



Analysis of Media Reports on Corruption Cases in Nigeria

(August 2017 – January 2018)

Volume I

MacArthur
Foundation



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PREFACE

In recognition of the issue of Corruption in Nigeria as a predisposing impendance to peace, security, growth and national development, various interventions have been adopted by the public and private sectors in contribution to the anti-corruption efforts in the country.

One of such interventions is predicated on the prevalence of corruption, the centrality of the media in bringing the issue to the public domain to instigate and amplify demands for accountability and transparency and the corresponding legislative actions in response to this. Within the ambits of an ongoing organizational action, Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC), in its unreserved commitment to accountable and inclusive governance, decided to produce a report that aptly demonstrates how press coverage of corruption can shape horizontal and vertical accountability of the National Assembly.

The report, which is presented in two parts, analyzed 694 reports on corruption from 20 sampled (print and online) media sources from August 2017 to January 2018 with the intention to distil and highlight key institutional gaps (particularly in the National Assembly), towards better understanding the scope, content and sectoral ramifications of corruption, with a view to using the findings (to develop an agenda) as an advocacy tool that rightly identifies the gaps and opportunities for improved legislative oversight and pushing the bar on public sector accountability.

By establishing the reach of the media and its capacity to provide information that can be used as a tool in identifying institutional and operational gaps in our sectors and agencies, this report presents the opportunity for a wider mobilization for demanding and realizing accountability by the National Assembly.

Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) is therefore grateful to the MacArthur Foundation for its support through the project Strengthening Legislative Accountability and Anti-Corruption Mechanisms (SLAAM) under which this publication is made. CISLAC also immensely thank Mr. Olumide Olaniya, Botti Isaac and Tunde Salman who carried out the media research.

CISLAC would like to extend its profound appreciation to the consultant and other contributors to this vital body of work.

Auwal Musa Ibrahim
Executive Director, CISLAC

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACAs	Anti-Corruption Agencies
AGF	Attorney General of the Federation
CCB	Code of Conduct Bureau
CFRN	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
CFRN	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
CISLAC	Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre
CJN	Chief Justice of Nigeria Commission
COTRIMCO	Corruption and Financial Crime Cases Trial Monitoring Committee
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DPR	Department of Petroleum Resources
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission EFCC
FG	Federal Government
ICIR	International Centre for Investigative Reporting
ICIR	International Centre for Investigative Reporting
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences
JV	Joint Venture
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
NASS	National Assembly
NEXIM	Nigeria Export - Import Bank
NIA	Nigeria Intelligence Agency
NIMASA	Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency
NJC	National Judicial Council
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation

NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
OPS	Organized Private Sectors
PACAC	Presidential Advisory Committee against Corruption
PCB	Proceeds of Crime Bill
SGF	Secretary to the Government of the Federation
SGF	Secretary General of the Federation
SHoA	State House of Assembly
SIPRPP	Special Investigation Panel for the Recovery of Public Property
SR	Sahara Reporters
TI	Transparency International
UAE	United Arab Emirate
UK	United Kingdom

Analysis of Nigerian Media Reports on Corruption (August 2017 – January 2018)

Executive Summary

The ravaging scourge of corruption in Nigeria has undoubtedly reached a harmful level across all strata of the Nigerian society. This calls for concerted efforts of all stakeholders - government, business, civil society, media and citizens at large - in order to curb and prevent further growth of the menace. Corruption flourishes in the absence of systems to expose and punish it. The 2017 Corruption Perception Index, which ranks Nigeria as the 32nd most corrupt nation out of 180 countries assessed, is an indication that lasting solutions have not been made in the fight against corruption in Nigeria. Media coverage of corruption and its devastating impact can promote good knowledge of diverse manifestations of the menace and better clarity of the level of interventions taken to combat the scourge.

Historically, the press has always played very crucial roles in exposing corruption and abuse of power in Nigeria. At the commencement of the Fourth Republic, the media was very instrumental to the exposure of certificate scandals involving the first speaker of the House of Representatives and removal of few of the presiding officers of the National Assembly. Recently, the press has even played more catalytic roles that culminated in the probe of former Secretary to the Government of the Federation - Babachir Lawal, by a Senate Committee over misappropriation of funds for the victims of violent extremism in the North East that eventually led to his sack and prosecution.

Whilst the media have uncovered and reported several other corruption practices within and outside government circle, this has not necessarily attracted commensurate institutional response as expected from the legislature, in spite of the constitutional oversight responsibilities to ensure that public resources are put to judicious use for the common good. The main question is how does press coverage of corruption shape horizontal and vertical accountability of the National Assembly? Put simply, to what extent has media reportage generated policy and legislative response to the reported corruption news?

Objective:

The overall objective of the media analysis is to promote increased legislative actions on investigative reportage on corruption thereby enhancing National Assembly

horizontal accountability in public sector operations in Nigeria. The findings are intended to be used to engage relevant committees in the National Assembly as focused advocacy tool to improve legislative oversight and investigative mandate as conferred on the legislature by the constitution.

Design and Methodology:

The research design was largely based on content analysis of 20 sampled newspapers. A tracking template was designed to identify and document published media reports on the subject matter over a six-month period, covering August 2017 – January 2018 during which a total of 694 reports were logged into the database to form the dataset. The scope of analysis involves synthesis of dataset to identify gaps in corruption control efforts of relevant horizontal accountability agencies, especially the National Assembly; and draw out key sectoral issues from media reportage on the subject matter, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques and using simple statistics to sectorise and de-construct the tracked print media reports for proper understanding.

The report is thus divided into two main parts. Part one serves as the general introduction contextualising the problem, describing the scope and methodology adopted for the analysis. Part two presents the summary of tracked media reports distilling meanings from the reportage to draw out key issues and gaps for stakeholders' consideration.

Key findings:

- A total of 42 incidences were tracked to the legislature at the federal level. The media tracking for the period indicates that attention is more on the federal legislature, as there was no major news on the State Houses of Assembly.
- Nigeria's famous anti-corruption body, the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), has the largest number of media reportage, totaling 168 incidences, followed by the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) with just 16 media reportage, while other news created by agencies such as the Presidential Advisory Committee against Corruption (PACAC) and Special Investigation Panel for the Recovery of Public Property (SIPRPP) were criticised for perception of partisanship.
- There were ample evidences of non-compliance with legislative resolutions by the executive (MDAs) on issues bordering on corruption issues; thereby undermining legislative oversight responsibility of the National Assembly. Tracked reports also evident perception of corruption against the legislature across levels of government.

- The anti-corruption efforts were also marred by accusations and counter-accusations among the three arms of government of one another. The most troubling one being the lack of coherence in the anti-corruption efforts of the present administration evident in inter-agency rivalry among the ACAs and law enforcement.

Recommendations

- There is need for more reporting, scrutinizing and follow-up of corrupt cases at the state level as it evident that corruption is also pervasive at those levels.
- Anti-corruption agencies such as the EFCC, ICPC, including the newly created bodies - may consider revamping their internal mechanisms to address perception of partisanship by the public and other tiers of government, in order to ensure more acceptability by the populace. In addition, the bodies should work collectively across levels, arms and tiers of government to reduce the spate of corruption in the country.
- Media reportage is a step in the right direction in the fight against corruption. The media also needs to do more follow-up on its reports and continue to train its personnel on anti-corruption investigative reportage. To do this effectively, journalists must be protected by law against the backdrop of incessant assault on journalists.

Introduction

1.1 Background

Corruption flourishes in the absence of systems to expose and punish it. The 2017 Corruption Perception Index (CPI),¹ released in February 2018 by the global anti-corruption watchdog Transparency International (TI), ranks Nigeria 148 out of 180 countries surveyed in 2017 (sliding further down by 12 points) against 136 in the preceding year. According to the report, Nigeria scores 27/100 to occupy 32 spot amongst the most corrupt nations. Perhaps, this could be seen as an indication that appreciable and lasting progress has not been made in the fight against corruption in the country.

