents an in-depth examination of its scope and nature. It is widely acknowledged that a comprehensive understanding of corruption cannot rely solely on detected cases of corruption, as recorded by law enforcement agencies. To fight corruption more effectively, it is well established that there is a need to improve understanding of its different manifestations, as well as to address corruption through evidence-based anti-corruption policies and measures.

The study of corruption requires evidence based directly on citizens' experience of it. The conduct of a methodologically sound survey that is representative of the general population can contribute much to the comprehensive examination of the extent and nature of corruption. In recognition of this fact, the Government of Nigeria, in its resolve to study and measure corruption to strengthen the fight against it, has undertaken the largest corruption survey ever conducted on the African continent.

Corruption comes in many guises, ranging from the familiar experience of administrative bribery in daily encounters with public officials to clandestine grand corruption schemes to misappropriate public funds. This report provides a solid evidence base on the nature and extent of administrative bribery, perhaps the most familiar and widespread form of corruption among the general population in Nigeria today.¹ Although not as newsworthy as the large-scale embezzlement of public funds, the compounded effects of bribery in the public administration can make it just as destructive to society: by affecting the lives of ordinary citizens in their daily interactions with public officials, the recurring request for bribes erodes the rule of law, disrupts the fair allocation of resources and reduces accessibility to public services. Corrupt officials decide who has to pay a fine to the police, who gets access to public utility services, who gets a business licence and who is admitted to school. Bribery is a heavy burden on the whole population and has a toxic effect on the fair and efficient functioning of the public administration.

Experience-based corruption surveys

To improve their knowledge and understanding of corruption, over the past decade many countries, often with the support of international organizations such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), have developed methodologies for experience-based surveys on bribery and other forms of corruption.² This type of survey avoids the shortcomings of information based on recorded cases or perception-based indicators on corruption. By generating actionable data on patterns and modalities of bribe-paying, by highlighting particular areas of vulnerability to bribery in the public administration, and by examining inadequacies in the state response to corruption, experience-based corruption surveys, such as the one presented in this report, provide concrete guidance for the design of anti-corruption strategies and policies.

The importance of survey-based assessments of bribery in generating baseline indicators suitable for monitoring trends and patterns of corruption has also been recognized by the international community. The two indicators chosen for monitoring anti-corruption targets within the Sustainable Development Goals, a set of global goals and targets adopted by Heads of State in September 2015, which is valid from 2015-2030, are based on experience-based corruption surveys (of the general

¹ The methodology applied in this study is best suited to the investigation of different forms of administrative bribery; it does not extend to so-called "grand corruption" (procurement fraud, embezzlement of large public funds, etc.), which would require a different approach.

² A previous experience-based survey on crime and corruption affecting businesses in Nigeria was conducted in 2007 on a random sample of 2,775 businesses: UNODC, *Business Survey on Crime and Corruption in Nigeria – Executive Summary* (2009). Other experience-based surveys on corruption have been conducted by UNODC in Afghanistan, Iraq and the western Balkans (for more information, see <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/corruption.html>).

population and businesses, respectively).³ Specifically, under the Sustainable Development Goals, countries have committed themselves to monitoring progress towards target 16.5 (“Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms”) and indicator 16.5.1 (“prevalence of bribery”) is one of the main indicators examined in detail in this report.

Corruption survey in Nigeria

The present report is based on data collected in a large-scale household survey (33,067 households) on corruption conducted in April/May 2016 in all 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria. The survey was conducted as part of a larger technical assistance project on corruption funded by the European Union (Support to Anti-Corruption in Nigeria) and was implemented by the National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria (NBS) in partnership with UNODC. As part of the activities to ensure the integrity and accuracy of data, a quality assurance programme of the whole survey process was designed by NBS and UNODC and implemented by an independent institute specialized in sample surveys — Practical Sampling International (PSI).

The Nigerian Corruption Survey was designed as a large-scale household survey with a minimum number of 800-900 interviews conducted in each of the 36 states (and FCT), so that results on the prevalence of bribery are representative at the national level and for each of the 36 states (and FCT) individually.

The design of the survey instruments benefited greatly from the input of a wide-ranging group of stakeholders in Nigeria. When developing the survey, several rounds of consultations were held with the National Steering Committee (NSC) of the survey, consisting of 14 beneficiary agencies of the Support to Anti-Corruption Project in Nigeria, including all the major anti-corruption agencies in the country. Particularly valuable input on the questionnaire was provided by the National Technical Committee (NTC), which was composed of a sub-set of the NSC and included UNODC and NBS. The inclusion of such a large number of national stakeholders was fundamental to ensure that the survey results are relevant for informing anti-corruption policy and that the results can be used for developing an evidence-based national response strategy to corruption in Nigeria.

³ United Nations General Assembly, Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, A/RES/70/1 of 21 October 2015. The indicators were approved by the United Nations Statistical Commission in 2016: United Nations Statistical Commission, Report of the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on Sustainable Development Goal Indicators. Note by the Secretary-General, E/CN.3/2016/2/Rev.1 of 19 February 2016.

CHAPTER 1. REACH OF BRIBERY

KEY FINDINGS

Reference period: June 2015–May 2016

• Prevalence of bribery in the public sector	32.3 per cent
• Average number of bribes paid to public officials by bribe-payers	5.8
• Total number of bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria in 12 months	82 million
• Per-capita number of bribes paid to public officials, adult population	0.9
• Contact rate with public officials	52.2 per cent

The findings of the first ever large-scale household survey on corruption in Nigeria demonstrate that bribery is present in all areas of life in Nigeria, although it affects different zones, states and individuals in different ways and to different extents. This section focuses on the geographic spread of bribery in Nigeria, from the national, through the zonal to the state level, by looking at the experience of Nigerians in terms of bribery occurrences when dealing with public officials.

Prevalence and frequency of bribery

Corruption takes many forms but the way it affects most citizens is in their dealings with the public administration. Examples of such contacts may include an appointment with a doctor in a public hospital, a meeting to ensure the provision of public services, to being stopped by a police officer on the street, or other direct interactions with various types of public official.

Although a smaller proportion than in more developed countries, more than half (52.2 per cent) of Nigerian adults had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey. Interacting with public officials allows citizens to access public services, but a worryingly large proportion of interactions result in a bribe changing hands to the personal benefit of the public official involved: almost a third of Nigerian adults (32.3 per cent) who had contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey had to pay, or were requested to pay, a bribe to that public official.⁴ The prevalence rate was somewhat higher in urban areas (34.8 per cent) than in rural areas (31 per cent) of Nigeria, which can be largely explained by the greater exposure of urban residents than of rural residents to numerous types of public official.⁵

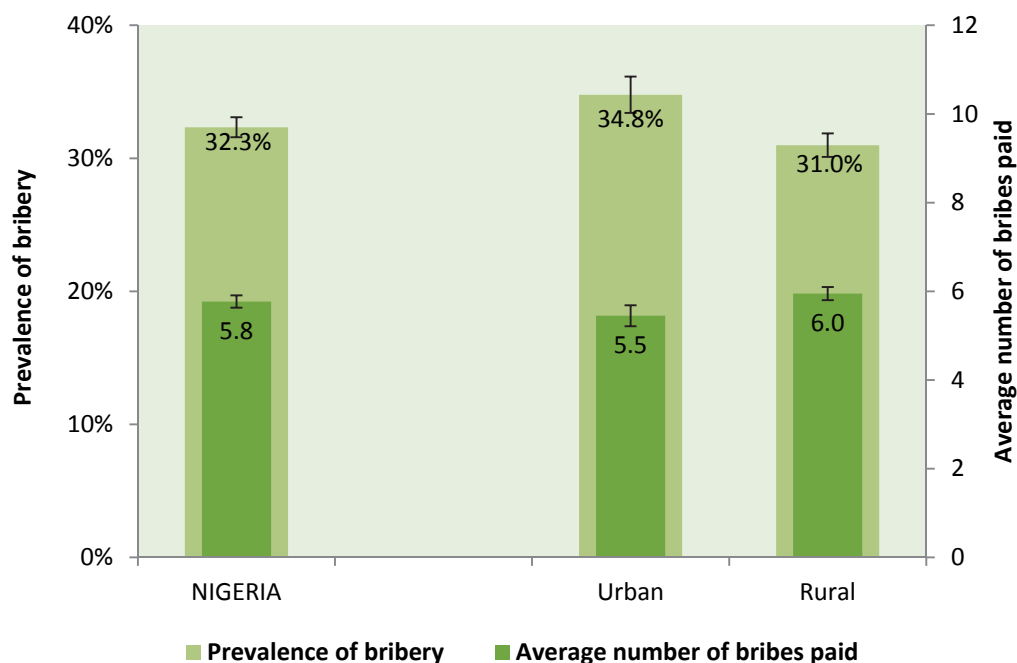
The fact that almost one third of Nigerians who had contact with a public official paid one or more bribes over the course of the year shows that bribery is clearly a significant issue in the lives of Nigerians. Its magnitude becomes even more palpable when factoring in the frequency of bribe payments: according to the survey, bribe-payers in Nigeria pay an average of roughly six bribes per

⁴ The extended concept of the prevalence of bribery (those who paid bribes to, and those who were asked to pay bribes by, public officials) is the preferred indicator for measuring the extent of corruption under target 16.5 of the Sustainable Development Goals. It is calculated as the “proportion of persons who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by those public officials, during the previous 12 months” (source <http://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/files/Metadata-16-05-01.pdf>); see the methodological annex of the present report for further details.

⁵ See chapter 3 on bribery by type of public official.

year, or one bribe every two months, with the average being slightly higher in rural (6.0) than in urban (5.5) areas (figure 1).⁶

Figure 1 Prevalence and frequency of bribery at the national level and by urban/rural area, Nigeria, 2016

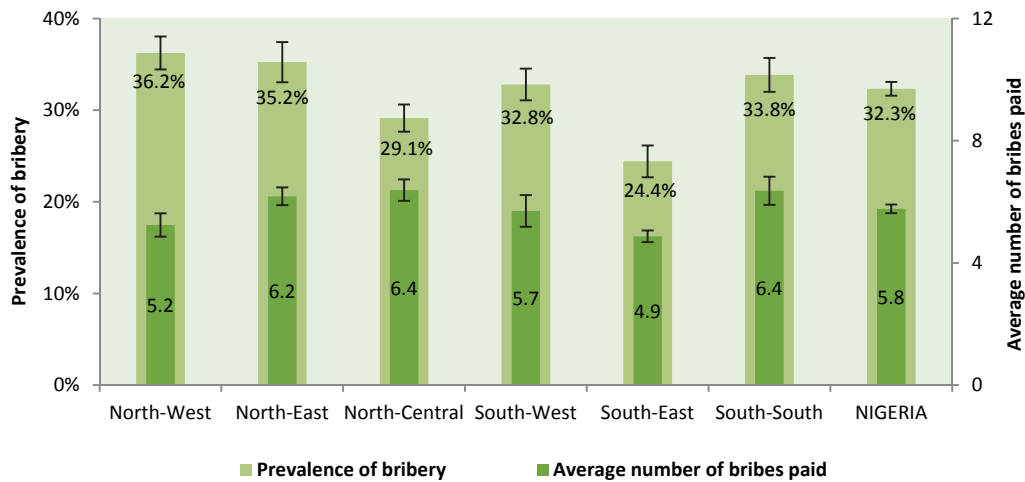


Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official. The average number of bribes refers to the average number of bribes given by all bribe-payers, i.e., those who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey. The black bars indicate the confidence intervals for the prevalence and the frequency of bribery at 95 per cent confidence level. Taylor series expansion is used to calculate the confidence intervals for the prevalence rates.

Beyond the urban/rural distinction there are some significant disparities in the prevalence and frequency of bribery across the different geographical zones of Nigeria. In broad terms, the prevalence and frequency of bribery are consistently lower than the national average in the states of the South-East. However, from the spatial analysis of bribery prevalence across the 36 states of Nigeria no clear geographical pattern emerges. At the state level, the prevalence of bribery ranges between 13 per cent in Kwara state and 52 per cent in Borno state, indicating that local factors can have a significant impact on interactions between civil servants and the public. For example, the type of official involved in bribery can vary significantly from one zone to another, thus having an impact on overall bribery prevalence at the state level (see chapter 3).

⁶ By way of comparison with the results from national corruption surveys supported by UNODC in recent years, both in Afghanistan (2012) and the western Balkans (2010) the prevalence of bribery was higher in rural areas than in urban areas, while in Iraq (2011) both the prevalence and frequency of bribery were higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

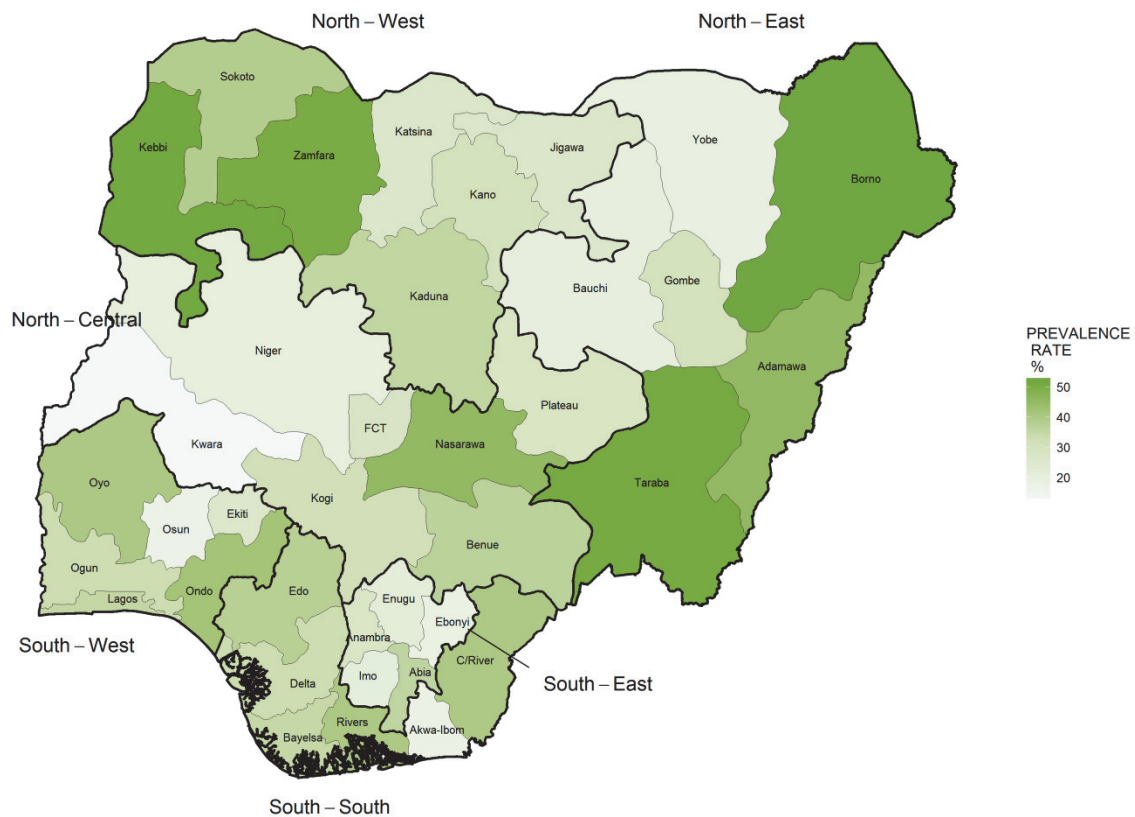
Figure 2 Prevalence and frequency of bribery at the national level and by zone, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official. The average number of bribes refers to the average number of bribes given by all bribe-payers, i.e., those who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey. The black bars indicate the confidence interval for the prevalence and frequency of bribery at 95 per cent confidence level. Taylor series expansion is used to calculate the confidence intervals for the prevalence rates.

Similarly, the average number of bribes paid by bribe-payers (frequency of bribery) varies significantly across states, from an average of less than 3 to more than 14. Notably, there is no statistical association between higher prevalence rates of bribery and the frequency of bribery.

Map 1 Prevalence of bribery, by state, Nigeria, 2016

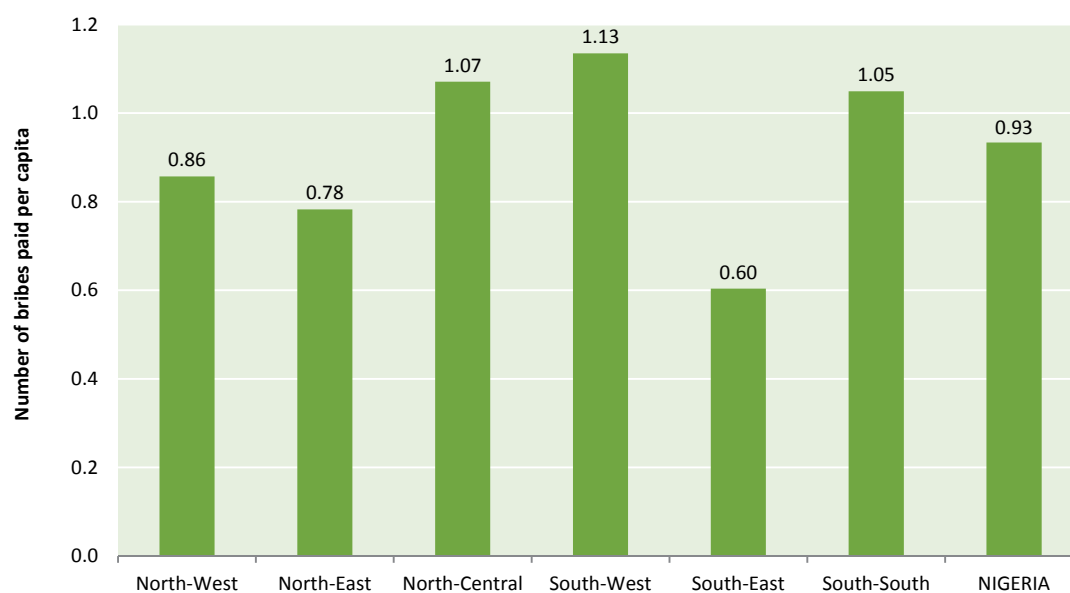


Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official.

Total number of bribes paid

In addition to the prevalence of bribery, which indicates the risk of bribery when in contact with public officials, and the frequency of bribery, which describes the concentration of bribe payments among the bribe-paying population, another relevant indicator is the total number of bribes paid by the population. This is estimated by multiplying the average number of bribes paid by the total number of people who actually paid a bribe. In the case of Nigeria, it is estimated that a total of approximately 82.3 million bribes were paid during the 12 months prior to the survey. This results in an average of 0.93 bribes paid per adult during that period — almost one bribe for every adult Nigerian.

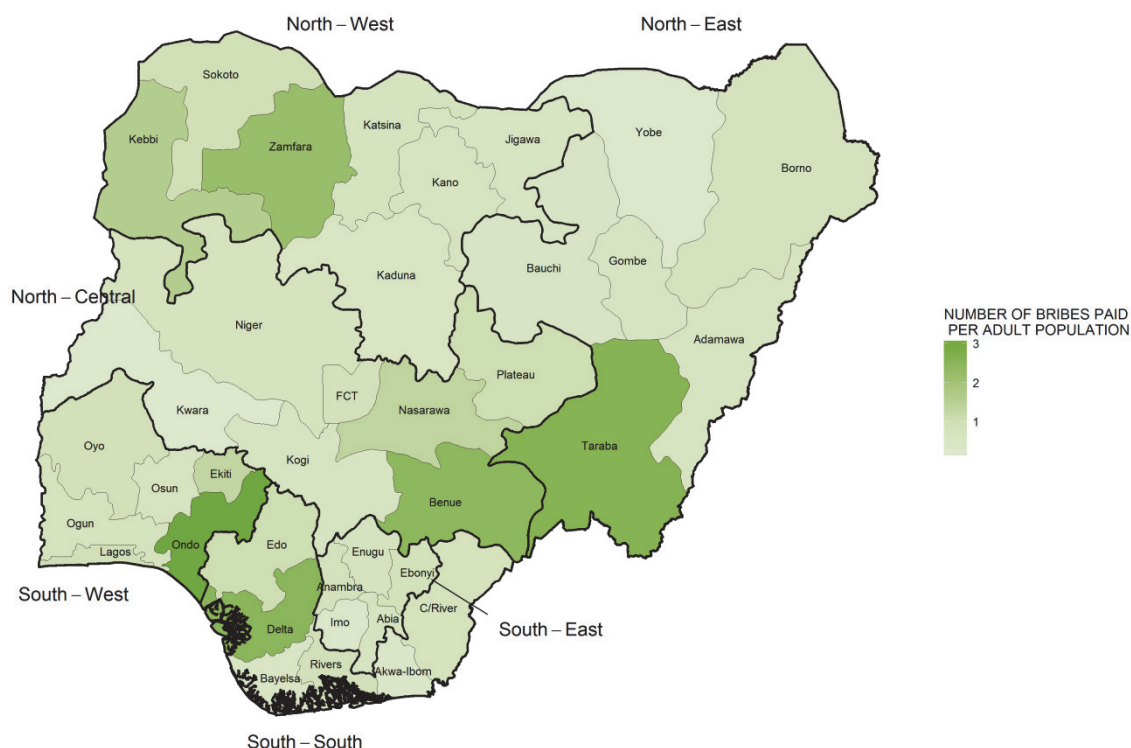
Figure 3 Average number of bribes paid to public officials per adult Nigerian, by zone, Nigeria, 2016



Note:

The number of bribes paid per capita is calculated as the estimated total number of bribes paid by adult Nigerians divided by the total adult Nigerian population (people aged 18 or above).

Although there is some zonal variation in the average number of bribes paid per adult across Nigeria as a whole, with the highest per-capita figure being 1.1 in the South-West and the lowest being 0.6 in the South-East, there is less variation in the average number of bribes paid across the different zones than there is in the prevalence of bribery. When comparing the resulting distribution of bribes paid per adult Nigerian by state, it appears that some states with a high prevalence of bribery (for example, states in the North East of the country) have a lower than average number of bribes paid per capita (map 2). This is a result of the lower than average number of contacts with public officials in those states, as well as a lower average number of bribes paid per bribe-payer.

Map 2 Number of bribes paid to public officials per adult population, by state, Nigeria, 2016

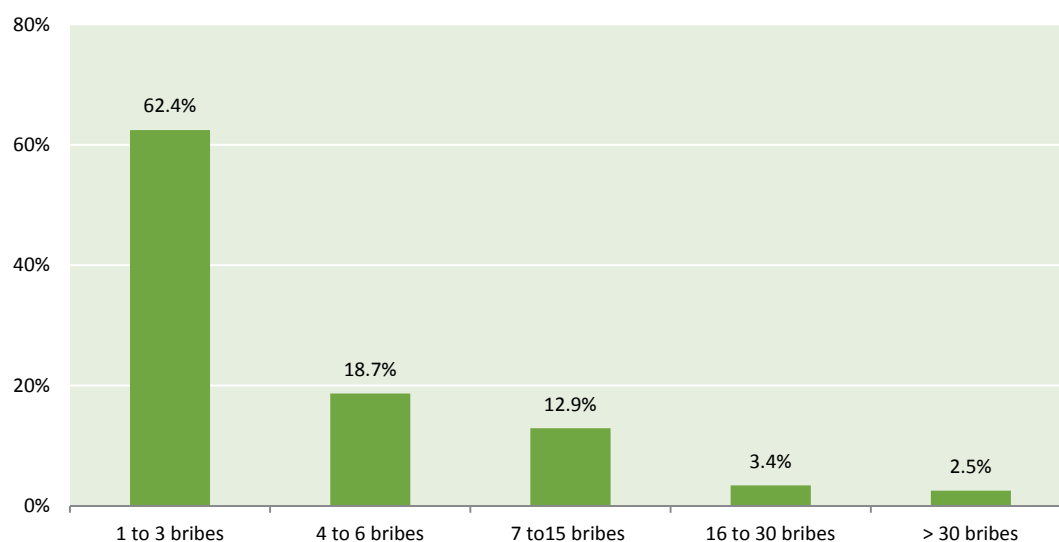
Note: The number of bribes paid per capita is calculated as the estimated total number of bribes paid by adult Nigerians in the state divided by the adult population of the same state.

Concentration of bribe payments

An important aspect of administrative bribery in Nigeria and elsewhere is that it is linked to the accessibility of public services and interactions with public officials. Only citizens who come into contact with public officials are exposed to bribery in the public sector. As explained in the previous sections, almost half (47.8 per cent) of adult Nigerians did not have any direct contact with a public official during the 12 months prior to the survey and consequently were not exposed to a potential bribery request. Among those who did have at least one direct contact with a public official, the survey found that 32.3 per cent paid a bribe, or were asked to pay a bribe, at least once, while the average number of bribes paid by bribe-payers was 5.8. The distribution of the number of bribes paid, however, was again highly uneven, with the majority of bribe-payers paying only one or two bribes over the course of 12 months, while a smaller share of “frequent bribe-payers” paid over 15 bribes during the same period (figure 4).⁷

⁷ Among all bribe-payers, 27.7 per cent paid exactly one bribe, 21.9 per cent paid two and 12.8 per cent paid three bribes in the 12 months prior to the interview, while the remaining bribe-payers paid more than three bribes each. In terms of geographic location, gender, educational attainment and income group, no particular characteristics differentiate frequent bribe-payers from other bribe-payers.

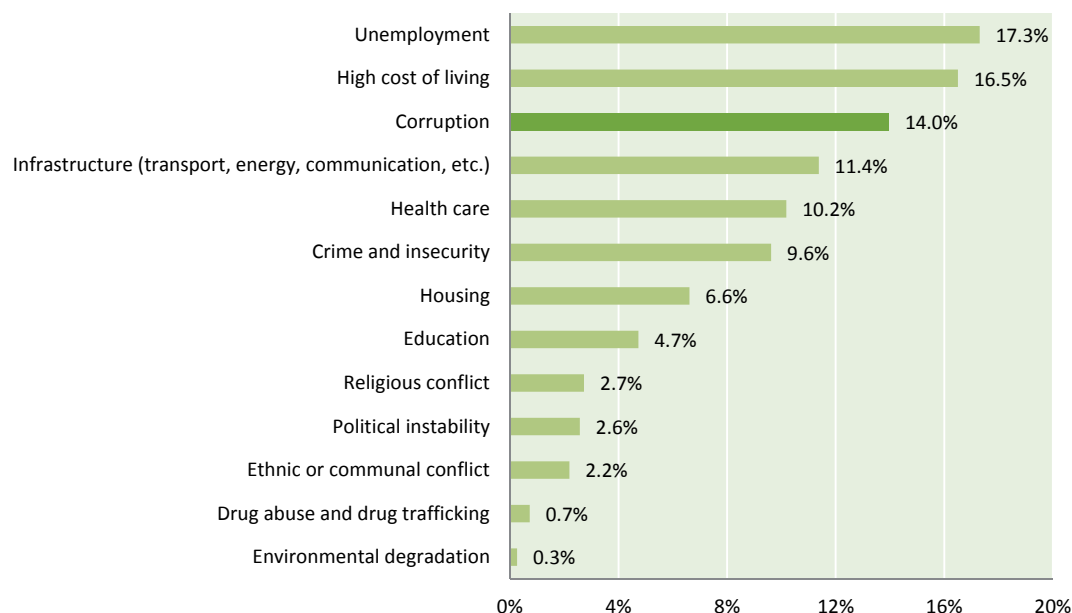
Figure 4 Percentage distribution of the total number of bribes paid to public officials by individual bribe-payers during the 12 months prior to the survey, Nigeria, 2016



Perceptions of corruption and other concerns

The widespread experience of corruption as reported above explains why corruption is considered one of the major concerns in Nigeria. Roughly one out of every seven Nigerian adults (14.0 per cent) considers corruption to be the most important problem facing their country, almost on a par with the high cost of living and unemployment (figure 5).

Figure 5 Percentage of the population considering selected issues to be the most important problem affecting Nigeria, 2016



Note: The percentages reflect the share of adult Nigerians considering a selected issue to be the most important issue facing their country, as a percentage of the total number of survey respondents.

When it comes to perceptions of corruption at the state and zonal levels, it is interesting to note that different levels of perceptions of corruption among the general population are more closely related to the average number of bribes paid per capita than to the prevalence of bribery (which only includes those who had contact with public officials over the past year, while the former refers to

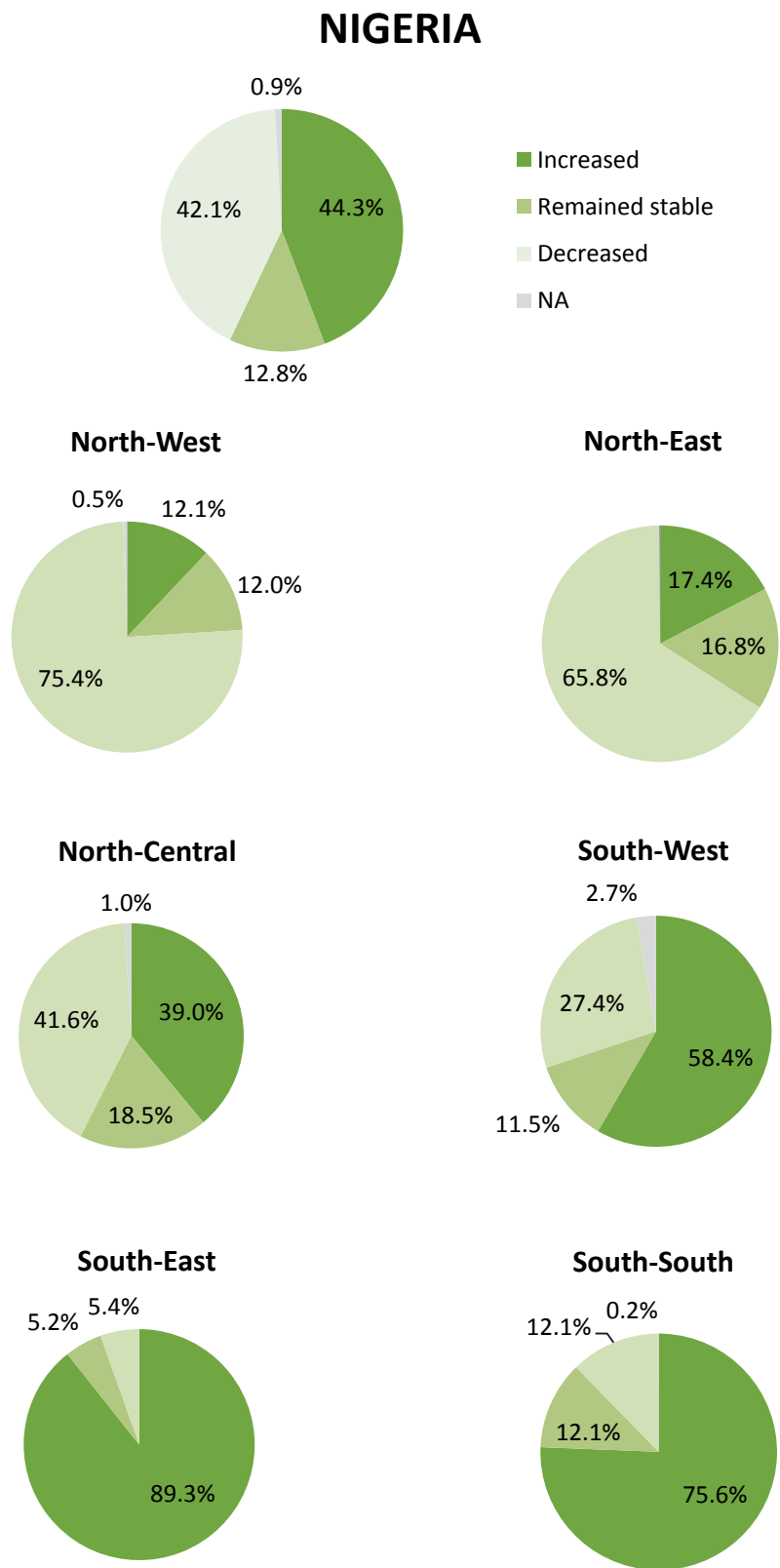
everyone irrespective of contacts). Corruption is the top concern for 18.8 per cent of Nigerians in the South-South zone and 17.2 per cent in the South-West zone, while it is the primary concern for 7.9 per cent of respondents in the North-West and 12.6 per cent in the North-East (two zones with above average prevalence rates but below-average bribes paid per capita).

In addition, it is likely that general perceptions are also influenced by the generally difficult situation of the population, which often makes other concerns more immediately important: Nigerians living in the North-West are more worried about the high cost of living, crime/insecurity and health care issues. Southern zones (South-East and South-South) have similar perceptions, even if people in the South-West express greater concern about the inadequacy of the infrastructure (which is the most important concern for over 20 per cent of Nigerians in that zone). In general, corruption moves down the list of the greatest concerns for people in rural areas and with lower incomes. The relationship between the experience of corruption and perceptions of corruption is thus not a straightforward one. In addition to one's own experience, the experience of family and friends, and the influence of public opinion and the media shape the way corruption is seen at any particular point in time. In addition, political opinions may shape the way corruption is perceived.

To summarize, the public perception of corruption has a weaker correlation with the prevalence of bribery (among people who had contact with public officials) than with the average number of bribes paid per capita (among all the adult population irrespective of their contact with public officials). Since bribery occurs only when there is contact with a public official, this corroborates the inadequacy of perception data for understanding actual levels of corruption.

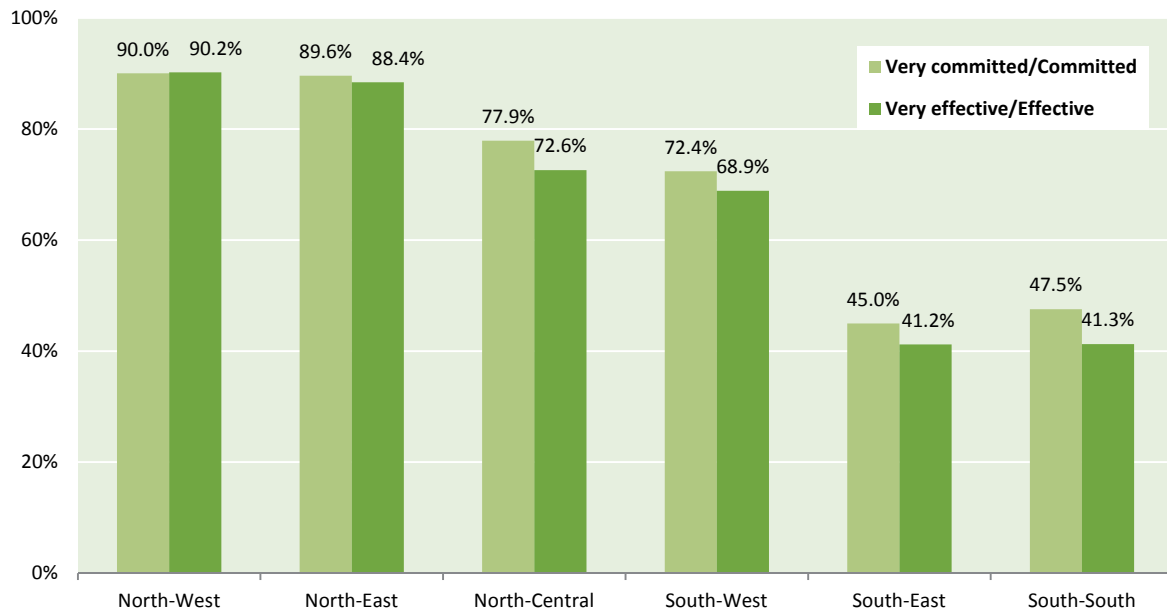
If perceptions about levels of corruption are varied across the zones of Nigeria, perceptions about whether corruption has increased or decreased over the past two years (2014-2016) are even more polarized. At the national level, the population is almost equally split between those who perceive that corruption has increased (44.3 per cent) and those who perceive a decrease (42.1 per cent). However, when these perceptions are examined at the zonal level, it appears that opinions about trends in corruption differ markedly by zone, with large majorities in the North-East and in the North-West perceiving decreases and large majorities in the three southern zones perceiving increases in corruption (figure 6).

Figure 6 Percentage distribution of adult population according to perceived trends in corruption compared with two years prior to the survey, at the national level and by zone, Nigeria (2016)



The geographical divide in perceived trends in corruption between the northern and southern zones parallels the one observed in relation to the level of concern about corruption and deserves further analysis and research. The share of people considering the Government “effective” or “very effective” in fighting corruption ranges between 72.6 and 90.2 per cent in the northern zones (North-Central and North-West, respectively), whereas these shares drop to between 41.2 to 68.9 per cent for respondents in the southern zones. The same geographical divide is reflected in perceptions about the commitment of the Government to fighting corruption (figure 7).

Figure 7 Percentage distribution of perceptions of the commitment and the effectiveness of the Government in the fight against corruption, by zone, Nigeria (2016)

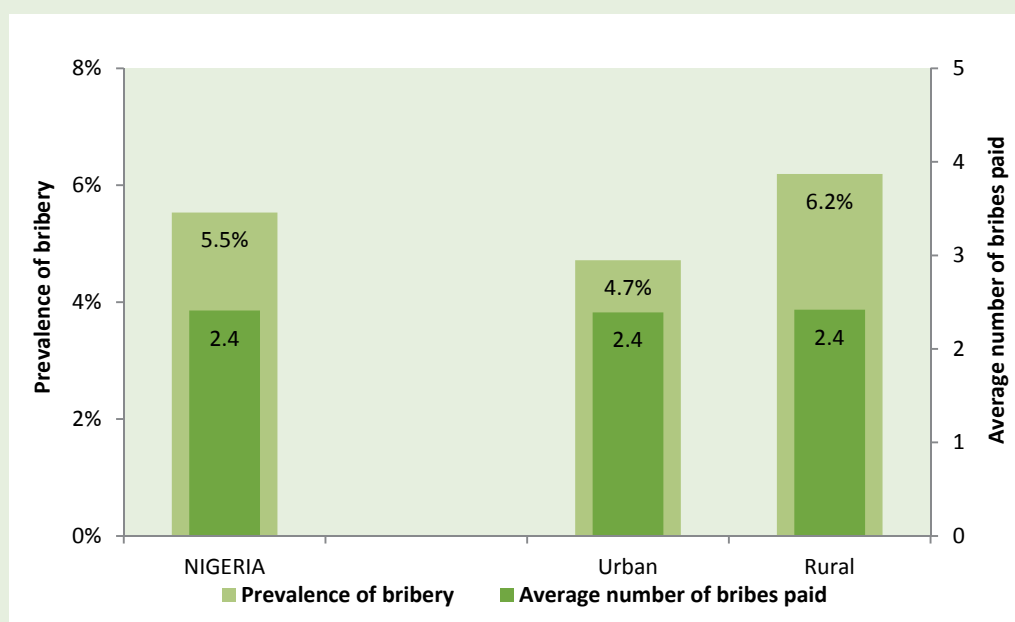


BOX 1 | Bribery in the private sector

As elsewhere, corruption and bribery in Nigeria are not only limited to interactions between the public and public officials, but also take place between the public and employees of private sector entities (businesses). In such cases, corruption is related to conduct “in breach of his or her duties” for personal gain; a conduct that is harmful to the business in question and to other customers.

Nigerians experience bribery in various private sector exchanges when they come into contact with employees in the private sector with a certain decision-making power or who can provide access to coveted goods or services. These can include: admission to a private school; preferential school grades; favourable treatment in private hospitals in exchange for a payment that personally benefits a nurse or doctor; access to a bank loan that may otherwise be denied or to avoid thorough controls in the insurance sector.

Figure 8 Prevalence and frequency of bribery in the private sector at the national level and the urban/rural level, Nigeria, 2016



For the purposes of the survey, six types of private sector employee were selected: doctors in private hospitals, nurses in private hospitals, teachers in private schools, employees in private banks, employees in private insurance companies and others.

In contrast to the 52.2 per cent of adult Nigerians who had contact with a public official, only one out of four (25.2 per cent) had contact with any of these six types of private sector employees during the 12 months prior to the survey, yet, though lower than the prevalence of public sector bribery, the prevalence of bribery among persons who paid a bribe to private sector employees is still significant, reaching 5.5 per cent at the national level (6.1 per cent in rural areas; 4.7 per cent in urban areas). The lower intensity of private sector bribery than of public sector bribery is also reflected in the smaller average number of bribes (2.4 versus 5.8 in the public sector) paid by each bribe-payer to private sector employees; there was no noticeable difference between rural and urban areas.

CHAPTER 2. HOW BRIBERY WORKS

KEY FINDINGS

• Percentage of bribes solicited directly or indirectly	85.3 per cent
• Percentage of bribes paid before the service is rendered	68.9 per cent
• Percentage of bribes paid in cash	91.9 per cent
• Average size of cash bribes	Nigerian Naira (NGN) 5,317.6 (\$61.0 - PPP)
• Total amount paid in cash bribes to public officials in Nigeria in one year	NGN 402 billion (\$4.6 billion - PPP)
• Percentage of average annual salary spent on cash bribes by bribe-payers in one year	13.6 per cent
• Most common type of bribe	Cash bribe, paid before the service, directly requested by the public official to speed up a procedure (18.1 per cent of all bribes paid)

The high prevalence of bribery throughout Nigeria reinforces expectations among the population that bribes are often used as a tool for solving all manner of administrative problems. With each bribe paid perceptions that bribes are inevitable and cannot be resisted are further confirmed, thus perpetuating a vicious circle of mistrust, of expecting and paying bribes.

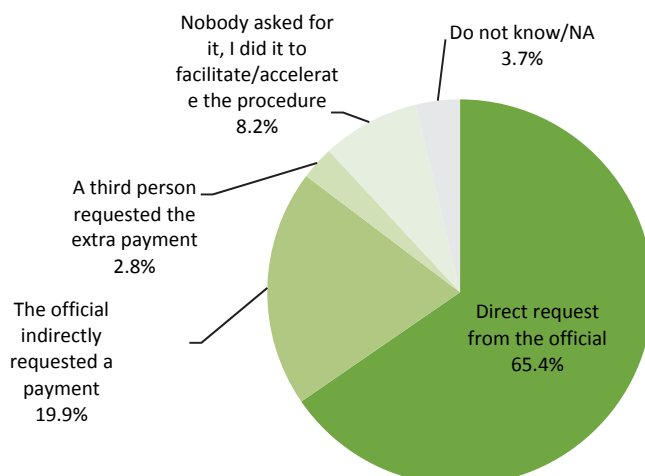
Bribes can be paid to public officials in a number of different ways, in distinct forms, for different purposes and in diverse contexts. Understanding the mechanics of bribery is therefore fundamental for developing measures and policies for preventing and fighting corruption. A better understanding of the circumstances surrounding bribe-paying episodes can be obtained by examining how bribery is initiated and by whom, the type of payment made, the timing of bribe payments and the purpose for which bribes are paid.

Who instigates bribes

The first element in the mechanism of bribery is the bribery request (solicitation) or offer. This can take the shape of a direct, brazen request from a public official, an indirect request by insinuation or a request through a third party. Alternatively, the bribe can also be initiated by a citizen in the form of an offer.

In almost two thirds of bribery cases in Nigeria (65.4 per cent) the request is made directly by the public official, and in a further one out of five cases the public official makes the request indirectly (19.9 per cent) or through a third person (2.8 per cent), while only 8.2 per cent of bribes are offered by citizens. The fact that the vast majority of bribes are solicited by public officials implies that flaws in their professional ethics are widespread among public officials, as is a feeling of impunity.

Figure 9 Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by modality of bribe request/offer, Nigeria, 2016

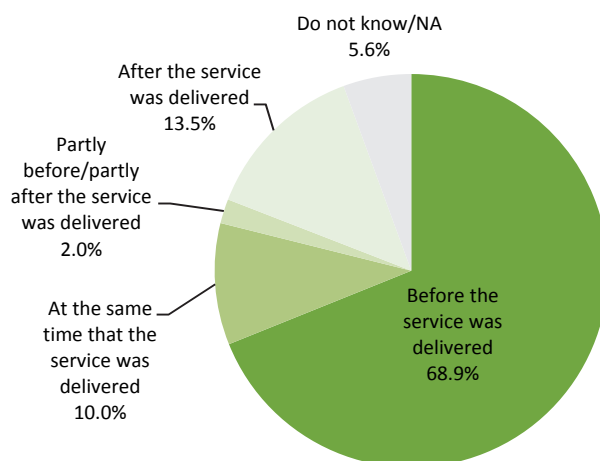


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

When bribes are paid

The survey finds that almost 70 per cent of bribes are paid before the service⁸ is rendered (a similar share to the percentage of bribes directly requested by public officials) while 13.5 per cent are paid after the service (figure 10), thus providing further evidence that citizens seem to expect that they will have to pay a bribe. This implies that bribery is often an accepted part of the administrative procedure in Nigeria, at least for a significant proportion of both public officials and members of the public.

Figure 10 Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by timing of payment, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

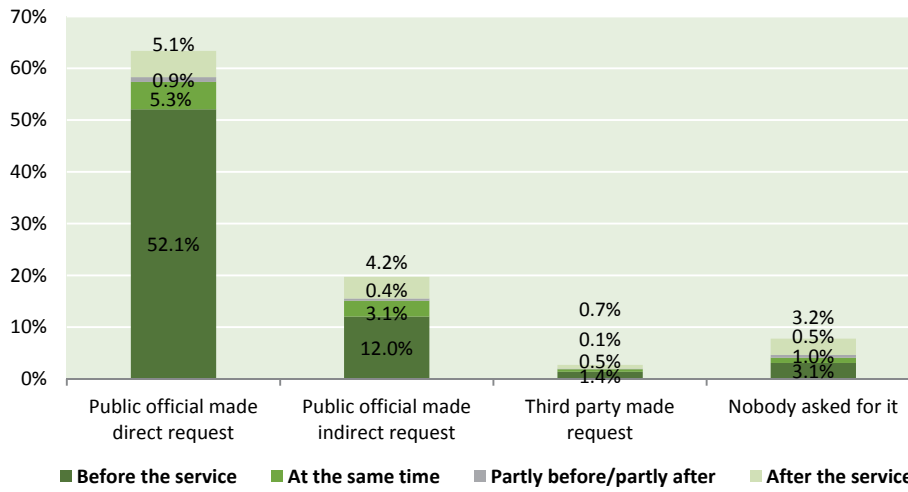
When investigating the modality of a bribery request/offer together with the timing of a bribe payment, a clearer picture of the most common bribery payment mechanisms in Nigeria can be obtained: direct requests by public officials are often associated with immediate bribe payments.

In particular, the survey reveals that more than half of all bribes (52.1 per cent) in Nigeria are paid upon a direct request by a public official before the service requested by the citizen has been carried

⁸ In this context, “service” includes all official acts performed by public officials in the course of their duties, including, for example, a routine inspection by a police officer.

out. A further 12 per cent are paid in advance upon an indirect request by a public official. The rest are paid in various combinations of bribe requests/offers and timing (figure 11).

Figure 11 Percentage of bribes paid to public officials, by timing and modality of bribe requests (last bribe paid only), Nigeria, 2016



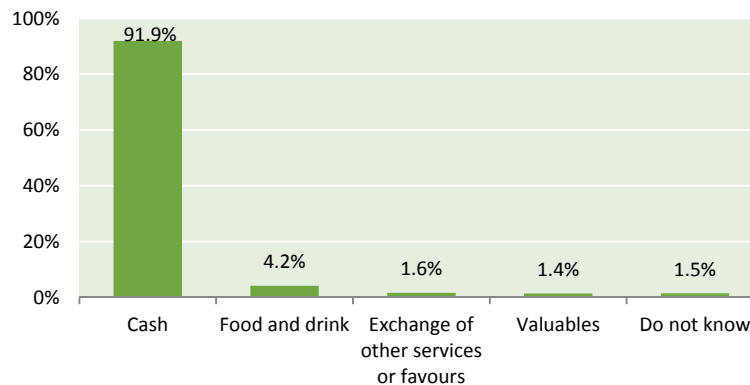
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum of all bribes paid by timing and modality is 100 per cent.

The same information can also be interpreted in a different way: in cases in which a public official makes a direct request, around four fifths of bribes are paid before the service, while in cases in which a bribe is offered by a citizen to a public official without instigation, bribe-payers in Nigeria are slightly more likely to pay after they receive a service than before.

What form bribes take

Bribes come in a number of different forms but the payment of money (cash) is by the far the most dominant. Nine out of every ten bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria are paid in cash (91.9 per cent), while only 4.2 per cent take the form of food and drink (figure 12). A small proportion of bribes (1.6 per cent of all cases) are paid in the form of an exchange of services or favours, such as providing manual labour or offering other preferential treatment, but also through the exchange of sexual services. Finally, the handing over of valuables, such as jewellery, watches or smartphones, accounts for 1.4 per cent of bribery cases.

Figure 12 Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by form of payment, Nigeria, 2016



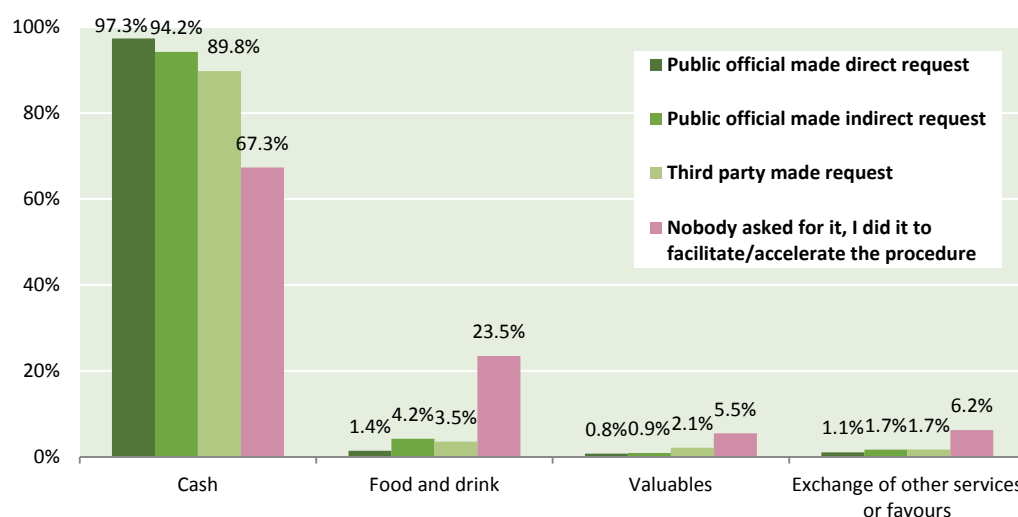
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum is higher than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and valuables).

There are no considerable zonal fluctuations in the form of bribe payments across Nigeria, nor between urban and rural areas: 97.7 per cent of all bribes in the North-East zone are paid in cash while, at the other end of the scale, the share of cash bribes in the South-East zone is 89.3 per cent.

Despite the predominance of cash bribes, the form that bribe payments take can fluctuate when considering the modality of bribe payments. For example, when a bribe request is made directly by a public official almost all bribes are paid in cash (97.3 per cent). The proportion of cash bribes decreases slightly when the bribe is requested indirectly by the public official (94.2 per cent) or by a third party (89.8 per cent).

On the other hand, in those instances when bribe-payers offer bribes to public officials (8.2 per cent of all cases) they have a certain tendency to do so in the form of food and drinks. While cash payments are still predominant, they represent a lower portion of bribes (67.3 per cent) paid, and the percentage of bribes given in the form of food and drink increases to 23.5 per cent, valuables make up 5.5 per cent and the exchange of other services or favours another 6.2 per cent (figure 13).

Figure 13 Percentage distribution of the modality of bribe requests/offers, by form of payment, Nigeria, 2016

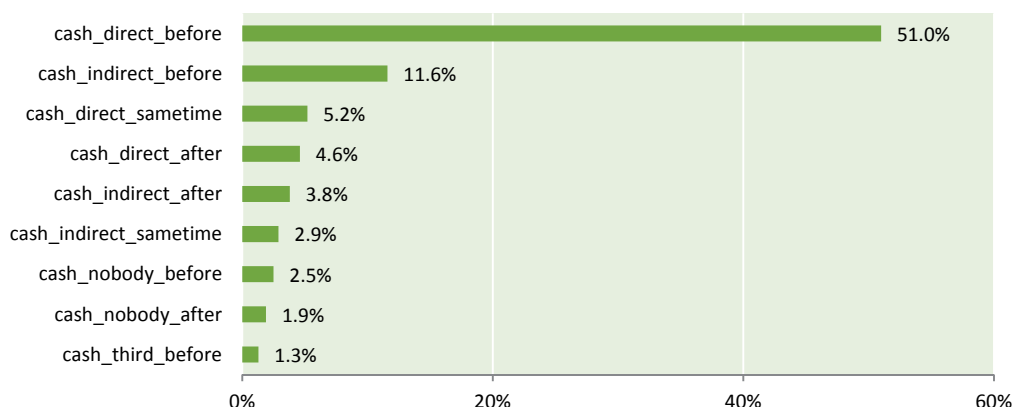


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum can be greater than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and valuables).

As in the case of who initiates the bribe, there is a relationship between the timing of the payment of a bribe and the form of bribe requested. Cash payments still predominate regardless of the timing of the transaction, but bribes are more likely to take the form of food and drink when the bribe is paid after the service is rendered or when bribery takes place partly before and partly after the service. The form of payment also varies according to the type of public official who takes the bribe, which is explored in the next chapter.

When further refining the analysis by simultaneously combining the form of bribe payment with the modality of bribe requests/offers as well as with the timing of payment it can be seen that more than half of public sector bribes paid in Nigeria are paid in cash, upon the direct request of a public official and before the service is carried out. A further 11.6 per cent are paid in cash following an indirect request and also before the service. Overall, bribes triggered by requests of public officials, whether direct or indirect, and paid in cash amount to over 80 per cent of all bribes paid (figure 14).

Figure 14 Percentage distribution of most common bribes paid to public officials, by form of payment, modality of request/offer and timing of request, Nigeria (2016)



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The percentage distribution is calculated as the number of bribes paid with a given modality, timing and form, as a percentage of the total number of bribes paid. Legend: cash = bribe paid in cash; direct = direct request of public official; indirect = indirect request of public official; nobody = nobody asked for it; third = third party made request; before = bribe paid before the service; sametime = bribe paid at the same time with the public service; after = bribe paid after the public service.

