



NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS

Corruption in Nigeria: Patterns and Trends

Second Survey on Corruption as Experienced by the Population

In collaboration With The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and UK Aid

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Preface

The fight against corruption has remained a constant priority for the Government of H.E. President Muhammadu Buhari since its inception in 2015. Corruption has been identified as one of the main spoilers of Nigeria's ambition to achieve the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and, in particular, of its aspiration to lift more than 100 million Nigerians out of poverty in the next 10 years. The efforts made to prevent and counter corruption in its various manifestations have earned Mr. President the role of the African Union's Anti-Corruption Champion. This survey is yet another example of Nigeria's leadership in the fight against corruption and is testimony to the seriousness of purpose of the Government's anti-corruption agenda.

This second survey on bribery and other forms of corruption, which was conducted in May and June 2019, covered more than 33,000 households across the country, providing data for each of the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory. The survey's primary focus is to assess the actual experiences of Nigerians whenever they come into contact with up to 20 different types of public official. The survey also evaluates the likelihood of citizens being approached for the payment of bribes as well as the frequency of such requests and payments. It also provides insights into citizens' attitudes towards corruption, their readiness to refuse requests for bribes and to report corruption incidents. For the first time, the survey provides data on bribery and nepotism in public sector recruitment as well as the phenomenon of vote-buying. It does this by breaking down this information by sex, age, educational background and economic status.

The results of this second survey on corruption in Nigeria provide the Government and the people of Nigeria with an opportunity to assess not only the achievements that have been recorded in the process of tackling corruption, but also the framework for evaluating the impact of related progress. The survey can also assist in identifying possible gaps in the anti-corruption agenda and in recalibrating, refocusing and adjusting, where needed. It is our sincere hope that this survey will make an important contribution in the fight against corruption in terms of further enhancing its effectiveness and benefits for the people of Nigeria.



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Scope of bribery

Bribery in Nigeria is slightly less prevalent than three years ago

Out of all Nigerian citizens who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey, 30.2 per cent paid a bribe to, or were asked to pay a bribe by, a public official. This means that, although still relatively high, the prevalence of bribery in Nigeria has undergone a moderate, yet statistically significant, decrease since 2016, when it stood at 32.3 per cent.

Three out of the country's six zones (North-East, North-West and South-West) have recorded decreases in the prevalence of bribery since 2016, with the North-West experiencing a considerable (and statistically significant) decline in the prevalence of bribery, from 36 to 25 per cent, while the two other zones recorded smaller decreases. By contrast, the North-Central, South-East and South-South zones recorded further increases in the prevalence of bribery from 2016 to 2019.

The prevalence of bribery may have decreased but the frequency of bribe-paying has not

Although a smaller percentage of Nigerians that had contact with public officials paid bribes, or were asked to pay bribes, those who did pay bribes continued to do so quite frequently: in 2019, Nigerian bribe-payers paid an average of 6 bribes in the 12 months prior to the survey, or one bribe every two months, which is virtually the same as the average of 5.8 bribes paid per bribe-payer in 2016. As a result, it is estimated that some 117 million bribes are paid in Nigeria on a yearly basis, the equivalent of 1.1 bribes per adult.

An increasing number of Nigerians are in contact with public officials

The 2019 survey shows a notable increase since 2016, from 52 to 63 per cent, in the overall proportion of Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey. This can be interpreted as a positive sign for the provision of public services in Nigeria.



Healthcare professionals, namely doctors, nurses and midwives, and public utility officials are the two types of public official with whom the largest share (31 per cent each) of Nigerians had at least one contact in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey. Police officers came a close third, with 30 per cent.

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Contradictory perceptions of corruption have little to do with the reality of bribery in Nigeria

Differently from actual trends of bribery experience, more than half of Nigerians believe that corruption increased in the two years prior to the 2019 survey. Furthermore, the analysis of the list of the most pressing problems afflicting their country, as reported by Nigerian citizens in 2019, shows that corruption has moved from 3rd to 5th position, as there has been a sharp increase in the level of public concern about security and health issues. Around 9 per cent of Nigerians considered corruption to be the most important problem facing their country, a significant decrease from the 14 per cent recorded in the 2016 survey. These findings all point to the fact that the perception of the public, whose understanding of the issue is of the utmost importance, does not always reflect the actual occurrence or experience of corruption, as they can be influenced by numerous factors, including the emergence of other priorities at the national level.

Bribery in the private sector continues to be much less prevalent and frequent than in the public sector

The payment of bribes to private sector employees is much less prevalent than to public officials: the prevalence of private sector bribery in 2019 was 5.7 per cent, while the prevalence of public sector bribery was 30 per cent. Furthermore, the number of bribes paid per bribe-payer to private sector employees in the 12 months prior to the

survey was 3.3 versus 6.0 paid to public officials. The prevalence of private sector bribery was virtually the same in 2019 as in 2016 (5.5 per cent), whereas the average number of bribes paid increased from 2.4 to 3.3. However, patterns in the two sectors are not directly comparable as the regulatory frameworks are as different as the types of interaction between citizens and employees of the two sectors.

How bribery works

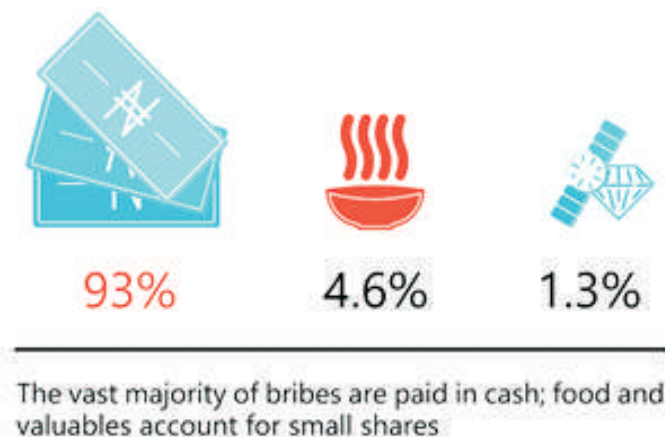
Public officials continue to be brazen about bribe requests, but less so than in the past

Bribery dealings can be initiated in different ways: direct bribery requests by a public official accounted for 60 per cent of all bribery transactions in Nigeria in 2019, representing a moderate decrease from the 66 per cent recorded in the 2016 survey. As in 2016, indirect requests for a bribe accounted for 20 per cent of all bribery transactions, while spontaneous payments to facilitate or to accelerate a procedure accounted for 8 per cent. Some 5 per cent of bribes were also paid with no prior request from the bribe-taker as a sign of appreciation to a public official for services rendered.

Around two thirds of bribes (67 per cent) are paid before a service is provided by a public official, according to the 2019 survey, a proportion only slightly smaller than the 70 per cent recorded in the 2016 survey. The consistently large share of bribes paid in anticipation of a service to be rendered by a public official is an indication that bribes are often requested before action is taken to deliver a service.

Cash continues to be the dominant type of bribe

More than 93 per cent of all bribes paid in 2019 were paid in cash, a slightly larger share than in 2016. According to the 2019 survey, the average cash bribe paid is 5,754 Nigerian Naira (NGN), a sum equivalent to roughly \$52 in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). Overall, it is estimated that a total of roughly NGN 675 billion was paid in cash bribes to public officials in Nigeria in 2019, corresponding to 0.52 per cent of the entire Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Nigeria. The economic cost of bribery becomes even more palpable when considering that, on average, bribe-payers pay an amount equivalent to 6 per cent of the average annual income of Nigerians.

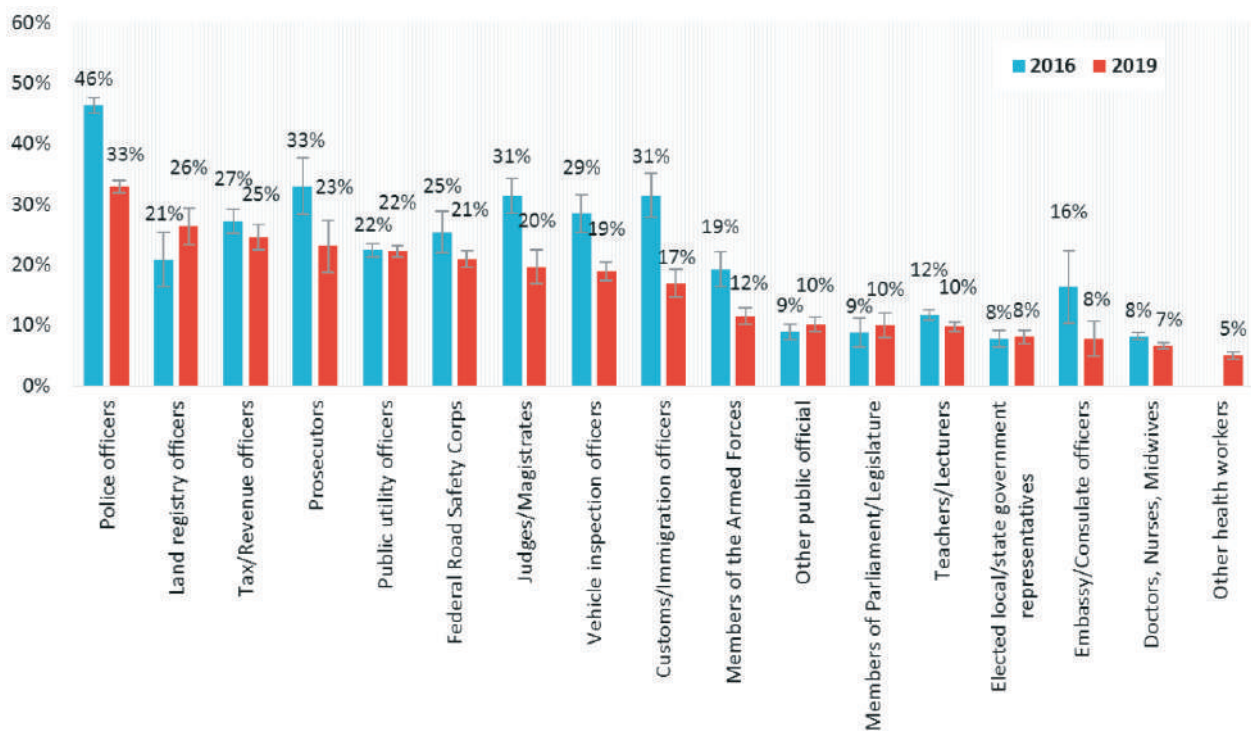


Who takes bribes

Positive signs about bribery and the criminal justice sector

The prevalence of bribery in relation to several types of public official has decreased significantly since 2016. The greatest change is in relation to police officers, meaning that the share of people who paid a bribe to a police officer, out of all those who had at least one contact with a police officer in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey, decreased from 46 to 33 per cent. The prevalence of bribery in relation to prosecutors decreased from 33 to 23 per cent, judges/magistrates from 31 to 20 per cent, customs and immigration officers from 31 to 17 per cent and embassy/consulate officers from 16 to 8 per cent. The decrease in the prevalence of bribery in relation to customs/immigration officers, judges/magistrates and police officers was particularly significant in rural areas, but less so in urban areas. By contrast, the overall prevalence of bribery increased in relation to just a few types of public official, among them land registry officers.

Prevalence of bribery, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Public officials who are entrusted with some of the core functions of the State, not least those involved in law enforcement and administering justice, account for some of the largest shares of direct bribe requests: in around two thirds of all bribes paid to police, prosecutors or judges/magistrates and members of the Armed Forces, the bribe payment was initiated by a direct request by these officials.

Foot Note

1. Meaning that 21.6 per cent of women living in rural areas paid a bribe to a public official, out of all women living in rural areas who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey.

Who pays bribes

Urban men are almost twice as likely as rural women to pay bribes

As in the 2016 survey, a significant disparity in the prevalence of bribery between men and women was also noted in the 2019 survey. This disparity becomes even larger when factoring in the urban/rural dimension, as the data show that women living in rural areas are those least likely to pay bribes (21.6 per cent), whereas men living in urban areas are the most likely (39.3 per cent). To a lesser extent there was also a consistent disparity between men and women in the average number of bribes paid. When looking at the age-specific pattern of bribery prevalence by sex, an interesting aspect about the age of bribe-payers in Nigeria can be observed: at a prevalence of 39 per cent, the peak among men aged 25–34 is much more pronounced, while there is almost no variation across age groups among women.



Men are more likely than women to pay a bribe

The socioeconomic gap in bribe-paying is widening

The difference in the prevalence of bribery between the most and least educated groups in Nigeria widened from 9 to 18 percentage points from 2016 to 2019, which was driven by a limited and decreasing experience of bribery among people with a lower level of education in the population. In both the 2016 and 2019 surveys, it was found that the higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the prevalence of bribery. More specifically, in the 2019 survey, Nigerians with the highest level of (tertiary) education were almost twice as likely as people with no formal education to report that they had paid a bribe when in contact with a public official. A similar pattern exists in relation to economic status indicators of households, as the prevalence and frequency of bribery of the most prosperous households in Nigeria are more than double those of the poorest.

Foot Note

2. The prevalence of bribery among the most educated was 37.7 per cent in 2016 and 39.9 per cent in 2019; the prevalence of bribery among the least educated was 28.6 per cent in 2016 and 22.5 per cent in 2019.

Why bribes are paid

An increasing share of bribes are paid for speeding up procedures and for avoiding fines

According to the 2019 survey, almost one in two bribes (45 per cent) are paid for the purpose of speeding up or finalizing an administrative procedure. In a large share of cases, bribes are paid for purely speeding up a procedure (38 per cent), while the share of bribes paid to avoid the payment of a fine reached 21 per cent in 2019.

Accounting for 26 per cent of all bribe payments, the most common service sought when paying a bribe in the 2019 survey was a public utility service, followed by the issuance of an administrative licence or permit. Other commonly sought services reported in the 2019 survey include a medical visit, exam or intervention, the issuance of an administrative certificate or document or of a tax declaration or exemption, and the import/export of goods. Furthermore, around 3 per cent of cases were related to payments to the police for “bail from jail”, a type of payment that does not refer to the legal type of bail administered by courts, but rather to payments extracted by corrupt officials for the release of arrestees from jail prior to the formal commencement of a trial.

The proportional distribution of services was remarkably similar in both the 2019 and 2016 surveys, with rare exceptions. This similarity suggests the motivations and reasons for the payment of bribes remain consistent, at least in the short-term.

How citizens respond to bribery

Nigerian public officials continue to meet with little resistance when requesting bribes

When confronted with a bribe request, just one in five Nigerians (19 per cent) refused to pay, a slight increase since 2016 (16 per cent). The power relationship between public officials and citizens typically favours the former and when a public official elicits a bribe, they tend to be successful and do so with impunity – an outcome that may embolden corrupt officials to make even more bribe requests.

Worse still, 48 per cent of adult Nigerians who refused to pay a bribe in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey reported suffering negative consequences because of that refusal, although this share has decreased from the 56 per cent found in the 2016 survey.

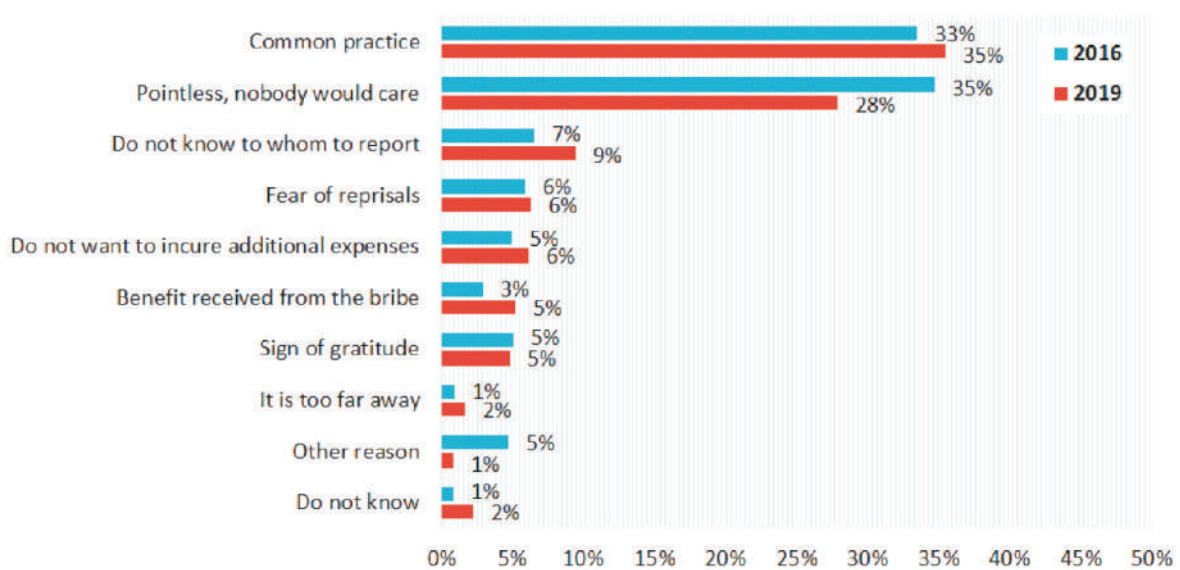
Mechanisms for reporting bribery remain the Achilles' heel of the anti-corruption system

In 2019, out of all citizens who had to pay a bribe, only 3.6 per cent reported their latest bribe payment to an official institution capable of conducting an investigation or otherwise following up and acting on that report. Although this situation has remained virtually unchanged since 2016, when the bribery reporting rate was 3.7 per cent, a significantly smaller proportion of bribery reports were made to the police in 2019 than in 2016 (out of all bribe-

payers who reported the bribery incident to an authority in 2016, 56 per cent reported it to the police, versus 43 per cent in 2019) and, by contrast, reports to anti-corruption agencies increased from 4 to 8 per cent.

The low level of bribery reporting is largely explained by the fact that 51 per cent of those who reported a bribery incident experienced either no follow-up, were discouraged from reporting or suffered negative consequences. Furthermore, the main reasons for not reporting a bribe, among those who experienced a bribe, were that paying a bribe is such a common practice in Nigeria that it is not worth reporting it (35 per cent of all bribe-payers who did not report the incident) and that filing a report would be pointless as nobody would care (28 per cent).

Prevalence of bribery, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Nepotism and vote-buying

Recruitment in the public sector, an area in need of improvement

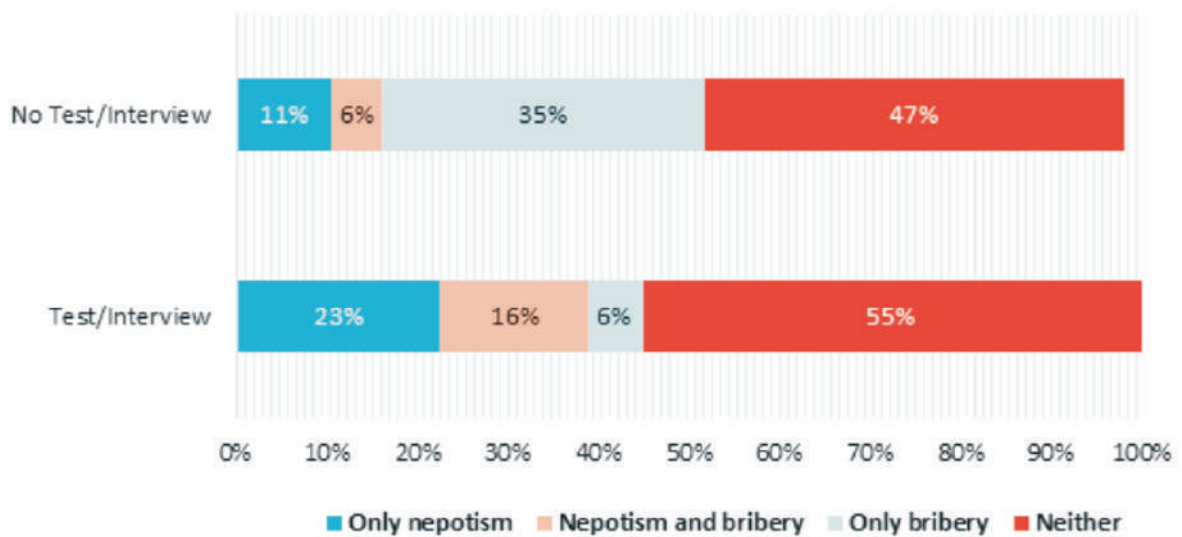
The selection process used to recruit public officials plays a crucial role in shaping the culture of integrity that should drive the civil service as well as ensure that new recruits have the highest standards of professionalism and merit. However, the survey findings indicate that the public sector recruitment process requires closer monitoring as almost one third (32.5 per cent) of people who secured a job in the public sector in the last three years admitted that they paid a bribe, either personally (16.4 per cent) or through a member of their household (16.1 per cent), to facilitate their recruitment, more than double the share in 2016, when the combined total reached 16 per cent.

The 2019 survey also found evidence that a considerable number of people recruited into the public sector secured their posts with the help of a friend or relative, many in addition to paying a bribe: of all successful applicants surveyed in the last three years, 28 per cent were helped by friends or relatives. Indeed, almost half of all public sector applicants in Nigeria are still hired as a result of nepotism, bribery or both.

Transparent recruitment process can reduce corrupt practices

The 2019 survey data show that approximately half of those who secured a position in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey passed a written test and/or oral interview during the recruitment selection process. Importantly, the data suggest that the means of selection had a role in facilitating or preventing the use of illegal practices during recruitment. Among those who underwent an assessment procedure (written test/oral interview), 6 per cent made use of bribery, while the share was as much as 35 per cent among those who were not formally assessed.

Share of successful applicants for public sector positions who used nepotism, bribery or both, by completion of written test and/or interview, Nigeria, 2019



More than one out of five citizens were offered a bribe for their vote in the last election

In May/June 2019, 21 per cent of the adult population of Nigeria reported that in the last national or state election they were personally offered money or a favour in exchange for their vote. This practice needs to be tackled properly in order to increase confidence in the electoral process, as 86 per cent of the population reported that they perceived electoral fraud to happen either very frequently or fairly frequently in Nigeria.



Introduction

In July 2017, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), in partnership with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), published *Corruption in Nigeria – Bribery: public experience and response*. Conducted in 2016, the survey detailed in that report is the first comprehensive nationwide household survey on corruption to be conducted in Nigeria and in Africa as a whole. It covered all the states in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, including the Federal Capital Territory. The report provided valuable and reliable information and complemented other efforts aimed at deploying the use of data and statistics to enhance understanding of the nature and magnitude of corruption in Nigeria.

To measure if progress has been made in the fight against corruption since the 2016 survey, and to determine in which areas more needs to be done, the Government of Nigeria decided to carry out a second corruption survey in 2019, using the same methodology and coverage as in 2016. This report details the result of the second survey, with an emphasis on current corruption patterns and trends over the three-year period from 2016 to 2019. In doing so, it effectively highlights areas of progress and areas that continue to present grave concerns. The implementation of the survey and work on the preparation of this report were made possible with the financial support of the Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom.

Measuring corruption through experience-based corruption surveys

As acknowledged by international statistical standards, the effective measurement of patterns of and trends in bribery and other forms of corruption requires experience-based sample surveys to be conducted. Experience-based surveys can avoid the pitfalls of both administrative data on corruption (namely the pervasive undercounting of undetected and unreported cases) and the shortcomings of perception-based corruption studies (which by definition capture opinions rather than the actual phenomenon). When well designed and implemented to the highest standards, experience-based surveys on corruption can measure both levels of and trends in bribery and forms of corruption.

The importance of monitoring trends and patterns of corruption through experience-based surveys has also been recognized by the international community in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Under Sustainable Development Goal 16 on “Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions”, the main indicator chosen to monitor progress towards target 16.5 (“Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms”) among the population is indicator 16.5.1 (“prevalence of bribery”), which is one of the main indicators examined in this report and is therefore instrumental to the monitoring of the achievement of the target.

The administrative bribery covered by the 2016 and 2019 surveys is the type of corruption that most affects the daily lives of ordinary citizens in Nigeria. By affecting a significant portion of their interactions with public officials, the compounded effects of administrative bribery can make it just as destructive to society as higher profile grand corruption schemes that misappropriate public funds. Recurring requests for bribes erode the rule of law, disrupt

the fair allocation of resources and reduce accessibility to public services. Bribery also places a heavy burden on the whole population and has a toxic effect on the fair and efficient functioning of the public administration. Given the pervasiveness and persistence of bribery in Nigeria, as evidenced by both the 2016 and 2019 surveys, it is a form of corruption that seriously threatens the integrity of public services and thus Nigerian citizens' faith in the administration and even the Government.

Foot Note

3. UNODC, *Corruption in Nigeria – Bribery: public experience and response* (Vienna, 2017)
4. For more information on corruption surveys, as well as recent examples from around the world, see: UNODC, *Manual on Corruption Surveys* (Vienna, 2018). Available at <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/corruption.html>.
5. United Nations General Assembly, *Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, A/RES/70/1 of 21 October 2015.

The 2019 corruption survey in Nigeria

Like the 2016 corruption survey, the 2019 survey was implemented by NBS in partnership with UNODC. Following the process and methodology adopted in 2016, the 2019 survey is based on data collected in a large-scale household survey (33,000 households) on corruption conducted in May/June 2019. A minimum of 900 interviews were conducted in each of the country's 36 states, the Federal Capital Territory and, so that results on the prevalence of bribery are representative of the country as a whole, its six zones.

As part of the activities aimed at ensuring the integrity and accuracy of data, a quality assurance programme of the whole survey process was designed by NBS and UNODC and implemented by two independent parties: Practical Sampling International (PSI), a Lagos-based consultancy group, which specializes in sample surveys; and an ad-hoc consortium of researchers drawn from the pool of quality assurance/survey research experts in the Nigerian federal public university system (University of Ibadan, University of Ilorin and Obafemi Awolowo University), which jointly carried out field research and quality assurance on a random sample of interviews conducted in different languages across the states of Nigeria.

A National Steering Committee (NSC), including all the major anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria that had participated in the 2016 survey, was established and involved from the outset in the overall guidance of survey implementation. For additional inputs, in 2018 the NSC was expanded to include several civil society organizations active in anti-corruption advocacy and research. In addition, a National Technical Committee (NTC), composed of a sub-set of the NSC, UNODC and other relevant organizations in the anti-corruption sector of Nigeria was established. The NSC was involved in the launch of the survey activities and the NTC was responsible for developing the survey instrument for the 2019 survey, while ensuring comparability with the 2016 survey.

In the fight against corruption, 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. 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. In addition, for the first time, the second corruption survey conducted in Nigeria in 2019 enables the measurement of corruption trends, which highlights the geographical areas, State institutions and administrative procedures, both where improvements could be achieved and where the situation has worsened. This helps the good practices that have contributed to the observed differences in outcomes to be identified and the areas where greater effort is needed. In this way, this report charts the way ahead for the fight against corruption in Nigeria in the years to come.

Foot Note

6. *In addition, extensive qualitative research on modalities and patterns of corruption through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were carried out by this research consortium in four selected Nigerian states in July/August 2019 in order to support data interpretation and analysis.*
7. *In the 2019 survey, some questions on attitudes and perceptions were dropped, while new questions on nepotism in recruitment, promotion and access to public services were added.*

Scope of Bribery

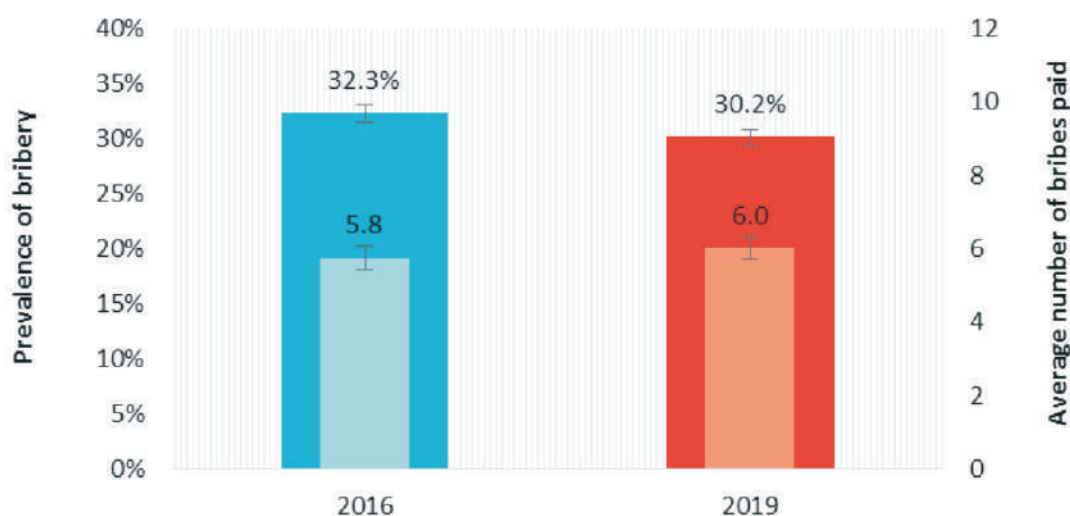
In the majority of their interactions with public officials, citizens actively seek services from public institutions and public servants, including public utility officers, doctors, teachers and land registry officials, or are provided with public services such as security by police officers and justice by judges and district attorneys. This chapter provides an overview of the geographic spread of bribery in such scenarios in Nigeria, by looking at the prevalence and frequency of bribery from the national to the zonal and state levels, and their development since the previous survey in 2016. The chapter also looks in depth at the extent of contact between citizens and public officials across Nigeria, as well as the perceptions of Nigerians about corruption. It concludes with an analysis of bribery in the private sector.

Prevalence and frequency of bribery

As set out in target 16.5 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, which seeks to substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms, the prevalence of bribery is effectively the proportion of citizens who paid at least one bribe to a public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by a public official but did not do so, in the 12 months prior to the survey, relative to all citizens who had at least one contact with a public official over the same period.

Of all Nigerian citizens surveyed who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey, 30.2 per cent paid a bribe to, or were asked to pay a bribe by, a public official. This means that, although still relatively high, the prevalence of bribery in Nigeria has undergone a moderate, yet statistically significant, decrease since 2016, when it stood at 32.3 per cent.

Figure 1: Prevalence and frequency of bribery at the national level, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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.

However, while a smaller percentage of Nigerians who had contact with public officials paid bribes, or were asked to pay bribes, those who did pay bribes continued to do so quite frequently: in 2019, Nigerian bribe-payers paid an average of 6 bribes in the 12 months prior to the survey, or one bribe every two months, which is roughly the same as the average of 5.8 bribes paid per bribe-payer in 2016. This results

Foot Note

8. *The target population of the survey was all residents of Nigeria aged 18 and older. All data in this report thus refer to adult residents of Nigeria, who are also referred to as "residents", "citizens" and "Nigerians".*
9. *In statistics, a "statistically significant" difference or change is one where the resulting difference or change observed using a sample has a high probability (in this case over 95 per cent) of reflecting a real change in the population from which that sample was drawn. Graphically, a statistically significant result is displayed with the help of confidence intervals. In the current study, all confidence intervals refer to a confidence level of 95 per cent. Thus, if the confidence intervals between two different years do not overlap, there is a high likelihood (over 95 per cent) that there was a real change in the indicator.*

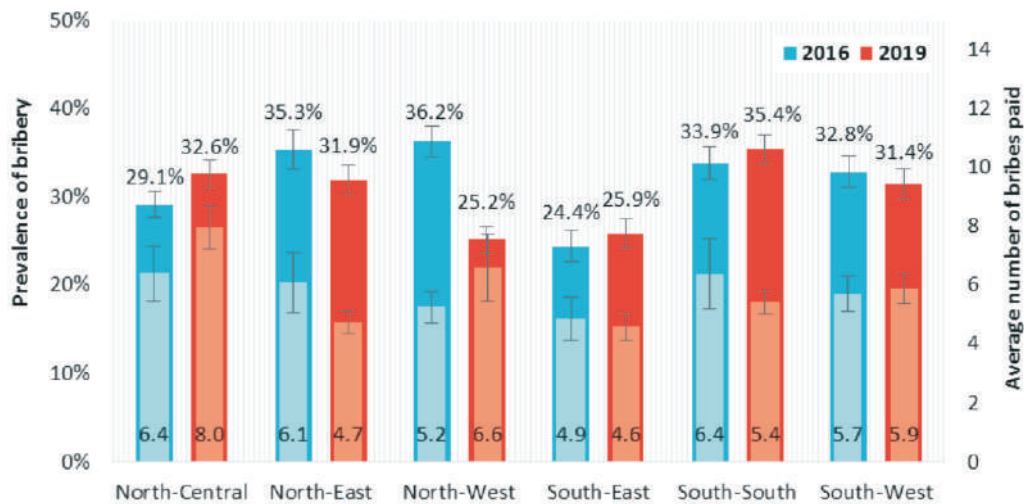
in an average of 1.1 bribes paid per adult Nigerian in 2019. Given that at that time, the adult population of the country was estimated at 107.5 million, some 117 million bribes were paid in Nigeria in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey. This not only shows the magnitude of the problem in Nigeria, but also the effectiveness of the survey methodology as a strategy for collecting information about corruption on a national scale.

Another encouraging finding to emerge from the wealth of information provided in the 2019 survey is that the overall proportion of Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey has undergone a notable increase since 2016, from 52 to 63 per cent. This increase in the contact rate between civilians and public officials can be interpreted as a highly positive sign for the provision of public services in Nigeria.

Regional dimension

There are sizable variations in the levels of and trends in bribery in each of Nigeria's six zones. The North-West and the South-East were the zones with the lowest prevalence of bribery in 2019, at 25 and 26 per cent, respectively, whereas the prevalence rate was over 30 per cent in all other zones. Three out of the country's six zones (North-East, North-West and South-West) recorded decreases in the prevalence of bribery since 2016, with the North-West experiencing a considerable (and statistically significant) decline from 36.2 to 25.2 per cent, while the two other zones recorded smaller decreases. On the other hand, the North-Central, South-East and South-South zones recorded increases in the prevalence of bribery from 2016 to 2019: the biggest increase occurred in the North-Central zone, where the prevalence of bribery rose from 29.1 to 32.6 per cent (a statistically significant increase), while the other two zones recorded smaller increases.

Figure 2: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by zone, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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.

Foot Note

10. Population estimate for 2018 provided by National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria.
11. See the Methodological annex for details of how these figures were calculated.
12. For example, the total contact rate (with any type of official) in an example of another corruption survey supported by UNODC was 82 per cent in the seven countries of the western Balkans (2010).
13. As shown in more detail below, a large part of the increase is due to a higher contact rate between citizens and doctors, teachers, public utility officers and other service providers, while a smaller but sizable part is due to an increase in the contact rate with police officers. The latter may be due to a number of factors, including a stronger police presence across Nigeria during the election campaigns in 2019 and a stronger police presence in the North-East of the country as part of the fight against Boko Haram. Indeed, the North-East experienced the largest increase (91 per cent) in the share of people that had contact with a police officer. In the other zones, the increase in the contact rate with the police varied between 27 and 65 per cent.