Undoubtedly, the ravaging scourge of corruption in Nigeria has reached a cancerous level across all strata of the society. The menace appears to have received high level of social acceptance and normalization. According to an estimate,² “an overwhelming percentage of Nigerians will accept a bribe when offered or pay a bribe when demanded” to such an extent that “roughly N400 billion was paid to public officials annually as bribe in 2017.”

Corruption has been noted to cut across all sectors of the Nigerian economy. As such, it is apparent everywhere and could be political, electoral, bureaucratic, institutional or socio-economic in nature. It may take different forms which include bribery, theft, fraud, forgery, embezzlement, extortion, nepotism, abuse of power, misappropriation, as corruption is found in the award of contracts, recruitment and promotion of staff, dispensation of justice, and misuse of public offices, positions, and privileges, embezzlement of public funds, amongst others.³

Since corruption seems ubiquitous, the most important emphasis must be placed on the reactions of society and government towards reported corruption cases. This is because it is the reaction that makes the difference in each society. What must be fought is the tendency to normalise corruption as an acceptable behaviour; as well as the manner in which corruption is encouraged and celebrated, especially in the public sector. Efforts must be made to raise the level of public resentment, especially among citizens, towards corruption in Nigeria.⁴

In spite of continued emphasis placed on combating corruption by successive administrations in the country, especially since the transition to civil rule in 1999, corruption in the public sector is said to account for an estimated 70% of corruption cases in Nigeria.⁵ The spate of corrupt practices in the public sector has remained a major impediment to service delivery and improved development outcome in the country. For example, corruption in (public) procurement can divert a significant proportion of a contract's value into private pockets thereby resulting in inferior quality of goods and services as well as unnecessary purchases.

1. The CPI which ranks countries based on how corrupt their public sector is perceived

2. See, UNODC (2017). Corruption in Nigeria Bribery: public experience and response. Abuja and Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria. Available through Google search

3. See, Fadairo, O. Samuel et al, “Coverage of Corruption News by Major Newspapers in Nigeria”; *New Media and Mass Communication* Vol.24, 2014. Accessed from: www.iiste.org Email of the corresponding author: dairom2@yahoo.com

4. See, Jimoh Abubakar, “Corruption: Experts Demand Adequate Response to Cases”; *CISLAC Newsletter (Legislative Digest)*, Vol. 13 No. 5, May 2018, cover page and pp.4-6.

Perhaps, this explains why President Muhammadu Buhari was quoted to have lamented that, “corruption transfers, from public coffers into private pockets, resources (hitherto) required to deliver social and economic justice.”⁶ Corruption thus remains a major obstacle preventing Nigeria from achieving its potentials; it drains billions of dollars yearly from the country's economy, stymies development and weakens the social contract between the government and the people.⁷ According to Nigeria's Vice President, Professor Yemi Osinbajo (GCON), “the practical impact of corruption on the lives of Nigerians is all around us... The dangerous consequence of corruption to any nation, especially on the 'poorest of the poor,' is better imagined than experienced... It has degraded standard of living amongst the populace.”⁸

Since the issue of corruption has remained persistent in Nigeria, it is crucial to appreciate the extent of media coverage of corruption in terms of content, space allocation and visibility or prominence given to the subject matter and establish the level of policy and legislative responses to reported cases of corruption. It has been noted that “media coverage of corruption in sectors of a nation's economy is indicative of the pervasiveness of the cancer in such sectors and can go a long way in curbing the spread.”⁹ The analysis is thus undertaken to synthesise media coverage of corruption in order to appreciate the content and gauge the extent to which it has increased visibility of this menace in the public domain.

1.2.1 Problem Statement

Media coverage of corruption and its impacts can promote better clarity of the depth of the menace as well as understanding of the level of interventions taken to combat it, especially in the context of a country such as Nigeria where corruption has remained persistent. Historically, the press has always played a crucial roles in exposing corruption and abuse of power in Nigeria. According to a practitioner, over the years, “the media has... unearthed series of scandals, sustained it in the public consciousness and pushed for a proper resolution of such matters. Indeed, the media has ... forced government to take action or even reverse a cause of action.”¹⁰

At the commencement of the Fourth Republic, the media was instrumental in exposing the certificate scandal of Speaker Salisu Buhari and in the removal of a few presiding officers of the National Assembly between 1999 and 2003. The media was also instrumental in identifying, investigating and reporting corruption in massive scandals exemplified by the Panama and Paradise papers. To this end, the media can help mitigate corruption in the country. However, in recent years, while the media has uncovered and reported corrupt

5. Ibid: CISLAC Newsletter (Legislative Digest), Vol. 13 No. 5, May 2018, cover page – pp.4-6.

6. See, Remarks of His Excellency, Professor Yemi Osinbajo, SAN, GCON, Vice President, Federal Republic of Nigeria; in Yemi, Akinseye-George, “Good Leader, Good People, Great Nation: Corruption, Constitutionalism and the Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria” 16th Inaugural Lecture, Nasarawa State University; March 29, 2018

7. Op. cit, Matthew F. Page (2018)

8. Supra, see, Note 7 above

9. Op. cit, Fadario et al (2014)

10. See, Imam (2017), “Investigative reporting and work of the legislature” Cable Online Newspaper May 17, 2017. Available at:<https://www.thecable.ng/investigative-reporting-work-legislature>

practices within and outside government circle; these media reports have not attracted commensurate sanctions and convictions as expected, especially from the legislature.¹¹

The assumption is that: the higher the amount of media scrutiny, in terms of focus, prominence/visibility, space allocations and frequency on corruption in the press; the greater the level of legislative reactions in terms of oversight and number of investigations or probes on reported cases to curb the menace of corruption in the country. Hence, there is need to distil media coverage of corruption in Nigeria to generate understanding of how investigative media reportage has shaped policy and legislative responses to reported cases of corruption in the country.

1.2.2 Guiding Questions

Some of the guiding questions include:

1. What is the impact of media coverage of corruption on anti-corruption responses in the country?
2. What is the total number of media reports containing information/stories on corruption-related issues in Nigeria?
3. Which newspaper dedicates the highest amount of space to reporting corruption issues? What pattern of thematic and/or sectoral classification can be discerned from reported cases of corruption in the media?

The main question is, “How does media reportage or newspaper coverage on corruption shape horizontal and vertical accountability of the National Assembly measured by effectiveness of its investigative and oversight mandates? Put differently, to what extent has media reportage generated policy and legislative response to reported corruption news?”

1.3. Objective and Significance

The overall objective is to promote increased legislative action on investigative reportage on corruption and enhance horizontal accountability in public sector operations in Nigeria. More specifically, the output is intended to engage relevant committees in the National Assembly to improve their legislative oversight and investigative mandate as conferred on the parliament by the constitution. The ability to distil the extent and magnitude of media coverage of corruption-related issues will support focused advocacy for adequate and effective institutional mechanism to respond to the menace of corruption in the country. The study is thus useful to increase stakeholders' understanding of the gravity of corruption in Nigeria, especially the debilitating impact of corruption on development and democratic governance. This will help build effective advocacy strategies for scaling up institutional mechanisms and legislative responses to combating the menace of corruption in the country.

11. See, CISLAC seeks media partnership to tackle corruption and money laundering, www.sinlnigeria.com Accessed November 12, 2018

1.4.1 Research Design and Methodology

The research design is largely based on content analysis of tracked newspapers. The Nigerian mass media landscape is very huge and diverse (including both conventional and in recent times, new media). For the purpose of this analysis, the focus is limited to the print media. There are over 100 newspapers and magazines published in Nigeria.¹² However, only 20 newspapers (print and online) were sampled for this experimental review.¹³

CISLAC¹⁴ developed a tracking template to identify and document media reportage of corruption which was entered into an excel document daily over a six-month period - between August 2017 and January 2018 - to build the dataset. During this period, a total of 694 reports on corruption-related news or stories from sampled dailies were logged. Key sectoral issues were identified from media reportage on the subject matter. This was further analysed and synthesised in order to identify gaps in corruption control efforts of relevant horizontal accountability agencies, especially the National Assembly.