Size of cash bribes

The average amount paid as a cash bribe in Nigeria is Nigerian Naira (NGN) 5,318, which is equivalent to roughly \$61 in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP).⁹ This means that, every time a Nigerian pays a cash bribe, on average he or she spends some 28.2 per cent of the average (individual) monthly salary of roughly NGN 18,900.¹⁰ Since bribe-payers in Nigeria pay an average of 5.8 bribes over the course of the year (or around once every two months), 92 per cent of which are paid in cash, they spend an average of around NGN 28,200¹¹ annually on cash bribes, which is equivalent to 12.5 per cent of the national average annual salary.

These average amounts hide a great deal of disparity in bribe sizes and between bribe-payers of higher and lower financial means. While more than half of bribes paid in cash amount to NGN 1,000 or less (\$11.5 - PPP), the average amount paid is significantly larger because a small share (6.5 per cent) of large bribes are in excess of NGN 10,000 (figure 15).¹² However, even small bribes can be a heavy burden for people with low salaries. For example, over half of Nigerian employees receive an annual salary less than NGN 39,654 (\$455 - PPP), representing the median annual salary and equivalent to around one sixth of the average annual salary. Therefore, a bribe of NGN 1,000 (median cash bribe size) represents 30.3 per cent of the median monthly salary, which is even higher than the corresponding ratio calculated for the average values of both bribes and incomes.

⁹ Amounts in NGN have been converted to International Dollars in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) to take into account the difference in the cost of living in Nigeria and in the United States of America. In particular, "Purchasing power parity conversion factor is the number of units of a country's currency required to buy the same amounts of goods and services in the domestic market as U.S. Dollars would buy in the United States." (World Bank metadata, 2017). The exchange rate used to convert NGN into Dollars PPP used in the present report refers to the rate calculated by the World Bank in 2015 (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/PA.NUS.PPP>).

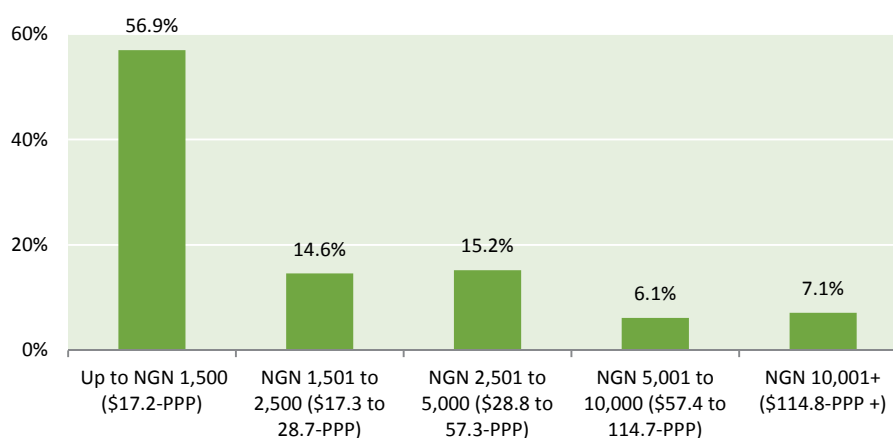
¹⁰ According to the most recent data produced by the National Bureau of Statistics, the national average annual salary in 2010 for persons working in the private sector was NGN 138,288. Adjusted for inflation, this is equivalent to NGN 226,450 annually (approximately \$2,600 - PPP) in October 2015, or NGN 18,871 per month. The median annual salary in 2010 was NGN 24,216, which adjusted for inflation is NGN 39,654 (equivalent to \$455 - PPP). Assuming that Nigerians receive their salary 12 times over the course of the year, the figures for the average and the median monthly salaries are obtained by dividing the average annual salary by 12.

¹¹ This computation uses the average number of bribes paid in Nigeria by one individual in one year, excluding the 8.1 per cent of bribes paid in forms other than cash.

¹² The four largest bribes found in the survey were worth NGN 3 million (the two largest), NGN 280,000 and NGN 200,000 (equivalent to \$34,412 - PPP, \$3,212 - PPP, \$2,294 - PPP, respectively).

The above calculations illustrate the impact of bribery on the welfare of citizens, particularly on members of poor households who struggle to cover basic household needs.

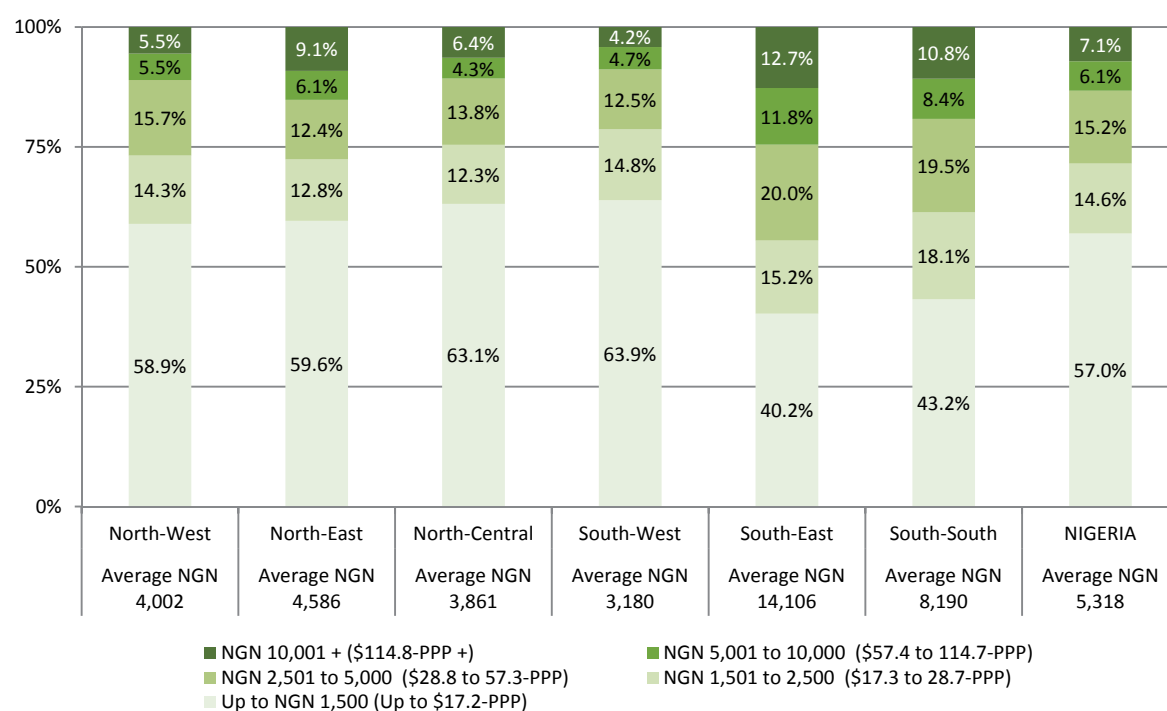
Figure 15 Percentage distribution of bribes paid in cash to public officials by amount paid (in Nigerian Naira), Nigeria (2016)



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

In addition to variations in the size of bribes paid between the types of public official who receive bribes (see chapter 3) and between individuals who pay them (see chapter 4), there are also substantial disparities in the size of cash bribes across the different zones and states of Nigeria. For example, in the 12 months prior to the survey, the average sum paid in the South-South zone (NGN 14,106) and in the South-East zone (NGN 8,190) was significantly larger than the average bribe paid in other zones. This is only partially explained by the effect of two large bribes paid in the states of Anambra (South-East) and Bayelsa (South-South) as the share of small bribes (bribes up to NGN 1,500 in those states made up less than 40 per cent of all bribes) was lower than in the other zones of Nigeria, where they make up more than 50 per cent (figure 16).

Figure 16 Percentage distribution of bribes paid in cash, by amount paid (Nigerian Naira) and by zone, Nigeria (2016)



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

In total, an estimated 76 million cash bribes were paid to public officials in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the survey. When multiplied by the average sum paid this results in an annual total of around NGN 400 billion (\$4.6 billion - PPP) paid in Nigeria over the course of one year, which is equivalent to 0.43 per cent of the country's GDP.¹³

While the majority of bribes paid in Nigeria are of NGN 1,500 or less, 7.1 per cent of bribes are over NGN 10,000 and in some cases are considerably above this threshold. It is interesting to note that the mechanics of bribery for large cash bribes (NGN 10,000, or roughly \$115 - PPP or more) differs significantly from that for smaller bribes: a larger share of large cash bribes is requested by public officials through a direct request than of bribes under 10,000 NGN (80.1 per cent versus 65.4 per cent) and a larger share is paid before the service than after it (77.8 per cent versus 68.9 per cent). In addition, the share of large bribes paid for speeding up or finalizing a procedure is somewhat higher.

Why bribes are paid to public officials

A large proportion of bribes in Nigeria — more than four out of every ten (42 per cent) — are paid to speed up or finalize an administrative procedure (figure 17). Given that most bribes are solicited by public officials, this suggests that in such cases bribery is not simply seen as a kind of administrative lubricant to smooth the bureaucratic process, but rather as a scheme to extort money or other types of bribe from the citizen requesting the public service.

The second largest proportion of bribes paid to public officials — almost one out of five bribes (18 per cent) — is paid to avoid the payment of a fine, which reflects frequent encounters between citizens and the police and other officials who demand payment in return for “turning a blind eye” to alleged irregularities, such as road traffic infractions or a lack of requisite business permits.

Almost 13 per cent of bribes are paid to avoid the cancellation of public utilities, such as water, electricity or sanitation, or other problems in their provision, which appears to be a particular variation of the above-mentioned extortion scheme and reflects the common experience of many Nigerians with public utilities officers.

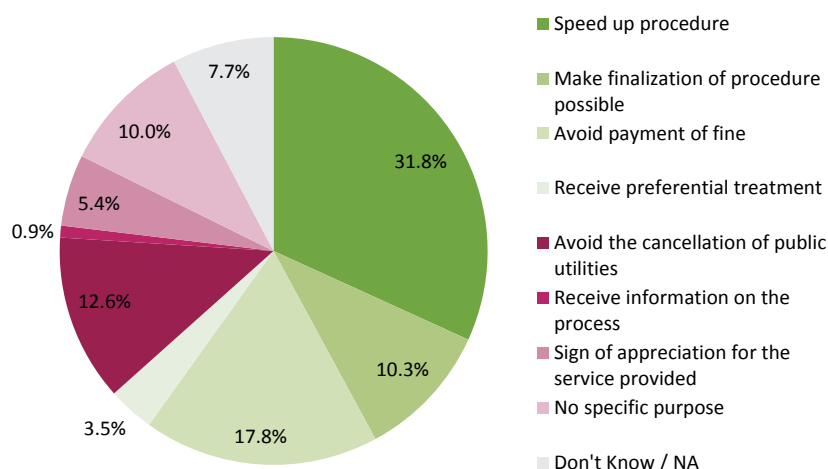
In addition, one out of ten (10.0 per cent) bribes are paid “for no specific purpose (it is better to maintain a good relationship)”. This may be a sign that such bribes are offered by citizens in order to induce a feeling of “good will” or even of “indebtedness” on the part of the civil servant in question; in other words, a “debt” that can be redeemed by the bribe-payer when the need arises (for example, when seeking a special permit).¹⁴

Finally, the share of bribe-payers for whom the money or gift given was simply “a sign of appreciation for the service provided” is very low (5.4 per cent), indicating that this typology plays a minimal role in the bribery experiences disclosed by citizens in the survey.

¹³ The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) data refer to the most recent estimate available for GDP at current market prices. The estimate used here – NGN 94,144,960 million – refers to 2015 (source: data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) of Nigeria in December 2016).

¹⁴ While not all bribes paid “for no specific purpose” are offered voluntarily by bribe-payers, it should be noted that the number of bribes paid “for no specific purpose” is very similar to the number of bribes offered by citizens without a preceding direct or indirect request (8.2 per cent).

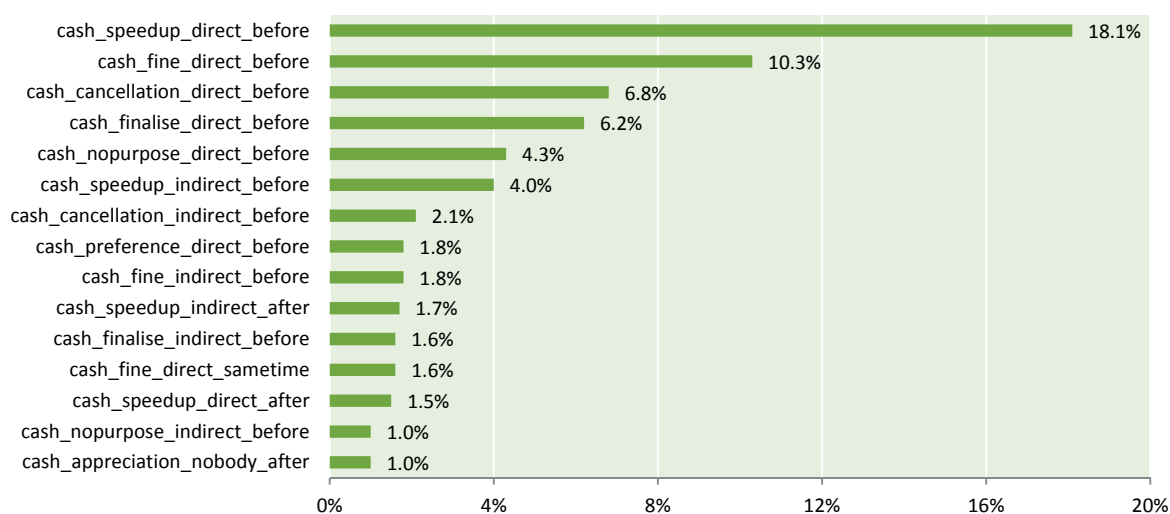
Figure 17 Percentage distribution of bribe payments to public officials, by purpose of payment, Nigeria (2016)



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

When combining the four characteristics of bribery described in this chapter – the who, when, what and why – it can be deduced that 1) the payment of a cash bribe 2) requested directly by a public official 3) before the service is delivered 4) in order to speed up a procedure is the most typical form of bribery in Nigeria, accounting for almost one out of five bribes (18.1 per cent) paid. In addition, the payment of a cash bribe, requested directly and before the “service”, is a common way of avoiding the payment of a fine (10.3 per cent of all bribes) or the cancellation of a public utility service (6.8 per cent of all bribes). These three typologies together represent more than one third of all bribes paid.

Figure 18 Most common bribes paid to public officials, by type of bribe, purpose, type of request and timing of payment, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. Legend: cash = bribe paid in cash; direct = direct request of public official; indirect = indirect request of public official; nobody = nobody asked for it; third = third party made request; before = bribe paid before the service; sametime = bribe paid at the same time with the public service; after = bribe paid after the public service; speed up = speed up procedure; fine = avoid payment of fine; cancellation = avoid the cancellation of public utilities; finalize = make finalization of procedure possible; nopurpose = no specific purpose; preference = receive preferential treatment; appreciation = sign of appreciation for service provided.

BOX 2 | Bribery payment mechanisms in Nigeria and in other surveys supported by UNODC

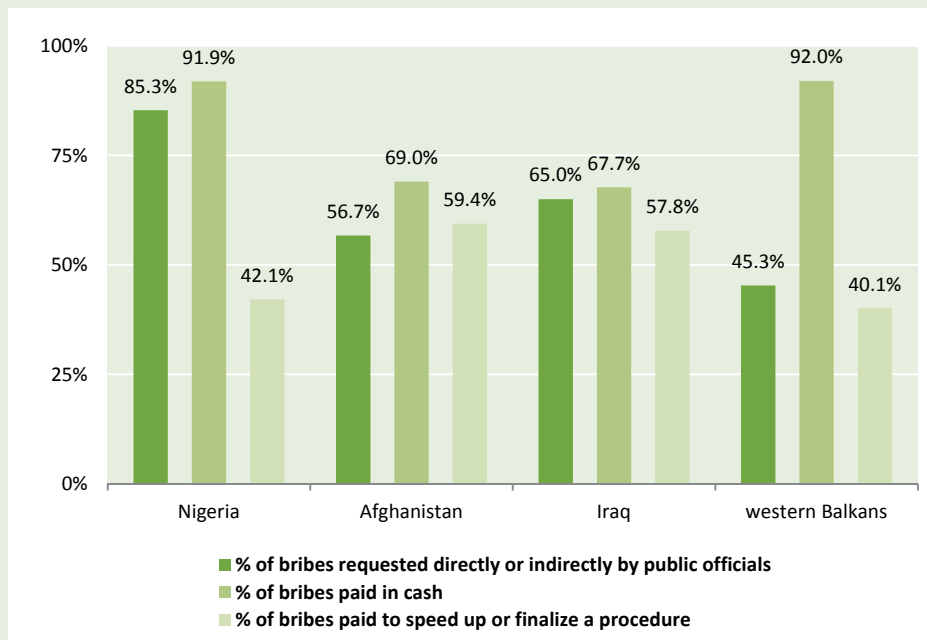
When comparing the mechanism of bribery in Nigeria with that in other surveys supported by UNODC in recent years, some interesting variations can be seen that can help shed light on the culture of bribery in Nigeria.

In the western Balkans (2012), a much larger share of bribes (43 per cent versus 8.2 per cent in Nigeria) are offered by citizens, while less than half of bribes are requested by public officials (45.3 per cent). In Iraq (2012), 65 per cent of bribes are requested by public officials, while in Afghanistan (2013) the proportion is closer to that in Nigeria, with 85 per cent of bribes being requested and only 8.2 per cent offered by citizens.

As in Nigeria, cash bribes also predominate in the other countries surveyed in recent years. In Iraq, the proportion of cash bribes is very close to that paid in Nigeria – 92 per cent. In Afghanistan, 69 per cent of bribes are paid in cash, while an average of two thirds of bribes (68 per cent) are paid in cash across the countries of the western Balkans.

In the western Balkans, where only 45.4 per cent of bribes are paid before the service (versus 69 per cent in Nigeria), the main purpose of bribes paid is “to receive better treatment” (28 per cent against only 3.5 per cent in Nigeria). In both cases, food and drink as well as in-kind bribes tend to be given after service delivery.

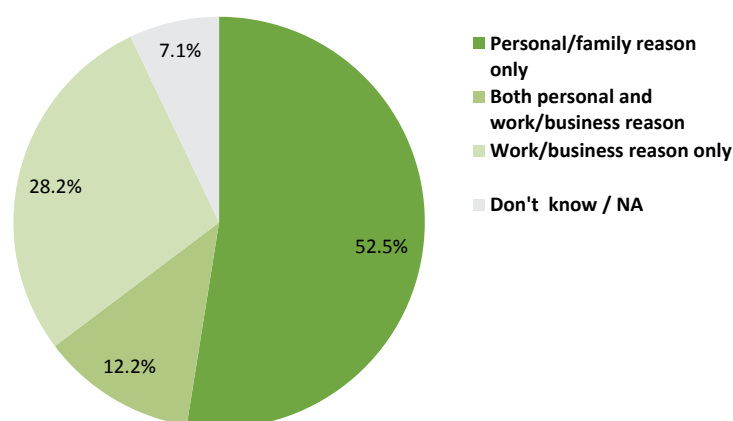
Figure 19 Most common bribes paid to public officials, by bribe type, purpose, type of request and timing of payment, Nigeria, 2016



Bribes related to business reasons

A considerable portion of Nigerians are self-employed workers in, for example, commerce, farming or other occupations in the informal economy. In this context, bribes are often paid as part of their normal economic or business activity rather than for personal or family reasons. The majority of Nigerians who pay bribes do so for personal or family reasons (52.5 per cent), or in combination with business reasons (12.2 per cent), whereas around 3 out of 10 bribes are related exclusively to work or business reasons (28.2 per cent). As might be expected, the share of bribes paid exclusively for economic or business purposes is much higher for the self-employed (30.2 per cent) than for people in salaried employment (7.8 per cent).¹⁵

Figure 20 Percentage distribution of economic reasons for which bribe-payers paid a bribe, Nigeria (2016)



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

In terms of bribery forms and modalities, there are few differences between bribes paid for personal or for business reasons. In addition, the share of bribes paid for personal or business reasons was fairly similar for smaller and for very large bribes (over NGN 100,000). On the other hand, the share of bribes paid for business rather than private reasons shows some revealing patterns by type of public official (this is discussed in chapter 3).

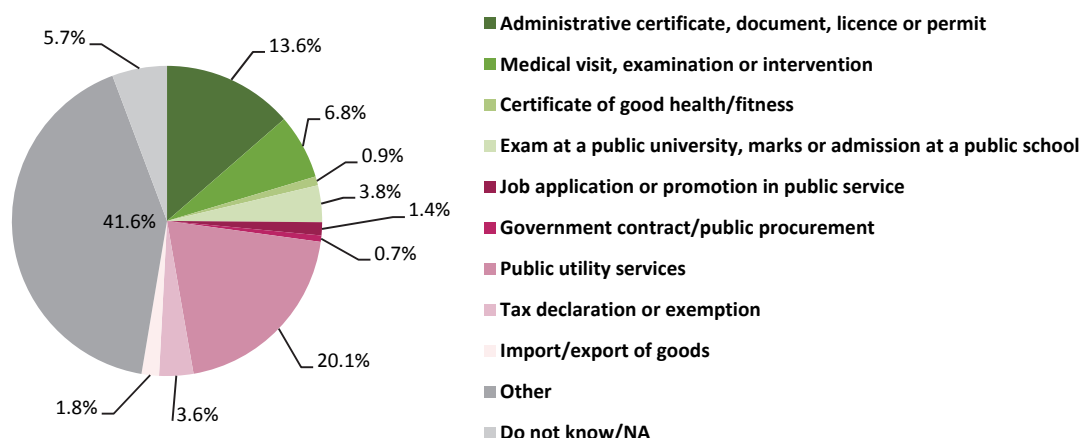
Public services and bribery

When Nigerians paid bribes for a specific service, the most frequently mentioned services for which bribes were paid (20.1 per cent) were related to the provision of public utility services (electricity, water, sanitation). A further 13.6 per cent were directly related to receiving administrative documents (administrative licences and permits: 8.2 per cent; administrative certificates and documents: 5.4 per cent). Other areas where bribes were paid relatively frequently include medical services, medical examinations and interventions (6.8 per cent), dealing with tax authorities or obtaining tax exemptions (3.6 per cent), and passing exams at public universities or school admissions (3.8 per cent).¹⁶ In 41.6 per cent of cases in which a bribe was paid, the payment was associated with no specific service (for example, when stopped by the police).

¹⁵ Interestingly, the share of bribes related to business reasons is also high for unemployed (30.8 per cent) and retired persons (30.5 per cent), but this could be an indication that many who describe themselves as unemployed or retired are in fact working in the informal sector (for example, producing or selling goods in the informal market) and that people carrying out private business without the necessary licences are more at risk of facing demands for bribes by public officials who “turn a blind eye” in return.

¹⁶ The distribution of bribes paid for different types of public services depends both on the risk of paying a bribe when accessing those services and on the relative frequency of accessing the service in the first place. It should be noted that some public services are more commonly used by a large number of people (for example, public utility services such as water, electricity or sanitation) than others that require less frequent contact with public officials over the course of a year (such as admission to a state school or obtaining a business licence).

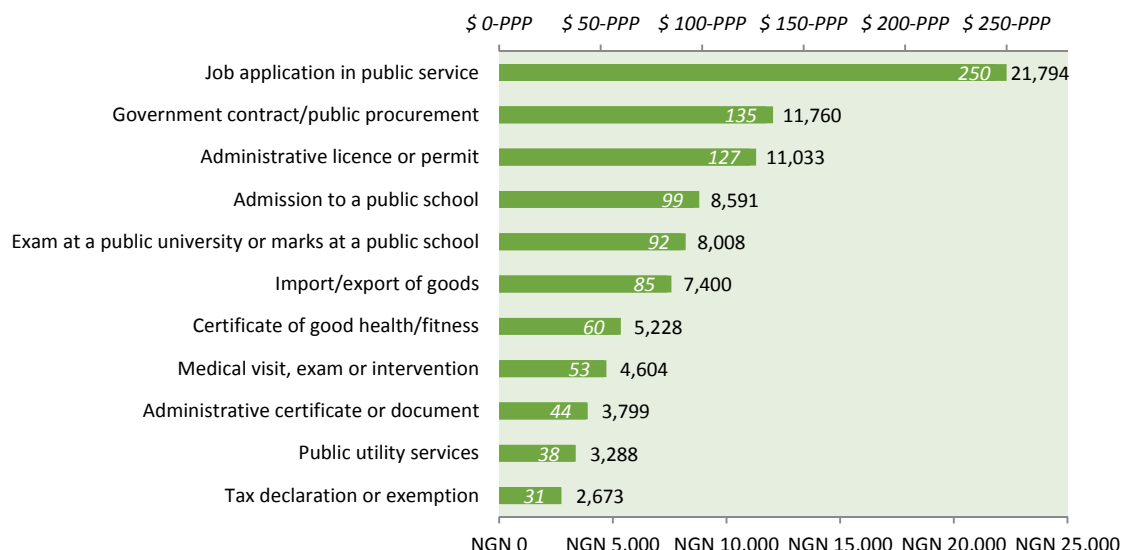
Figure 21 Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by service sought at the time of payment, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Different types of procedure give rise to different types of bribery. Some bribes related to particularly sensitive procedures of governmental authority are more prone to large bribe payments than others. One indicator of this is the average size of cash bribes paid by type of procedure. Bribes paid in relation to applications for public service jobs during the 12 months prior to the survey averaged NGN 21,800 (\$250 - PPP), which was 10 times higher than the average paid for procedures related to the declaration of, or exemption from, taxes. This may indicate that access to civil service jobs happens on the basis of who pays the largest bribes, undermining the integrity of the civil service (see chapter 3 on recruitment to the civil service in Nigeria).

Figure 22 Average size of bribe paid (Nigerian Naira and Dollars - PPP), by service sought at the time of payment, Nigeria, 2016



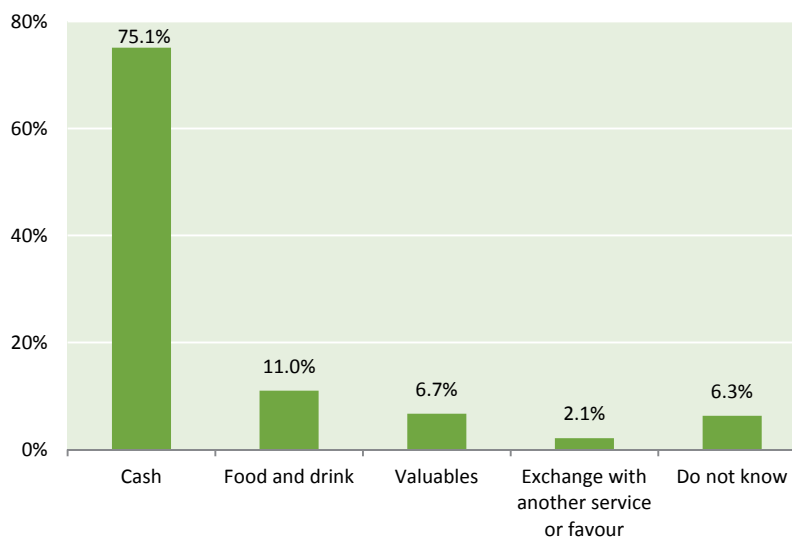
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. Figures in *italics* refer to Dollars - PPP

How bribery works in the private sector

In the private sector, the percentage of bribes paid in cash is much lower than in the public sector. Cash is still the preferred means of payment, with three quarters of bribery transactions carried out in this way, but the share of bribes in the form of food and drink increases to more than one out of

ten bribe payments, and the exchange of valuables also accounts for a greater share (6.7 per cent versus 1.4 per cent).

Figure 23 Percentage distribution of bribes paid to private employees, by type of payment, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum is higher than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and valuables).

The distribution of the size of such payments tends to be similar to those paid to officials in the public sector, with more than half of bribes being under NGN 1,500. However, because of the small number of extremely large bribes (over NGN 100,000), the average bribe paid, at NGN 4,894 (around \$56 - PPP) is smaller than the average amount paid to officials in the public sector.

BOX 3 | Corruption in Nigeria: insights from qualitative research

Before launching the representative quantitative survey on corruption in Nigeria on which this report is based, extensive qualitative research on patterns and modalities of corruption in Nigeria, which supported the design of the survey instrument, was carried out.

Rich accounts of illustrative acts of corruption, as well as opinions about obstacles to fighting corruption, were obtained from 30 in-depth interviews and six focus group discussions (FGD) conducted in three states in Nigeria (Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Lagos and Rivers State), among representatives from diverse sectors. While the narrative statements from individuals in the qualitative research study are not to be confused with the statistical evidence from the large-scale representative corruption survey, the qualitative insights on patterns and modalities of corruption are often illustrative of the broader realities of corruption found in the quantitative survey.

Interviewees described their experiences normally without hesitation, describing themselves as victims of the system or of greedy officials. The following quotes are taken from the interviews and focus groups:

“I will say I have been a victim of corruption countless amounts of times, because Nigeria is a very corrupt country and surviving in Nigeria you have to face corruption, one time or the other” — Male Youth Corps Member, FGD participant from River State.

Participants described how they felt victim to corruption, either directly or indirectly.

“The mere fact that Nigerians don’t enjoy uninterrupted power supply is evidence of corruption, and this affects every Nigerian living in the country today...” — Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Staff, Rivers state.

“Many times; in school, one of our lecturers, he asked us to pay the sum of 20k (NGN 20,000) if you want to obtain A, if you want B 15k (NGN 15,000) depending on how much you pay, then I didn’t have up to 20k, [...] he wanted me to pay “in kind” (sleep with him), but luckily I was able to raise the money and paid, and that was how I passed that course [...]” — Female worker in non-governmental organization, FGD participant from FCT.

Bribes were usually described as the most common form of corruption, but participants also recounted stories of other forms of corrupt acts such as tribalism and nepotism, gross embezzlement by government officials and employment racketeering.

“...Worse still, when you graduate and start carrying papers around, it’s not like you are not qualified, it’s not like your result is not good, it’s not like you don’t have what it takes, and they deny you jobs because you do not know the big names that matter in the society — is that not corruption? So, my brother, I have been a victim of corruption, in fact corruption is no longer news...” — Journalist, Lagos State.

There was broad agreement about the harmful effects of corruption on Nigerian society but less so on the causes and, consequently, on the best ways to fight corruption.

“The reason is just basically ... I used to use the word poverty but then I see it that some people just have this penchant to acquire wealth...” — Staff, FCT Judiciary.

“The Police is suffering, look at our barracks, or children. We receive meagre salaries and are often not paid on time. That is why you see some of our people on the road collecting illegal money from road users. The just want to survive...” — Policeman from Lagos state.

“I just want to say that the punishment for corruption in Nigeria is almost non-existent, and that’s why people are corrupt or indulge in corrupt practices and they get away with it. If truly this changes and people are punished for what wrong they have done, I think it will serve as a serious deterrent to other people...” — Female Teacher, FGD participant from Lagos State.

Many different approaches were suggested for tackling corruption, such as strengthening religious and moral values, introducing legal and institutional changes in public service, removing corrupt officials from office or providing stiffer punishments for those convicted of corrupt practices. However, respondents also illustrated some of the challenges and obstacles to establishing a culture of integrity:

“If you ask me I will say, I will just keep quiet, going to report my superior, there is no point doing it because I know they won’t take action, nothing will be done about it, and I don’t want to lose my job...” — Male Teacher, FGD participant from Lagos state.

“Who will we talk to about it, is it the police or the corrupt lawyers and judges, the corrupt government, even the so-called government hospitals. People want to get rich overnight, corruption is one of the reasons we cannot reach the level of economic potential we are capable of; we are one of the highest oil producing countries in the world, and we are still talking about poverty, it is corruption...” — Civil servant, Rivers state.

“Yes definitely, the list is long, name them; poor funding of the police and inability to take care of the families, policemen and women who are either killed in the line of duty, lack of cooperation by the public in giving useful information that will help investigations, the list goes on and on...” — Police officer, FCT.

“One [problem] is the incessant interventions from the powers that be in the prosecution or administration of justice [...] again lack of adequate funding and ammunition...” — Police officer, FCT.

Finally, most participants expressed the hope that the battle against corruption can be won if the right approaches and changes in attitudes and institutions are made.

“Of course, there is nothing that is insurmountable. Corruption can be surmounted, it can be defeated, but the will has to be there...” — Nigeria Bar Association member, Rivers State.

CHAPTER 3. WHO TAKES BRIBES

KEY FINDINGS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials in relation to whom bribery prevalence is highest (percentage refers to adults in contact with this type of public official) | Police officers (46.4 per cent)
Prosecutors (33.0 per cent)
Judges/magistrates (31.5 per cent) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials to whom the highest average number of bribes are paid (percentage refers to adults paying bribes to this type of public official) | Members of the armed forces (5.7 bribes)
Police officers (5.3 bribes)
Tax/revenue officers (5.3 bribes) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials who receive the largest average cash bribes (average of all bribes paid to this type of public official) | Custom officers (NGN 88,587 / \$1,016 - PPP)
Judges/magistrates (NGN 18,576 / \$213 - \$PPP)
Prosecutors (NGN 10,072 / \$116 - \$PPP) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most common type of bribe | Cash bribe paid to police officers upon a direct request before the service is provided (29.7 per cent of all bribes) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private sector employees in relation to whom bribery prevalence is highest (percentage refers to adults in contact with this type of private employee) | Employees of insurance companies (6.0 per cent)
Teachers in private schools (5.9 per cent)
Doctors in private hospitals (3.7 per cent) |

As the survey shows, corruption and bribery affect different sectors of the public administration of Nigeria to varying extents. Just as certain procedures engender more bribes than others, some types of public official seek more bribes, or are more vulnerable to bribes, than others. This chapter looks at particular vulnerabilities among public officials who take bribes.

Public officials and the risk of bribery

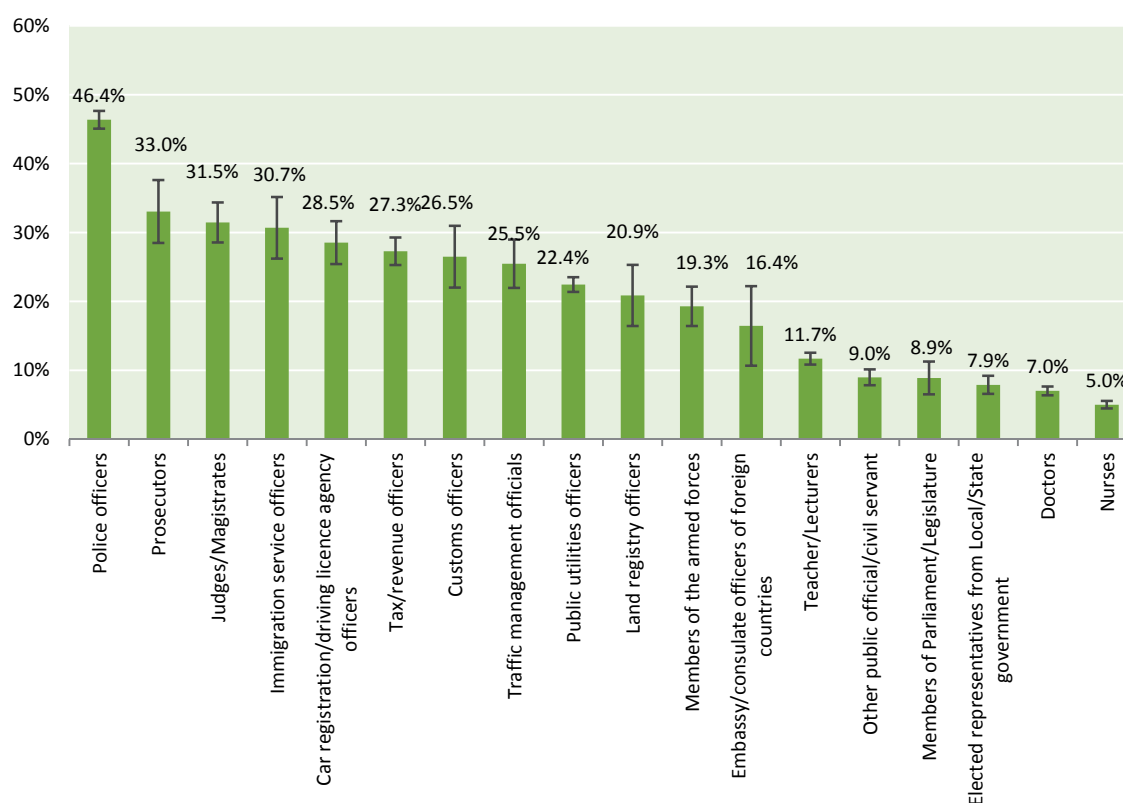
To evaluate the real risk of bribery that Nigerians face with regard to different types of public official, the analysis of situations when citizens get into direct contact with each type of official needs to be carried out. Accordingly, the prevalence of bribery in relation to a particular type of public official can be calculated as the proportion of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe to that type of public official out of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with that type of public official.¹⁷

The analysis reveals that the highest prevalence of bribery, at 46.4 per cent, is in relation to police officers. This means that out of all adult Nigerians who had direct contact with police officers in the 12 months prior to the survey, almost half paid at least one bribe (and in many cases more than one) to them. There is also a high risk of bribery related to other officials entrusted with promoting the rule of law: at 33 per cent, the prevalence of bribery in relation to prosecutors is the second highest

¹⁷ Respondents were asked about their contacts and experiences of bribery with 18 different types of public official; the complete list is given in figure 24. The rate of contact varies considerably across types of public official. For example, 19.3 per cent of Nigerians were in contact with a police officer in the 12 months preceding the survey, 21.9 per cent with public utility officers and doctors, and 17.2 per cent with teachers/lectures, but only 3.2 per cent with judges/magistrates, 1.4 per cent with prosecutors and 1.3 per cent with customs officers. Therefore, it is important to remember that the prevalence of bribery by type of official reflects the risk of paying bribes among adult Nigerians who were in contact with that type of public official during the 12 months prior to the survey.

per type of public official, closely followed by judges and magistrates (31.5 per cent) and immigration service officers (30.7 per cent). Other public officials with high vulnerability to bribery include car registration/driving licence agency officers (28.5 per cent), tax and customs officers (27.3 per cent), road traffic management officials (25.5 per cent), public utilities officers (22.4 per cent) and land registry officers (20.9 per cent). Compared with other types of public official, the lowest prevalence rates of bribery are observed in relation to doctors (7 per cent) and nurses (5 per cent) in public hospitals (figure 24).¹⁸

Figure 24 Prevalence rate of bribery, by type of public official paid a bribe, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The prevalence of bribery in relation to a specific type of public official is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians (aged 18 years and older) who gave a specific public official some money, a gift or counter favour, or who were asked to pay a bribe by that specific type of public official on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, but did not pay, as a percentage of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with the same type of public official in the same period. The black bars indicate the confidence intervals for the prevalence rate of bribery at 95 per cent confidence level. Taylor series expansion is used to calculate the confidence intervals for the prevalence rates.

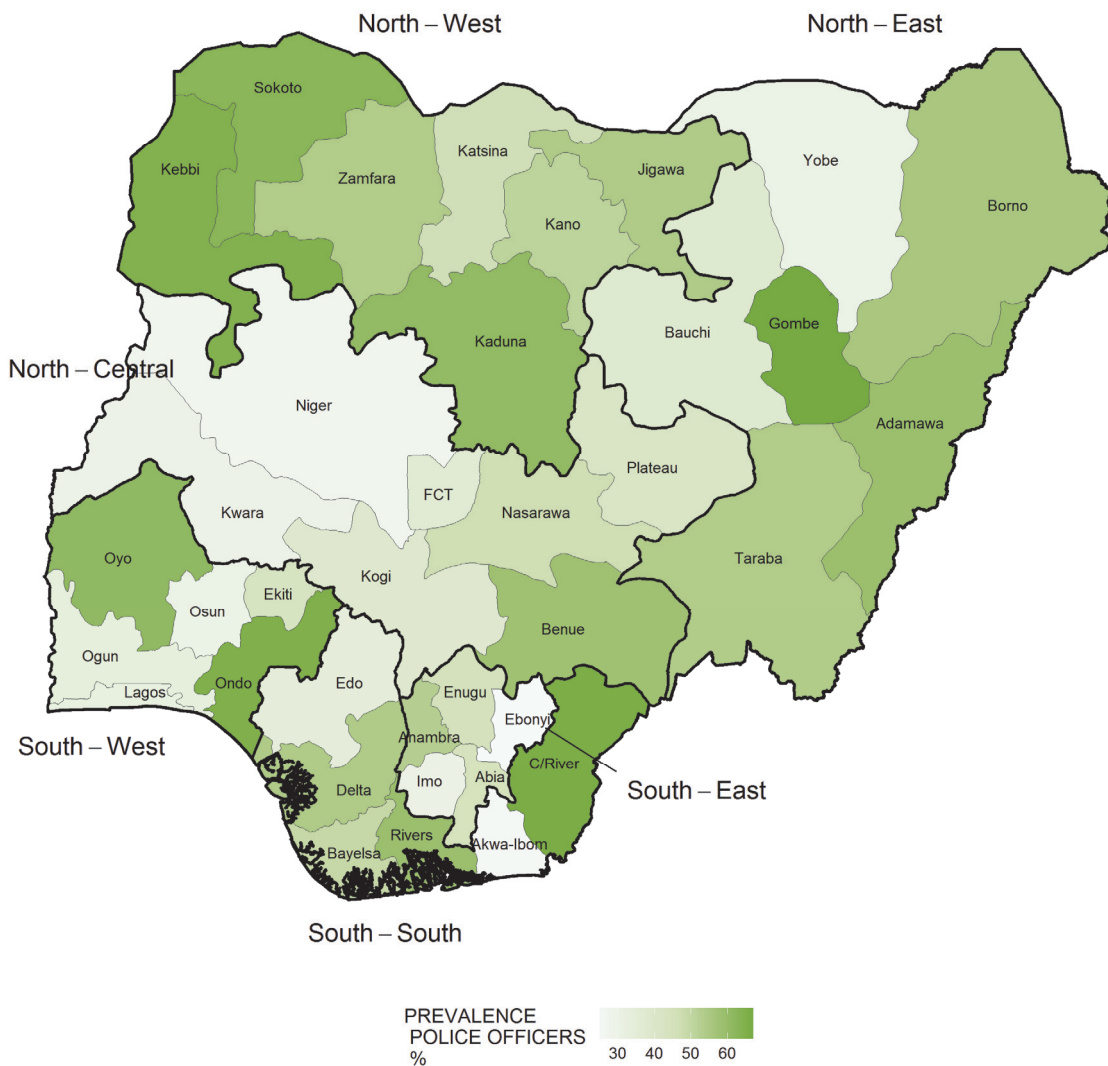
The high prevalence rate of bribery in relation to Nigerian police officers is a worrying sign for the enforcement of the rule of law. The experience of ordinary citizens being asked to pay bribes when dealing with police officers may lead to the erosion of trust in public authority. It also indicates the lack of oversight and the failure of disciplinary measures within the police.

Geographically, the prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers is similar to the pattern of overall bribery prevalence rates, as police make up such an important share of overall bribery prevalence.¹⁹ However, there are also some notable differences, as some states with a high prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers (Gombe, Sokoto, Kaduna, Cross River, Ondo and Oyo) do not have a high prevalence rate overall.

¹⁸ The finding that doctors and nurses in Nigeria have a relatively low prevalence of bribery is a pattern unlike that found in other national surveys supported by UNODC in recent years. In the western Balkans (2012), for example, while the highest prevalence of bribery was also in relation to police officers, doctors and nurses were among the top four types of official in terms of prevalence of bribery.

¹⁹ The Pearson correlation coefficient between the general prevalence rate and the prevalence rate in relation to police officers by state is equal to 0.7.

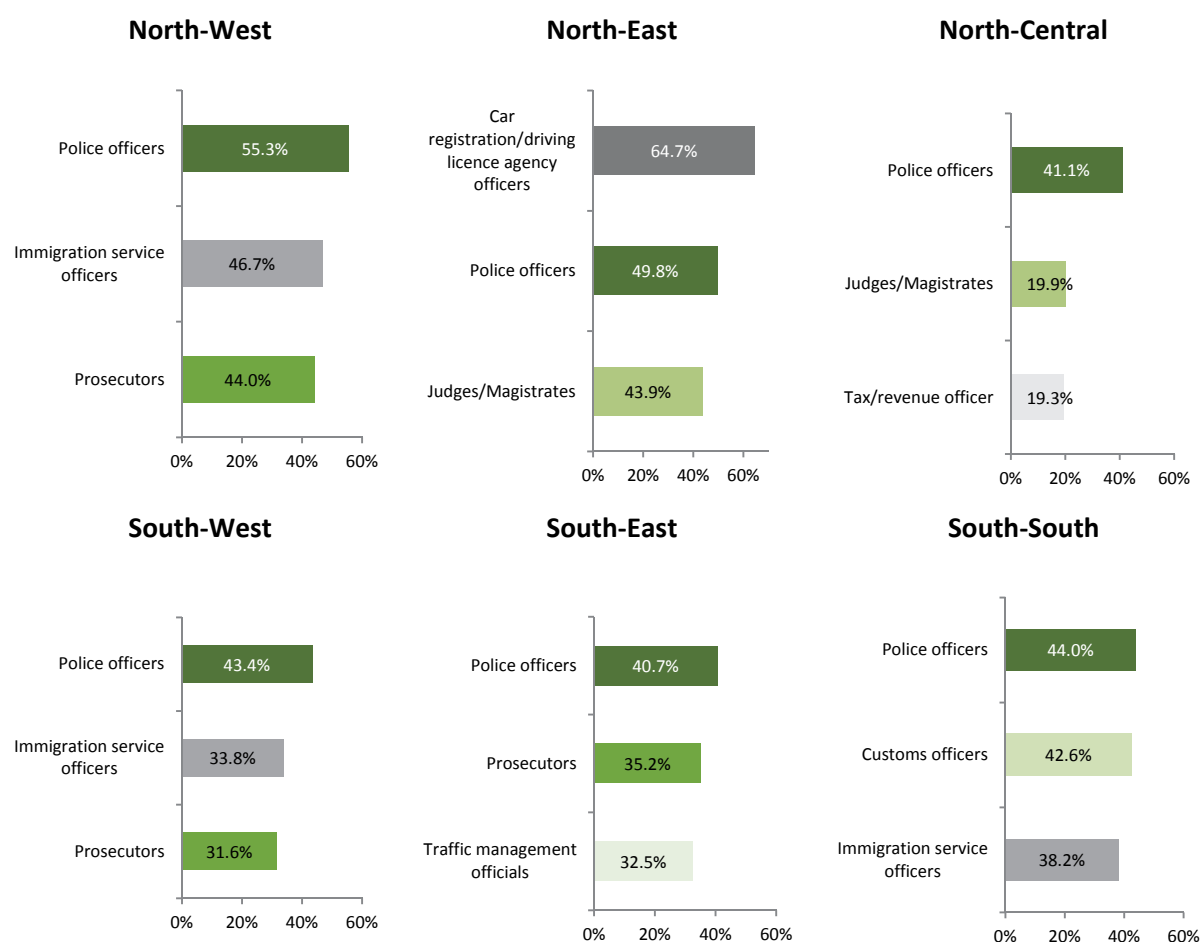
Map 3 Prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers, by state, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians (aged 18 years and older) who gave a police officer money, a gift or counter favour, or who were asked to pay a bribe by a police officer but did not pay on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a police officer in the same period.

The prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers is the highest among all types of public official in five out of six zones in Nigeria. The prevalence of bribery in several zones is also high in relation to public prosecutors, judges/magistrates and immigration service officers (figure 25). For more detailed results on the prevalence rates of bribery in relation to public officials at the state level, see the State Profiles in the annex of the present report.

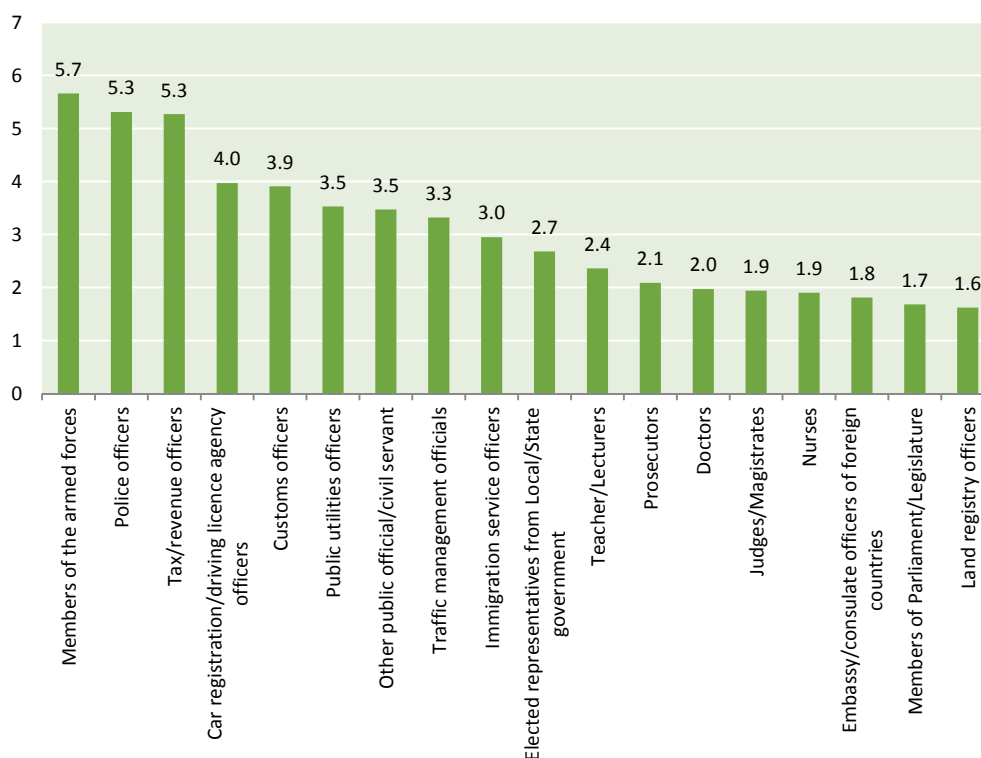
Figure 25 Three highest bribery prevalence rates, by public official receiving bribes, and by zone, Nigeria, 2016



How often public officials are paid bribes

In addition to the prevalence of bribery in relation to different types of public official, the average number of bribes paid by bribe-payers to each official (frequency) is an important indicator of the burden of bribery (figure 26). Here, the frequency of payments to police officers is again one of the highest (5.3), which is only surpassed by payments to members of the armed forces (5.7), in relation to whom the prevalence rate is relatively low (as shown in figure 24). Tax/revenue officers are also likely to receive several bribes per year (5.3), meaning that Nigerians who pay bribes to such officials, on average, do so roughly once every 9-10 weeks over the course of the year.

Such high frequencies indicate the disproportionate impact that certain public officials have on the daily lives of Nigerians. For example, although the prevalence rate of bribery in relation to prosecutors and judges is high, they are normally less frequently encountered by citizens than other types of public official and, accordingly, the frequency of bribe payments to them is relatively much lower than to other types of official.

Figure 26 Average number of bribes paid to public officials, Nigeria, 2016

The average number of bribes paid (or frequency of bribery) is calculated as the total number of bribes paid to the (specific) public official divided by the number of persons who paid a bribe to the same public official. The calculations do not include the number of times a public official asked for the payment of a bribe but the person refused to pay.

Finally, doctors and nurses, despite having a high number of regular contacts with private citizens,²⁰ are among the types of public official that receive the lowest average number of bribe payments in Nigeria. At 2.0 and 1.9, respectively, they receive only slightly more bribes per bribe-payer than members of parliament/legislature and land registry officers (1.7 and 1.6, respectively).

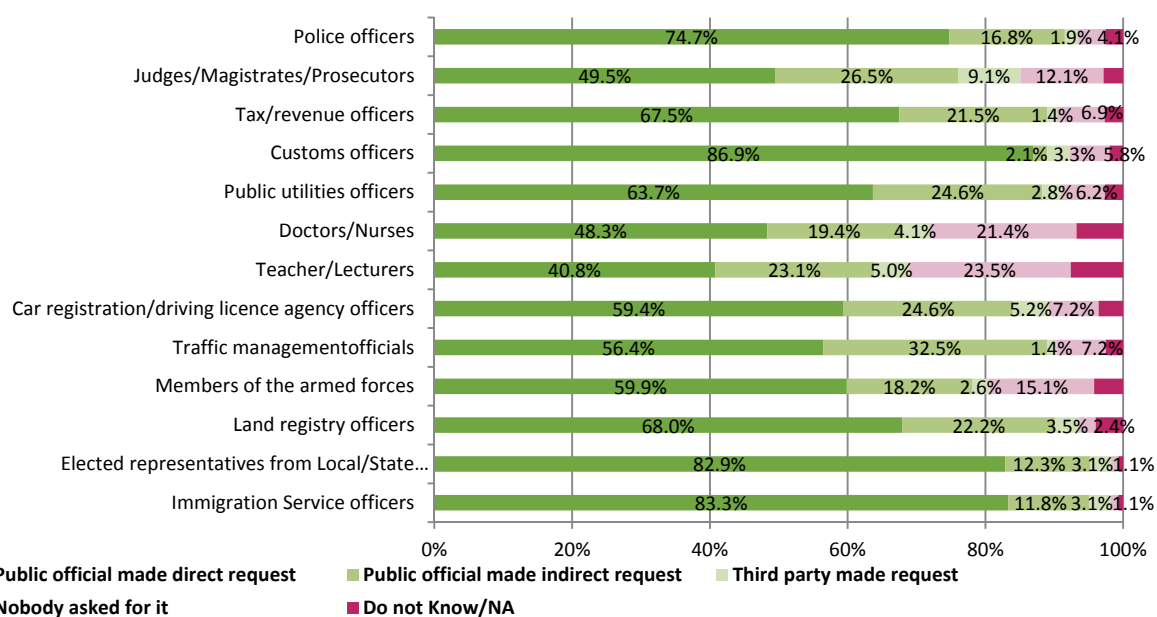
How and when public officials solicit bribes

Bribery payment mechanisms are not the same in all situations and they can vary significantly depending on the type of public official involved. For example, certain types of public official, such as customs officers, immigration officers and elected representatives,²¹ are more prone than others to ask for a bribe directly. More complex systems seem to be in place in bribery scenarios involving judges and prosecutors, when the bribe request is made through indirect hints or the involvement of a middleman in more than one third of cases. Although teachers and doctors/nurses are no strangers to (direct, indirect or third-party) bribe requests, they are often on the receiving end of bribes directly offered by citizens (more than 20 per cent of all bribes received (see figure 27)).