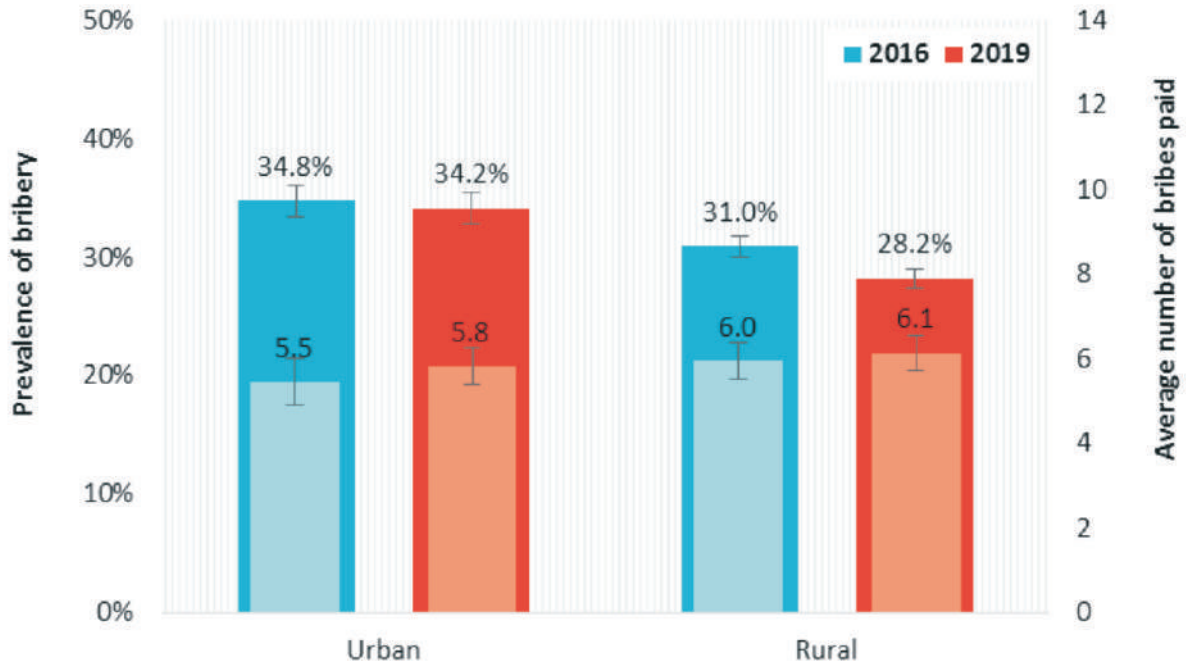
Notable regional differences were also observed in the levels of and trends in the average number of bribes paid by bribe-payers in 2016 and 2019, with particularly large increases in the North-West and North-Central zones, where the average increased from 5.2 to 6.6, and from 6.4 to 8.0, respectively. The largest declines took place in the South-South and North-East zones. In the latter, the average number of bribes paid by bribe-payers decreased significantly, from 6.1 in 2016 to 4.7 in 2019.

Urban and rural dimension

Place of residence is a strong predictor of exposure to bribery in many countries and Nigeria is no exception. In 2019, the prevalence of bribery among people living in urban areas (34 per cent) in Nigeria was around 6 percentage points higher than among those living in rural areas (28 per cent). This difference shows that in densely populated areas, where there are more opportunities for interacting with different types of public official, bribes may be more necessary for overcoming bottlenecks and facilitating the delivery of services by public officials than in less densely

populated areas. In contrast to the prevalence of bribery, the average number of bribes paid by bribe-payers is slightly larger in rural than in urban areas of Nigeria.

Figure 3: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by urban/rural area, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



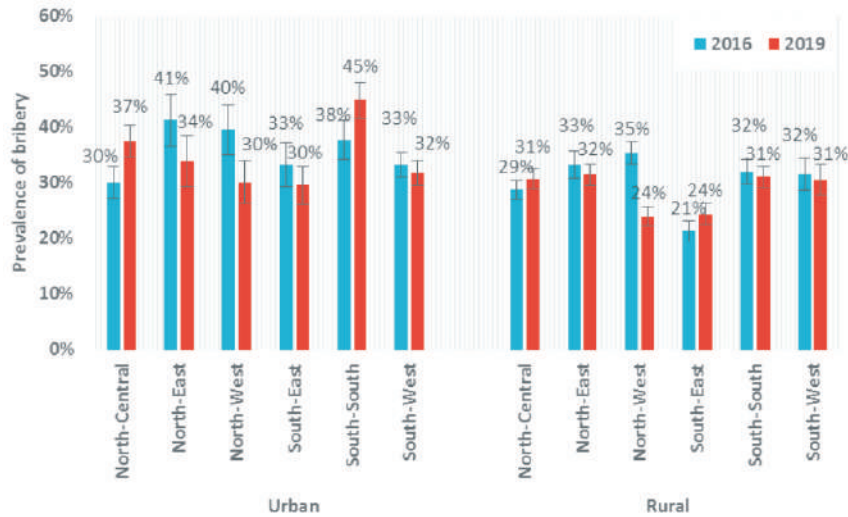
Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage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

While in 2016 the prevalence of bribery was also higher in urban areas than in rural areas (35 versus 31 per cent or 4 percentage points), the increasing urban-rural disparity is driven by two contrasting developments: first, a decline in the prevalence of bribery in the rural areas of four out of the country's six zones, especially the North-West; second, significant increases in the prevalence of bribery in the urban areas of the North-Central and South-South zones.

Foot Note

14. On average, in 2019, people living in urban areas interacted with 3.4 public officials, while in rural areas that number was just 3. In addition, based on data on the last bribe paid, 68.7 per cent of people in urban areas who paid a bribe interacted with the public official in question more than once, compared with 65.0 per cent in rural areas. These figures suggest the presence of more intensive interaction with public officials in densely populated areas.

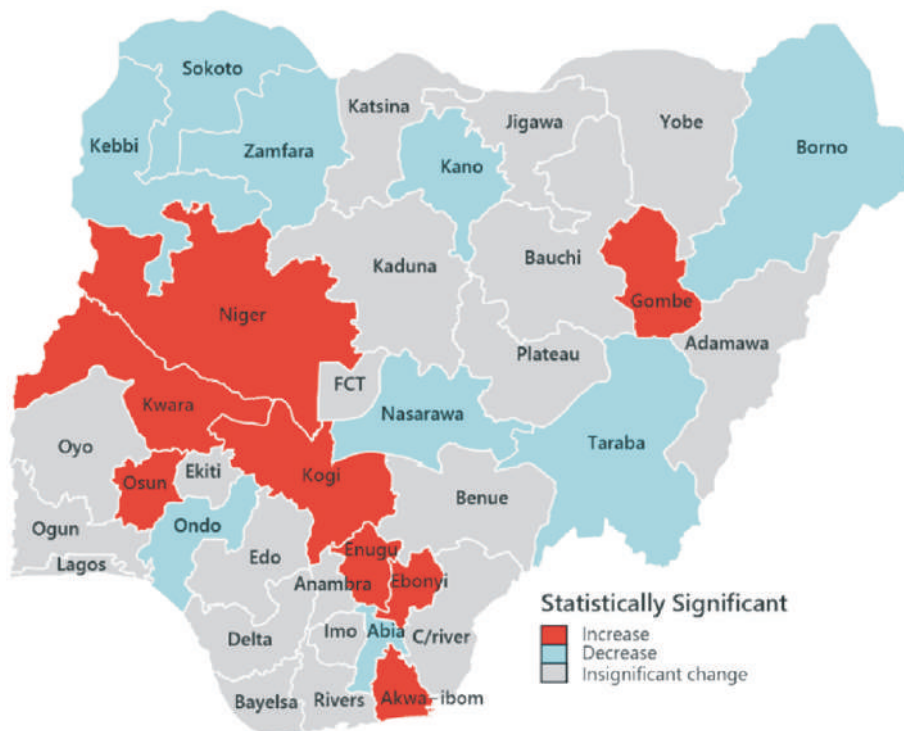
Figure 4: Prevalence of bribery, by urban/rural area and zone, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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.

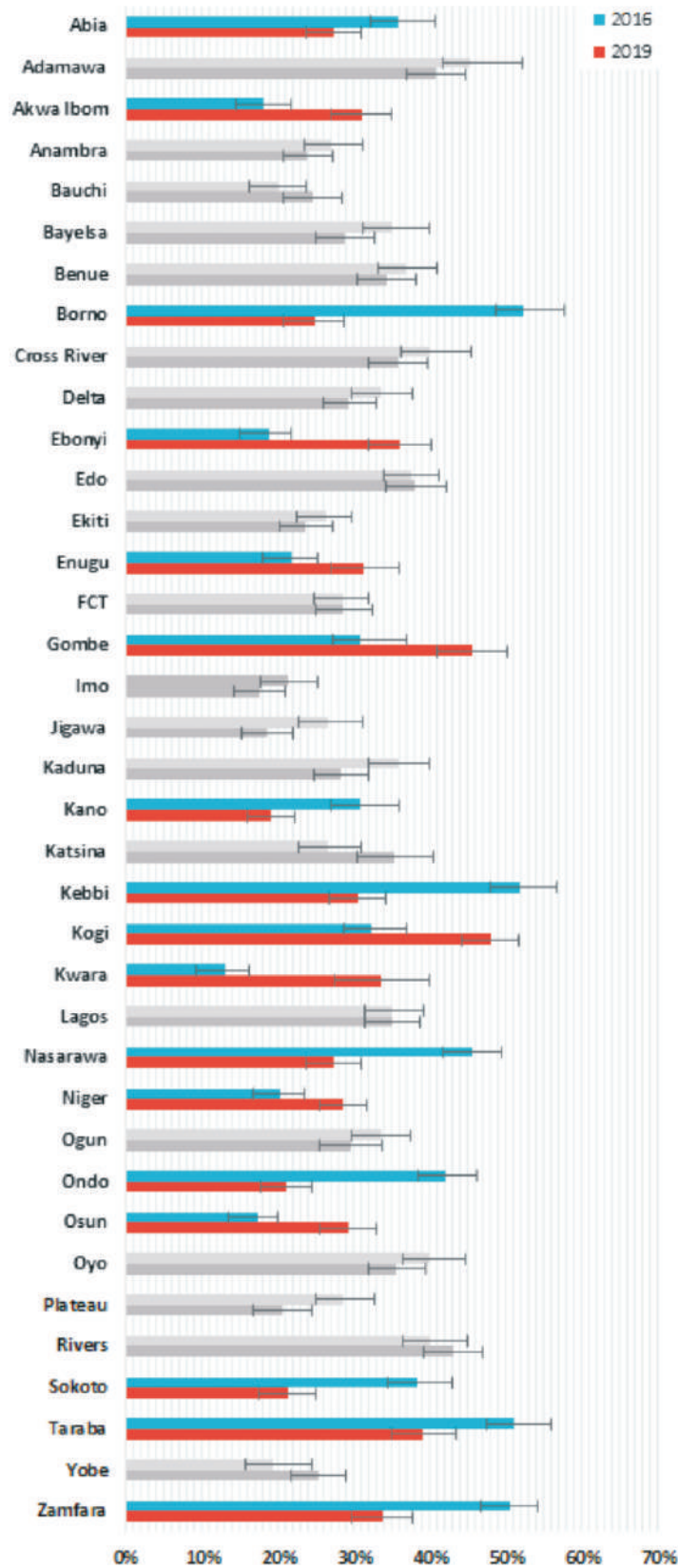
Of the 37 states in Nigeria, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), 17 recorded statistically significant changes in the prevalence of bribery from 2016 to 2019, of which nine experienced significant decreases. Ordered from the smallest to the largest decrease, those states comprised Abia, Kano, Taraba, Zamfara, Sokoto, Nasarawa, Ondo, Kebbi and Borno. By contrast, eight states experienced (statistically significant) increases in the prevalence of bribery, from 2016 to 2019. Ordered from the smallest to the largest increase, the states were Niger, Enugu, Osun, Akwa Ibom, Gombe, Kogi, Ebonyi and Kwara.

Map 1: States with a statistically significant increase or decrease in the prevalence of bribery, Nigeria, 2019



State dimension

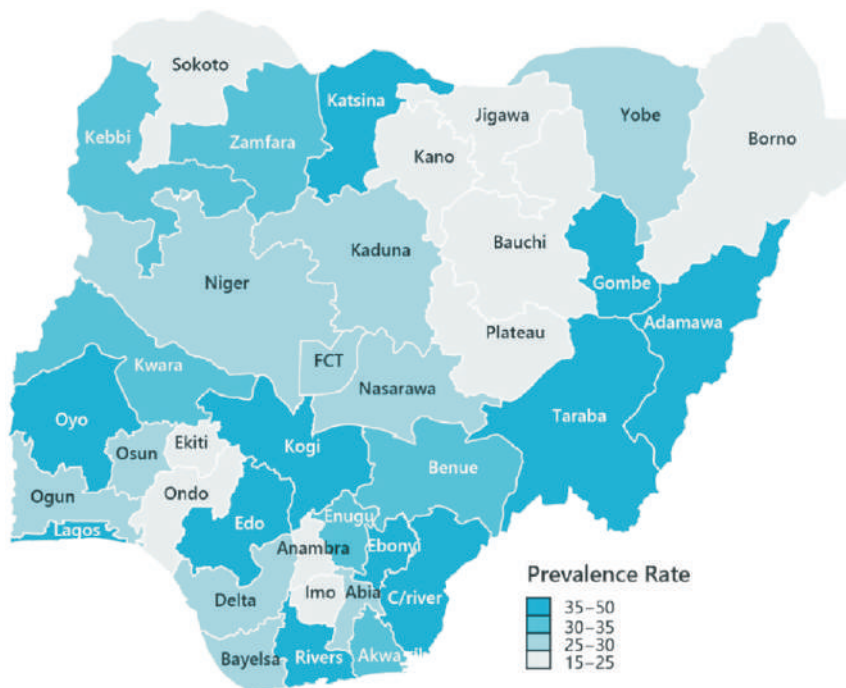
Figure 5: Prevalence of bribery at the state level (significant changes only), Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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. Coloured bars represent a statistically significant change since the 2016 survey, grey bars signify no statistically significant change.

Map 2 compares the geographical distribution of the prevalence of bribery by state in 2019. The geographical distribution of the prevalence rate at state level is not fully aligned to the prevalence rate of the respective zone, and there are states with relatively high and relatively low prevalence rates across all the zones of Nigeria. Neighbouring states with similar geographical positions and socioeconomic characteristics can have very different prevalence rates. Nevertheless, in general, states with a relatively higher prevalence of bribery tend to be concentrated in the southern part of the country. There are, however, states with an above-average prevalence of bribery in virtually all regions of the country.

Map 2: Prevalence of bribery, by state, Nigeria, 2019

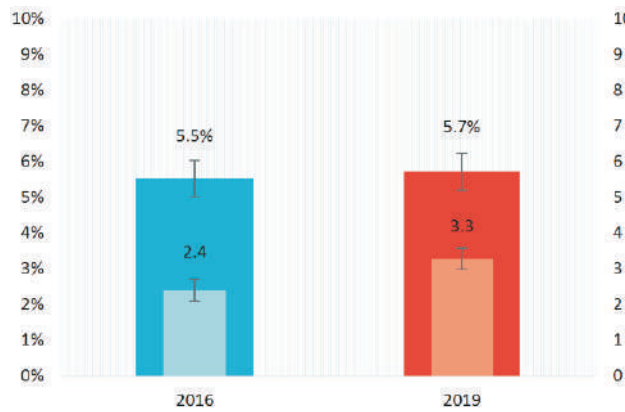


Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage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

Bribery in the private sector

The analysis so far has pertained specifically to the experience and perceptions of bribery in relation to public sector officials. However, the issue of corruption and, more specifically, of bribe-paying also extends to the private sector. In addition to public officials, both the 2016 and 2019 surveys inquired about respondents' experiences with six types of private sector employee: doctors in private hospitals, nurses in private hospitals, teachers in private schools, employees in private banks, employees in private insurance companies, and other employees in private business. In 2019, 28 per cent of citizens reported having had a contact with one such private sector employee in the 12 months prior to the survey, some 3 percentage points more than the 25 per cent in the 2016 survey.

Figure 6: Prevalence and frequency of bribery in the private sector at the national level, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

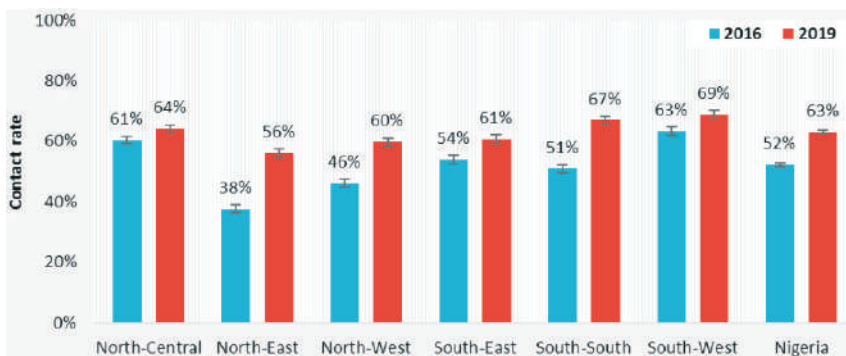


Note: The prevalence of bribery in the private sector is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe, or were asked to pay a bribe by, a private sector employee on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one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

Contact between citizens and public officials

Target 16.5 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals seeks to “substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms.” As mentioned above, one of the two indicators that tracks progress towards this goal is the prevalence of bribery among the population, defined 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.” (indicator 16.5.1). The rationale for the design of the indicator in this way is that a prevalence rate can only be sensibly measured for persons “at risk” of being exposed to a bribery situation, meaning that they must have a contact (direct or indirect) with a public official in order to pay a bribe or be asked for a bribe.

Contact rate with public officials at the national level and by zone, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The contact rate corresponds to the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of the adult Nigerian population.

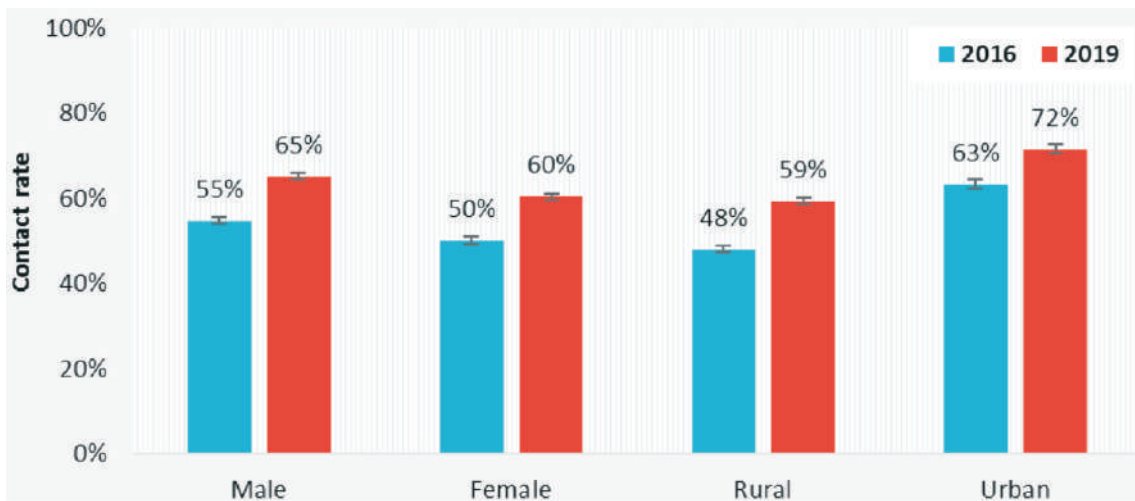
Foot Note

- 15. Available at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg16>.
- 16. The other indicator (16.5.2) is the prevalence of bribery among businesses and is similarly defined in relation to businesses.
- 17. This indicator corresponds to a ratio between two measures: the nominator in the ratio is the number of individuals who paid, or who refused to pay a bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey; the denominator is the number of individuals who had at least one contact with a public official over the same period.

While all the different zones of Nigeria, and the country overall, experienced an increase in the proportion of Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official from the 2016 survey to the 2019 survey (from 52 to 63 per cent overall), the steepest increases occurred in the North-East, North-West and South-South. This resulted in a much more uniform distribution of the contact rate with public officials in Nigeria in 2019 than in 2016.

Moreover, the contact rate with public officials increased uniformly both for women and men, and in both rural and urban areas, with that rate continuing to be 5 percentage points higher among men and 13 percentage points higher in urban areas. Further analysis shows that a very similar gender gap exists for all age groups, with a slightly lower contact rate only in the case of those aged 65+. There is also a gap in the contact rate with public officials by level of educational attainment, with a gradual increase in the contact rate the higher the educational level attained.

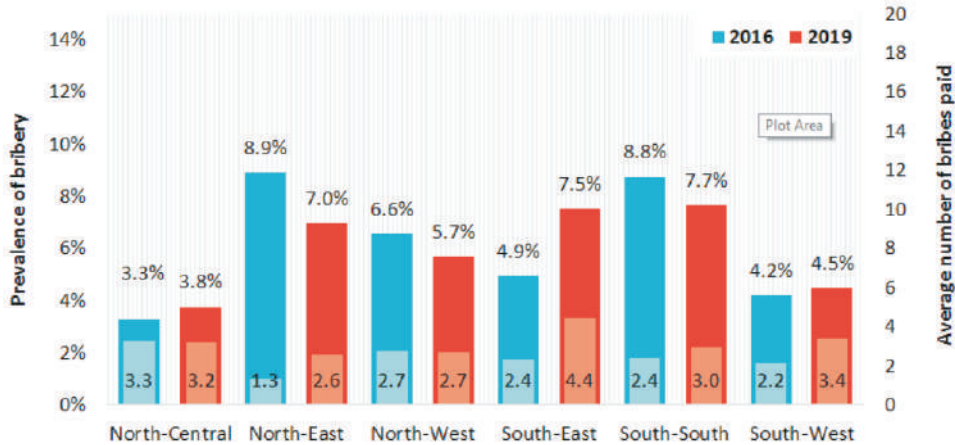
Contact rate with public officials, by urban/rural area and sex, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The contact rate corresponds to the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of the adult Nigerian population.

Not only is the contact rate between citizens and private sector employees in Nigeria much lower than between citizens and public officials, the payment of bribes to private sector employees is also much less prevalent than to public officials: the prevalence of private sector bribery in 2019 was 5.7 per cent, while the prevalence of public sector bribery was 30 per cent. Furthermore, the number of bribes paid per bribe-payer to private sector employees in the 12 months prior to the survey was 3.3, versus 6.0 paid to public officials. The prevalence of private sector bribery was virtually the same in 2019 as in 2016 (5.5 per cent), whereas the average number of bribes paid increased from 2.4 to 3.3.

Figure 7: Prevalence and frequency of bribery in the private sector, by zone, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

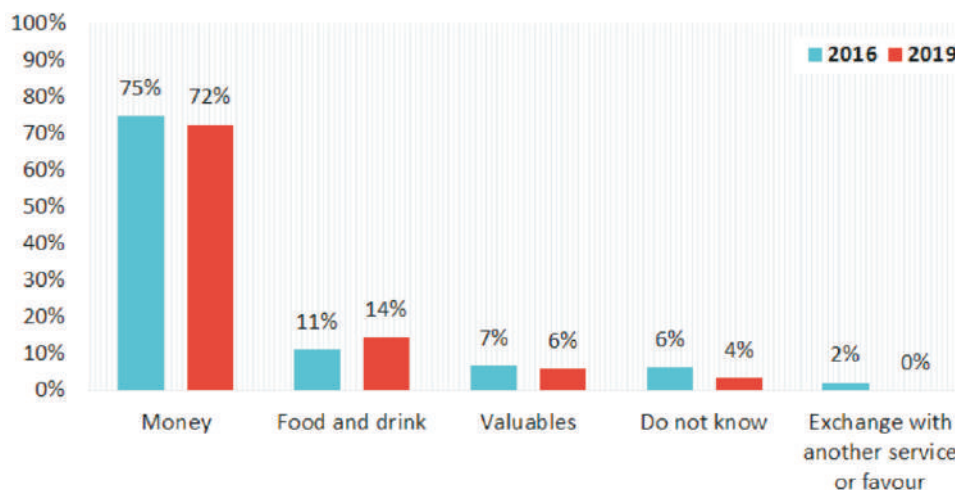


Note: The prevalence of bribery in the private sector is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe to, or were asked to pay a bribe by, a private sector employee on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one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

Although the prevalence of bribery in the private sector of Nigeria is lower than public sector bribery across all the country's zones, there are substantial variations in the prevalence of private sector bribery. The southern zones, particularly the South-South and the South-East, have the highest prevalence of private sector bribery, at 7.7 and 7.5 per cent, respectively. By contrast, in the North-Central zone, the prevalence is roughly half that, with only 3.8 per cent of adult Nigerians reporting paying a bribe to a private sector employee.

Cash bribes accounted for the vast majority of bribe payments made to private sector employees both in 2016 and 2019, at 75 per cent and 72 per cent, respectively. Other forms of payment accounted for far smaller shares, including food and drink, at 11 per cent of bribes in 2019, and valuables such as jewellery, at 6 per cent. Survey respondents did not report any exchange of services or favours as a form of bribe payment in 2019, while just 2 per cent did so in 2016.

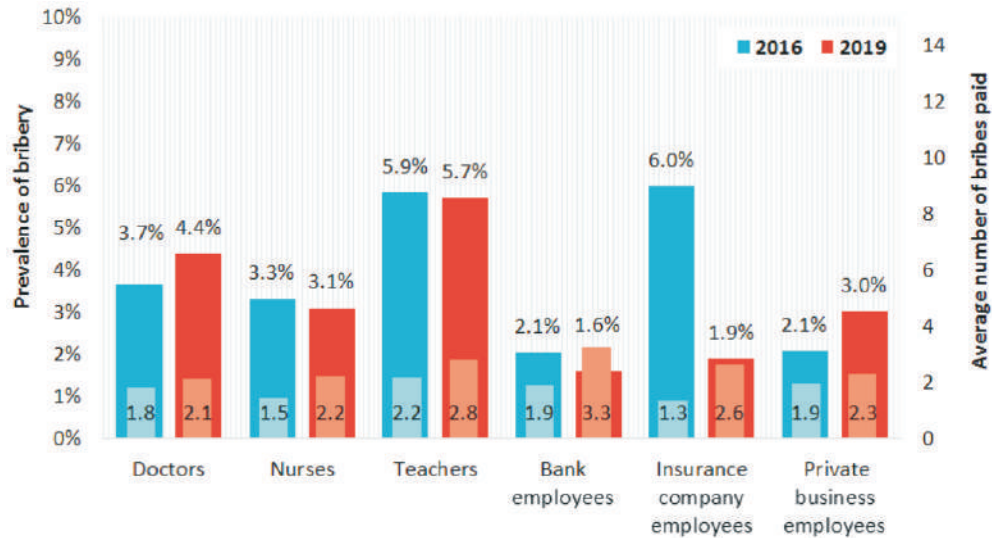
Figure 8: Percentage distribution of form of bribe-payment in the private sector, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contract with a private school teacher, around 5.7 per cent reported paying (or being requested to pay) them a bribe in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey, making teachers the private sectors employees, of those surveyed, to whom bribes were most commonly paid.

Figure 9: Prevalence and frequency of bribery in the private sector, by type of employee, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The prevalence of bribery in the private sector is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe to, or were asked to pay a bribe by, a private sector 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 a private sector 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.

There was also a relatively high prevalence of bribery in relation to private healthcare professionals, with private doctors at 4.4 per cent and nurses at 3.1 per cent. The lowest prevalence of private sector bribery in the 2019 survey was in relation to financial sector employees, specifically private bank employees (1.6 per cent), and insurance company employees (1.9 per cent).

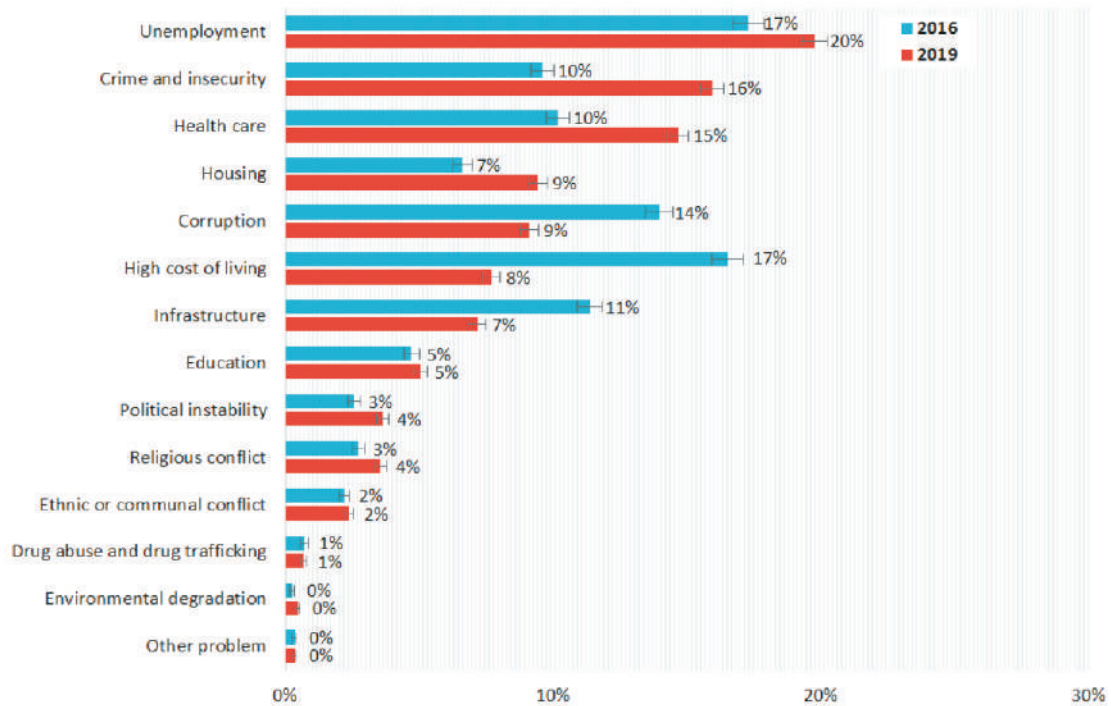
While the prevalence of bribery in relation to most private sector employees surveyed was very similar in 2016 and 2019 (e.g. teachers, nurses and bank employees), the change in relation to insurance company employees was particularly noteworthy, having dropped from 6 per cent in 2016 to 1.9 in 2019.

Perceptions of corruption and other concerns

Although public perceptions of corruption are not generally well aligned with actual experiences of corruption, meaning that perception-based indicators do not necessarily correlate well with experience-based indicators, the opinions and perceptions of the Nigerian population about corruption are important for a number of reasons. For example, popular support for anti-corruption policies and measures can have a positive influence on the application of those measures. Citizens attitudes about the acceptance or refusal of bribes can influence the behaviour of others when faced with bribe requests, as can their willingness to report observed cases of bribery.

Analysis of the most pressing problems afflicting their country, as reported by citizens of Nigeria in 2019, shows that corruption has moved down the list from 3rd to 5th position, while there has been a sharp increase in the level of public concern about security and health issues. Around 9 per cent of Nigerians considered corruption to be the most important problem facing their country, a decrease of more than a third since the 14 per cent recorded in the 2016 survey.

Figure 10: Percentage distribution of Nigerian citizens considering selected issues to be the most important problem affecting the county, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

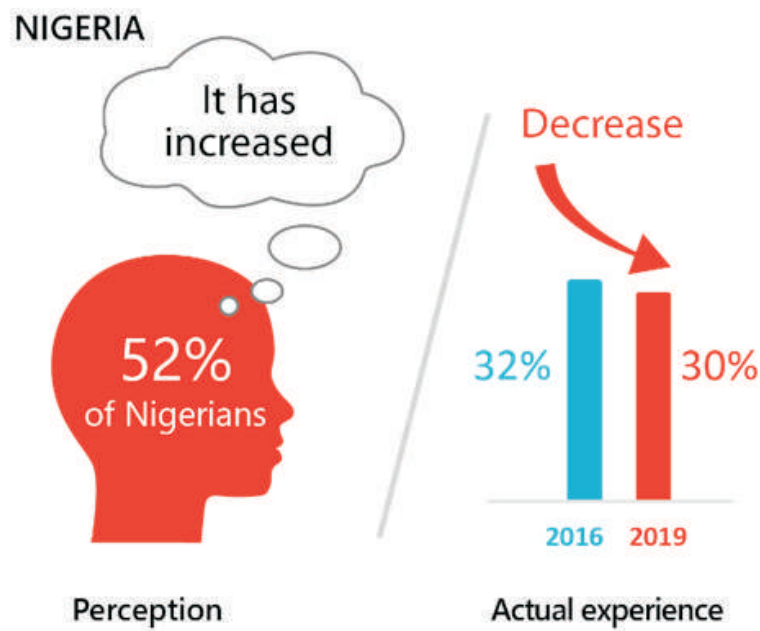


The discrepancy between experienced-based measures of corruption and perception-based indicators has been well documented in representative sample surveys around the world. See UNODC, *Manual on Corruption Surveys* (Vienna, 2018), p. 20.

This change could be interpreted as sign of a decline in the importance attributed to corruption, but it could also be that other issues have simply become more pressing in the perception of citizens, in particular crime and insecurity, which climbed from 6th to 2nd in the list of the most important problems affecting the country. The 2019 survey data seem to support the latter, as there has been a universal decrease across the six zones of Nigeria in the share of people that consider corruption to be the most important issue. At the same time, the share of people that consider crime and insecurity to be the most important problem affecting Nigeria has increased significantly across all the country's zones. Particularly large increases were observed in the northern zones, where as much as 27 per cent (North-West) of the population think that crime and insecurity is the number one problem.

When it comes to perceived trends in corruption, more than half of Nigerians believe that corruption increased in the two years prior to the 2019 survey. The perception of corruption as a continuously increasing problem, irrespective of the actual experience of acts of corruption, is a phenomenon observed in many countries and may be driven by media coverage of high-profile cases of corruption.

Figure 11: Perceived trend in corruption versus citizens' actual experience of corruption, Nigeria, 2019



Note: "Perceived trend in corruption" refers to the period May 2017 to June 2019; "citizens' actual experience of corruption" refers to the period May 2018 to June 2019.

The unusual thing about this in Nigeria, however, is the difference in the level of and change in this perception between the northern and southern zones (figure 12). In the three southern zones, more than 60 per cent of Nigerians consider corruption to be on the increase, although there has only been a very modest, non-significant, change in the actual prevalence of bribery in those zones. In addition, in all three northern zones, the overall perception is that corruption has either increased or remained stable, yet the trend in only one of those zones is consistent with the actual change in the prevalence of bribery in the three zones.

A possible explanation of this pattern comes from the third set of perception indicators included in the survey, namely the subjective evaluation of whether, first, the Government is committed in the fight against corruption and, second, whether it is effective. These indicators are highly correlated with each other (meaning that those who think the Government is not committed to the fight against corruption also think that it is not effective) and, unsurprisingly, they show regional polarization.

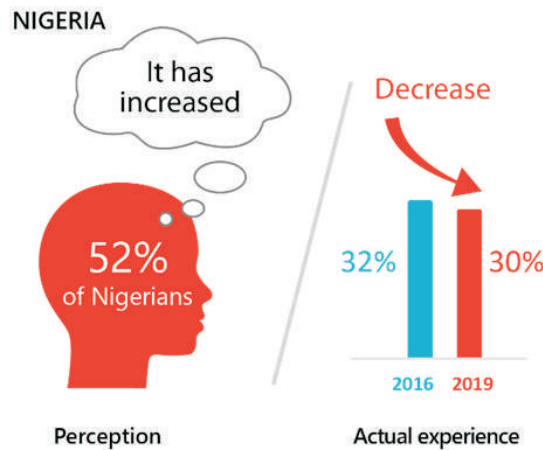
Figure 12: Perceived trend in corruption, by zone, Nigeria, 2019



Note: "Perceived trend in corruption" refers to the period May 2017 to June 2019; "citizens' actual experience of corruption" refers to the period May 2018 to June 2019.

However, what happened between the 2016 and 2019 surveys is revealing of a major change in how the Government's anti-corruption drive is perceived. First, in the 2019 survey, a small majority of 51 per cent of Nigerans considered the Government to be either effective or very effective in its fight against corruption, which represents a substantial decline from the 70 per cent of respondents who had the same opinion in the 2016 survey. Second, while in 2016 the opinion of the Government's effectiveness (and commitment) in the fight against corruption was much more favourable in the north than in the south, by 2019 there was a sharp drop in favourable opinion in the three northern zones (from very high levels), whereas the drop was less pronounced in the three southern zones, resulting in a more uniform, and less favourable, perception of anti-corruption efforts across Nigeria.