The unit of analysis is the entire sample of reporting which cuts across all genres of reporting. This includes news reports, editorial comments, news features, interviews, viewpoints or articles (opinions), advertorials, etc. where attention is given to key words such as corruption, anti-corruption agencies, conflict of interest, bribery, etc. The purpose here is to describe the feature of the text to find which words or phrases are used frequently in the dataset of tracked media reportage. Methodically, content analysis identifies patterns in text documents, indexes these pattern and creates quantitative descriptive analyses. Thematic analysis of text involves the identification of themes or major ideas in the reports. This is useful and appropriate for print media research like the task at hand.

The report is divided into two main parts. Part one serves as the general introduction contextualising the problem, describing the scope and methodology adopted for the analysis. Part two presents the summary of tracked media reports distilling meaningful sense from the reportage on the subject matter to draw out key issues and gaps for stakeholders' consideration.

1.4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

The data presentation and analysis involve both quantitative and qualitative techniques. It uses simple statistics such as frequency table and charts with info-graphics in order to sectorise and de-construct the dataset of print media reports for proper understanding and presentation.

Aside from independent multi-level reviews, the initial drafts of this report have been validated at a validation meeting, involving stakeholders from the media, civil society (CSOs) and government (MDAs). Expectedly, inputs and comments from the stakeholders' validation have been incorporated to enrich the final report.

12. See, Akingbulu, A. and Bussiek, H. [eds]. *Nigeria: On Air (Public Broadcasting in Africa Series)*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa

13. Some of the most influential newspapers that command significant readership amongst policymakers and sampled for the tracking analysis include: Daily Trust, Business Day, The Punch, The Guardian, The Nation, Thisday, Vanguard, The Sun, Nigerian Tribune, Leadership among others.

14. The template has 13 columns to collection data. See, Appendix 1

Part Two

2.1 Size of Tracked Media Reportage/Coverage

CISLAC tracked a total of 694 corruption-related news or stories from 20 selected Nigerian newspapers for the period covering August 2017 – January 2018.¹⁵ As previously noted, the triggers for the corruption story selection included articles and/or news on probes of corruption in government and the private sectors; allegations, instances of frauds and revelations on corruption; recovery and/or refund of stolen money as well as the arrest, prosecution and/or conviction of suspected persons in cases linked with corruption.



Figure Conviction news of Plateau Ex-Governor Joshua Dariye from the Punch News

Table 1: Size of Newspapers Tracked

Sampled Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Daily Sun	18	2.46%
Daily Trust	126	17.20%
Independent	118	16.10%
Leadership	51	7.00%
Nigerian Pilot	11	1.40%
Premium Times	32	4.40%
The Authority	26	3.50%
The Guardian	61	8.35%
This Day	58	7.90%
Vanguard	4	0.55%
The Punch	154	21.10%
New Telegraph	28	3.80%
The Nation	15	2.05%
Sahara Reporters	5	0.68%
Blueprint	11	2.00%

Source: CISLAC Dataset

15. Although, a couple of corruption cases and incidences were also noted from foreign media, including BBC and Reuter, these were very insignificant and were not considered in this analysis.

<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/239808-efcc-recovers-n329-billion-debts-nine-oil-marketers.html>

EFCC ‘recovers N329 billion debts from nine oil marketers’

August 10, 2017 Ifeoluwa Adeyemo



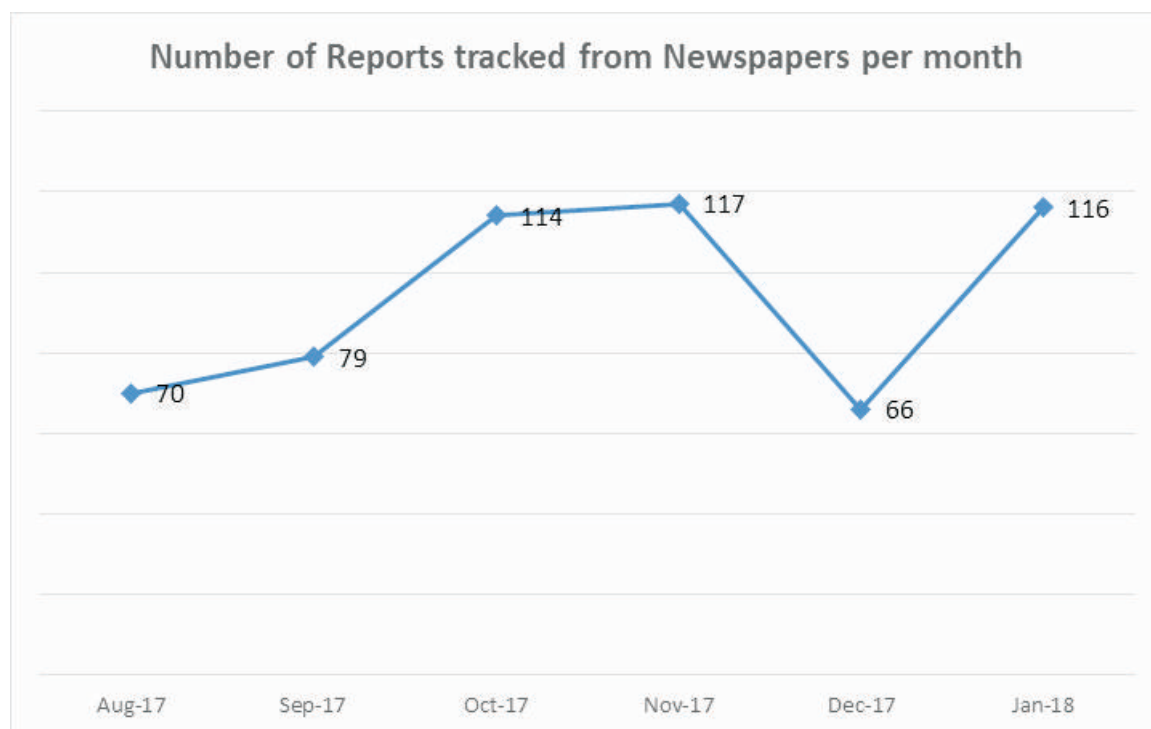
EFCC operative used to illustrate the story

Figure : EFCC recovers 328bn Debts from major oil marketers - Premium Times

A majority of the news was recorded from the following five newspapers: *Daily Trust*, *Daily Independent*, *Leadership*, *ThisDay* and the *Punch*. This does not in any way place these media as leading corruption reporting newspapers, as tracking has been guided by the experimental tool developed for this pilot study. These media however, collectively accounted for 82 percent of the approximately 700 incidences recorded. As clear from table 1, *The Punch* has the largest number of tracked items on the subject matter with a total of 154 (21%); followed by *Daily Trust* with 126 (17%) of tracked items and *Daily Independent* with 118 (16%) respectively. Other newspapers with some reasonable tracked items on the subject matter include the *Guardian* (61), *ThisDay* (58), *Leadership* (51), *New Telegraph* (28) *The Authority* (26) and *The Nation* (15).

For online news mediums, *Premium Times* leads the pack with 32 tracked news items (about 4.4% of the total), followed by *Sahara Reporters* (SR) with five items while *The Cable* has only one tracked item. Again, the tracking tool may be responsible for this as the SR is well known for its continuous reportage on corruption. For instance, during the validation meeting, the International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIR), an online media dedicated to investigative reporting, insisted that the contribution of online news media in exposing corruption and demanding actions from appropriate authorities was not adequately captured in the database. This will necessitate review of the tracking template in subsequent tracking and review.

Figure 1 represents the monthly disaggregation of collated tracked items from the CISLAC dataset for the period under review.



2.2 Media Reports on Nigeria's Anti-Corruption Institutions

Nigeria has a plethora of vertical and horizontal accountability institutions tasked with anti-corruption mandates. From the tracked media reports database generated by CISLAC between August 2017 and January 2018, a total of 408 news reportage and/or coverage issues focusing on some of these institutions were recorded. Table 2 (and figure 2) disaggregates the patterns of coverage or reportage according to these anti-corruption agencies (ACAs).