²⁰ Doctors and nurses are among the three public officials with the highest contact rates (21.9 and 21.0 per cent, respectively), together with public utility officers (21.9 per cent).

²¹ This includes elected representatives in local and state government, and members of parliament.

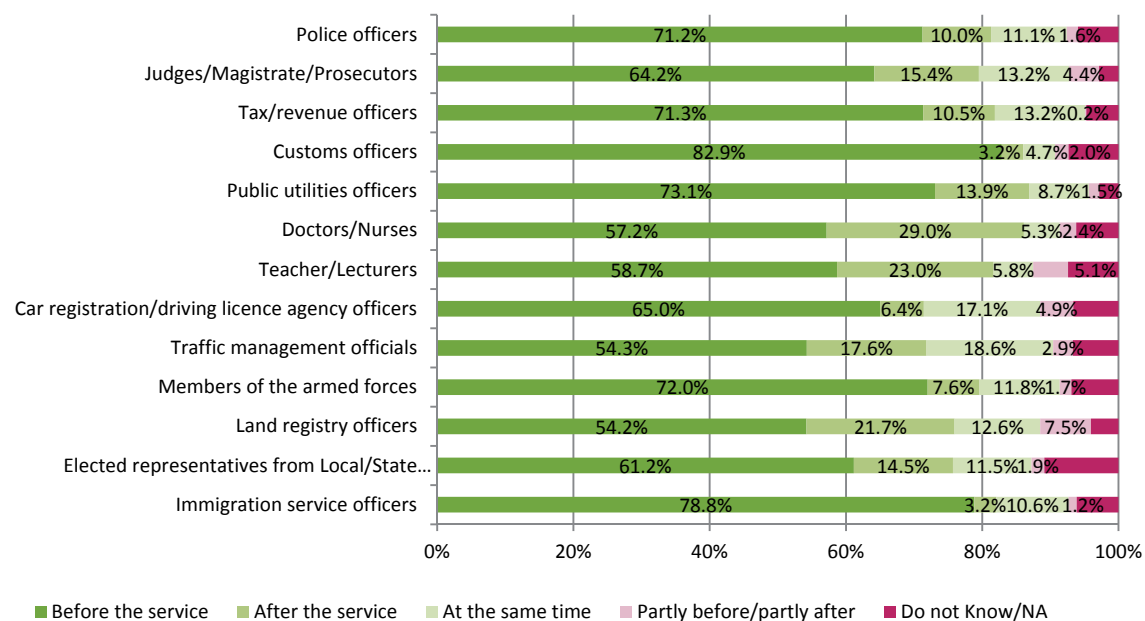
Figure 27 Percentage distribution of bribes paid, by public official and by modality of bribe request/offer, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid. Some types of public official shown have been aggregated to increase the number of observations and increase the accuracy of the result: judges/magistrates at the court together with prosecutors; doctors with nurses; and elected representatives from Local/State government with members of Parliament/Legislature.

Most bribes (68.9 per cent) are paid to public officials in Nigeria before a service is delivered. However, certain officials are more likely to receive payment before delivering a service than others: this is particularly true for customs officers (82.9 per cent), immigration officers (78.8 per cent) and public utility officers (73.1 per cent). On the other hand, some 29 per cent of bribes paid to doctors and nurses in public hospitals, and 23 per cent of bribes paid to teachers/lectures in public schools, are paid after the service is delivered (figure 28).

Figure 28 Percentage distribution of bribes paid, by public official receiving the bribe and by timing of bribe payment, Nigeria, 2016

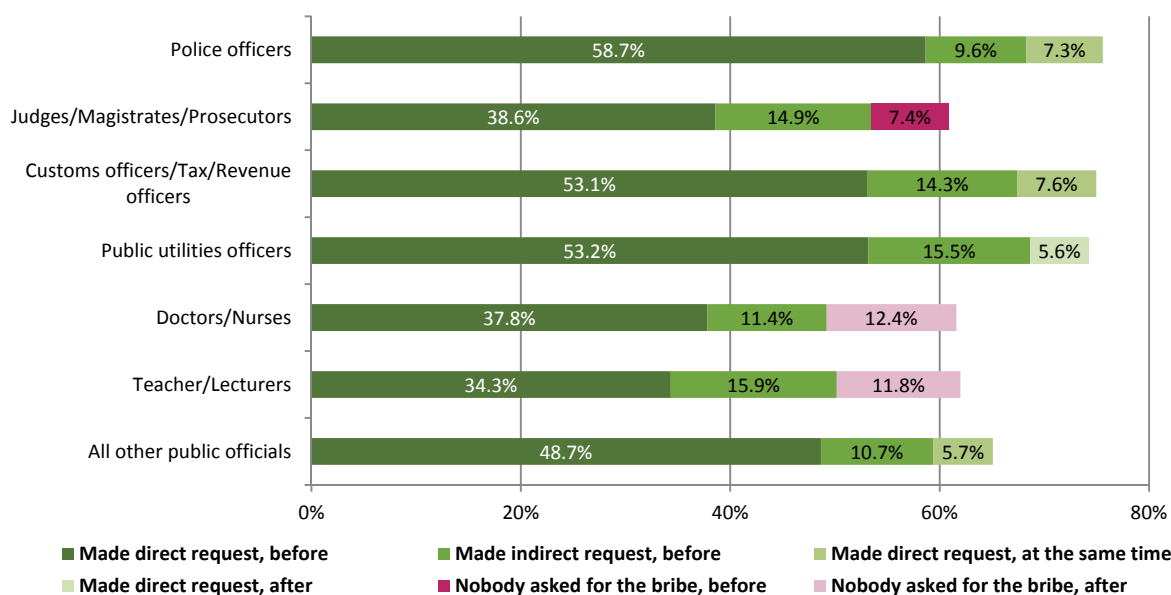


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid. Some types of public official shown have been aggregated to increase the number of observations and increase the accuracy of the result: judges/magistrates together with prosecutors; doctors with nurses; and elected representatives from local/state government with members of the Parliament/Legislature.

A closer examination of bribery modalities related to particular types of public official can be obtained when analysing the type of bribery request by timing of payment. As touched on in chapter 2, a direct request made before a service is delivered is the mechanism that accounts for the majority of all bribes paid to public officials (52.1 per cent of all cases), regardless of the type of official involved. When analysing the type of bribery request and timing of payment by type of public official, the differences between bribery encounters are even clearer. For example, just 34.3 per cent of bribes paid to teachers/lecturers are paid upon a direct request before the service is delivered, whereas the proportion is as high as 58.7 per cent in the case of police officers (figure 29).

Other mechanisms, such as offers by citizens after service delivery, only play a more important role in bribery cases involving doctors/nurses and teachers (12.4 and 11.8 per cent, respectively).

Figure 29 Most common modality of bribe request/offer and timing of bribe payments to selected public officials, Nigeria, 2016



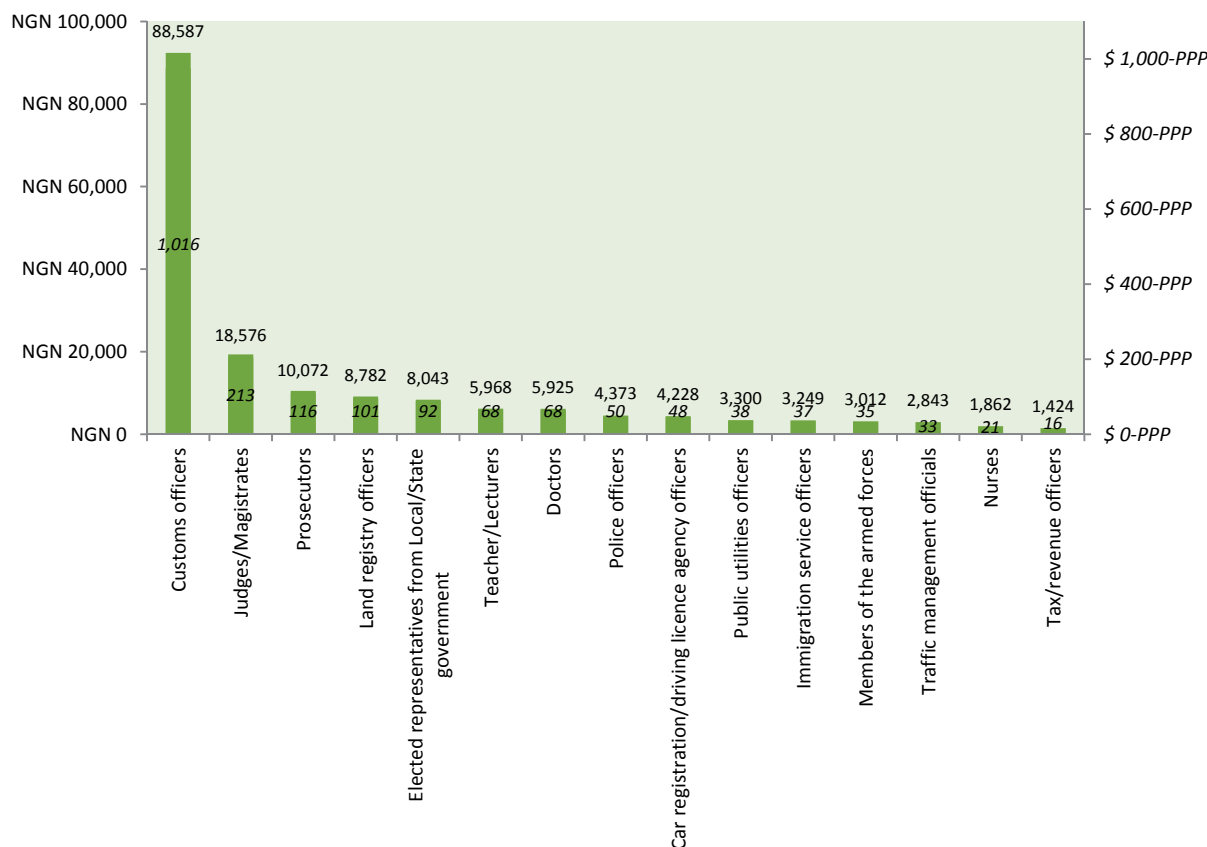
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid. The above percentages are calculated as the number of people who paid a bribe to a public official with a specific modality of bribe request/offer and timing, as a percentage of the total bribes paid to the same public official.

What forms of bribe are paid to public officials

Although variations in types of payment across different types of public official are limited, some patterns in bribery payment habits are noteworthy. For example, payments to officials in the law enforcement, judiciary and immigration sectors (police, judges and magistrates, immigration service officers) tend to be almost exclusively in cash (between 95 and 98 per cent). By contrast, the proportion of cash payments paid to elected representatives from local/state government (64.8 per cent), teachers and lecturers (74.9 per cent) and doctors (80.3 per cent) is smaller and the proportion of other forms of payment (exchange of food and drinks, valuables and other services) is greater.

When it comes to the size of those cash payments, customs officers are the public officials who tend to receive the largest sums, followed by judges and magistrates, prosecutors and land registry officers. Police officers, on the other hand, tend to receive medium-sized cash bribes (an average of NGN 4,373 or around \$50 - PPP).²²

²² However, even the amounts of cash bribes paid to police officers vary widely, with more than 50 per cent of bribes below NGN 1,000 (around \$11.5 - PPP) and 7 per cent over NGN 10,000 (around \$115 - PPP).

Figure 30 Average bribe sum paid in cash (Nigerian Naira), by public official, Nigeria, 2016

Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid.

The average sizes of bribes paid to customs officers,²³ judges and prosecutors are a clear indication of the level of influence wielded by some bribe-taking public officials. For example, customs officers may use their discretion when managing customs procedures and their related fees in return for a large bribe that is a proportion of high-value import/export goods. As prosecutors and judges can change the course of justice they may use that power to extract bribes from persons who are under investigation or on trial. In general, it appears that the average size of cash bribes increases with the social prestige of the position occupied by a public official and the value of the opportunity cost to the bribe-payer.

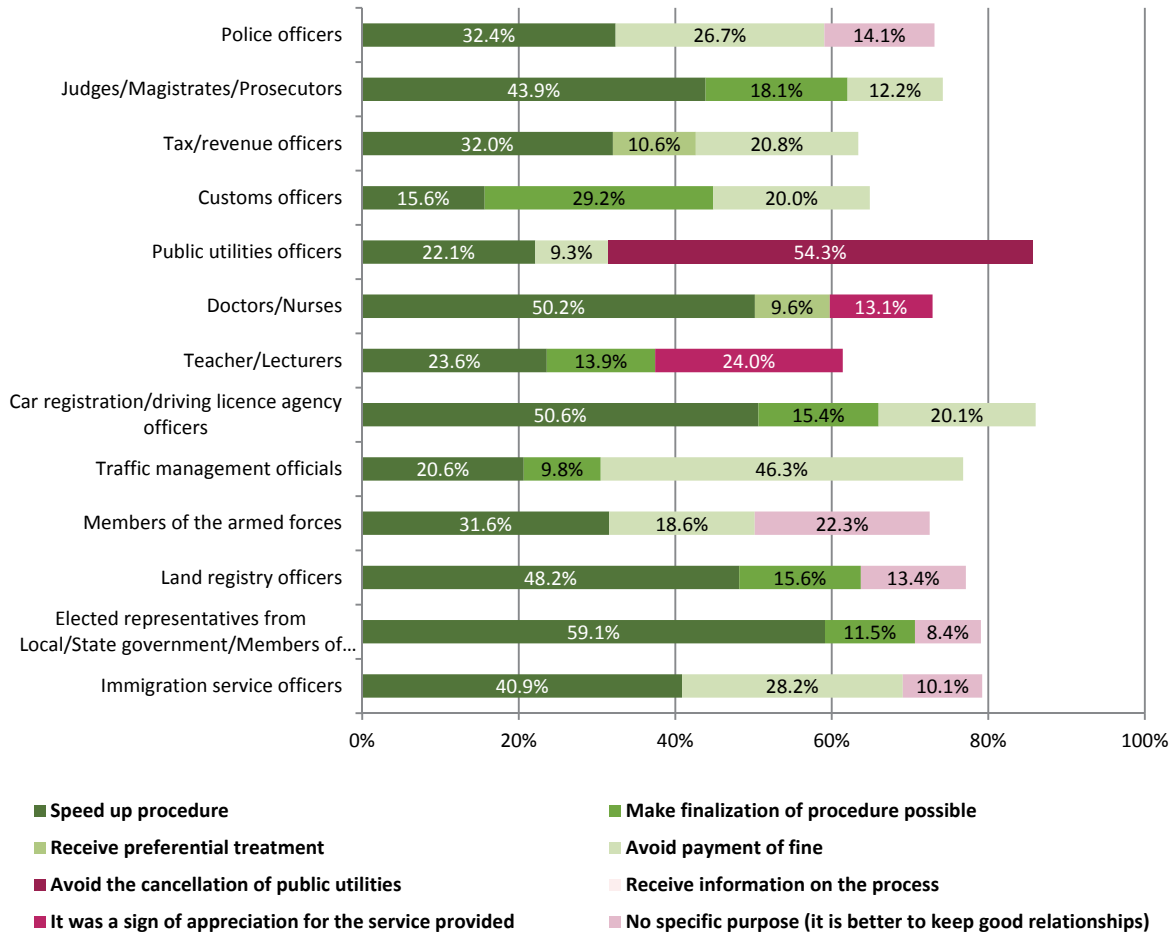
Why bribes are paid to public officials

Given the multiplicity of functions and public services provided by different public officials, it is not surprising that the purpose of bribery varies considerably by type of official in Nigeria. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the most common reason for paying a bribe across all types of public official who receive a bribe is to speed up a procedure (31.8 per cent of all payments). This is a particularly important reason for paying a bribe to elected representatives from local/state government and members of parliament (60.9 per cent), car registration/driving licence officers (50.6 per cent), as well as in cases involving doctors and nurses (50.2 per cent). Evasion of the payment of a fine is the principal reason that bribes are paid to road traffic management officials and the second most important reason for paying a bribe to police officers.

²³ Although one of the two largest cash bribes (each amounting to NGN 3 million) was recorded for customs officers, the average amount is still higher for customs officers than for all other public officials (excluding the NGN 3 million bribe, the average amount becomes equal to NGN 19,034 or \$218 - PPP).

On the other hand, the most common reason that public utility officers receive bribes is to avoid the cancellation of a service (54.3 per cent), a reason that results in hardly any bribes being paid to other types of public official. Meanwhile, the payment of a bribe as a sign of appreciation for a service provided is an important motive for bribe payments to teachers (24.0 per cent) and doctors/nurses (13.1 per cent). As mentioned, nurturing such relationships through the giving of unsolicited gifts and bribes is often done to create a sense of indebtedness on the part of the public official, who may be asked to pay the “debt” back at a later date should the need arise.

Figure 31 The three most important purposes of bribe payments, by public official, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid. Some types of public official shown have been aggregated to increase the number of observations and increase the accuracy of the result: judges/magistrates at the court with prosecutors; doctors with nurses; and elected representatives in Local/State government with members of Parliament/Legislature. Percentage distributions reflect the three main purposes for which bribes are paid to each category of public official.

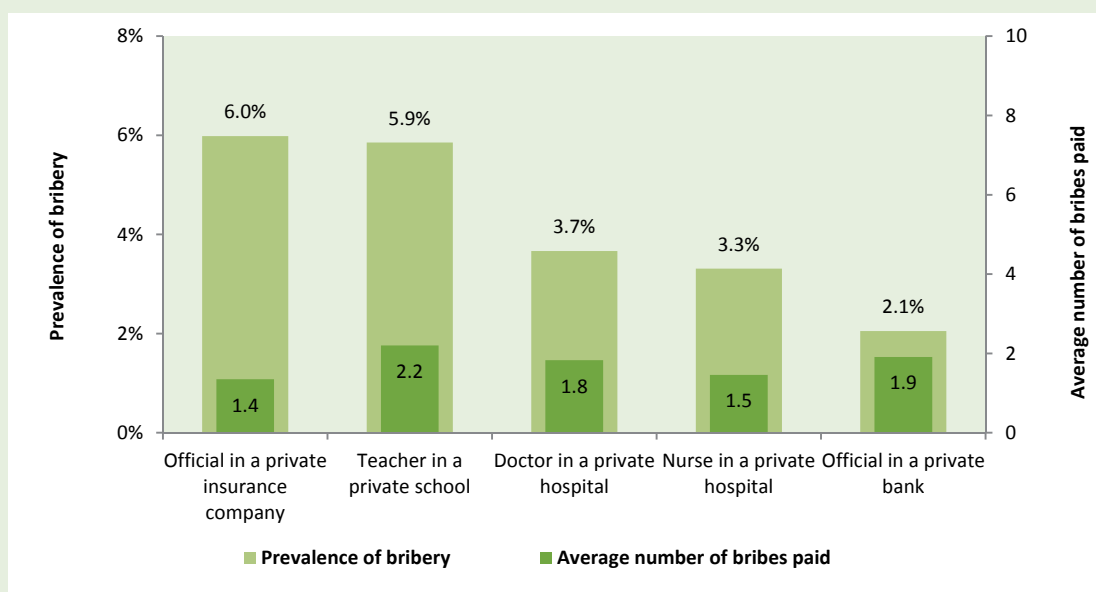
BOX 4 | Bribery of employees in the private sector

In the economic sphere, there are numerous positions in private companies that involve decision-making powers that can potentially give rise to bribery. It is not possible to include all those positions in a single survey on corruption, but a focus on some examples can illustrate the potential scope of the problem.

Out of a selected number of private sector employees with whom Nigerian adults were in direct contact, the risk of being paid at least one bribe was highest in the case of the staff of insurance companies (prevalence of bribery of 6.0 per cent) and of teachers in private schools (5.9 per cent).^a Moreover, bribe-payers paid an average of 2.2 bribes to teachers in private schools and 1.4 bribes to the staff of insurance companies.

Doctors and nurses in private hospitals had an intermediate risk of being paid a bribe (prevalence rates of 3.7 and 3.3 per cent, respectively), while employees in private banks had a lower risk (prevalence rate of 2.1 per cent) compared with the private sector employees considered. In all these cases, the average number of bribes paid was between 1.4 and 1.9 and thus considerably lower than the frequency of bribe payments to public officials.

Figure 32 Bribery in the private sector, by type of employee



Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with the type of private sector employee in question and who paid a bribe to that employee, or were asked for a bribe by that employee, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with that type of employee. The average number of bribes refers to the average number of bribes paid by all bribe-payers, i.e., those who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

^a As with public officials, it is important to remember that the prevalence rate in relation to the type of private employee reflects the risk of paying bribes of adult Nigerians who were in contact with that type of employee during the 12 months prior to the survey. In the 12 months preceding the survey, 11.2 per cent of adult Nigerians were in contact with a nurse in a private hospital, 9.1 per cent with a teacher in a private school, 12.9 per cent with an official in a private bank and 1.1 per cent with an official in a private insurance company.

BOX 5 | Recruitment in the civil service in Nigeria

The Nigerian civil service is a body of civilian government employees entrusted with the administration of the country at any level of government, not subject to political appointment and removal (the structure of the contemporary civil service in Nigeria has its origins in the colonial administration). As an agent of government with a vital role in the implementation of government policy, the civil service is expected to have the capacity and the wherewithal to make government efficient and effective. To achieve that, employees are normally hired and promoted on the basis of a competitive examination, are regularly assessed through the annual performance evaluation report (APER) and are subject to a special code of conduct.

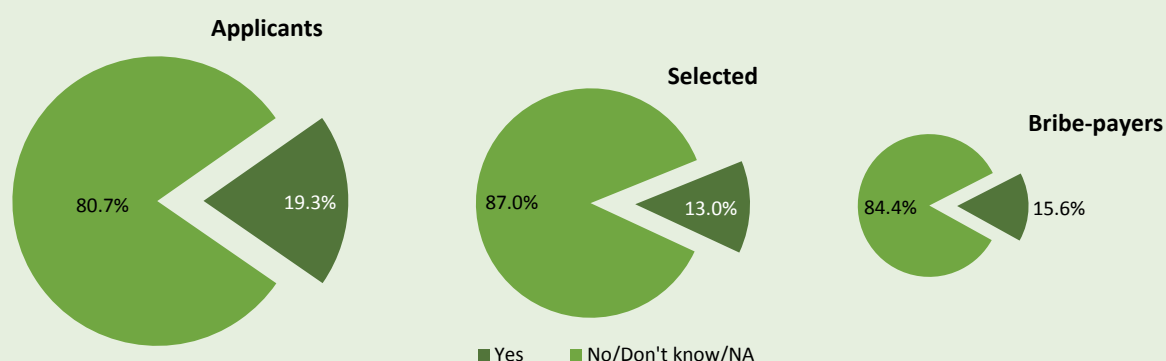
The State and Federal Civil Service Commissions (FCSC) are the authorities for recruitment into the Nigerian Civil Service. However, the FCSC delegates power to Federal Ministries and extra-ministerial departments for the recruitment of junior staff to posts in the civil service. If there is a need to fill existing vacancies, and subject to the availability of adequate funds, each ministry will undertake the appointment, training and promotion of its staff under general and uniform guidelines provided by the FCSC (for example, there is normally a probationary period of two years in all government establishments before the confirmation of initial employment). With its high level of job security, working for the government is the most stable form of employment, which is the main reason for the continuously high level of interest by Nigerian citizens in government jobs.

The Nigerian Federal Civil Service system emphasizes uniformity, standardization and transparency in recruiting competent applicants on the basis of merit and technical competence. Despite these emphases, there is a widespread perception that the recruitment process does not always ensure equity and transparency. To improve the performance of public servants, the FCSC, in partnership with the State Service commissions, is moving towards the introduction of a performance contract system (rather than the regular civil service examination) as the basis for career promotion.

Given the importance of competent, well-qualified staff in the administration of public policy at all levels of government, the integrity of the process of recruitment into the civil service is central. The present survey addressed this issue by asking respondents about their experience (either their own or of their family members) of recruitment into the civil service during the past three years. The survey shows that almost one out of five (19.3 per cent) Nigerians had direct or indirect (through a member of their household) experience of applying for a job in the public sector in that time period. Of those households with a member who applied, 13 per cent have a family member recruited into a public service job. Among those applicants who were not successful there is a widespread perception of lack of integrity in the recruitment process: 40.7 per cent of those who applied but did not get a job attributed this to nepotism, 18.0 per cent to other types of corruption, 7.7 per cent to discrimination because of language, religion, tribe or ethnicity, and only 7.2 per cent were convinced that somebody who better fitted the job requirements got the job.

Notably, among those households with a member who did get a job in the civil service (either respondents themselves or another household member), some 15.6 per cent admitted to the payment of a bribe in order to facilitate the recruitment (figure 33).

Figure 33 Percentage share of households with members who applied for a job in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey; were selected for the position; and paid a bribe to facilitate recruitment, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The total area of each pie chart corresponds to the darker area of the previous pie chart. As a proportion of the total adult population (aged 18 years and older) of Nigeria, 19.3 per cent are estimated to have applied for a job in the public sector at least once during the three years prior to the survey. Of them, a total of 2.5 per cent made a payment in order to facilitate the recruitment, but when only considering those who were successful, the share of those who paid a bribe increases to 15.6 per cent.

These results are revealing. Bribery and the public administration of Nigeria is not purely a case of the public paying bribes to public officials for the services they provide: a significant portion of those public officials actually owe their civil service jobs to the payment of a bribe in the first place. This may provide (internal) justification for civil servants who take bribes, who could argue that as they had to pay a bribe to get their job, they may as well compensate by earning some additional, even if illicit, income.

CHAPTER 4. WHO PAYS BRIBES

KEY FINDINGS

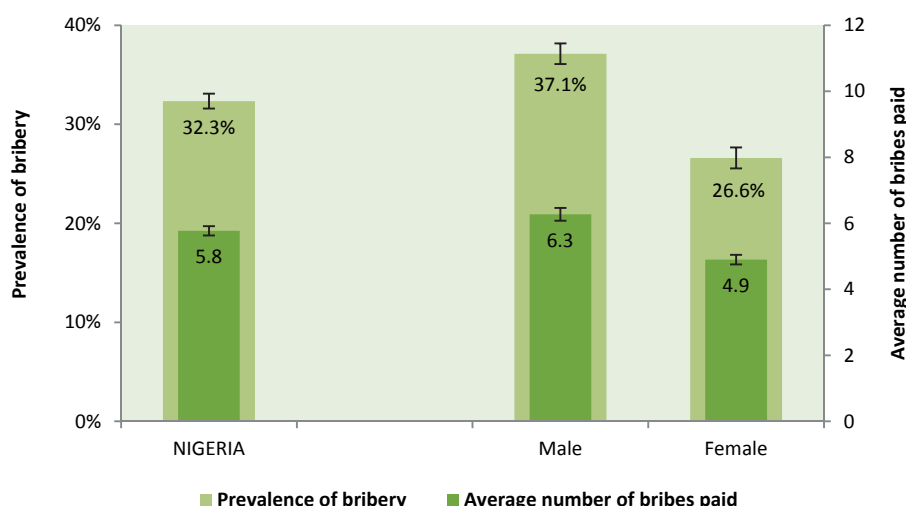
- Prevalence of bribery by sex of bribe-payer (percentage refers to males and females in contact with public officials) Male: 37.1 per cent
Female: 26.6 per cent
- Age group with highest prevalence of bribery 25-34 years (36.4 per cent)
- Level of educational attainment with highest prevalence of bribery Tertiary education (37.7 per cent)
- Income group with highest prevalence of bribery NGN 100,000 and above (highest income group; 40.0 per cent)
- Highest and lowest prevalence of bribery by geographical location and sex Urban males: 39.5 per cent
Rural women: 24.9 per cent

The previous chapters have explored the features, the extent and the mechanisms of bribery in Nigeria, as well as the public officials receiving bribe payments. In order to fully understand the nature of corruption in Nigeria, it is necessary to investigate the profiles of those making the payments, and how the combination of specific demographic and socioeconomic conditions affects the vulnerability of citizens to bribery.

Who bribe-payers are

When looking at bribery in relation to the sex of bribe-payers, a remarkable disparity in the prevalence of bribery exists between men and women in Nigeria: 37.1 per cent of men who had contact with at least one public official paid a bribe during the preceding 12 months, whereas for women the figure was 26.6 per cent. In addition, while male bribe-payers paid an average of 6.3 bribes, women paid an average of 4.9 bribes (figure 34).

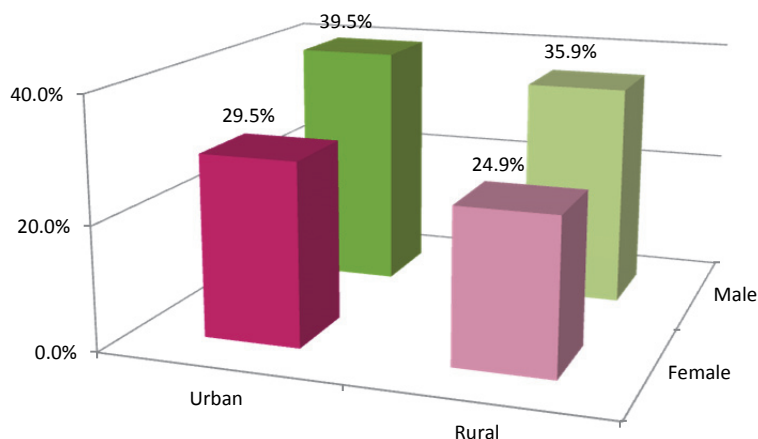
Figure 34 Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by sex, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official. The average number of bribes refers to the average number of bribes paid by all bribe-payers, i.e., those who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey. The black bars indicate the confidence intervals for the prevalence and the frequency of bribery at 95 per cent confidence level. Taylor series expansion is used to calculate the confidence intervals for the prevalence rates.

As mentioned in chapter 1, there is only a slight difference in the prevalence of bribery among the residents of urban areas and those of rural areas (34.8 per cent versus 31.0 per cent). However, the combination of the gender dimension and urban/rural location reveals much greater differences: as shown in figure 35, the prevalence of bribery is highest among men living in urban areas (39.5 per cent) and lowest among women living in rural areas (24.9 per cent). The frequency of bribery is also higher among males than females but, in contrast to prevalence, it is slightly higher in rural than in urban areas for both men (6.4 versus 6.1) and women (5.2 versus 4.5).

Figure 35 Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by urban/rural area and by sex, Nigeria, 2016

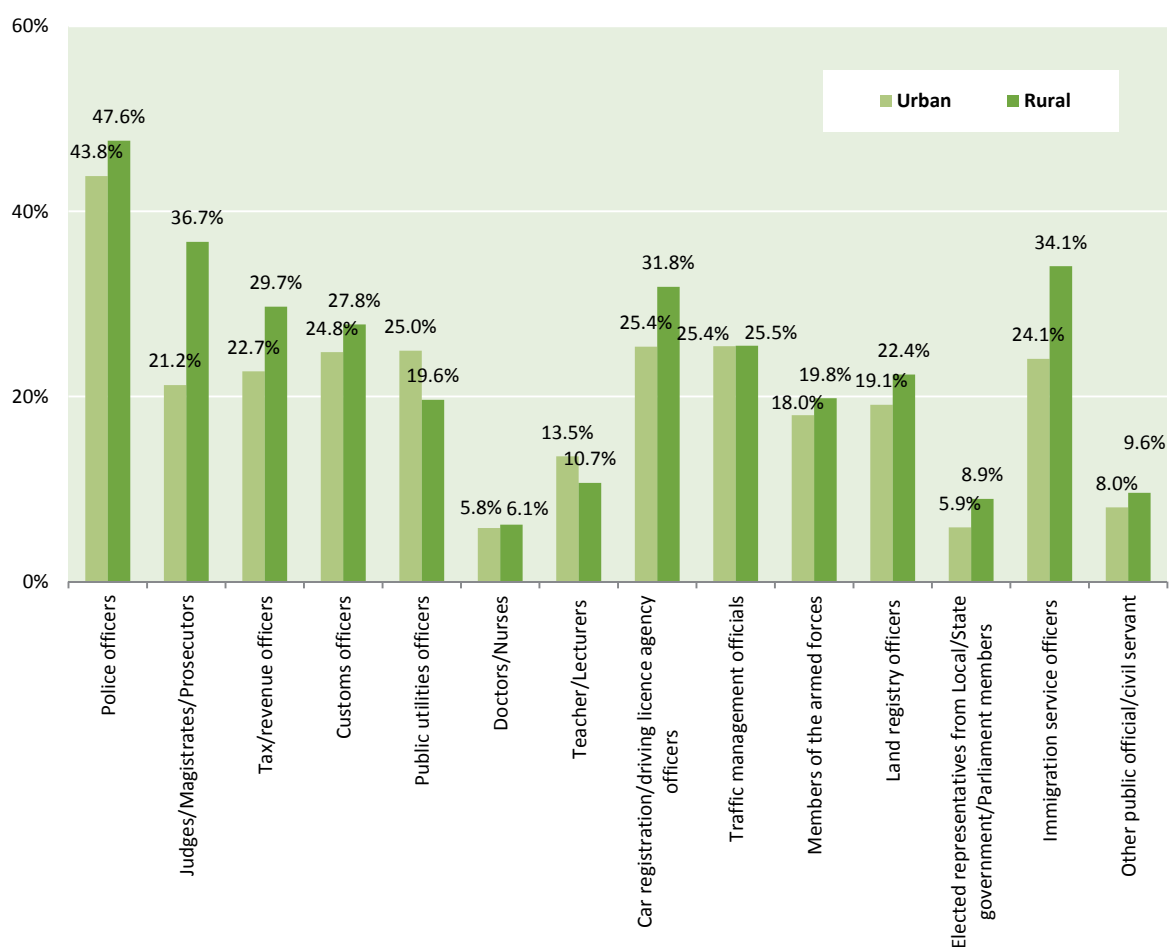


Besides variations in the prevalence and frequency of payments, there are also significant differences in the contact rate between public officials and men and women in urban and rural areas: 65 per cent of urban men had at least one contact with a public official during the 12 months prior to the survey, versus 61.5 per cent of urban women. Men in rural areas had a lower contact rate (50.7 per cent), though still higher than that of women in rural areas (45.2 per cent). The combination of all these variables shows that men in urban areas paid, on average, 1.5 bribes during the previous 12 months, whereas men in rural areas paid 1.1 bribes, women in urban areas paid 0.8 and women in rural areas paid 0.6.

Who pays bribes to which officials

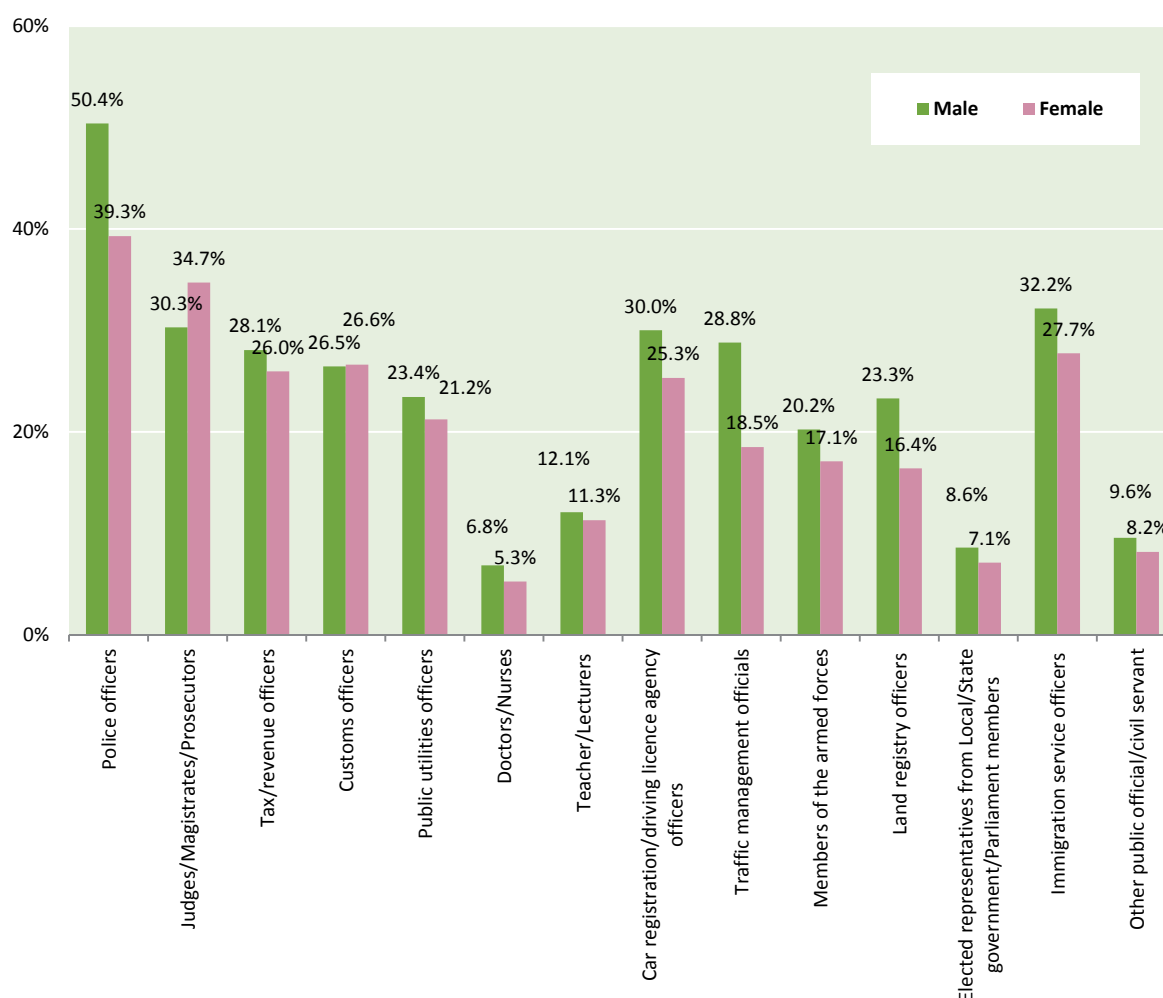
While the overall prevalence of bribery is higher among people living in urban areas than among those living in rural areas, this is not true for all types of public official. The prevalence of bribery in relation to most types of public official is higher in rural areas than in urban areas (figure 36). This apparent contradiction is because residents of urban areas have contact with a wider range of public officials than those of rural areas.²⁴ For example, a typical rural bribe-payer is likely to have had contact with only one or two different types of public officials (such as doctors and police officers), while a typical urban bribe-payer is likely to have had contact with two or three different officials (such as public utility officers, doctors and police officers) during the preceding 12 months. Thus, even when the risk of bribery is, in total, higher for the residents of urban areas, it is higher for residents in rural areas in relation to the types of public official with whom they have contact. There are particularly large differences in prevalence rates between rural and urban residents in relation to judges, magistrates or prosecutors (36.7 per cent versus 21.2 per cent), to immigration service officers (34.1 versus 24.1 per cent) and to tax/revenue officers (29.7 versus 22.7 per cent).

²⁴ Urban residents had contact with an average of 2.41 different public officials, whereas rural residents had 2.26. This is in addition to the higher contact rate for each type of public official in urban areas, except for members of the army and elected representatives in local or state government, which is higher in rural areas. However, the contact rate by type of official is not relevant for the bribery prevalence rate by type of official, since the prevalence rate is calculated only in relation to those who had contact with that type of public official.

Figure 36 Prevalence of bribery by urban/rural area and by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016

Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by a public official on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with the same type of public official.

On the other hand, the disaggregation of the prevalence of bribery by sex and by type of public official, in general, shows the familiar pattern (mentioned above) of a higher prevalence among male bribe-payers than among their female counterparts. This gender gap is particularly large in the case of bribery in relation to law enforcement officials (police, road traffic management officials) while prevalence rates are similar in relation to doctors/nurses, teachers/lecturers and custom officials. There is just one notable exception: the prevalence of bribery among female bribe-payers in relation to judges/magistrates/prosecutors is higher than that of male bribe-payers in relation to those officials (34.7 versus 30.3 per cent (see figure 37)).

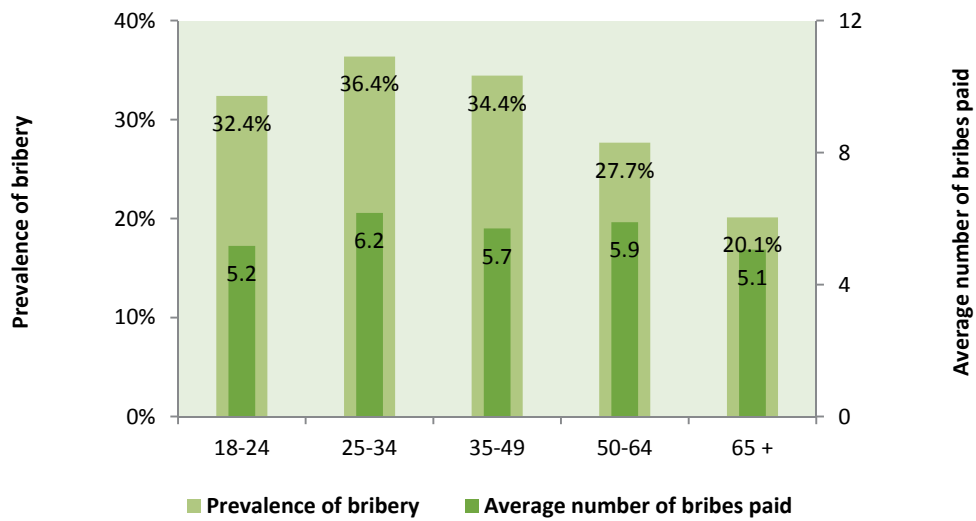
Figure 37 Prevalence of bribery, by sex and by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016

Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by a public official on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with the same type of public official.

How old bribe-payers are

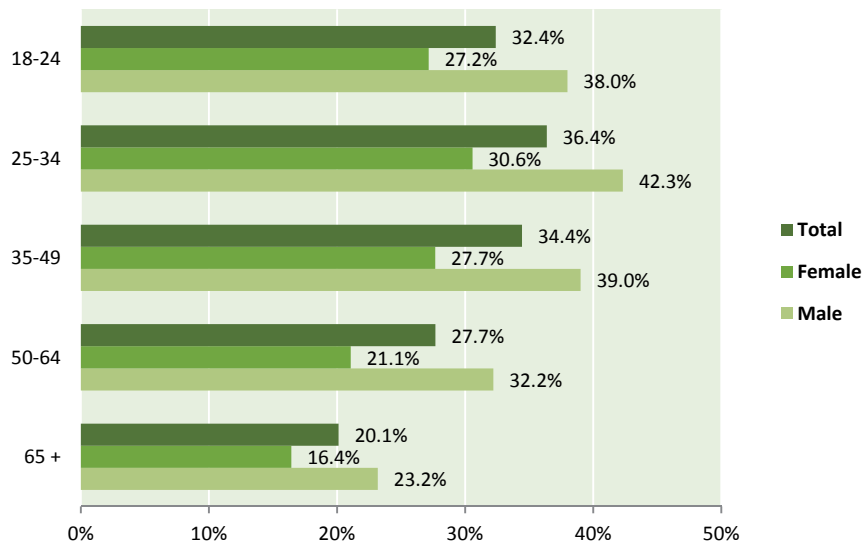
The risk of bribery is not constant across age groups in Nigeria. Young adults (aged 18-24 years) in the country are relatively vulnerable to bribery (32.4 per cent) but the prevalence of bribery reaches its peak in the 25-34 age group (36.4 per cent), after which it begins to decrease, particularly after the age of 50 (figure 38). In fact, the age-specific prevalence rate of 25-34 year olds is almost twice (1.8 times) that of people aged 65 years and older. This can mean two different things: if there is a “generation effect” each new generation has a greater disposition to bribery than the previous one (with 18-24 year olds still lacking the means to pay as often as the subsequent age groups). On the other hand, if there is an “aging effect” the risk of bribery is highest when people are young and it decreases progressively with age. Some indications of which effect is more likely to be predominant is discussed in the section *Attitudes to bribery* below.

Figure 38 Prevalence of bribery, by age group, Nigeria, 2016



When looking at gender differences in the prevalence of bribery by age, it is interesting to note that the gender gap in prevalence rates between males and females remains fairly constant across age groups (over 10 percentage points, except for people aged 65 years and older, for whom it is 7 percentage points). In combination with the decrease in prevalence rates by age group, this means that the prevalence rate of 25-34-year-old men is 2.6 times the prevalence rate of women aged 65 years and older (figure 39).

Figure 39 Prevalence of bribery, by sex and age group, Nigeria, 2016

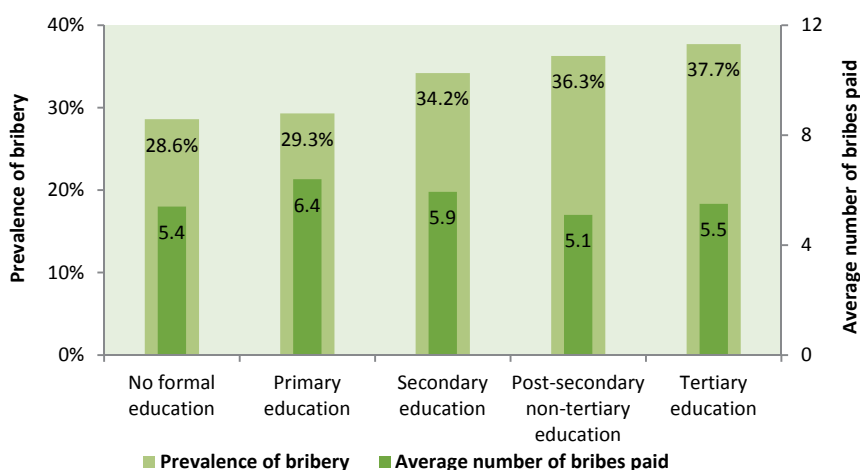


What bribe-payers do for a living

Education and income

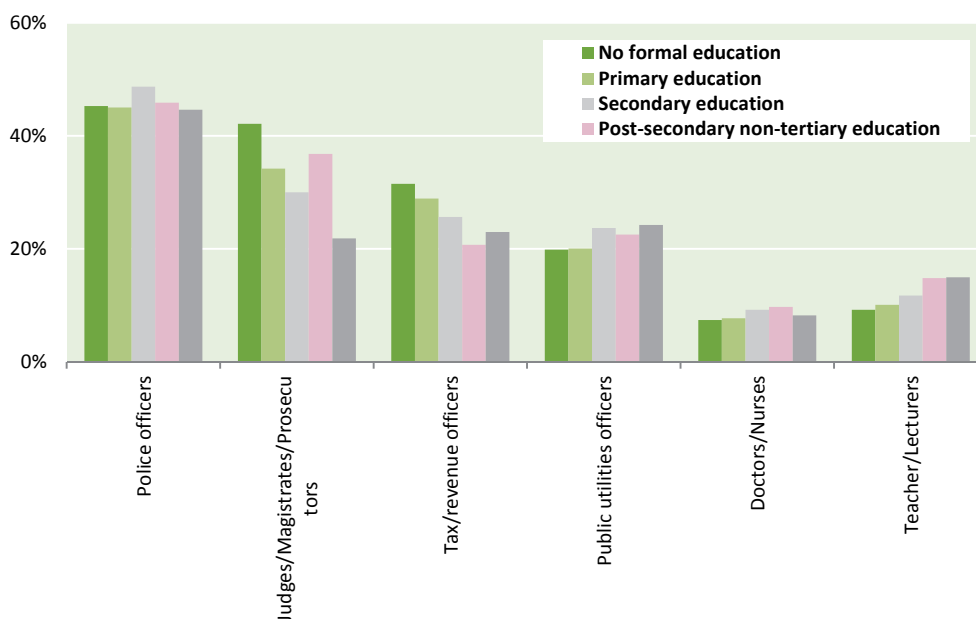
In Nigeria, the chance of paying a bribe when in contact with a public official increases with the educational attainment of citizens. The same is not the case in terms of the average number of bribes paid, which has no clear relationship with educational attainment (figure 40).

Figure 40 Prevalence of bribery and average number of bribes paid, by educational attainment, Nigeria, 2016



However, the result varies a great deal according to the type of public official receiving a bribe. In particular, the prevalence of bribery in payments to judges or tax/revenue officers decreases with the educational attainment of bribe-payers, whereas it increases when the public official involved is a teacher or a public utility officer (figure 41). This is an interesting pattern that leaves much room for interpretation. For example, it is not clear why people with no formal education would face a higher risk of bribery when in contact with judges or prosecutors. On the other hand, the bribery risk remains about the same across educational groups when police officers are involved (prevalence rates of between 45 and 49 per cent).

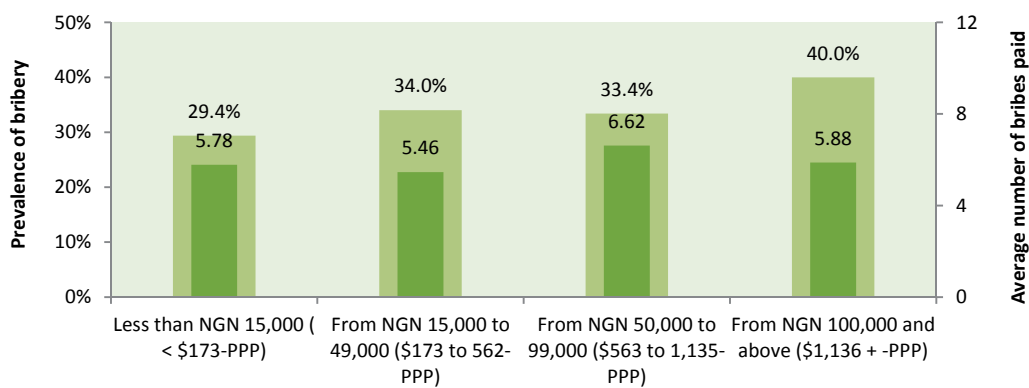
Figure 41 Prevalence of bribery, by educational attainment of citizens and by type of public official receiving bribes, Nigeria, 2016



The results on educational attainment are consistent with the distribution of prevalence rates by income level, as individuals with higher educational attainment generally have higher income levels than others and consequently have a higher prevalence of bribery, as might be expected. In fact, the difference in prevalence rates between individuals in the lowest income households and those in the highest income households reaches 15 percentage points (29.4 versus 40.0 per cent). In other words, individuals in the highest income group are 58 per cent more likely to pay bribes than individuals in the lowest income group when in contact with public officials (figure 42).

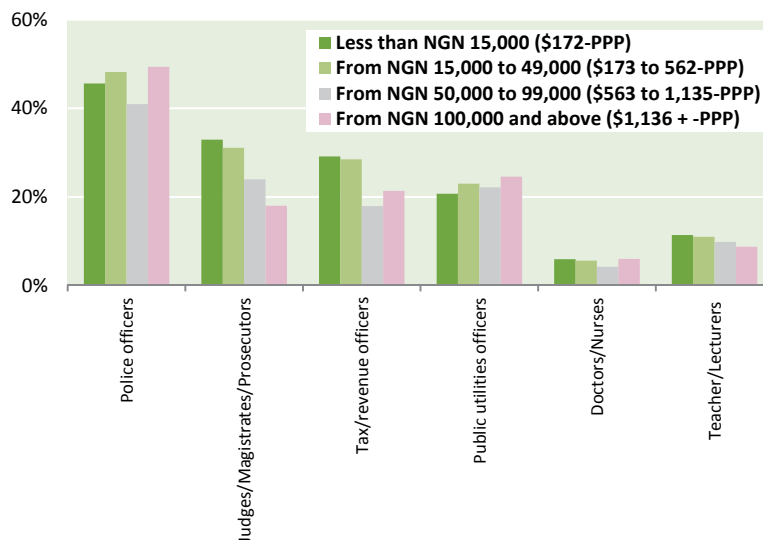
In terms of frequency (number of bribes paid by each bribe-payer), on average members of higher income households (NGN 100,000 or more) pay slightly more bribes than those in low and middle-low income households but fewer than members of intermediate income households of NGN 50,000-100,000.

Figure 42 Prevalence of bribery and average number of bribes paid, by monthly household income of citizens, Nigeria, 2016



Contrary to expectations, however, the prevalence of bribery does not increase with household income level in relation to all types of public official. On the contrary, it tends to decrease significantly with income levels in relation to judges/magistrates/prosecutors (from 32.9 per cent to 18.0 per cent), tax or revenue officers (from 29.1 per cent to 21.3 per cent) and to teachers and lecturers (from 11.4 to 8.7 per cent). This suggests that, in some cases, higher income households have means other than bribery to facilitate the outcomes and services they desire from public officials. For example, higher income households may have good contact networks, including family members in positions of power, which may lessen their need to resort to bribing certain public officials.