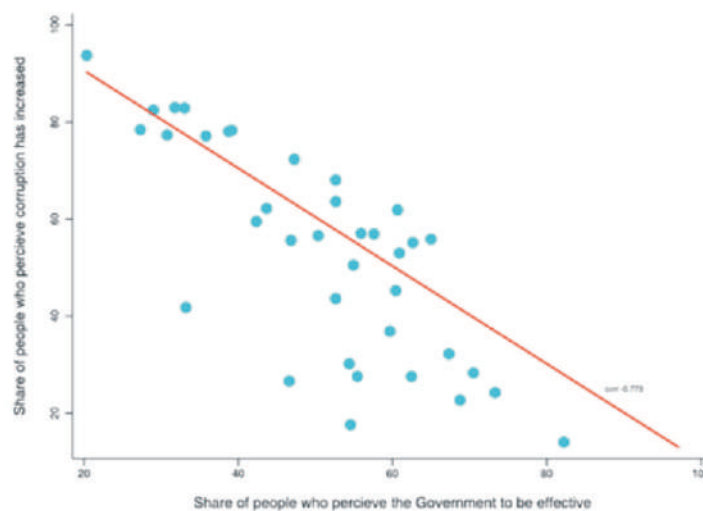
Figure 13: Percentage distribution of Nigerian citizens who perceive the Government to be effective in the fight against corruption, at the national level and by zone, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The question asked in the survey is: “How do you rate Government effectiveness in fighting corruption?” There are five possible answers: (1) Very effective, (2) Effective, (3) Not very effective, (4) Ineffective and (5) Do not know. The percentage distribution is calculated by combining the answers “Very effective” and “Effective”.

The discrepancies between the northern and southern zones in the perception of trends in corruption may thus be less linked to how levels of corruption as such are seen and more to the different levels of confidence placed in the Government regarding the fight against corruption, the resulting levels of expectation regarding the outcome of the fight (higher expectations in the north) and possible disappointment (more pronounced in the north) if the results are not seen to be forthcoming. Indeed, there is a very strong negative correlation between the share of people who think corruption has increased and the share of people who consider the Government to be effective in addressing corruption.

Figure 14: Share of survey respondents who perceive the Government to be effective in the fight against corruption and share of survey respondents who perceive corruption to have increased, Nigeria, 2019



Note: The figure shows the correlation between the perceived effectiveness of the Government in the fight against corruption and the perceived change in the level of corruption according to Nigerians in 2019. The share of survey respondents who think the Government is effective in the fight against corruption is calculated by combining the answers “Very effective” and “Effective”. “Perceived trend in corruption” refers to the period May 2017 to June 2019.

Corruption and State response to corruption in Nigeria: insights from qualitative research

As in the first survey on corruption conducted in Nigeria in 2016, the second corruption survey in 2019 was accompanied by extensive qualitative research aimed at gaining in-depth insights into the modalities and patterns of the various forms of corruption encountered by interview partners. This research was also important to improve understanding of the motivations of bribe-payers in different circumstances; for example, why they did or did not pay bribes, why they reported or did not report corruption, etc. While qualitative research of this nature cannot produce results that are statistically representative, which can only be done through a large-scale representative sample survey such as the one conducted for this report, the narratives collected here are illustrative of deeper issues related corruption and anti-corruption efforts encountered by the respondents.

Valuable insights were obtained in a total of 40 in-depth interviews (IDI) and eight moderated focus group discussions (FGD) conducted in four selected Nigerian states in July and August 2019: Enugu (South-East), Kano (North-West), Kwara (North-Central) and Lagos (South-West). In each state, 10 IDI (five male and five female participants) and 2 FGD (one male and one female session) were conducted by experienced researchers in one of the local languages. Participants were drawn from different agencies, institutions and sectors in order to obtain a diversified picture of corruption from different perspectives; for example, members of the judiciary, legislatures, ministries and agencies, police, media, religious organizations, civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations, anti-corruption agencies and academia.

Among the many vivid accounts collected from respondents, a large part describes regularly encountering requests for the payment of bribes and kickbacks when trying to access public services across institutions (ministries and agencies, law enforcement, hospitals, public utilities, etc). Many respondents feel that the ongoing reality of corruption on a daily basis is the single most pressing challenge to the development of Nigeria, as it is deeply rooted in prevalent social injustice, poor working and living conditions, lack of social support programmes and stalled economic performance. The following quotes are illustrative of the general atmosphere:

“Corruption to me simply means cutting corners ... when rules and regulations are not being followed, it is corruption ... for example, I was denied promotion for 12 years because I refused to lobby and behave in an unjust manner ... this is corruption. Also, some time ago, I was victimized by a staff member of PHCN (Power Holding Company of Nigeria) ... my (electricity) meter was suddenly compromised because I was not giving bribes this left me in total darkness for about a year while the bills kept coming in... this is corruption” (IDI, Female, Prison controller).

“Corruption” is something that is not good to hear ... Well, to me, corruption is getting something that is not yours through bribery. In other words, it means getting what is not rightfully yours ... it means paying to have what you are not qualified to have or what should have ordinarily gone the way of other people. Corruption is something that brings destruction to a nation” (IDI, Male, Lecturer).

“I have been a victim of corruption at official level ... several times ... while obtaining a (international) passport, driving licence and many other things. I have also been a victim of other crimes like theft and robbery et cetera” (IDI, Female, Human rights advocate).

“Government officials promote corruption by asking for bribes. You see, corruption concerns the giving and taking of bribes.

Before you can get anything, for example, in a ministry, the officer in charge will ask for something from you, in the form of cash or something like that and if you don't give it to him/her, then you won't get what you want and it is your right as a citizen of Nigeria...in fact, as soon as you notice a kind of undue delay in receiving a response to your request, you must be quick to pack something (bribe) for the official ... otherwise, you will not get anything done” (IDI, Male, Teacher).

“... But, as for here (University), where we are working, the most common corrupt practice is “sex-for-marks” usually between lecturers and their female students ... also, there have been cases of embezzlement/diversion of research funds for private use by some top administrators in the school” (FGD, Female, University Administrator).

“I have been a victim of corruption because it took me several years just to gain employment after paying several bribes” (FGD, Male, University lecturer).

“I would say that corruption is prevalent in both the private and public sectors in Nigeria ... it is in government offices and state schools ... so it could also be found in commercial banks and private legal practices ... corruption does not respect any sector in the country” (FGD, Male, Judicial officer).

In general, the participants in the research were quite aware of the illegality of corruption and many favour strong countermeasures to fight it:

“... applicable rules and regulations of various organizations should take a pre-eminent position in dealing with all categories of workers” (IDI, Female, Newspaper editor).

“... before the war against corruption can be won on a sustainable basis in Nigeria, there is need to serve commensurate punishments to those who are caught in the act in the country” (IDI, Female, Civil servant).

“By punishing anyone involved in corrupt practices, substantial progress can be recorded in the anti-corruption fight in the country” (IDI, Female, Prison controller).

Individual statements and focus group discussions often revolved around the best strategy and measures to be taken to curb corruption in public agencies:

“The Government should give every citizen his/her right. Realistic salary increments and extra allowances should be treated as a matter of necessity for public servants who are, in most cases, under-remunerated. Also, the Government should ensure that appropriate punishments are meted out to all categories of public official who are involved in corruption” (IDI, Female, Legal practitioner).

“They must improve the conditions of service (of workers) ... and corrupt officials must be brought to book in good time ... also, favoritism must be discouraged in all its ramifications” (IDI, Male, Teacher).

However, several inside informants identified formidable barriers to the fight against corruption, such as favouritism and nepotism:

“... the most significant barrier to the fight against corruption in Nigeria is favouritism ... the idea of the preferential application of rules and regulations has been really unhelpful” (IDI, Male, Civil servant).

“Corruption, favoritism and politics are the most prominent factors that hamper the effectiveness of the anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria” (IDI, Male, Police officer).

“We have ... barriers like non-compliance and nepotism. When we issue asset declaration forms to employees, especially in the civil service ... and, thereafter, some of them (employees) refuse to return the forms ... sometimes there could be under-declaration or over-declaration ... we are usually unable to act if such defaulting personnel have “godfathers” in the Government, which is often the case” (IDI, Male, Code of Conduct official).

While many participants acknowledged the sincerity of the current Government's efforts to tackle corruption, a recurring theme was the shortcomings identified in the implementation of the “whistle-blower” policy as well as the perception of bias in the investigation and prosecution of alleged offenders.

“Eradication of corruption can only be made possible through an honest fight. For instance, the “whistle-blowing” policy is no longer effective since the Government has been reneging on its promises and obligations to the “whistle-blowers” in terms of payment and protection...” (IDI, Male, CSO personnel).

“I see the ongoing anti-corruption campaign in the country as a good idea since it could have a multiplier effect on the national development agenda eventually ... but, it shouldn't continue to target the perceived enemies of the Government alone” (IDI, Male, Traditional ruler).

“.....well, it (ongoing anti-corruption campaign) is a very good thing. It should be continued but not selectively” (IDI, Female, Human rights advocate).

“Bias and partiality in the prosecution of corruption cases have been major shortcomings in the operations of the anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria...” (IDI, Male, NGO executive).

“Nobody wants to speak out because if you speak you are most likely to end up as the victim. Your details will be sold to the supposed offender. Nothing has worked in the past and nothing is working now in respect of how information is handled by the respective government agencies....” (FGD, Female, Civil servant).

“Any report you make has the potential of landing you in trouble if not of being killed ... Nobody is interested in exposing any corrupt person ... you will just become an enemy of the person you are exposing. It has even been alleged that the identities of most whistle-blowers are sold to criminals by anti-corruption workers...” (FGD, Male, Secondary school teacher).

“Poor people in particular are not interested in reporting any corrupt or related criminal case because it will automatically increase their sorrows ... either no action will be taken or the reporter will become the eventual victim since the poor are voiceless in Nigeria” (FGD, Female, Legal practitioner).

“We are not encouraged to report corrupt practices to the appropriate authorities because the Government itself is not sincere in how it deals with ordinary Nigerians. The Government will promise to reward you for reporting, which it will never fulfill.” (FGD, Female, Homemaker).

“The whole country is corrupt, so it not advisable to report any corruption case because of possible leakages. The Nigerian system is very porous ... that is why people find it difficult nowadays to report corrupt practices to the police or to any other agencies because you will end up causing more harm to yourself.” (FGD, Female, Human rights advocate).

“There are incentives for reporting corruption and some other criminal acts, but the problem is that such incentives can also lead to the death of the individual reporter. For instance, there was a reported case that the whistle-blower got his commission, but the police sent armed robbers after him ... he was fortunate to escape being assassinated” (FGD, Male, University professor).

The qualitative interviews and focus group discussions provide a snapshot of the underlying convictions, motivations and attitudes of individuals when it comes to dealing with actual or reported cases of corruption. The allegations of shortcomings in the Government's anti-corruption measures cannot be verified and many of the statements seem to be based on hearsay of other people's experiences. Nevertheless, the consistency of the statements provided independently across the different interview situations and four Nigerian states, point to a potential credibility crisis that should be addressed as a matter of priority if current anti-corruption efforts, and in particular the use of whistle-blower channels for countering corruption, are to continue enjoying public support.

How Bribery Works

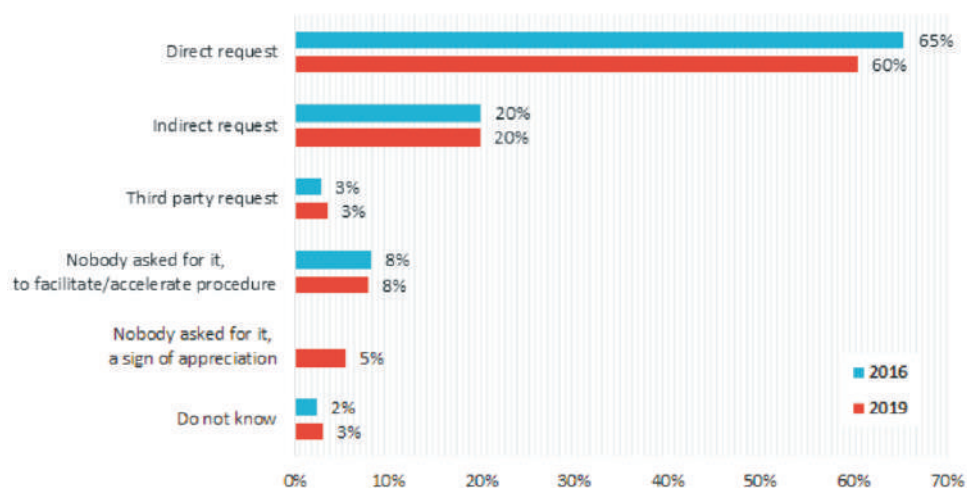
To provide a clearer picture of the specific causes and uses of public sector bribery, this chapter looks at the mechanisms underlying bribe-payments and bribe-taking. The chapter starts with an analysis of the modality and timing of bribe requests and offers before describing the main forms that bribery takes and looking at the size of cash bribes. The chapter concludes with analyses of the motivations behind the payment of bribes.

Who instigates bribes

The bribery of public officials can be instigated in a number of different ways: via a direct, brazen request from a public official, an indirect request by insinuation, a request through a third party, or by a citizen in the form of an offer. The more immune from negative consequences that a public official feels when directly requesting a bribe, the larger the share of direct bribery requests is likely to be.

Indeed, in Nigeria, the vast majority of bribery requests are made in the form of a direct request by a public official. Direct bribery requests by public officials accounted for 60 per cent of all bribery transactions in 2019, representing a moderate decrease from the 66 per cent recorded in the 2016 survey. As in 2016, indirect requests for a bribe accounted for 20 per cent of all bribery transactions, while spontaneous payments to facilitate or to accelerate a procedure accounted for 8 per cent. Finally, 5 per cent of bribes were paid with no prior request, as a sign of appreciation to a public official for services rendered.

Figure 15: Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by modality of bribe request/offer, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

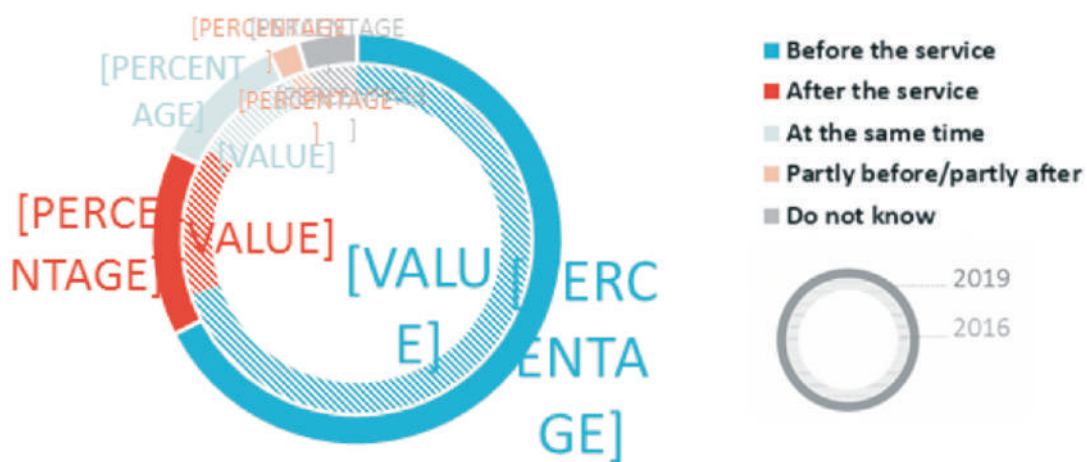


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The option "Nobody asked for it, it was a sign of appreciation for a service provided" was only introduced in the 2019 survey.

When bribes are paid

There is also a consistent trend in the timing of bribe payments in Nigeria. According to the 2019 survey, around two thirds of bribes (67 per cent) are paid before a service is provided by a public official, a proportion only slightly smaller than the 69 per cent recorded in the 2016 survey. The remaining bribes are paid after the service (15 per cent in 2019), at the same time as the service (11 per cent) or are paid in two separate instalments before and after the service (2 per cent each). The consistently large share of bribes paid in anticipation of a service to be rendered by a public official is an indication that bribes are routinely expected and are prepared for in advance by bribe-payers.

Figure 16: Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by timing of payment, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

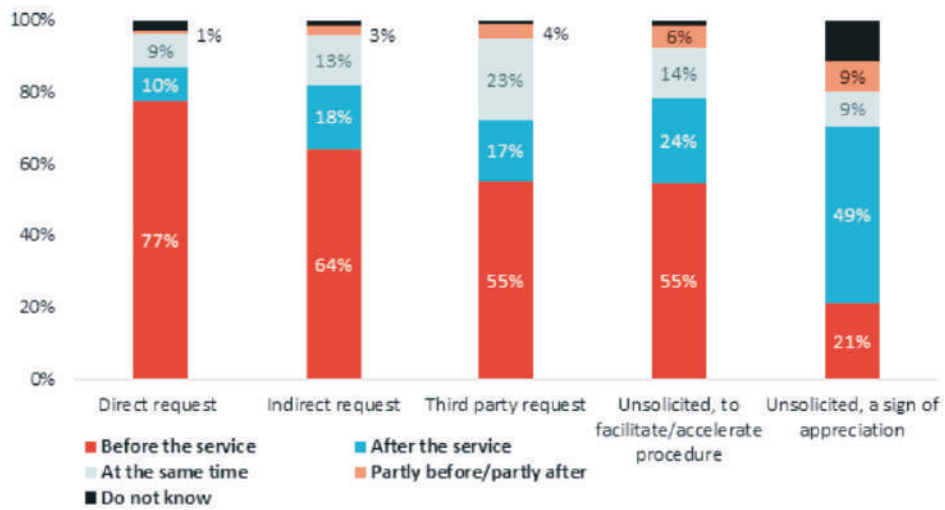


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The outer ring refers to 2019 survey data, the inner ring to 2016 survey data.

The combination of how bribes are instigated and the timing of bribe payments reveals some very interesting patterns. For example, whenever a public official requests a bribe, whether directly or indirectly, between 55 and 77 per cent of bribes are paid before the service in question is provided. This finding underlines the bargaining power of public officials, whose position enables them to solicit a payment in exchange for the promise of providing a public service. However, a significant number of bribes are also paid before the provision of a service in order to incentivize officials to either expedite a service or to avoid red tape. The majority of people who pay unsolicited bribes purely as a sign of appreciation do so after a service has been provided.

The finding that there has been little change in this pattern since the 2016 survey implies that there may be a familiar and established routine relating to when payments should be made depending on the nature of the request and the service to be provided. The fact that unsolicited bribes are also paid as a sign of gratitude (mostly after or partly after a service) indicates that some officials in the Nigerian administration expect to receive an “extra” even when providing a service that it is their duty to provide for free.

Figure 17: Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by timing and modality of bribe requests, Nigeria, 2019



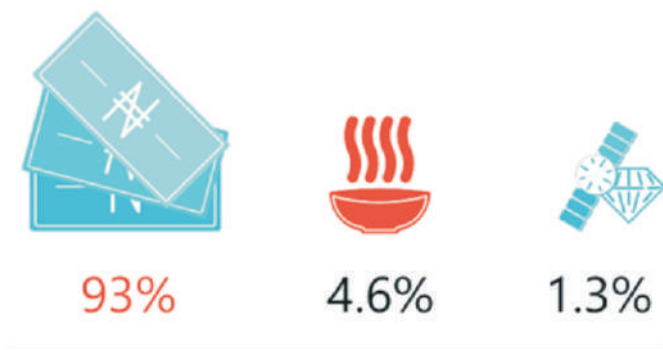
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

What forms bribes take

Bribes paid to public officials come in a number of forms, including cash or other forms of payment, food and drink, valuables and the exchange of a public service for a private service or favour. Yet this diversity does not translate into any real variation in terms of how bribes are actually paid, as more than 93 per cent of all bribes paid in 2019 were paid in cash, an even larger share than in 2016, when the figure was 92 per cent. Food and drink made up 4.6 per cent of all bribe payments in 2019, while other valuables accounted for just 1.3 per cent of all bribes.

There were no significant zonal variations in terms of the type of bribe paid, nor between rural and urban areas, with cash bribes dominating irrespective of location and timing of payment. The only notable variation is when bribes are paid in the form of food and drink, a form of bribery that appears to be more common among female bribe-payers than among their male counterparts.

Figure 18: Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by form of payment, Nigeria, 2019



The vast majority of bribes are paid in cash; food and valuables account for small shares

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

Size of cash bribes

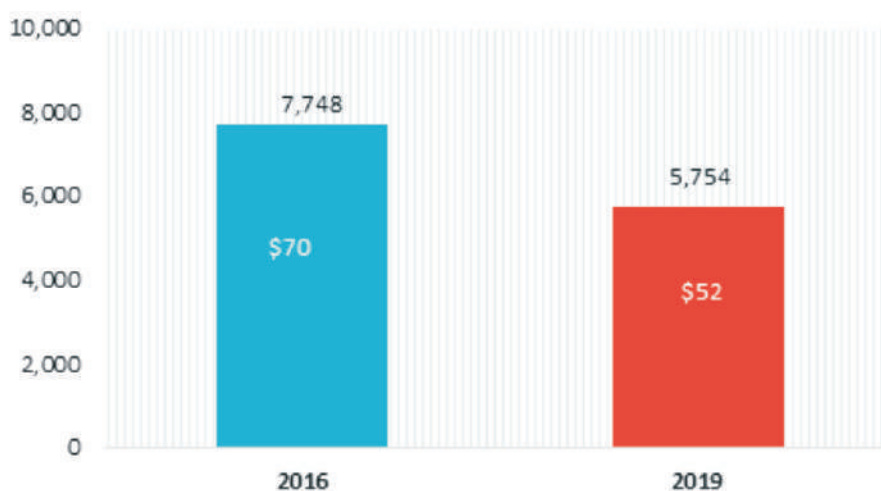
According to the 2019 survey, the average cash bribe paid in Nigeria is 5,754 Nigerian Naira (NGN), a sum equivalent to roughly \$52 in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). Adjusting for inflation, that average is 25.7 per cent smaller than in 2016, when the inflation-adjusted average amounted to NGN 7,748 (or \$70 PPP). As a reference, the average monthly income in Nigeria in 2018 was NGN 47,783 (\$434 PPP). As bribe payers paid an average of six bribes over the course of one year, it can be estimated that they spent an average of NGN 34,524 (\$312 PPP) – equivalent to 6 per cent of the average annual income of Nigerians.

Taking into account that a total of roughly 117 million bribes were paid in 2019, an average bribe size of NGN 5,754 means that a total of around NGN 675 billion was paid in cash bribes to public officials in Nigeria that year, corresponding to 0.52 per cent of the entire Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Nigeria.

Foot Note

21. This amount is calculated based on the last bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey. If, instead, information on the largest bribe paid in the period May 2018 to June 2019 is used, the average increases to NGN 6,452 (\$58,5 PPP).
22. Amounts in NGN have been converted to International Dollars in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) so as 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 was obtained at <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/PA.NUS.PPP>.
23. Source: Social Economic Survey 2018, National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria. It should be noted that the average annual income is generally higher than the average annual salary of Nigerians; however, there are no updated figures on the average annual salary of Nigerians available.
24. The GDP of Nigeria in 2018 is estimated at NGN 129 trillion, see <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CN>

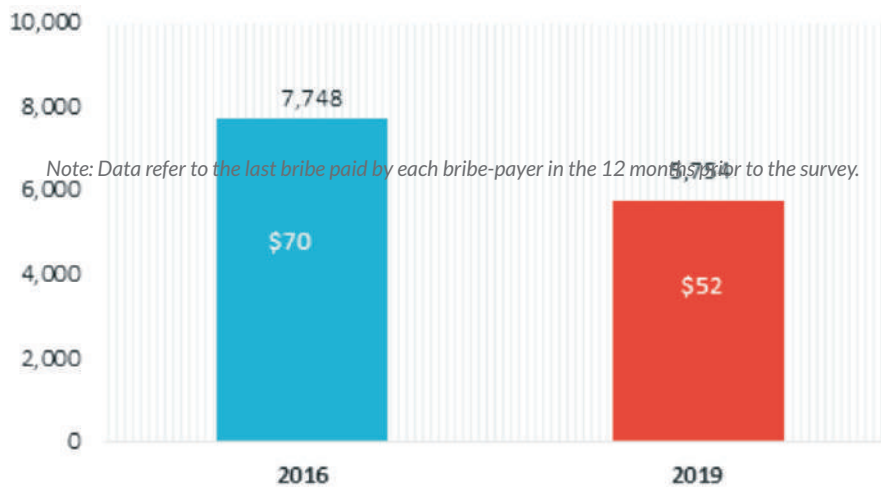
Figure 19: Average bribe size (Nigerian Naira), Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. Nigerian Naira are inflation-adjusted constant 2019 Naira; Dollars are inflation-adjusted 2019 International Dollars (PPP).

Given that bribes are paid for a variety of purposes to different officials with a varying frequency (some bribes are paid only once, to obtain a particular document, for example, while others are paid frequently, to avoid payment of traffic fines, for example), it is not surprising that the size of bribes varies enormously. Most bribes are relatively small, but the average bribe size is strongly influenced by a limited number of large and very large bribes. More than half of bribes (57 per cent) paid in 2019 were of NGN 1,500 (\$13.5 PPP) or less, and 32 per cent were of NGN 1,501–5,000, both well below the average amount. Of the larger bribes, 6 per cent were of NGN 5,001–10,000 and 5 per cent of more than NGN 10,000.

Figure 20: Percentage distribution of bribes paid in cash, by size (Nigerian Naira), Nigeria, 2019



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. Nigerian Naira are inflation-adjusted constant 2019 Naira; Dollars are inflation-adjusted 2019 International Dollars (PPP).

The average size of cash bribes paid in 2019 was remarkably different across the zones of Nigeria, with an average smaller than the national average of NGN 5,754 in all but one zone. At NGN 2,552 (\$23,15 PPP), the average was smallest in the North-Central zone, where more than 65 per cent of bribes were of less than NGN 1,500. By contrast, by far the largest average amount was paid in the South-South, at NGN 14,641 (\$144,6 PPP), almost three times the national average.

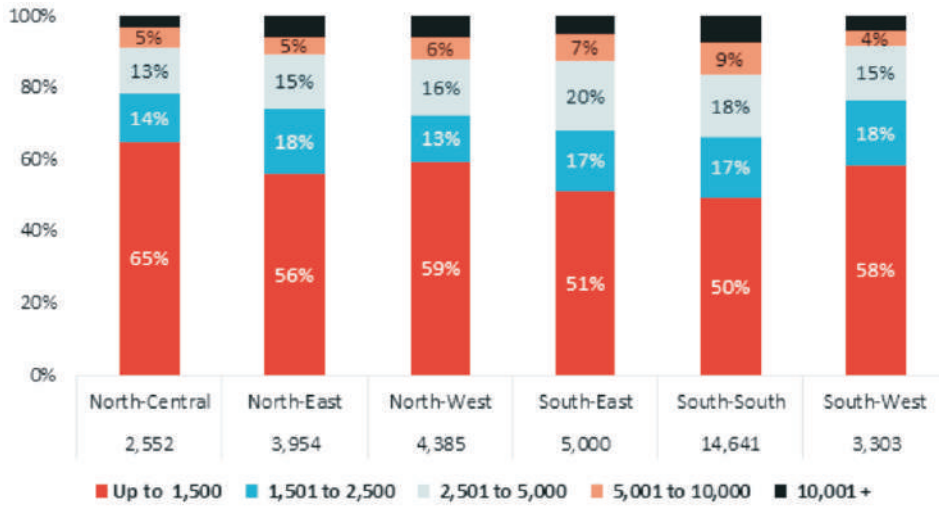
Adjusting for inflation, all zones with the exception of the South-South saw a decrease in the size of the average cash bribe from 2016 to 2019. The largest variation was in the South-East, where the average fell

Foot Note

25. This result is partially driven by two very large bribes of NGN 2,000,000 and NGN 6,000,000 paid in the states, Rivers and Delta. Nevertheless, the shares of large bribes by size are generally larger in the South-South than in other zones, which confirms a general pattern that may also be influenced by the fact that this zone is the wealthiest in Nigeria and has the highest level of disposable income (measured by expenditure) in the survey.

from NGN 20,598 to NGN 5,000. Meanwhile, in the South-South the average cash bribe increased by 22.7 per cent, from NGN 11,935 in 2016 to NGN 14,641 in 2019.

Figure 21: Percentage distribution of bribes paid in cash (Nigerian Naira), by amount paid and by zone, Nigeria, 2019



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

Similar to the pattern at the national level, there was a high concentration of cash bribes of NGN 1,500 or less in all the zones of Nigeria. In the North-Central zone, where the smallest average cash bribe was recorded, 65 per cent of bribes were of NGN 1,500 or less, whereas the share was 50 per cent in the South-South, the zone where the largest average cash bribe was paid. This suggests that large bribes are more common in the South-South than elsewhere in Nigeria.

Although small bribes make up the majority of bribes in all the zones, medium-sized bribes (between NGN 1,500–2,500 and NGN 2,500–5,000) also make up a significant share. In the North-Central zone, 27 per cent of bribe-payers paid at least one medium-sized bribe, compared with 37 in the South-East and 35 in the South-South; the larger share of medium-sized bribes paid in the South-East and the South-South than in other zones contributes significantly to the large average bribe paid in those two zones. The largest bribes (above NGN 10,000: \$90.7 PPP) are also more common in the South-South than in other zones. For example, in the North-Central and the South-West zones, only 3 and 4 per cent of cash bribes are larger than NGN 10,000, while in the South-South the figure is 7 per cent.

Why bribes are paid to public officials

According to the 2019 survey, almost one out of every two bribes (45 per cent) are paid for the purpose of speeding up or finalizing an administrative procedure. The fact that the majority of bribes are requested by public officials and are paid in advance of a service is a strong indication that such bribes are paid by citizens in exchange for a service

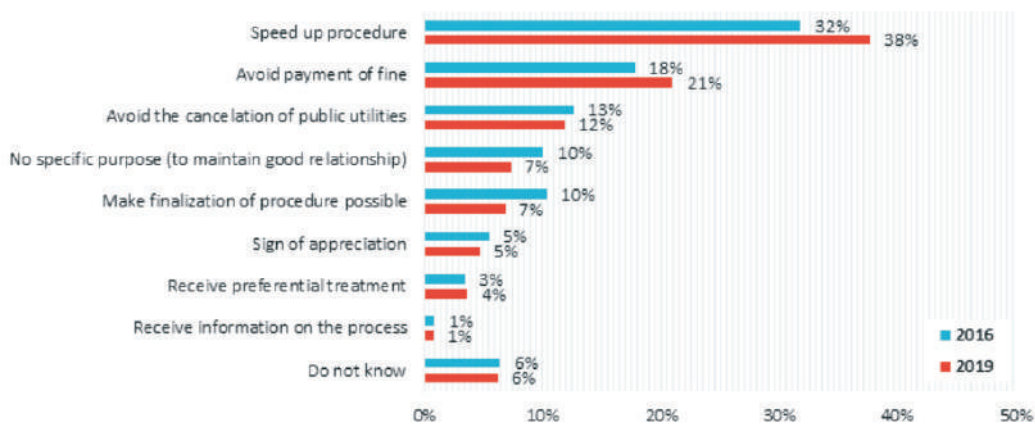
that the public official is duty bound to provide for free. This may be because they have been informed, either implicitly or explicitly, that their request will not be processed without the payment of a kickback to the corrupt official. Whatever the case may be, there have been some noticeable changes in the purpose of bribe payments among Nigerian citizens: the share of bribes paid for speeding up a procedure has increased from 32 to 38 per cent since 2016, while the share of bribes paid for finalizing a procedure has decreased from 10 to 7 per cent. In addition, the share of bribes paid to avoid the payment of a fine increased from 18 per cent in 2016 to 21 per cent in 2019. Given that the prevalence of bribery in relation to the police has decreased significantly since 2016, this signals that other types of public official are now extorting bribes in exchange for “looking the other way” more often than before. For example, in 2016, 11 per cent of bribes paid for the avoidance of a fine were

Foot Note

26. For further information, see chapter 3 of this report.

paid to public utility officers, whereas the share in 2019 was 20 per cent. Over the same period, the share of bribes paid to Federal Road Safety Corps officers for the avoidance of a fine climbed from 3 to 10 per cent. Such bribes are often imposed on citizens through the threat of an unwarranted fine, in which case they are blatant extortion for the private gain of the official involved, or they may be imposed for the non-payment of a warranted fine or fee, in which case they amount to collusion, which undermines the rule of law and diminishes the legitimate income of the State.

Figure 22: Percentage distribution of bribe payments to public officials, by purpose of payment, 2016 and 2019



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

Indicative of the every-day reality of many Nigerians, the payment of a bribe to avoid the cancellation of public utility services such as water, electricity and sanitation continued at virtually the same level in 2019 (12 per cent versus 13 per cent in 2016). Payments made in exchange for preferential treatment (4 per cent) and bribes paid in order to receive information about a particular process (1 per cent) account for far smaller shares of bribes and remained unchanged in 2019. The same can be said of the 5 per cent of bribes paid as a “sign of appreciation for the service provided” to the recipient.

Last but not least, some 7 per cent of bribes paid in 2019 (down from 10 per cent in 2016) were paid with “no specific purpose” other than to maintain a good relationship with a public official, possibly with the aim of nurturing goodwill and fostering a sense of indebtedness in the official, which may be called upon at a later date when a need for preferential treatment arises.

In 2019, as in 2016, more than half of bribes (57 per cent) paid to public officials were paid for purely personal and family reasons, while a quarter of bribes were paid for work or business reasons. In 12 per cent of cases, bribes were paid simultaneously for personal and business-related reasons, while the motivation was not known in 6 per cent of bribery cases. These shares were largely the same as in the 2016 survey.

While bribes paid for (private) business reasons made up only a quarter of all bribes paid in 2019, the average cash bribes paid for work- or business-related reasons (NGN 9,148) was significantly larger than the average bribe paid for personal or family reasons (NGN 4,818). In addition, the average number of bribes paid per bribe-payer was roughly eight in the case of bribes paid for business reasons and five in the case of bribes paid for personal or family reasons. At the same time, irrespective of whether the payment of a bribe is motivated by personal or business-related reasons, the majority of bribes are either directly or indirectly requested by the public official, and unsolicited bribes only make up a small proportion of the total.

Foot Note

27. *Federal Road Safety Corps was referred to as “Officials from Traffic Management Authority” in the 2016 survey.*

28. *The average size of bribes paid for family reasons decreased from NGN 6,307 (\$57 PPP) in 2016 to NGN 4,818 (\$44 PPP) in 2019 (inflation-adjusted 2019 Nigerian Naira), while it stayed unchanged for business reasons (\$83 PPP).*

Figure 23: Percentage distribution of reasons for which bribe-payers paid a bribe, Nigeria, 2019



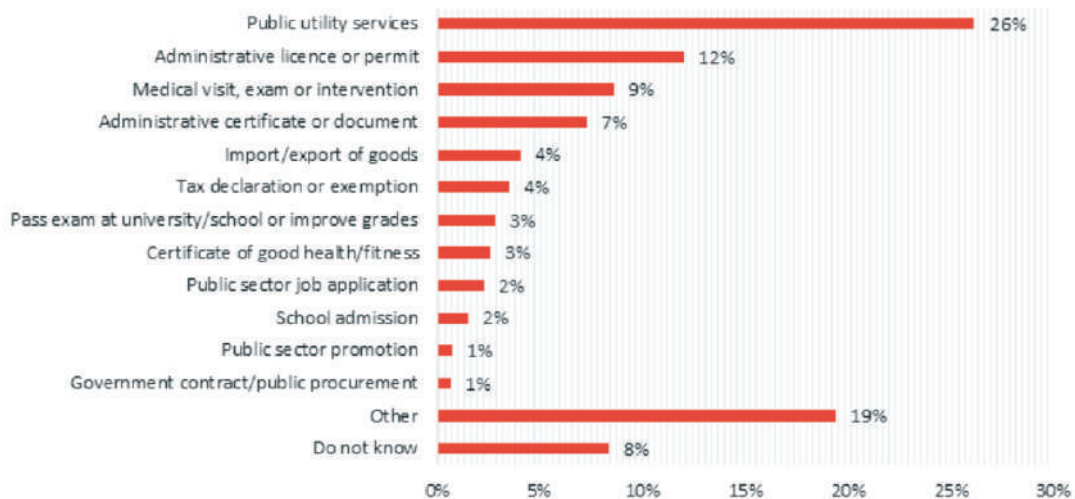
More than half of bribes are paid for personal/family reasons and a quarter are paid for work/business reasons

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

Services and motives for which bribes are paid to public officials

Accounting for 26 per cent of all payments, the most common service sought when paying a bribe in the 2019 survey was a public utility service, followed by the issuance of an administrative licence or permit. Other commonly sought services reported in the 2019 survey include a medical visit, exam or intervention, the issuance of an administrative certificate or document or of a tax declaration or exemption, and the import/export of goods. By contrast, the least common bribe-paying scenarios in the daily lives of citizens include bribes related to job applications or promotions (2 and 1 per cent, respectively), and obtaining a government contract through public procurement (1 per cent). The proportional distribution of services was remarkably similar in both the 2019 and 2016 surveys, with rare exceptions. This similarity suggests the motivations and reasons for the payment of bribes remain consistent, at least in the short term.