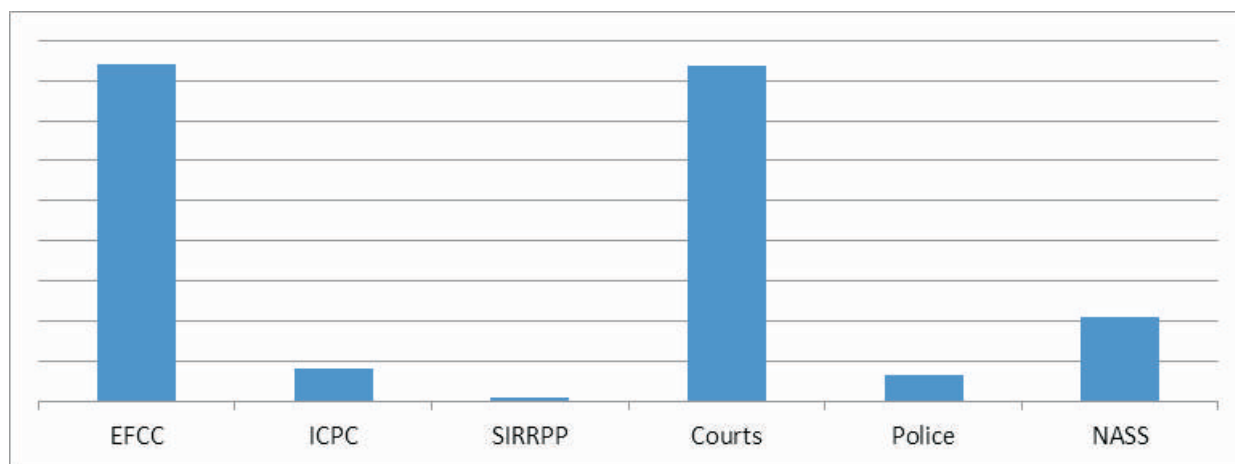
Table 2: Tracked Media Reports Focusing on Nigeria's Anti-Corruption Institutions

S/N	Anti-Corruption Institutions	Nature of Mandate	Number of Issues tracked
1	EFCC	Fully anti-corruption agency	168
2	ICPC	Fully anti-corruption agency	16
3	Special Investigation Panel for the Recovery of Public Property (SIPRPP)	Specific anti-corruption unit	02
4	The Judiciary / Courts	Partly: Trial and Conviction	167
5	The Nigeria Police Force	Partly: Arrest, Investigation, Prosecution	13
6	National Assembly and specific committees	Partly: Investigation and sanction	42
Total Reports			408

Source: Compiled from CISLAC Dataset

Clearly from table 2, these institutions are segmented into two categories. There are those with sole responsibility of tackling corruption in any form/in all its forms or aspect/specific cases of corruption, while the other category includes those whose mandates contain elements of supporting anti-corruption efforts along other schedules. It should be noted, however, that all agencies of government also have internal mechanisms and other related regulations aimed at preventing corruption within their establishment. As institutional mechanisms dedicated to combating corruption, the ACAs play different roles including investigation, prosecution and conviction.

Figure 2: Percentage Distribution of Tracked Items based on ACAs



2.2.1 EFCC

Nigeria's famous anti-corruption body, the EFCC, has the largest number of media reportage totalling 168 incidences. The themes of the media reportage content on EFCC are multifarious; some relate to investigative, prosecutorial actions of the Commission, while others border on criticism of its actions/inactions by stakeholders.

A majority of the content of reported materials on EFCC focused on arrest and prosecution of high and low profile suspects as evident in these headlines: “(EFCC) arrests MAPOLY students (*Blueprint*, 06/09/18), “EFCC recovers 328bn Debts from major oil marketers” [ibid), “Justice Ministry fumes, accuses EFCC of false allegations” (*Premium Times*, 08/09/18).

Other reported issues focused on cases of officials or individuals linked to former President Goodluck Jonathan's administration (examples include NIMASA, Patience Jonathan, NEXIM, Diezani-Madueke), probes of former governors and state government for corruption (including Orji Kalu, Jonah Jang, Delta, Bauchi, Cross River, Nasarawa, Sokoto and Ekiti states) were also recorded.

There were also quite a number of incidences on oil deals (e.g. “Fraud by oil marketers” (*New Telegraph*, 10/10/2017) “Navy hands over oil thieves suspects to EFCC” (*Independent*, 10/10/2017), *Premium Times*, 10/01/18). Reports indicate that the Commission was both praised and criticised by actors.

In some instances, the media coverage and reportage of EFCC seems to celebrate its commando style-like arrest of suspects in alleged corrupt cases, given that more media coverage is given in such instance than diligent investigation and prosecution of corruption cases.

2.2.2 ICPC:

In spite of being established much earlier than EFCC, the anti-corruption efforts of ICPC have not gained considerable media attention, visibility and prominence like that of EFCC. This is evident from the fact that only 16 tracked media contents were linked to the Commission, which focuses mainly on the investigation and trial of government officials at the federal and state levels.

Samples included:

“ICPC arraigns Buhari's ex-nominee for N57m fraud” (*Punch*, 12/01/18), “ICPC to go after ex-governors indicted of corruption” (*Leadership*, 13/01/18).

It is, however, important to note that several of the incidences tracked were ongoing or fresh cases. No incidence of conviction was recorded during the period from the tracked newspapers

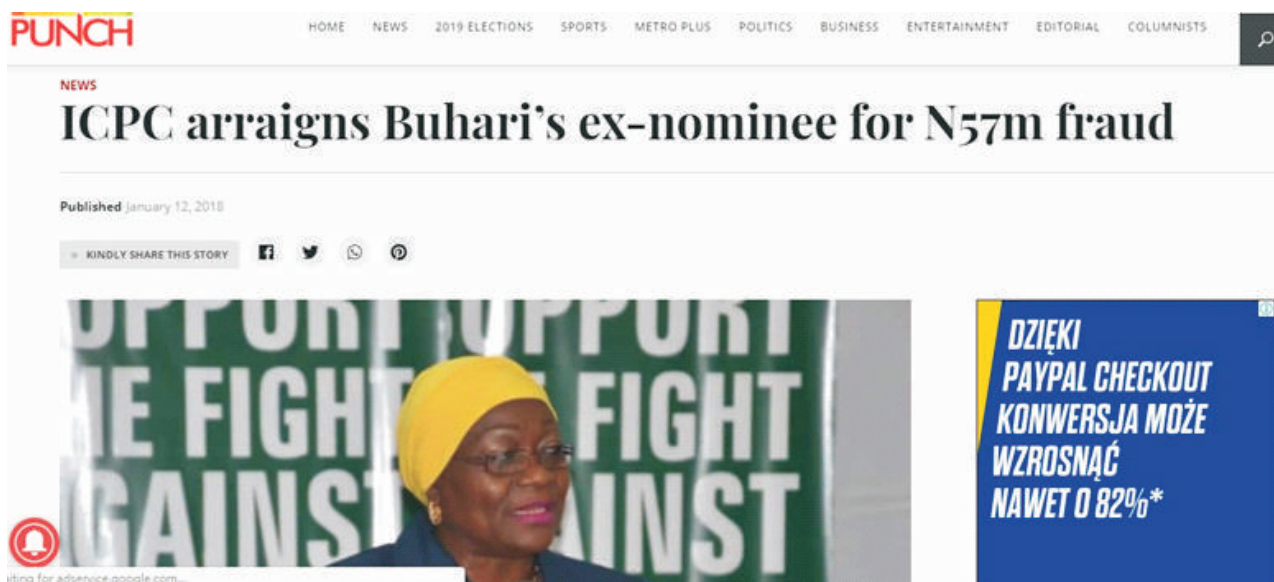


Figure : ICPC arraigns Buhari's ex-nominee for N57m fraud Punch"

As with EFCC, citizens are also of the view that ICPC may be manipulated by the Federal Government. For example, news items attributed to former president, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo expressed worry that “EFCC, ICPC Have Been Politicized” (*Daily Trust*, 29/10/18). Nonetheless, both the EFCC and ICPC remain Nigeria's main anti-graft agencies established by acts of the National Assembly to tackle corruption in the country. Corruption cases have been referred to them by citizens and by other institutions, including the National Assembly and MDAs.