Figure 43 Prevalence of bribery, by monthly household income of citizens and by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016



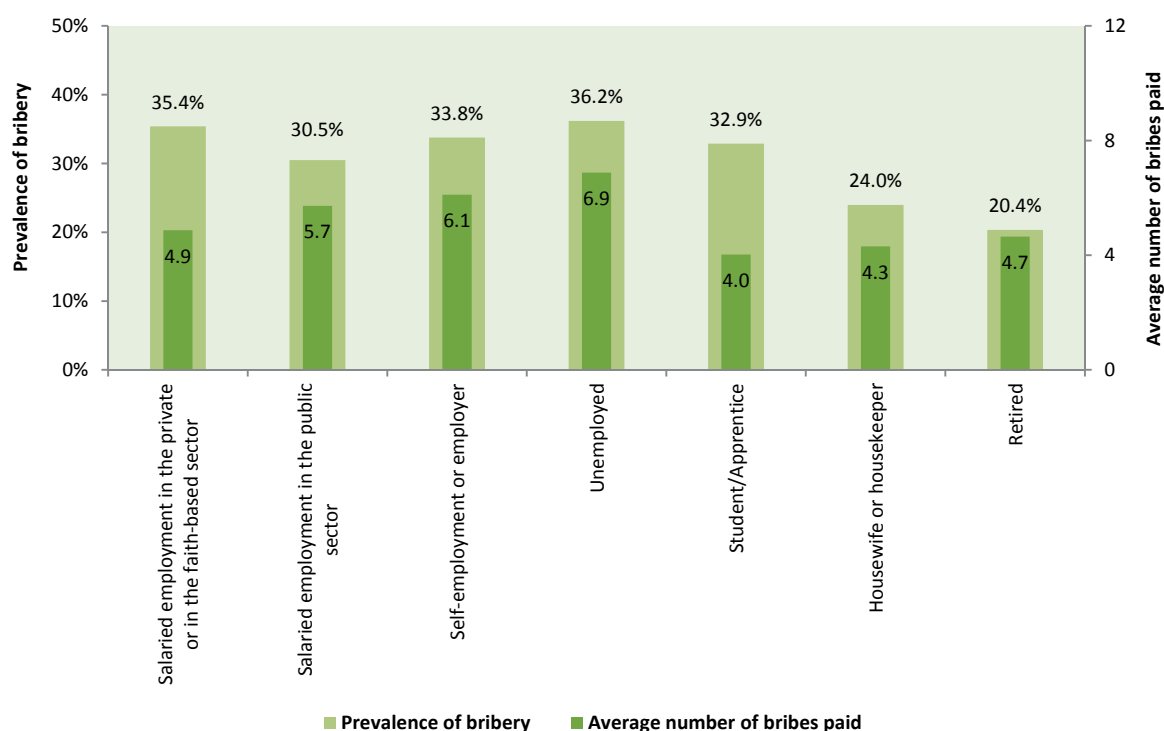
BOX 6 | Similarities between bribery in Nigeria and other countries surveyed by UNODC

When comparing patterns of bribery in Nigeria with those found in other surveys supported by UNODC in recent years, some familiar patterns emerge. As in Nigeria, in Afghanistan (2012), Iraq (2011) and the western Balkans (2010), the prevalence of bribery was, sometimes significantly, higher for men than for women. Moreover, in all three of those surveys, prevalence also increased with household income level and with educational level in Afghanistan and Iraq, while there was no clear pattern related to educational level in the western Balkans. As in Nigeria, the prevalence of bribery in the western Balkans was highest in the age group 31-40 years and decreased in each successive 10-year age group from 41 to 64 years. By contrast, in Iraq, the prevalence rate increased with each successive age group from 18 to 54 years and only decreased in the age group 55-64 years.²⁵

Employment status and occupation

There are only slight differences in bribery prevalence rates between salaried employees and self-employed people (figure 44). The unemployed have a slightly higher risk of bribery than those in employment, perhaps reflecting their particular vulnerability when confronting public officials.²⁶ On the other hand, housewives, housekeepers and retired persons have significantly lower prevalence rates than other employment status groups. The finding about retired persons is consistent with the fact that the prevalence rate decreases significantly after the age of 65 years (see figure 38).

Figure 44 Prevalence of bribery and average number of bribes paid, by employment status, Nigeria, 2016



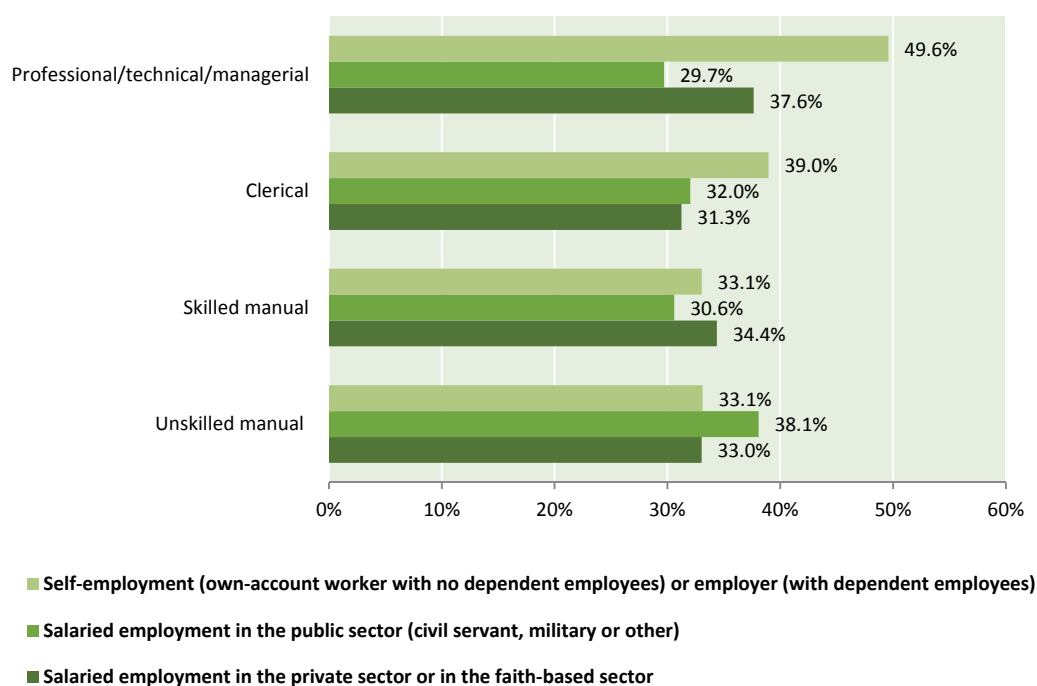
²⁵ No data by age group were provided in the survey in Afghanistan.

²⁶ For example, the group of unemployed people may also include people active in the informal sector, such as street vendors, who may face particular bribery demands due to the unofficial nature of their income.

As far as occupation is concerned, the Nigerians most vulnerable to bribery are those working in the skilled manual sector (37.9 per cent) and those in managerial, professional or technical occupations (36.7 per cent). Given that those occupations often lead to contact with public officials relating to administrative certificates and permits, and are generally associated with higher levels of education and income, this finding is not surprising. More unexpected is the fact that even those working in manual labour, agriculture and clerical positions have bribery prevalence rates that are very close to the Nigerian average.

Although there is no significant variation in the prevalence of bribery across occupations, when taking into account occupation and employment status together, more interesting vulnerability patterns are revealed. Bribery prevalence rates are particularly high among employers and self-employed Nigerians who work as professionals, technicians or managers (49.6 per cent), followed by people in the same employment status group with a clerical occupation (39.0 per cent) and by salaried public sector employees in unskilled manual jobs (38.1 per cent). On the other hand, the lowest prevalence rate is registered among professionals in the public sector (29.7 per cent), suggesting great variation in the prevalence of bribery among Nigerians in professional, technical and managerial posts.

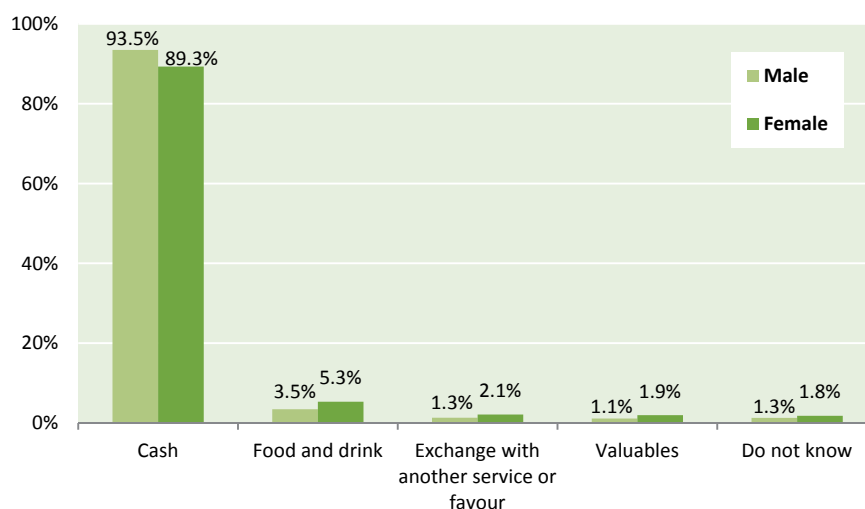
Figure 45 Prevalence of bribery, by employment status group and occupation of citizens, Nigeria, 2016



Who pays what

In terms of the form of bribes paid, a slight difference can be observed between the sexes: Nigerian women are less likely to pay bribes in cash (89.3 per cent) than their male counterparts (93.5 per cent). This difference is compensated by the fact that women pay a larger share of bribes in the form of food and drink than men (5.3 per cent versus 3.5 per cent), a pattern that has emerged in previous corruption surveys supported by UNODC.

Figure 46 Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by form of payment and sex, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Although only a very limited proportion of bribery transactions in the form of an exchange of services or favour were reported in the survey, such exchanges occur in a number of different situations, including the exchange of sexual services or other counter favours. Similar to giving food or drink or handing over valuables, the proportion of women using favours of any nature to obtain a service from public officials in Nigeria is higher (2.1 per cent) than that of men (1.3 per cent). This backs up the comments in the box on qualitative research (0) regarding sexual services as a form of bribery payment.²⁷

In addition, bribe-payers with a low monthly household income more commonly pay bribes in the form of an exchange of service or favour than those with a higher monthly income: the percentage of bribe-payers exchanging services or favours is highest in the lowest income group (2.4 per cent) and decreases with each successive income group (1.0 per cent in the highest income group).

When looking at educational attainment, there are almost no differences in the form of bribe payments: at all educational levels except the highest, cash payments account for over 90 per cent of bribes paid. The proportion of bribes paid in the form of an exchange of other services or favours by bribe-payers with a master or doctoral degree is notably higher than by all other groups (7.7 per cent versus less than 1.9 per cent), perhaps because people at the highest educational level may have benefits other than cash to offer to bribe-takers.

²⁷ See Ipadeola, Oladipupo, *Qualitative Study on the Patterns, Experiences and Manifestation of Corruption in Nigeria*, (Abuja, March 2016). While the share of this particular form of payment was found to be relatively low in the quantitative survey, it has been argued that the real importance of this form of payment is actually greater as the provision of such services may often be stigmatized and therefore not fully disclosed.

CHAPTER 5. HOW CITIZENS RESPOND TO BRIBERY

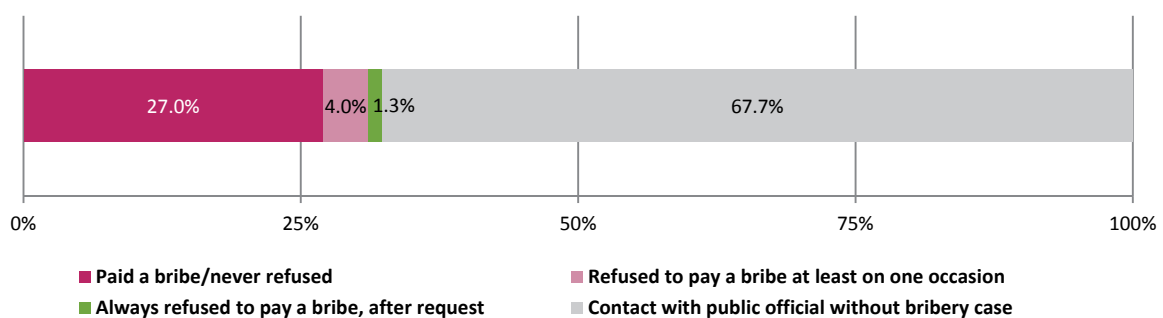
KEY FINDINGS

- Prevalence of refusal of bribery²⁸ 5.3 per cent
- Bribery refusal rate per 100 bribe-payers²⁹ 20 per 100 bribe-payers
- Percentage of adults experiencing negative consequences after refusing a requested bribe 56 per cent
- Percentage of bribe-payers reporting their experience to an official authority 3.7 per cent
- Percentage of bribe-payers experiencing negative consequences after reporting a bribery incident 9.1 per cent

Citizens refusing to pay bribes

Out of all Nigerian adults who were in contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey and were asked to pay a bribe only 5.3 per cent refused to do so on at least one occasion. This is illustrated in figure 47, which provides a summary of the reactions to bribery requests in Nigeria: out of all Nigerian adults who had contact with at least one public official in the 12 months prior to the survey, 27.0 per cent paid bribes routinely, 4.0 per cent paid on some occasions while refusing on others, and only 1.3 per cent refused all requests (the remaining 67.7 per cent did not face a bribe request and did not pay).

Figure 47 Proportion of Nigerian adults who always paid a bribe, who refused to pay a bribe on at least one occasion and who always refused to pay a bribe following a bribe request, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The percentages above are calculated as a proportion of Nigerian adults who had contact with at least one public official in the 12 months prior to the survey.

The same information can be viewed from a slightly different angle when comparing the 5.3 per cent who refused to pay bribes on at least one occasion with the 27 per cent who always paid a bribe when requested to do so. Put differently, for every 100 persons who paid bribes, 20 refused to pay

²⁸ Percentage of citizens who were asked to pay a bribe but refused to do so on at least one occasion over the previous 12 months.

²⁹ Ratio of persons refusing to pay bribes on at least one occasion per 100 bribe-payers.

when requested. This “refusal rate”³⁰ (20/100) is a better indicator for capturing the resolve to refuse the payment of bribes than the simple prevalence of refusals because it also takes into account how many bribes are refused (which also depends on whether a bribe is requested by the public official in the first place) in comparison with how many are actually paid.

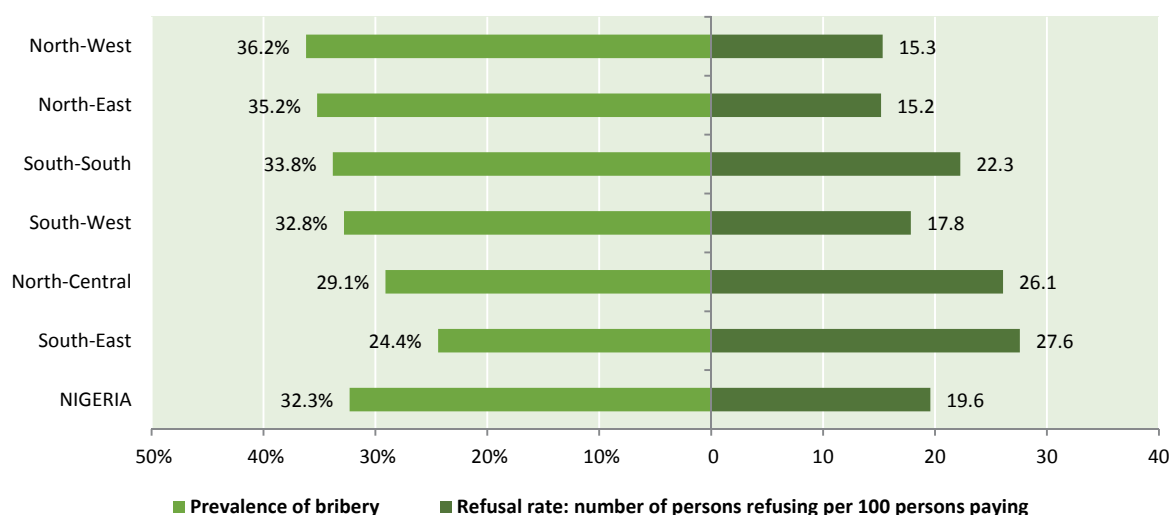
Thus calculated, the tendency of various population groups to refuse bribes can be analysed. For example, the refusal rate is higher for men than for women: for every five male bribe payers who always paid a bribe, one refused to pay a kickback on at least one occasion (refusal rate: 21/100), while the proportion decreases to one out of six bribe payers in the case of female bribe-payers (refusal rate of 17/100). Similar differences occur between urban (refusal rate of 21/100) and rural areas (refusal rate of 18/100).

Although the prevalence of bribery increases with income level, the refusal rate increases even more, meaning that refusal rates are higher (25/100) for persons with a monthly household income greater than NGN 100,000 (equivalent to \$1,136 - PPP or more) than for persons with a low-to-middle household income (16/100).

Among all the factors that tend to strengthen the resolve of citizens to refuse bribes, education plays the biggest role and it becomes more important as educational level increases: among Nigerians with post-secondary or tertiary education, for every three persons who always paid a bribe requested one refused to pay at least once (refusal rate: 33/100), with only one out of six persons without any formal education refusing to pay a requested bribe (refusal rate: 16/100).

On the other hand, the disaggregation by zone reveals that while the North-West and North-East zones of Nigeria generally have a higher prevalence of bribery than other zones, their inhabitants are also less likely to refuse a bribe than those in other zones. Meanwhile, the refusal of a bribe payment is more common in the South-East and North-Central zones, which also have a lower than average prevalence of bribery (figure 48).

Figure 48 Prevalence of bribery and refusal rate per 100 bribe-payers, by zone, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The refusal rate of bribery per 100 bribe-payers is calculated as the number of persons who refused a bribe payment at least once (including those who refused always and those who refused sometimes but paid on other occasions) per 100 persons who always paid a bribe (excluding those who sometimes paid and sometimes refused) in the 12 months prior to the survey. For the calculation of the prevalence of bribery see chapter 1.

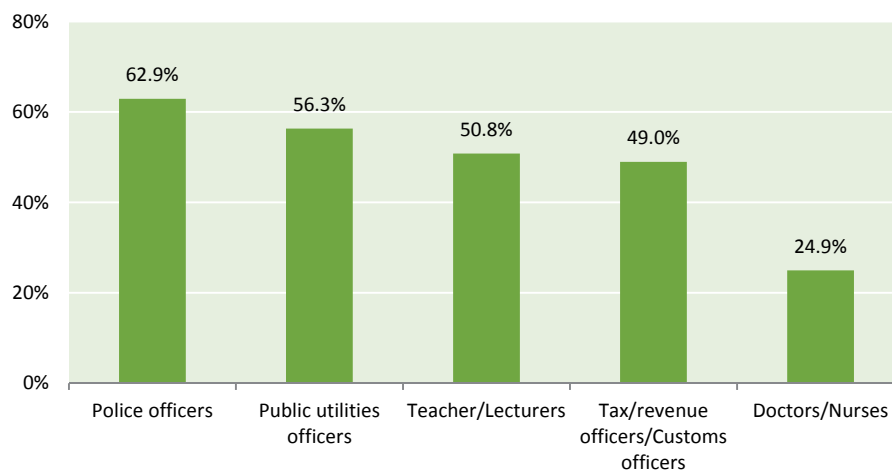
³⁰ The refusal rate is defined as the ratio of those who refused to pay a bribe (on at least one occasion) when asked to do so, divided by those who did pay bribes (but never refused to do so when asked for a bribe) over the previous 12 months (5.3/27 = 19.6).

Consequences of refusing to pay bribes

One reason why refusing to pay a bribe when requested to do so by a public official is a relatively rare occurrence in comparison with the number of times bribes are paid is that people who refuse to do so may experience negative consequences as a result of their refusal; for instance, if a public service is denied, an administrative procedure may be delayed or a fine imposed. Indeed, among those refusing to pay a bribe following a request by a public official, more than half (56 per cent) stated that they did suffer such negative consequences as a result of their refusal, while 28.4 per cent experienced no negative effects and the remaining 15.5 per cent said that it was not yet clear what happened as a consequence, or they did not know.

As shown in figure 49, the experience of negative consequences after refusing to pay a bribe is especially common when a bribe request from a police officer or a public utility officer is denied, but a backlash is also frequently encountered when refusing bribe requests from other public officials. Tellingly, negative consequences are experienced less frequently after refusing bribe requests from doctors or nurses in public hospitals, who are also the public officials in relation to whom the prevalence of bribery is lowest.

Figure 49 Percentage of Nigerians who experienced negative consequences after refusing to pay a bribe, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Data refer to the last bribe refused by type of official. Some types of public official shown have been aggregated (doctors with nurses; and tax/revenue and customs officers) or omitted (for example, judges/magistrates, prosecutors) from the chart to increase the accuracy of the result.

Public officials rejecting the offer of a bribe

As shown in this report, bribes are not only requested by public officials but are sometimes also offered by citizens to public officials in order to obtain preferential treatment or other benefits (8.2 per cent of all bribes paid are offered by the bribe-payer, as explained in chapter 2). The survey shows that such offers are rarely rejected by public officials: only 1.8 per cent of Nigerians who were in contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey experienced a situation (at least once) in which a public official rejected a bribe that had been offered to them. This means that, on average, out of every 100 Nigerians who paid a bribe, 6 offered a bribe to a public official who rejected the bribe.

Reporting bribery

When Nigerians pay bribes, the most common reaction is not to report it to anyone. Out of all those who paid bribes in the 12 months prior to the survey, the bribery reporting rate to official authorities

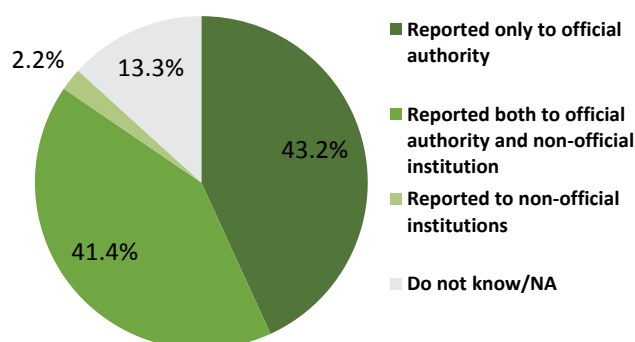
was 3.7 per cent.³¹ There were some differences in reporting rates to official authorities between the different zones of Nigeria (2.2 per cent in the South-West and 6.0 per cent in the South-South), between men and women (3.9 versus 3.3 per cent) and the residents of urban and rural areas (2.8 versus 4.2). However, there are no particular reporting patterns related to age or income, meaning that people who experience bribery in Nigeria do not tend to report their experience more or less the older they get or the better off they are. In terms of bribery mechanism, however, those who receive a third-party request tend to be more prone to reporting bribery, whereas those who offer a bribe in order to facilitate a procedure tend to report bribery less than those who receive a request for a bribe.

Reporting authorities

When public officials extract bribes and citizens want to report their experience to an official or unofficial authority to get redress and punish the bribe-taker, they have a number of options. As for any other type of crime, they can report the case to the police, but they can also turn directly to one of the official anti-corruption agencies or the Public Complaints Commission. They can even report the case to the supervisor of the bribe-taking official or another official institution that they trust. Alternatively, or in addition to reporting to an official institution, citizens may decide to turn to non-official institutions to report bribery, such as the media, non-governmental organizations or faith-based institutions.

The survey shows that when considering the reporting of bribery to both official authorities and to non-official institutions, the (overall) bribery reporting rate increases only slightly to 4.4 per cent of bribe-payers.³² The reason for this slight increase is that of those who reported bribery to any authority, the majority (84.6 per cent) addressed their complaints to at least one official authority,³³ while just 2.2 per cent of those who reported bribery only addressed their complaint to non-official institutions (figure 50). The finding that half of those reporting to official authorities also reported to at least one non-official authority, such as the media or a non-governmental organization, indicates a lack faith in the authorities' resolve to act upon instances of corruption brought to their attention.

Figure 50 Share of reported cases of bribery, by type of authority or institution that received the complaint, Nigeria, 2016



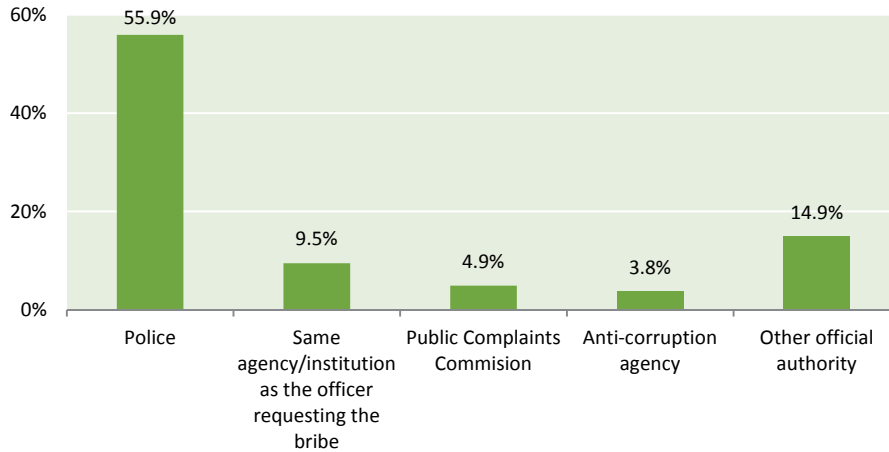
³¹ The bribery reporting rate is calculated as the number of persons who reported the payment of a bribe to any official authority (for example, police, prosecutor, anti-corruption agency, etc.), as a percentage of persons who paid a bribe. This rate does not include the reporting of persons who were asked to pay a bribe by a public official, but refused to pay. By means of comparison, in 2012, the bribery reporting rate was 1.5 per cent in the western Balkans and 4.5 per cent in Iraq. In Afghanistan, in 2013, it was 22 per cent.

³² Out of all bribe-payers, 92.9 per cent stated that they did not report the (last) incident at all, while 4.4 per cent stated that they reported the incident (either to an official or non-official institution). Bribe-payers who replied "do not know" (1.4 per cent) and missing responses to this question (1.3 per cent) account for the remainder.

³³ 43.2 per cent only reported to at least one official authority (police, anti-corruption agency, public complaints commission, same agency/institution or other institution), while 41.4 per cent also reported to at least one non-official authority, such as the media or a non-governmental organization.

Despite police officers being the public officials to whom citizens most often pay bribes, the police is the official authority to which the majority (55.9 per cent) of those reporting bribery reported their experience. However, the survey shows that a large proportion (46.4 per cent) of those who reported a bribery experience to the police also reported the case to non-official institutions: in particular, 25.7 per cent also reported the case to non-governmental organizations, 6.4 per cent to the media and 15.6 per cent to other (non-official) institutions, which reiterates the lack of faith in the police to deal with bribery.

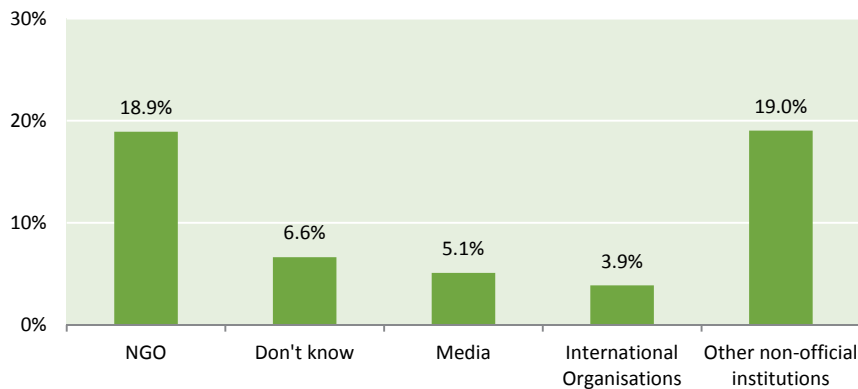
Figure 51 Share of reported cases of bribery, by type of official authority who received the complaint, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The percentages above are calculated as the number of persons who reported to the selected official authority divided by the total number of persons who reported bribery (last bribe paid only). One person might have reported to more than one official authority or non-official institution.

The survey also provides clear indications that a smaller share of bribe-payers report their experience of bribery to one of the specialized anti-corruption agencies or the Public Complaints Commission than to non-governmental organizations or to other non-official institutions (such as traditional leaders or faith-based institutions): almost one out of five reported bribery cases are directed, either exclusively or in addition to official authorities, to non-governmental organizations (18.9 per cent), while only 3.8 per cent are filed at one of the anti-corruption agencies. Moreover, although citizens stated that they have little faith in the media, a higher percentage of cases (5.1 per cent) are actually reported to the media than to one of the anti-corruption agencies.

Figure 52 Share of reported cases of bribery, by type of non-official institution that received the complaint, Nigeria, 2016

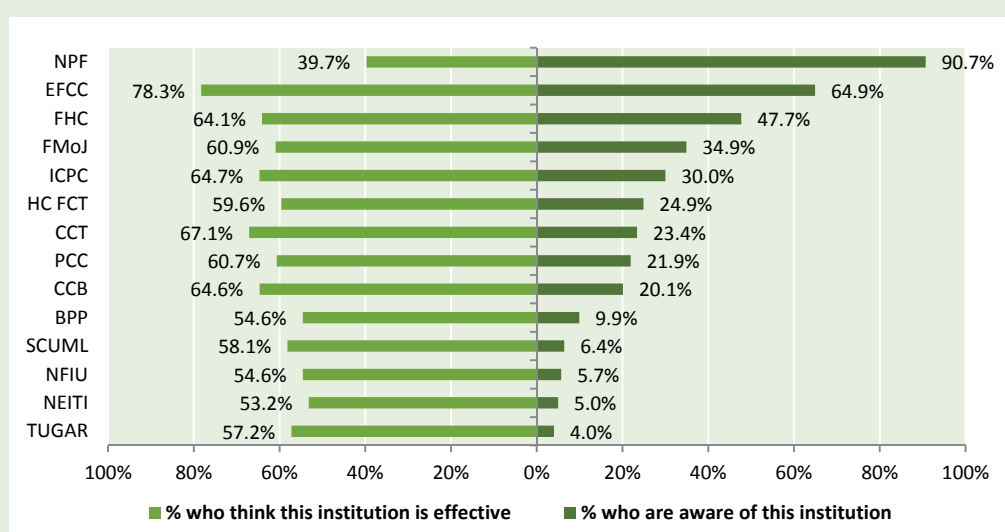


Note: The percentages above are calculated as the number of persons who reported to the selected institutions divided by the total number of persons who reported bribery (last bribe paid only). One person might have reported to more than one official authority or non-official institution.

BOX 7 | Awareness of anti-corruption agencies and their effectiveness

This survey demonstrates that of all the bribery incidents experienced by Nigerians only a small share (3.7 per cent) are reported to an official authority and of those only a minor percentage (3.8 per cent) is reported to one of the existing anti-corruption agencies. This finding raises questions about the awareness among Nigerians of agencies dealing with corruption and other crimes, and their opinion about the effectiveness of those agencies. When asked directly about whether they are aware of the existence of relevant institutions fighting corruption in Nigeria, a large majority of Nigerians claimed to be aware of the police. Around two thirds also claimed to be aware of the existence of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, almost half of the Federal High Court and around a third of the Federal Ministry of Justice. However, less than a third of Nigerians are aware of any of the other agencies involved in anti-corruption work (figure 53).

Figure 53 Percentage of people aware of the existence of different institutions and perceptions of their effectiveness in fighting corruption, Nigeria, 2016



Note: Awareness of a particular institution is calculated as the percentage of adult Nigerians who claimed to be aware of the existence of that institution. Perception of effectiveness is calculated as the percentage of adult Nigerians who think this particular institution is “effective” or “very effective” in fighting corruption, out of all adult Nigerians who are aware of that institution. Nigerians not aware of the institution were not asked about its effectiveness in fighting corruption.

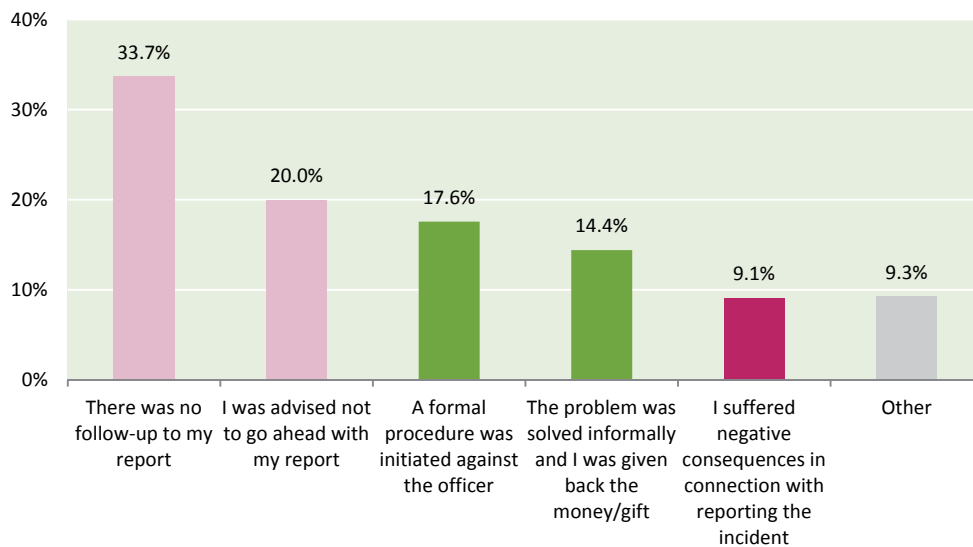
BPP = Bureau of Public Procurement, **CCB** = Code of Conduct Bureau, **CCT** = Code of Conduct Tribunal, **EFCC** = Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, **FHC** = Federal High Court, **FMoJ** = Federal Ministry of Justice, **HC FCT** = High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, **ICPC** = Independent Corrupt Practices Commission, **NEITI** = Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, **NFIU** = Nigeria Financial Intelligence Unit, **NPF** = Nigeria Police Force, **PCC** = Public Complaints Commission, **SCUML** = Special Control Unit Against Money Laundering, **TUGAR** = Technical Unit on Governance and Anti-Corruption Reform.

While the survey shows that few Nigerians have heard of some of the more specialized anti-corruption agencies in the country it also demonstrates that among Nigerians who are aware of a particular institution, the majority find that institution to be “effective” or “very effective” in fighting corruption. Based on this measure, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission receives the highest perception of effectiveness rating, at 78.3 per cent, followed by the Code of Conduct Tribunal (67.1 per cent), the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (64.7 per cent) and the other anti-corruption agencies, all with scores above 50 per cent. The only exception here is the Nigeria Police Force, which is considered to be effective by only 39.7 per cent of Nigerians, while over 60 per cent consider the police “not very effective” or “ineffective” in fighting corruption. This pattern is consistent with the survey finding that Nigerian citizens consider the police the institution where corrupt practices occur the most and with the finding that the prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers is higher than to any other type of public official.

Why citizens do not report bribery

Some indirect evidence of why most incidents of bribery remain unreported can be found in the experience of those who did report a bribery incident: there was no follow up in more than a third of cases (33.7 per cent); a fifth (20.0 per cent) of those who filed a report were advised not to go ahead with the complaint; a formal procedure was initiated in only slightly more than a sixth of cases; and almost one out of ten persons (9.1 per cent) who reported a bribery experience in Nigeria in the previous 12 months suffered negative consequences in connection with reporting the incident (figure 54).

Figure 54 Percentage distribution of consequences subsequent to reporting a bribery incident, Nigeria, 2016



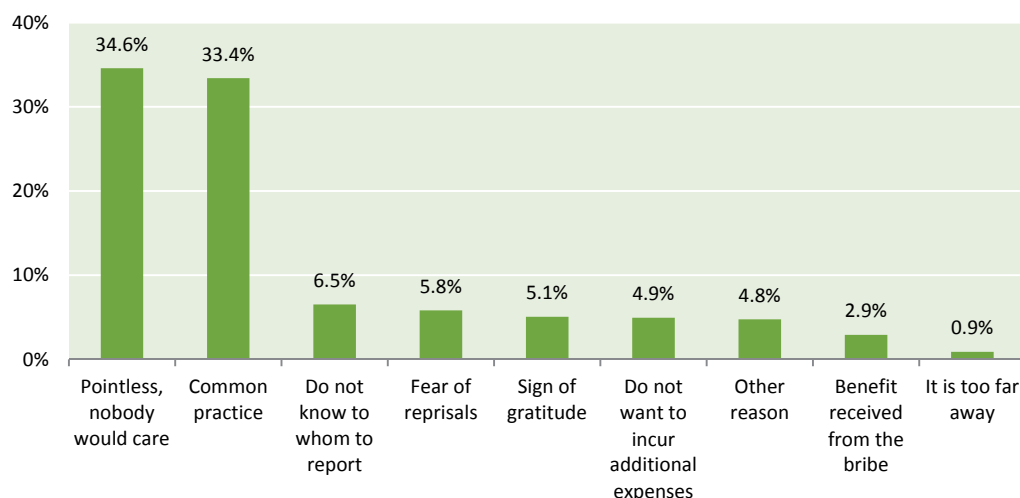
Note: The percentage distribution of consequences is calculated as the number of persons who reported a particular consequence divided by the total number of persons who reported bribery (last bribe paid only). The sum is higher than 100 per cent as one person can have experienced more than one consequence.

The share of people who experience negative consequences after reporting a bribery case is higher than the average (9.1 per cent) in bribery cases involving public utility officers (11.4 per cent) and police officers (10.6 per cent).

The combination of lack of follow up, being advised not to go ahead with a report and suffering negative consequences means that almost two thirds (62.7 per cent) of bribery reports have either no consequences or have negative consequences. This can go some way to explaining why so few citizens report bribery in Nigeria.

Some of the reasons for not reporting are implicit in the (negative) consequences that people reporting suffered after having reported the case, as explored above. More explicitly, when bribe-payers were asked about the reasons why they did not report bribery, the two most common reasons mentioned throughout Nigeria (see also the State profiles section) are the perception that reporting would be pointless as nobody would care or that it is such a common practice to pay or make gifts that reporting would not make a difference. It is also noteworthy that 6.5 per cent of bribe-payers did not report bribery because they did not know to whom to report and that 5.8 per cent refrained from reporting because they were afraid of reprisals. The share of citizens reporting the last reason was considerably higher in the South-West than in other zones of Nigeria, which is also the zone in which the actual experiences of negative consequences of reporting are highest.

Figure 55 Percentage distribution of the main reasons why bribe-payers did not report the bribery case to any official authority or non-official institution, Nigeria, 2016



Note: The percentage distribution of consequences is calculated as the number of persons who named a particular reason for not reporting bribery divided by the total number of persons who experienced bribery but did not report it (last bribe paid only). Only one main reason could be named.

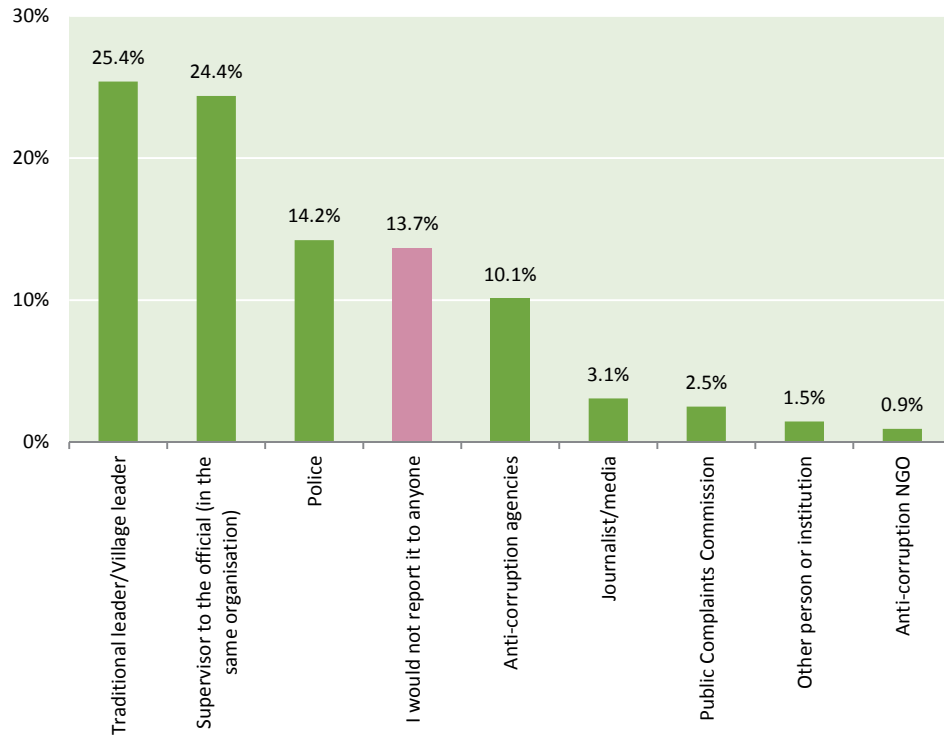
Reporting future bribery incidents

Given the low level of reporting bribery experiences to public authorities, one important question concerns the potential for reporting future incidents. Confronted with a theoretical question as to whether they would report a case of bribery if they experienced one in future, some 86 per cent of Nigerians adults (including also those who did not experience bribery in the past year) named an official or unofficial institution to whom they would report a future case of bribery.³⁴ In stark contrast to actual experience, only 13.7 per cent of interviewees said that they would not report a bribery incident to any authority. Given that the (overall) bribery reporting rate is only 4.4 per cent in Nigeria, there is clearly a disconnect between people's perceptions of how they think they would react when receiving a bribery request and how they actually behave in practice.

Further evidence of how a culture of transparency and reporting bribery incidents could potentially be fostered can be gleaned from the detailed answers to the question about the institution to which citizens would (theoretically) report future bribery incidents; top of the list are "Village leader" and the "Supervisor of the official in question". Despite its ubiquitous presence in all of Nigeria and the fact that it receives the majority of bribery complaints, the police is only considered the third most important authority for reporting future bribery incidents, just ahead of anti-corruption agencies, which are considered important by around 10 per cent of Nigerians, a share far larger than the share they make up of actual reports made.

³⁴ Respondents were asked about the most important institutions they would consider for future reporting of bribery cases, including the option that they would not report a bribery experience to any institution.

Figure 56 Percentage distribution of adult population considering selected institutions the most important for future reports of bribery incidents, Nigeria, 2016



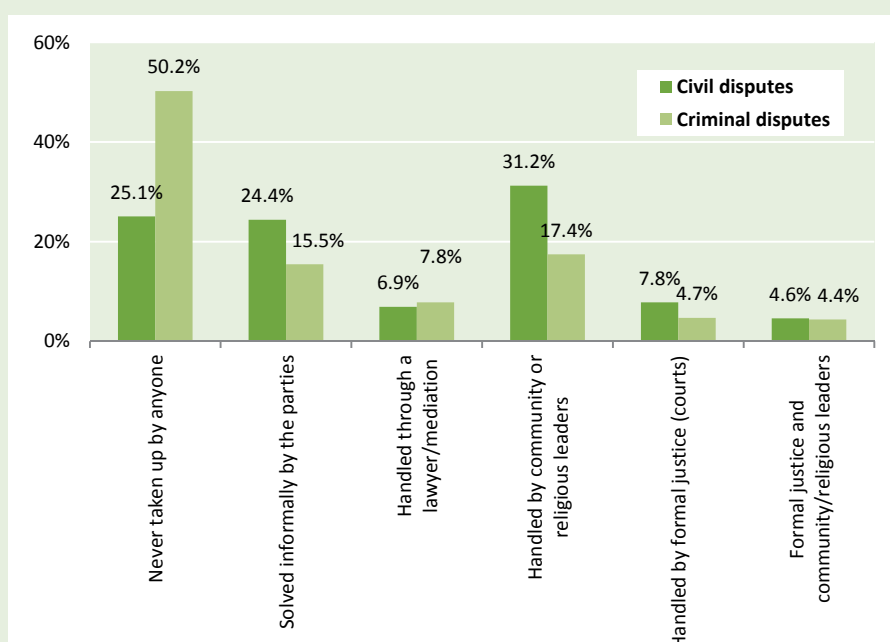
Note: The percentage distribution of the adult population considering selected institutions the most important for future reports of bribery incidents is calculated as the number of persons who named a particular institution divided by the total number of respondents. Only one most important institution could be named.

BOX 8 | Access to justice in Nigeria

One of the most important reasons why Nigerians who experience an injustice, such as a violation of civil rights, being a victim of crime or being forced to pay a bribe, do not report their grievance to any official authority is their low level of trust in the functioning of the legal system, including the criminal justice system. When asked about their opinion on whether the formal justice system effectively protects the rights of every citizen, almost half of Nigerian adults (44 per cent) disagree, while 48 per cent agree and 8 per cent do not have an opinion. Moreover, up to 51 per cent of Nigerians agree with the statement that the staff of the justice system often ask for bribes (30 per cent do not have an opinion and 19 per cent disagree). At the same time, up to 44 per cent of Nigerians state that the courts are not within a reasonable distance from where they live.

Given this sceptical attitude towards the justice system and other difficulties accessing justice,^a such as distance and cost, it becomes understandable why only a small minority of Nigerians who are faced with a civil or criminal dispute approach the formal judicial system (courts) to seek justice. The survey shows that around 13 per cent of households in Nigeria were faced with some type of civil dispute during the five years prior to the survey (for example, a dispute over land or livestock, tenancy rights, work, business or family matters), while 3.9 per cent were confronted with a criminal dispute (for example, theft, a violent offence, fraud or corruption). Of all civil disputes, only 7.8 per cent were handled exclusively by formal justice institutions (courts), while just 4.7 per cent of all criminal disputes were handled exclusively by courts. The rest were either never taken up by anyone, were solved informally by the parties involved, were handled through a lawyer or third party mediation, or were handled by community or religious leaders (figure 57). A smaller share of cases was also handled both by formal and informal justice systems.

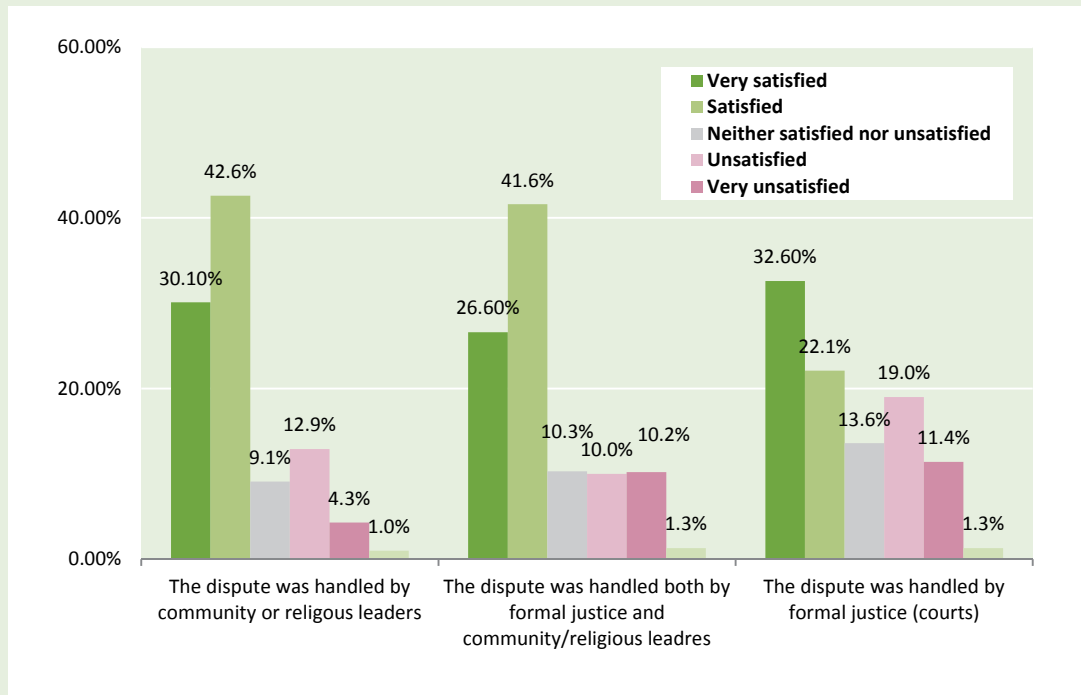
Figure 57 Access to dispute resolution mechanisms when faced with a civil or criminal dispute, Nigeria, 2016



While levels of satisfaction with the formal and informal justice systems are difficult to interpret (as different systems may be confronted with different types of cases and parties to the dispute such as victims and offenders), in the case of civil disputes the data show a somewhat lower level of satisfaction and a higher level of dissatisfaction with the way the case was handled in the formal

justice system than in the informal justice system.

Figure 58 Satisfaction with the way civil disputes are handled, by type of institution, Nigeria, 2016



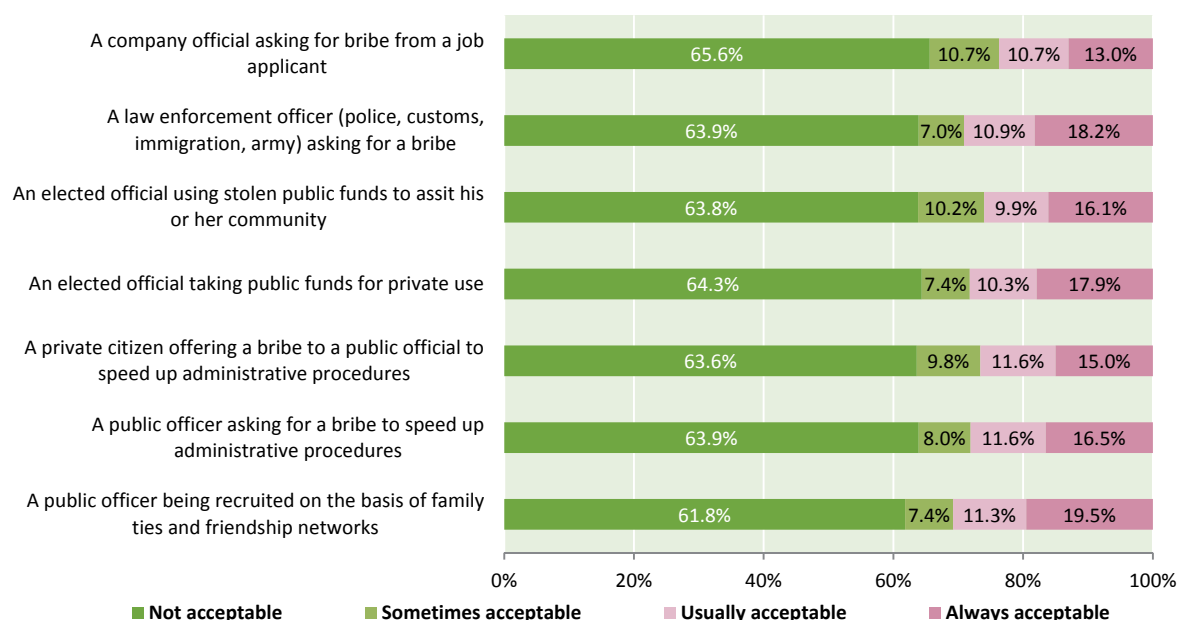
^a A 2007 assessment of access to justice in ten Nigerian states, based on a survey of stakeholders conducted by UNODC and the Legal Defence and Assistance Project, found major problems in a number of areas, including access to information and the integrity of court personnel, but also diagnosed improvements since a previous assessment conducted in 2002: UNODC, *Assessment of Justice Sector Integrity and Capacity in Ten Nigerian States – Report of a Baseline Study conducted by the Legal Defence and Assistance Project in 2007* (Abuja, June 2010). Available at www.unodc.org/documents/nigeria//publications/Otherpublications/Assessment_of_Justice_Sector_Integrity_and_Capacity_in_10_Nigerian_States_20071.pdf.

Acceptability of bribery

When analysing attitudes to corruption in Nigeria, the data are very clear: around two thirds of Nigerians actually consider most forms of corruption to be completely unacceptable and only a minority of Nigerians find corrupt practices “always acceptable”.

Although this pattern is fairly uniform for different types of corrupt practices, there are certain nuances as to how much certain practices are considered acceptable. For example, the practice of a company requesting a bribe from a job applicant is considered always or usually acceptable by 23.7 per cent of Nigerians, whereas when a public official is recruited on the basis of family ties and friendship networks, the share of Nigerians considering this acceptable rises to over 30 per cent (figure 59). Apparently, nepotism in public recruitment — a particular form of corruption — is still considered an acceptable form of corruption by many Nigerians, in contrast to the principles embedded in the Nigerian civil service, which professes to base professional recruitment purely on merit (Chapter 3).

Figure 59 Percentage distribution of adult population according to the acceptability of certain practices, Nigeria, 2016

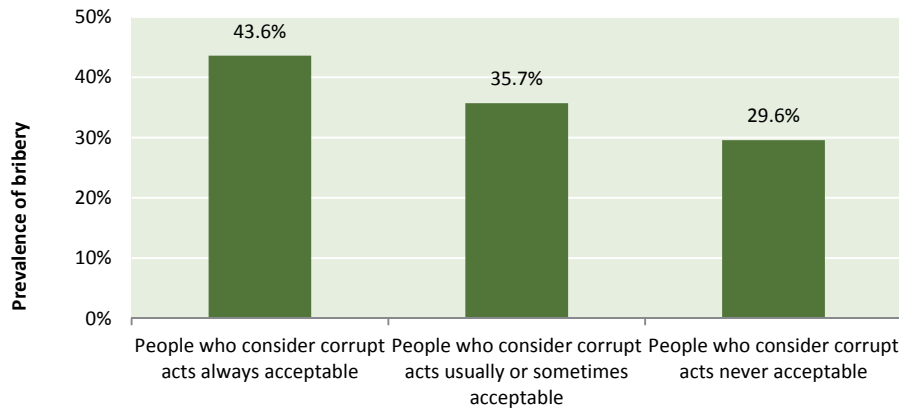


On the other hand, the finding that two thirds of Nigerians find corrupt practices completely unacceptable shows that there is a broad understanding of integrity in civil service. This begs the question: how much do such generally negative attitudes towards corruption translate into actual behaviour?

When respondents are considered according to their average acceptability of three³⁵ corrupt practices — those who consider such types of behaviour never acceptable, sometimes or usually acceptable and always acceptable — the results show that the prevalence of bribery among the group of Nigerians who consider bribery always acceptable is 14 percentage points higher than among the group who consider bribery never acceptable. In other words, a change in attitude from “always acceptable” to “never acceptable” reduces the prevalence of bribery by 32 per cent.

³⁵ Namely, the acceptability of: a law enforcement officer (police, customs) asking for a bribe; a public officer asking for a bribe to speed up an administrative procedure; and a citizen offering a bribe to a public official to speed up an administrative procedure.