Figure 24: Percentage distribution of bribes paid to public officials, by service sought at the time of payment, Nigeria, 2019



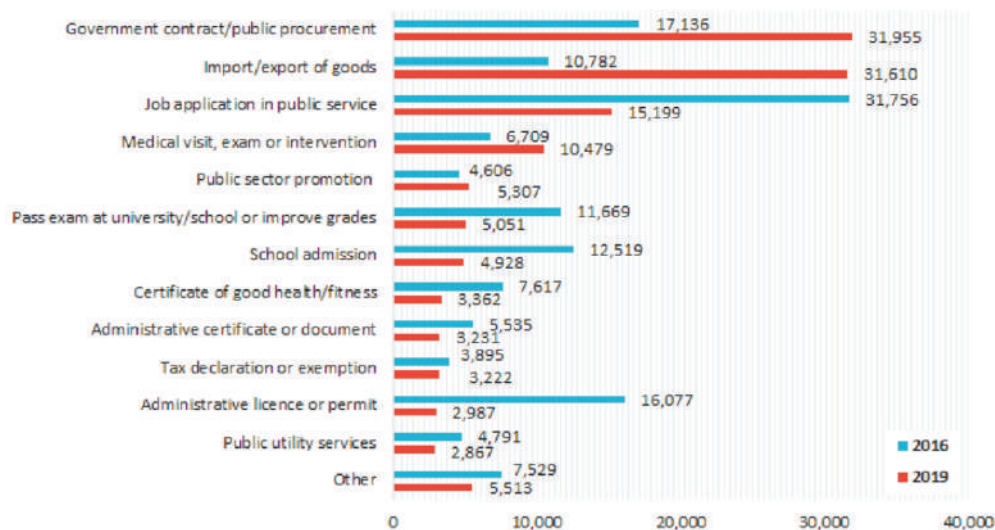
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

A considerable share of respondents mentioned “Other” as their main motivation for paying a bribe (19 per cent), with “payments for bail” being mentioned by every sixth person in this group (around 3 per cent of the total). That motive was not previously the focus of attention and was not explicitly included as a response option for bribery but was mentioned spontaneously by bribe-payers. Further investigation into this type of payment indicates that it does not refer to the legal type of bail administered by courts, but rather to payments extracted by corrupt officials for the release of arrestees from jail prior to the formal commencement of a trial. As this type of payment can have potentially devastating consequences for the equitable administration of justice and can undermine the rule of law, the payment of bribes for the avoidance of detention in jail is a phenomenon that deserves further investigation in future research.

Size of bribes paid for particular services

When looking at the average size of bribes by the type of administrative procedure involved, the great variability is striking. This is an indication that for many types of service some very large or very small bribes are paid, which has a big influence on the average. Despite this variability, it appears that for some procedures – usually those that involve greater financial benefits or penalties – the average bribe size (above NGN 30,000) is larger than for those that may be less sensitive. Obtaining government contracts through public procurement and the import or export of goods are also services that are often related to work/business motivations. In general, they are also less common than other types of service, such as maintaining public utility services and the issuance of administrative certificates, documents, licences and permits, for which average bribe sizes tend to be smaller (between NGN 3,000 and 10,000).

Figure 25: Average size of bribes paid (Nigerian Naira), by service sought at the time of bribe payment, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

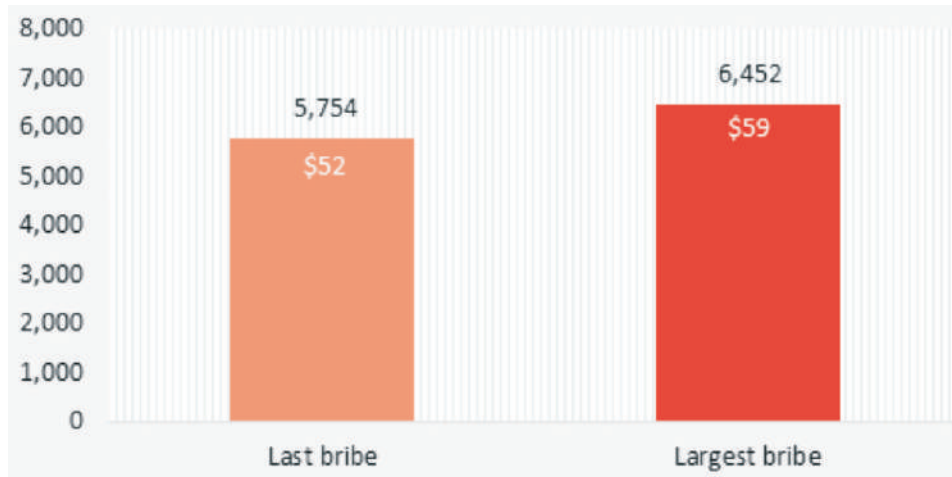


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. Nigerian Naira are inflation-adjusted constant 2019 Naira.

Largest bribe paid to public officials

The findings presented in this chapter on the average size of bribes paid in Nigeria are based on the last bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey. While this information is necessary for calculating the average size of bribes paid, there is also interest in knowing whether Nigerians would be willing to pay very large amounts in exchange for certain favours. Therefore, in the 2019 survey, bribe-payers were not only questioned about the size of the latest bribe they paid, but also about the largest amount they paid in the previous 12 months: 15 per cent of them indicated that they paid a bribe larger than the last one in the period May 2018 to June 2019. When using information on the size of the largest bribe paid in the last 12 months, the average bribe size increases from NGN 5,754 (\$52 PPP) to NGN 6,452 (\$59 PPP).

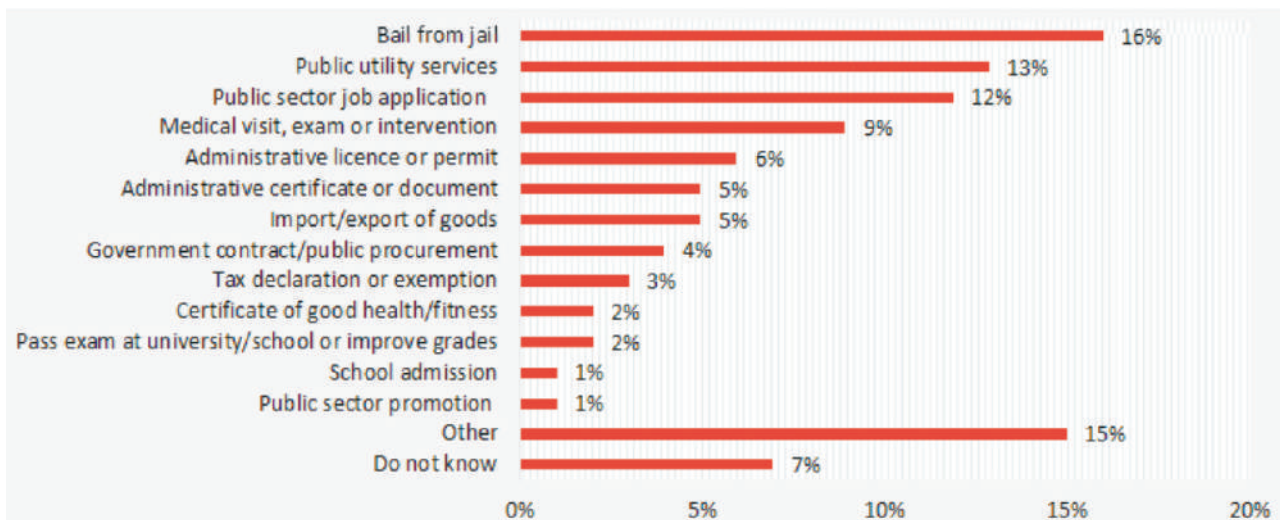
Last and largest bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey (Nigerian Naira), Nigeria, 2019



Note: Data refer to the largest bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. Nigerian Naira are inflation-adjusted constant 2019 Naira; Dollars are inflation-adjusted 2019 International Dollars (PPP).

The largest 100 bribes reported in the period June 2018 to May 2019 fell within the very broad range of NGN 45,000 (\$ 408 PPP) to NGN 6,000,000 (\$54,436 PPP). The vast majority of those bribes (89 per cent) were directly or indirectly requested by a public official and 77 per cent were paid before the service was provided. People reported various purposes for paying such large bribes, of which the most commonly mentioned were public utility services, public sector job application, and medical visit or exam. Furthermore, 16 per cent of cases were related to payments to the police for “bail from jail”. These acts by police officers not only severely undermine the rule of law in Nigeria, but also negatively affect the criminal justice system by possibly providing protection to wealthy criminals.

Percentage distribution of the largest 100 bribes paid, by service sought at the time of the bribe payment, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Data refer to the 100 largest bribes paid in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Foot Note

29. The largest 100 bribes are equivalent to the top 1.8 per cent in the bribe distribution.

Who Takes Bribes

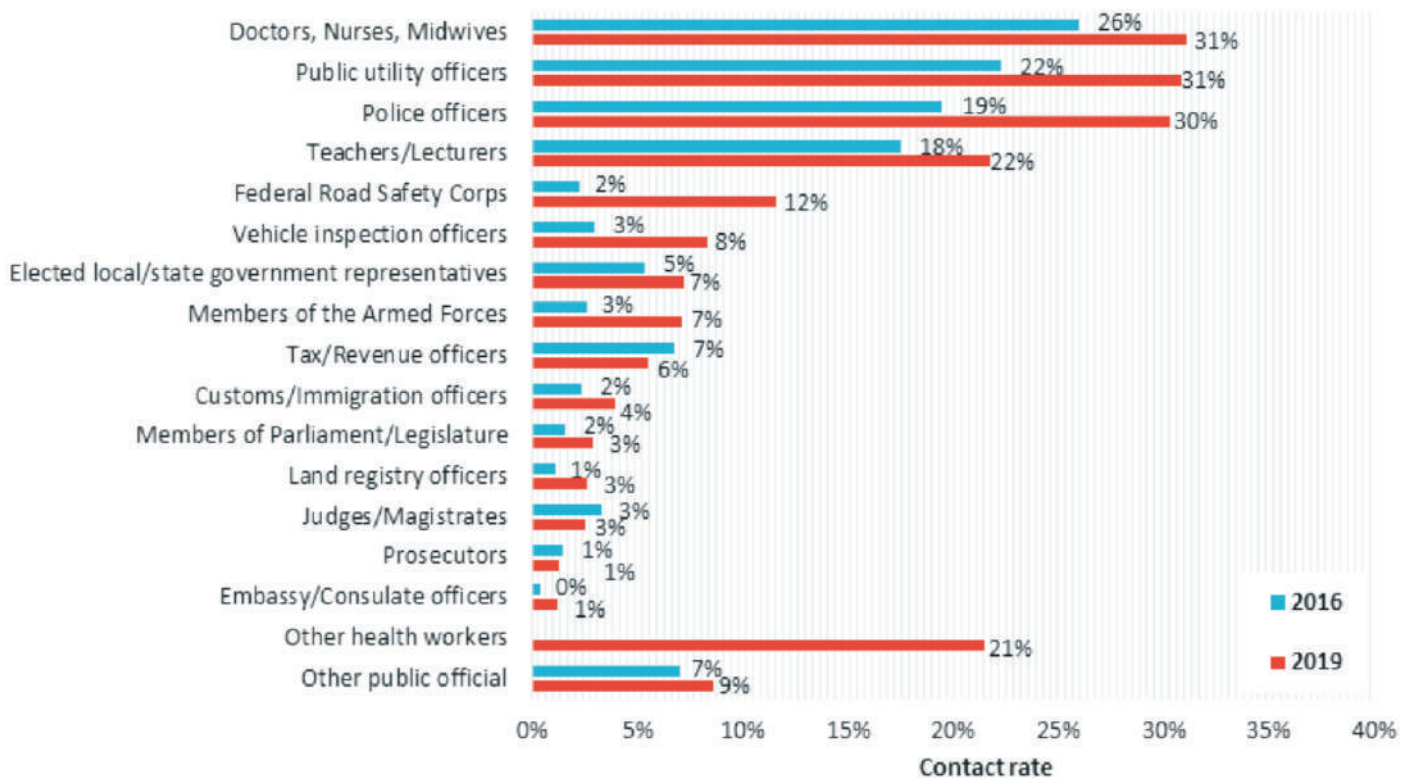
While corruption in the public sector is not restricted to particular public offices or positions, certain types of public official are more likely than others to request bribes during interactions with the public, or are more vulnerable to bribe-taking when offered bribes than others. This chapter looks in detail at how bribery varies across different types of public official by analysing interactions between citizens and public officials with regard to the type of public official, the frequency of bribery in relation to each type of official, how and when public officials solicit bribes, forms of bribes and why bribes are paid.

Public officials and bribery

Interactions with public officials

Overall, as stated in chapter 1 of this report, 63 per cent of Nigerian citizens had at least one contact with at least one type of public official in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey, up from 52 per cent in 2016. However, when measuring the risk of a citizen paying a bribe to, or being asked to pay a bribe by, a particular type of public official, it is necessary to calculate the contact rate in relation to that specific type of public official.

Figure 26: Contact rate, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The contact rate corresponds to the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with that public official in the last 12 months, as a percentage of the adult Nigerian population. Types of public official are ordered by contact rate in 2019 in decreasing order. The category "other health workers" was only introduced in the 2019 survey. In the 2016 survey, Federal Road Safety Corps was called "Officials from Traffic Management Authority" and Vehicle inspection officers was referred to as "Car registration/Driving licence agency officers".

As shown in figure 26, the contact rate varies by type of public official and reaches its highest level in relation to certain “popular” types of public official. Healthcare professionals (doctors, nurses and midwives) and public utility officials are the two types of public official with whom the largest share of Nigerian citizens had contact in the 2019 survey, at 31 per cent each. Police officers came a close third, with a contact rate of 30 per cent. Interactions with all other types of public official occurred at much lower rates.

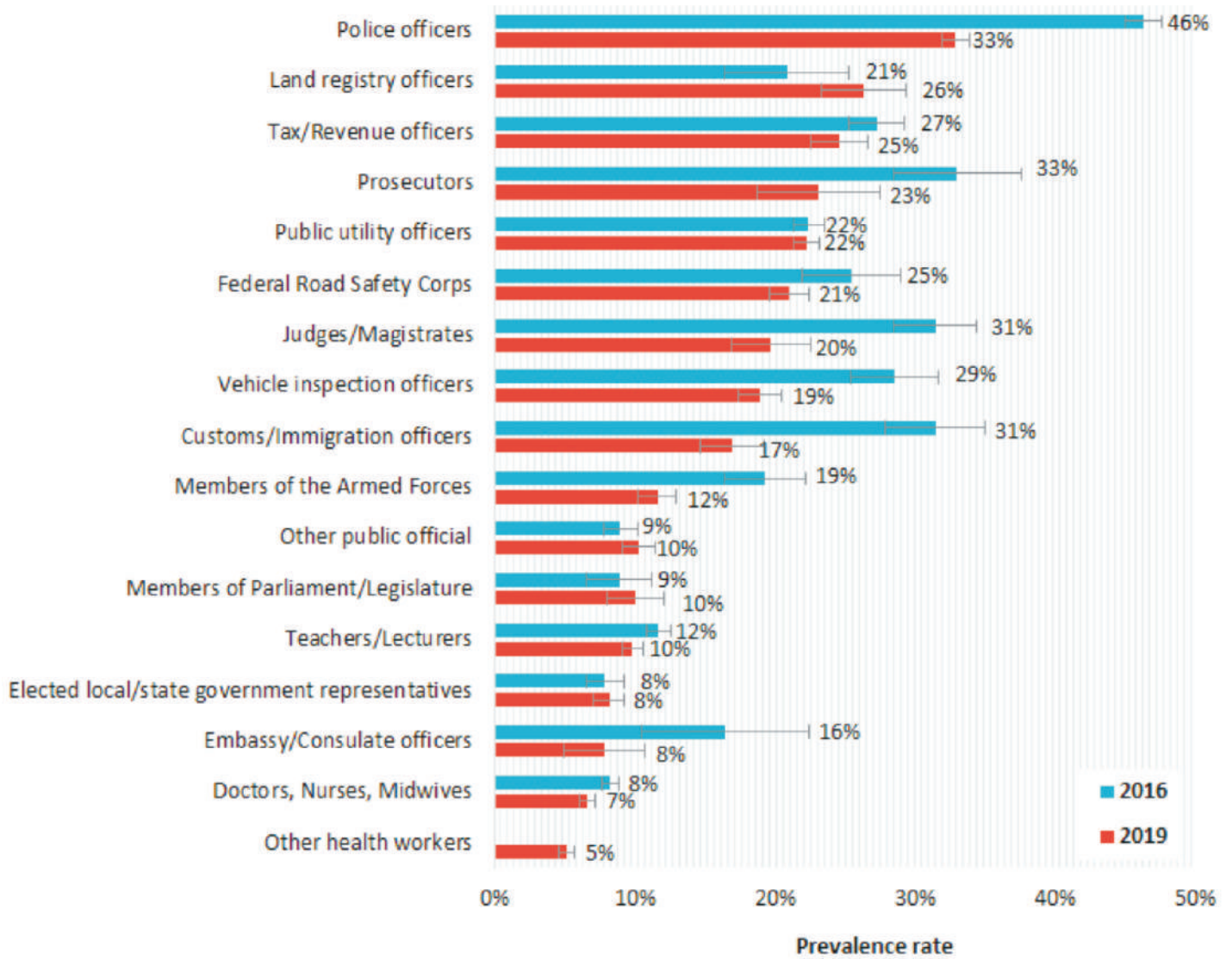
With the exception of tax/revenue officers, judges/magistrates and prosecutors, the contact rate with all public officials increased from 2016 to 2019. The increase was substantial in the case of police officers (from 19 per cent in 2016 to 30 per cent in 2019) and members of the Armed Forces (from 3 per cent in 2016 to 7 per cent in 2019).

Public officials and the prevalence of bribery

As stated in chapter 1, 30.2 per cent of all Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey paid at least one bribe, or were asked to pay a bribe, in the same period. The risk of paying a bribe to a particular type of public official, or of being asked to pay a bribe by that official, can obviously be either higher or lower than the overall prevalence of bribery, depending entirely on the number of citizens who had contact with that type of official and those who actually paid, or were asked to pay, a bribe to that type of official.

As illustrated in figure 27, the prevalence of bribery by type of public official in 2019 varied from 5 to 33 per cent. Specifically, the prevalence of bribery in 2019 was highest in relation to police officers (33 per cent), land registry officers (26 per cent) and tax/revenue officers (25 per cent) and lowest in relation to doctors, nurses and midwives (7 per cent) and other health workers (5 per cent).

Figure 27: Prevalence of bribery, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The prevalence of bribery in relation to a specific type of public official is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe to a specific public official, or 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, as a percentage of all adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with the same type of public official in the same period. The category “Other health workers” was not included in the 2016 survey. In the 2016 survey, Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) were called “Officials from Traffic Management Authority” and Vehicle inspection officers (VIO) were referred to as “Car registration/Driving licence agency officers”.

Foot Note

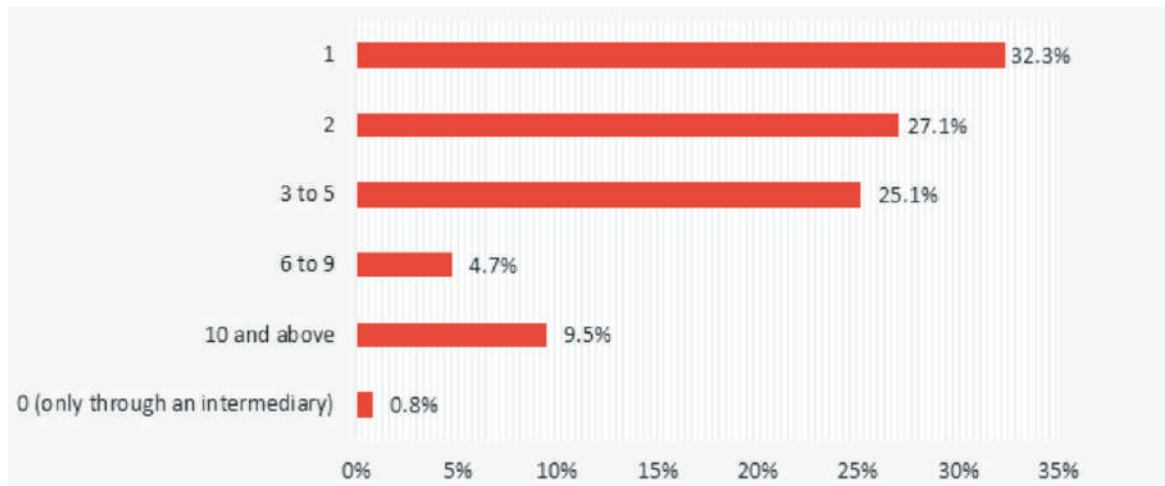
30. It is important to note that the overall prevalence of bribery is not the average of the prevalence of bribery (rate) by type of public official, since it is calculated as all those who had at least once contact with any type of public official and paid at least one bribe.

The prevalence of bribery has significantly decreased in relation to several types of public official since 2016: the largest changes are in relation to police officers (from 46 to 33 per cent), prosecutors (from 33 to 23 per cent), judges/magistrates (from 31 to 20 per cent), customs/immigration officers (31 to 17 per cent, and embassy/consulate officers (16 to 8 per cent). In line with the overall decrease in the prevalence of bribery in Nigeria since 2016, the prevalence of bribery has decreased in relation to almost all types of public official, with the exception of land registry officers, members of parliament and other officials, to whom it has increased, although not to a statistically significant extent.

Frequency of contacts with bribe-taking public officials

The majority of bribe-payers had very few interactions with the public official to whom they paid the last bribe in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey: among all bribe-payers, 32 per cent had just one direct contact and a further 27 per cent had just two direct contacts. This suggests that contacts between the majority of bribe-payers and bribe-takers in Nigeria are infrequent. However, as in the case of interactions with public officials in general, some citizens have a considerably larger number of regular direct contacts with a particular type of public official: roughly 25 per cent of bribe-payers had three to five contacts before they paid their last bribe, 5 per cent had six to nine contacts, and 10 per cent had 10 or more contacts over the previous 12 months.

Percentage distribution of number of contacts with public officials to whom the last bribe was paid, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Number of direct contacts in the 12 months prior to the survey with the type of public official to whom the last bribe was paid.

The risk of bribery in relation to certain types of public official shows great variability at the geographical level. According to the 2019 survey, the prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers was highest in four of Nigeria's six zones and the third and fourth highest in the other two zones. A similar pattern emerges in relation to public utility officers, who were among the top three types of official in relation to whom the prevalence of bribery was highest in four out of six zones. Prosecutors and land registry officials were among the top three in two out of the three northern zones (North-Central and North-West), while tax/revenue officers were among the top three in the North-East and South-East. All other officials appeared in only one zone among the top three types of official in relation to whom the prevalence of bribery was highest.

Foot Note

31. This means that the change in the prevalence of bribery was "statistically significant", which implies that there is a high probability (over 95 per cent) that the observed change in the sample reflects a real change in the Nigerian population.
32. The overall decrease in the prevalence of bribery by any type of public official (from 32 to 30 per cent) in 2019 was smaller than the decrease for most types of official because Nigerians had more contacts with different types of public official than in 2016. In 2016, Nigerian citizens interacted with an average of 1.66 different types of public official and that number increased to 1.98 in 2019.
33. In the North-Central zone, at 36 per cent, the prevalence of bribery in relation to police officers was the fourth highest out of all types of public official in 2019.

Figure 28: Prevalence of bribery, by type of public official and by zone, Nigeria, 2019

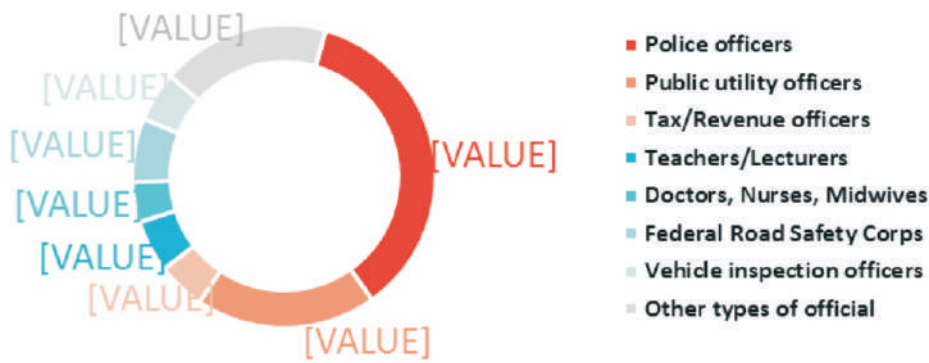


Note: The prevalence of bribery in relation to a specific type of public official is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe to a specific public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by that specific type of public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the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

Frequency of contacts with bribe-taking public officials

Regardless of the specific zone of Nigeria, police officers are the type of public official with whom Nigerians have most frequent contact. Given that the risk of bribery is also highest in relation to police officers, it is not surprising that police officers account for a considerable share of all bribes paid in Nigeria: over one third (35.7 per cent) of all bribes paid in Nigeria go to police officers, while almost one fifth (19.3 per cent) go to public utility officers. Taken together, around 70 per cent of all bribes are paid to just five different types of official.

Figure 29: Percentage distribution of the total number of bribes paid, by public official, Nigeria, 2019



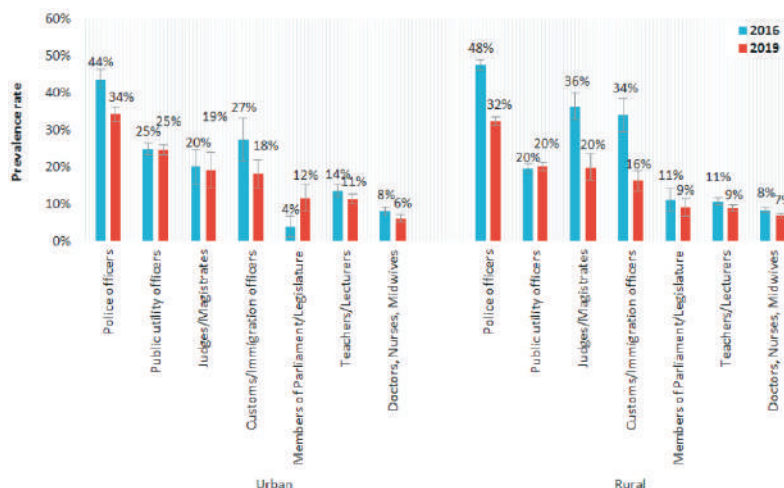
Note: Total number of bribes paid per type of official as a percentage of all bribes paid in 2019.

Public officials in urban and rural areas

Changes from 2016 in the prevalence of bribery in relation to most types of public official were not very marked, nor were there great differences between urban and rural areas. For example, from 2016 to 2019 the prevalence of bribery in relation to doctors, nurses and midwives decreased from 8 to 6 per cent in urban areas and from 8 to 7 per cent in rural areas; the prevalence of bribery in relation to school teachers and lecturers declined from 14 to 11 per cent in urban areas and from 11 to 9 per cent in rural areas; and the prevalence of bribery in relation to public utility officers remained the same, at 25 per cent in urban and 20 per cent in rural areas.

However, there are also some types of official for whom the prevalence of bribery changed significantly and in varying intensity due to the urban/rural area dimension. As shown in figure 30, the prevalence of bribery in relation to customs/immigration officers, judges/magistrates and police officers decreased significantly in rural areas, but less so in urban areas. In the case of members of parliament, the prevalence rate decreased only marginally in rural areas but increased significantly in urban areas. The result of the difference in magnitude of these decreases over the period 2016 to 2019 is that the urban-rural difference in the prevalence rate in relation to the four types of official mentioned has almost completely disappeared.

Figure 30: Prevalence of bribery, by urban/rural area and by type of public official (significant changes only), Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Gender and bribery

An interesting policy-relevant question is the role of gender, both in relation to the likelihood of citizens to pay bribes and to the inclination of public officials to request and take bribes. When it comes to paying bribes, the evidence (presented in chapter 4 of this study) shows that the prevalence of bribery in Nigeria (the likelihood of paying bribes when in contact with public officials) is higher for men than for women when in contact with most types of public official. When it comes to differences in the bribe-seeking behaviour of male and female public officials, however, the evidence is not so clear-cut and needs further study.

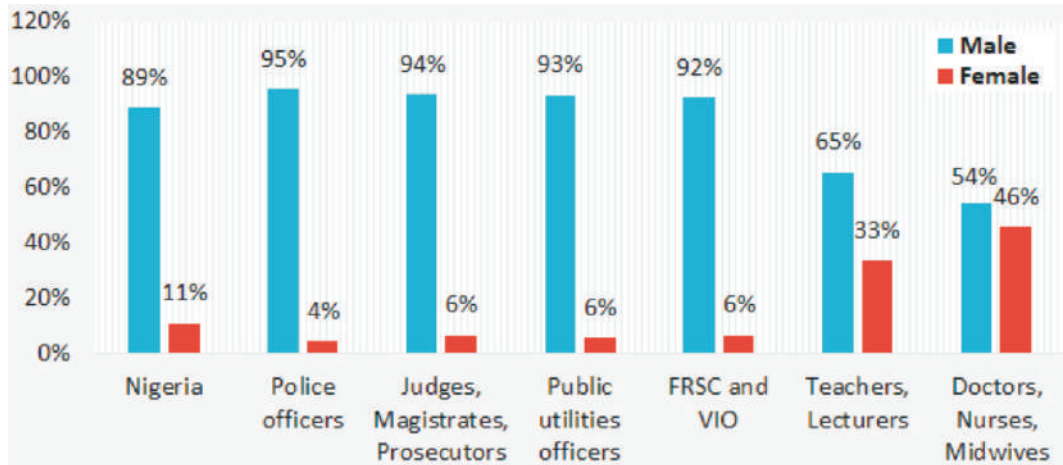
To shed some light on the bribe-seeking behaviour of male and female public officials, the 2019 survey collected information on the sex of the public official to whom the last bribe was paid. As shown in the figure below, in 89 per cent of such cases, bribe-taking public officials were male, while they were female in just 11 per cent of cases. The share of male bribe-takers was even larger in the case of police officers (95 per cent), judges and prosecutors (94 per cent), public utility officers (93 per cent) and Federal Road Safety Corps and vehicle inspection officers (92 per cent). By contrast, the share of female bribe-takers was considerably larger in the case of teachers (33 per cent) and doctors, nurses and midwives (46 per cent).

In all of those cases, however, the answer to whether male public officials are more prone to bribe-taking than female public officials is not a straightforward one. This is because the prevalence of bribe-taking by sex not only depends on the number of male and female bribe-takers, but also on the proportion of male and female officials among each type of public official and the number of direct contacts they have with citizens. For example, since preliminary data on the distribution of police officers by sex indicate that around 1 out of every 10 police officers is female, the finding that roughly 1 in 20 bribes paid to police personnel are paid to a female officer implies that female officers are roughly half as likely as male police officers to take bribes; however, this would only be the case if male and female police officers had the same frequency of contacts with the public. If, for any reason, female police officers were to perform tasks that make them significantly more or less likely to interact with the public, their likelihood of taking bribes would also change.

Data from the 2019 survey also point to interesting differences between male and female public officials in the form and modalities of bribery. For example, while 95 per cent of male bribe-takers are paid cash bribes, this share is considerably smaller among female bribe-takers (78 per cent). In addition, female public officials are more likely to accept food and drink (16 per cent) or valuables (4 per cent) as a form of payment, options that are less common for male bribe-takers (3 and 1 per cent, respectively).

To improve understanding of the gender-specific aspects of bribery and other forms of corruption, and why these differences exist, more research is needed that draws both on the wealth of data produced by the survey and complementary gender-disaggregated data on the number and functions of various types of public official. This, in turn, will help policymakers both to promote sexual equality in public service and to design and implement better anti-corruption policies.

Sex of public official receiving a bribe, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Results refer to the sex of the public official receiving the last bribe paid. FRSC stands for Federal Road Safety Corps officers; VIO stands for Vehicle inspection officers.

Foot Note

34. Data provided by Nigeria in the United Nations Crime Trends Survey 2014 indicate that in 2013 there were 327,000 male and 33,000 female police officers in Nigeria at the national level.
35. Such data can come either from administrative records or from separate surveys on the structure and functioning of public service in Nigeria.

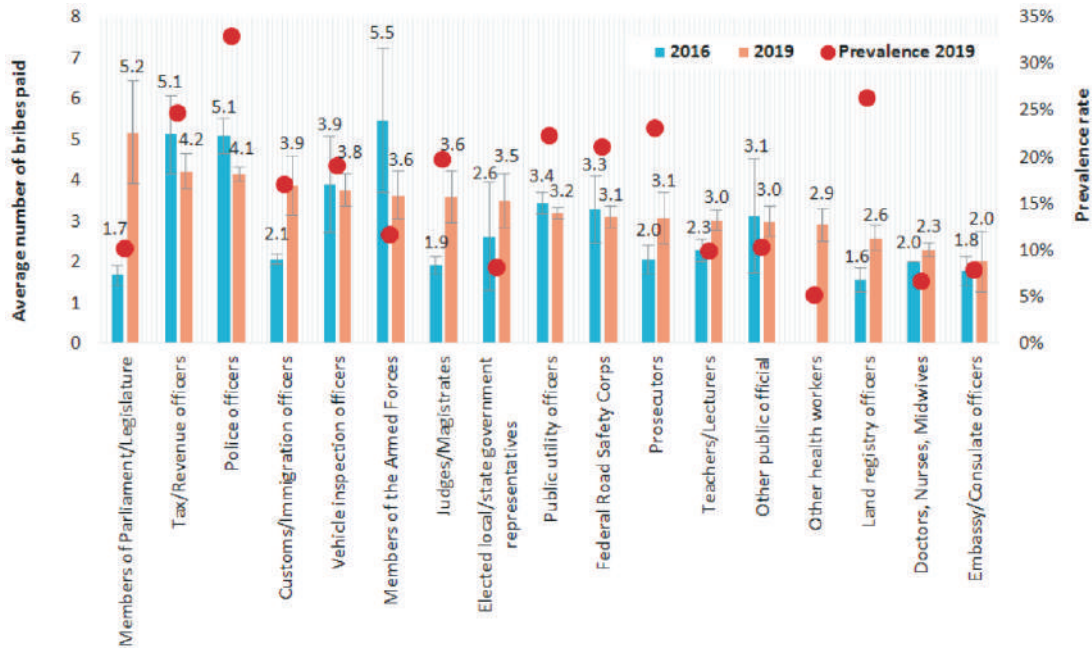
How often citizens pay bribes to public officials

As shown throughout this report, the payment of bribes is not randomly distributed across the population. From the analysis of bribery prevalence rates by type of public official and the examination of contact rates by type of public officials who take bribes, it is apparent that some citizens are more vulnerable than others to paying bribes to certain types of official and that people who pay bribes often have more than one contact with the public official in question.

As shown in figure 1, when taking into account all their interactions with different types of public official, bribe-payers reported paying an average of six bribes in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey (up from 5.8 bribes in 2016). However, that average masks large variations in the frequency of bribe-payments across public officials (ranging from 2.0 in the case of embassy/consulate officers to 5.2 in the case of members of parliament/legislature), indicating that bribe-paying in relation to certain types of public official is highly concentrated. For example, while one third of citizens in contact with police officers in 2019 paid them bribes and two thirds did not, those who paid bribes did so an average of four times. This means that bribe-paying does not tend to be an isolated event and that those who pay bribes are vulnerable to repeated bribe-paying, perhaps because they routinely face situations in which bribes can be extracted from them, possibly even in encounters with the same officials.

In addition to the prevalence of bribery by public official, the indicator for the average number of bribes paid to various types of public official reflects the vulnerability to bribery of certain individuals and groups who may be requested to make payments on a frequent basis. This concentration is very relevant from a policy standpoint, because it suggests that Governments may be able to address bribery by empowering those groups and individuals who are repeatedly involved in bribery incidents with particular types of public official.