2.2.3 Judiciary:

The judiciary, being the third arm of government saddled with the task of adjudication by the Nigerian Constitution, plays a prominent role in tackling corruption. This explains the fact that the judiciary and the court system were frequently referenced in the media reportage on the subject matter. A total of 156 incidences were tracked during the period under the judiciary and court.

Media reports on corruption with reference to the judiciary beam light on perceived corruption in the bench – for example: “NJC bars alleged corrupt judges from sitting” (*Punch*, 22/08/17); “How Nigerian judges, other court officials defrauded government of N4.8 billion – Audit Report, (*Premium Times*, 27/12/17). These reportages clearly establish cases of corruption in the judiciary and are widely seen as a sore thumb to the institution, as noted in the Auditor General's 2018 report.



Figure “How Nigerian judges, other court officials defrauded government of N4.8 billion – Audit Report, *Premium Times*”

Although the National Judicial Council (NJC) is established as a vital mechanism to checkmate judicial officers and address corruption in the bench, the question to be raised now is, “How effective has this internal mechanism for the judiciary to curb itself of corruption – tainted judges actually been?” To be sure, the NJC can investigate, monitor and bar judges with proven cases of corruption before handing them over to appropriate institutions for further actions, including prosecution. However, there have been mixed reactions to investigation and prosecution of judicial officers by law enforcement and anti-graft agencies which some described as an attempt to emasculate the judiciary. This is because the EFCC has collided with the judiciary in its efforts to tackle corruption. For example, a number of judges were arrested and arraigned for allegations of bribe collection – e.g. “EFCC arraigns judge, ex-governor's son over alleged graft” (*Guardian*, 18/1/18).

The media also reported on the power of the EFCC to prosecute serving judges. The Judiciary claims that only the NJC anti-graft panel has the power to investigate and refer erring judge to either ICPC or EFCC (*Daily Trust*, 27/11/17). The court of appeal initially ruled on the matter that EFCC lacks the power to prosecute serving judges (*Premium Times*, 11/12/17). EFCC complied with this as it reported three incidences of allegation of corruption to the NJC (*Punch* 28/01/18). This has been overturned by the Supreme Court after the EFCC took the case to the appellate Court. “The Supreme Court's affirmation of EFCC's power is victory for anti-graft war (*Daily Trust*, 30/01/2018).

It is, however, important to note that in response to criticism that the courts have unnecessarily delayed many high profile corruption cases, the Chief Justice of Nigeria empanelled a special Corruption and Financial Cases Trial Monitoring Committee (COTRIMCO) to ensure speedy trails of corruption cases. The COTRIMCO's chairman, Justice Suleiman Galadima, disclosed that “the work of the committee has resulted in judgement being delivered in at least 324 cases nationwide” (GGT, 2018).¹⁶

2.2.4 Legislature:

A total of 42 incidences were tracked to the legislature at the federal level, including the Senate and House of Representatives, during the period under review. The media tracking for the period indicates that attention is more on the federal legislature, as there was no major news on any of the State Houses of Assembly (SHoA). This further reaffirms the notion that SHoA across the country are appendages of the executive. Cases or allegations of corruption at the state level are majorly probed by the federal bodies, including the Police, EFCC and ICPC.

Both the Senate and the House probed a number of federal agencies and their heads, including, Inspector General of Police (IGP), Director General of Nigeria Intelligence Agency (NIA), Group Managing Director (GMD) of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) as well as Organised Private Sectors (OPS) businesses in cases of allegation of corruption and misuse of public fund/trust e.g. “30trn revenue leakage: senate quizzes 60 firms” (*The Nation*, 02/08/17). Other examples of incidences tracked from the legislature include the following, “Senate raises alarm over NNPC's alleged N42bn illegal account.” (*The Guardian*, 24/01/18), “Senate probes \$784.2m fraud' in oil company (*Blueprint*, 25/01/18) and Senate panel recovers N140bn” (*Daily Trust*, 19/10/17).

The legislature is the arm of government that makes laws and approves budget for itself and for the two other arms of government. As an important pillar of governance, the first alteration to the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) rightly made the National Assembly a 'first line charge', which accorded it with the much-needed financial autonomy based on the principle of self-accounting. This self-accounting principle places more significant responsibilities on the NASS, particularly in terms of effectively fulfilling its horizontal and vertical accountabilities as the representative of the people. However, opacity around the breakdown of the legislature's own budget has drawn criticism, e.g. “Itse Sagay reiterated the criticism of lawmakers over the “jumbo pay” (*Premium Times*, 07/09/17).

16. See, Good Governance Team, “Students Outreach Report”.

The Senate Joint Committee on Custom and Marine Transport was reported to start probing the alleged N30trillion revenue leakage captioned under a *New Telegraph* (August 2, 2017) report “30trn leakage: Senate probes Airtel, BATC, others,” which was corroborated by (*Daily Trust*, 04/08/2017) with the caption “Senate indicts firms over 30trn fraud”. The Public Account Committee of the Federal House of Representatives probes NCAA over N60.4million extra budgetary expenditure as reflected in the *Daily Independent* report of August 15, 2017 captioned as “Reps probe NCAA over 60.4m Extra Budgetary Expenditure”. “Senator to IGP: you are Corrupt, Clueless” (*New Telegraph*, 29/08/2017). “30trn revenue loss, LCCI cautions NASS over allegations against private sector” (*New Telegraph*, 15/08/2017) “Senate asks CBN to sanction IBTC over \$587m repatriation” (*Daily Trust*, 01/08/, 2017).

Box A

The power of the legislature to probe public officials and institutions has also been subjected to judicial interpretations e.g. “Corruption Allegations: Court stops Senate from investigating Nigeria police chief” (*Premium Times*, 15/11/17). Perhaps this may give insight into why individuals and agencies, especially high-level public officials have also ignored summons by the legislature, rather they go to court to stop their subpoena e.g. the IGP, as mentioned above and the former President Goodluck Jonathan – “\$1.1b Malabu oil deal Scandal: 48 days after, Jonathan ignores Reps' invitation” (*Punch*, 24/8/17). There is a perception that this further weakens the rule of law and separation of powers among the arms of government. Non-compliance by the executive (MDAs) with legislative resolutions and the growing popularity of the habit of declining invitations to public or investigative hearings, undermines the legislative oversight responsibility of the National Assembly. This is not denying the fact that the negative public perception of the National Assembly as corrupt is affecting its horizontal responsibility.

As the key tenet of democracy under the separation of powers, modern legislature renders functions that ranges from representation, legislation, deliberation and investigation (oversight) as well as constituency service/outreach. The extent to which parliament has been able to discharge these broad functions is contingent on several factors, not least the nature of the political environment within which they operate, the strength of political institutions, civil society organisations, and the constitutional arrangements governing the relationship between the legislature and the executive. According to Mobolaji (2014:33)¹⁷, a weak legislature is said to undermine democracy in two ways. For one, it undermines horizontal accountability, that is, the controls that state agencies are supposed to exercise over other state agencies.

If the legislature is unable to provide checks on the executive power, including the bureaucracy, abusive practices are more likely to occur. Secondly, weak legislations destabilize the growth of vertical accountability, meaning the ability of the people to control their representatives.

17. Mobolaji, H.I. (2014), “Legislature, Governance and Development in Nigeria” Chapter Two, in Hamalai, L & Suberu. R. eds. *The National Assembly and Democratic Governance in Nigeria*. Abuja: National Institute for Legislative Studies

Since “the Nigerian legislature is emerging from a position of institutional emasculation and obliteration into a core democratic political agency, with increasing institutional autonomy, identity and resources,” there is need to continue strengthening legislative institutional capacity and autonomy, internal accountability mechanisms within the legislature and relations with other institutions of horizontal accountability, e.g. the supreme audit institution, the public complaint commission, public account communities as well as create and sustain multiple channels of communication and engagement with the people.