Figure 60 Prevalence of bribery according to the acceptability of corrupt practices, Nigeria, 2016

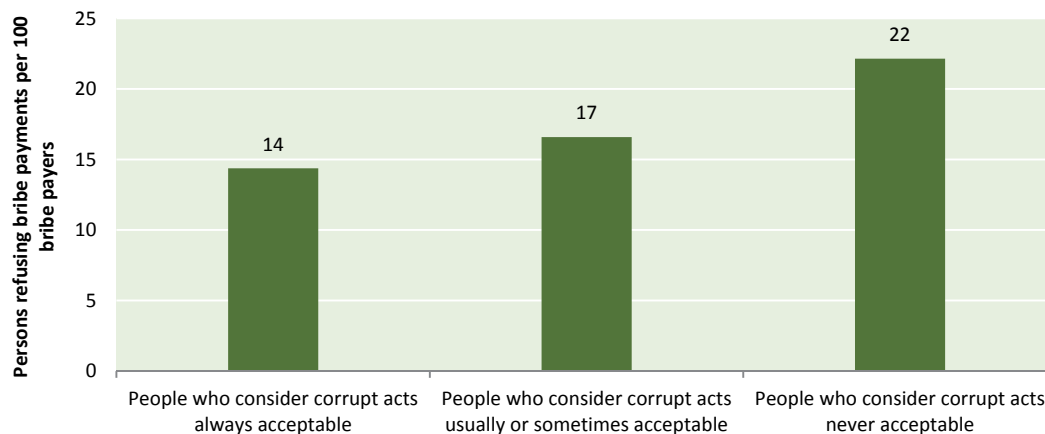


Note: the above calculations refer to the opinion of Nigerians adults about the three following bribery-related situations: 1) a law enforcement officer (police, customs) asking for a bribe; 2) a public official asking for a bribe to speed up an administrative procedure; 3) a citizen offering a bribe to a public official to speed up an administrative procedure. The group of people who find bribery always acceptable consider bribery to be “always acceptable” in all three of the above situations. The group of people who find bribery never acceptable consider bribery to be “not acceptable” in all three of the above situations. The group of people who find bribery sometimes or usually acceptable consider bribery to be “sometimes acceptable” or “usually acceptable” in at least one of the above situations. Observations with one or more missing opinions about the three above-mentioned situations were excluded from the calculations.

The above analysis shows that their attitude to corruption has a significant impact on the willingness of Nigerians to pay bribes, whether they have been requested to do so or whether they actively offer a bribe to public officials to receive a benefit or avoid a fine.

The data also show that the attitude to corrupt practices does have a significant impact on the rate of refusal when asked to pay a bribe: among Nigerians adults who it find “always acceptable” to pay bribes, the ratio of those who refused to those who actually paid is below 14/100 while it is 22/100 among the group of people who find corrupt practices “never acceptable” (figure 61).

Figure 61 Refusal rate per 100 bribe-payers, by acceptability of corrupt practices, Nigeria, 2016



Note: the above calculations refer to the opinion of Nigerians adults about the three following bribery-related situations: 1) a law enforcement officer (police, customs) asking for a bribe; 2) a public official asking for a bribe to speed up an administrative procedure; 3) a citizen offering a bribe to a public official to speed up an administrative procedure.

The group of people who find bribery always acceptable consider bribery to be “always acceptable” in all three of the above situations.

The group of people who find bribery never acceptable consider bribery to be “not acceptable” in all three of the above situations.

The group of people who find bribery sometimes or usually acceptable consider bribery to be “sometimes acceptable” or “usually acceptable” in at least one of the above situations.

Observations with one or more missing opinions about the three above-mentioned situations were excluded from the calculations.

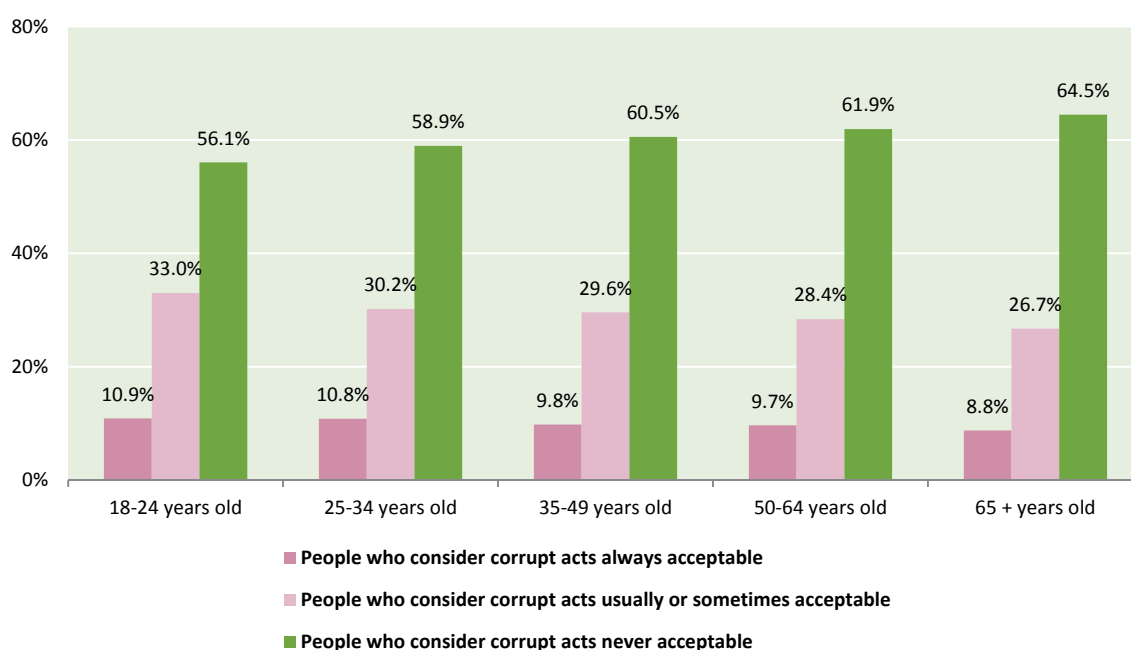
The refusal rate of bribery per 100 bribe-payers is calculated as the number of persons who refused the bribe payment at least once (including those who refused always and those who refused sometimes but paid on other occasions) per 100 persons who always paid a bribe (excluding those who sometimes paid and sometimes refused).

Acceptability of bribery by age, sex, education and income

If standards of integrity (whether corrupt practices are considered acceptable or not) have such a strong impact on actual behaviour, it is important to know which population groups have more problematic attitudes towards corruption in order to devise targeted anti-corruption strategies. By disaggregating the acceptability of corrupt practices by different age, sex, education and income groups, more can be learned as to where awareness-raising and integrity campaigns are most needed.

While the differences among age groups in Nigeria are not huge, the acceptability of corruption clearly decreases with age (figure 62). As with the decreasing prevalence rate of bribery in each successive age group, this pattern can be interpreted as originating from either a “generation effect” (corruption is increasingly accepted by each successive generation) or an “aging effect” (a decrease in the acceptance of corrupt practices as people get older). The data on the attitudes of Nigerians to the acceptability of corruption by age group cannot provide a conclusive answer as to which effect predominates. However, if the “aging effect” predominates it is likely that a greater share of Nigerians would move to the “middle-ground”, finding bribery usually or sometimes acceptable, while attitudes to corruption actually become more polarized with increasing age difference between the groups. This could indicate that the “generation effect” predominates: growing up in an environment where corruption is widespread results in an increasingly high level of acceptance of corrupt practices and — ultimately — also in a greater level of disposal to engage in such acts. This has important implications for targeting policy measures, such as awareness raising, at the younger generation.

Figure 62 Percentage distribution of adult population who consider certain corrupt practices acceptable, by age, Nigeria, 2016



Note: the above calculations refer to the opinion of Nigerians adults about the three following bribery-related situations: 1) a law enforcement officer (police, customs) asking for a bribe; 2) a public official asking for a bribe to speed up an administrative procedure; 3) a citizen offering a bribe to a public official to speed up an administrative procedure.

The group of people who find bribery always acceptable consider bribery to be “always acceptable” in all three of the above situations.

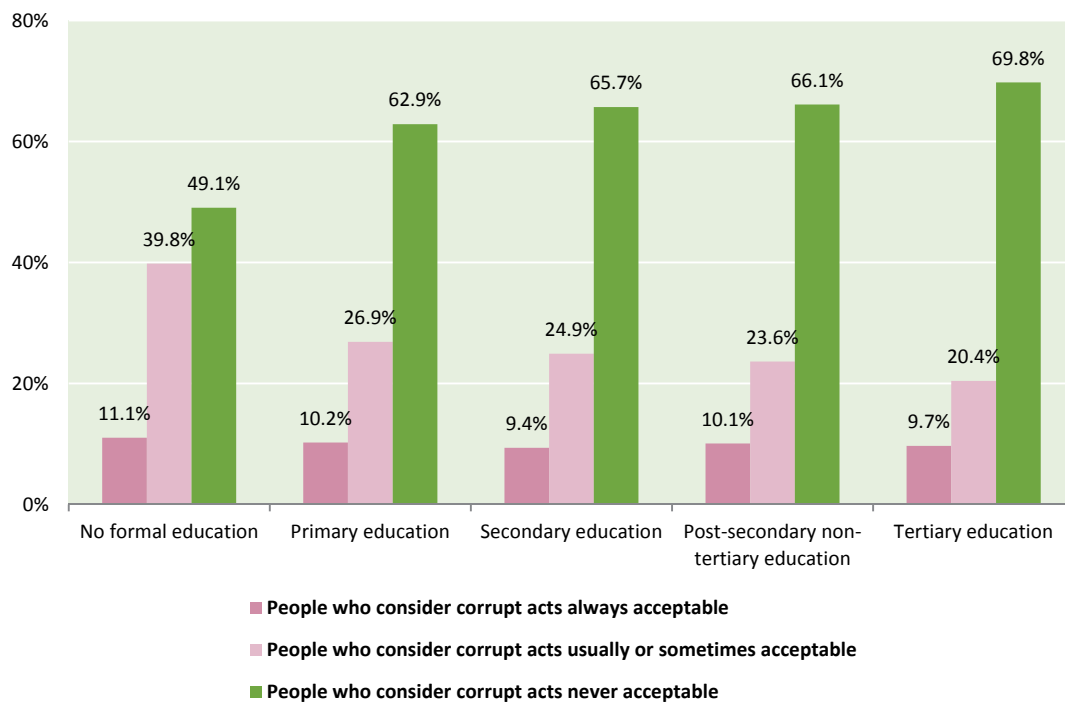
The group of people who find bribery never acceptable consider bribery to be “not acceptable” in all three of the above situations.

The group of people who find bribery sometimes or usually acceptable consider bribery to be “sometimes acceptable” or “usually acceptable” in at least one of the above situations.

Observations with one or more missing opinions about the three above-mentioned situations were excluded from the calculations.

As with age, disaggregation by sex tallies with male and female bribery prevalence rates: corrupt practices are slightly more acceptable among males than females. A more complex pattern emerges when opinions are explored according to levels of educational attainment. Despite the fact that the prevalence of bribery tends to increase with education, the acceptability of bribery tends to be higher among poorly educated people, particularly among those with no formal education. In other words, the higher the level of formal education, the lower the willingness of adult Nigerians to accept corrupt practices as normal: this is particularly true for the share of Nigerians who find corrupt practices usually or sometimes acceptable, which is some 40 per cent of those with no formal education and 20 per cent of those with a tertiary education, while the share of Nigerians who consider corrupt acts always acceptable remains fairly constant across all levels of educational attainment, at around 10 per cent (figure 63). Despite such a clear link between the acceptability of bribery and education, it seems that the effect is not strong enough to reduce the prevalence of bribery among the groups with higher levels education of educational attainment (as shown in figure 40).

Figure 63 Percentage distribution of adult population who consider certain corrupt practices acceptable, by education, Nigeria, 2016



Note: the above calculations refer to the opinion of Nigerians adults about the three following bribery-related situations: 1) a law enforcement officer (police, customs) asking for a bribe; 2) a public official asking for a bribe to speed up an administrative procedure; 3) a citizen offering a bribe to a public official to speed up an administrative procedure.

The group of people who find bribery always acceptable consider bribery to be “always acceptable” in all three of the above situations.

The group of people who find bribery never acceptable consider bribery to be “not acceptable” in all three of the above situations.

The group of people who find bribery sometimes or usually acceptable consider bribery to be “sometimes acceptable” or “usually acceptable” in at least one of the above situations.

Observations with one or more missing opinions about the three above-mentioned situations were excluded from the calculations.

CHAPTER 6. SELECTED FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This extensive and representative household survey on corruption in Nigeria demonstrates that the bribery of public officials in all areas of public administration has a profound effect on the lives of ordinary Nigerians. The comprehensive picture of patterns, experiences and manifestations of bribery that emerges from the survey can be used to derive a number of concrete policy implications that can help reduce that effect; they include:

- The elevated risk of being requested to pay a bribe when citizens have dealings with the police force and judiciary is a particularly worrying sign for the enforcement of the rule of law. Experiences of this nature lead to the erosion of trust in public authority by ordinary citizens. Improvement of oversight in these sectors should be made a priority and implemented through a number of concerted efforts.
- Most bribes are solicited by public officials in return for public services that it is their duty to deliver, indicating that those officials have little fear of being sanctioned. A strict enforcement of legal and disciplinary measures for corrupt officials can help to reduce any feeling of impunity. Further, measures to strengthen integrity in public service, and to promote accountability and transparency could play an important role in reducing corruption and regaining the trust of citizens.³⁶
- The use of digital technology to access and deliver services directly to citizens (e-government), thereby avoiding direct face-to-face contacts with civil servants, can in some instances be an effective measure to decrease the risk of bribery. Promoting the use of cashless e-payment methods for public goods and services can directly reduce opportunities to exchange cash in corrupt transactions.³⁷
- One finding of the survey is that bribes are paid to corrupt officials to speed up administrative procedures in order to avoid long delays in accessing public services such as public utilities, obtaining administrative licences and official certificates. Only those who can afford to do so (often the better off) are able to pay such bribes. As officials may exploit already slow procedures to solicit bribes from citizens, improving and fast-tracking administrative work processes in public services is thus essential to achieve a culture of accountability and transparency. Concrete measures to achieve this could include the following:
 - setting clear timelines for administrative processes at departmental level;
 - publishing timelines and encouraging members of the public to hold public officers accountable (transparency in process).

A particular concern highlighted by the survey is the incidence of corruption when applying for employment in the civil service. Few Nigerians believe that the procedures of selection to a civil service position are fair and based on merit, rather than on nepotism or other types of favouritism. Such practices undermine both the reputation and the integrity of the public administration and need to be vigorously countered through greater transparency and accountability in the recruitment process, which guarantee that all applicants are competing on a “level playing field”; for example, by reviewing procedures for the selection and training of public officials or introducing mandatory rotation schemes between public service positions.³⁸

³⁶ The United Nations Convention against Corruption, ratified by Nigeria on 14 December 2014, provides for an extensive list of such measures, including measures on prevention of corruption, law enforcement, international cooperation and asset recovery.

³⁷ Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offenses Commission (ICPC) and UNODC (UNODC; CONIG-2017): Corruption Risk assessment (CRA) report on e-government platforms. CLEEN Foundation and the Federal Road Safety Corporation (FRSC 2016): Tackling Corruption in Drivers’ License Application Process. Some limitations of these systems identified in the reports include poor power supply and vandalism of e-systems.

³⁸ Chapter 2 (Preventive Measures), article 7 (public sectors) of the United Nations Convention against Corruption encourages state parties to “... endeavour to adopt, maintain and strengthen systems for the recruitment, hiring, retention, promotion and retirement of civil servants ...” This includes “...adequate procedures for the selection and training of

- Efforts to promote the integrity of civil servants and nurture a determination to reject bribery offers out of principle should be strengthened. Insights from behavioural research on anti-corruption strategies in Nigeria³⁹ should be applied more broadly so as to shift social norms and expectations towards a culture of integrity. This survey has shown that most people regard corrupt behaviours as morally wrong and have higher aspirations for their own behaviour than they are able to realize. A strengthened culture of integrity should offer a path to help reduce the disparity between aspiration and reality.
- The vast majority of bribery cases are not reported to any official authority, such as the police, courts or anti-corruption agencies, as this is considered pointless and lacking any real consequences. The establishment of a strong system for encouraging and protecting people who report bribery is important for both holding public officials accountable and ending their impunity for perpetrating corrupt acts.
- Increasing the willingness of those affected by bribery and corruption to report corrupt acts is also vital for increasing the effectiveness of anti-corruption agencies, to which only a small share of all bribery incidents are reported. Behavioural change interventions that include citizen engagement can be essential steps in promoting a culture of reporting.
- The disconnect between people's perceptions of how they think they would react on receiving a bribe request and how they behave in practice demonstrates that there is potential for breaking the cycle of silence and impunity surrounding corruption if more citizens are encouraged and empowered to report their experience of bribery and if there are palpable consequences and sanctions for those who break the rules.
- The survey shows that Nigerians who find certain corrupt practices less acceptable tend to engage less in bribery and have a greater tendency to refuse bribe requests than those who find such practices more acceptable. This means that successful efforts to promote integrity can result in a decrease in the prevalence of bribery and should be part of a comprehensive corruption prevention strategy applied in the public administration. Practices for promoting integrity should include:
 - compulsory training and certification on a code of conduct for public officers as a prerequisite for promotion within the civil service;
 - periodic civil service exams and training on a code of conduct for public officials, feeding into the performance evaluation process.
- Education on integrity is particularly important for youth empowerment. The survey shows the greater acceptability and experience of corruption among the younger age groups, highlighting the importance of education addressing integrity issues in public service at an early stage — ideally during compulsory school education — as well as anti-corruption awareness-raising campaigns specifically targeting young people. One promising anti-corruption strategy is the empowerment of trendsetters to drive behavioural change in their immediate community.⁴⁰
- With the survey highlighting that bribery may be so engrained in Nigerian administrative practices that many of those who pay bribes do not truly realize that they are party to a corrupt act, public information and sensitization campaigns should be reviewed and reframed periodically to make sure they have clear and concrete messages that reach their audience in order to have a strong impact on corruption awareness and integrity.
- The survey provides objective indicators on the extent of bribery in different locations and institutions in Nigeria and concrete knowledge on where best to focus anti-corruption efforts. The value of the data to policy will be further enhanced if the survey is repeated for monitoring trends

individuals for public positions considered especially vulnerable to corruption and the rotation, where appropriate, of such individuals to other position”.

³⁹ Chatham House, *Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria* (London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2017).

⁴⁰ According to Chatham House (2017, *op.cit.*), trendsetters have at least two behavioural traits that make them likely to “violate” the norm – a high level of autonomy/independence and strong belief system. Empowering such individuals (for example, those openly refusing to pay bribes) through recognition and/or a reward system is thus encouraged.

over time. Linking anti-corruption strategies with concrete quantitative targets based on bribery prevalence can provide a benchmark for evaluating policy outcomes and the evaluation of anti-corruption policies.

STATE PROFILES

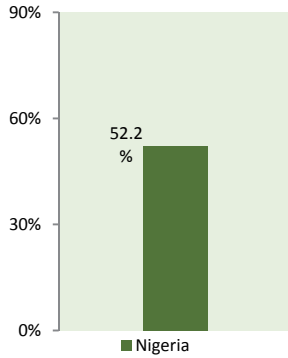
Note: For definitions and explanations of the indicators provided in the state profiles, please see the methodological annex and the relevant sections in the report.

NIGERIA

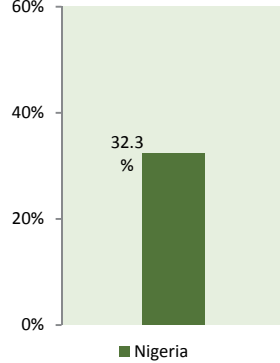
Region: Western Africa
 Population: 186,435,032 (source: NBS, 2016)
 Urban: 29.9 %; Rural: 70.1 %



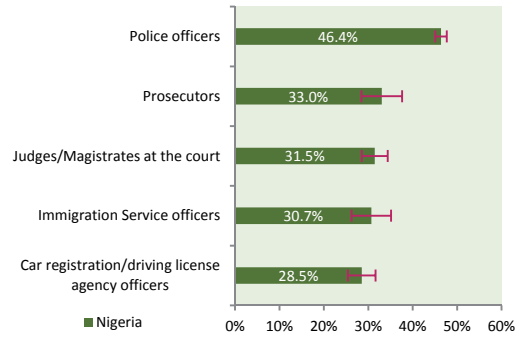
Contact rate



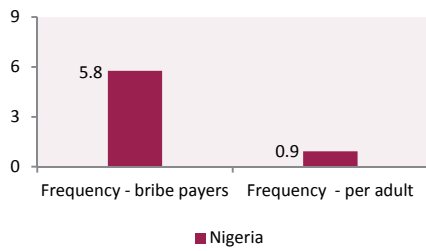
Prevalence of bribery



Prevalence of bribery by type of public official



Frequency of bribery

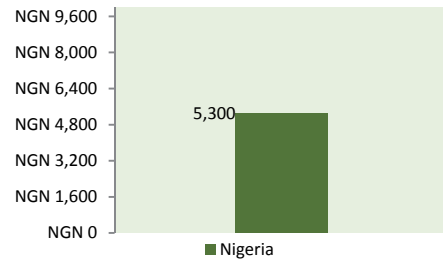


Share of bribes paid in cash

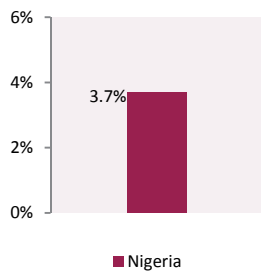


91.9 %

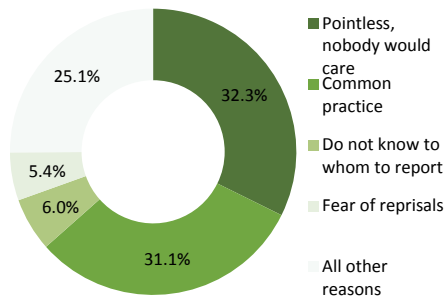
Average amount of cash bribes



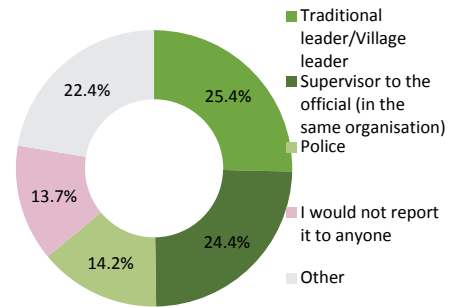
Bribery reporting rate



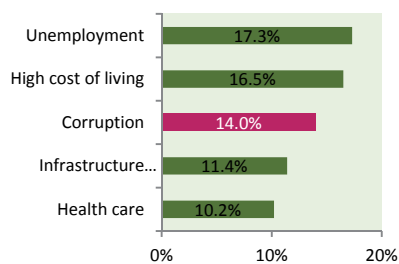
Reasons why the bribery case was not reported



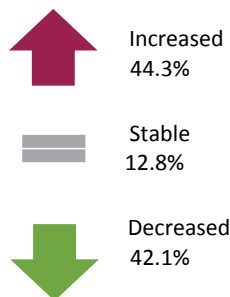
Institutions considered as most important for future reporting



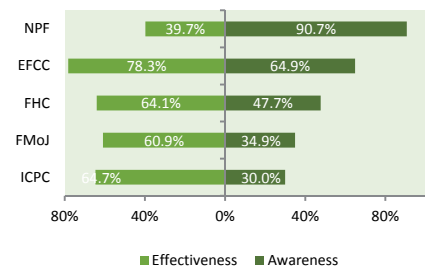
First most important issue affecting Nigeria



Perception of corruption trend

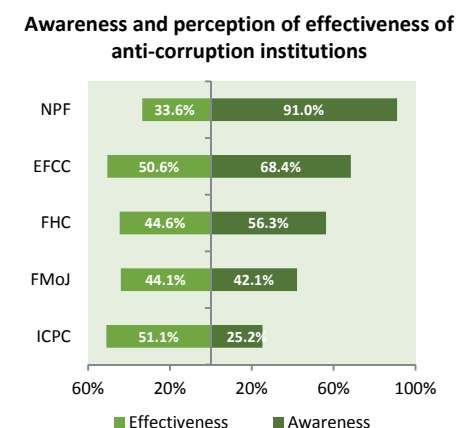
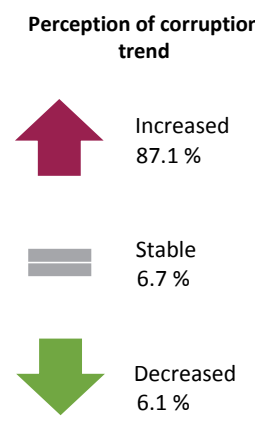
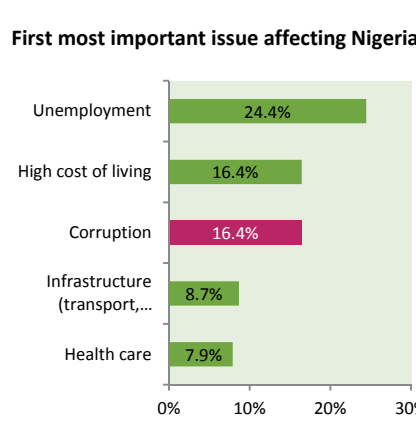
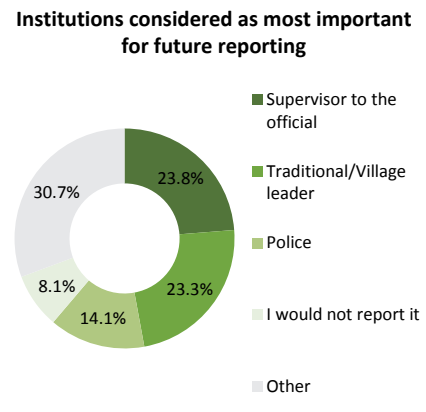
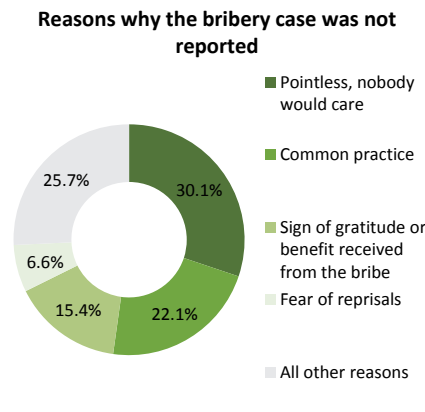
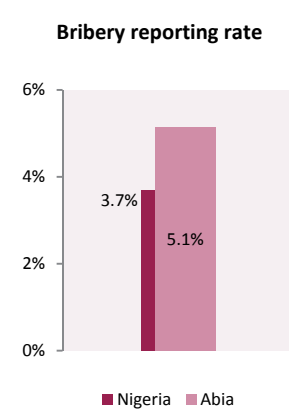
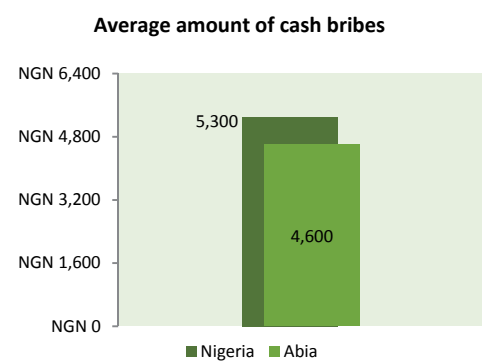
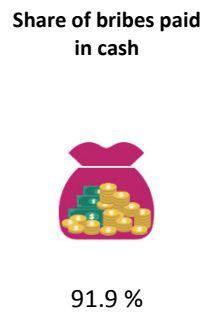
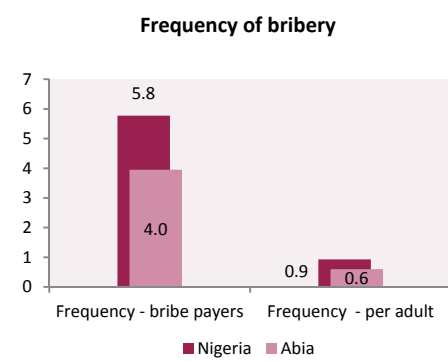
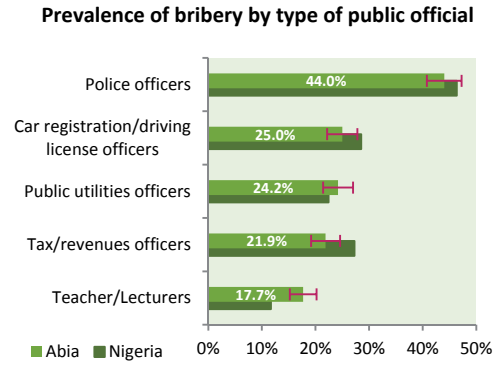
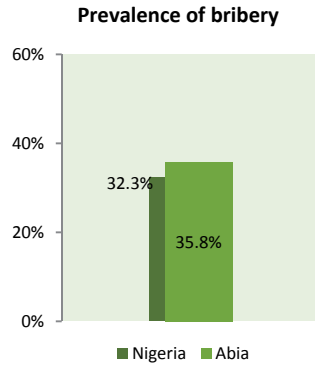
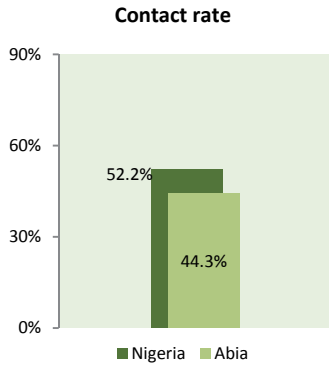


Awareness and perception of effectiveness of anti-corruption institutions



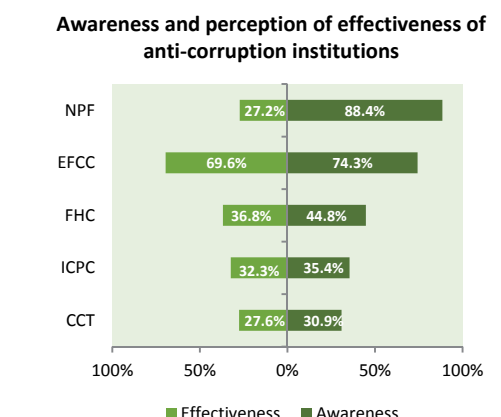
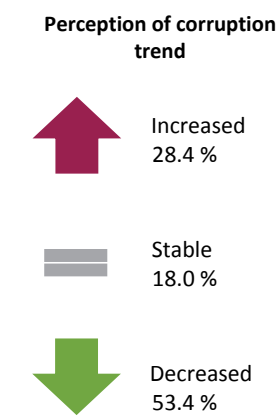
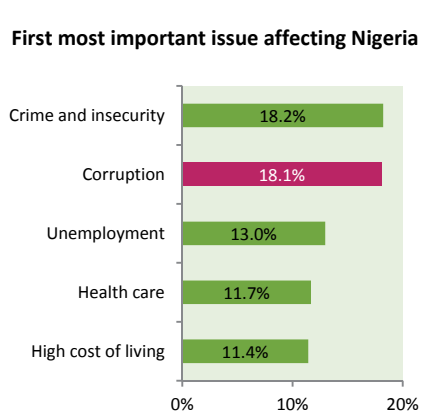
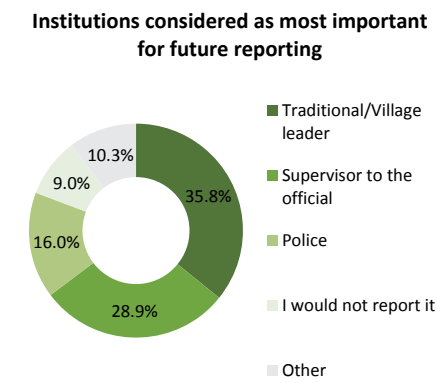
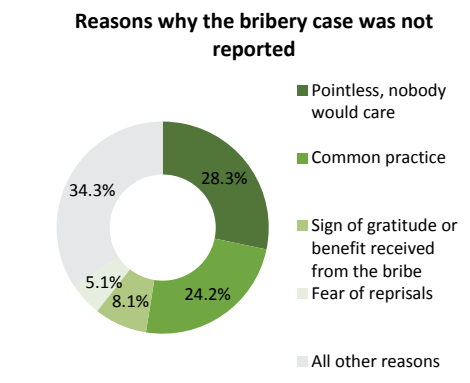
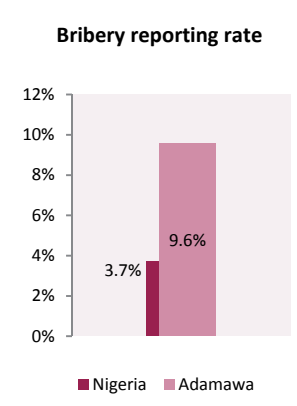
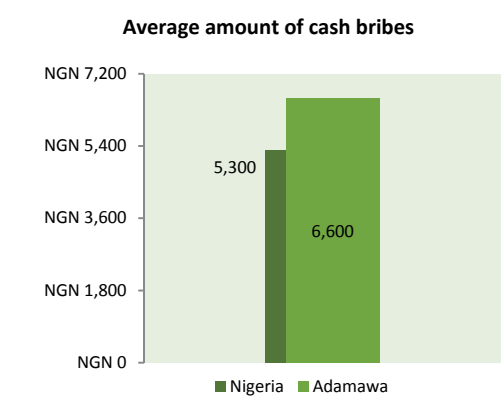
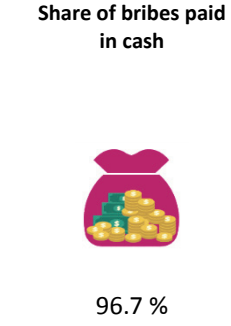
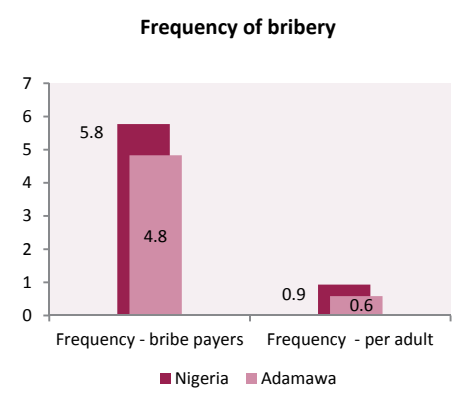
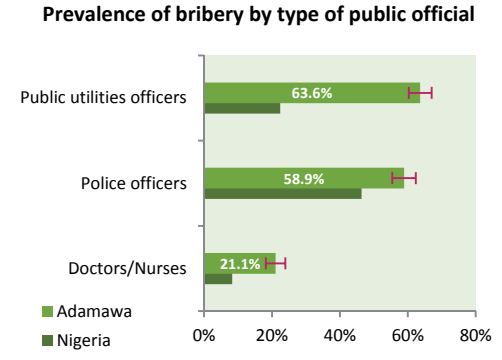
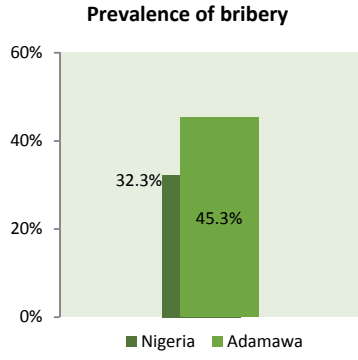
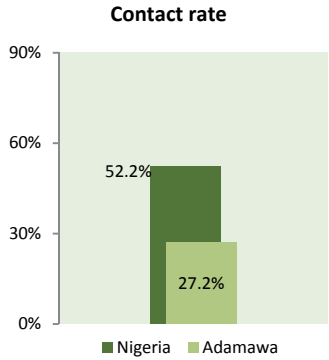
Abia

Zone: South-East
Population: 3,616,382 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 19.2 %; **Rural:** 80.8 %



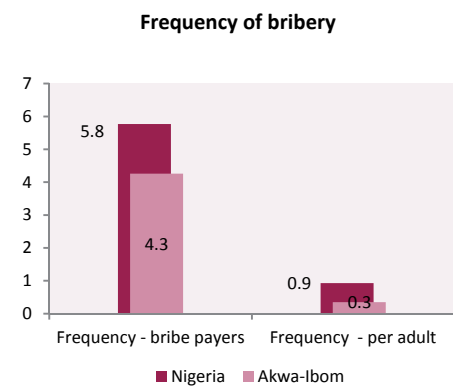
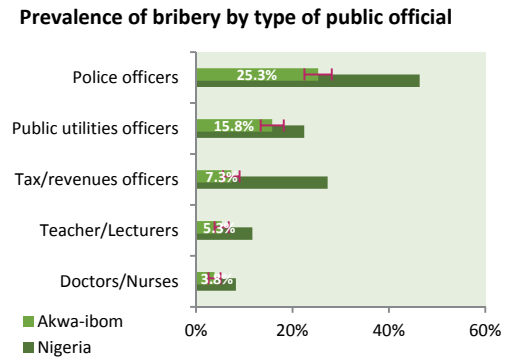
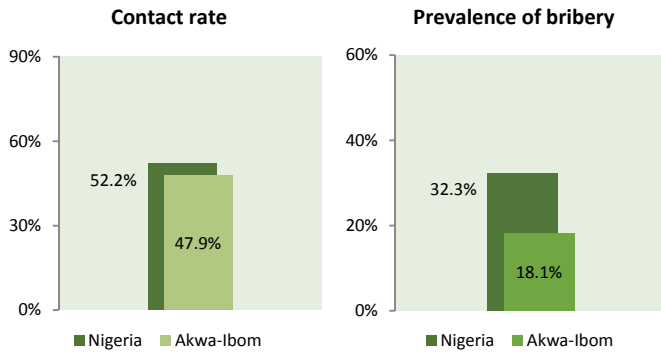
Adamawa

Zone: North-East
Population: 4,111,706 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 19.3 %; **Rural:** 80.7 %



Akwa-Ibom

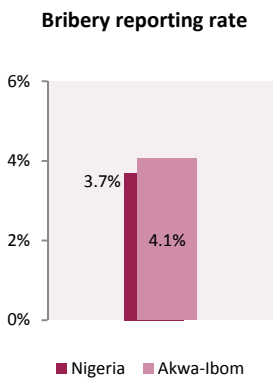
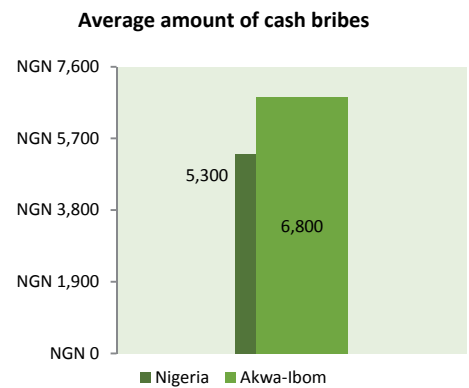
Zone: South-South
Population: 5,272,029 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 11.7 %; **Rural:** 88.3 %



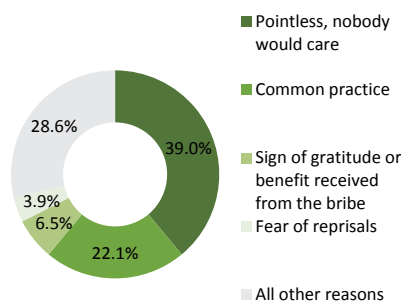
Share of bribes paid in cash



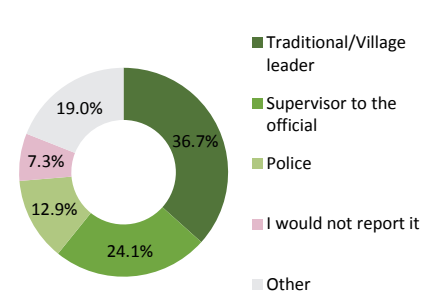
87.3 %



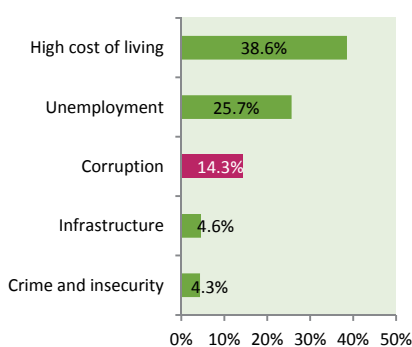
Reasons why the bribery case was not reported



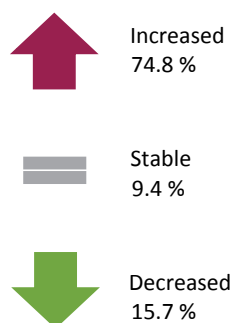
Institutions considered as most important for future reporting



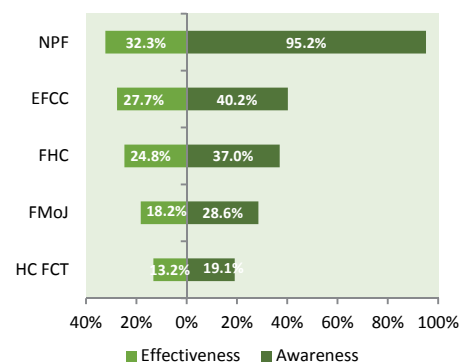
First most important issue affecting Nigeria



Perception of corruption trend



Awareness and perception of effectiveness of anti-corruption institutions

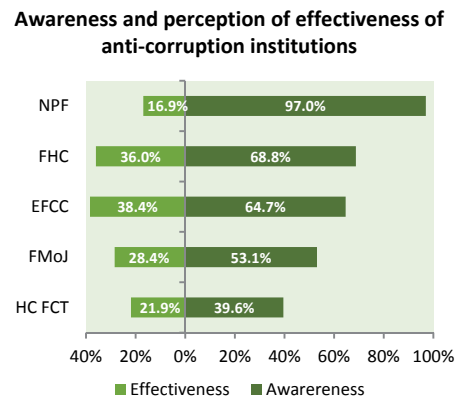
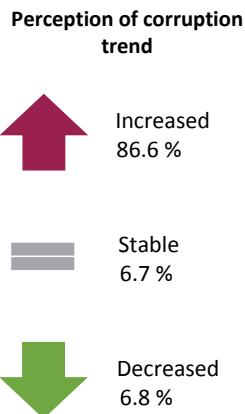
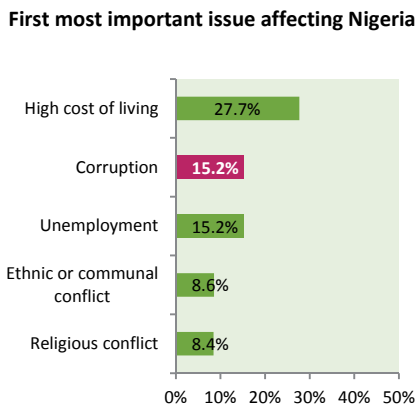
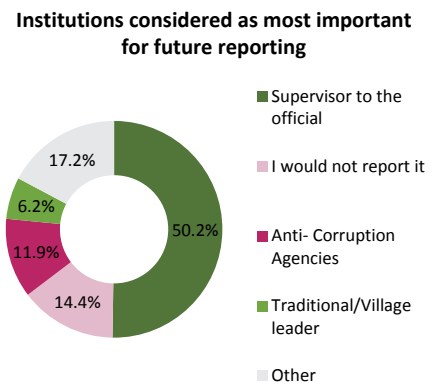
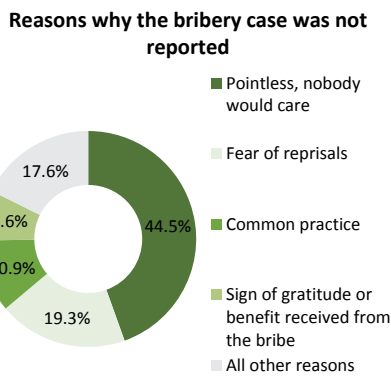
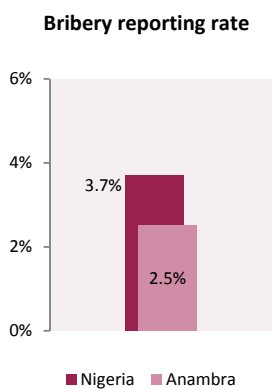
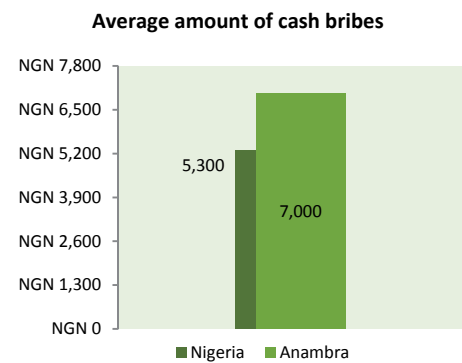
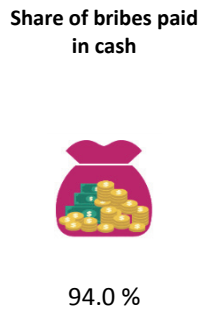
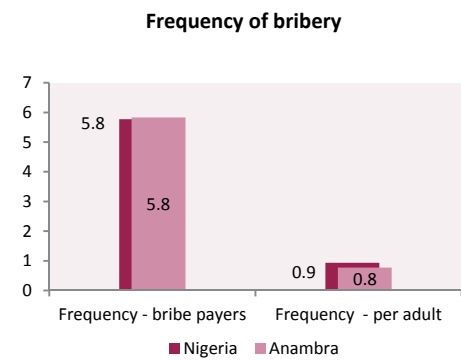
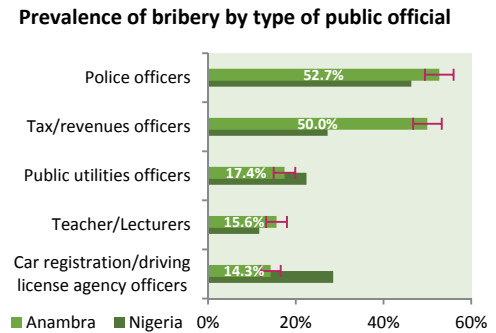
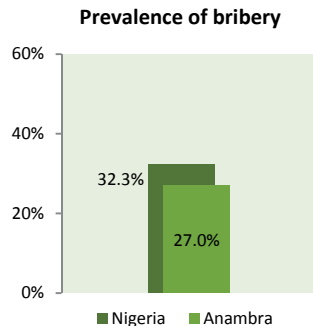
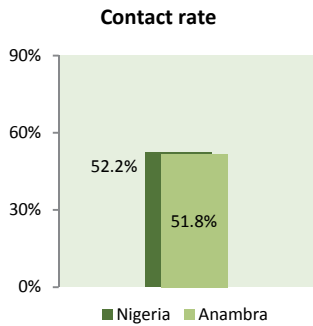


Anambra

Zone: South-East

Population: 5,356,592 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 51.4 %; **Rural:** 48.6 %

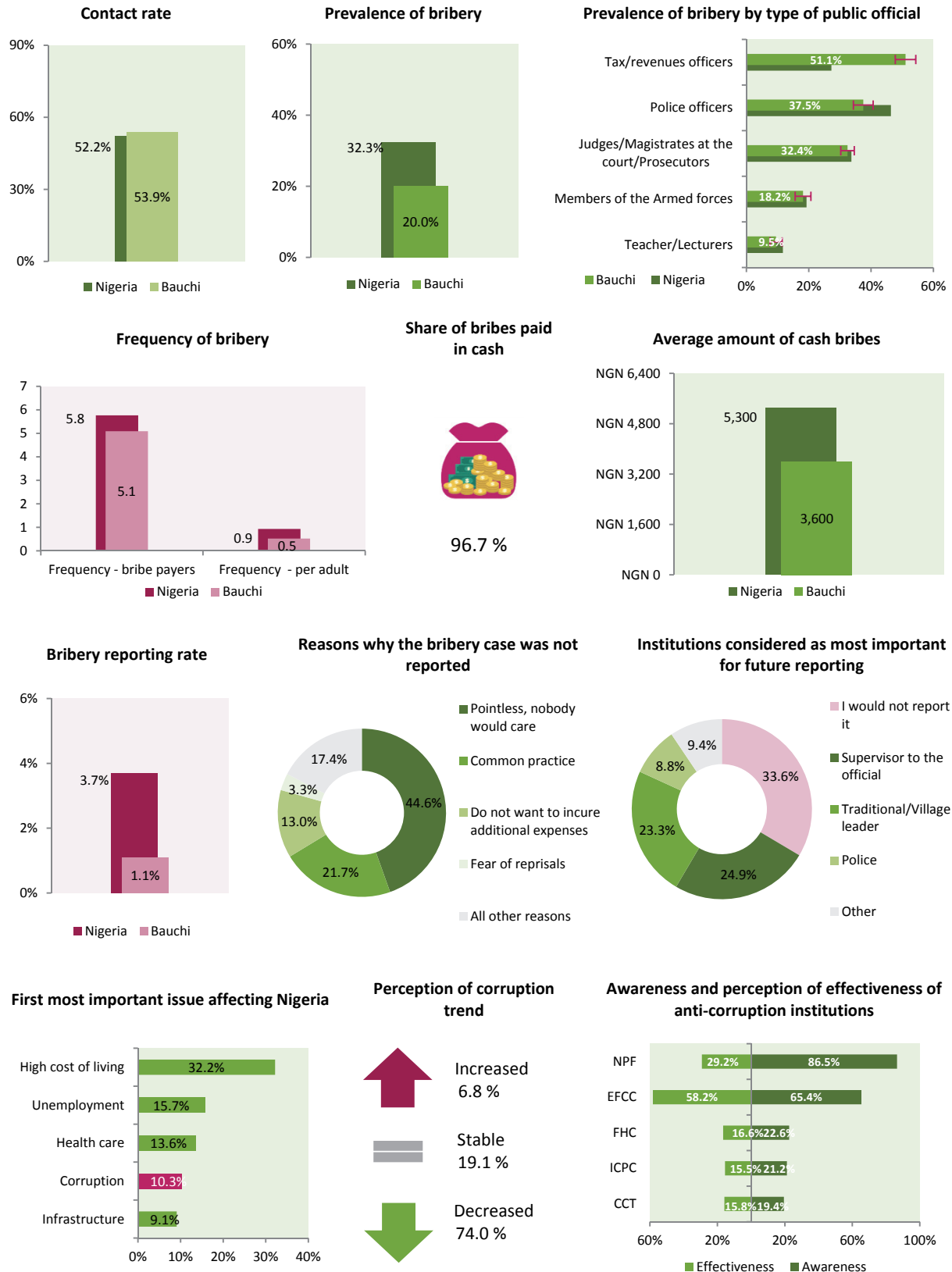


Bauchi

Zone: North-East

Population: 6,286,719 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 11.8 %; **Rural:** 88.2 %

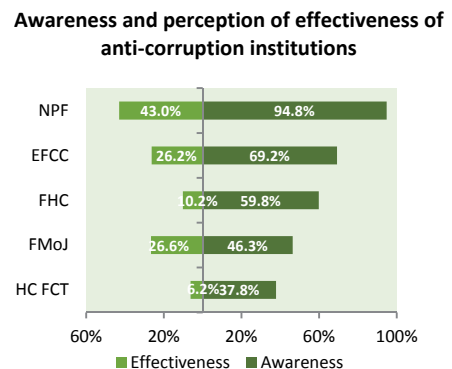
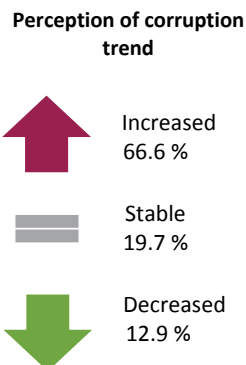
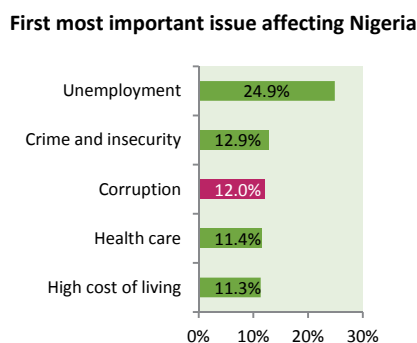
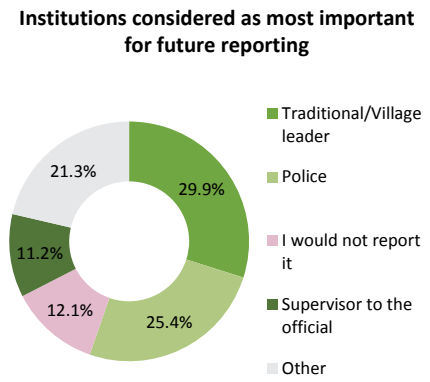
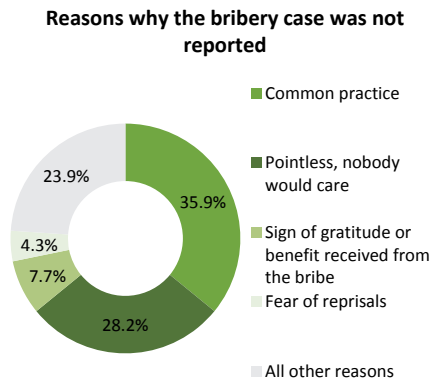
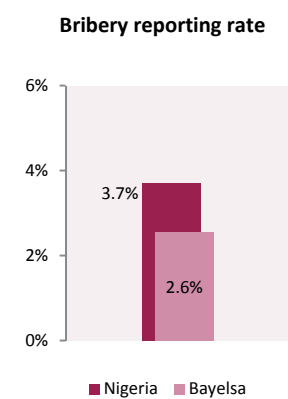
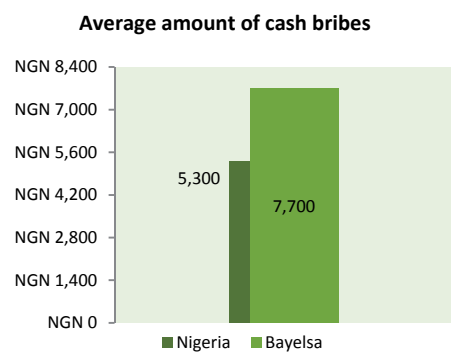
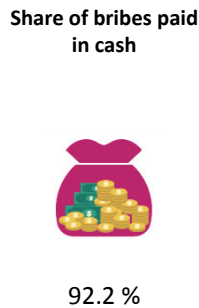
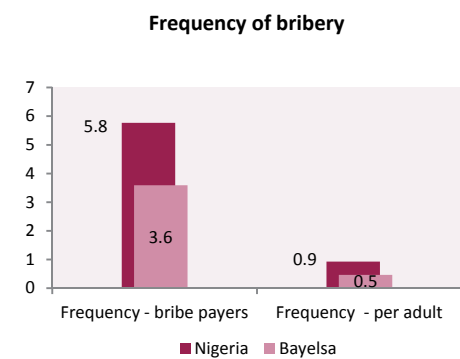
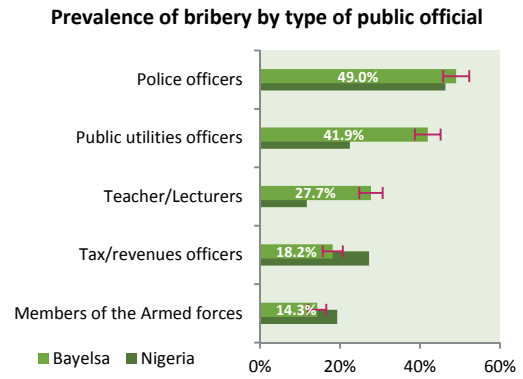
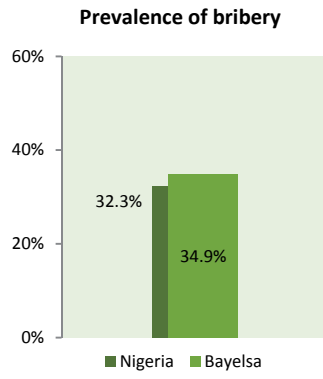
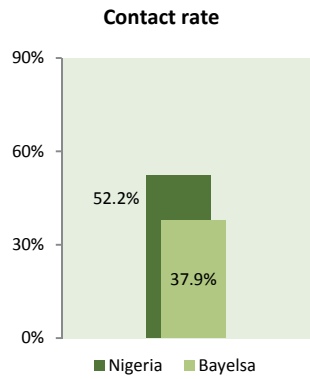