Figure 31: Average number of bribes paid, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The average number of bribes paid is the average number of bribes paid to each specific public official by all individuals who paid a bribe to that same public official in the 12 months prior to the survey. The category "Other health workers" was not included in the 2016 survey. In the 2016 survey, Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) were called "Officials from Traffic Management Authority" and Vehicle inspection officers (VIO) were referred to as "Car registration/Driving licence agency officers".

Figure 31 illustrates the average number of bribes paid by bribe-payers to various types of public official and contrasts it with the prevalence rate by type of official. In addition, by including both 2016 and 2019 data, the figure illustrates trends in the average number of bribes paid. There is no uniform pattern across public officials: in the case of some types of official with a relatively higher prevalence rate (police and tax/revenue officers) there has been a decrease in the average number of bribes paid, while there have been significant increases in other cases (judges/magistrates, prosecutors, customs/immigration officers and members of parliament/legislature, land registry officers, teachers); another type (doctors, nurses and midwives) has experienced insignificant decreases or slight increases in the frequency of bribery. These levels of and trends in the average number of bribes paid by type of public official are thus not systematically linked to their prevalence rates.

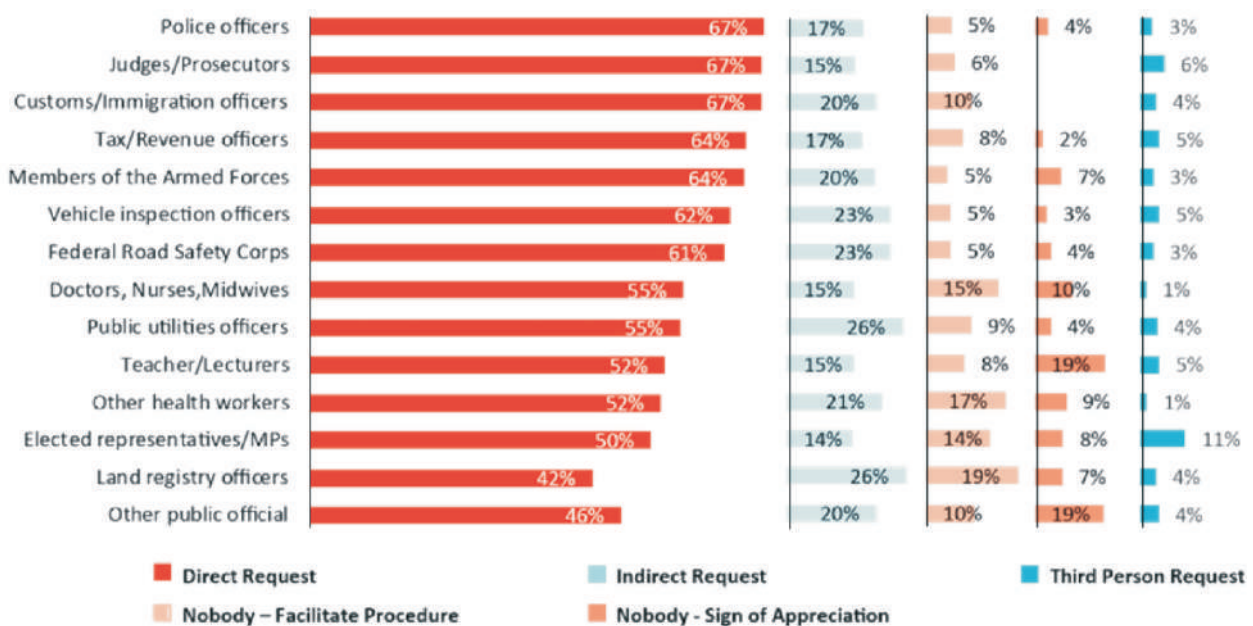
How and when public officials solicit bribes

As shown in chapter 2, direct bribery requests continue to be the most common source of bribery request or offer, with 60 per cent of all bribes being instigated this way (down from 66 per cent in 2016). However, depending on an official's function and relationship with the public in general, there are important differences in how bribes are solicited or offered by type of public official. In many cases, the greater the power of the official relative to the bribe-paying citizen, the greater their tendency to request a bribe directly, whereas other officials use more complex methods for instigating bribes, such as indirect requests or requests through a third party.

Public officials who are entrusted with some of the core functions of the State, not least those involved in law

enforcement and administering justice, account for some of the largest shares of direct bribe requests: in around two thirds of all bribes paid to police, prosecutors or judges/magistrates and members of the armed forces, the bribe payment is initiated by a direct request by those officials. Other officials that account for large shares of direct requests include customs/immigration service officers and tax/revenue officers. By contrast, yet other types of public official receive a relatively large share of bribes that are offered by bribe-payers to facilitate a procedure (for example, land registry officers; doctors, nurses and midwives; other health workers; elected local/state government representatives and members of parliament). In each of these cases, different strategies for tackling bribery requests and bribery offers are called for.

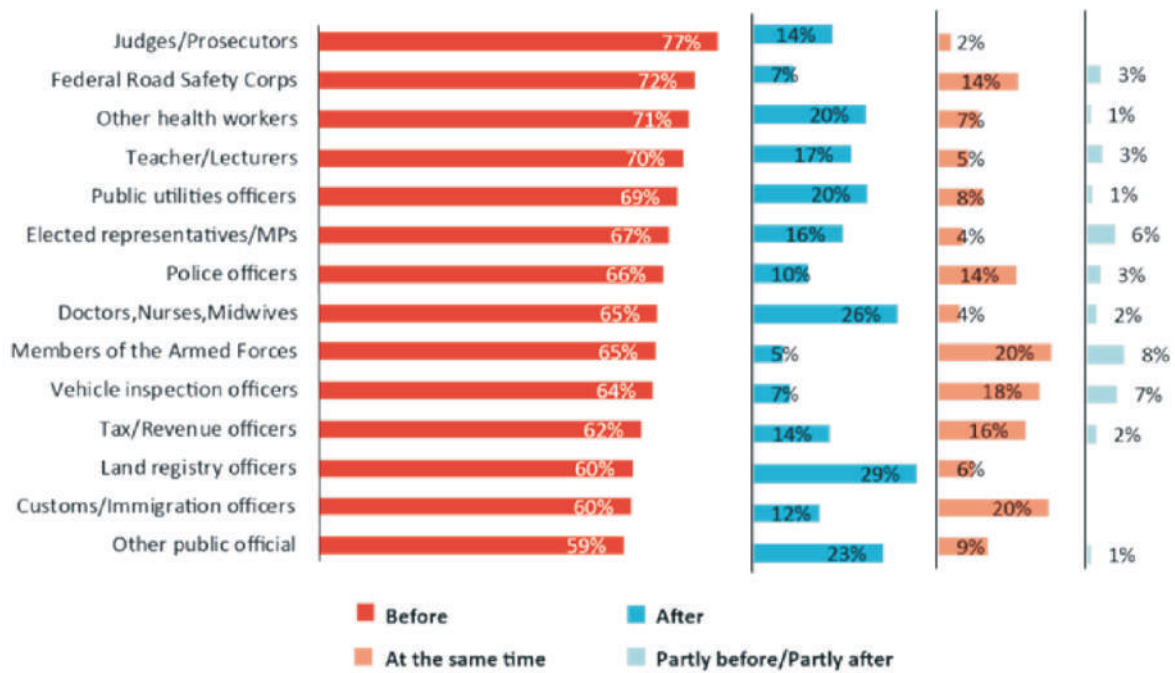
Figure 32: Percentage distribution of bribes paid, by type of public official and by modality of bribe request/offer, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid within the 12 months prior to the survey. The categories do not sum to 100 per cent because category "Do not know" is not shown in the chart.

Like the modality of bribery requests, the timing of bribe payments is an important indicator that provides insight into how bribery works. As shown in chapter 2, around two thirds (67 per cent) of all bribes paid in 2019 to any type of public official were paid before a service was provided, while only one seventh (15 per cent) was paid after the service. This general pattern of up-front payments held true across all types of official but was particularly pronounced in relation to prosecutors and judges/magistrates (77 per cent), a pattern consistent with the large share of bribes requested by those types of official. In line with this finding, the less a type of official's power to demand a bribe payment up-front, the higher the share of bribes paid after the provision of a service (land registry officers: 29 per cent; doctors, nurses and midwives: 26 per cent; other health workers: 20 per cent).

Figure 33: Percentage distribution of bribes paid, by type of public official and by timing of bribe payment, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid within the 12 months prior to the survey. The categories do not sum to 100 per cent because category "Do not know" is not shown in the chart.

What forms of bribe are paid to public officials

The vast majority of bribes paid to public officials in Nigeria take the form of cash payments, regardless of the type of public official to whom they are paid. For instance, in 2019 police officers and tax/revenue officers received 96 per cent of their bribes in the form of a cash payment, as did 95 per cent of public utility officers, 94 per cent of Federal Road Safety Corps officials and 93 per cent of vehicle inspection officers. However, some public officials did accept bribes in the form of food and drink, in particular embassy/consulate officers (28 per cent), elected local/state government representatives (25 per cent) and teachers/lectures (15 per cent). Bribery in the form of an exchange with other services only occurred in rare cases, as did exchanges with other non-monetary valuables.

Size of bribes paid to public officials

As shown in Chapter 2, the average cash bribe paid in Nigeria in 2019 was NGN 5,754, or \$52 PPP. As mentioned previously, this average masks huge variations in the size of cash bribes, which depends on a number of factors, such as the economic reasons for which bribes are paid, the service sought at the time of payment and the zone where bribes are paid. Similarly, there are large variations in the size of bribes according to the type of public official who receives them.

Among all types of public official, with an average of NGN 35,871, the largest cash bribes were paid to elected local/state government representatives in 2019. Relatively large average amounts were also paid to

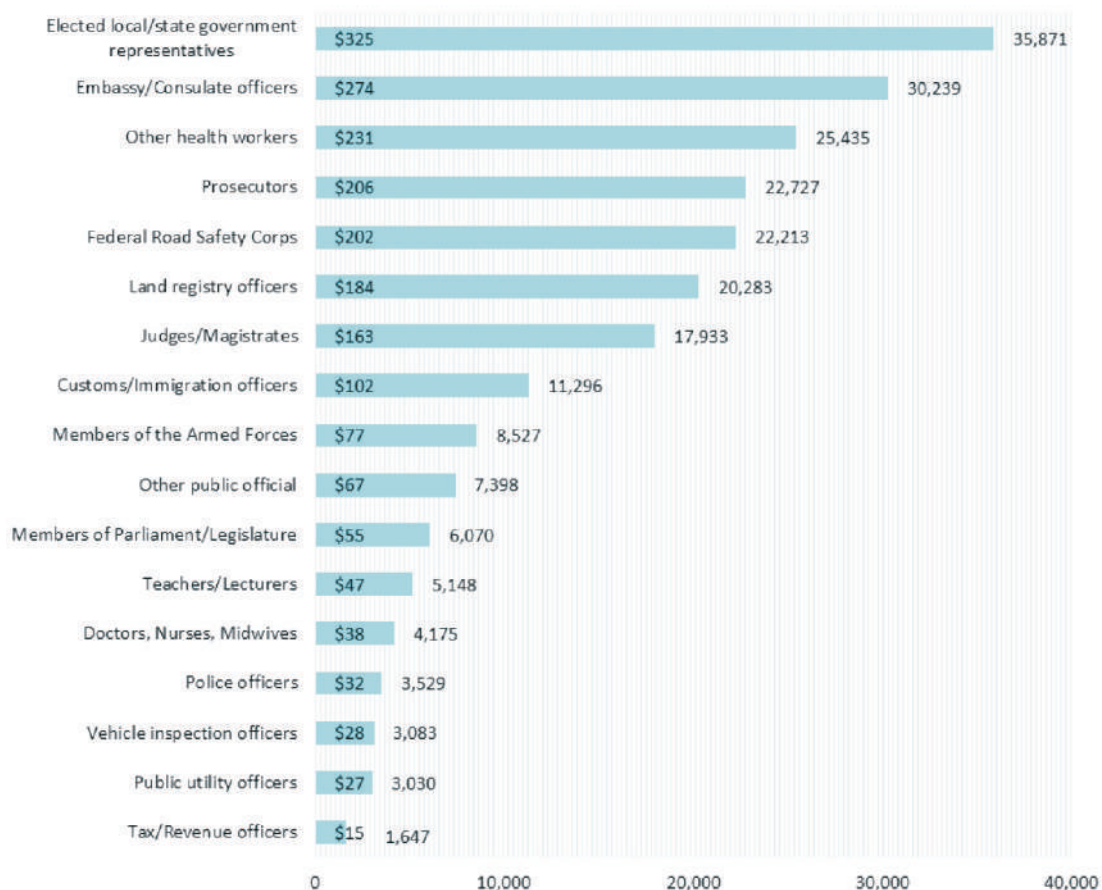
embassy/consulate officers (NGN 30,239), prosecutors (NGN 22,727), Federal Road Safety Corps officials (NGN 22,213), land registry officers (NGN 20,283) and judges/magistrates (NGN 17,933). By contrast, much smaller average amounts were paid to teachers/lecturers (NGN 4,175), doctors, nurses and midwives (NGN 4,175), police officers (NGN 3,529), vehicle inspection officers (NGN 3,083), public utility officers (NGN 3,030), and tax/revenue officers (NGN 1,647).

Foot Note

36. It should be noted that these averages are strongly influenced by a few large bribes identified in the 2019 survey, which raise the average bribe sizes considerably.

These disparities suggest very distinct dynamics in the payment of bribes, depending on the public official on the receiving end of those payments. It is notable that the largest average bribes are paid to public officials with whom most citizens have little contact in their daily lives. This suggests that large bribes, although relatively rare, are generally paid to influence important decisions by public officials, which can have substantial economic or personal consequences (for example, by influencing elected representatives, embassy/consulate officers, or prosecutors and judges). Conversely, the dynamics behind smaller bribes seem to be related to public officials with whom Nigerians have more frequent contact (such as police officers, public utility officers and tax/revenue officers) as well as to bribes that are paid to avoid moderate fines or sanctions, to maintain utility connections or to reduce tax payments.

Figure 34: Average bribe size (Nigerian Naira), by type of public official, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Why bribes are paid to public officials

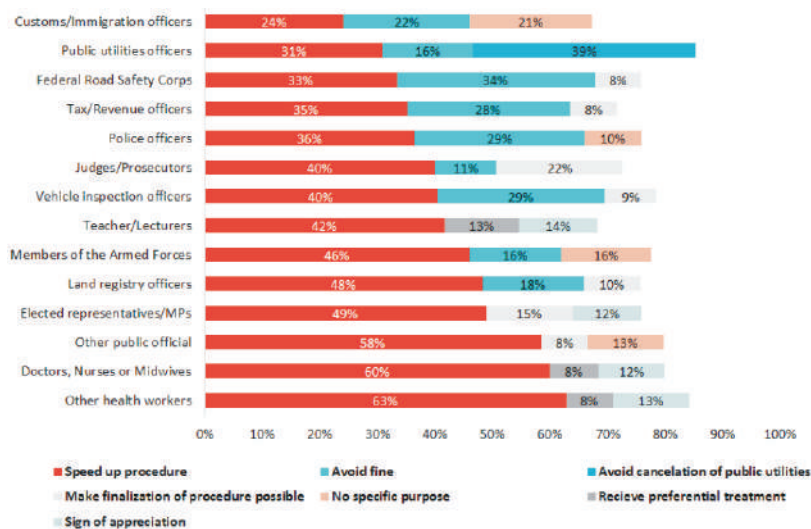
As discussed in Chapter 2, in 2019 the most important reason for paying a bribe to any type of public official was to speed up a procedure (38 per cent, up from 32 per cent in 2016) and to avoid the payment of a fine (21 per cent, up from 18 per cent in 2016). The differentiation of this general pattern by type of public official can provide some interesting insights.

As shown in figure 35, in 2019 speeding up a procedure was the most important reason for paying a bribe to doctors, nurses and midwives, other health workers (60 - 63 per cent), members of parliament/elected government representatives (49 per cent) and land registry officers (48 per cent). As expected, bribes paid to avoid the payment of a fine were an important motive in bribery transactions with police officers (29 per cent), Federal Road Safety Corps officers (34 per cent), Vehicle inspection officers (29 per cent) and tax/revenue officers (28 per cent).

Enabling the finalization of a procedure is often given as a reason when the service in question would not have been provided without the payment of a bribe (for example, the issuance of a travel document, a case either brought to court or withdrawn, a building permit given). This is the main purpose of bribes paid to judges/prosecutors (22 per cent) and a major reason that bribes are paid to elected local/state government representatives and members of parliament (15 per cent).

Public utility officers mostly receive bribes to avoid the cancelation of a public utility service (39 per cent). Bribes paid for the purpose of receiving preferential treatment occur in interactions with healthcare professionals (8 per cent for doctors, nurses, midwives and others) and with teachers/lecturers (13 per cent). Finally, bribes as a sign of appreciation are mainly paid to teachers/lecturers (14 per cent), doctors/nurses and midwives (12 per cent), other health workers (13 per cent) and elected local or state government representatives/members of parliament (12 per cent).

Figure 35: Most important purposes of bribe payments, by type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey. Some types of public official shown here have been aggregated to increase the number of observations and increase the accuracy of the results: judges/magistrates with prosecutors; 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.

Who Pays Bribes

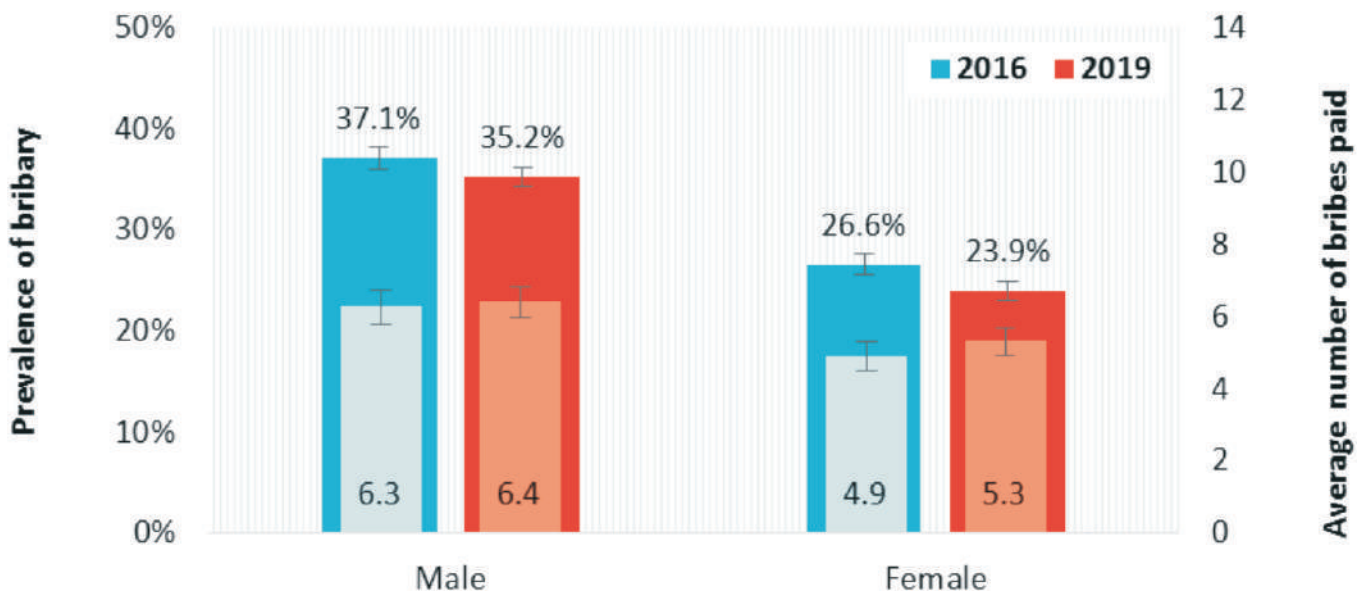
This chapter focuses on the vulnerability of citizens who pay bribes to public officials, according to their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, including age, sex, educational attainment, income and employment status. A more nuanced analysis is provided by looking in detail at those who are more or less vulnerable to paying bribes to certain types of public official. In this way, important insights into the nature of bribery can be obtained that can help define priorities for anti-corruption efforts in Nigeria.

Who bribe-payers are

Sex dimension

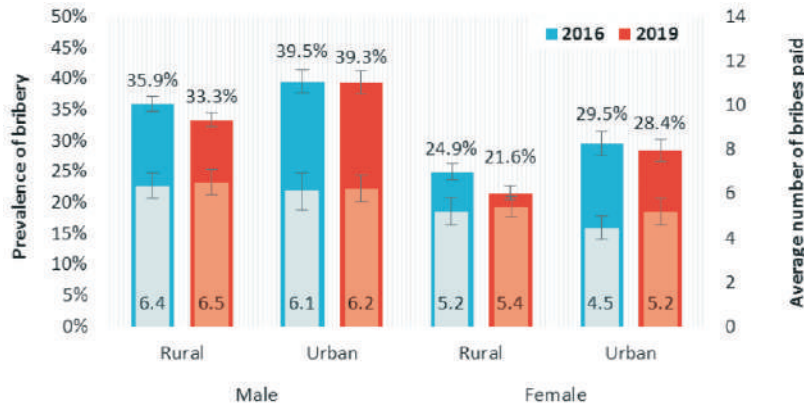
As in the survey conducted in 2016, a significant disparity between men and women in the prevalence of bribery was also noted in the 2019 survey. Although at a slightly lower level for both sexes, the difference was, at more than 10 percentage points, almost exactly the same as in 2016. The disparity becomes even greater when factoring in the urban/rural dimension, as the data show, both in 2016 and 2019, that women living in rural areas are those least likely to pay bribes, whereas men living in urban areas are the most likely.

Figure 36: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by sex, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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.

Figure 37: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by sex and urban/rural area, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



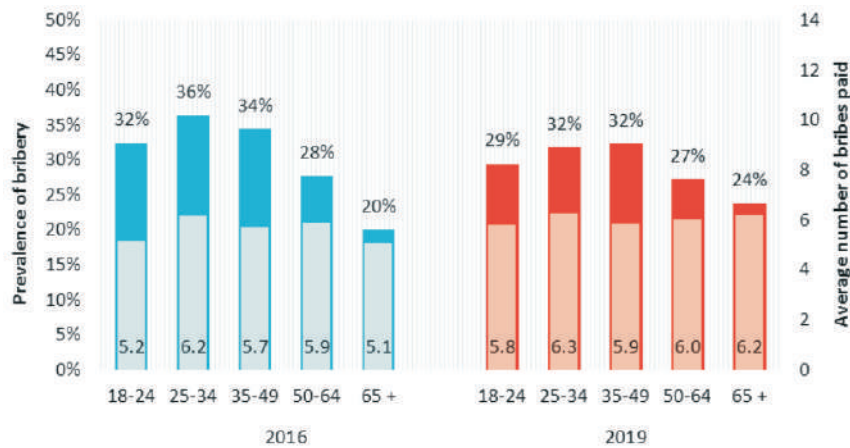
Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage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

To a lesser extent, the disparity between men and women in the average number of bribes paid was also consistent across both surveys. On average in 2019, women paid one bribe less per year than men and, in contrast to the prevalence rate, the average number of bribes paid did not depend on the urban/rural dimension for either men or women.

Age dimension

The prevalence and frequency of bribery varies across age groups in Nigeria. In 2019, the prevalence of bribery reached its peak in the 25-34 and the 35-49 age groups and decreased thereafter (figure 38). This is a similar pattern to the prevalence of bribery in 2016, although at a somewhat lower level. Likewise, and in line with the overall increase in the frequency of bribery, there was an increase in the average number of bribes paid by each age group.

Figure 38: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by age group, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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.

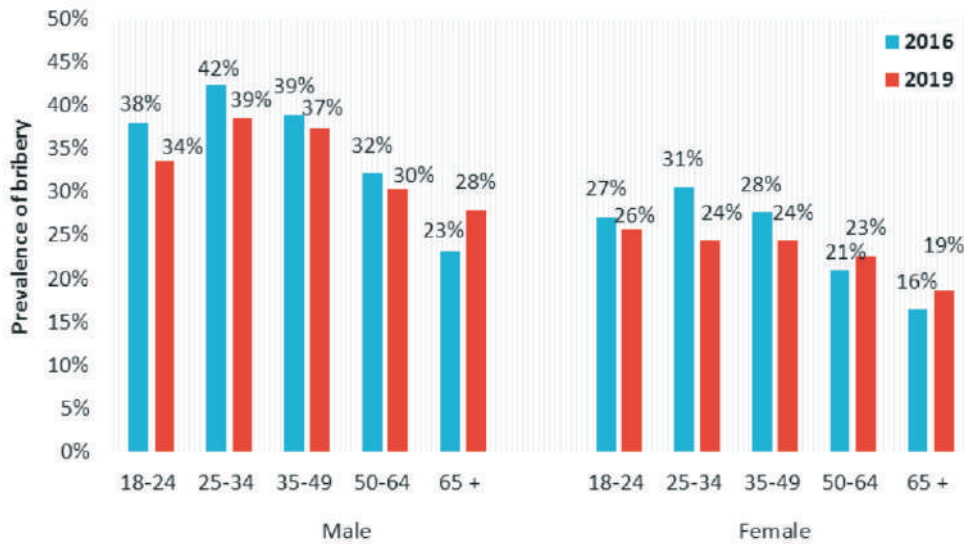
When looking at the age-specific pattern of bribery prevalence by sex, an interesting aspect of the age of bribe-payers in Nigeria can be observed: at 39 per cent in 2019, the peak among men aged 25-34 was much more pronounced, while there was almost no variation across age groups among women. Moreover, men in all age groups are more likely than women to pay bribes and, more specifically, young men are more than twice as likely as older women to pay bribes.

The age-specific prevalence of bribery by sex was lower in 2019 than in 2016 across almost all age groups among both sexes, with the exception of those comprising people aged over 50. These findings point to the vulnerability of young adult males to bribe-paying when in contact with public officials.

Foot Note

- 37. An exception is the age group 65 and older, which shows an increase in the prevalence of bribery from 20 to 24 per cent and an increase in the frequency of bribery from 3.7 to 6.2 bribes paid from 2016 to 2019. However, due to the small sample size of this age group, the change is not statistically significant and may be the result of random error. Overall, the average age of bribe-payers increased only slightly, from 37.4 to 37.9, from 2016 to 2019.
- 38. As in the case of the overall 65 and older age group, changes in the bribery prevalence rate of this age group by sex are not statistically significant because of the small sample size.
- 39. Overall, the average age of male bribe-payers increased from 38.4 to 38.7 from 2016 to 2019, while the average age of female bribe-payers increased from 35.6 to 36.4.

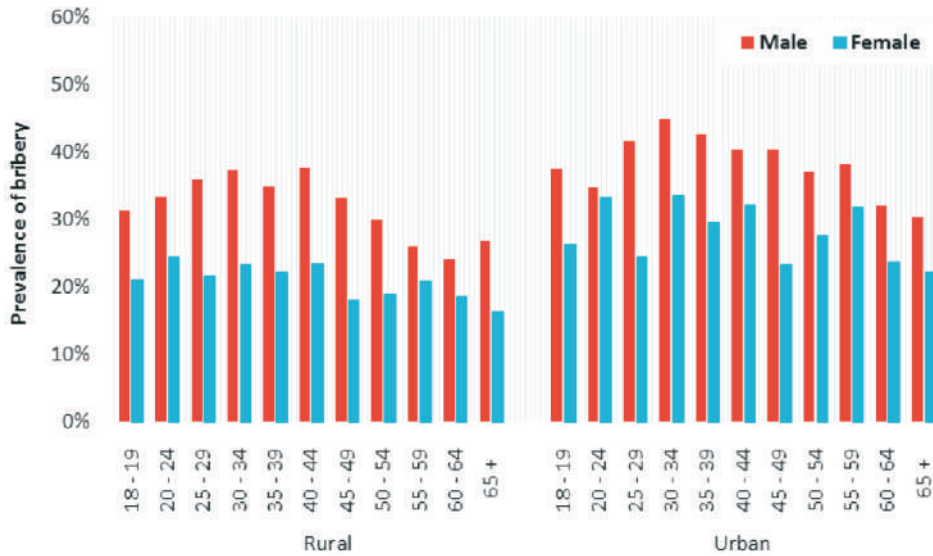
Figure 39: Prevalence of bribery, by age group and sex, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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 vulnerability of males to bribe-paying is also apparent when focusing on the urban/rural dimension, as men living in urban areas have the highest exposure to bribery across all age groups, while women in rural areas have the lowest. The gender gap is also present across all age groups, irrespective of urban/rural residence: the highest prevalence rate is recorded in the case of men aged 30-34 (45 per cent) and 35-39 (43 per cent) living in urban areas.

Figure 40: Prevalence of bribery, by age (five-year age bands), sex and urban/rural area, Nigeria, 2019



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 to pay 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.

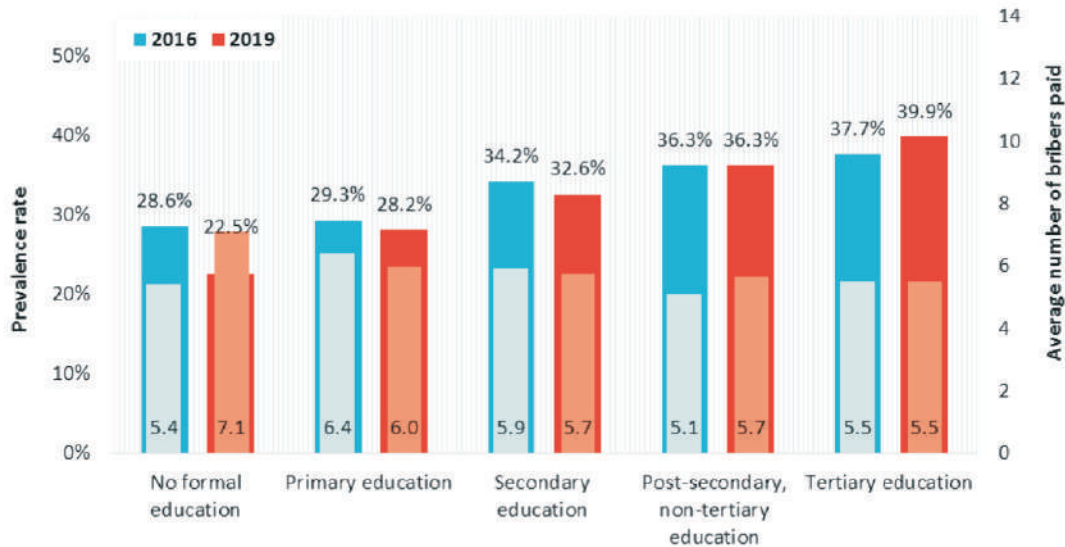
Education dimension

People with different levels of education experience bribery in different ways. This is not only because of differences in attitude and behaviour when dealing with public officials, but also because of differences in the type of public official dealt with and the type of public services sought, not to mention the fact that corrupt public officials are likely to target certain socioeconomic groups more than others. In general, in both the 2016 and 2019 surveys, it was found that the higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the prevalence of bribery.

In 2019, Nigerians with the highest level of (tertiary) education, for example, were almost twice as likely as people with no formal education to report that they had paid a bribe when in contact with a public official. The most educated were also more likely to pay larger amounts in bribes than those with a low level of education: in 2019, Nigerians with a low level of educational attainment spent an average of 2,800 NGN (\$25.4 PPP) on bribes, whereas the most educated Nigerians spent roughly 15,000 NGN (\$136.1 PPP). One reason for this pattern of larger bribes and increasing prevalence of bribery among those with comparatively higher levels of education is that those people also tend to have comparatively higher incomes and thus greater means to pay bribes (see section on the economic dimension of bribery below).

Yet, Nigerians with no formal education who paid a bribe did so more often over the course of the previous 12 months than more educated bribe-payers (7.1 bribes versus 5.5 bribes paid). This pattern points to a series of small bribes being paid by poorer bribe-payers.

Figure 41: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by educational attainment, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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 difference in the prevalence of bribery between the most and least educated groups in Nigeria increased from 9 to 18 percentage points from 2016 to 2019, which was largely driven by a decrease in the prevalence of bribery among people with no formal education.

Employment status

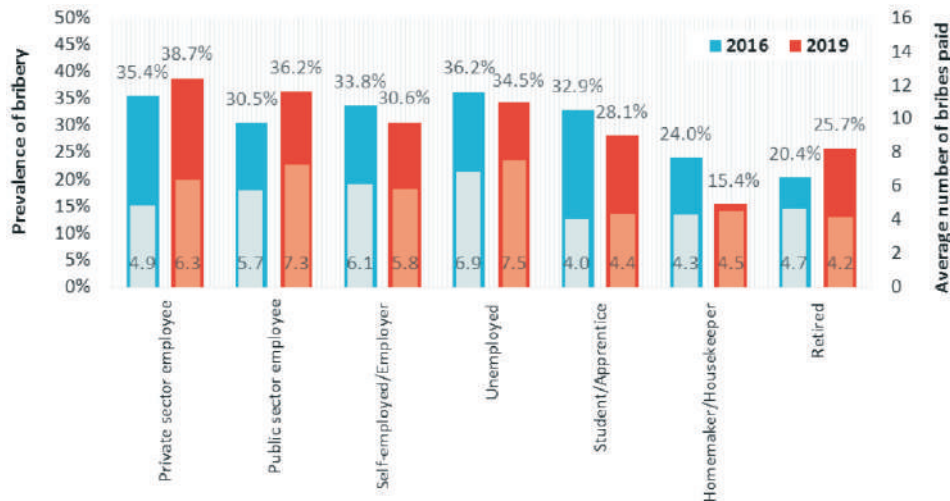
As in 2016, 2019 survey data show that there is a strong association between employment status and the prevalence bribery. For example, at 39 per cent, citizens with salaried positions in the private sector had the highest prevalence of bribery, which represents an increase of four percentage points since 2016. The prevalence of bribery among citizens employed in the public sector underwent an even larger, statistically significant, increase, from 30 to 36 per cent. This shows that public sector employees are not immune to paying bribes themselves. In terms of the frequency of bribery, the number of bribes paid by both private and public sector employees also increased across the two surveys.

Although decreasing since 2016, the prevalence of bribery among the self-employed has remained relatively high (31 per cent). Somewhat surprisingly, unemployed citizens have an even higher risk of paying a bribe (34 per cent) than the self-employed.

Foot Note

40. Includes employers with their own businesses.

Figure 42: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by employment status, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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. Private sector employee includes those in the faith-based sector.

Occupation

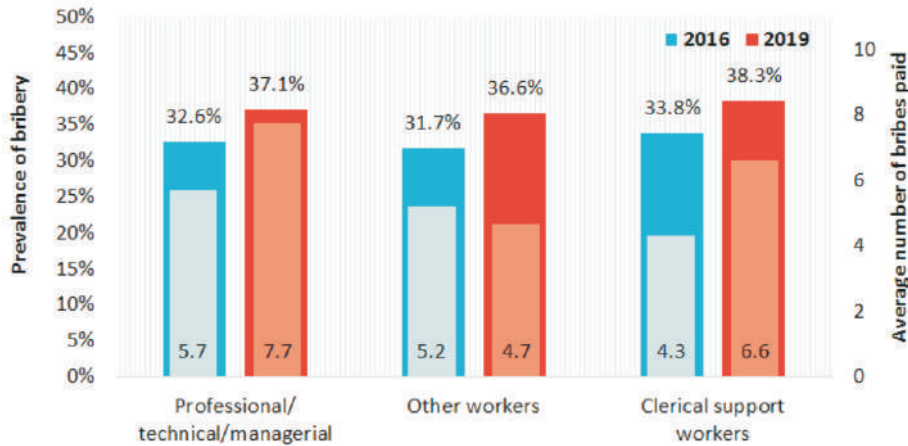
According to 2019 survey data, public and private sector employees make up around 15 per cent of the adult working population in Nigeria. In the survey, a distinction is made between three types of occupation of people working in those sectors: professional, technical or managerial, clerical support workers, and other types of workers. There was an increase in the prevalence of bribery across all those types of occupation from 2016 to 2019 and, although they entail very different types of interaction with public officials, their exposure to bribery is almost the same. However, people in professional, technical or managerial positions pay larger bribes and much more frequently, especially in comparison with clerical support workers. The average amount professional and managerial staff spends on bribes is around 20,000 NGN (\$181.5 PPP), while clerical support workers spend 3,700 NGN (\$33.6 PPP).