2.2.5 Nigeria Police Force:

Though saddled with the responsibility of curbing crimes and protecting citizens from criminal assaults, among other duties, the Police can arrest, investigate and take suspected persons to court for trial on corruption cases. In the course of maintaining peace, the Police also get involved in tackling corruption in a plethora of cases, both civil and criminal. There have been instances where the court and/or the Legislature instructs the police to arrest suspected persons involved in alleged cases of corruption, e.g. “Maina: Court orders EFCC, police to arrest ex-pension boss” (*Daily Post*, 02/11/17).



Figure “Maina: Court orders EFCC, police to arrest ex-pension boss” (*Daily Post* [02/11/17])

Tracking instances on the police during the period were few, nine in all, including allegations of corruption against top police officers (by a Senator and ordinary citizens as individual members of public) as well as the police itself as a government department. It is instructive to note again that many of the special ACAs established in Nigeria were in responses to overwhelming cases of corruption that have not been addressed by the police, warranting the formation of the specialised agencies.

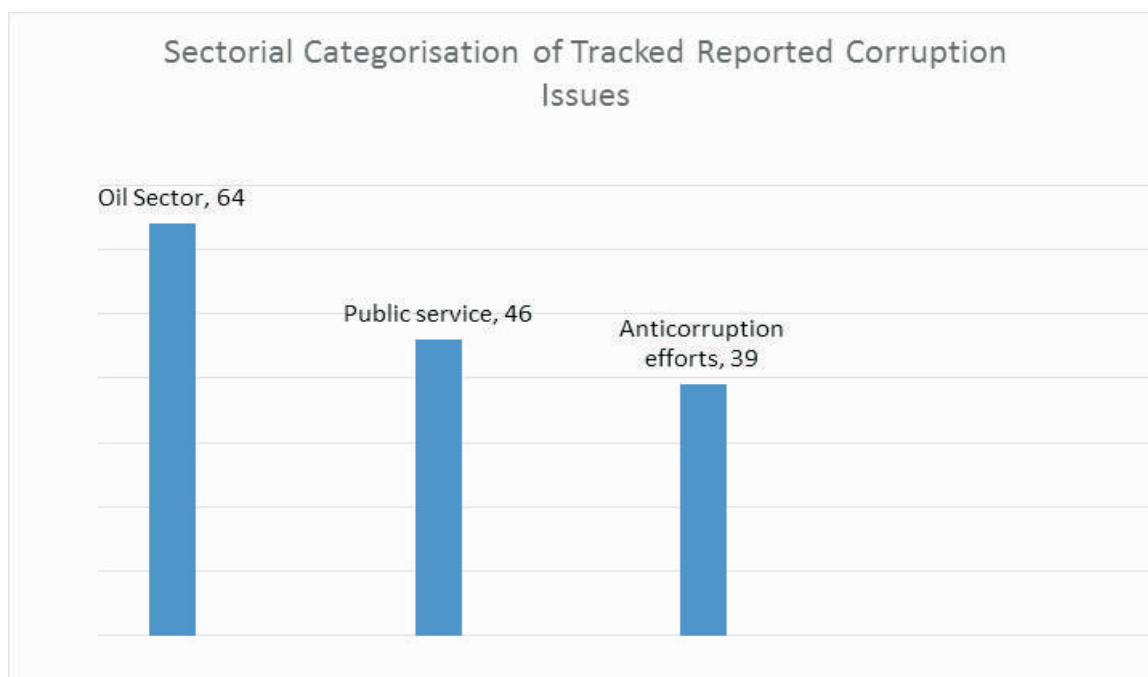
2.2.6 Others:

Three other anti-corruption units were reported sparingly during the period of the report. These are Presidential Advisory Committee against Corruption (PACAC) chaired by Prof Itse Sagay, Special Investigation Panel for the Recovery of Public Property (SIPRPP) and Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB).

The PACAC chairman's criticism of “jumbo salary of members of National Assembly and advice to the Federal Government to arrest Maina, the ex-pension board's boss over allegation of N2b fraud” however received significant prominence in tracked media reportage for the period under review. It is therefore deductible that the activities of these ACAs units did not receive much media attention.

2.3 Distillization of Sectoral Corruption Issues from the Dataset

We also tracked specific issues, trends, the nature of corruption and efforts by Government and non-state actors to address corruption during the period. We considered sectors and groups with more reported cases of corruption as represented in figure 3.



Non-state actors – CSOs and Media groups – also demanded accountability from the government during the period. In fact, a civic group (Coalition of Non-State Actors for Good Governance) was reported by (*Daily Trust*, 28/08/17) as describing sub-national level authorities thus: “Paris Club Refund Scandal: Governors of Graft.”

The FG was accused of paying lip service to the anti-corruption war and requested to probe key government officials with allegation of corruption. The CSOs also indicated their interest in monitoring the recovery of the \$321m loot with the Swiss Government (*The Guardian*, 21/11/17).

2.3.1 Oil Sector:

There were 64 cases and incidences reported around the oil industries, the majority of which centred on allegations of corruption in the NNPC, the Malabu oil deal scandal, charges of fraud against oil marketers and big industry players by the EFCC and probes of oil institutions, including the DPR by the legislature. See, “Senate probes \$60bn loss in 24 years old oil deal” (*Punch*, 30/11/17), “\$20m Bribe: FG moves to review JV agreement with firm” (*Leadership*, 24/08/17) and whistle-blowing by the CSOs.

It was not all gloom as there were also reports of the recovery of stolen funds as in the report on “Malabu oil deals: UK returns \$85m to Nigeria” (*Punch*, 27/10/17). There was also a conviction when the court jailed two oil marketers for eight years for N790m fraud. (*Guardian*, 31/10/18). The former minister of petroleum resources during the Jonathan administration, Mrs. Diezani Alison-Madueke, was widely reported during the period, when the federal high court passed forfeiture orders on her even though she was already out of the country. Public commentaries suggest that the Federal Government should call for her extradition in future.

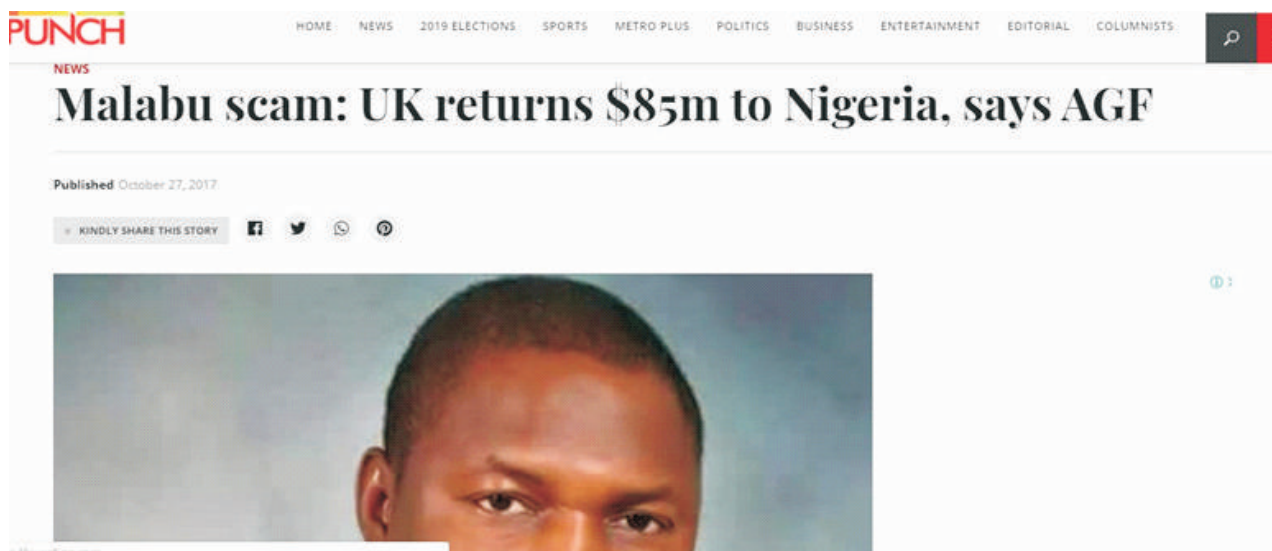


Figure : Malabu oil deals: UK returns \$85m to Nigeria” (*Punch* [27/10/17]).