Bayelsa

Zone: South-South

Population: 2,204,648 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 6.7 %; **Rural:** 93.3 %

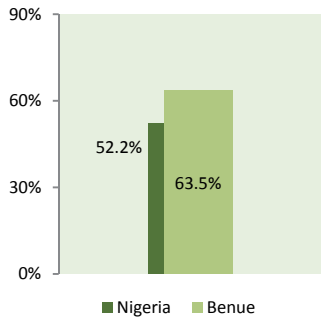


Benue

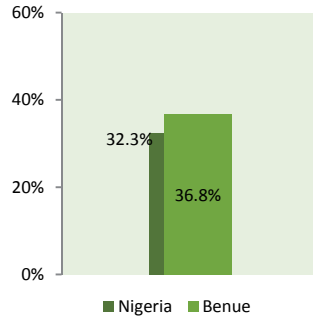
Zone: North-Central
Population: 5,550,037 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 11.7%; **Rural:** 88.3 %



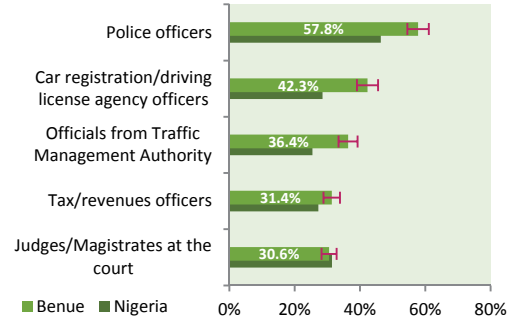
Contact rate



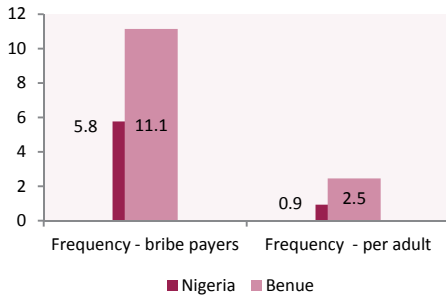
Prevalence of bribery



Prevalence of bribery by type of public official



Frequency of bribery

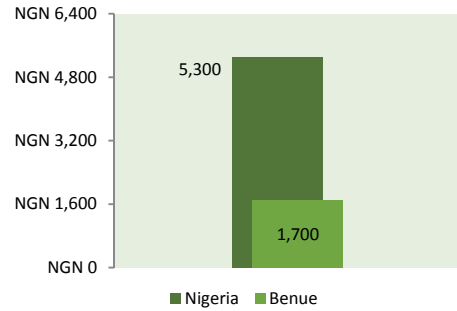


Share of bribes paid in cash

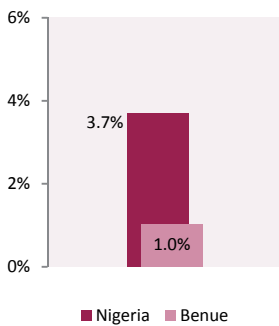


96.9 %

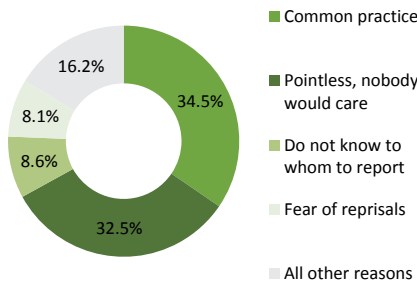
Average amount of cash bribes



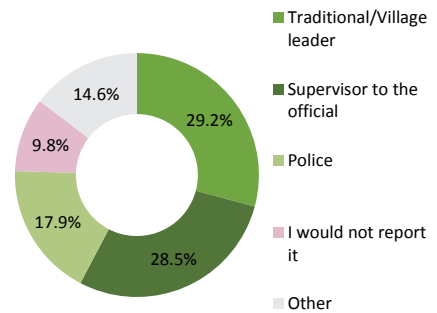
Bribery reporting rate



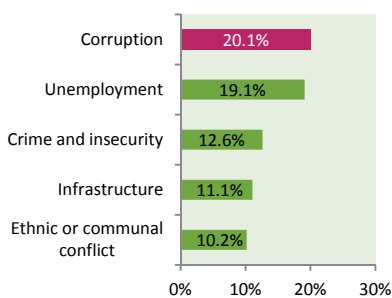
Reasons why the bribery case was not reported



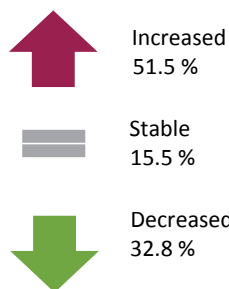
Institutions considered as most important for future reporting



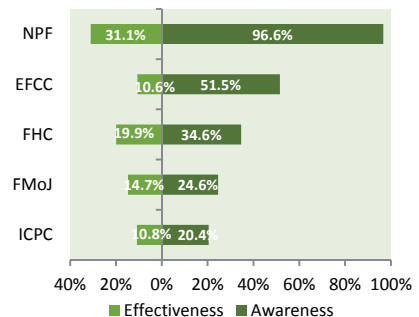
First most important issue affecting Nigeria



Perception of corruption trend



Awareness and perception of effectiveness of anti-corruption institutions

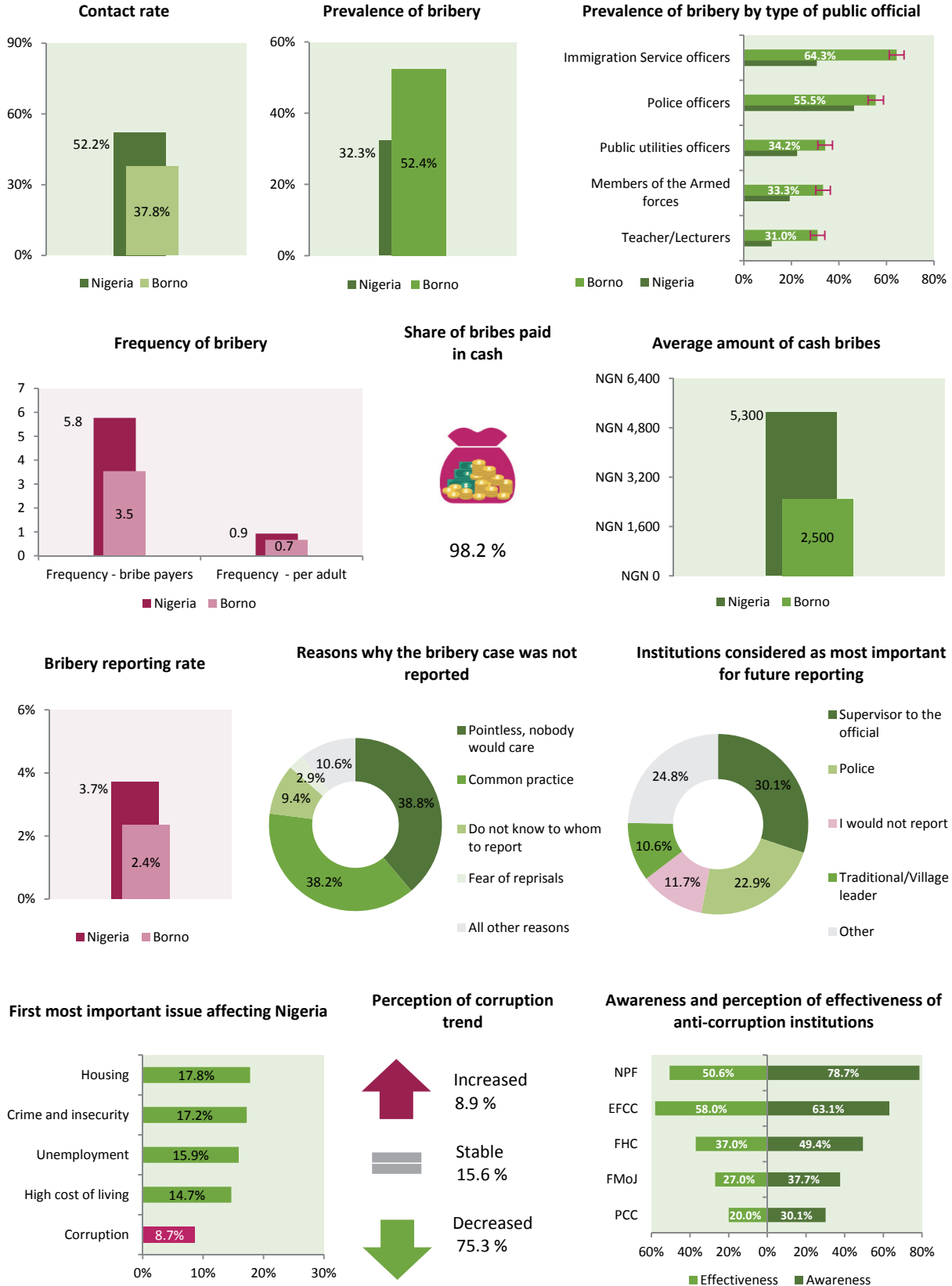


Borno

Zone: North-East

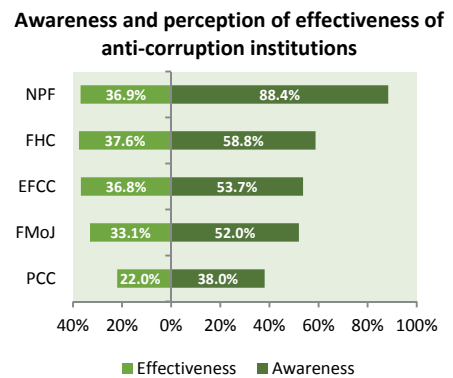
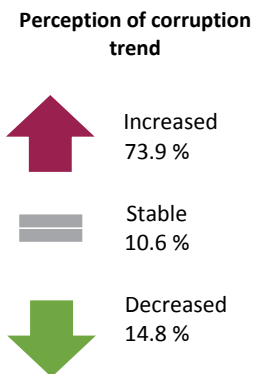
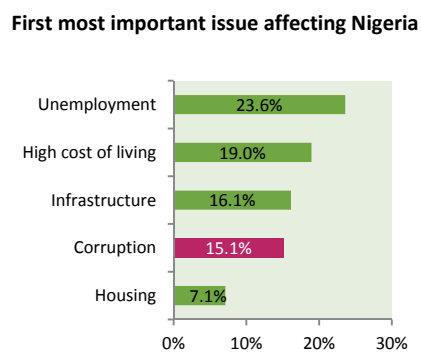
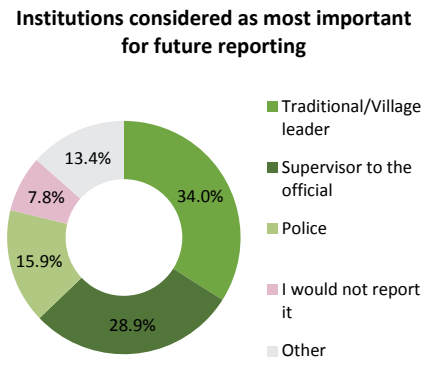
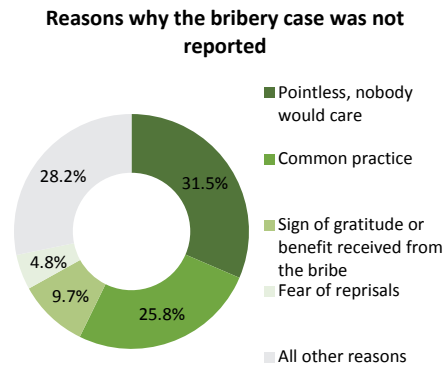
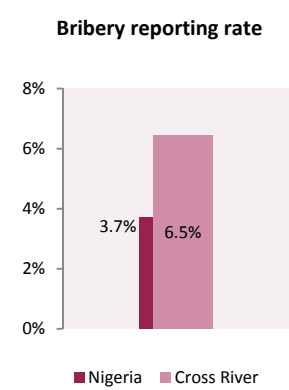
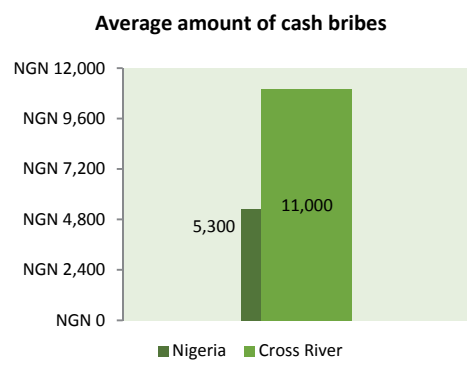
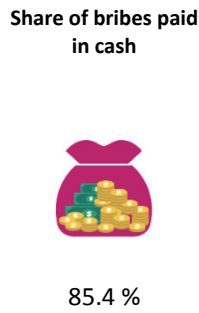
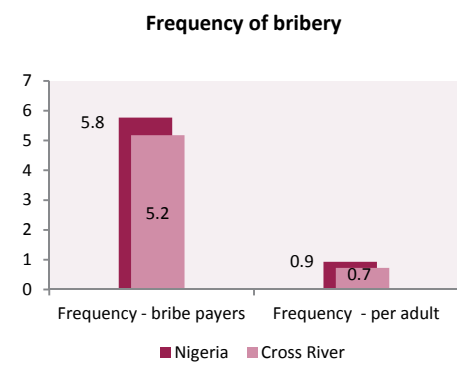
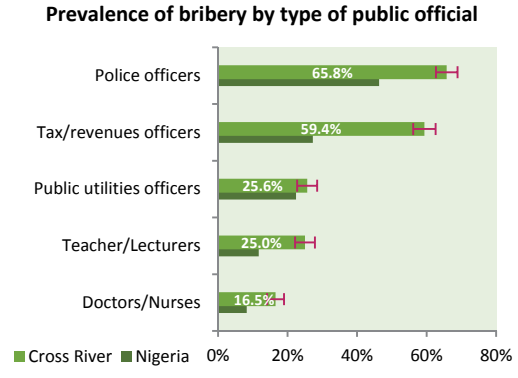
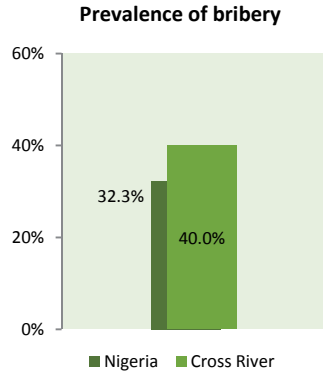
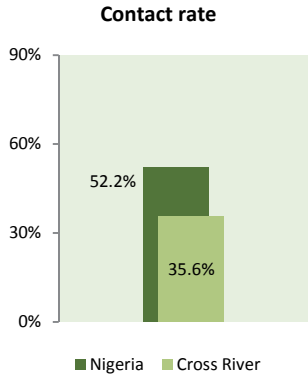
Population: 5,635,544 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 36.7 %; **Rural:** 63.3 %



Cross River

Zone: South-South
Population: 3,741,838 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 20.2 %; **Rural:** 79.8 %

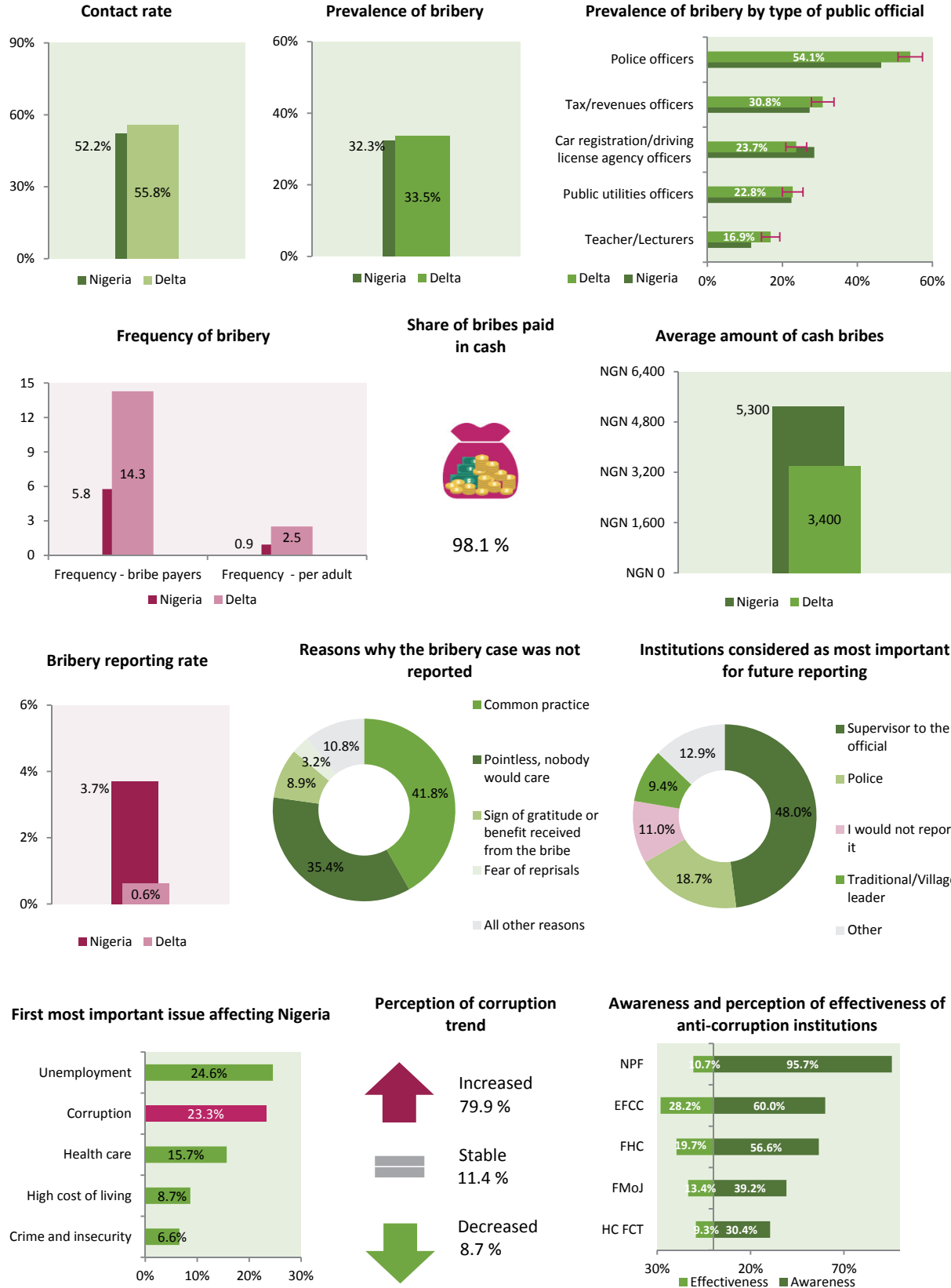


Delta

Zone: South-South

Population: 5,460,311 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 47.0 %; **Rural:** 53.0 %

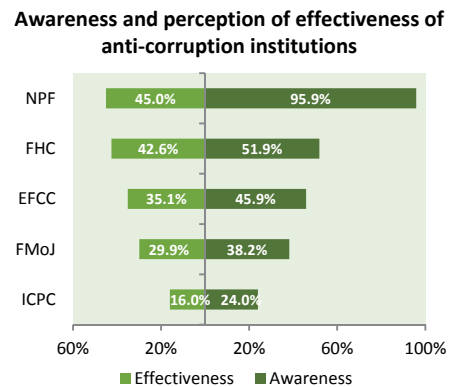
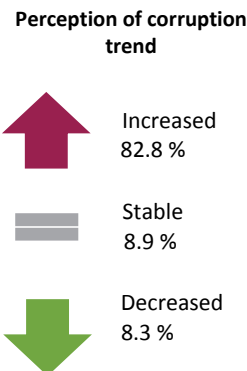
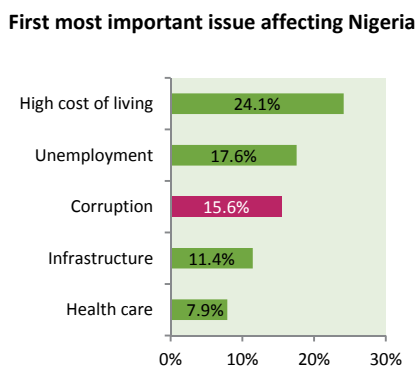
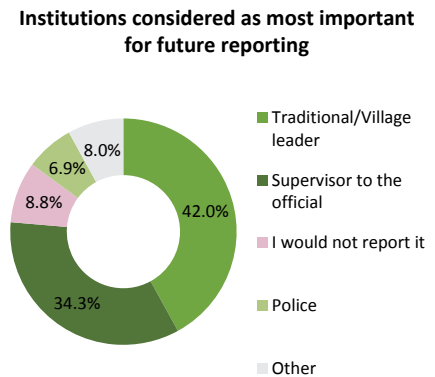
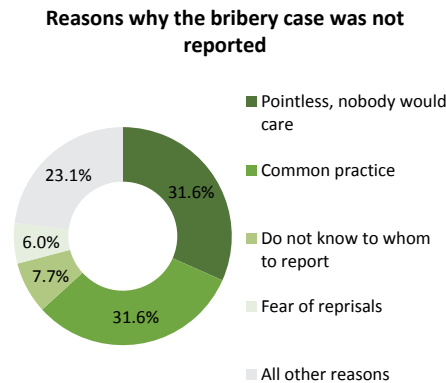
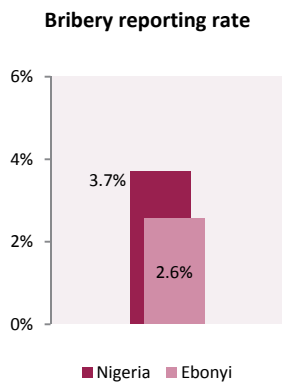
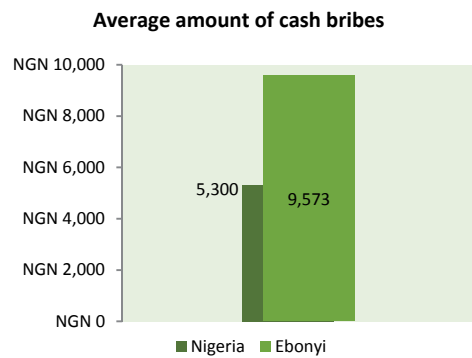
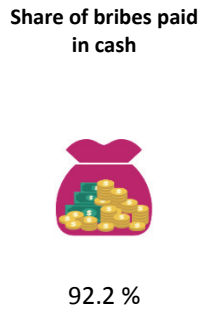
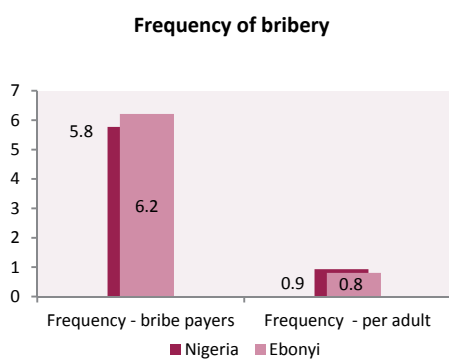
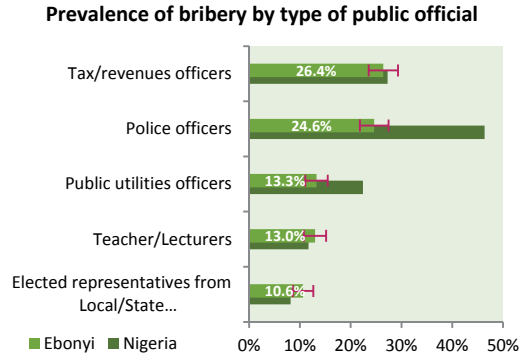
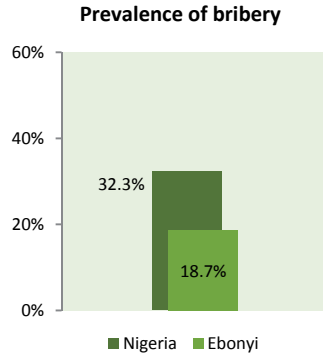
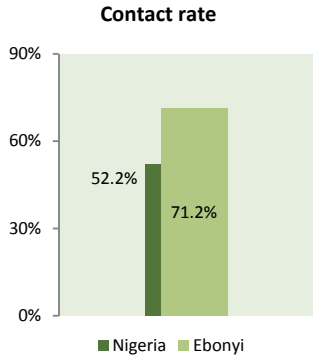


Ebonyi

Zone: South-East

Population: 2,791,167 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 4.9 %; **Rural:** 95.1 %

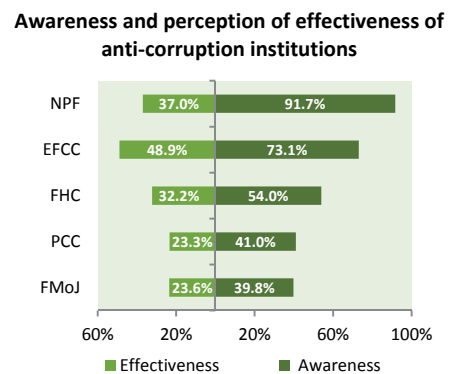
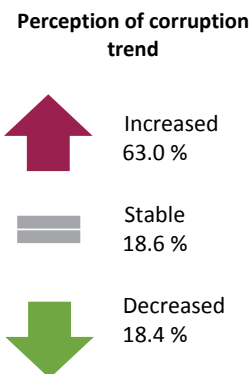
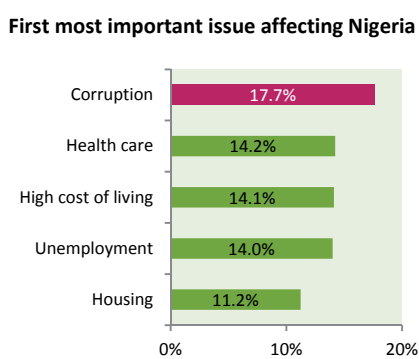
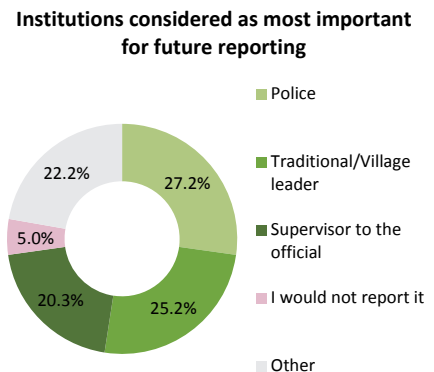
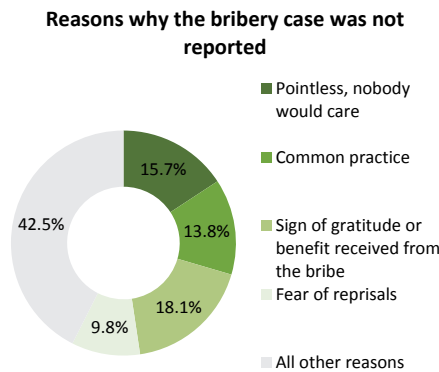
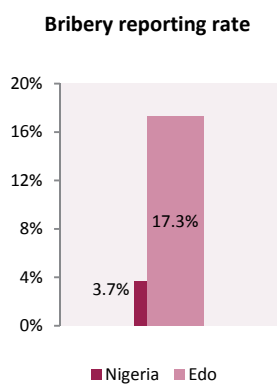
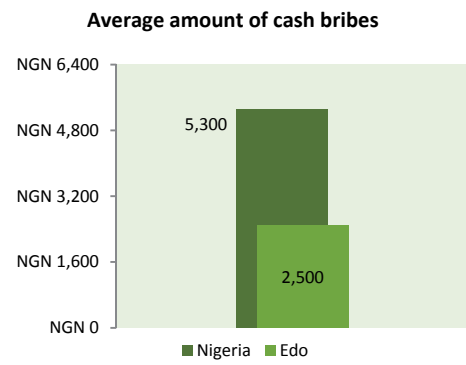
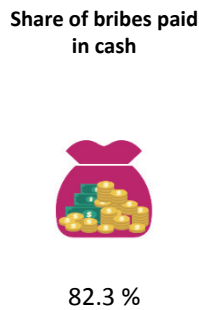
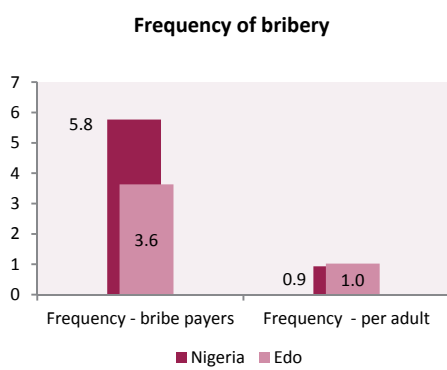
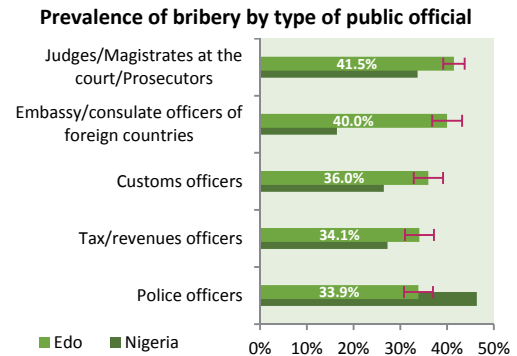
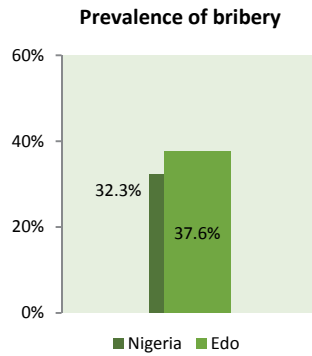
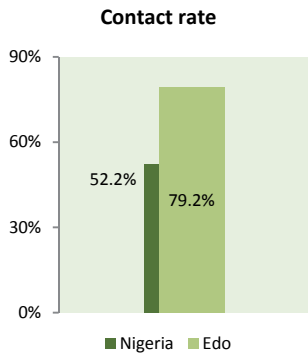


Edo

Zone: South-South

Population: 4,109,499 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 35.0 %; **Rural:** 65.0 %



Ekiti

Zone: South-West

Population: 3,157,552 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 78.4 %; **Rural:** 21.6 %

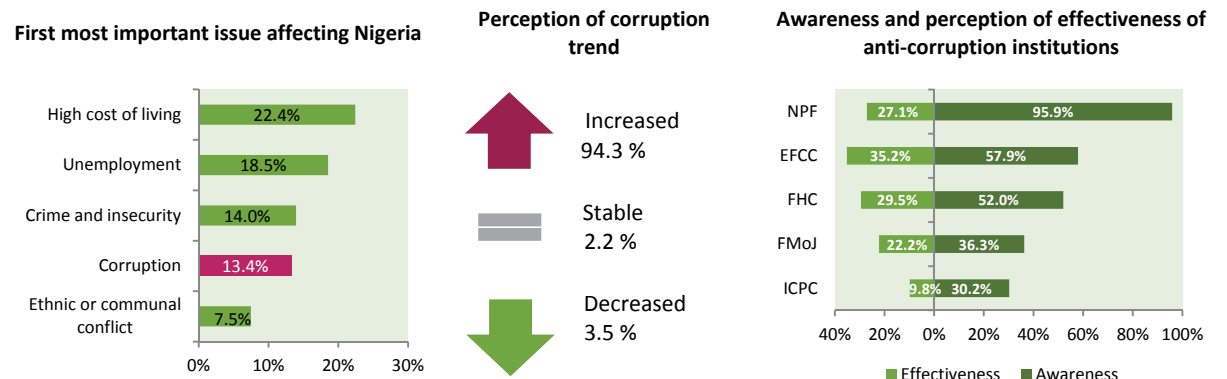
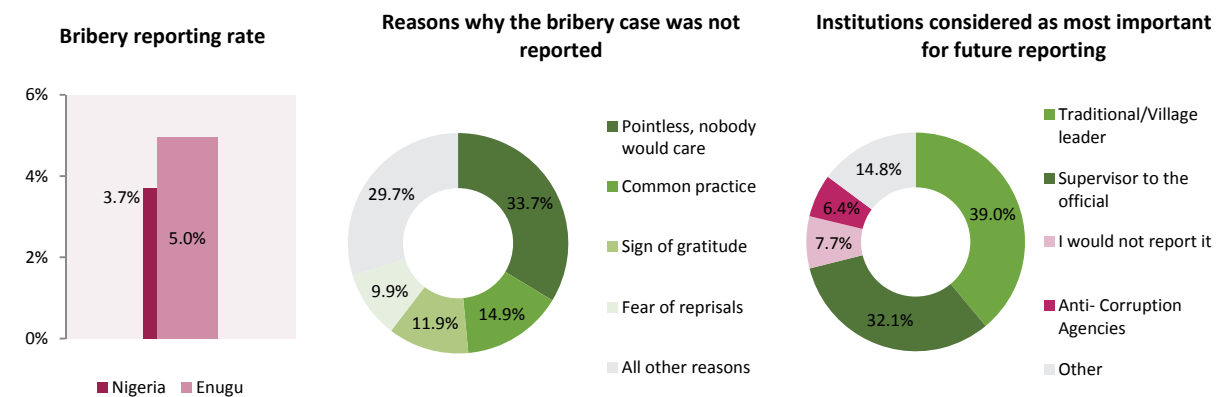
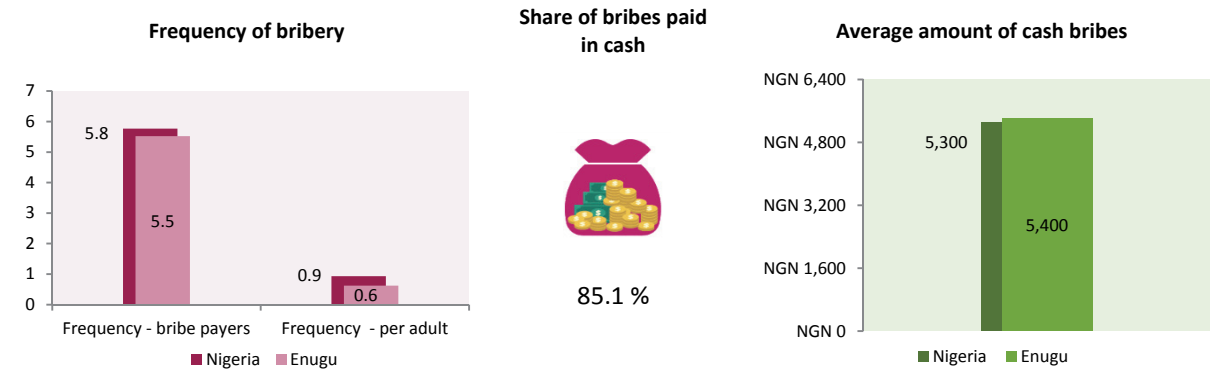
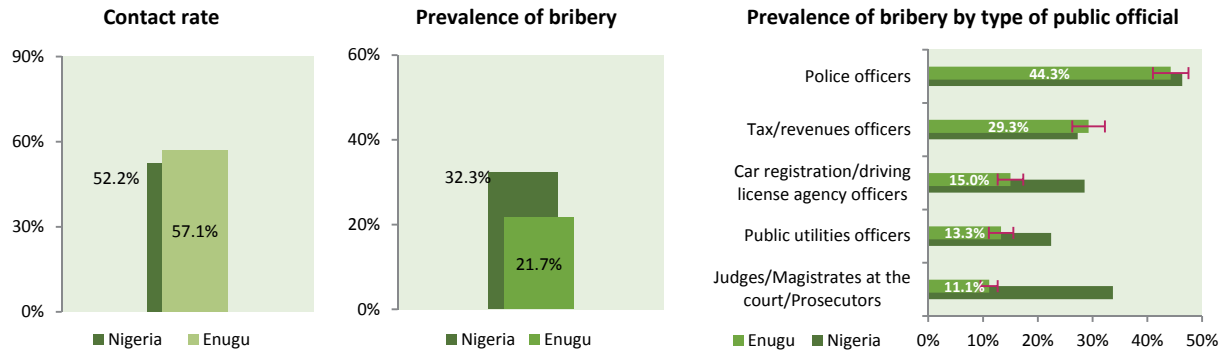


Enugu

Zone: South-East

Population: 4,263,786 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 20.6 %; **Rural:** 79.4 %

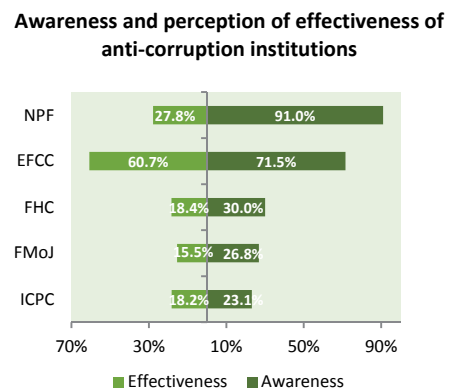
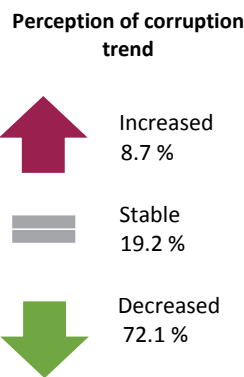
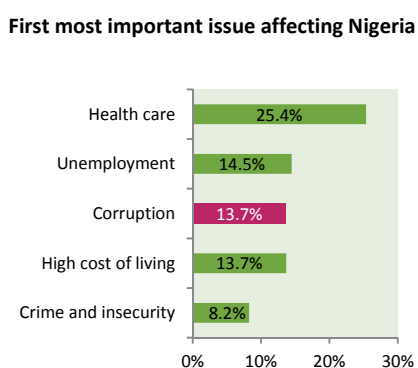
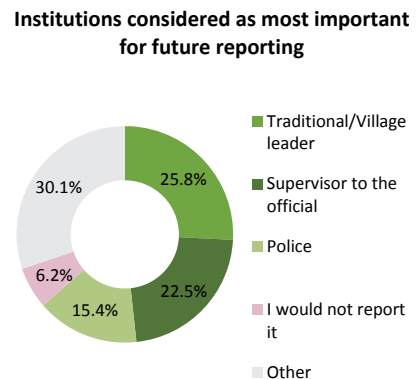
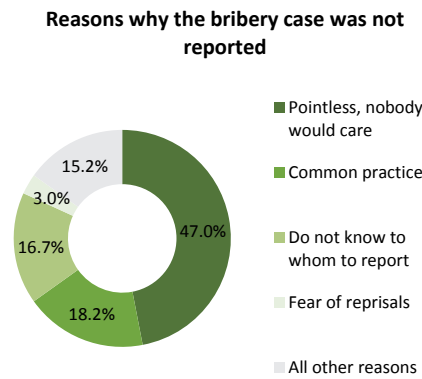
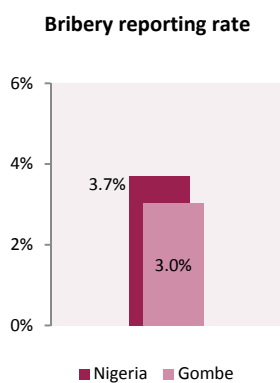
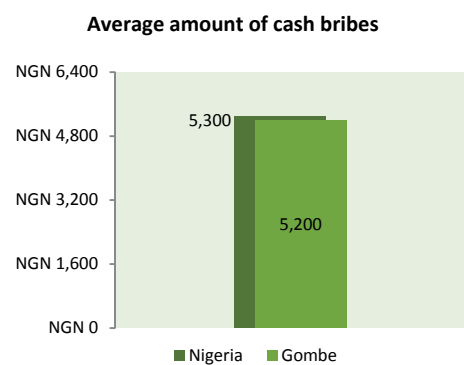
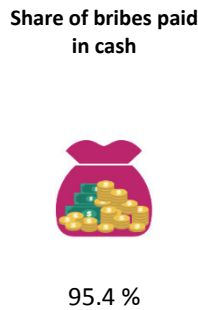
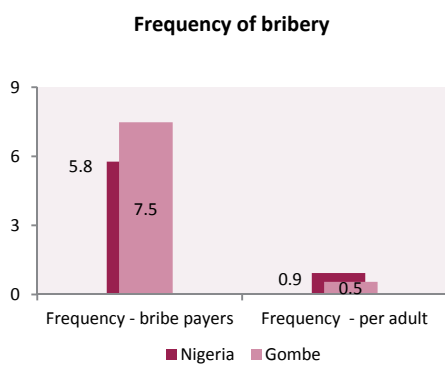
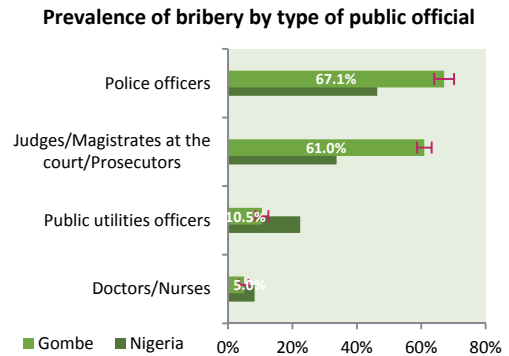
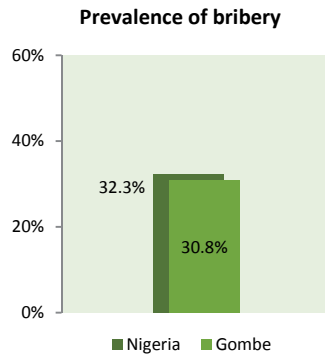
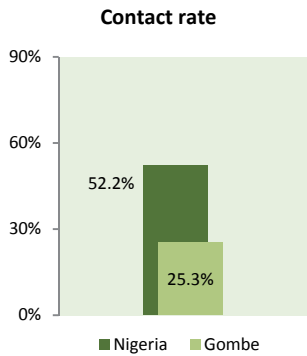


Gombe

Zone: North-East

Population: 3,140,189 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 13.2 %; **Rural:** 86.8 %

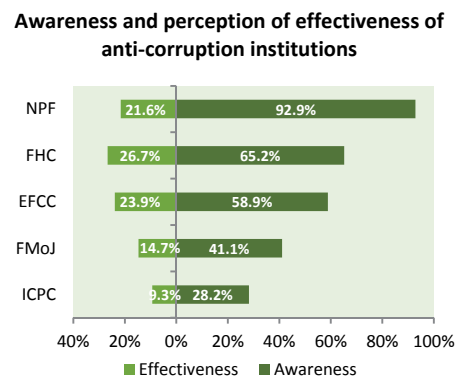
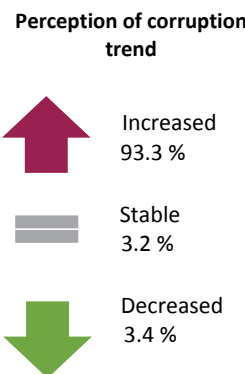
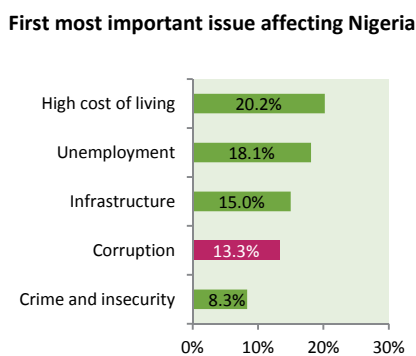
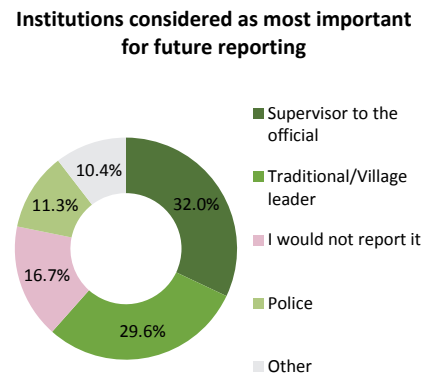
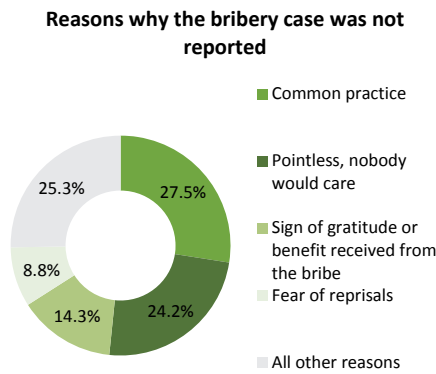
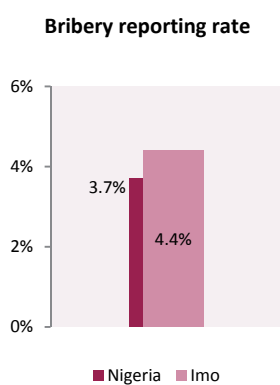
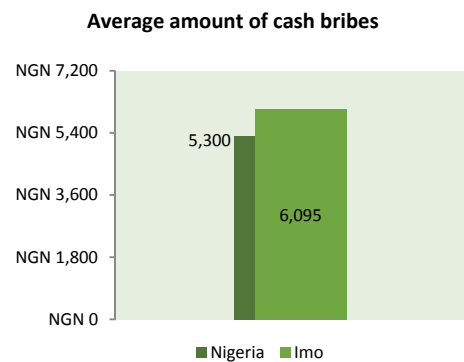
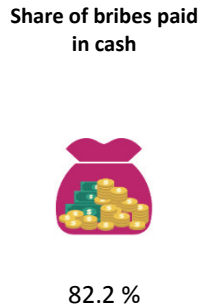
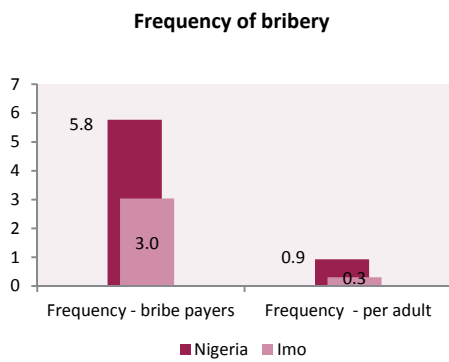
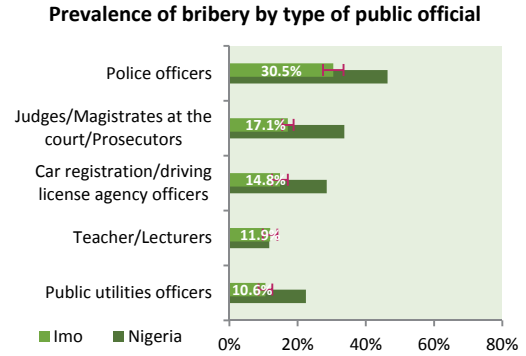
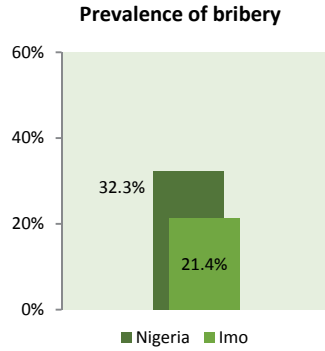
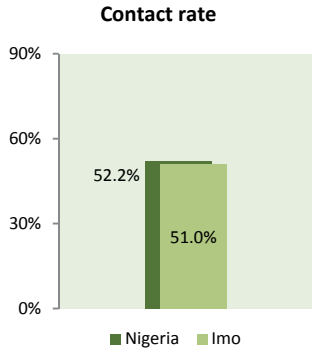


Imo

Zone: South-East

Population: 5,214,833 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 5.3 %; **Rural:** 94.7 %

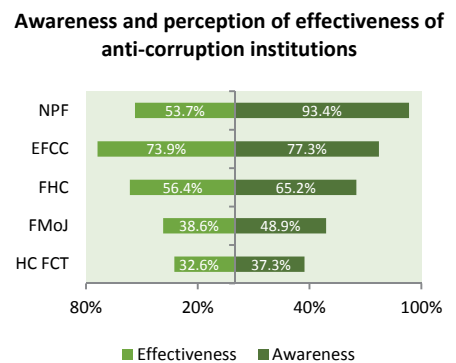
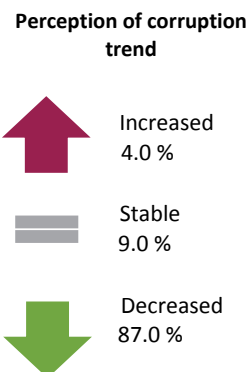
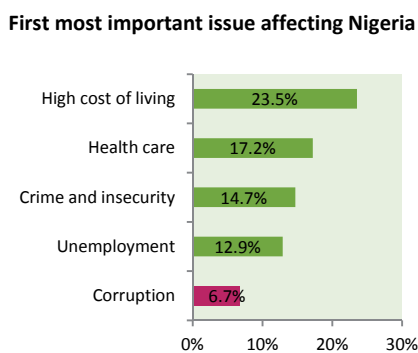
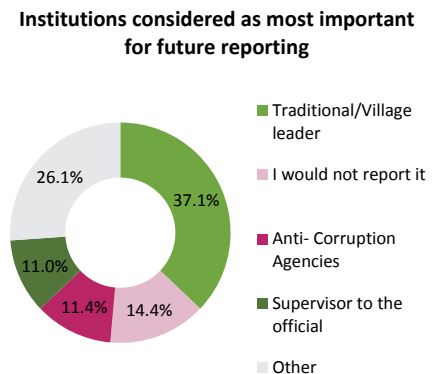
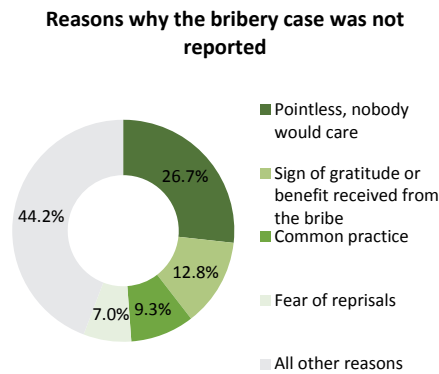
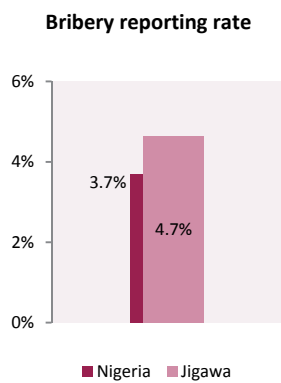
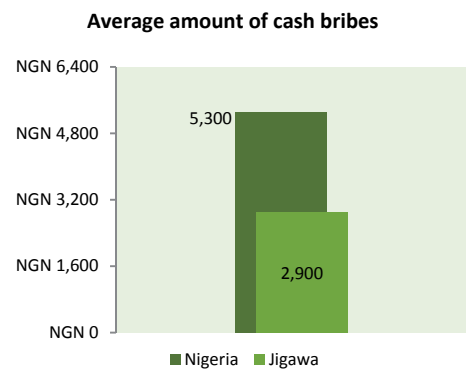
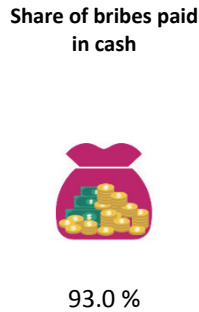
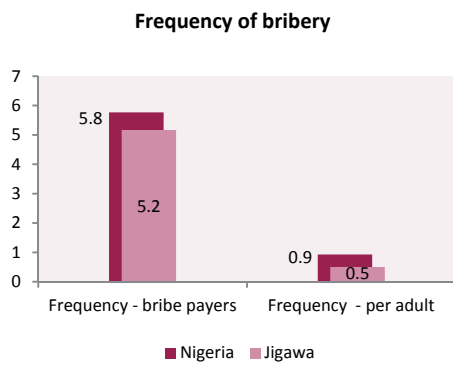
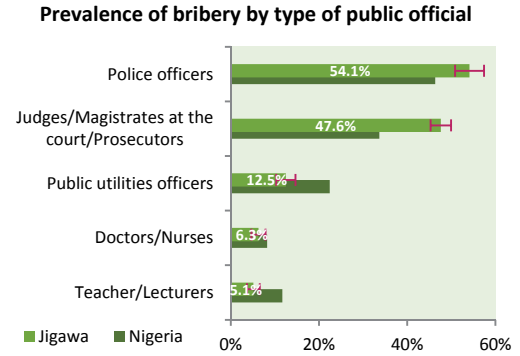
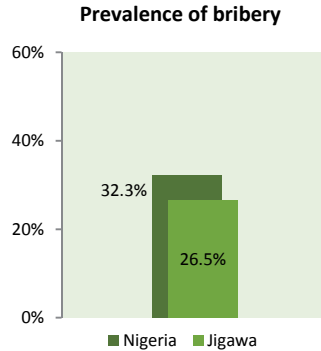
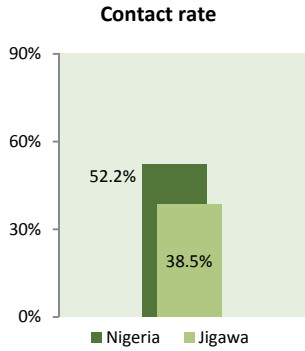