The disparities in the frequency and amount spent on bribes are to a large extent explained by the type of public official that clerical workers interact with and the services they request. For example, professional or managerial staff are more likely to pay a bribe for obtaining a government contract, which usually involves large bribes being paid, whereas clerical support workers are more likely to pay bribes for medical visits, which are associated with smaller bribes.

Foot Note

41. Employees in the faith-based sector are also included.
42. The adult working population includes people currently employed either as self-employed people or in the public/private sector. The unemployed, students and housewives are excluded. According to 2019 survey data, 80 per cent of the adult working population is self-employed, 8.2 per cent are employed in the public sector, 5.5 per cent in the private sector and the rest are employers (5.5 per cent) and employees in the faith-based sector (1.4 per cent).
43. Professional, technical or managerial includes IT specialists, accountants, lawyers, doctors, researchers, managers, senior officials, etc. Clerical support workers include receptionists, office assistants, etc. "Other types of workers" refers to drivers, cleaners, labourers, machine operators, etc.

Figure 43: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by type of occupation, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

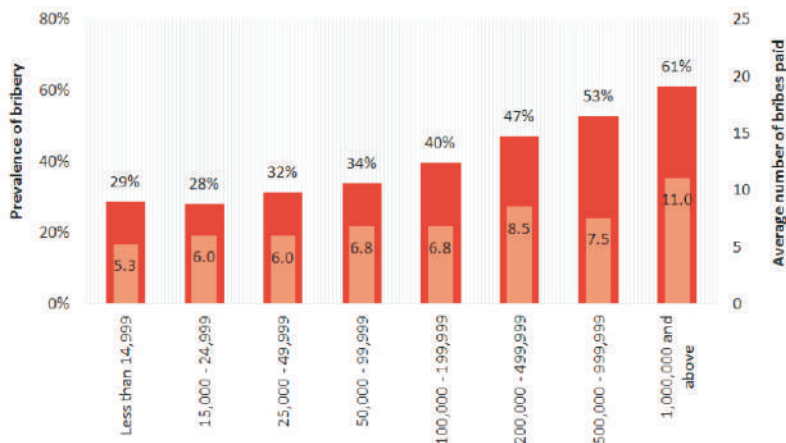


Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage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

Economic dimension

Analysis of the monthly household expenditure (as a direct proxy for income levels) of Nigerian households shows a clear pattern in the prevalence of bribery: as monthly household expenditure (household income) increases, so too does the prevalence of bribery, which varies from 29 per cent for those spending (monthly) less than NGN 14,999 (\$136 PPP) to 61 per cent for those spending NGN 1,000,000 or more (\$9,072 PPP). The average number of bribes paid also shows a gradual increase, with bribe-payers from better-off households (household expenditure of NGN 1,000,000 and above) paying an average of 11 bribes in the 12 months prior to the survey. This means that the prevalence and frequency of bribery of the most prosperous households in Nigeria are more than double those of the poorest.

Figure 44: Prevalence and frequency of bribery, by monthly household expenditure (Nigerian Naira), Nigeria, 2019



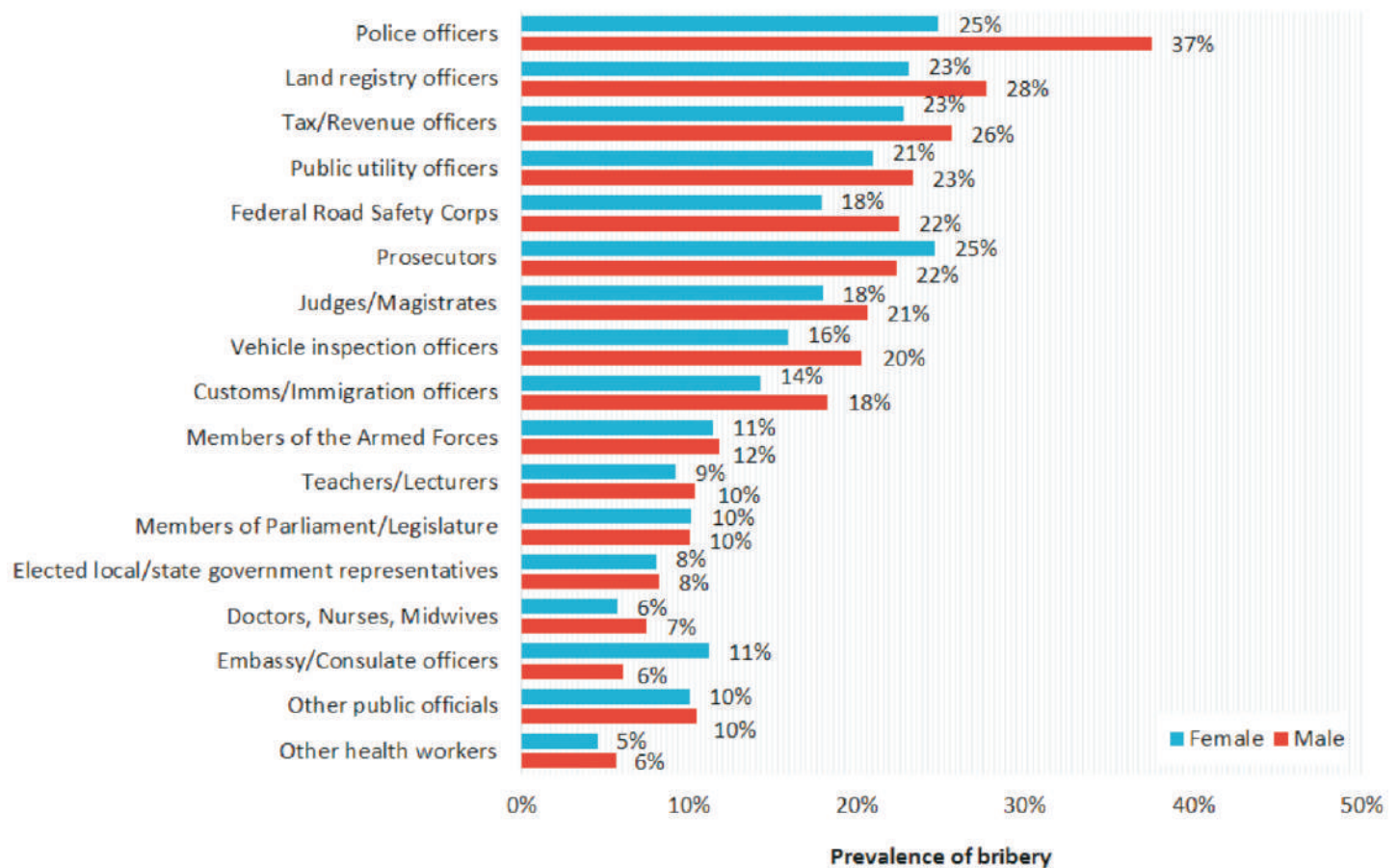
Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage 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 amounts in US dollar amounts (PPP) are as follows (from left to right): less than \$136, \$136-\$226, \$226-\$453, \$453-\$907, \$907-\$1,814, \$1,814-\$4,536, \$4,536-\$9,072, above \$9,072.

Who pays bribes to which public officials

While the analysis of the prevalence of bribery by sex, educational attainment and economic status provides a number of useful insights into the socioeconomic characteristics of bribe payers, a more nuanced analysis of the type of public official to whom bribes are paid reveals some surprising patterns.

Disaggregation of the prevalence of bribery by sex and type of public official confirms the overall trend presented in chapter 1 of this report: men are more likely to pay bribes than women to almost all types of public official, which was also the case in 2016. The exceptions in 2016 were judges, magistrates and prosecutors, to whom a larger share of women than men paid bribes. In 2019, that was no longer the case for judges/magistrates, but a larger share of women than men continued to pay bribes to prosecutors. In addition, in 2019, a larger share of women than men also reported paying bribes to embassy/consulate officers (Figure 45).

Figure 45: Prevalence of bribery, by sex and public official, Nigeria, 2019



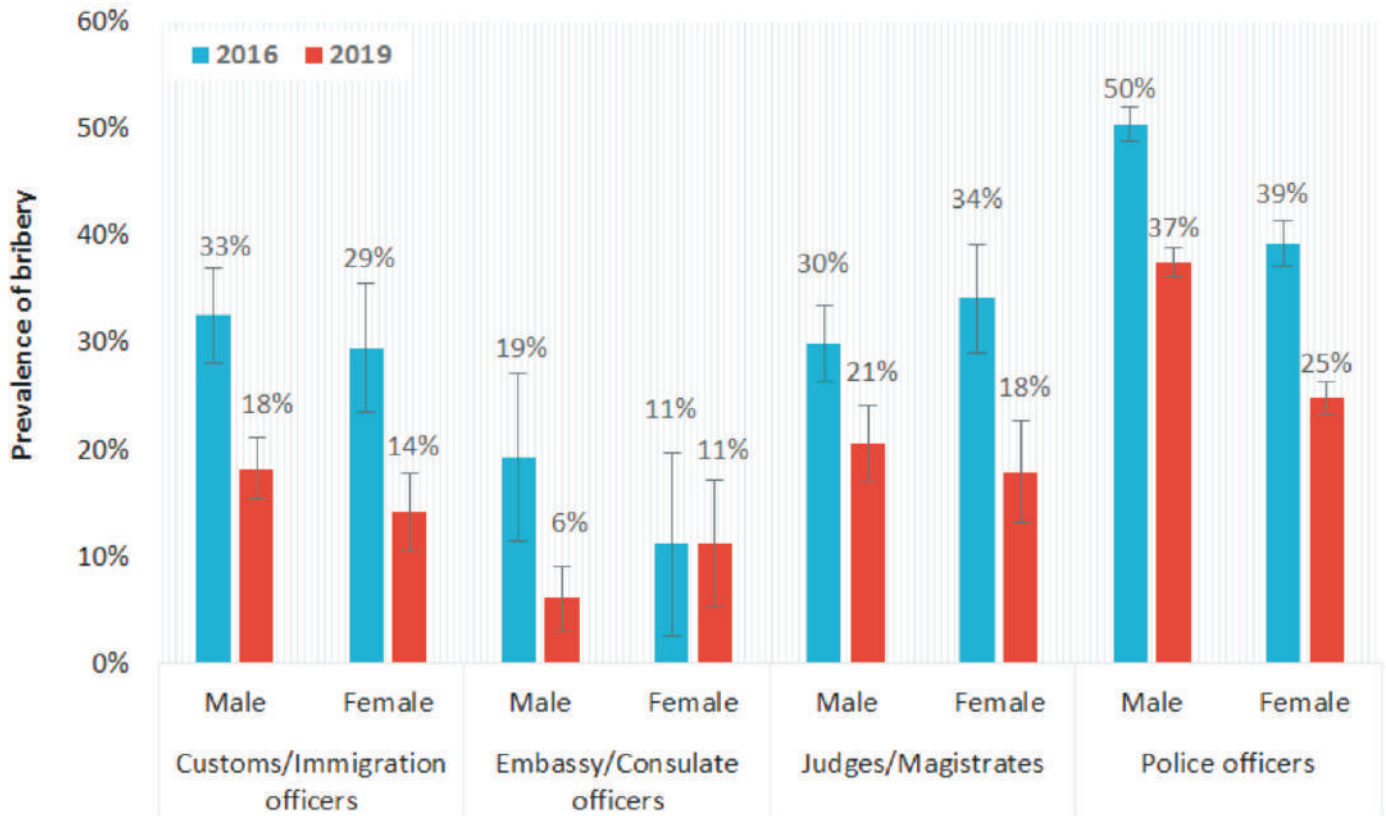
Note: The prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official and who paid a bribe to a public official, or were asked to pay a bribe by a public official, on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage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

The bribery prevalence rate by sex and type of public official only changed in relation to a few types of public official from 2016 to 2019. For example, there was a large and statistically significant decrease in the prevalence of bribery of both men and women in relation to customs/immigration officers, judges/magistrates and police officers. The decrease in the prevalence of bribery in relation to judges and police officers was larger among women than among men. On the other hand, the prevalence of bribery in relation to embassy/consulate officers decreased only among men while remaining roughly constant among women. Therefore, the gender gap in the prevalence of bribery in relation to several types of public officials has narrowed. Yet, as discussed above, a statistically significant disparity between the sexes persists in relation to police officers.

Foot Note

44. The analyses in this subsection include the public officials in relation to whom there was a statistically significant increase or decrease in the prevalence of bribery from 2016 to 2019 with respect to the variables analysed.

Figure 46: Prevalence of bribery, by sex and type of public official, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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 to pay 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.

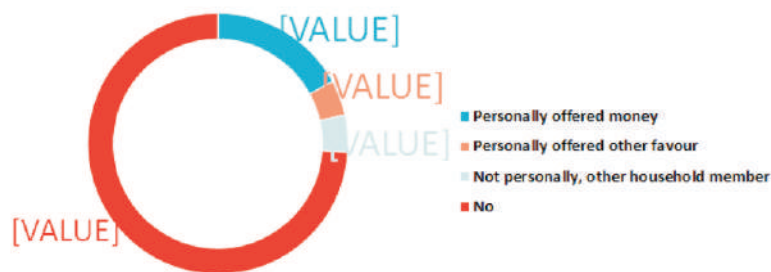
Other Forms Of Corruption

The previous chapters have presented a comprehensive picture of the extent, nature and mechanisms of bribery in Nigeria, as well as of the characteristics of those who request and those who make bribery payments. There are, however, other forms of corruption that extend beyond the acts commonly associated with bribery, such as vote-buying and nepotism in public sector recruitment, promotion and access to public services. This chapter looks in depth at those other forms of corruption.

Vote-buying

According to the survey data collected in May/June 2019, 21 per cent of the adult population of Nigeria reported that they were personally offered money or a favour in exchange for their vote in the last national or state election. More precisely, 17 per cent of survey respondents were personally offered money while 4 per cent were offered a favour in exchange for their vote. A further 5 per cent reported that they were not personally offered a bribe in exchange for their vote, whereas another member of their household was offered a bribe. To eliminate any possible bias that could result from an indirect experience of a bribe being offered to family members, the following analysis focuses on the percentage of the adult population that was personally offered money or a favour in return for their vote in the last national or state election.

Figure 47: Percentage distribution of vote-buying, by recipient of offer, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians who reported that they or their household members were personally offered money or a favour in exchange for their vote.

With such a large percentage of people having either direct or indirect experience of vote-buying during the last elections, it is not surprising that the perception of the frequency of the occurrence of electoral fraud is a negative one throughout Nigeria. For example, in 2019, 86 per cent of the population reported that they perceived electoral fraud to take place either very frequently or fairly frequently in the country, while only 3 per cent perceived that electoral fraud never happens in Nigeria. These perceptions have remained unchanged since the question was

Foot Note

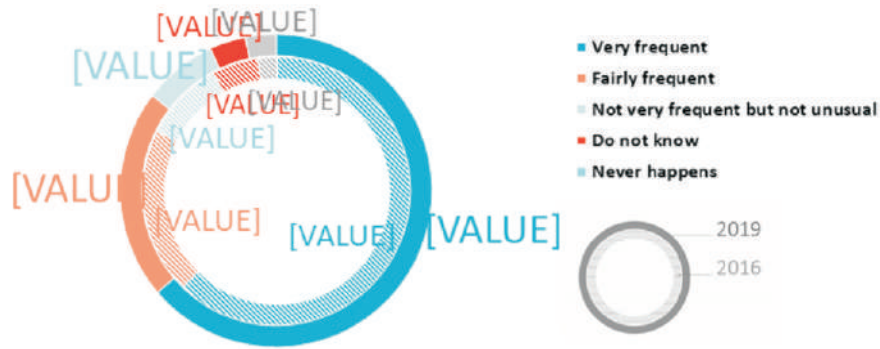
45 For the purpose of this report, vote-buying is defined as the act of offering money or other goods or favours in exchange for the vote of a voter in elections.

46 National and state elections typically take place every four years in Nigeria.

47 Electoral fraud includes vote-buying but may also include other forms of electoral fraud such as ballot stuffing, miscounting votes, voter list manipulations, etc.

asked in the 2016 survey. As in the case of bribery, however, these findings show that the actual experience and perception of vote-buying do not correspond. This may be because once a negative perception has taken hold, it can be difficult for actual experience to change it.

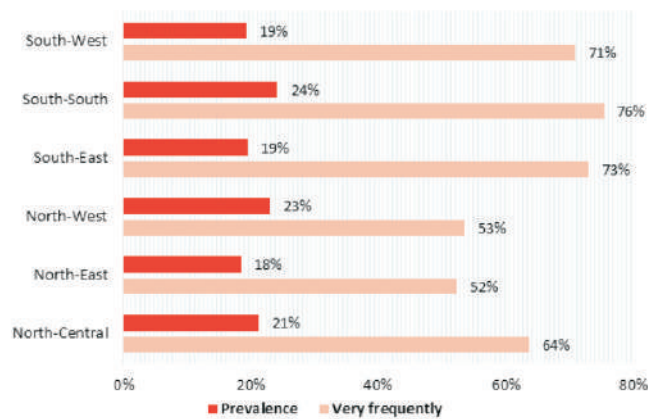
Figure 48: Percentage distribution of perceptions of the frequency of electoral fraud, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians who think that electoral fraud happens either very frequently; fairly frequently; not very frequently but it is not unusual; never; do not know.

There is considerable variation in the perceptions of electoral fraud across the six zones of Nigeria. For example, the South is much more negative about the frequency of electoral fraud than the North, with more than 70 per cent of people in the South perceiving that electoral fraud happens very frequently, whereas more than 50 per cent in the North perceive the same thing. Actual experience of vote-buying as experienced by Nigerians is far less varied across the country's six zones, however, with no North-South divide over the issue.

Figure 49: Share of Nigerian citizens who perceive electoral fraud to happen very frequently versus actual prevalence of vote-buying, by zone, Nigeria, 2019



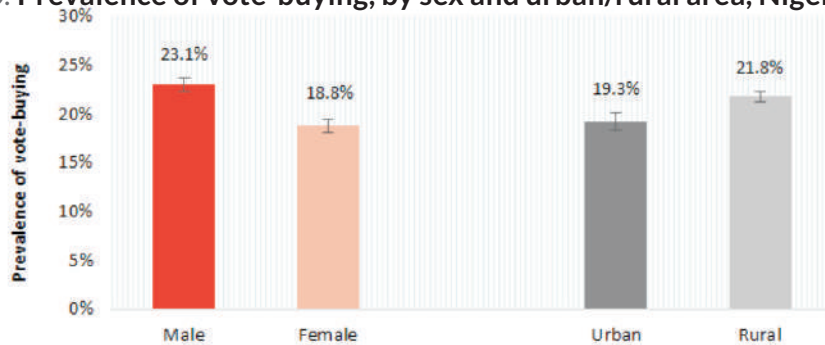
Note: The prevalence of vote-buying is defined as the share of adult Nigerians that were personally offered money or some other favour in exchange of a vote.

Who is affected by vote-buying?

The socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of Nigerian citizens offered a bribe for their vote can provide insights into specific vulnerabilities to vote-buying. For example, there is a significant difference between men and women, with men (23.1 per cent) reporting a higher prevalence of vote-buying than women (18.8 per cent). A

difference also exists between urban and rural areas, with a smaller share of people living in urban areas (19.3 per cent) being offered money or a favour in exchange for their vote than in rural areas (21.8 per cent).

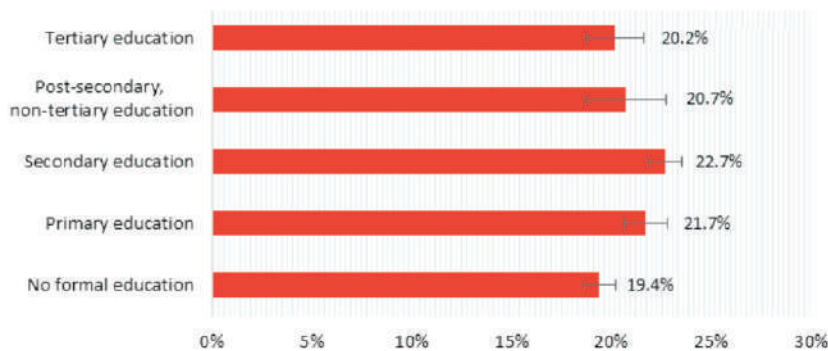
Figure 50: Prevalence of vote-buying, by sex and urban/rural area, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians that were personally offered money or some other favour in exchange of a vote.

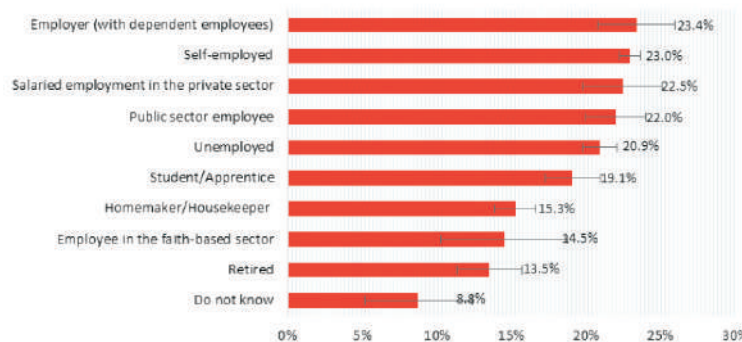
Moreover, although the difference is not great, there is also an educational dimension in how people are targeted by vote-buyers. Among Nigerian citizens with no formal education 19.4 per cent encountered instances of vote-buying while people with either a primary or secondary education report slightly higher levels (22–23 per cent). Age also seems to play an import role in vote-buying, although only for men, among whom it peaks in the 25–35 age group then gently declines thereafter. Vote-buying among women, by contrast, remains constant across the different age

Figure 51: Prevalence of vote-buying, by educational attainment, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians that were personally offered money or some other favour in exchange of a vote.

Figure 52: Prevalence of vote-buying, by employment status, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians that were personally offered money or some other favour in exchange of a vote.

Last but not least, the employment status of survey respondents results in a very interesting finding: the prevalence of vote-buying is highest among self-employed citizens with dependent employees (23.4 per cent) and the self-employed without employees (23 per cent), followed by private and public sector employees. It is not surprising that self-employed and public and private sector employees are targeted more often than others, due to their potentially greater socioeconomic influence.

Nepotism in recruitment and promotion in the public sector

Corruption in recruitment and promotion have a detrimental effect not only on public sector efficiency, productivity and management of public resources, but also on the fight against corruption itself. Corruption leads to the hiring and promoting of people who are predisposed to bribery, which creates a vicious circle from which it is difficult to escape. This section presents evidence on Nigerians' experience of nepotism in public sector recruitment and promotion practices.

Nepotism in public sector recruitment

As the public sector is the largest employer in Nigeria, nepotism in public sector recruitment is a key concern as it both affects a large number of people and fundamentally undermines the Government's anti-corruption agenda because it plays directly into the self-justification of corrupt public officials. With its high level of job security, the public administration is the most stable form of employment in the country and Nigerian citizens show a high level of interest in public sector jobs. According to the 2019 survey, 5.3 per cent of Nigerian citizens are employed in the public sector, a share that has remained roughly constant since 2016.

Nigerian public institutions emphasize uniformity, standardization and transparency in recruiting competent applicants on the basis of merit and technical competence. Yet despite these formal criteria, there is a widespread perception that the recruitment process does not always ensure equity and transparency. Indeed, when asked in 2019 how common they think it is for public officials to help friends or relatives to land a job in the public sector, 84 per cent of Nigerians considered this a practice that happens either very or fairly frequently, a share that has decreased only marginally since 2016. There are some minor regional variations in that perception, but over 75 per cent of people in each of the country's zones think that nepotism has an influence on public sector recruitment practices.

As in the case of perceptions about corruption itself, perceptions about nepotism and corruption in recruitment may present a distorted picture of the actual situation. To get a realistic view of how big a role bribery and nepotism play in recruitment, promotion and access to public services, the present survey directly investigated actual experience of those practices in the three years prior to the survey. The survey findings indicate that almost one out of five Nigerians had either direct or indirect experience of applying for a position in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey, meaning that the respondent applied for a position either personally or that a member of his/her family did; this share has remained more or less stable since 2016. Of those who applied, 23 per cent were either

personally selected for that position or had a household member who was selected, a significant increase since 2016.

Foot Note

48 For an overview of formal principles and procedures in recruitment to the Nigerian civil service, see UNODC, *Corruption in Nigeria. Bribery: public experience and response* (Vienna, 2016), p. 47.

49 More precisely, this concerns the period June 2016 to May 2019.

Figure 53: Share of households with members who applied for a position in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey and were selected, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

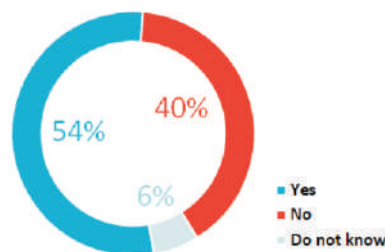


Note: Share of Nigerian households with members who applied for a position in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey; and the share of households with members who applied for a position and were selected in the three years prior to the survey.

The majority of the successful applications for public sector positions were for professional, technical or scientific jobs (42 per cent), while a smaller share of successful applicants obtained a managerial or senior official position (8 per cent). The rest were in services, sales, agriculture, etc., (26 per cent) –and clerical support (18 per cent). Among those whose application was unsuccessful, 36 per cent thought the reason was nepotism, 16 per cent thought it was bribery, 9 per cent discrimination, and the rest either did not know the reason or thought that someone else was a better fit for the position.

Public sector employees are normally hired on the basis of their educational and professional expertise, which is evaluated through a competitive examination comprised of a written test/oral interview. A two-step recruitment process (review of qualifications and written test or exam) should not only guarantee a fair and transparent recruitment process, but should also ensure that only capable employees are hired. This is particularly relevant for professional, scientific and managerial positions for which the recruitment of highly-qualified staff is essential. However, the survey data indicate that this is not always the case, as 40 per cent of those who secured a position in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey did not go through a written test/oral interview.

Figure 54: Share of successful applicants for public sector positions who underwent a written test/oral interview, Nigeria, 2019



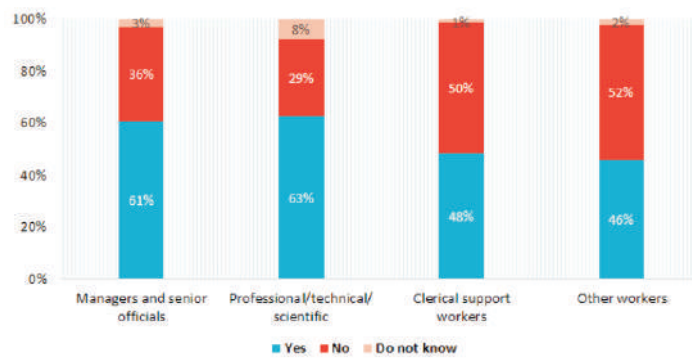
In principle, the completion of a competitive recruitment process should be mandatory for all types of public sector positions, but that is not the reality of public sector recruitment in Nigeria. For example, those who apply for a position as a clerical support worker or other type of worker are more likely to secure the position without having to undergo a test or interview than people applying for managerial and professional positions. However, even 29 to 36 per cent of those in managerial or professional positions in the public sector of Nigeria did not have to undergo a competitive process to secure their position.

Foot Note

50 Includes receptionists, office assistants, etc.

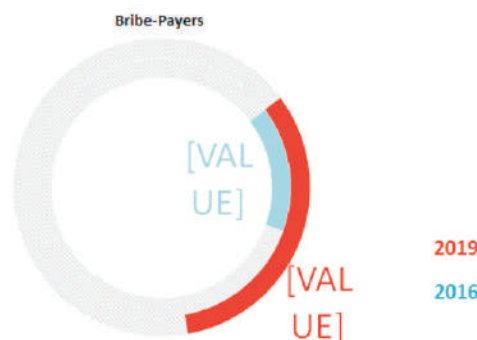
51 Include workers in sales, services, agriculture, craftsmen, machine operators, drivers, cleaners, labourers, etc.

Figure 55: Share of successful applicants for public sector positions who underwent a written test/oral interview, by type of occupation, Nigeria, 2019



Indeed, these findings suggest that a considerable share of successful applicants for posts in the public sector are not subjected to a fair and transparent recruitment process, which leaves the recruitment process vulnerable to corrupt practices. The survey examined successful applicants' experience of two types of corrupt practice: bribery and nepotism. Purely in relation to bribery, 32.5 per cent admitted that they, either personally (16.4 per cent) or through a member of their household (16.1 per cent), paid a bribe to facilitate their recruitment. This is more than double the share in 2016, when the combined total was 16 per cent.

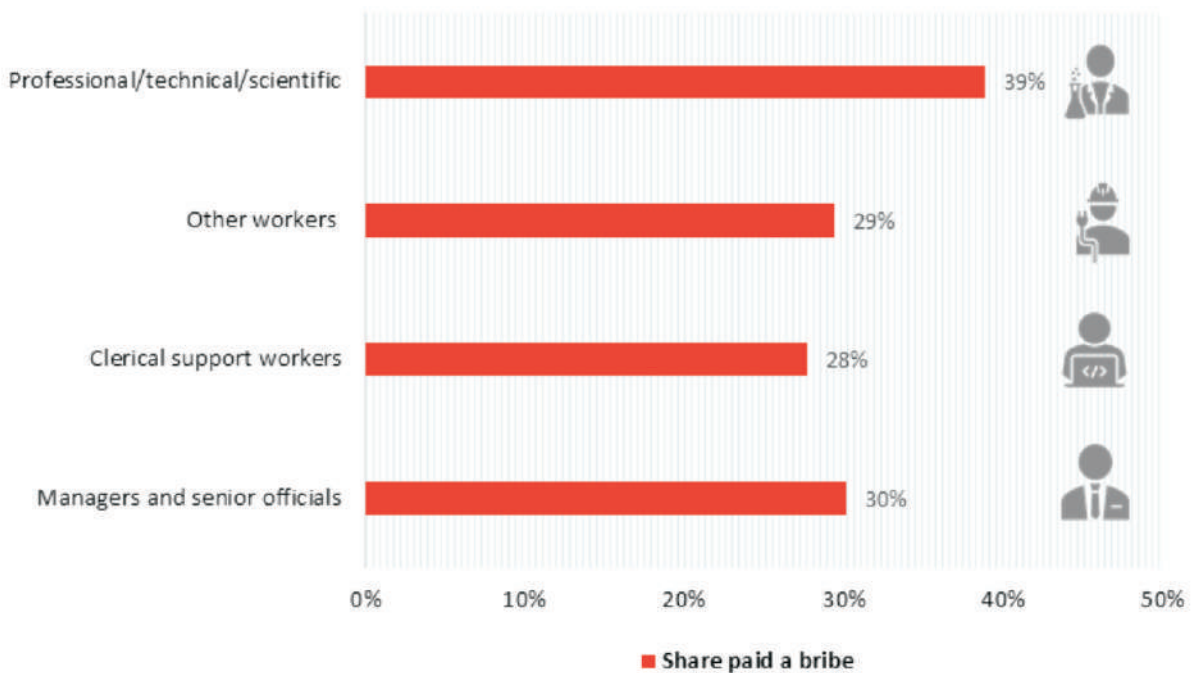
Figure 56: Share of successful applicants for public sector positions who paid a bribe to secure the position, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe in order to secure a position in the public sector out of all adult Nigerians who secured a position in the public sector in the past three years.

The share of successful applicants in 2019 who paid a bribe to secure their position varied only moderately across different types of public sector position. As shown in figure 57, the share was largest in the case of employees in professional, technical or scientific jobs (39 per cent) and smallest in the case of clerical support workers (28 per cent).

Figure 57: Share of successful applicants for public sector positions who paid a bribe to secure the position, by type of occupation, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians who paid a bribe in order to secure a position in the public sector out of all adult Nigerians who secured a position in the public sector in the past three years, by type of occupation.

Bribery is one way to unduly influence the public sector recruitment process, nepotism is another. The 2019 survey found evidence that a considerable number of people recruited into the public sector secured their posts with the help of a friend or relative, many in addition to paying a bribe: of all successful applicants, 28 per cent were helped by friends or relatives (of whom 57 per cent did not pay a bribe, while 41 per cent did pay a bribe). In total, only half of successful applicants neither resorted to bribery nor to nepotism in order to land a public sector position.

As mentioned above, the failure to follow formal recruitment procedures can result in the process being left vulnerable to corrupt practices. Indeed, when comparing successful applicants who underwent a test/interview with those who did not, a striking difference emerges (figure 1.5). In cases when a formal test or interview was part of the evaluation, significantly more applicants reported that they neither resorted to paying a bribe nor to receiving help from a friend/relative (55 per cent versus 47 per cent). Irrespective of whether or not a test or interview was part of the evaluation process, a large share of successful applicants still got their jobs by being helped by a friend or relative, by paying a bribe, or both.

However, in cases when no objective method of evaluation, such as a written test and/or interview, was used, a much larger share of successful applicants (41 per cent) resorted to bribery to land their public sector position, compared

with 22 per cent of successful applicants who underwent a formal test or interview.

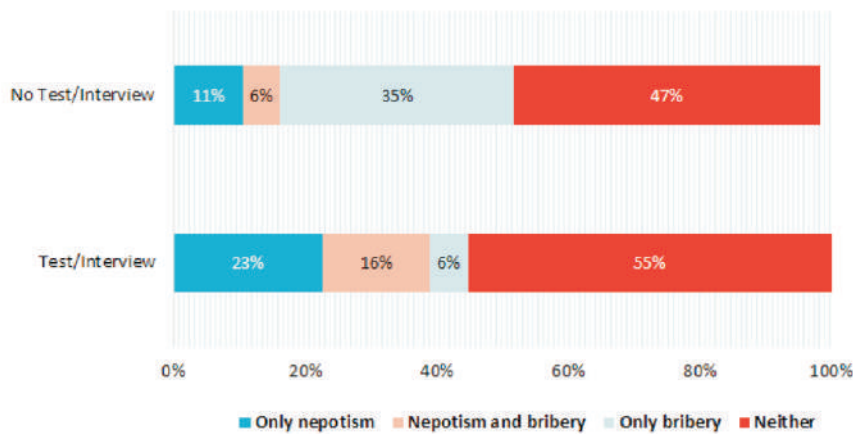
Therefore, although a formal evaluation procedure such as an interview and/or written test reduces the influence of corrupt practices in public sector recruitment marginally, such a procedure is not sufficient in itself to create a fair and transparent process.

Foot Note

52 Results are very similar when looking at people who reported having the requisite educational or professional background for the job. Among those with the requisite educational/professional expertise, 83 per cent did a test, while only 36 per cent of successful applicants without the requisite education or experience did a test. As educational and professional experience are subjectively evaluated by respondents, the focus of the discussion is on objective criteria such as having to undergo an interview or a written test.

53 As shown in figure 58, of those who did not do a test/interview, 35 per cent paid only a bribe with no help from friends/relatives and a further 6 per cent paid a bribe and got help from a friend or relative (total of 41 per cent), while of those who did a test/interview, just 6 per cent paid a bribe only with no additional help from friends/relatives, and a further 16 per cent paid a bribe and got help from a friend or relative.

Figure 58: Share of successful applicants for public sector positions who used nepotism, bribery or both, by completion of written test and/or interview, Nigeria, 2019



Nepotism in the public sector promotion process

Nepotism and bribery are not only present in public sector recruitment, they can also play a role in job promotion. Almost a third (32 per cent) of public sector employees stated that they were promoted in the three years prior to the survey, the majority of whom had to undergo a written test or an oral interview (84 per cent) to secure the promotion. A small minority of those promoted conceded that they paid a bribe to secure their promotion, were helped by friends or relatives, or both: 2.4 per cent paid a bribe only, 7.4 per cent were helped by friends or relatives, and 5.0 per cent both paid a bribe and were helped by friends.

Nepotism and access to public services

Access to public services is another area where bribery and nepotism can have a significant negative impact on the life of ordinary Nigerians. Financially disadvantaged people with no relatives or friends to help them may have greater difficulty than others in accessing essential public services.

To assess whether nepotistic practices exist in addition to bribery in public service access, the survey collected data on citizens' experiences of obtaining important documents from public institutions in the three years prior to the survey. The findings show that 7 per cent of all Nigerian citizens requested such a service and the vast majority of them were successful (81 per cent).