2.3.2 Corruption in Public Service:

A total of 46 cases and/or incidences on allegations of corruption, trials, probes, indictment and conviction involving public servants, including former and serving state governors, ex- and serving ministers, permanent secretaries and other heads of MDAs were tracked in the database. Cases included court trials by the EFCC/ICPC, summons by the National Assembly, suspension from office for allegation of fraud of officials, e.g. “Why corruption trials of 16 ex-governors linger in Nigerian courts since 2007” (*Premium Times* 13/12/17), “Paris club Refund: Court freezes seven accounts linked to governors' forum” (*Punch*, 01/12/17), “Court orders forfeiture of 14 houses belonging to ex-minister, son” (*Leadership*, 19/10/17).

Implicitly discernible from the contents of tracked items is the fact that several of the cases and issues remain unresolved. Some of the cases are offences committed over a decade ago

e.g. “N3.2bn fraud: Orji Uzor Kalu's trial continues today” (*Daily Trust*, 30/11/17). This has been attributed largely to delay in the court process, poor investigation by ACAs and delay tactics by defence lawyers which was succinctly captured thus: “Slow Judicial System, Lawyers' Delay Frustrating Anti-Graft War” (*Daily Independent*, 28/08/17); “Legal Process Delaying Return of N5.6bn Arms Money Trapped in S'Africa-FG” (*Leadership*, 30/08/17). The implication of this is that corruption in public services has continued unabated despite the efforts, including the creation of fresh departments and units by the Federal Government, such as the PACAC, SIPRPP, and judicial COTRIMCO.

2.3.3 Anti-corruption Efforts by Federal Government:

The EFCC and the ICPC are the leading agencies of the Federal Government established to tackle corruption, among others. The EFCC was established in 2003 to combat financial and economic crimes. The EFCC Act empowers the Commission to prevent, investigate, prosecute and penalize economic and financial crimes with the additional responsibility of enforcing the provisions of other laws and regulations relating to economic and financial crimes such as the money laundering prohibition legislation, the advance fee fraud and other related offences act, the failed bank (recovery of debts) and financial malpractices in banks legislations, and miscellaneous offences act.

The ICPC was established in September 2000 by an Act of the National Assembly. The ICPC Act seeks to prohibit and prescribe punishment for corrupt practices and other related offences. More specifically, the Act empowers the ICPC to receive and investigate reports of corrupt offences and, in appropriate cases, prosecute the offenders; to educate and enlighten the public on and against corruption with a view to enlisting and fostering public support for the fight against corruption.

The administration of President Muhammadu Buhari has also established PACAC and the Special Investigation Panel on the Recovery of Public Property (SIPRPP) to strengthen its anti-corruption efforts. The two units have not; however, received media attention and the level of public recognition of these efforts remains low **coupled with misgivings by statements from the leadership of PACAC which has been received as an untoward attempt to justify alleged high-handedness of the anti-graft agencies.**

The anti-corruption efforts were also marred by accusations and counter-accusations among the three arms of government, the most troubling being the lack of coherence in the anti-corruption efforts of the present administration as evidenced by inter-agency rivalry among the ACAs and law enforcement. Evidence from media reports includes the following: “Magu undermining anti-corruption war, says AGF” (*Authority*, 24/08/17); “AGF blames Magu for Nigeria's suspension from Egmont group” (*Punch*, 24/08/17). It is however important to acknowledge that the administration is working assiduously to achieve more coherence in its anti-corruption war with steps being taken to finalise the national anti-corruption strategy document.

During the period under review, Nigeria also signed anti-graft, extradition treaties with other countries like the United Arab Emirates (UAE) (*Daily Trust*, 25/08/17). Despite these efforts,

Nigeria's rating declined from 136 to 148 in Transparency International's CPI ranking between 2016 and 2017. Perhaps, for this reason CSOs, as well as former Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo and Goodluck Jonathan, criticised the government's anti-corruption effort as being insincere. CSOs accused the FG of paying lip service to the anti-corruption war. The FG, however, considered this a mockery of its efforts by persons out of government, who should instead work with Nigerians to help the government prevail in the fight against corruption.

2.3.5 State Level Efforts to Arrest Corruption:

There was low reporting on state level efforts directed at addressing corruption. It was not ascertained whether the media were not reporting efforts by state government to address corruption or various state governments were not committed to the anti-corruption drive in their respective states.

Samples of reportage focusing on sub-national efforts include the following:

Kano State Public Complaints and anti-corruption arraigned a former commissioner over \$650,000 fraud (*Daily Trust*, 01/08/17) under the caption: "Kano Commission to arraign former commissioner over \$650,000 fraud," "30 Imo Pension Board officials arrested over N650m pension Fraud" (*New Telegraph*, 30/08/17); and "5.7bn pension fund missing in Niger" (*Daily Trust*, 09/08/17); the quick response from the state government concerned was captured in another newspaper report thus: "Niger Govt sets up committee to recover 5.799bn pension fund" (*Leadership*, 09/08/17).

Further studies affirm that the State Houses of Assembly (SHoA) are 'controlled' indirectly across the country by their respective governors, especially as there was no financial autonomy for the SHoA to discharge their constitutional mandate. The fight against corruption can only improve if the three tiers and levels of government are involved. As of today, it is more visible at the federal level. Some state governments have even challenged the authority of the Federal anti-corruption agencies to try them, until the recent Supreme Court ruling stating that the EFCC can investigate anyone in the country.

3.1 CONCLUSION

What was glaring from the sectoral distillation of tracked media reports on the subject matter is the fact that the perception of corruption has remained prevalent in the country. The media reporting of corruption issues over the period puts the issue of corruption on the front burner. Obvious reporting on corruption has become commonplace in Nigeria, as there is no evidence of reduction of corruption despite the fact that there were almost 700 newspaper reports from 20 newspapers between August 2017 - January 2018.

Since the issue of corruption has remained persistent in Nigeria, putting in place adequate and effective anti-corruption response mechanisms with a view towards tackling the menace remains critical. Yet, without strong institutional mechanisms, and enabling laws against corruption, including general, societal and/or individual reorientations, the scourge of corruption ravaging all strata of Nigerian society may not be successfully tackled in the near

future. The other two arms of government – legislature and the judiciary – have built-in constitutional or statutory mechanisms to address corruption but the perception of corruption among the members of the National Assembly and senior judicial officers undermines the efficacies of these arms of government in the war against corruption in Nigeria.

There is therefore the need for non-state actors to improve in regards to the mobilisation of the populace on effective action to hold government accountable at all levels. Media reportage is a step in the right direction in the fight against corruption. The media also needs to do more follow-up on its reports and continue to train its personnel on anti-corruption reportage. To do this effectively, journalists must be protected by law – two Nigerians journalists were reported killed while on duty, with over a dozen assaulted in 2017.

In the final analysis, a link can seemingly be established between media reportage on corruption and policy or legislative responses/actions on the subject matter. An example is the successful probe of former SGF, Babachir Lawal, by a Senate committee and Kemi Adeosun's NYSC-certificate-forgery-gate, where sustained media scrutiny had resulted in legislative action supporting the anti-corruption war in the country.

3.2 Recommendations

3.2.1 State Actors:

The various arms of government need to collaborate more in the fight against corruption. More importantly, inter-agency collaboration and coherence remain crucial in achieving a coordinated approach in the anti-corruption effort of the government and state institutions. The current schism amongst key ACAs and LEAs, as well as among the three arms of government, is counter-productive, which is worsened by the disregard for the rule of law and separation of powers. This bastion of democracy has to be adhered to by public servants.