Jigawa

Zone: North-West

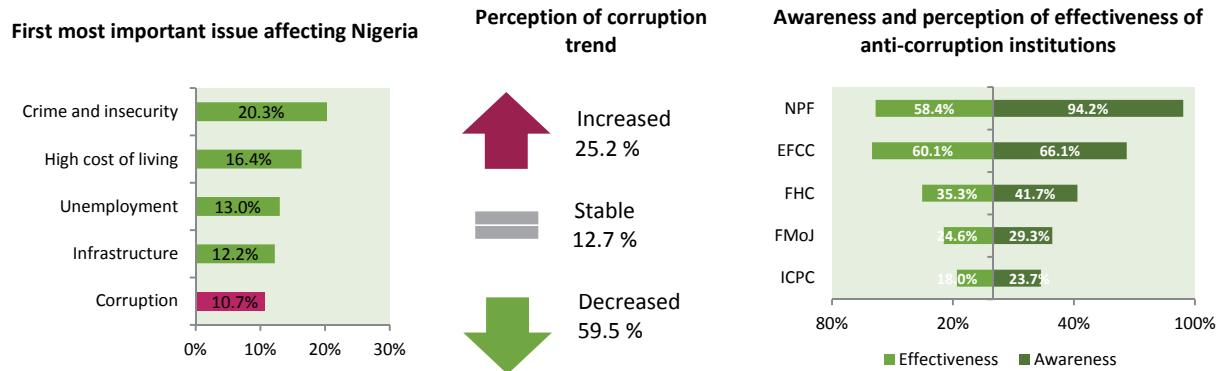
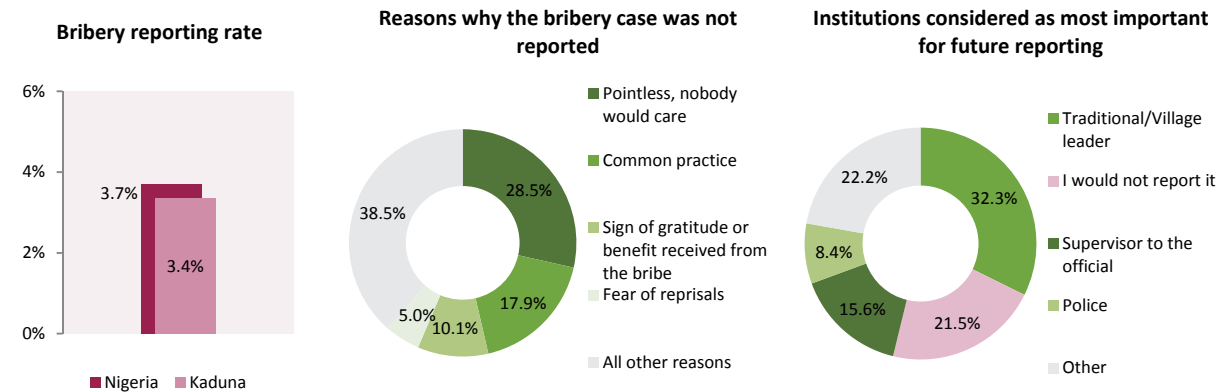
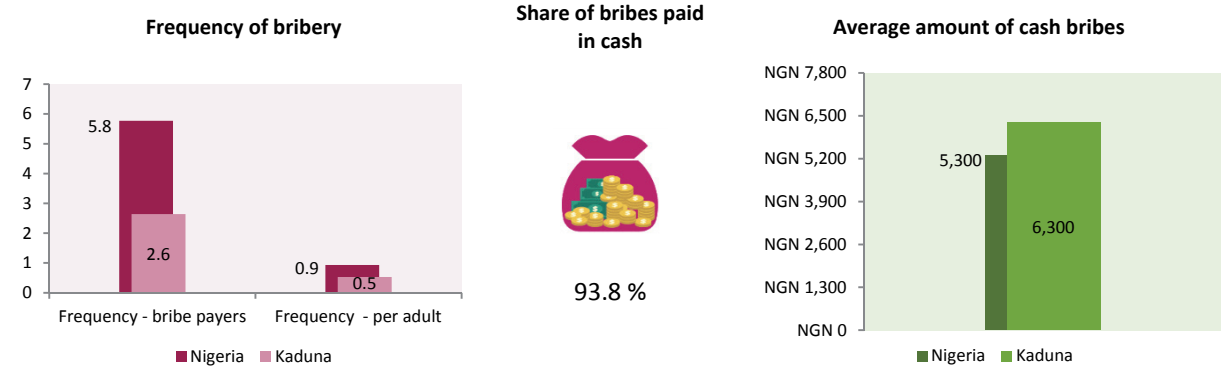
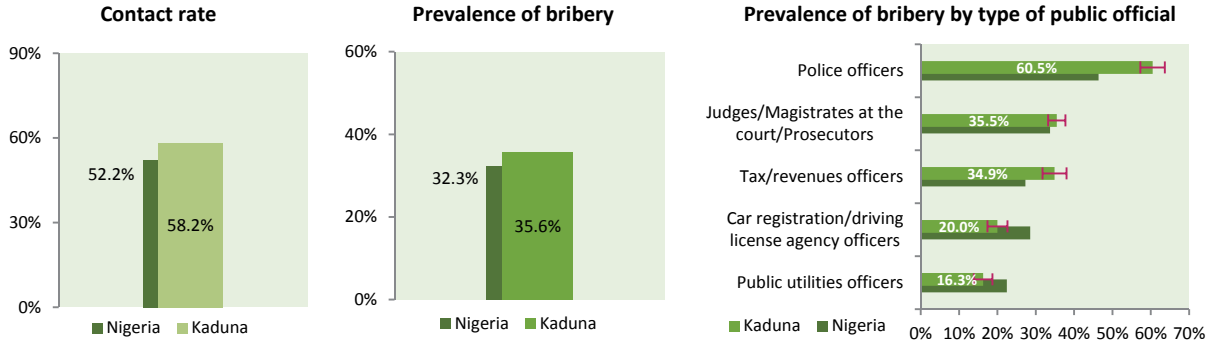
Population: 5,640,592 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 8.4 %; Rural: 91.6 %



Kaduna

Zone: North-West
Population: 7,976,735 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 24.0 %; **Rural:** 76.0 %

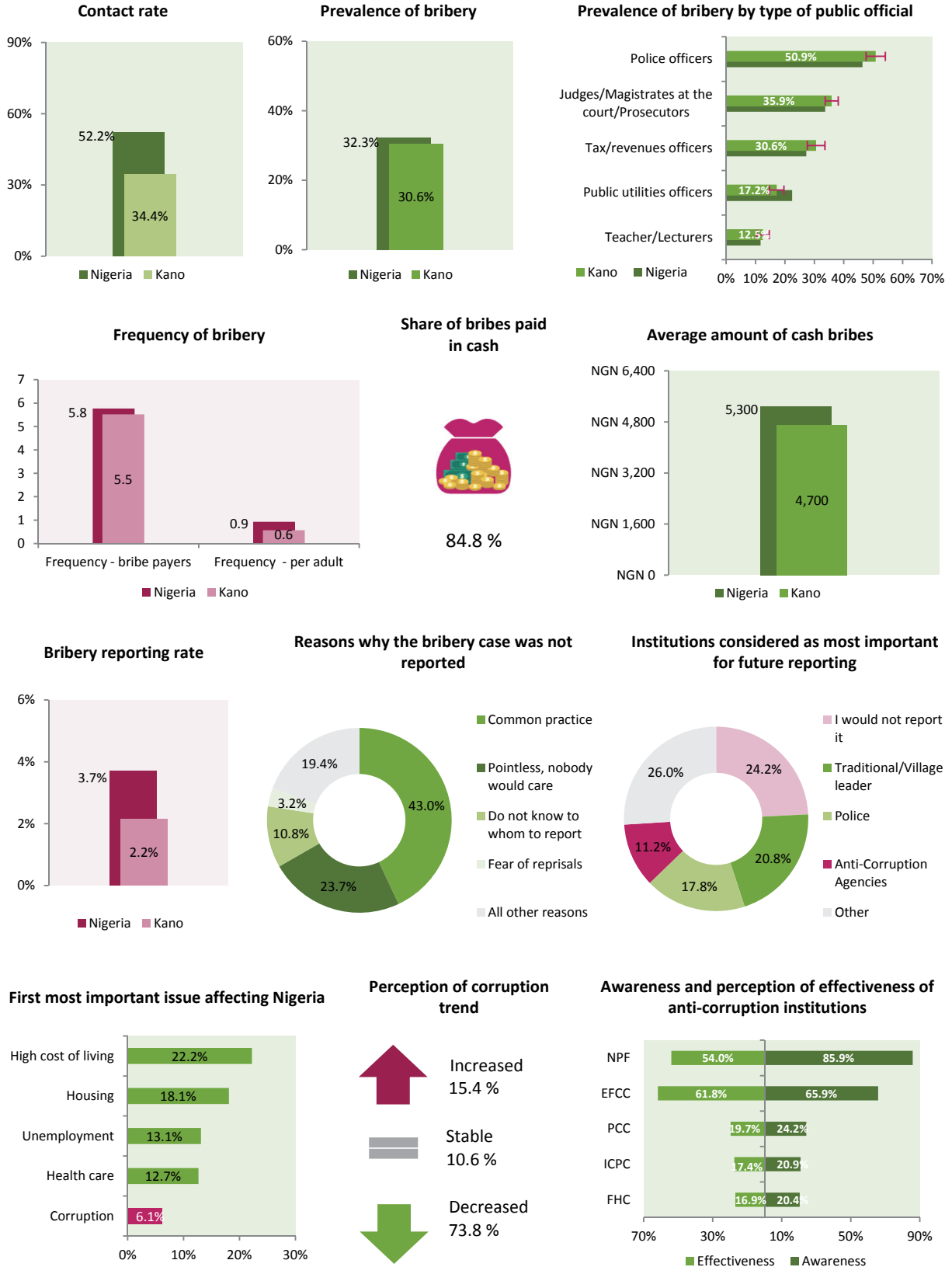


Kano

Zone: North-West

Population: 12,591,871 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 13.9 %; Rural: 86.9 %

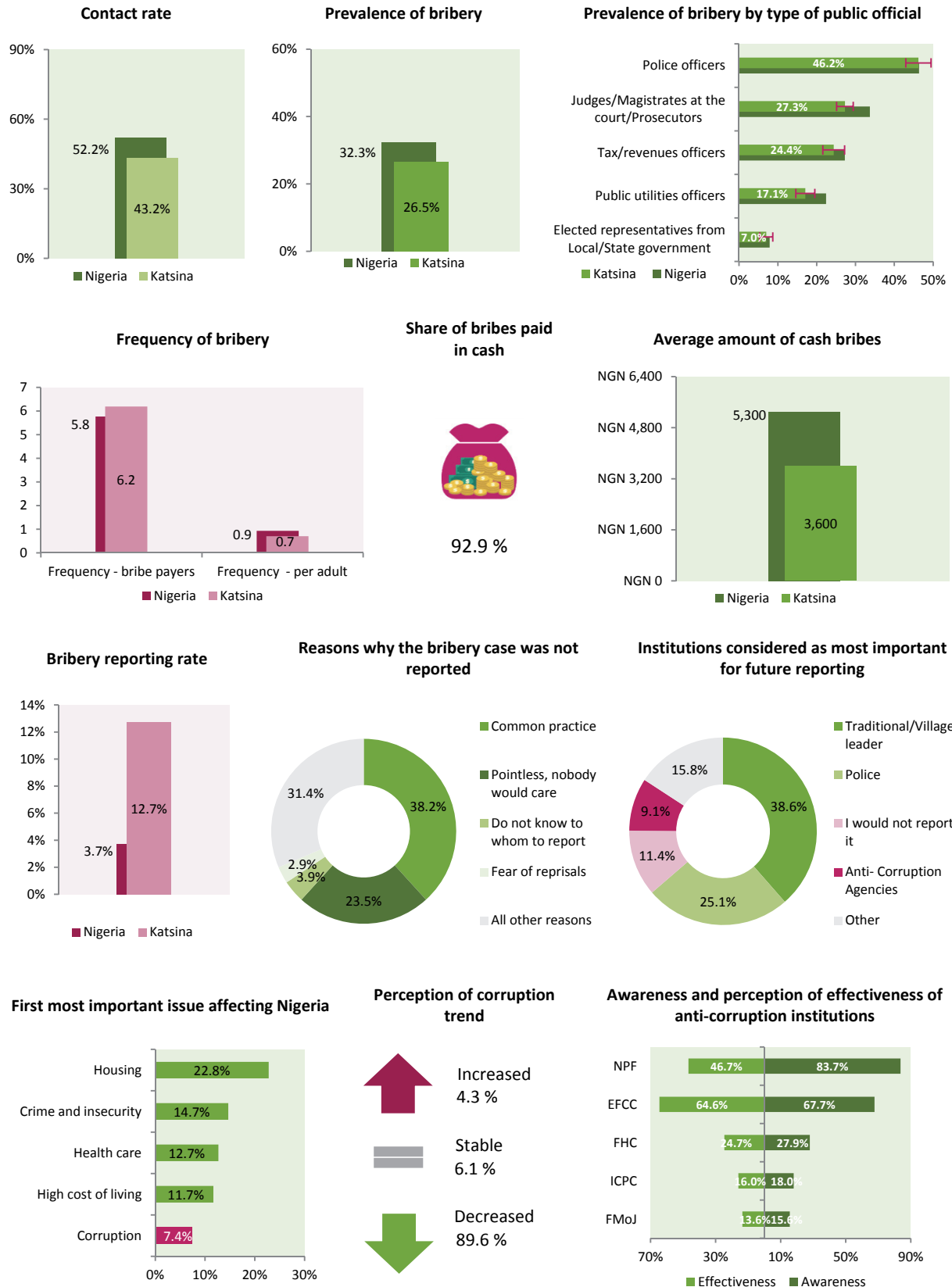


Katsina

Zone: North-West

Population: 7,569,751 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 13.4 %; **Rural:** 86.6 %



Kebbi

Zone: North-West

Population: 4,286,319 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 20.1 %; **Rural:** 79.9%

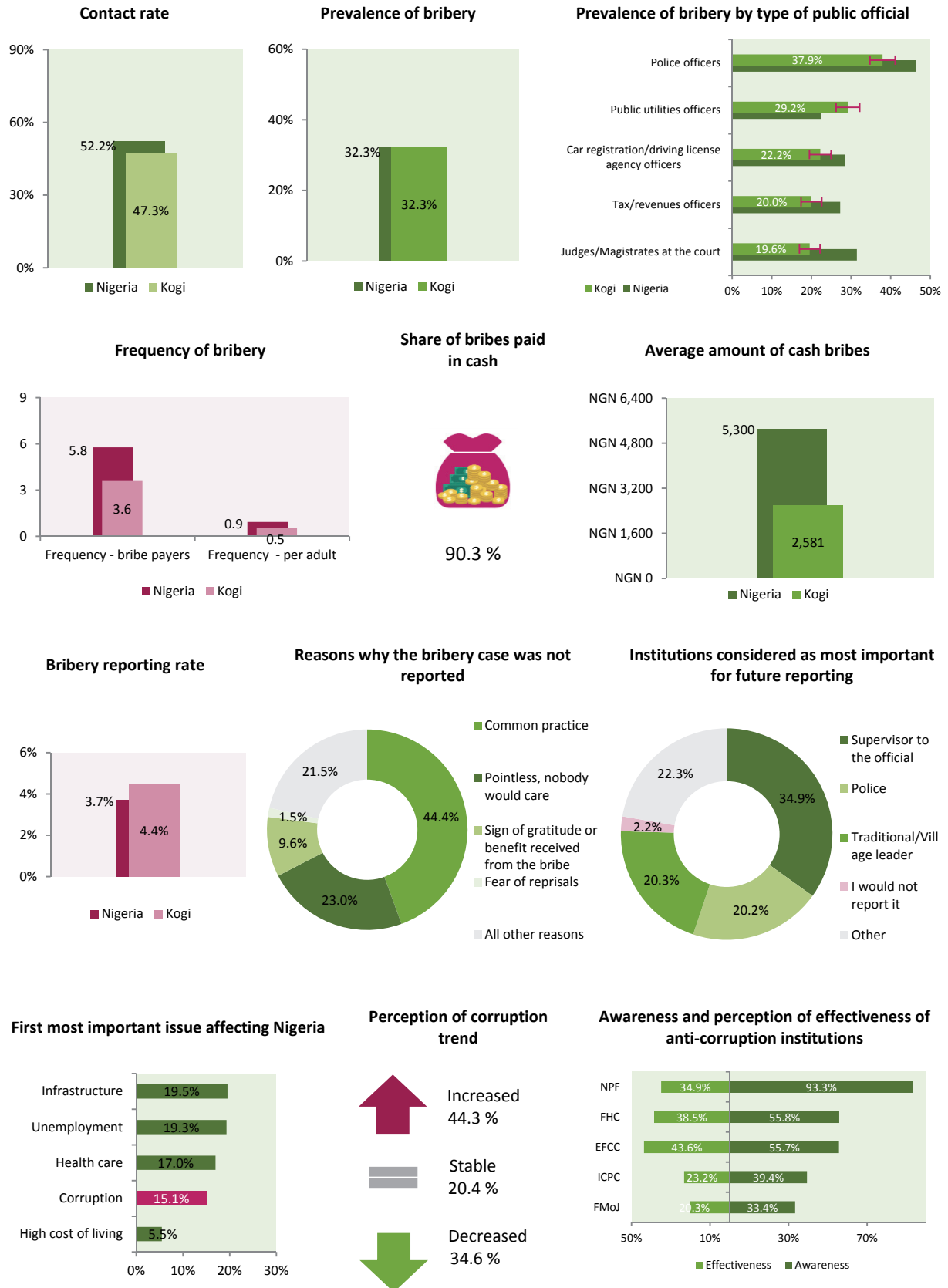


Kogi

Zone: North-Central

Population: 4,324,074 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 33.5 %; **Rural:** 66.5 %

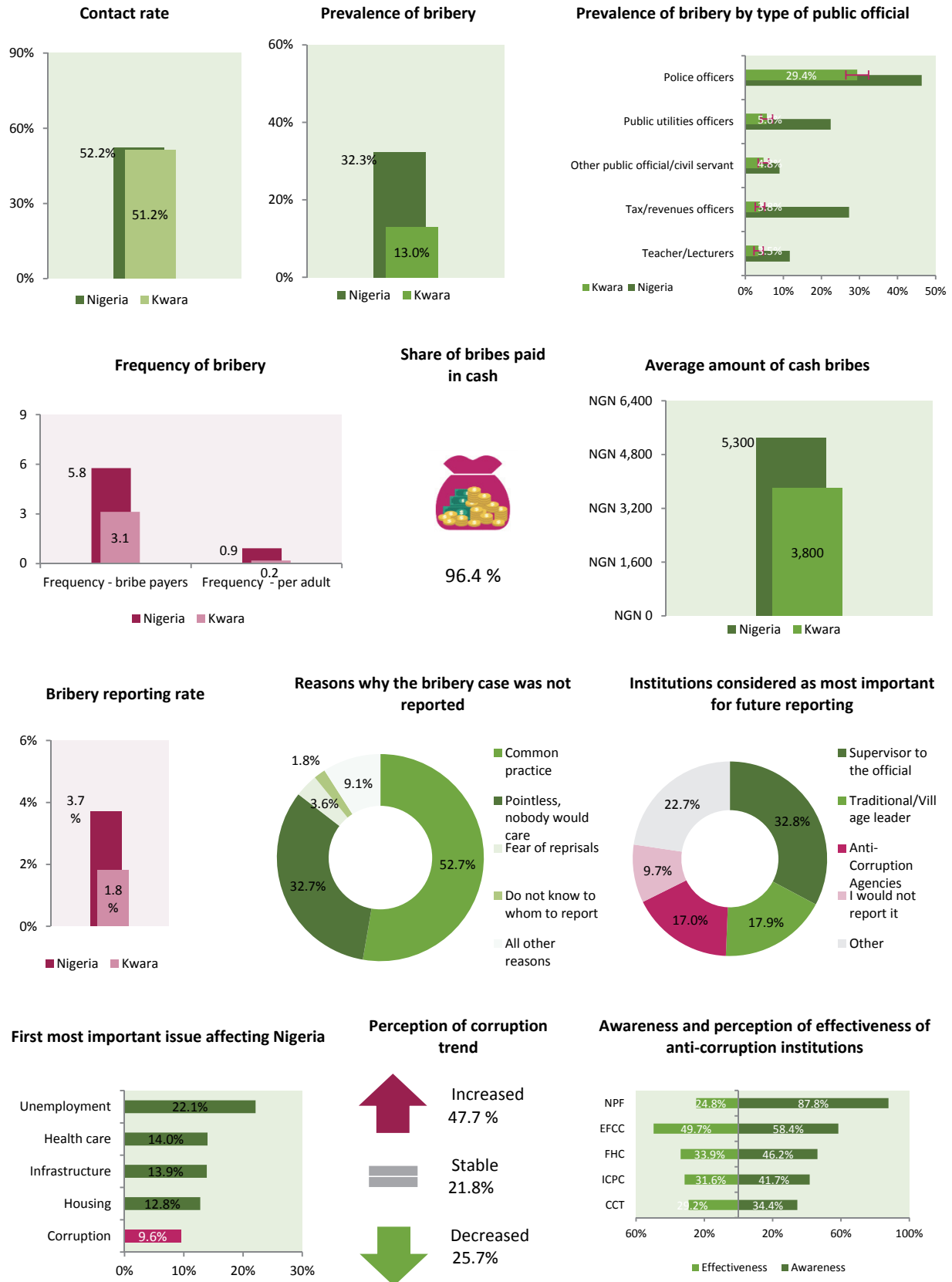


Kwara

Zone: North-Central

Population: 3,086,249 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 33.3 %; **Rural:** 66.7 %

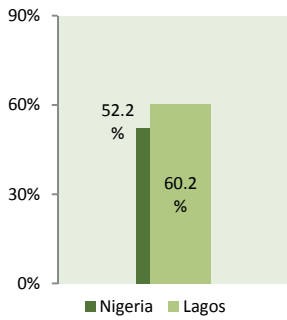


Lagos

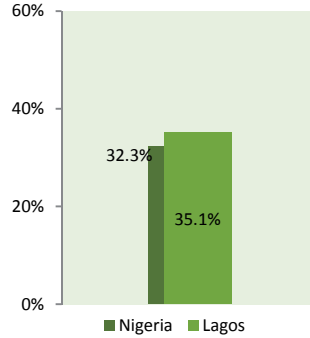
Zone: South-West
Population: 12,100,616 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 90.3 %; **Rural:** 9.7 %



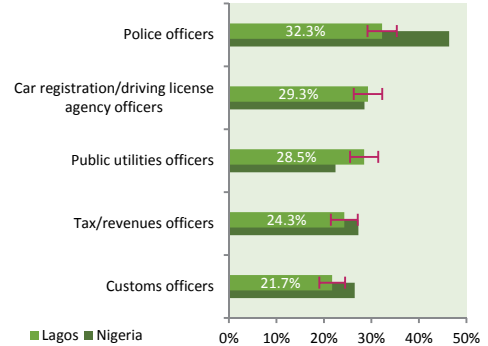
Contact rate



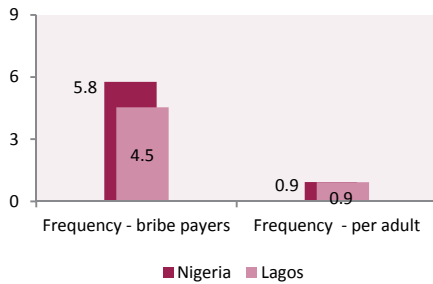
Prevalence of bribery



Prevalence of bribery by type of public official



Frequency of bribery

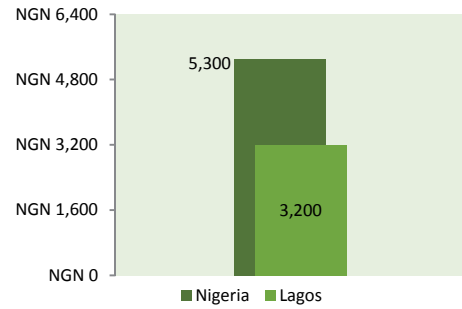


Share of bribes paid in cash

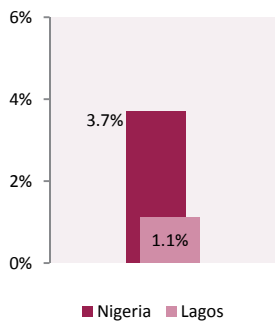


96.1 %

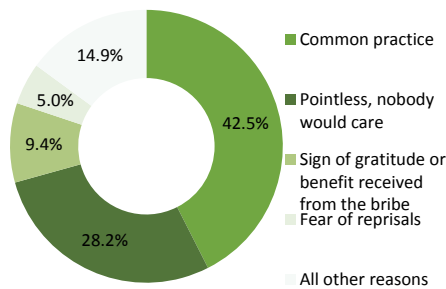
Average amount of cash bribes



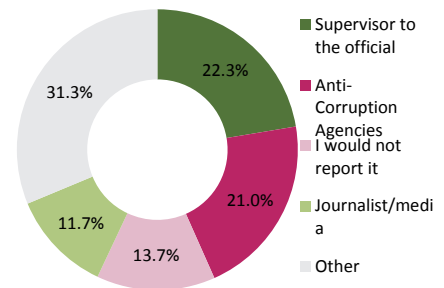
Bribery reporting rate



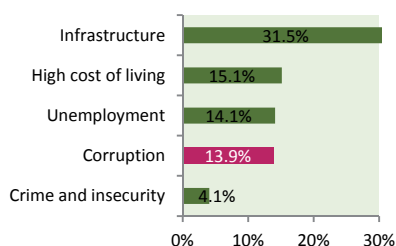
Reasons why the bribery case was not reported



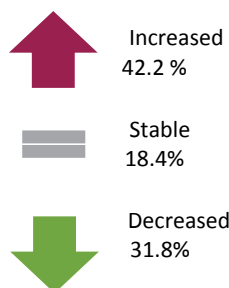
Institutions considered as most important for future reporting



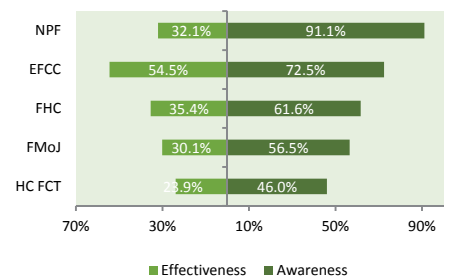
First most important issue affecting Nigeria



Perception of corruption trend



Awareness and perception of effectiveness of anti-corruption institutions

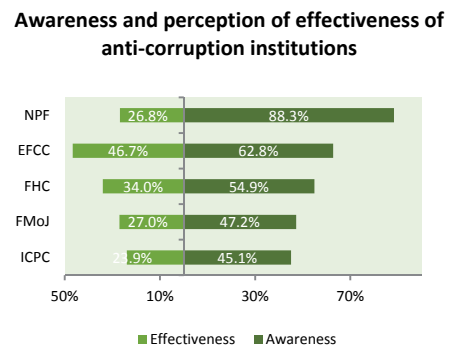
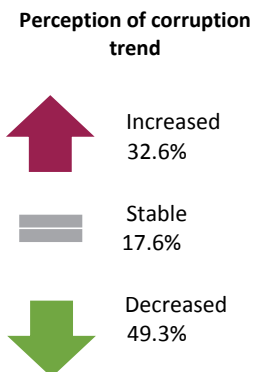
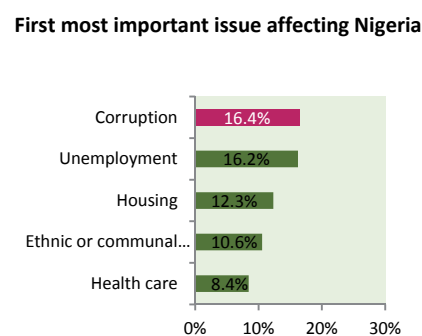
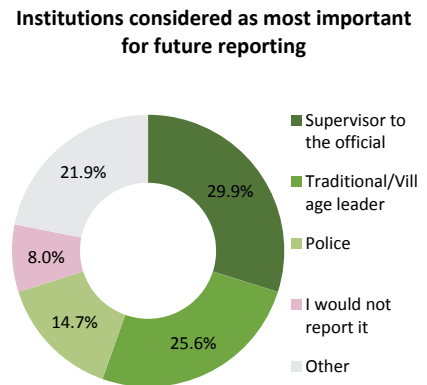
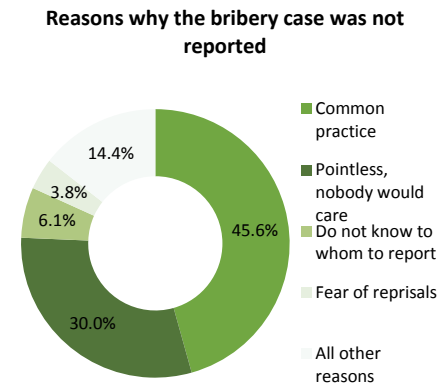
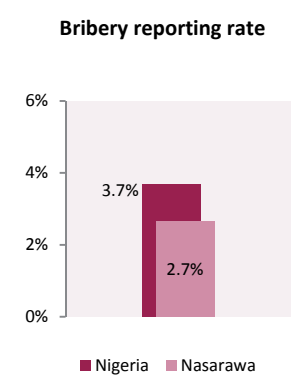
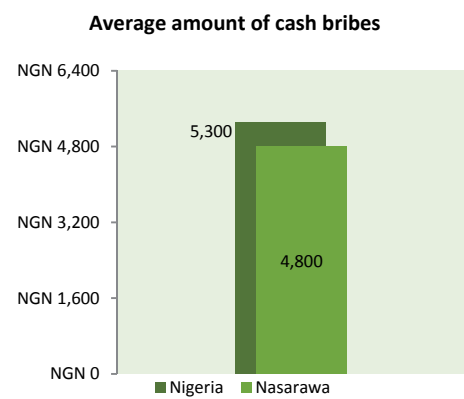
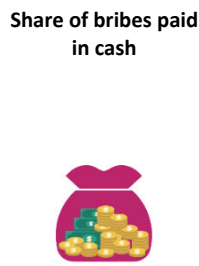
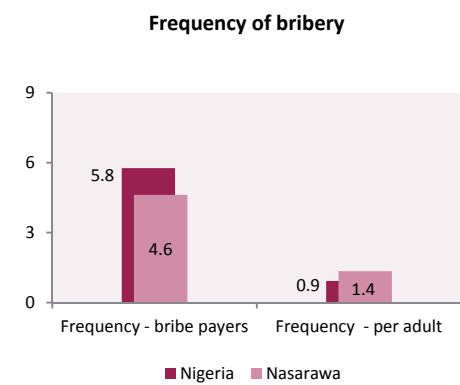
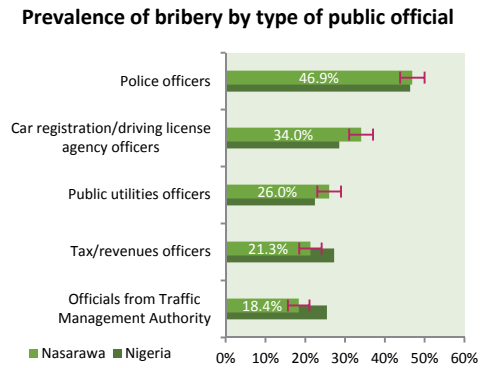
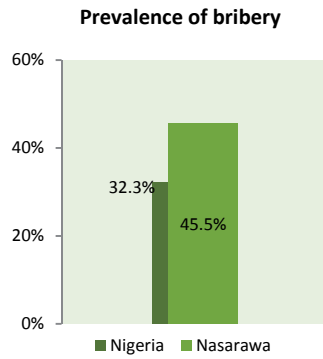
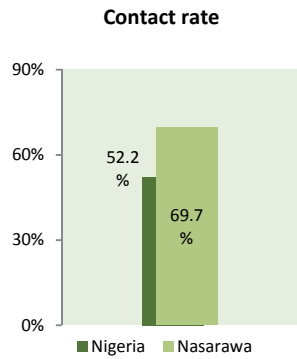


Nasarawa

Zone: North-Central

Population: 2,439,113 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 23.3 %; **Rural:** 76.7 %

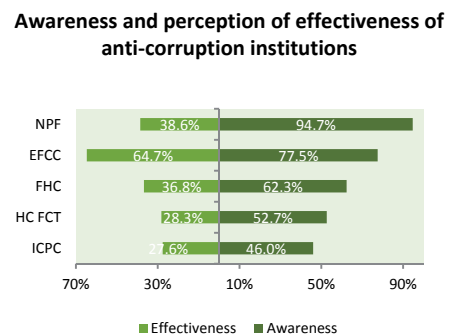
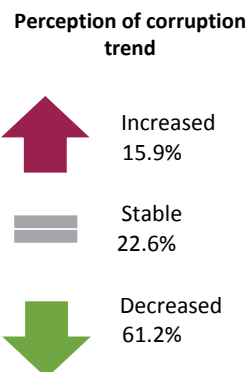
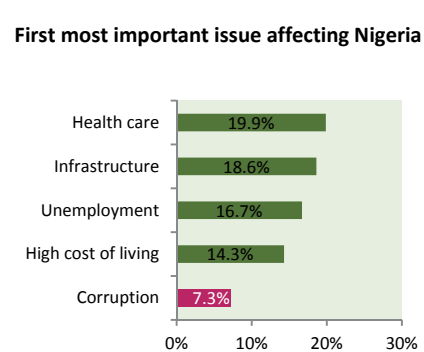
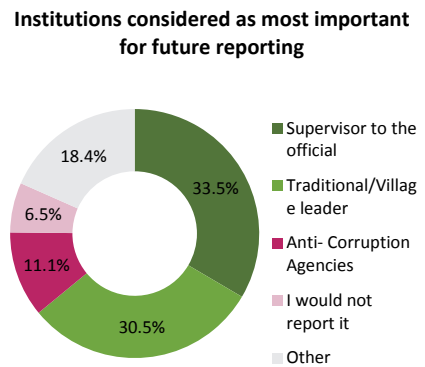
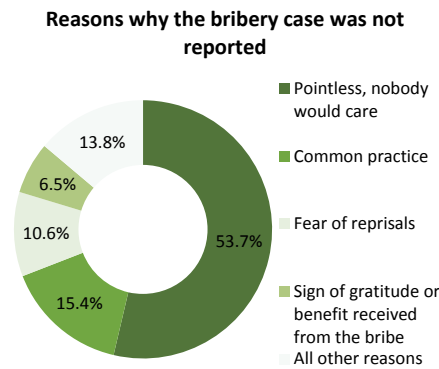
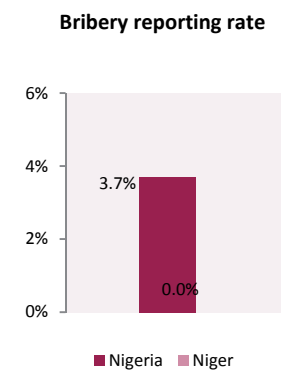
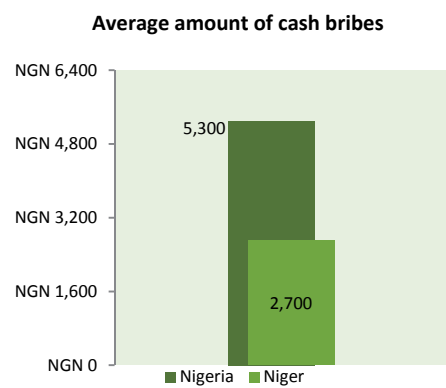
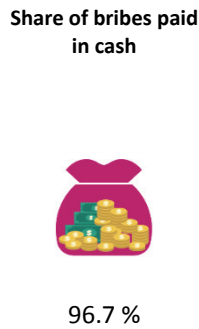
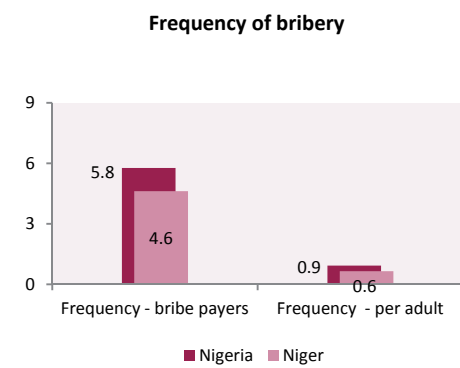
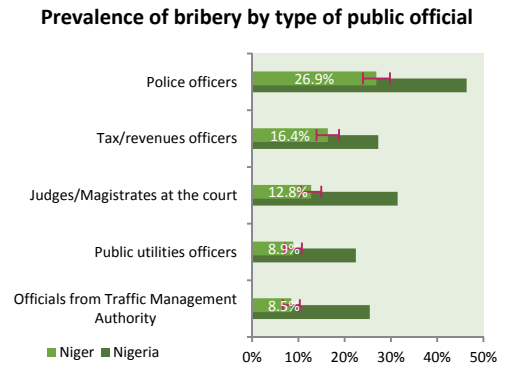
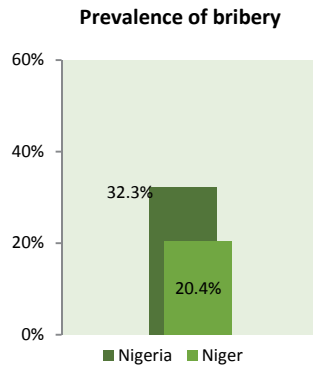
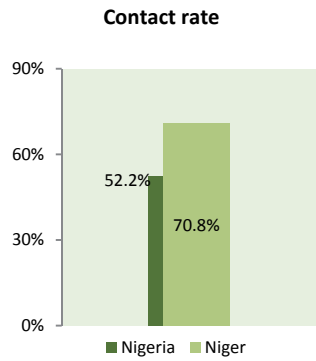


Niger

Zone: North-Central

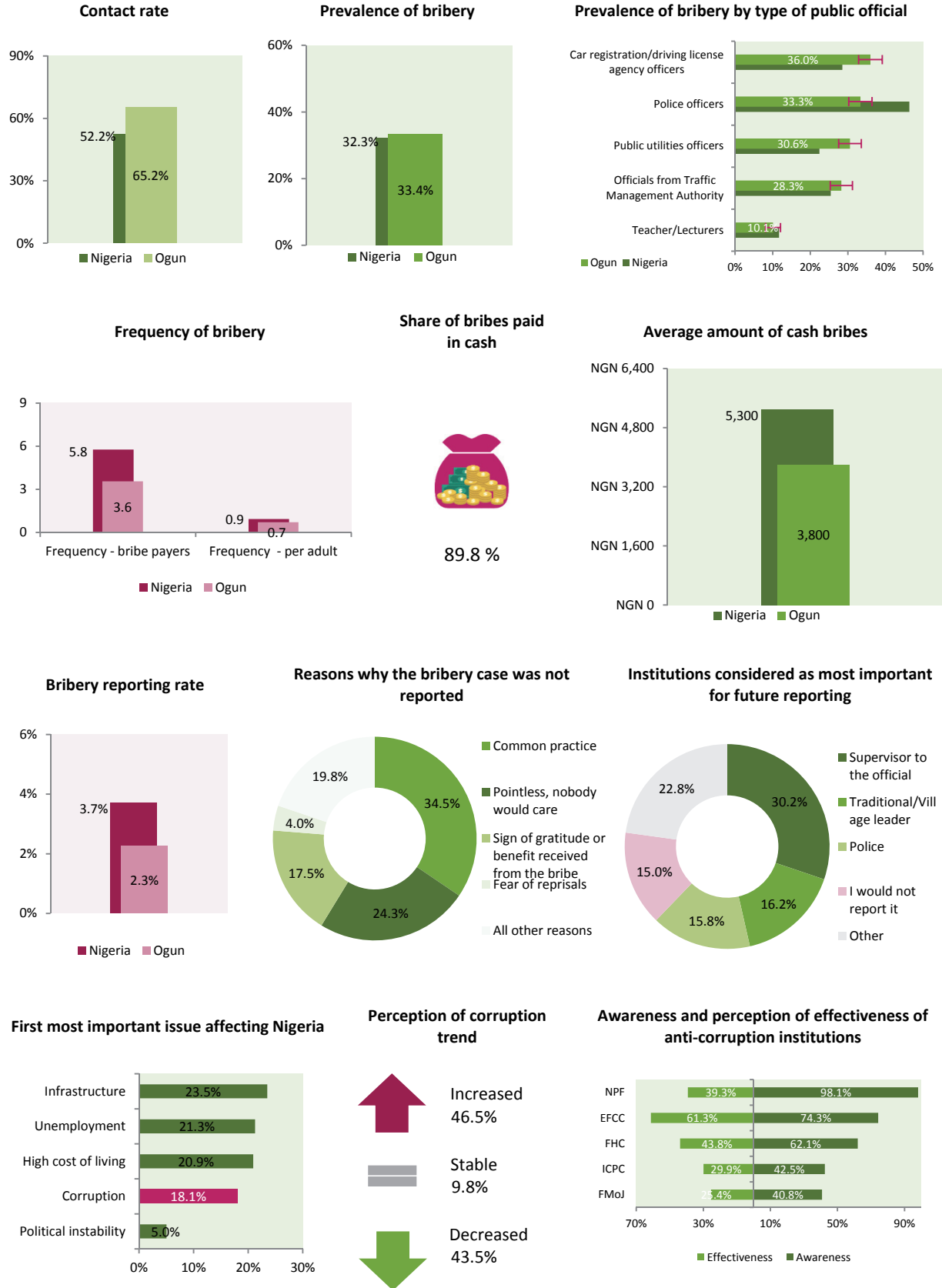
Population: 5,343,260 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 11.1 %; **Rural:** 88.9 %



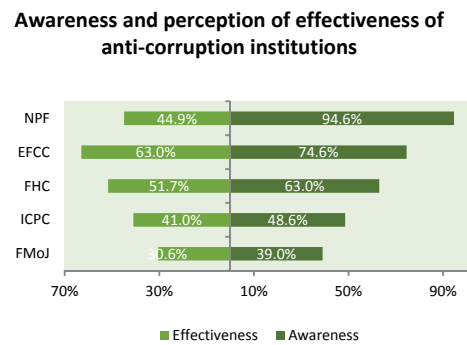
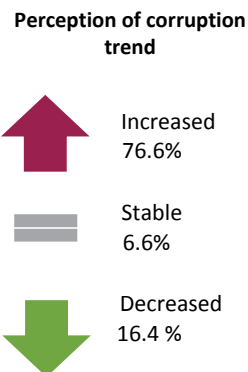
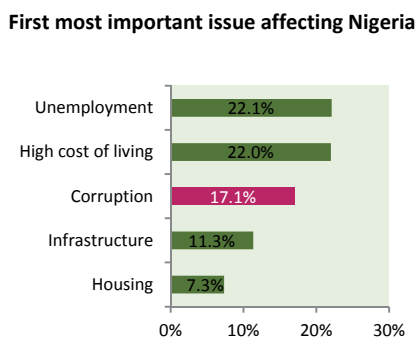
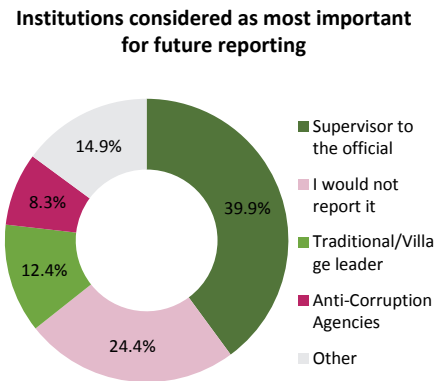
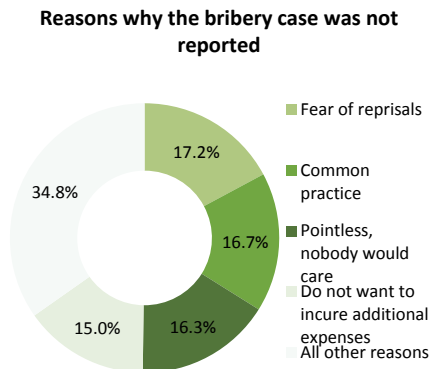
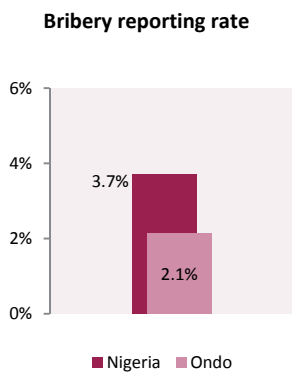
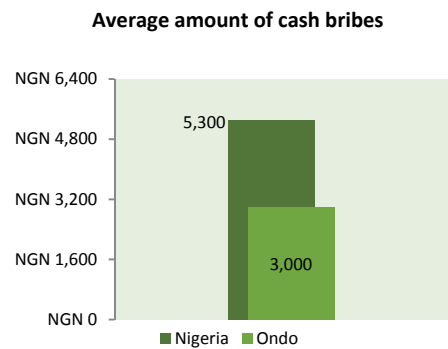
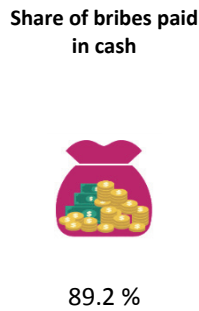
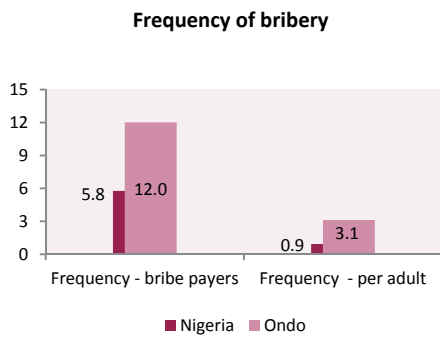
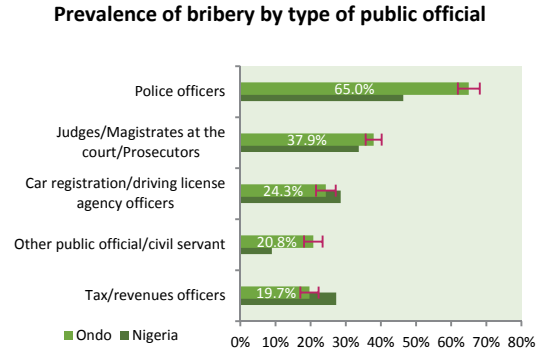
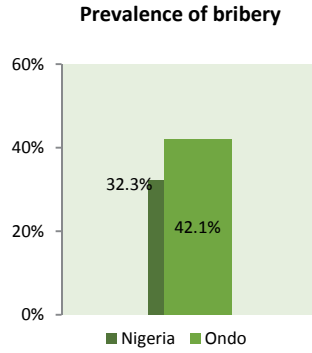
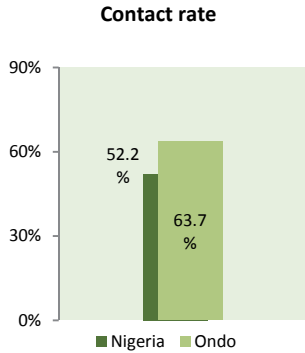
Ogun

Zone: South-West
Population: 5,024,191 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 35.1 %; **Rural:** 64.9 %



Ondo

Zone: South-West
Population: 4,515,660 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 45.0 %; **Rural:** 55.0 %

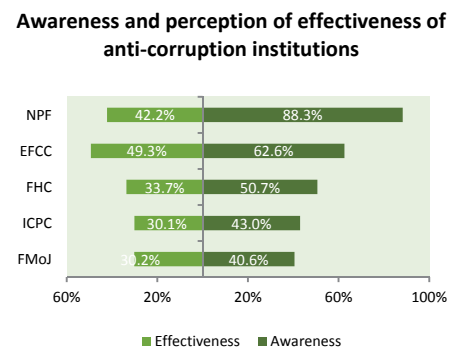
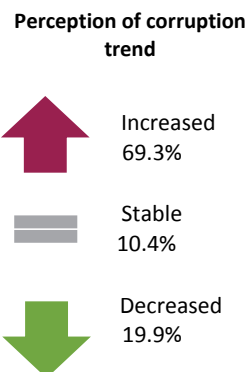
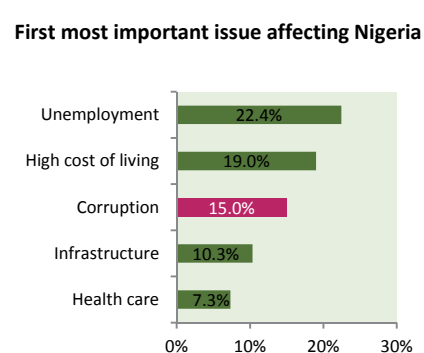
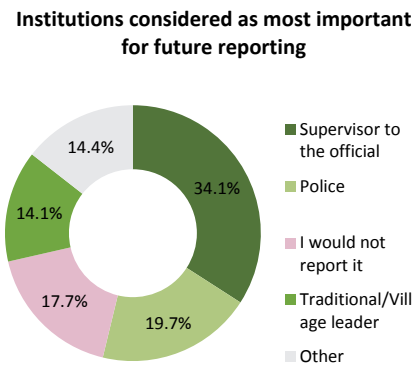
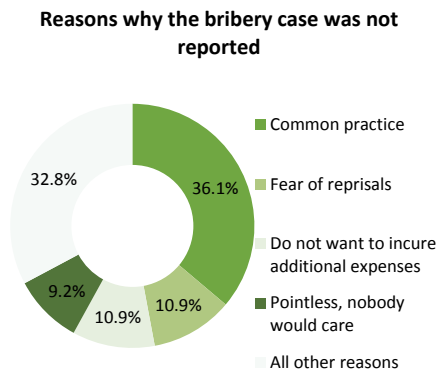
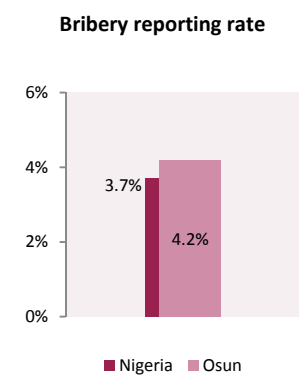
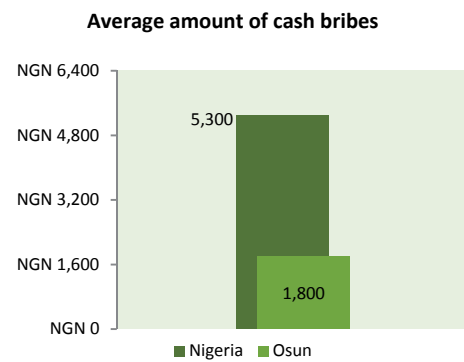
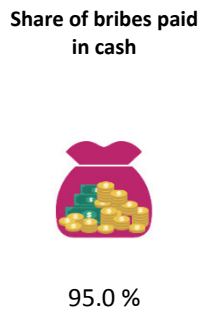
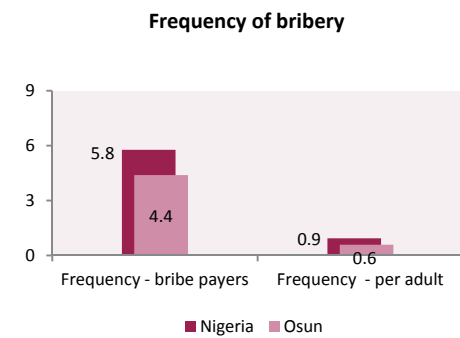
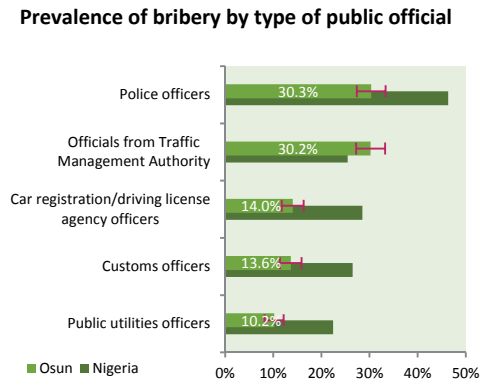
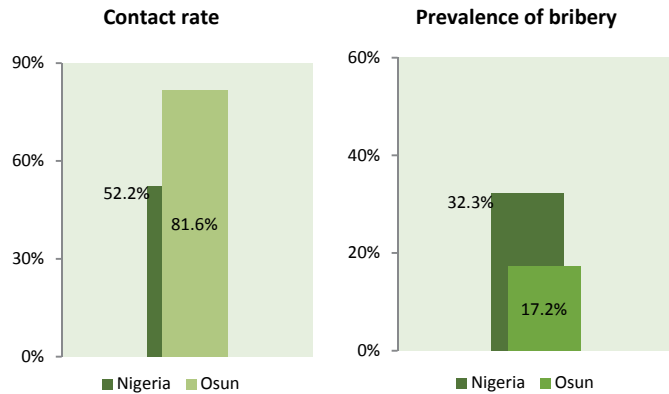


Osun

Zone: South-West

Population: 4,536,877 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 75.0 %; **Rural:** 25.0 %