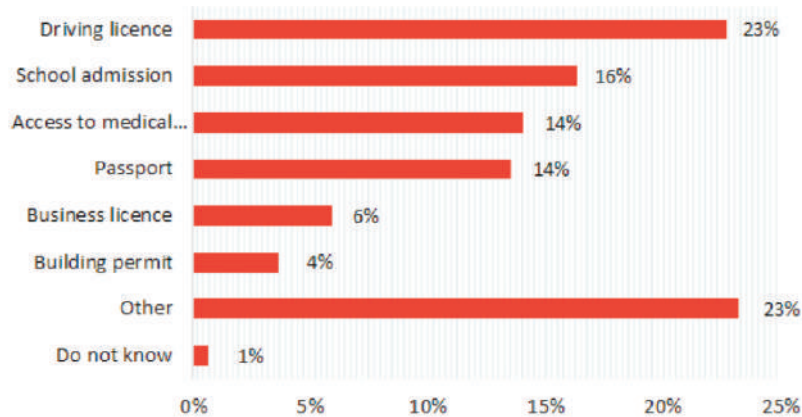
Figure 59: Share of Nigerians who applied for a document in a public institution in the three years prior to the survey and obtained the document, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Share of adult Nigerians who applied for a document from a public institution in three years prior to the survey and obtained the document.

The most commonly requested document was a driving licence (23 per cent), followed by documents relating to school admission, documents relating to access to medical services and international passports. Building permits and business licences were requested to a much smaller extent.

Figure 60: Types of document applied for in the three years prior to the survey, Nigeria, 2019

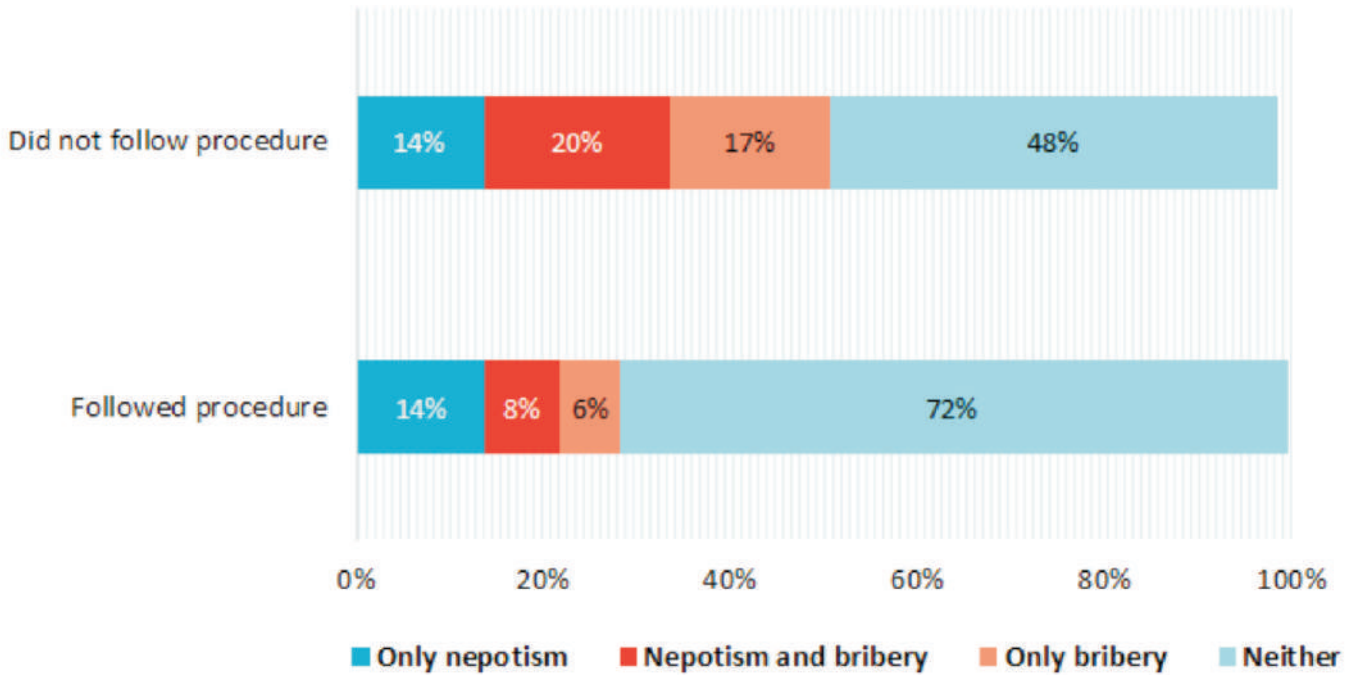


Note: Types of document that Nigerian citizens applied for in the three years prior to the survey.

As in the case of recruitment, promotion and other public services, there are various ways in which people can illicitly facilitate and speed up a procedure: they can pay a bribe, get help from a friend or a relative working in a public institution, or both. Nevertheless, 82 per cent of all people who applied for and obtained the document requested, reported that they stuck strictly to the formal procedure. Overall, 67 per cent of all applicants reported that they neither paid a bribe nor asked for the help of relatives or friends.

There are notable differences between people who stick to a formal procedure and those who do not. Those who strictly follow formal procedures are less likely to pay a bribe or ask for the help of relatives or friends. Indeed, of the people who strictly adhered to the official procedure, 28 per cent resorted to illicit means of obtaining the document requested, whereas when official procedures were not followed over half (52 per cent) resorted to nepotism or bribery, or both.

Figure 61: Share of Nigerians who used nepotism, bribery or both to obtain a document, by following official procedure or not, Nigeria, 2019



Note: Share of respondents who reported obtaining a document by being helped by a relative or friend; by paying a bribe; or by both; out of respondents who applied and obtained a document from a public institution in the past three years.

Foot Note

54 The share of successful applicants reporting the payment of a bribe here, cannot be compared to the figures reported under the prevalence of bribery in relation to certain administrative procedures above, as the shares reported in this section relate to applicants who successfully procured a document only, whereas prevalence rate relates to all citizens in contact with public officials.

How Citizens Respond To Bribery

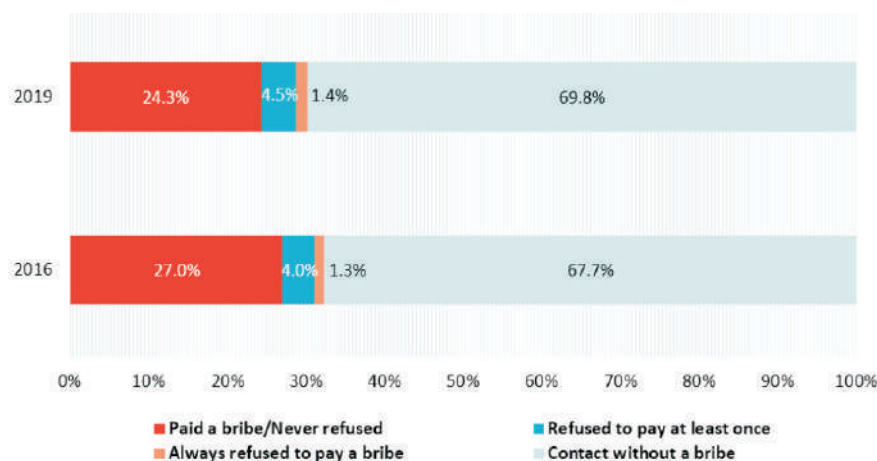
Not all bribes requested from citizens result in an actual bribe-payment. In certain cases, citizens refuse to pay a bribe when requested to do so. Furthermore, regardless of their decision to make a payment or not, individuals also differ in their willingness to report their bribery experience to official institutions tasked with investigating such events. Generally, citizens' attitudes to bribery vary greatly, as well as their reactions to and experience of bribery. This chapter is a description of those attitudes and reactions.

Citizens who refuse to pay bribes

Out of all Nigerians who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the 2019 survey, around 69.8 per cent never paid, nor were requested to pay, a bribe. The majority of the remaining 30.2 per cent always made a bribe payment when requested to do so (24.3 per cent), in contrast to the 4.5 per cent who refused to pay a bribe at least once (but paid on other occasions), and the 1.4 per cent who always refused to pay a bribe requested. Since 2016, the percentage of citizens in contact with a public official who refused to pay a bribe upon request has increased, though marginally, from 5.3 per cent to 5.9 per cent, which is an indication that many Nigerians still do not consider rejecting a bribe request to be a viable option.

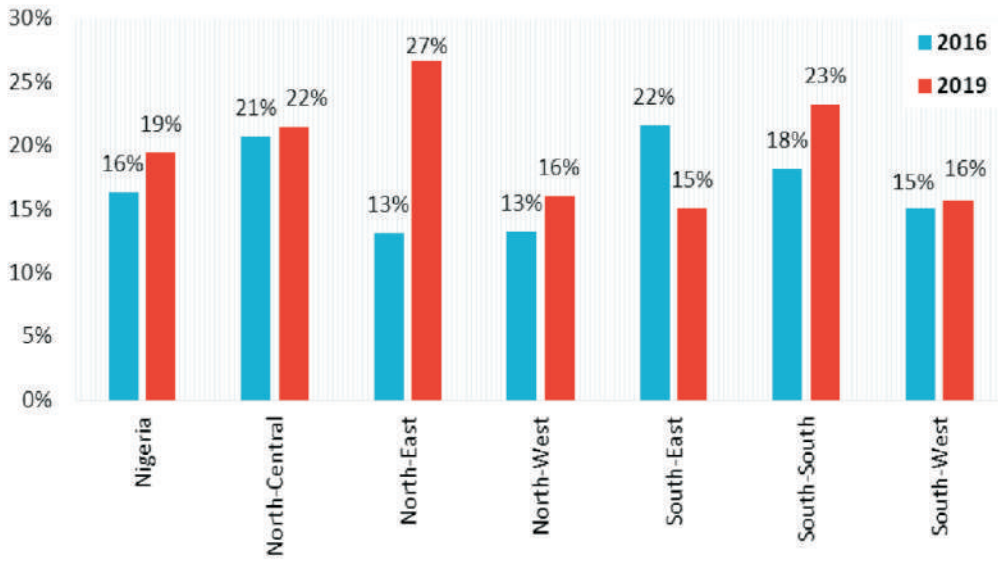
When faced with a bribe request, only one in five Nigerian citizens (19 per cent) asked to pay a bribe, refused to do so. While this represents an increase in the bribery refusal rate from 2016, when it was only 16 per cent, it also implies that refusals continue to be rare and that Nigerians perceive a benefit in paying a bribe, or a risk in refusing to pay a bribe, when requested to do so. It also implies that when public officials attempt to elicit bribes, they are usually successful and do so with impunity – an outcome that may embolden such officials to make even more bribe requests.

Figure 62: Proportion of Nigerian citizens 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 and 2019



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

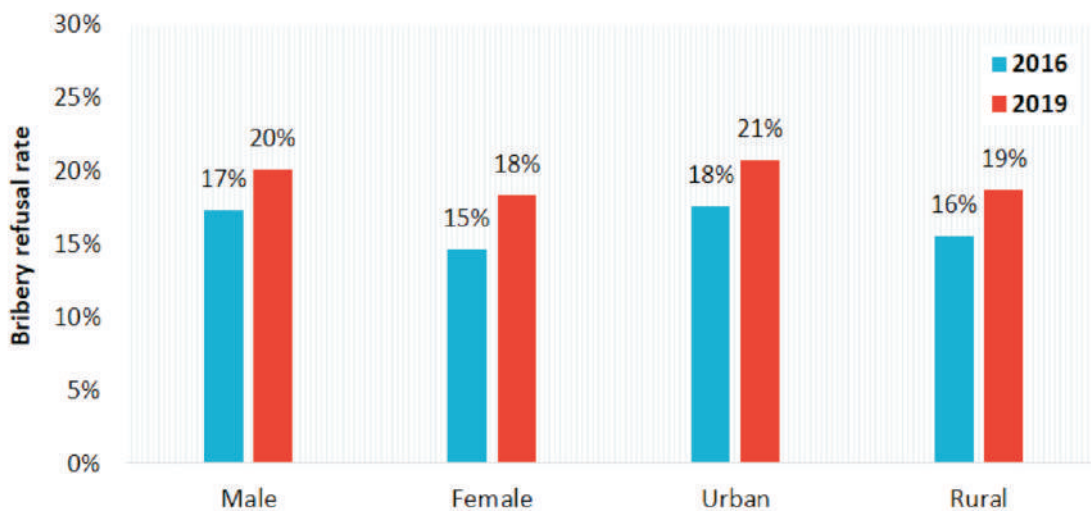
Figure 63: Bribery refusal rate at the national level and by zone, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The bribery refusal rate is calculated as the number of people who refused a bribe payment at least once (including those who refused always and those who refused sometimes but paid on other occasions) as a percentage of all those who paid or were asked to pay a bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

The share of people who refused to pay a bribe was larger than the national average in the North-East, South-South and North-Central zones, where the bribery refusal rate was 27, 23 and 22 per cent, respectively. By contrast, at 15-16 per cent, the lowest refusal rates were observed in the South-East, South-West and North-West. Comparison of the bribery refusal rate in 2016 and 2019 shows that there were some substantial variations across the different zones of Nigeria. In the North East in particular, the rate more than doubled from 13 to 27 per cent in 2019. Conversely, there was a substantial decrease in the refusal rate in the South-East, while it remained more or less stable in the South-West and North-Central zones.

Figure 64: Bribery refusal rate, by sex and urban/rural area, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019

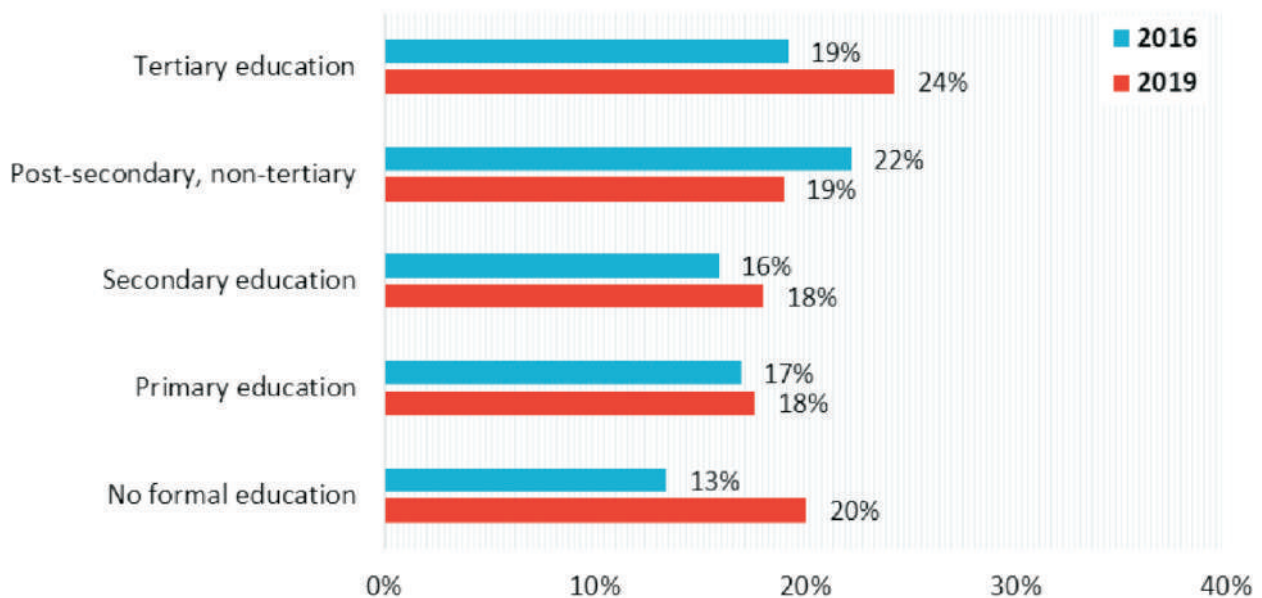


Note: The bribery refusal rate is calculated as the number of people who refused a bribe payment at least once (including those who refused always and those who refused sometimes but paid on other occasions) as a percentage of all those who paid or were asked to pay a bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Like the prevalence of bribery itself, the bribery refusal rate is higher among males than females, and among residents of urban areas than among resident of rural areas: in 2019, 20 per cent of male bribe-payers refused to pay a bribe at least once, versus 17 per cent of female bribe-payers. Similarly, the bribery refusal rate in urban areas was 21 per cent, versus 19 per cent among those residing in rural areas. From 2016 to 2019, the bribery refusal rate increased across all four of those groups while the difference in the refusal rates seems to have shrunk slightly. Additionally, the bribery refusal rate does not vary systematically among age groups.

However, educational attainment does play a major role in the decision whether to refuse a bribe or not: as educational attainment increases, so does the refusal rate. The bribery refusal rate in 2019 was highest among people with a tertiary education, at 24 per cent, a much larger share than in 2016. Another very positive development since 2016 is the fact that individuals with no formal education now refuse to pay bribes at a much higher rate than they did three years ago, with 20 per cent refusing to pay a bribe in 2019, whereas the figure was 13 per cent in 2016, the equivalent of a 54 per cent increase.

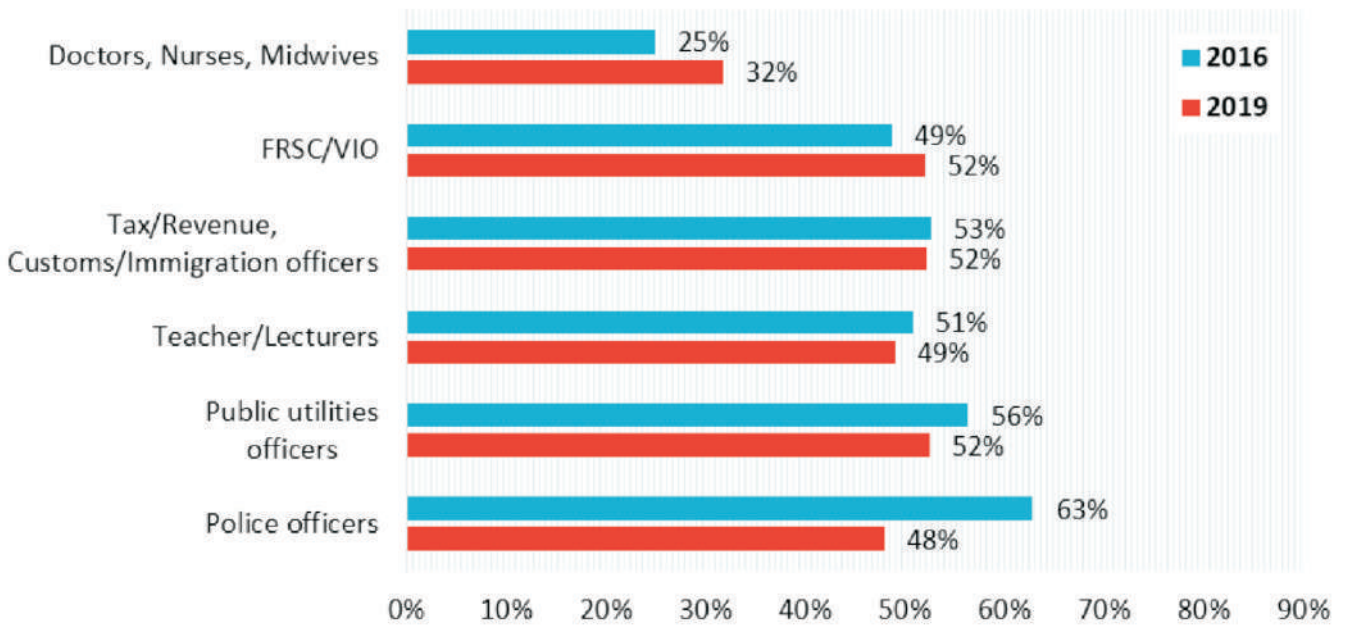
Figure 65: Bribery refusal rate, by educational attainment, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: The bribery refusal rate is calculated as the number of people who refused a bribe payment at least once (including those who refused always and those who refused sometimes but paid on other occasions) as a percentage of all those who paid or were asked to pay a bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey, the survey.

Since bribes are mostly paid for a particular purpose (such as avoiding the payment of a fine, or obtaining an important personal document), an outright refusal to pay a bribe requested is likely to result in some form of negative consequence for the refusing party, such as the payment of a fine, whether justified or not, or the denial of a personal document that citizens may be entitled to by law.

Figure 66: Percentage of bribe-refusers who experienced negative consequences, by type of public official who requested a bribe, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Results refer to the last bribe refused by persons asked to pay a bribe by type of public official. Some types of public official shown have been aggregated (doctors with nurses; and tax/revenue and customs /immigration officers) or omitted (for example, judges/magistrates, prosecutors) from the chart to increase the accuracy of the result. FRSC stands for Federal Road Safety Corps officers; VIO stands for Vehicle inspection officers. In the 2016 survey, Federal Road Safety Corps was called "Officials from Traffic Management Authority" and Vehicle inspection officers was referred to as "Car registration/Driving licence agency officers".

Foot Note

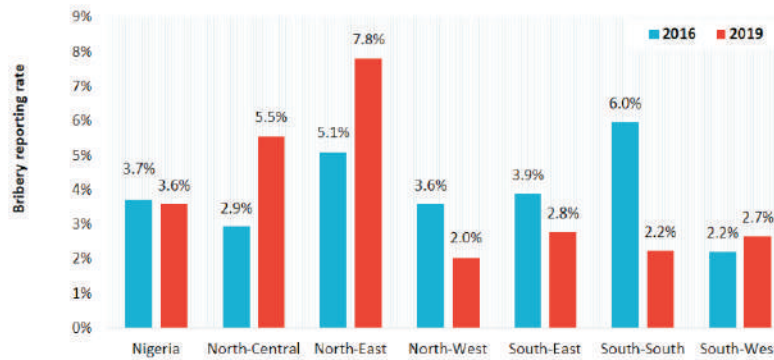
55 Analysis by monthly household expenditure shows a similar pattern: the refusal rate is highest among households with high expenditure (NGN 200,000 and above) and lowest among households with lowest expenditure (less than NGN 14,999).

Indeed, in the 2019 survey, 48 per cent of citizens who refused to pay a bribe reported suffering negative consequences because of that refusal (down from 56 per cent in 2016). Roughly half of all citizens reporting bribery incidents with public utility officers, tax/revenue officers, customs/immigration officers and Federal Road Safety Corps/Vehicle inspection officers suffered negative consequences at or around the same level as in 2016. At the same, from 2016 to 2019 the share of citizens who experienced negative consequences when reporting bribery in relation to police officers decreased significantly, from 63 to 48 per cent, which is a sign that police officers are less willing to retaliate when citizens refuse to pay a bribe.

Reporting bribery

As in the 2016 survey, the vast majority of Nigerians who paid bribes in 2019 did not report their experience to an official institution. Only 3.6 per cent of all bribe-payers reported their latest bribe payment to an official institution capable of conducting an investigation, meaning that the bribery reporting rate remained virtually unchanged from 2016 when it was 3.7 per cent. However, the bribery reporting rate almost doubled in the North-Central and North-East zones of the country, whereas it decreased dramatically in the South-South and to a much lesser extent in the North-West and South-East. The South-West is the only zone where there has been no change since 2016.

Figure 67: Bribery reporting rate to official institutions at the national level and by zone, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



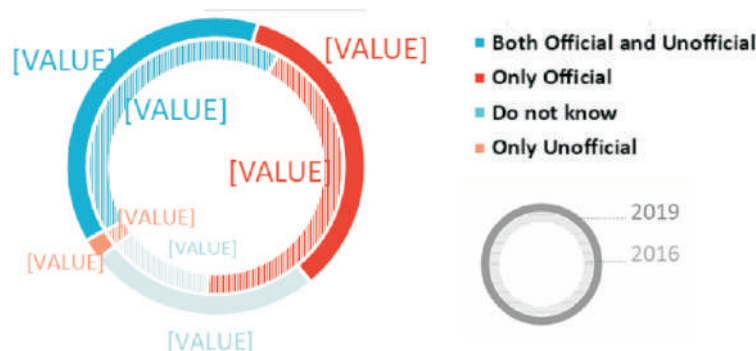
Note: The bribery reporting rate is calculated as the number of people who reported the payment of a bribe to any official authority (for example, police, prosecutor, anti-corruption agency, etc.), as a percentage of people who paid a bribe. This rate does not include reporting by people who were asked to pay a bribe by a public official but refused to pay.

Bribery reporting authorities

When Nigerians report the payment of a bribe, or an incident when a bribe is requested by a public official but the request is refused, a number of options are available to them. They can either turn to one of the official institutions tasked with investigating incidents of corruption, such as the police, the specialized anti-corruption agencies and the Public Complaints Commission, they can turn to the internal oversight mechanism within the institution that employs the bribe-seeker (e.g. the supervisor or an internal inspection unit), or they can turn to unofficial institutions such as the media, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and traditional leaders or faith-based institutions in the hope that the publicity generated will lead to consequences for the corrupt official.

In 2019, 38 per cent of reported cases of bribery were made to both official and unofficial institutions, while just over a third (35 per cent) were made purely to official institutions. Only 2 per cent of cases were reported purely to an unofficial institution, while around a quarter (25 per cent) of respondents did not answer the question. While reporting solely to unofficial institutions is rare, the fact that almost half of all bribery cases reported to official authorities are also reported to unofficial institutions underlines the importance of civil society in the fight against corruption.

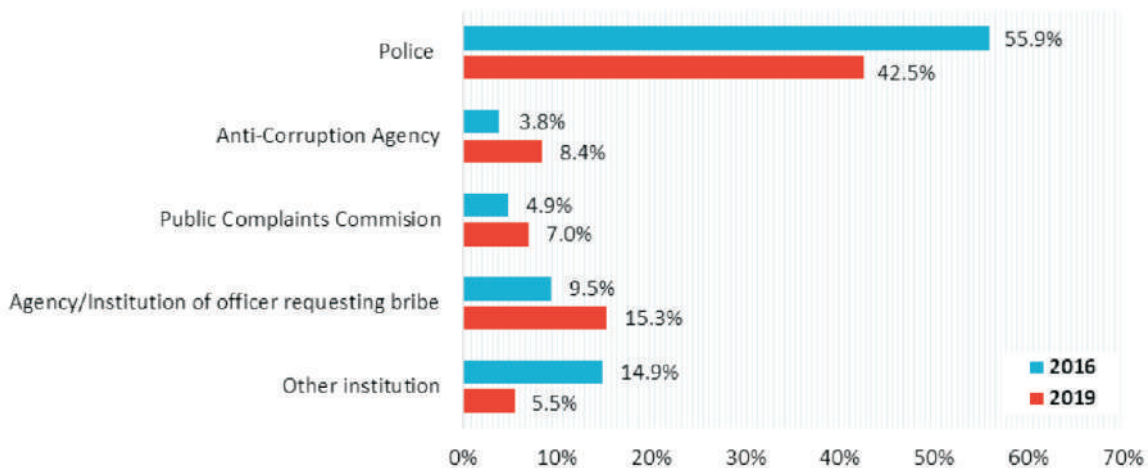
Figure 68: Share of reported cases of bribery, by type of authority or institution that received the complaint, Nigeria 2016 and 2019



Since most cases of bribery that are reported involve a report to an official authority (either exclusively or in combination with a report to an unofficial institution), the reporting rate increases slightly to 5 per cent in 2019 when adding reports made exclusively to unofficial institutions (compared with 4.4 per cent in 2016).

While the overall reporting rate remains very low, there have been some significant changes since 2016 in terms of the, formal or informal, institutions to which Nigerian citizens report bribery. Although 43 per cent of those who paid a bribe or were approached for the payment of a bribe in 2019 continued to turn to the police, this represents a significant decrease from the almost 56 per cent who did so in 2016. By 2019, more people were turning to specialized anti-corruption agencies, the Public Complaints Commission or the institution that employed the official requesting the bribe. This suggests a certain increase in people's confidence in those institutions and internal oversight mechanisms.

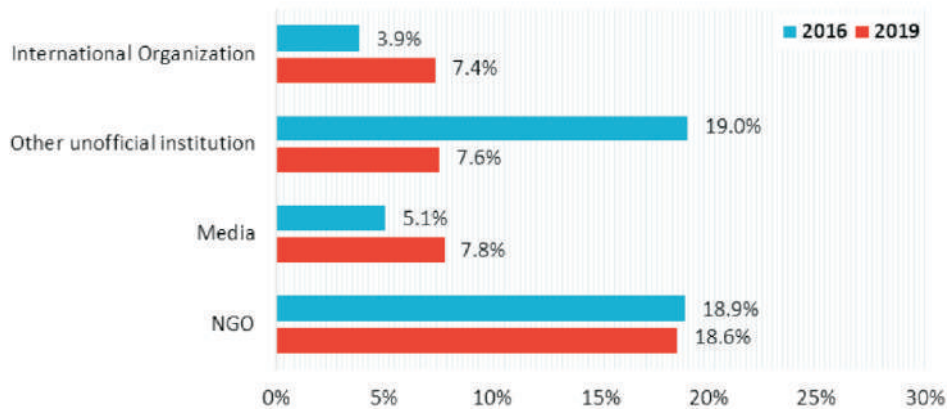
Figure 69: Percentage distribution of the type of official authority or institution that received the complaint, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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

In addition, a significant proportion of people reported their case to an unofficial institution. Media and international organizations each accounted for less than 8 per cent of those reports, but NGOs seem to play a more important role in the fight against corruption. Roughly 19 per cent of people who reported bribery in 2019 did so to an NGO, making NGOs the second most important type of institution for reporting corruption cases in Nigeria, after the police. This situation has not changed since the 2016 survey.

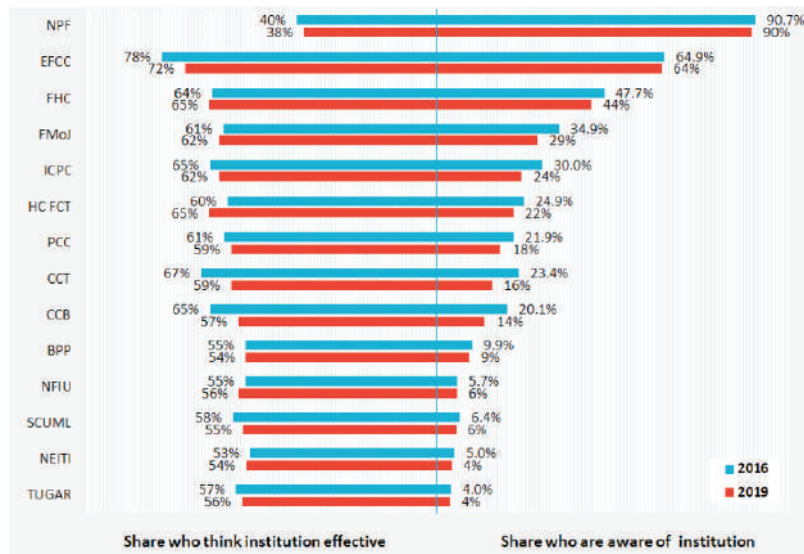
Figure 70: Percentage distribution of reported cases, by type of unofficial institution that received the complaint, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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

Awareness of anti-corruption agencies and their effectiveness

Percentage distribution of Nigerian citizens who are aware of the existence of selected institutions for reporting corruption, and the perceived effectiveness of those institutions, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Awareness of a particular institution is calculated as the percentage of Nigerians who claimed to be aware of the existence of that institution. Perception of effectiveness is calculated as the percentage of Nigerians who think this particular institution is “effective” or “very effective” in fighting corruption, out of all 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.

Despite the low bribery reporting rate, almost all Nigerians (99.7 per cent) are aware of the existence of at least one institution to which they can report an incident of corruption. Some 90 per cent of citizens were aware of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) in 2019, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was known to almost two thirds (64 per cent), the Federal High Court (FHC) to 44 per cent and the Federal Ministry of Justice (FMoJ) to 29 per cent.

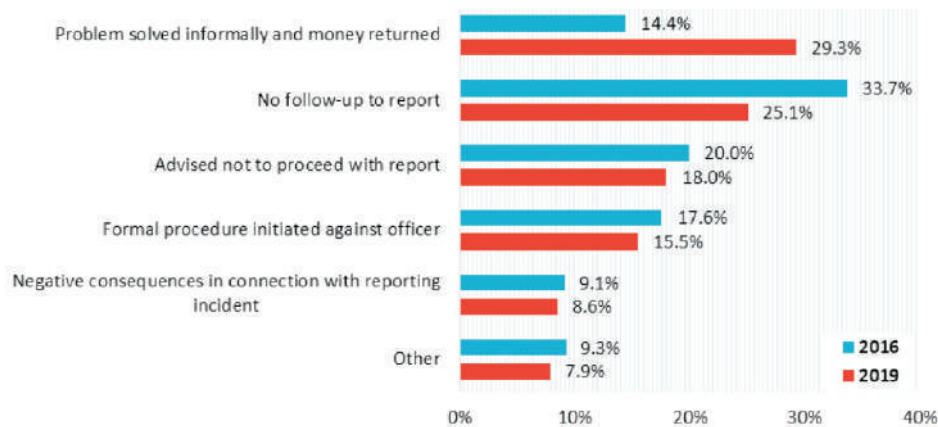
Among the Nigerians who are aware of a particular institution, in most cases a majority considers the institution to be “effective” or “very effective” in fighting corruption. An exception is the Nigeria Police Force, which only 38 per cent consider to be effective.

Although information and anti-corruption campaigns are ongoing, the awareness of anti-corruption institutions across Nigeria decreased from 2016 to 2019, if only slightly, in the case of all institutions. The picture is more mixed, however, when it comes to perceptions of the effectiveness of anti-corruption institutions: between 2016 and 2019, out of 14 institutions, such perceptions of nine institutions have become slightly less favourable and slightly more favourable for five.

Why citizens do not report bribery

The low bribery reporting rate in Nigeria means that the vast majority (93.2 per cent) of Nigerian citizens who are involved in a bribery incident neither report the incident to an official nor an unofficial institution. This suggests that in the overwhelming majority of cases there are various types of barriers to reporting a bribery event, including lack of confidence in the reporting agency, limited accessibility to competent authorities and fear of any potential risk or cost linked to filing a report.

Figure 71: Percentage distribution of consequences subsequent to reporting a bribery incident, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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

Important insights into why people are reluctant to report bribery can be gained by looking at the actual experience of the 3.6 per cent of Nigerian bribe-payers who did report a bribery incident to official authorities in the 2019 survey. For example, out of all those survey respondents who reported their most recent experience of a bribery incident, 29 per cent had their bribe returned after the incident was

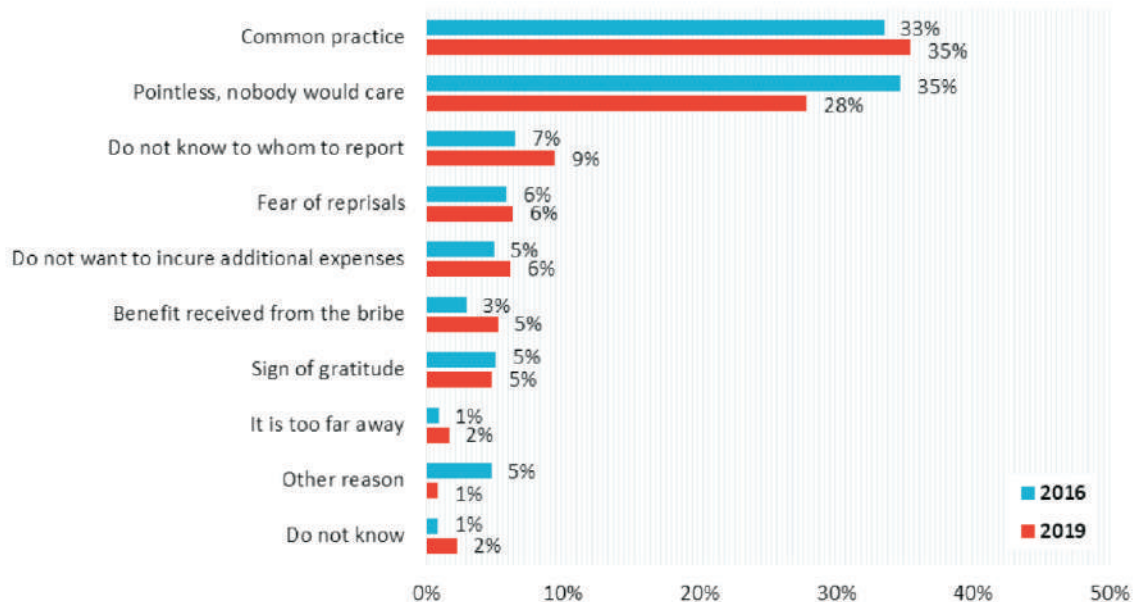
Foot Note

56 Some 5 per cent reported to either an official or unofficial institution, 1.8 per cent did not answer and the remaining 93.2 did not report to any institution.

handled informally. This is a significant increase from 2016, when only 14 per cent of bribe-payers had their bribe returned after an informal intervention.