Executive:

- The Federal Government must ensure that various corruption cases involving its officers are pursued in the interest of the nation, and depoliticise the fight against corruption. Its agencies – EFCC, ICPC, and the newly-created unit – should be seen as a bastion of anti-corruption by all and sundry through its act and deed.
- The ACAs must invest in training and investigation for productive prosecution that will lead to conviction and forfeiture of illegal wealth.

Legislature:

- The recent autonomy for SHoA and the judiciary is a step in the right direction. With financial independence, it is envisaged that the SHoA will in due time start holding their respective governors as well as other heads of state MDAs accountable to the public.

- The National Assembly should speed up passage of key anti-corruption legislation including the Proceeds of Crime Bill and other legislative proposals.
- The investigative and oversight mandates should not be used as an arm-twisting instrument to extract political advantage from the executive or win public sympathy, but should be effectively deployed to support the anti-corruption efforts of the state.

Judiciary:

- The judiciary should speed up the processing of cases. The perennial adjournment of cases has been counter-productive to the anti-corruption fight.
- Cases of corruption in the judiciary should be addressed in a timely and transparent manner with culprits punished to serve as deterrence for such actions.

3.2.2 Non-State Actors

Non-state actors need to improve in mobilising the populace on effective actions to hold the government accountable at all levels.

(I) Media:

- The media needs to do more follow-up to sustain its reportings and continue to train its personnel on investigative anti-corruption reporting. To do this effectively, journalists must be protected by law against the backdrop that two Nigerians journalists were reportedly killed while on duty, with over a dozen other journalists assaulted in 2017.
- Media reporting has been majorly centered on actions and/or inaction of key government agencies, – such as the EFCC, National Assembly and the judiciary at the federal level. There is need for more investigative journalism of corruption issues at the state level.
- It is not uncommon that stories are planted in the newspapers and social media to discredit the investigation and prosecution of corrupt cases. The media should always avoid the practice of sensationalist reporting, the practice of yellow journalism, and instead sustain its professionalism through adherence to ethical, objective and factual reportage.

(ii) Civil Society

- CSOs should strengthen their interaction with the media in the fight against corruption. More importantly, the CSOs should provide the media with factual information and mainstream media into their project development circle.

About CISLAC

Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) is a non-governmental, non-profit legislative advocacy, information sharing and research organization, arising from the felt need to address defects in the legislative advocacy work of civil society and open the window through which legislators can also access civil society groups. It aims to strengthen the work of Civil Society on Legislative Advocacy and bridge the gap between legislators and the Civil Society.

The formation of CISLAC arose from the context of the fact that the return to civilian rule in Nigeria was achieved largely by the struggles of the organizations of Civil Society especially the Human Rights and pro-democracy groups. Many activists lost their lives in the demonstrations, and sometimes, violent eruptions which characterized agitation for democracy and the opening of the democratic space in the context of authoritarian military rule and dictatorship.

Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) is currently one of the major civil society organizations in Nigeria with a primary focus on legislation and legislative processes. CISLAC is also engaged in policy/legislative advocacy, civil society capacity building and media engagement. CISLAC works to train and enlighten civil society on policymaking, the responsibilities of the legislature, and the existing policies and legislations affecting Nigerian citizens. It also aims to ensure that the legislature at local, state and federal levels are aware of their relationships with other government bodies and have a responsibility of acting as a voice for the people.

CISLAC was integrated as a corporate body (CAC/IT/NO22738) with the Nigeria's Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) on the 28th December 2006. Prior to this incorporation, however, CISLAC had actively been engaged in legislative advocacy work since 2005. The organisation is also compliant with the Anti-Money Laundering Act 2007.

The Organisation reports to SCUML, any transaction that is above One thousand dollars, detailing the payee, purpose and the other KYC (Know Your Customer) requirements. This is done on a weekly or monthly basis depending on the volume of transactions and to ensure appropriate compliance with anti-money laundering laws.

CISLAC is also registered organisation under the National Planning Commission. In recognition of its broad perspective, CISLAC was granted an ECOSOC status by the United

Nations in 2011 giving it the mandate and the instrumentality of the United Nations. CISLAC is duly registered in accordance with the provisions of Section 5(1) (a) of the Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act, 2011 of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC). It is the national contact of Transparency International (TI).

CISLAC through its engagement of the governance processes in Nigeria has contributed towards the passage of several primary legislation such as the Fiscal Responsibility Act, Violence against Persons Prohibition Act, National Tobacco Control Act, National Health Act, Public Procurement Act, and Nigeria Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative Act which promotes transparency and accountability in governance as well as the domestication of international conventions at the Federal and state levels in Nigeria through advocacies, presentation of memoranda and public enlightenment programmes and media engagement.

CISLAC along with other civil society organizations campaigned and advocated for passage of the Freedom of Information Act. CISLAC is among the movement advocating for the passage of such pieces of legislation as Disability Bill, Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill, Whistleblower Protection Bill, Prison Reform Bill, etc.

CISLAC has created civil society awareness through publication and dissemination of monthly newsletter—Legislative Digest which have been in circulation for both public and legislative consumption since October 2006. It has been a central medium of accountability, as it provides citizens a platform to monitor the performance of their Legislators, and a channel for Civil Society Organizations advocacy on critical issues that require legislative intervention. Also, CISLAC has a wide range of publications such as Textbooks and Policy Briefs, which examines policies requiring amendment and providing recommendations.

As a renowned CSO in Legislative advocacy in the region, CISLAC has on several occasions shared its experience on best practices for legislative advocacy on invitation from its international partners such as the World Bank Parliamentary Forum and the United Nations Millennium Campaign/Sustainable Development Goals in African countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe. Similarly, Ghana, Kenya, and Democratic Republic of Congo have also requested support from CISLAC for replication of its work in Legislative advocacy. In many West African countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Cameroon, Niger, Togo and Benin Republic, CISLAC has carried out experience sharing and advocacy exercises on the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative processes through supporting the passage of extractive industry initiative laws in these countries.

CISLAC also undertakes capacity building for legislators, CSOs and Media on policy engagements in the above countries.

CISLAC's sub-granting experience includes grants to national organisations. With skilled, committed, experienced and proactive leadership and employees, particularly in the areas of coalition building, tenacious advocacy, community mobilization and the clout needed to engage lawmakers at all levels, the organization has proven capacity to attract international solidarity, engage policy makers and mobilize local civil society groups and communities into action.

GOAL:

To make government accessible, responsive and accountable to citizens.

VISION:

A Nigeria where legislators and policy makers are safeguarding citizens' rights and welfare while citizens effectively demand accountability

MISSION:

To engage state and non-state actors for improved policy and legislative frameworks, transparency and accountability in governance for people oriented development.

ADVOCACY VISITS

CISLAC has successfully engaged key members of the National Assembly in order to wield their influence in ensuring that civil society positions are accommodated. In 2006, for instance, CISLAC targeted key players and created public awareness on draft legislation and questionable provisions incorporated by the National Assembly. Such efforts improved the levels of discipline, transparency, and accountability in the management and openness of fiscal responsibility, public procurement, and the nation's extractive Industry sector in Nigeria.

Through such efforts, CISLAC has empowered communities mostly affected by the extractive industry sector, improved the levels of information dissemination, and ensure

due process and transparency in the payments made by extractive industry companies to the Federal Government and its agencies. It has also educated State and Federal legislators, their advisory staff, CSOs, the media, and key stakeholders on their oversight roles in legislation and has reviewed their commitment in implementation.

PUBLICATION OF MONTHLY NEWSLETTERS

CISLAC has strengthened Civil Society intervention by the publication of a monthly newsletter - ***Legislative Digest***, which has been in circulation for both public and legislative consumption since October 2006. It has been a central medium of accountability, as it monitors the performance of Legislators, and a channel for advocacy on critical issues that need legislation. Also, CISLAC has a wide range of publications such as Textbooks and Policy Briefs.



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