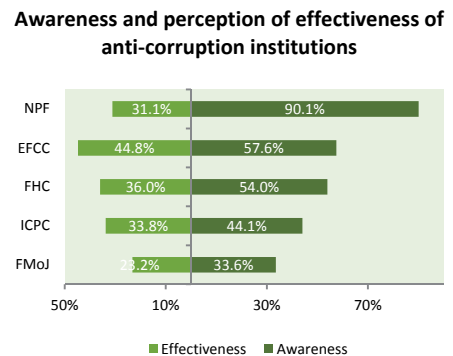
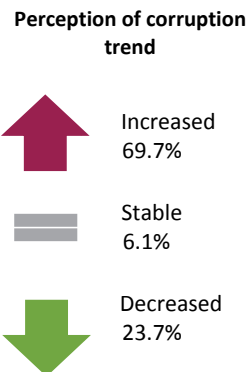
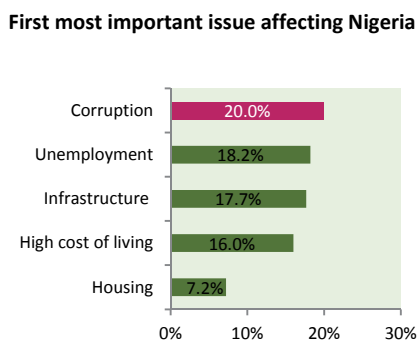
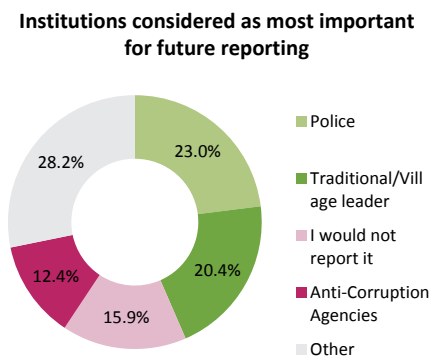
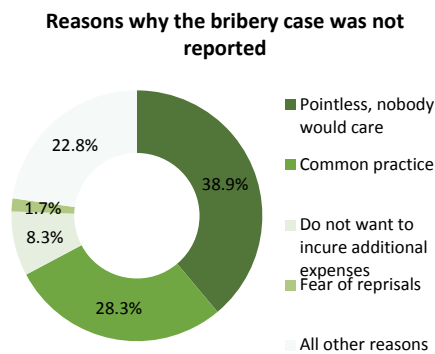
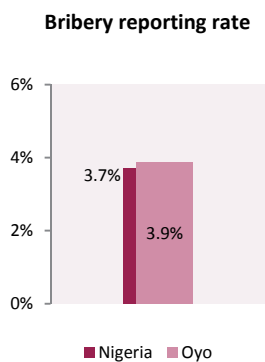
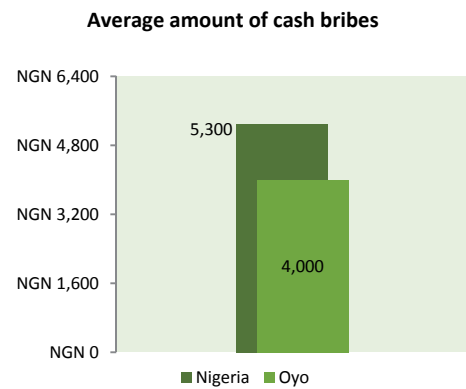
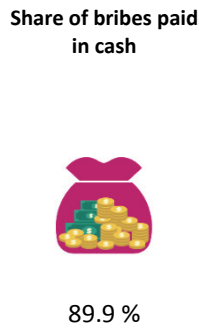
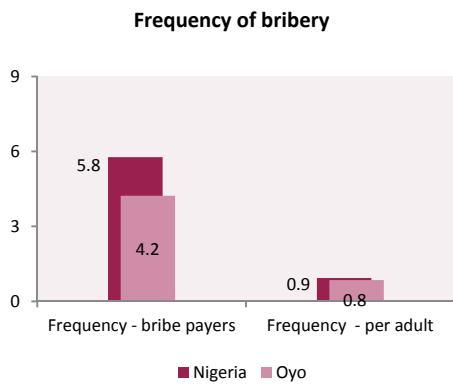
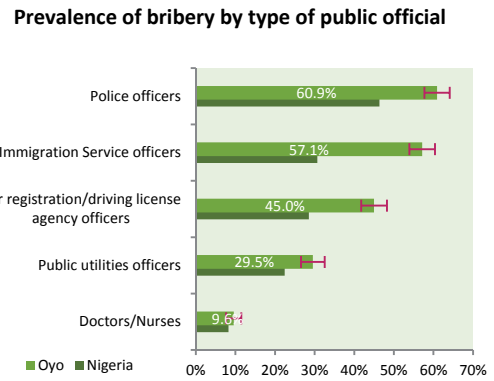
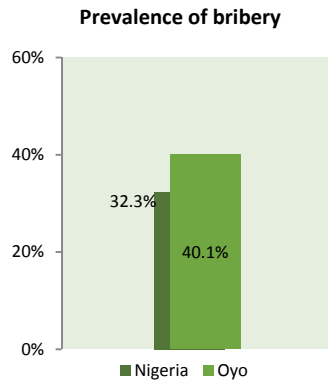
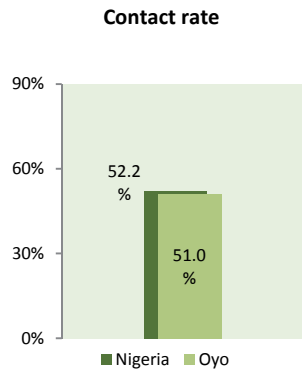


Oyo

Zone: South-West

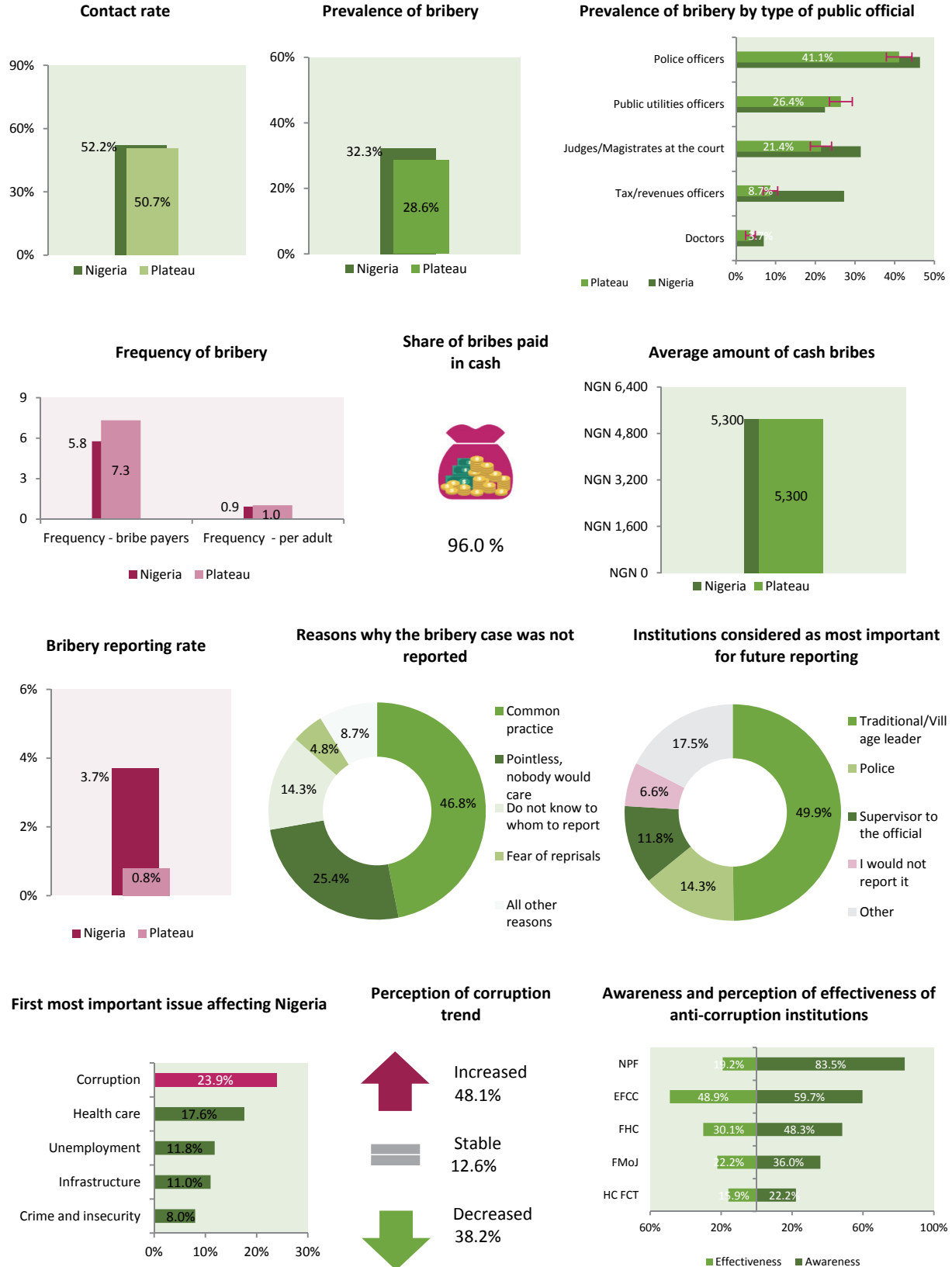
Population: 7,540,300 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 53.3 %; **Rural:** 46.7 %



Plateau

Zone: North-Central
Population: 4,075,392 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 13.4 %; **Rural:** 86.6 %

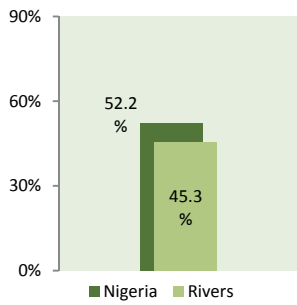


Rivers

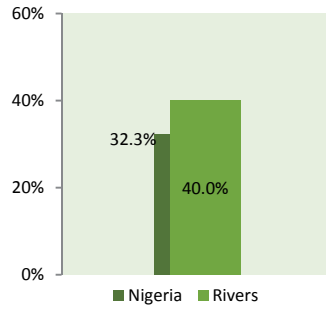
Zone: South-South
Population: 7,023,942 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 31.7 %; **Rural:** 68.3 %



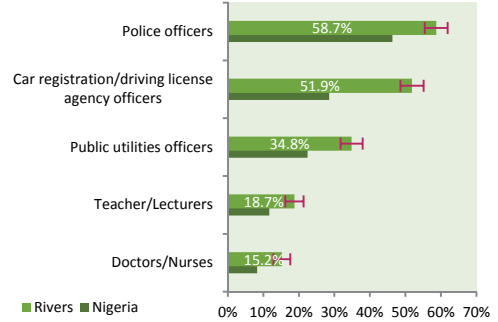
Contact rate



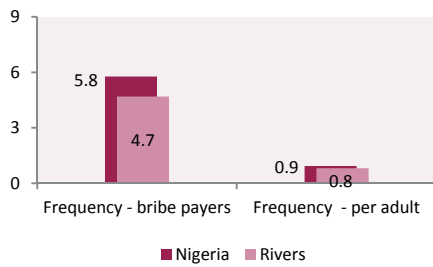
Prevalence of bribery



Prevalence of bribery by type of public official



Frequency of bribery

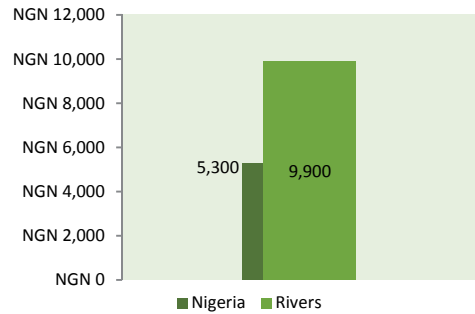


Share of bribes paid in cash

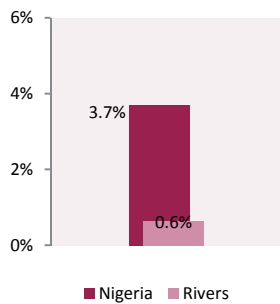


96.8 %

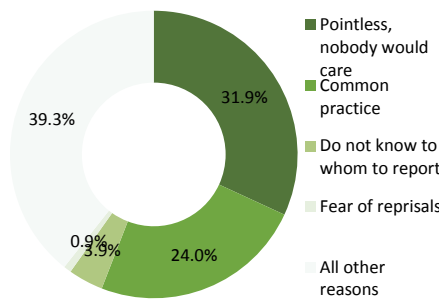
Average amount of cash bribes



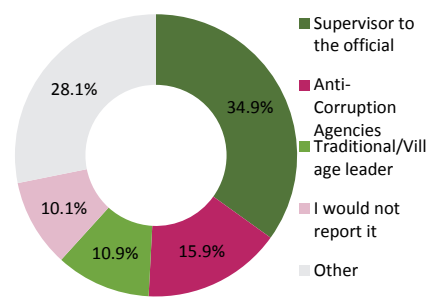
Bribery reporting rate



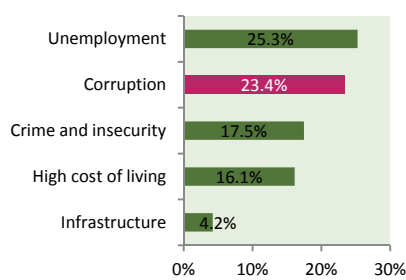
Reasons why the bribery case was not reported



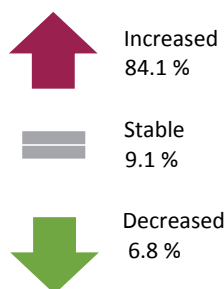
Institutions considered as most important for future reporting



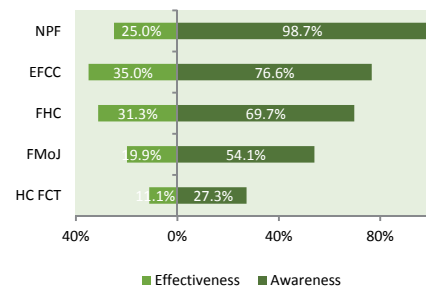
First most important issue affecting Nigeria



Perception of corruption trend

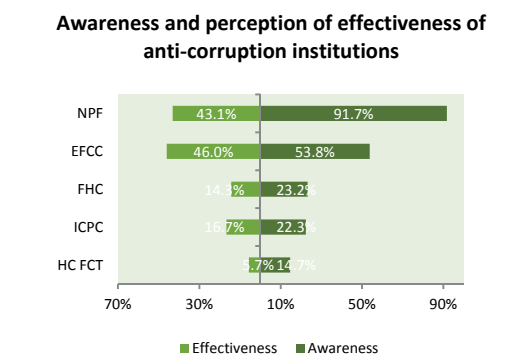
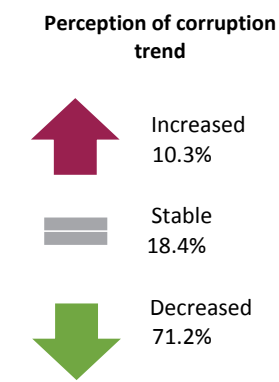
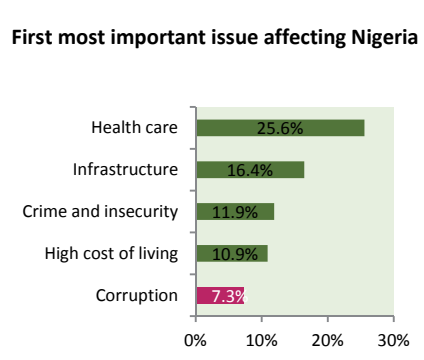
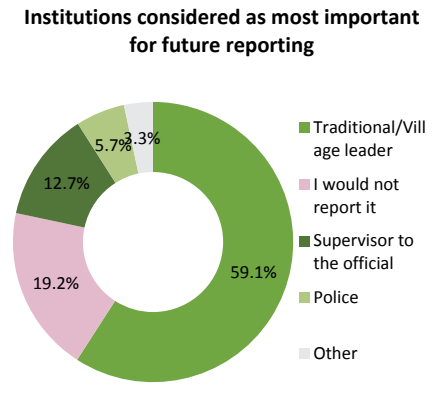
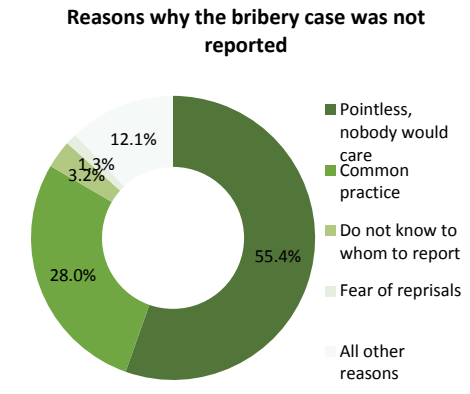
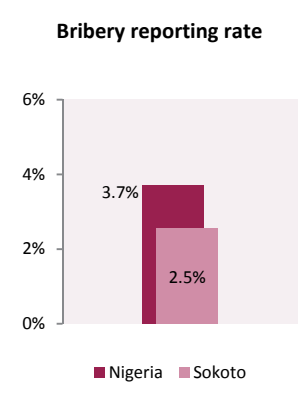
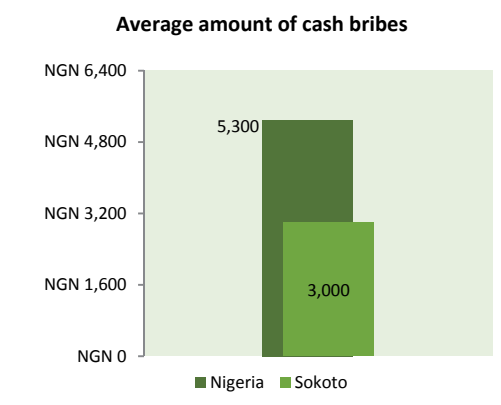
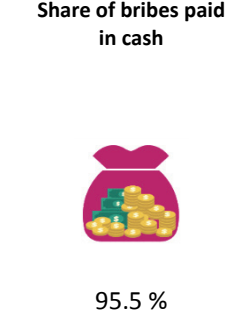
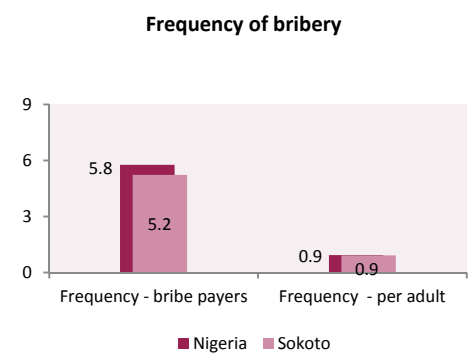
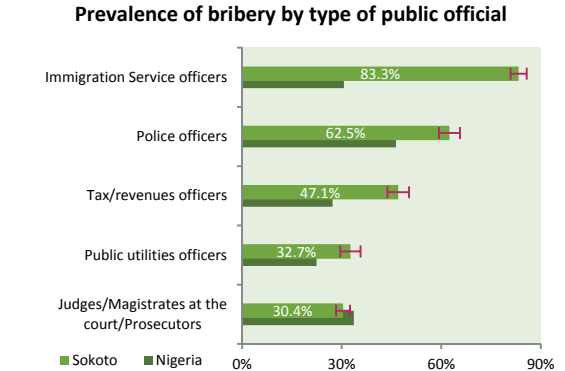
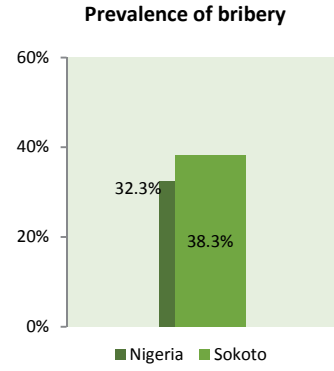
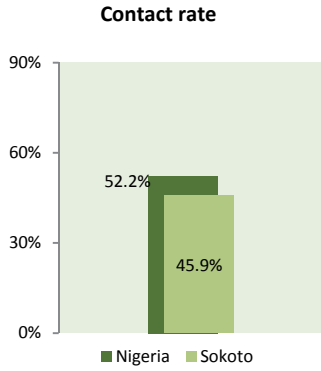


Awareness and perception of effectiveness of anti-corruption institutions



Sokoto

Zone: North-West
Population: 4,831,152 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 10.7 %; **Rural:** 89.3 %



Taraba

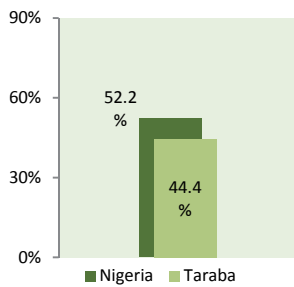
Zone: North-East

Population: 2,968,132 (source: NBS, 2016)

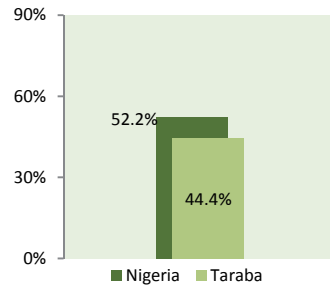
Urban: 13.4 %; **Rural:** 86.6 %



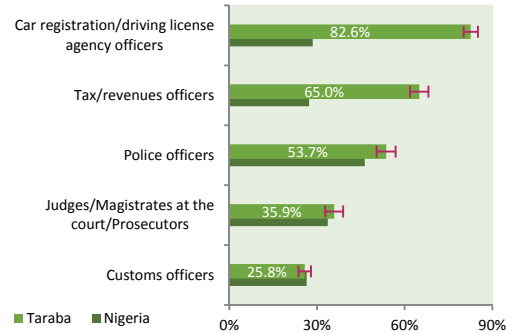
Contact rate



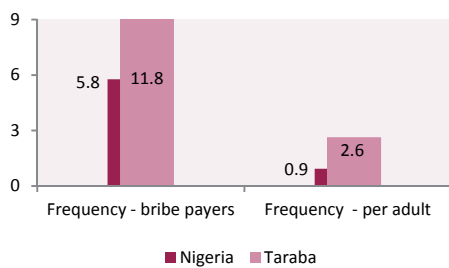
Prevalence of bribery



Prevalence of bribery by type of public official



Frequency of bribery

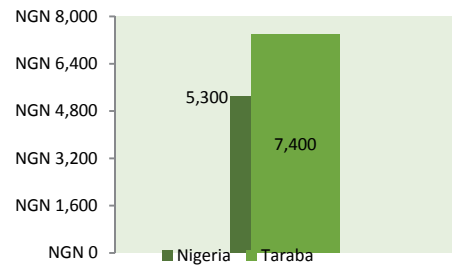


Share of bribes paid in cash

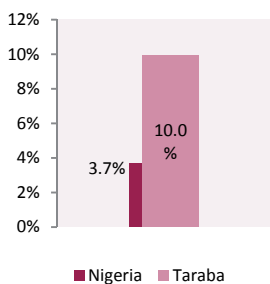


99.0 %

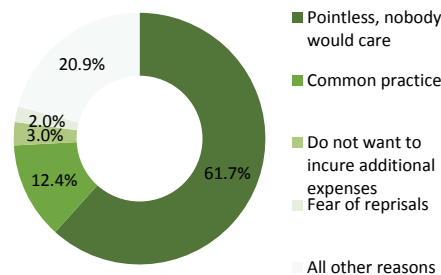
Average amount of cash bribes



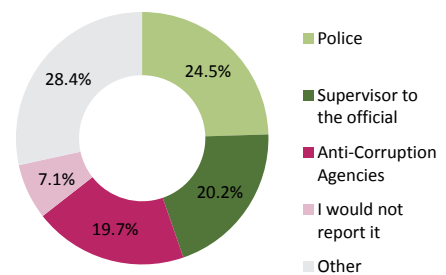
Bribery reporting rate



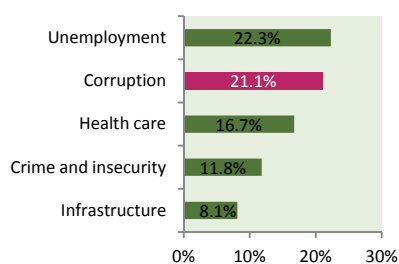
Reasons why the bribery case was not reported



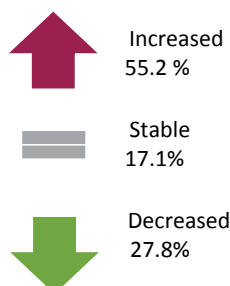
Institutions considered as most important for future reporting



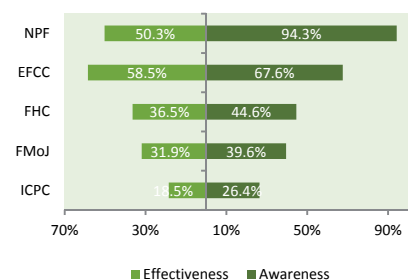
First most important issue affecting Nigeria



Perception of corruption trend



Awareness and perception of effectiveness of anti-corruption institutions

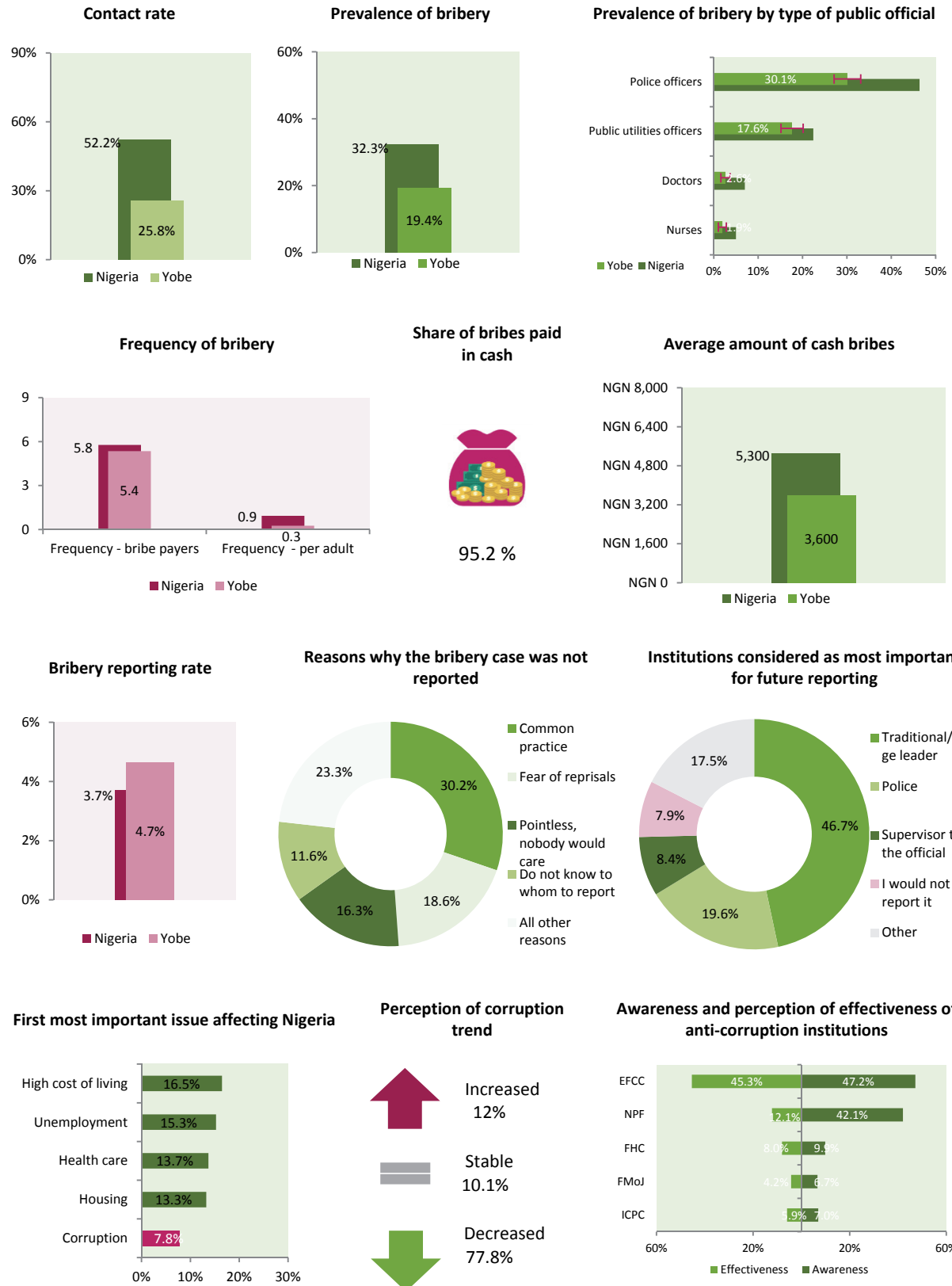


Yobe

Zone: North-East

Population: 3,163,747 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 21.6 %; **Rural:** 78.4 %

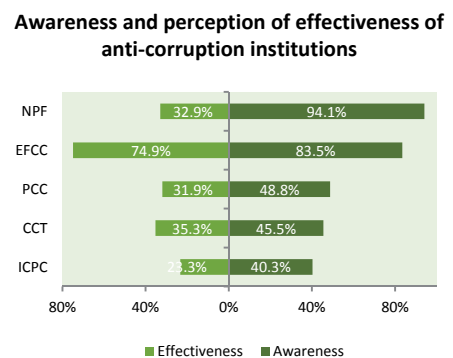
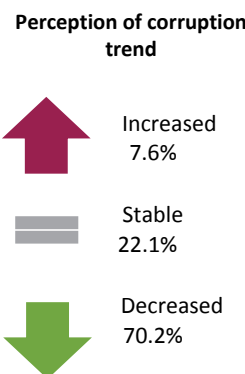
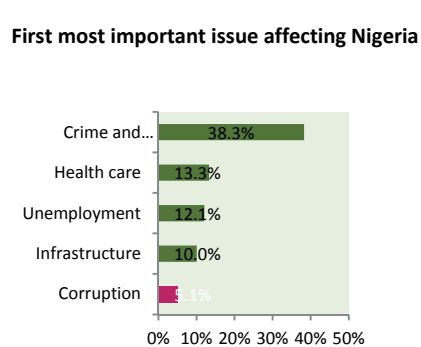
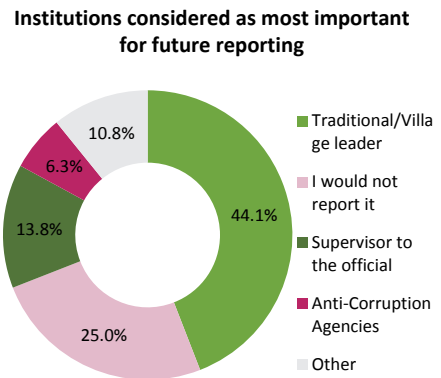
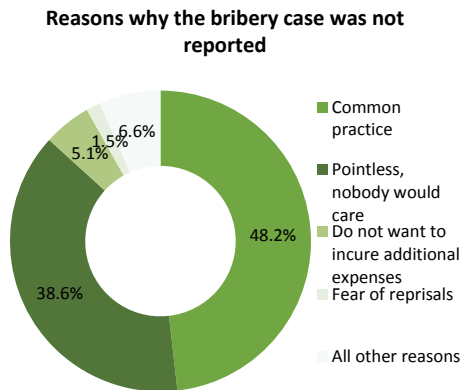
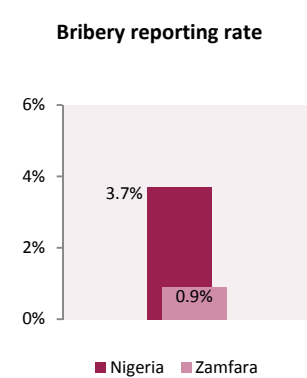
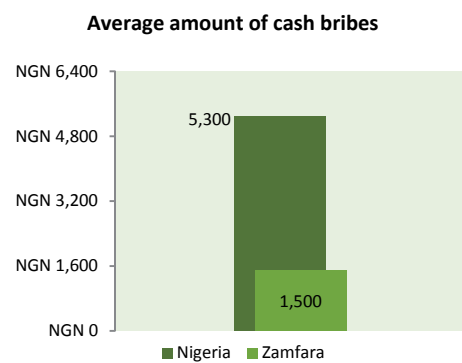
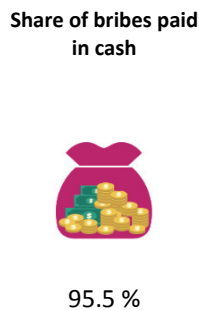
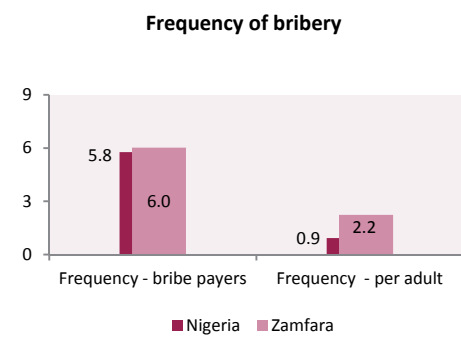
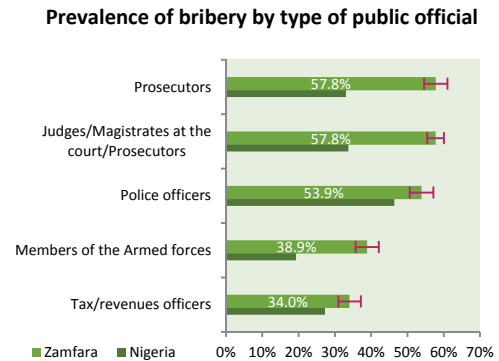
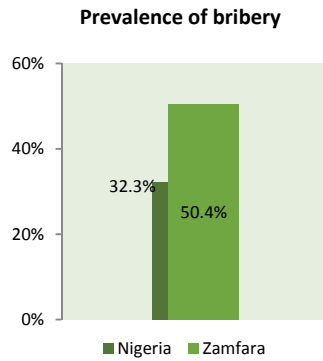
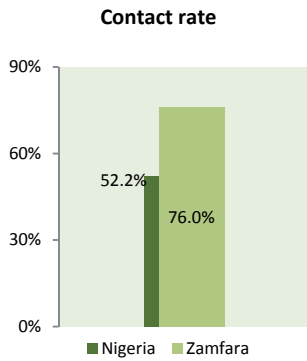


Zamfara

Zone: North-West

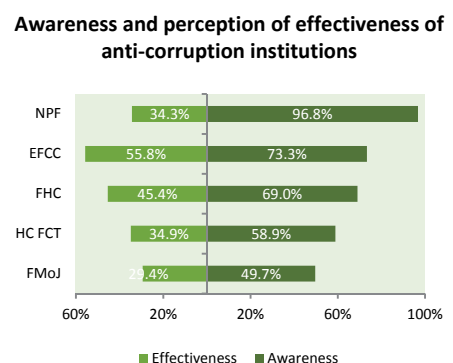
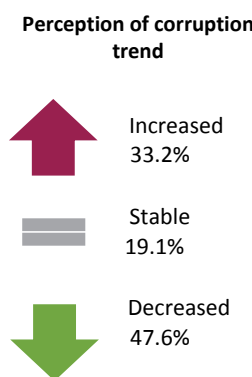
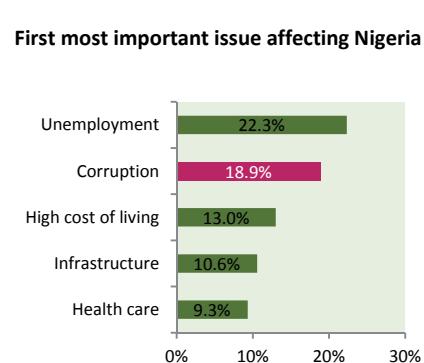
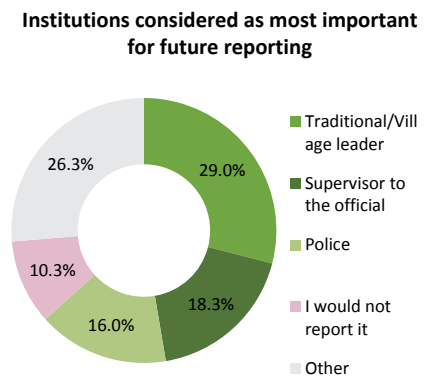
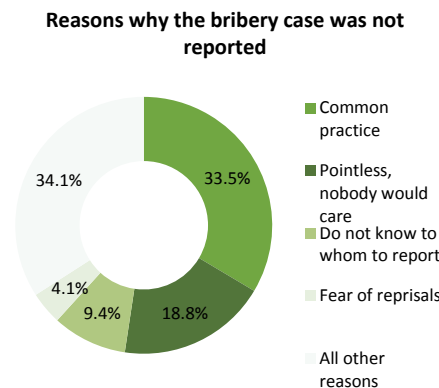
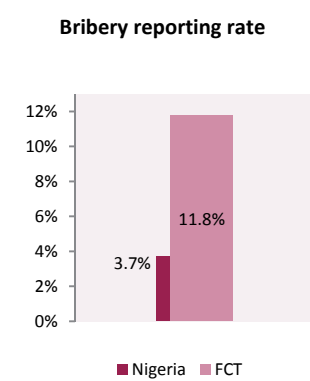
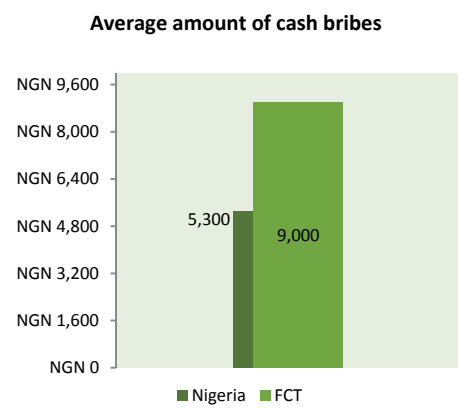
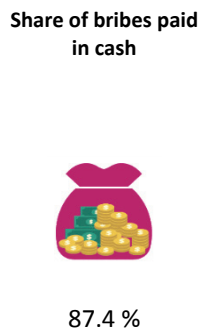
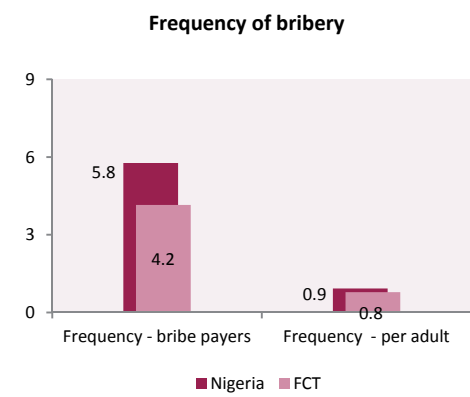
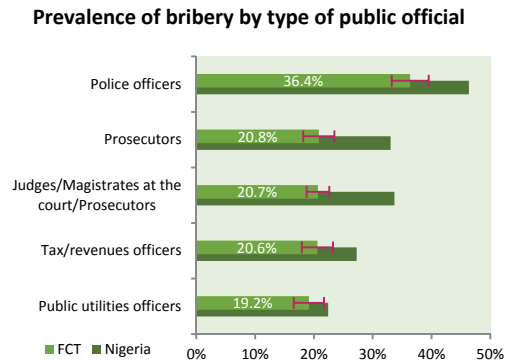
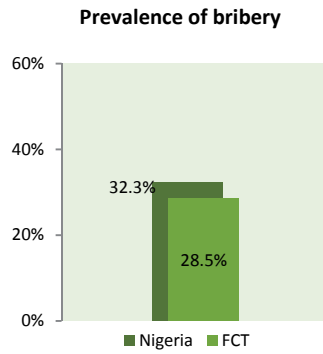
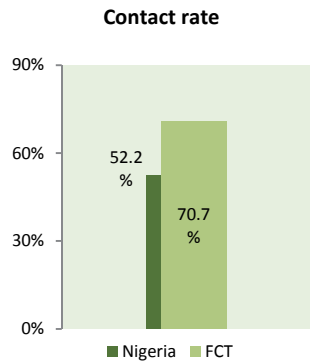
Population: 4,353,533 (source: NBS, 2016)

Urban: 9.8 %; **Rural:** 90.2 %



FCT

Zone: North-Central
Population: 3,130,694 (source: NBS, 2016)
Urban: 53.3 %; **Rural:** 46.7 %



METHODOLOGICAL ANNEX

PART 1 –National Survey on the Quality and Integrity of Public Services

Introduction - background

Data presented in this report were collected in the National Survey on the Quality and Integrity of Public Services, otherwise known as the Nigerian Corruption Survey, a project funded by the European Union and implemented by the UNODC in collaboration with the National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria (NBS).

The Nigerian Corruption Survey was designed as a large-scale household survey, representative at the level of the Nigerian states, with the aim of collecting baseline information

- on direct experiences of corruption events, as victims, by citizens
- on the experience of reporting corruption and other crimes to the public authorities
- on opinions and perceptions of citizens concerning recent trends, patterns and state responses to corruption

Evidence derived from the survey is used to calculate benchmark indicators that can be used to inform relevant policies and track future progress, while ensuring international comparability with surveys of similar nature carried out in other countries.

Survey contents and instruments:

Following previous international experiences and extensive consultations with all major stakeholders in a nationwide corruption survey, the survey instrument⁴¹ was structured into several parts that best addressed the information requirements identified: starting with a part required to randomly select a household member and a section on attitudes and opinions on corruption, the main part of the questionnaire addresses experiences with public services and in particular experiences of bribery. The subsequent parts of the questionnaire deal with bribery in the private sector, corruption in employment and the awareness of and opinions about specific anti-corruption agencies.⁴²

In building the survey instrument, much time and effort was invested in adapting a standard survey methodology already tested and refined in other national contexts (such as Afghanistan, Iraq and the western Balkans) to the specific Nigerian context and to ensure national ownership of the survey results. From the early stages of the survey development, roundtable discussions were held with the National Steering Committee (NSC)⁴³ of the survey – consisting of 14 beneficiary agencies of the European Union-funded UNODC-led Support to Anti-Corruption Project in Nigeria, including all the major anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria — for overall guidance on survey implementation. In addition, several working group meetings were held with the National Technical Committee (NTC) for technical guidance in the implementation of the survey, and for consultation and inputs on

⁴¹ The questionnaire and other background material relating to the survey are available at:

<https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/corruption.html> (18.7.2017)

⁴² Two further sections of the questionnaire dealt with general crime victimization and access to justice, the results of which will be disseminated at a later stage.

⁴³ The 14 members of the National Steering Committee (NSC) are: Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP), Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, Federal High Court, Federal Ministry of Justice (FMoJ), Inter Agency Task Team of Anti-Corruption Agencies/Technical Unit on Governance and Anti-Corruption Reforms (IATT/TUGAR), Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI), Nigeria Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU), Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), Public Complaints Commission (PCC), Special Control Unit against Money Laundering (SCUML).

successive versions of the draft survey instrument. The NTC was composed of a sub-set of the NSC and included UNODC, members of the Inter-Agency Task Team (IATT), Action Aid Nigeria, the CLEEN Foundation and NBS as implementing partner (IATT in turn includes other beneficiary organizations within the anticorruption sector of Nigeria).

In addition to national consultations with stakeholders, extensive qualitative research on patterns and modalities of corruption in Nigeria was carried out to further the understanding of patterns, forms and manifestations of corruption in different parts of the country.⁴⁴ Taken together, the experience from other national corruption surveys, the national consultations and the in-depth qualitative research contributed to developing a survey instrument that best captured the complex reality of bribery in Nigeria.

Survey preparation

To test the adequacy of the survey instrument and the integrity of survey operations and logistics before the main survey, several preparatory activities were conducted. In particular, the two most important activities for testing the survey instrument included

- cognitive testing
- a pilot survey

Cognitive testing

To explore the adequacy of question formulations in the Nigerian multi-cultural and multi-lingual context, a cognitive testing was conducted on 40 respondents recruited from two different Nigerian states (20 from Lagos and 20 from Kaduna state) in order to examine the ways in which respondents interpret, consider and ultimately answer the questions as well as to identify potential response errors. One-on-one in-depth interviews were used to test the questions with respondents. The interviews were conducted on the four steps in the cognitive process of responding to questions: understanding the question and response categories, recalling or searching for the requested information, thinking about the answer and making a judgment about what to report, and reporting the answer.

Pilot survey

A pilot survey is the process of testing all stages of data production that is carried out during the main survey, but on a smaller scale. It helps to perfect all survey instruments as well as to ensure adequate planning for all logistics that will be required for the main survey. Using two slightly different survey instruments that tested alternative question formulations, the pilot survey was carried out in Oyo, Kwara, Delta and Katsina states with a total sample size of 480 households (around 120 in each state). The results of the pilot surveys were documented in a technical report and used to improve survey procedures, question formulations (especially where two different versions were tested), instructions for interviewers in the interviewer guidelines, sampling procedures applied by interviewers and other technical issues.

Main survey

Sample design and weighting procedure

For the main survey, a total of 33,067 interviews were conducted across the 37 states with persons aged 18 and older.⁴⁵ The sampling methodology adopted is a stratified random sampling, with a

⁴⁴ The results of this qualitative research are summarized in two background papers: Ipadeola, Oladipupo, *Patterns, Experiences and Manifestations of Corruption in Nigeria. A review of the literature* (Abuja, January 2016) and Ipadeola, Oladipupo, *Qualitative Study on the Patterns, Experiences and Manifestation of Corruption in Nigeria* (Abuja, March 2016).

⁴⁵ From these, a total of 32,920 (99 per cent) interviews were completed.

stratification process conducted at the state level. Stratified random sampling is a sampling method that requires dividing the population into smaller groups (or strata) and drawing a randomized sample within each stratum. In this case, the strata are represented by the 37 Nigerian states (36 states and the Federal Capital Territory) and within each state, the (adult) population was extracted randomly. In each of the 37 states, between 779 and 900 interviews were conducted. To draw the sample, the population in each state is divided into Enumeration Areas (EA).⁴⁶ From this process, a total of 23,280 EAs (4 per cent of the overall total) were randomly selected for the sample frame. From this frame, in a first stage sampling procedure (selection of EAs) around 60 EAs were selected in each of the 37 states to be canvassed. The EAs will be selected such that they will cut across both urban and rural areas. A total of 2,220 EAs were selected throughout the country. For the Second Stage sampling, which is the household (HH) selection, 15 HHs were systematically selected per EA, resulting in a total of around 900 HHs per state. In each household, the interviewer then randomly selected one individual respondent. The interviewer was required to return to the same HH for at least 3 visits (i.e., three call backs) if the household member could not be located before the respondent was treated as a missing/non-responding unit. The overall response rate was 85 per cent. Households or respondents were not replaced on the basis of refusal. Rather, allowance for non-response was built into the estimation of sample size. However, sample EAs or households were replaced in case of inability to locate them or if they “moved away” recently.

To make survey results at the state level representative at the national level, for the analysis of the data after the survey the sample size was adjusted (“weighted”) for the size of the population in each state. Weighting ensures that the distribution of the sample across states reflects the actual distribution of the population. The latest population data were provided by the National Bureau of Statistics in 2016 and refer to 2015.⁴⁷

Weights calculation:

Letting:

$s = 1, \dots, S$ Nigerian states (including the Federal Capital Territory)

N_s = sample size for state s

P_s = (adult) population of state s

The weight (**W**) for the state s -th is defined as the ratio between the (adult) population and the sample size in the same state.

$$W_s = P_s / N_s$$

In the database, such weighting factor is included in order to align all the findings to actual population figures.

Quality control and questionnaire translation

Considering the large scope of the study and the nature of extended and sensitive field work, an external quality assurance monitoring of survey operations was contracted. Following a public tender procedure Practical Sampling International (PSI), a Lagos-based company specialized in marketing, social and opinion research, was tasked with the responsibility of ensuring quality of survey activities and survey outputs at all stages of the survey implementation. Based on the outcome of the quality control report of the pilot survey, a number of quality control measures were further adopted in order to ensure reliability of the data collection, such as the translation of the

⁴⁶ Nigeria is made up of 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs) with a total of 662,529 Enumeration Areas (EAs), with an average of 856 EAs per LGA.

⁴⁷ The 2015 population data are based on 2005 baseline data and were updated using the growth rate generated in 2006 by National Population Commission in each state and the FCT.

questionnaire into the local language, updating the household listing frame to include extra households to serve as possible replacement for non-effective interviews and additional logic and consistency checks on the electronic device adopted for fieldwork (Computer Assisted Personal Interview device). In order to ensure that the survey questionnaire appropriately addressed the research objective, the research instrument was checked to ensure the questions were arranged in logical sequence, to check that the routing and interview instructions were in logical order and that the questions were consistent with the research objectives.

Before the main survey, the questionnaire was translated into Pidgin English and the three main languages spoken in the geo-political zones of Nigeria, namely Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa. The translations were checked to ensure that the questions were correctly interpreted. To ensure the quality of the translations, relevant parts of the translated questionnaires were also translated back to the original English.

Training and field work

The first level of preparation — the Training of Trainers (TOT) — included Trainers, Monitors and Coordinators and was held in Abuja. Participants were staff of NBS, UNODC and PSI. The second level training, or zonal training, was held in 12 states, each of the 6 geo-political zones duly represented. During this training, a day apiece was fully dedicated to training on Paper and Pencil Interviewing and the Computer-Assisted Personal Interview device, to ensure all field interviewers had a full understanding of all the modules in the questionnaire. Another day was used for field practice to prepare interviewers for the full exercise at various designated clusters.

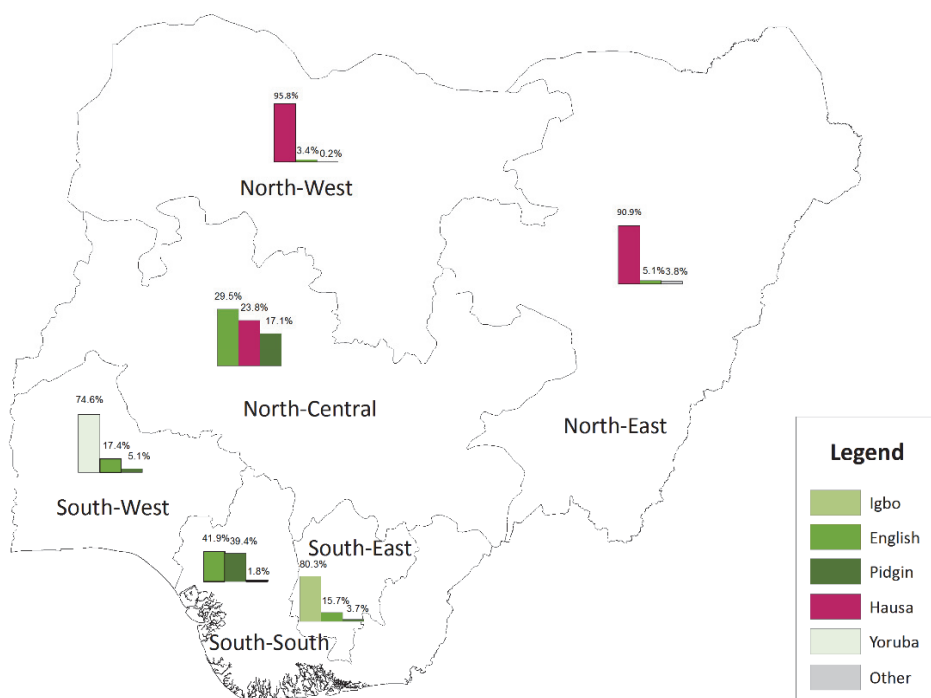
For the field work, two teams of five people each (four interviewers and one supervisor) were constituted in each state, for a total of 74 teams with 296 interviewers and 74 supervisors.⁴⁸ In addition to supervisors, two field monitors per state and one coordinator per zone ensured proper conduct of interviews and quality control. Field teams completed each EA before moving to the next EA to enable close contact and feedback from the supervisor. In addition, PSI deployed its own team of 74 quality control officers (two per state) plus six coordinators and three managers, who provided an additional layer of supervision and quality monitoring. For quality control, PSI conducted 3,391 back checks (interviews are repeated and compared) and 1,719 accompanying interviews (PSI observed the interview in situ), corresponding to 10 per cent and 5 per cent of all interviews, respectively. In its comprehensive final quality report, PSI stated that generally there were no major issues that could have derailed the data-gathering process.

⁴⁸ The minimum qualification for field interviewers of NBS is a National Diploma (ND) in a numeric field such as mathematics, economics, statistics, sociology, etc. Field personnel are usually recruited locally and are based in their state to ensure a good understanding of English as well as local languages. When conducting any particular survey, priority is also given to those who have previous experience in similar surveys.

Language versions

Interviews were conducted in five main languages (English, Pidgin English, Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa), with additional language requirements covered by qualified interviewers in their native languages. The following map shows the main languages in which the interviews were conducted by zone.

Map 4 Three main languages in which the interviews were held, by zone, Nigeria (2016)



Data entry and data cleaning

In most cases, the Computer Assisted Personal Interview with a hand-held device was used to capture the data during the interview. Consequently, immediately after the interview, or during the debriefing of interviewers by the supervisor at the end of the working day, data were automatically uploaded to the central NBS Data Processing Centre in Abuja.

In a first stage, the raw data were processed and cleaned for obvious errors by qualified NBS staff. In a second stage, the data were transformed to SPSS and sent to UNODC Vienna for further analysis and processing. Detailed cleaning of inconsistent data points and obvious outliers resulting from erroneous data entries was performed and a final data set prepared for analysis by UNODC, before data were analysed for tabulation and report writing.

PART 2 – Key indicators

In this report, three key indicators are used to understand the extent to which bribery is affecting the lives of Nigerians

- I. prevalence of bribery
- II. frequency of bribery (or average number of bribes paid)
- III. average and total annual amount paid in bribes

All formulas described below have been multiplied by the weighting factor (**W**) illustrated above in order to align all the findings to actual population figures.

I. Prevalence of bribery

The estimate of the **prevalence of bribery (P)** is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by a public official (**B**), on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official (**C**).

In other words, letting

$i = 1, \dots, N$ Nigerian adult (in the sample)

$c = 1, \dots, C$ Nigerian adult who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey

$b = 1, \dots, B$ Nigerian adult who had at least one contact with a public official and *who paid, or was asked for a bribe* by a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey

$k = 1, \dots, K$ Nigerian adult who had at least one contact with a public official and *who paid* a bribe by a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey

$j = 1, \dots, J$ Public official receiving the bribe

with $N \supseteq C \supseteq B \supseteq K$

The prevalence of bribery is obtained as:

$$P = \frac{\frac{B}{C}}{\frac{N}{C}} = \frac{B}{N}$$

This definition of the prevalence of bribery follows the formula/is valid for the calculation of the SDG indicator 16.5.1. "Proportion of persons who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked for a bribe by those public officials, during the previous 12 months".

II. Frequency of bribery

The **frequency of bribery (F)** (also called “**average number of bribes paid**” in the report), is calculated as the average number of times bribe-payers paid a bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

In other words, defining x_k as number of bribes paid to any public official by the k -th bribe payer in the 12 months prior to the survey (where the number of bribes paid by each Nigerian adult is the sum of the bribes paid by him/her to the different types of public officials, that is $x_k = \sum_{j=1}^J x_{kj}$), the frequency of bribery is obtained as:

$$F = \frac{1}{K} \sum_{k=1}^K x_k$$

III. Total annual amount paid in bribes

The estimate of the **total annual amount paid in bribes (T)** in Nigeria is obtained by multiplying the estimated total number of bribes paid in cash in Nigeria in the 12 years prior to the survey (**D**) by the average amount paid as the last cash bribe (**A**).

- Total number of bribes paid in cash (D)

Letting d_k as the number of bribes paid in cash by bribe-payer k -th to any public official, and q (equal to 91.9 %) the share of bribes paid in cash out of all bribes, the estimated total number of bribes paid in cash (**D**) is the sum of the bribes paid in cash by all K bribe payers, that is:

$$D = \sum_k^K d_k = \sum_k^K x_k * q$$

- Average amount of bribes paid in cash (A)

Letting $r = 1, \dots, R$ the last bribe paid in cash by k -th bribe-payer, and a_r the amount paid for that bribe, the average amount paid in cash (**A**) is equal to:

$$A = \frac{1}{R} \sum_{r=1}^R a_r$$

Therefore, the estimate of the total annual amount of bribes paid in cash in Nigeria is calculated as

$$T = D * A$$



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