Moreover, encouragingly, the percentage of persons who reported that there had been no follow-up to their report decreased from some 34 per cent to 25 per cent. However, while the trend in diminishing disincentives for reporting bribery appears to be encouraging, overall, 51 per cent of those who reported a bribery incident experienced either no follow-up, were discouraged from reporting or suffered negative consequences. It thus appears that it is the reaction of the reporting entities themselves, whether formal or informal, which continues to provide the greatest disincentives for citizens to report cases of bribery.

Figure 72: Percentage distribution of the main reasons why a bribery incident was not reported to any official or unofficial institution, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



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.

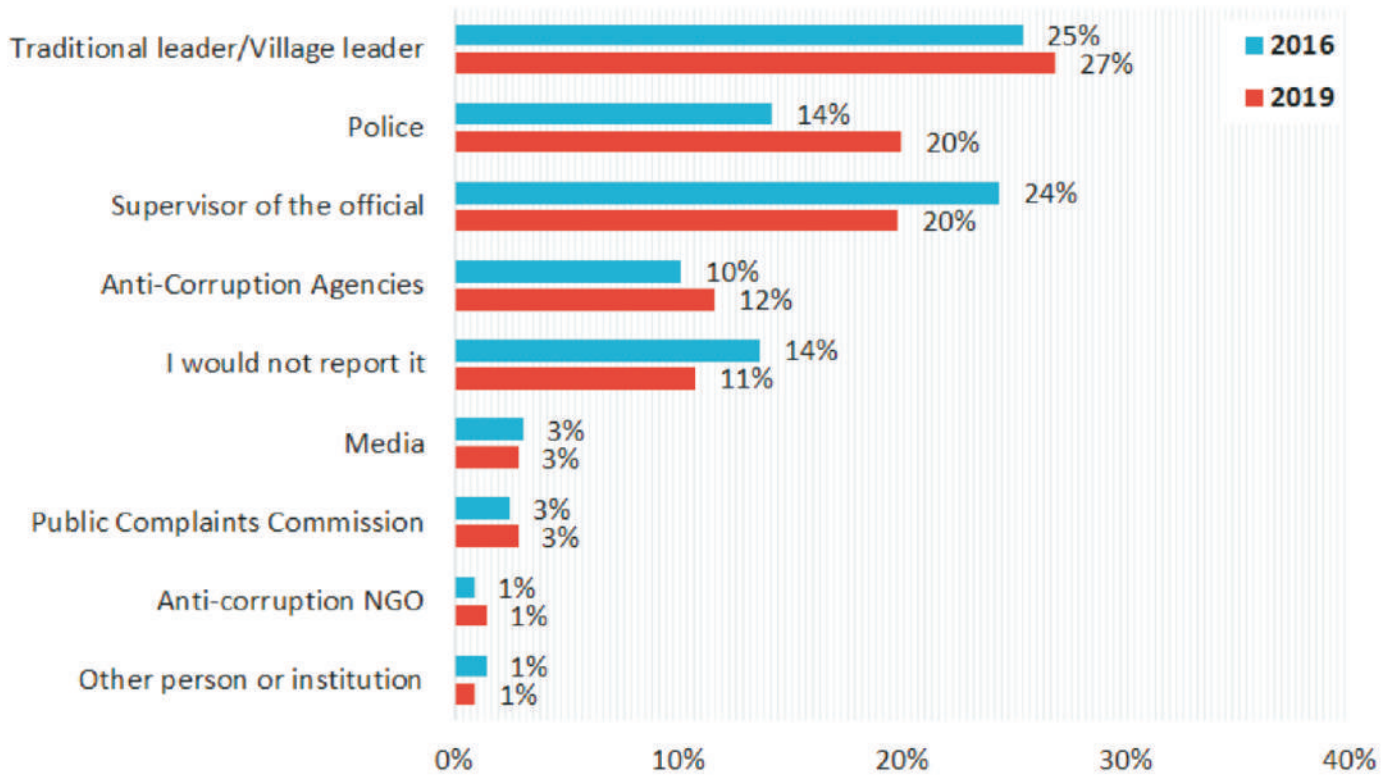
Different from the actual experience of those reporting a bribe are the perceptions of those who do not report a bribe. When asked about why they did not report their experience of bribery, in 2019 survey respondents gave several explanations for that decision. The most common, given by 35 per cent of respondents, was that paying or being requested to pay a bribe was such a common practice in Nigeria that the incident did not merit reporting. Another 28 per cent of respondents voiced the perception that filing a report would be pointless as nobody would care; while still high, this is an encouragingly smaller share than the share of respondents who expressed the same concern in the 2016 survey (35 per cent).

By contrast, the share of respondents who did not report the most recent bribery incident because they did not know to whom to report it, actually increased from 7 to 9 per cent from 2016 to 2019, which is an indication that public information campaigns about how and where to report bribery need to be ongoing and take into account the rapidly growing and, on average, very young population of Nigeria. Other explanations as to why bribe-payers did

not report their bribery experiences, such as the fear of reprisals or the desire to avoid further costs, were less common and remained roughly constant from 2016 to 2019.

Reporting future bribery incidents

Figure 73: Percentage distribution of Nigerian citizens who consider selected institutions the most important for future reporting of bribery incidents, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



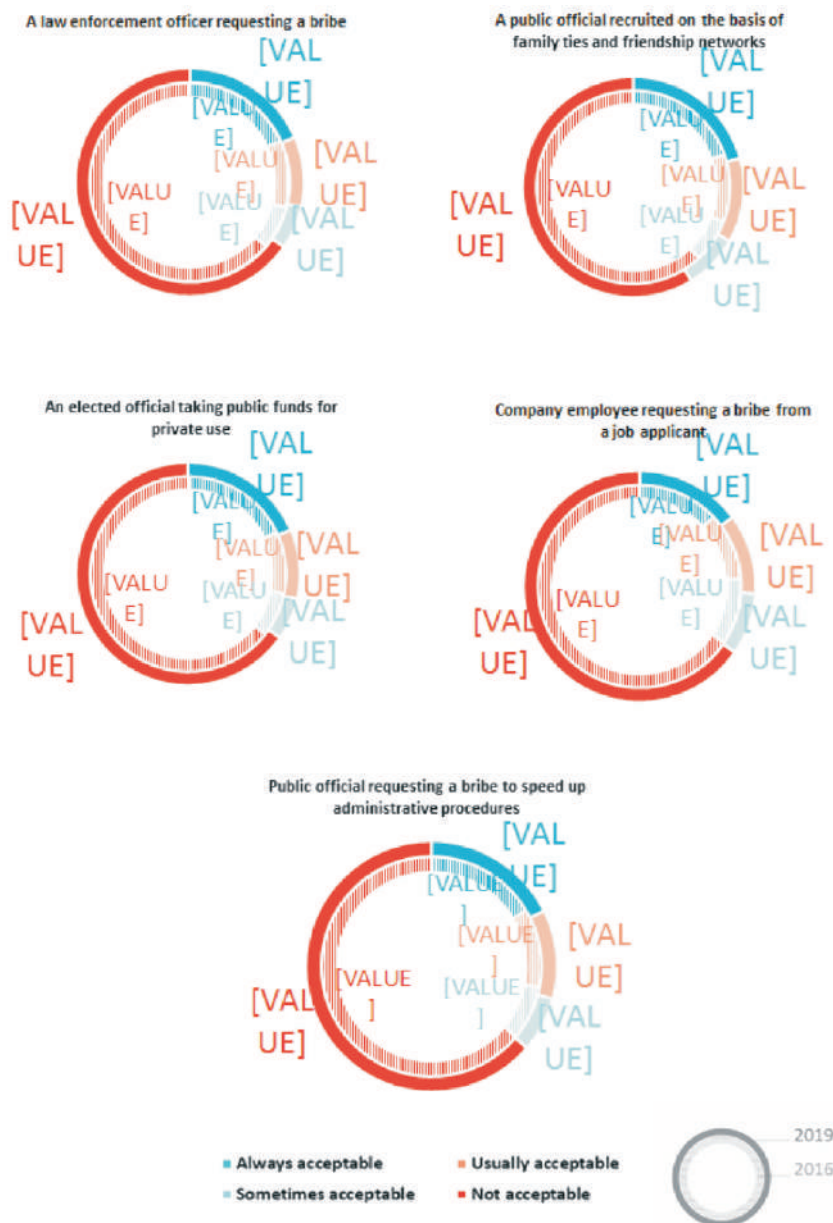
Note: The percentage distribution of the adult population considering selected institutions the most important for future reporting of bribery incidents is calculated as the number of people who named a particular institution, divided by the total number of respondents. Only one most important institution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

Regardless of their previous experience of bribery, all survey respondents were also asked which institution they would consider the most important were they to report a bribery incident in future. The most commonly mentioned was traditional and village leaders, which was the most important for 27 per cent of respondents in the 2019 survey and 25 per cent in the 2016 survey. The police (20 per cent) remained the second most important institution in the view of survey respondents, despite undergoing the most significant increase in terms of perceived relevance for future reporting. The supervisor of the official requesting the bribe was named by 20 per cent of respondents – a significant increase from 2016 – while anti-corruption agencies were named by 12 per cent. Just 3 per cent of respondents named journalists and other media the important potential recipients of a bribery report, as they did in the case of Public Complaints Commissions, whereas the share was only 1 per cent in the case of anti-corruption NGOs. Roughly 11 per cent of survey respondents said they would not consider reporting their bribery experience, irrespective of the institution, which is in stark contrast to the actual reporting behaviour of those experiencing corruption, of whom over 96 per cent do not report their experience.

Reporting bribery

To a large extent, the 2019 survey confirms that the majority of Nigerian citizens consider corruption to be unacceptable and there are no important variations between different types of corrupt behaviour. As can be seen in figure 74, the attitudes of Nigerians to the acceptance of bribery, nepotism and other forms of corruption have remained virtually unchanged since 2016.

Figure 74: Percentage distribution of Nigerian citizens according to the acceptability of certain practices, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



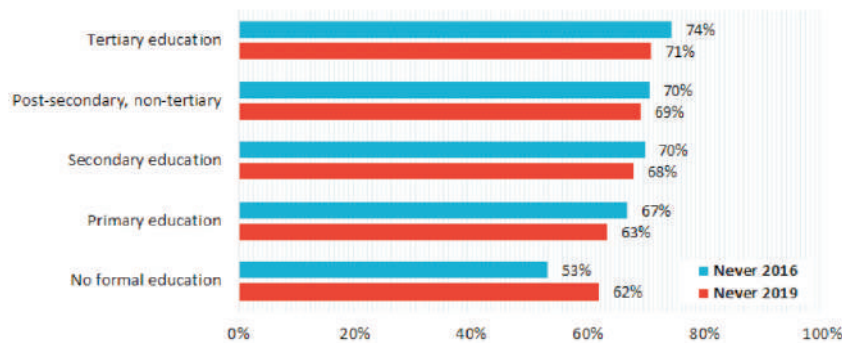
Acceptability of bribery by educational attainment and age group

Although the overall acceptability of corrupt practices has essentially remained unchanged over time, important lessons can be learned by looking at the acceptability of bribery by level of educational attainment and by age group.

In figure 75 the share of Nigerians who find a law enforcement officer (police, customs) requesting a bribe to be “never acceptable” rises progressively as the level of educational attainment increases. This is a sign that the better their education, the more aware Nigerians become that acts of corruption are not acceptable. At the same time, it is notable that the share of Nigerians with no formal education who find this type of corruption to be “never acceptable” has increased significantly. A cause for concern and a development that needs further investigation, however, is the fact that among all the other levels of educational attainment, the acceptability of corruption has increased slightly.

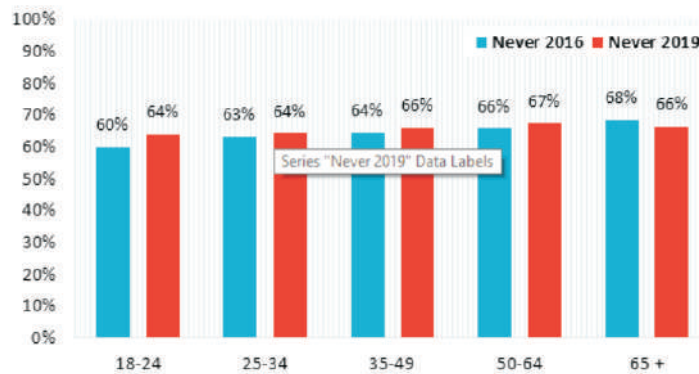
A positive sign is the finding that the acceptability of bribery to Nigerians in the younger age groups surveyed has decreased, which may indicate that recent efforts to integrate specific anti-corruption and integrity items in the school curriculum, as well as attempts by civil society organizations to educate young people about the negative effects of corruption, are bearing fruit.

Figure 75: Acceptability among Nigerians of a law enforcement officer requesting a bribe, by educational attainment, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Data refer to the opinion of Nigerians citizens about the situations in which a law enforcement officer (police, customs) requests a bribe. Only the share of people who think these practices are never acceptable is reported.

Figure 76: Acceptability among Nigerians of a law enforcement officer requesting a bribe, by age group, Nigeria, 2016 and 2019



Note: Data refer to the opinion of Nigerians citizens about the situations in which a law enforcement officer (police, customs) requests a bribe. Only the share of people who think these practices are never acceptable is reported.

Foot Note

57 In 2019 the overall share of people in the Nigerian population with no formal education was 32 per cent.

Conclusions And Policy Implications

Three years after the first survey on bribery and other forms of corruption in Nigeria, the 2019 survey provides solid and comprehensive information to assess the changes that have occurred during this period. Despite positive signs, administrative corruption, mostly in the form of frequent low-value bribes, continues to have a profound effect on the lives of Nigerians. The following conclusions and policy implications can provide valuable input for the implementation of the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2017–2021 and the implementation of the recommendations emanating from the first and second cycle Implementation Review Reports for Nigeria against the requirements of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC).

General conclusions

While the prevalence of administrative, mainly low-value, bribery has decreased, the survey results suggest that the Government's anti-corruption agenda, which tends to be focused on large-scale corruption, has so far only marginally affected this type of bribe seeking behaviour. Consequently, a greater effort should be made and more attention paid to the eradication of bribe-seeking of this nature. The implementation of these actions, like those proposed by the National Anti-Corruption Strategy, which are specifically aimed at mainstreaming anti-corruption principles into governance and service delivery at all levels, can support this change.

The 2019 survey revealed some encouraging trends concerning the prevalence of bribery in the institutions that appear to be most affected by it. The most significant gains in terms of reducing the prevalence of bribe-seeking behaviour have been made by Customs and Immigration, the Nigerian Police Force, the Judiciary, Prosecutors, the Vehicle Inspection Authority and the Armed Forces. This suggests that those institutions have taken effective action over the last few years and have successfully introduced measures to control corruption. Such measures should receive further support with a view to building on the achievements to date.

The 2019 survey also shows that many Nigerians mostly interact with just a few types of public official over the course of the year: health sector professionals, police, teachers and federal road safety officers. Focusing efforts on reducing the prevalence and frequency of bribe-seeking behaviour on those types of official could therefore have a profound and lasting effect on citizens' overall experience of bribery.

The 2019 survey reconfirmed that more than 90 per cent of bribes in Nigeria are paid in cash and often in the context of direct contact between a citizen and a public official. This suggests that the expansion of digitalization in public service delivery would help to limit opportunities for transactional corruption. By developing web-based and smartphone applications, numerous administrative procedures would not only increase in efficiency but also anonymize interactions between citizens and public officials, and thus reduce the likelihood of corruption.

Although bribe-seeking behaviour in the private sector continues to be less prevalent than in the public sector, there is an opportunity to exchange experiences and best practices between the two sectors, despite the fact that the regulatory frameworks are as different as the types of interaction between citizens and employees of the two

sectors.

The 2019 survey also reaffirmed the significant differences that persist in the experiences of women and men when faced with corruption. Both the 2016 and 2019 surveys show that women are consistently less likely than men to pay bribes when in contact with a public official and initial evidence indicates that, at least in the case of certain types of public official, female officials may be less likely to take bribes than their male colleagues. Further research and analysis are required to assess these differences with a view

Foot Note

58. *The first and second UNCAC Implementation Review Reports of Nigeria can be accessed at www.unodc.org/unodc/treaties/CAC/country-profile/CountryProfile.html?code=NGA.*

59. *National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACS) 2017–2021 of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*

to understanding how a gendered approach towards public officials can achieve the double objective of women's empowerment and reducing corruption.

Issues specific to the criminal justice system

While the institutions within the criminal justice system, including specialized law enforcement agencies, have consistently shown improvements in terms of the prevalence of bribery, they remain the comparatively most affected by corruption. This suggests that, while drawing strength from the gains made, the executive and the judiciary should redouble their efforts to prevent and counter corruption within those institutions, including: (1) corruption risk assessments in the criminal justice system; (2) mandatory professional ethics training upon entry into service and at subsequent stages, in particular for at-risk public officials; (3) measures to increase the chances of detection of bribe-seeking behaviour; (4) improvements to the complaint process within the individual institutions; and (5) more drastic, reliably applied and transparent disciplinary measures.

Moreover, while the Nigerian Police Force has managed to drastically reduce the prevalence of bribery among its ranks, the prevalence of bribery varies massively across the Nigerian states. This suggests that there are opportunities for experience-sharing and peer-learning.

Nepotism and bribery in public sector recruitment and promotion

Despite the slight overall decrease in the prevalence of bribery since 2016, nepotism and bribery persist in public sector recruitment and the percentage of applicants who resort to bribery to secure a public sector position has actually doubled. The 2019 survey notes that almost half of all successful applicants for public sector employment surveyed admitted that they had resorted to either bribery or nepotism, or both, in the course of the recruitment process. This situation needs to be tackled as a matter of urgency as this practice undermines public service and its ability to deliver its services and functions in the best possible manner. Moreover, a civil servant who entered public service by means of bribery or nepotism is already compromised and therefore more likely to feel that engaging in

corruption is fair game and be less likely to refuse to engage in corruption.

With a view to addressing corruption related risks in public sector recruitment and taking into account that such risks are reduced when recruitment is conducted through a formal selection process, measures should be considered for the establishment and enforcement of objective recruitment criteria and qualifications for each public sector position, the implementation of mandatory and transparent written tests and interviews, and the introduction of integrity-related content into entry and promotion exams. Measures to promote a zero-tolerance approach to bribery or other violation of the recruitment procedure, such as nepotism or cronyism, should be taken so that recruitment in the public sector, at all levels, is based exclusively on competence and merit. Public sector managers, in particular at senior level, should be clearly instructed that any form of influence in recruitment processes that favour individual candidates constitutes a violation of sections 5 (conflict of interest) and 13 (abuse of office) under the Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal Act of 1991. When engaging in large-scale recruitment exercises, agencies might consider conducting a specific corruption risk assessment of the exercise prior to its conduct and address corruption-related risks identified through such an assessment.

Attitudes towards corruption, the refusal of corruption and the reporting of corruption

In terms of attitudes towards corruption, the 2019 survey found that more people consider corruption to be unacceptable now than at the time of the previous survey, in particular young people. This seems to suggest that the efforts to introduce ethics and integrity-related content into the educational system, the establishment of anti-corruption and integrity clubs and similar measures targeted at young people have started to bear positive results. Against this background, it would appear advisable to intensify these

Foot Note

60 For examples of system studies and similar corruption risk assessments, see <https://icpc.gov.ng/system-study-review-mdas/>.

61 The 2nd cycle UNCAC Implementation Review Report of Nigeria stresses the importance of specialized training of at-risk public officials and judges. Available at www.unodc.org/unodc/treaties/CAC/country-profile/CountryProfile.html?code=NGA, as well as the Judicial Ethics Training Package developed by UNODC for the Global Judicial Integrity Network www.unodc.org/ji/en/judicial_ethics.html.

efforts further, including by drawing on the resources, materials and tools developed under the UNODC Education for Justice (E4J) initiative.

At the same time, the survey findings clearly identify educational attainment as a key factor in both the exposure to and refusal of bribery. This is because, as income and expenditure tend to rise with education, the better educated are more likely to be involved in the payment of a bribe than those with little or no formal education, whereas the readiness to refuse bribery requests is also greater among those with a higher level of educational attainment. This suggests that education is a key factor in addressing bribery. Increasing investment in education and, more specifically, in designing evidence-based programmes, materials and tools based on international best practice, which specifically seek to improve values, enhance critical thinking and build knowledge conducive to promoting a

culture of lawfulness, can therefore contribute to the strengthening of citizens' resolve to refuse ubiquitous bribe requests.

The continuing low bribery reporting rate is another area of concern that is closely linked to Nigerians' attitudes towards corruption. Although citizens generally appear ready to report corruption, in practice they hardly ever do so: less than 4 per cent of those who paid a bribe, or were asked to pay a bribe, in the past 12 months, went on to report the incident. Reasons for non-reporting vary and appear to be closely linked to the complicated nature of the reporting process, the sense that corruption is such a common practice that reporting it would not make a difference and the perception that nobody would care. These perceptions appear to be reaffirmed by the experiences of the few who actually report corruption incidents. According to the 2019 survey, more than half of those who reported a bribery incident continued to experience no follow-up, were discouraged from reporting the incident or suffered negative consequences after reporting it. In other words, the reaction of the reporting entities themselves, whether formal or informal, has an impact on the main disincentives for citizens to report bribery.

Consequently, concerned institutions should, where they have not already done so, establish and enforce clear guidelines/procedures for the receipt and handling of corruption complaints as well as provide for disciplinary measures against officials who either discourage citizens from reporting incidents of corruption or who promise to resolve such complaints “informally”. Moreover, agencies should improve the quality and frequency of training for the managers of hotlines and enhance the use of mobile technology in order to simplify the reporting of corruption incidents. The 2019 survey also confirmed, once again, the vital importance of reliable, timely and formal follow-up with complainants as well as the need for regular public reporting of the type and nature of complaints received, the institution concerned, and the follow-up action taken. Such actions should be considered with a view to instilling confidence in the public that complaints are welcome, that they will be taken seriously and that action will be taken reliably. All factors that would be crucial in changing the two primary perceptions that are currently stopping citizens from reporting: “reporting is pointless as nobody cares”; and “corruption is such a common practice, why should I report it?”.

While reporting corruption remains the exception, there have been some changes since 2016 in terms of the, formal or informal, institutions to which citizens report. According to the 2019 survey, citizens now turn more often to the specialized anti-corruption agencies, the Public Complaints Commission, as well as to the institution where the official requesting the bribe is employed. This suggests a certain increase in confidence in those agencies and internal oversight mechanisms. Bearing in mind that, with the exception of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), they are unknown to the majority of citizens, it would appear that those agencies need to do more to inform citizens about their existence, mandate, functions and services, physical location and hotlines, if they have them.

Concerning the readiness of Nigerians to report future corruption incidents, survey respondents reaffirmed the views shared in 2016 that traditional and village leaders should play a more prominent role. This suggests that public sector institutions in general, and anti-corruption agencies in particular, need to work more closely with traditional institutions, including considering the development of guidelines for traditional leaders to receive, document, communicate and follow up on such complaints. Moreover, a significant share (20 per

cent) named the supervisor of the official requesting the bribe as someone they would turn to when reporting a bribery incident. This suggests that internal oversight and anti-corruption mechanisms, such as the Anti-Corruption and Transparency Units, should become a standard feature of all ministries, departments and agencies of Government and that these internal oversight and anti-corruption mechanisms should be governed by a strong regulatory framework that can warrant their independence and accountability.

Foot Note

- 62 *The materials, tools and resources developed and collected by UNODC for the primary, secondary and tertiary educational levels as part of the Education for Justice (E4J) initiative can be accessed at www.unodc.org/e4j/index.html.*
- 63 *Considering the spread of corruption, phones sold by local service providers should come with pre-installed emergency numbers, including those of existing anti-corruption hotlines.*

The importance of evidence-based monitoring systems on corruption

The 2019 survey on bribery and other forms of corruption, which was successfully implemented by the National Bureau of Statistics, again demonstrates the validity of this instrument by showing the consistency of results and their relevance. Implementing large-scale surveys on a sensitive topic such as corruption is a challenging task in which specific expertise and infrastructure are needed. Overall, the survey has shown that the fight to eradicate corruption needs continuous and focused efforts, including a periodic and scientific assessment of progress achieved as part of the anti-corruption toolkit. By conducting the second survey three years after the first one, Nigeria has established an international best practice.

It is recommended that a comprehensive and evidence-based system to monitor corruption be developed and that resources be secured within the budget allocation for the National Bureau of Statistics to carry out regular (every two to three years) rounds of experience-based corruption surveys. To improve the evidence base for the Government's anti-corruption agenda further, sufficient funds should also be made available for secondary research and analysis of corruption-related data and for broadening the research programme to surveys on corruption affecting businesses, public procurement and other relevant topics.

Moreover, studies for improving understanding of how corruption can hinder the implementation of all the Sustainable Development Goals should be undertaken. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development has clearly stated that monitoring progress is a prerequisite to the achievement of the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals, a task that Nigeria is taking very seriously in relation to its fight against corruption.

Methodological Annex

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

Introduction - background

The 2019 data presented in this report were collected in the second National Survey on the Quality and Integrity of Public Services, otherwise known as Second Nigerian Corruption Survey, a project funded by the Department for International Development Fund (DFID) and implemented by UNODC in collaboration with the National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria (NBS).

Like its predecessor, the second 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
- the experience of reporting corruption and other crimes to the public authorities
- 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 a similar nature carried out in other countries.

Survey contents and instruments:

Following previous international experiences and extensive consultations with all major stakeholders in the nationwide corruption survey, the survey instrument is structured into several parts that cover the various information requirements identified: starting with a part on attitudes and opinions on corruption, the main part of the questionnaire addresses experiences with public services and experiences of bribery in particular. The subsequent parts of the questionnaire deal with bribery in the private sector; nepotism and favouritism in public sector recruitment, promotion and access to public services; and the awareness and opinions on specific anti-corruption agencies.

In building the survey instrument for the 2016 survey, much time and effort had been 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. For the second corruption survey in 2019, this survey instrument was reviewed and updated. In this process, roundtable discussions were held with the National Steering Committee (NSC) of the survey – consisting of 33 institutions active in anti-corruption work in Nigeria,

Foot Note

64 *The first Survey on the Quality and Integrity of Public Services was carried out in June 2016 by UNODC in collaboration with the National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria (NBS) with funding from the European Union.*

65 *The 2019 survey closely follows the 2016 data collection and estimation procedures. The full methodological annex for the 2016 survey is available in the report: UNODC, Corruption in Nigeria. Bribery: public experience and response, July 2017*

- 67 *The questionnaire, the survey report, technical report and other background materials are available at <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/corruption.html>*
- 67 *Two further sections of the questionnaire deal with general crime victimization and access to justice, the results of which will be disseminated in separate publications.*
- 68 *For more information on the standard methodology, as well as recent examples of corruption surveys from around the world, see: UNODC, *Manual on Corruption Surveys* (Vienna, 2018). Available at <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/corruption.html>.*
- 69 *The members of the National Steering Committee (NSC) for the 2019 survey were: Action Aid Nigeria (AAN), African Network for Environment and Economic Justice (ANEEJ), Anti-corruption Academy of Nigeria (ACAN), Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP), Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Civil Society Network Against Corruption (CSNAC), Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC), CLEEN Foundation, Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Federal High Court (FHC), Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS), Federal Ministry of Justice (FMOJ), High Court of the Federal Capital Territory (HC, FCT),*

including all the major anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria, law enforcement, justice institutions, as well as civil society organizations – 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 revisions and additions to the survey instrument. The NTC was composed of a sub-set of the NSC and included UNODC and NBS as implementing partner.

In addition to national consultations with stakeholders, extensive qualitative research on patterns and modalities of corruption in Nigeria has been carried out to further understanding of patterns, forms and manifestations of corruption in different parts of the country.

Survey preparation

To test the adequacy of the survey instrument and the integrity of survey operations and logistics before the main survey, various preparatory tasks and a pilot survey were carried out. After completion of the survey instrument, the questionnaire was translated to the four other main languages of Nigeria and programmed into the electronic devices adopted for fieldwork (the CAPI - Computer Assisted Personal Interview device). Additional logic and consistency checks were carried out to ensure the correct application of the logical sequence and skip rules in the interviews. The interviewer manual was revised and updated for use in the pilot and main survey.

A major achievement carried out in order to improve the quality of the survey sample was the updating of the household listing in all enumeration areas (EAs) selected for the survey (see below). This exercise was carried out by NBS enumerators and involved a comprehensive update of all households in each selected EA, including listing of all household members resident at the time of the fieldwork. The updated household list was completed in April 2019 and was used for the random selection of households from the selected EAs.

Pilot survey

A pilot survey is the process of testing all stages of data production carried out during the main survey, under actual survey conditions in the field, though on a smaller scale. This 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 for several new questions added to the 2019 survey, a pilot survey was carried out in February 2019 in four States – Bauchi, Enugu, Kaduna and Oyo – with a total sample size of 400 households (100 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 33,000 interviews were conducted across the 37 states (36 states and the Federal Capital Territory) with people aged 18 and above. The sampling methodology adopted was a

Foot Note

Independent Corrupt Practices (and other related offences) Commission (ICPC), Ministry of Budget and National Planning (MBNP), Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI), Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Nigeria Police Force (NPF), National Judicial Council (NJC), Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), Nigeria Prisons Service (NPS), Presidential Advisory Committee Against Corruption (PACAC), Public Complaints Commission (PCC), Socio-Economic Right And Accountability Project (SERAP), Special Control Unit against Money Laundering (SCUML), Technical Unit on Governance and Anti-Corruption Reforms/Inter-Agency Task Team (TUGAR/IATT), Department for International Development (DFID), National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

70 *The results of this qualitative research are summarized in two background papers: Adebunsi, Isaac Adeniran, Brief Background Report on Patterns, Experiences and Manifestations of Corruption in Nigeria, Abuja, March 2019 and Adebunsi, Isaac Adeniran, Qualitative Study on the Patterns, Experiences and Manifestations of Corruption in Nigeria, Abuja, October 2019.*

71 *From these, a total of 32,689 (99 per cent) interviews were completed.*

stratified 2-stage cluster sample design, with a stratification process conducted in the 37 Nigerian states. The first stage entailed the selection of primary sampling units, which in the case of Nigeria were the Enumeration Areas (EAs). A total of 60 EAs were randomly selected in each of the 37 states – for a total of 2,220 EAs nationwide that cover both rural and urban areas. The second stage involved the selection of secondary sampling units, which were the households (HHs). At this point, 15 HHs were randomly selected from each of the initially selected EAs making a total of 900 households that were covered in each state. In each selected household, the interviewer then randomly selected one individual respondent. The interviewer was required to return to the same HH for at least three 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). Households or respondents were not replaced on the basis of refusal or non-availability. Rather, allowance for non-response was built into the estimation of sample size. However, sample EAs or households were replaced when it was impossible to locate them or if they “moved away” recently.

To make survey results at the state level representative at the national level, in 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 2019 and refer to 2018.

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.

$$W_s = \frac{P_s}{N_s}$$

Quality control and questionnaire translation

Considering the large scope of the study and the nature of extended and sensitive field work, in addition to the systematic quality assurance carried out by NBS supervisors, an external quality assurance monitoring of survey operations was contracted out to two independent parties. The first external monitor was Practical Sampling International (PSI), a Lagos-based consultancy group, which specializes in sample surveys; the second external monitor was an ad-hoc consortium of researchers drawn from the pool of quality assurance/survey research experts in the Nigerian federal public university system. Both groups were tasked with the responsibility of ensuring the quality of survey activities and survey outputs

Foot Note

72 Stratified random sampling is a sampling method that requires the population to be divided into smaller groups (or strata) and the drawing of a randomised sample within each stratum.

73 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. A total of 23,280 EAs (4 per cent of the overall total EAs) were randomly selected for the sample frame.

74 The frame of the EAs used was derived from the EAs demarcated for 2006 Housing and Population Census conducted by the National Population Commission (NPopC).

75 Additionally, five extra households were randomly selected in each EA for replacement, if needed.

76 The group is based in three universities across Nigeria (University of Ibadan, University of Ilorin and Obafemi Awolowo University) and jointly carried out field research and quality assurance on a random sample of interviews conducted in different languages across the states.

at all stages of the survey implementation, starting from the quality of survey instruments, to a review of all survey processes – including training of interviewers, logistical arrangements and organization of field operations, technical aspects of data capture, etc. – and up to the assessment of the data quality produced.

To assess the quality of data collection by interviewers both monitors carried out independent back checks of interviews (certain parts of the interviews were repeated, and the results compared with those captured by NBS interviewers) and interview accompaniment. Both monitors carried out back checks on 2 per cent of the interviews and accompaniment in 1 per cent of the interviews in a number of randomly selected states. Over the course of the fieldwork operations, PSI covered 12 states while the research consortium covered 10 additional states. In their comprehensive final quality assurance reports, both monitoring teams concluded that generally there were no major issues that compromised the data gathering process and that consequently the data gathered were of high quality.

Training and field work

The first level of preparation – the Training of Trainers (TOT) – was held in Abuja, lasted for three days and included Trainers, Monitors and Coordinators. Participants were staff of NBS, UNODC, DFID, PSI, the research consortium

and members from the National Steering Committee. The second level training was conducted for the recruited fieldworkers (supervisors and interviewers) across all 37 states in the country and also lasted for three days each. Training focused on the efficient administration of the research instruments, the productive engagement with research subjects and the seamless deployment of the CAPI device.

For the field work, four teams were constituted in all 37 states. Each of the teams comprised of one supervisor and four interviewers. Each team was assigned 15 EAs for coverage and the entire fieldwork lasted for 17 days (that is, from May 30 to June 15, 2019). In addition to supervisors, two field monitors per state and one coordinator per zone ensured the 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. Interviews and language versions

Before the main survey, the English language questionnaire was translated into Pidgin English and the three main languages spoken in the geo-political zones of Nigeria – Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa. The translations were checked to ensure that the questions were correctly interpreted and programmed into the CAPI devices for use in the fieldwork.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face in the five main languages with additional language requirements covered by qualified interviewers in their native languages.

Data entry and data cleaning

As the data from the interviews were captured in the hand-held CAPI devices, the data could be automatically uploaded to the central NBS Data Processing Centre in Abuja immediately after the interview, or during the debriefing of interviewers by the supervisor at the end of the working day.

In a first stage of data cleaning, the raw data were processed and cleaned of obvious errors by qualified NBS staff. In a second stage, the data were transformed to SPSS and sent to UNODC in 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 for analysis prepared by NBS and UNODC, before data were analysed for tabulation and report writing.

Foot Note

77 *The minimum qualification for NBS field interviewers is a National Diploma 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 a particular survey, priority is also given to those who have previous experience in similar surveys.*

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 to align all the findings to actual population figures.

I. Prevalence of bribery

The **prevalence of bribery** is defined in Sustainable Development Goal 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”.

Thus, the prevalence of bribery is obtained as:

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

Where:

B = number of people who paid, or were asked for a bribe by a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey. It also includes people who were asked to pay a bribe but refused.

C = number of people who had at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to the survey.

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 Nigerian bribe-payers paid a bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

The frequency of bribery is obtained as:

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

and:

$$x_k = \sum_{j=1}^J x_{kj}$$

Where:

x_k = the total number of bribes paid to any public official by the k-th bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey

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

j = 1, ..., J Type of public official receiving the bribe with $N \geq C \geq B \geq K$

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 for 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 93.1 %) 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 the k-th Nigerian 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 Nigeria is calculated as

$$T = D * A$$

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