

Intersections between Corruption, Human Rights and Women, Peace and Security: Nigeria Case Study

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The Case Study was developed in June-December 2019, and thus reflects the reality from before the global outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, due to their long-term nature, the key findings and recommendations remain relevant and take on a renewed urgency in the current context.

List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BOSAP	Borno State Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CANWW	Christian Association of Nigeria Women Wing
CJTF	Civilian Joint Task Force
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CVs	Community Volunteers
EYN	Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FIDA	International Federation of Women Lawyers
FOMWAN	Federation of Moslem Women Association of Nigeria
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEPaDC	Gender Equality, Peace and Development Centre
GNWP	Global Network for Women Peacebuilders
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HRC	Human Rights Council
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INGOs	International Non Governmental Organization
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LGAs	Local Government Areas
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
NAP	National Action Plan
NCWS	National Council for Women Societies
NE	North East
NECSOB	Network of Civil Society Organization Borno
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NNGOs	National Non-Governmental Organizations
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
PWAN	Partnership West Africa Nigeria
RAs	Research Assistants
RAFSCSS	Right to adequate food, shelter, clothing and social security
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SGBV	Sexual Gender Based Violence
MWASD	State Ministry for Women Affairs and Social Development
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TI	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
UNCAC	United Nations Convention against Corruption
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
VAPP	Violence Against Persons Prohibition
WANEP	West African Network for Peacebuilding
WINN	Women in New Nigeria
WIPNET	Women in Peacebuilding Network
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

Executive Summary

While there is no internationally agreed definition of corruption, Transparency International defines corruption as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”.¹ Corruption is an abuse of trust, power or position for improper gain and can be categorized into systemic, grand corruption, political and petty corruption. There is growing evidence that corruption is a violation of human rights, and that it affects women and men differently.² Corruption has also been identified as a security concern, as it has an impact on the level of peace and security in societies – including the security of women.³

In the context of conflict or violence, the disproportionate impact of corruption is rooted in the differential impacts of conflict on women and men, girls and boys. Their experiences, responses and levels of vulnerability are defined by their gender coupled with other identity factors such as race, ethnicity, caste, class, economic status, religion, and sexual orientation, among others. For example, in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency in North East (NE) Nigeria, due to gender norms and stereotypes, women have been targeted by Boko Haram, sexually violated, and recruited as suicide bombers.⁴ The insurgency has therefore brought to the fore the disproportionate impact of conflicts on women and the importance of meaningful inclusion of women in decision-making at all levels in Nigeria, including through full and effective implementation of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. There is vast literature on the state of implementation of the WPS resolutions, as well as its facilitating and hindering factors. However, there has been no study on the linkage between corruption, human rights and WPS in the Nigerian context. The Human Rights Council (HRC) has recognized that the “deeply rooted” corruption in Nigeria (A/HRC/WG.6/31/NGA/1 IV(c)) magnifies the existing “institutionalized” gender discrimination that is reflected within the public and private sphere and families and communities (A/HRC/WG.6/31/NGA/3 C1.10). Still, more research is necessary to fully understand the corruption’s effects on peace and security, human rights, women’s rights, and women’s participation in decision-making. Most analyses of corruption in the context in Nigeria, as well as globally, have lacked a gender perspective and an in-depth analysis of the disparate impacts of corruption on women.

To address this, gap the research presented in this report used Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews to analyze the new forms of corruption that emerged due to the conflict, and their impact on women’s human rights and security. It also identified opportunities to integrate anti-corruption perspective into WPS advocacy, and a WPS perspective into anticorruption initiatives.

The research has pointed to a range of different forms of corruption that are present in North Eastern Nigeria – including petty corruption, grand corruption, systemic corruption, political corruption, nepotism and favoritism. It has also shown that the Boko Haram insurgency has led to the emergence of new forms of corruption such as diversion of aid and other services meant for IDPs and

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(A/HRC/WG.6/31/
NGA/1 IV(c))

¹ Please see: <https://www.transparency.org/what-is-corruption#define>

² See, for example, Angela Barkhouse, Hugo Hoyland and Marc Limon, “Corruption: a human rights impact assessment”, Universal Rights Group and Kroll, May 2018. Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: <https://www.universal-rights.org/urg-policy-reports/corruptionhuman-rights-impact-assessment/>; Anne Peters, “Corruption and Human Rights”, Basel Institute on Governance, September 2015. Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: http://www.mpil.de/files/pdf4/Peters_Corruption_and_Human_Rights20151.pdf

³ See, for example, Institute for Economics and Peace, “Peace and Corruption”, 2015. Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/04/Peace-and-Corruption.pdf>

⁴ See, for example: <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/10/africa/boko-haram-women-children-suicide-bombers/index.html>;

their families. Furthermore, the research has explored mechanisms through which corruption contributes to the spread of sexual exploitation and abuse, including transactional sex, and impunity for sexual violence crimes perpetrated by Boko Haram, camp officials, camp elders, IDPs, members of the communities surrounding IDP camps, security personnel and the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF). The research has also shown that women's rights, including their right to life, right to education, and right to access to justice can be affected by corruption, as funds dedicated to social services such as health and education are diverted, and the culture of bribery renders the cost of education or justice prohibitive to many women.

The research findings have also highlighted that women's meaningful participation in decision-making at all levels is critical to preventing corruption and mitigating its negative effects. As one of the respondents noted, "If women are given opportunity to participate in decision-making, women and girls' rights will be protected and their security will improve." Based on this, the research posits that the WPS agenda can be used as a framework to better understand and address corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency.

Based on its findings, the research presents concrete recommendations to IDP Camps Management, humanitarian actors and international non-governmental organizations, Nigerian government and security forces, as well as traditional and religious leaders, and civil society.

1.0 Background and Rationale

There is no internationally agreed definition of corruption, and what is considered a corrupt act or who is seen as a corrupt agent depends on each specific context and culture. However, for the purposes of this report, corruption is understood broadly as an abuse of trust, power or position for improper gain and includes offering and receiving bribes, embezzlement, conflict of interest and nepotism. This understanding is aligned with the Transparency International's definition of corruption as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain".⁵ It is also aligned with the interpretation of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC)⁶, which defines a 'corrupt act' to include bribery, embezzlement, trading in influence, abuse of functions, and illicit enrichment. It can be categorized into systemic corruption when corruption is an integrated and essential aspect of the economic, social and political system, when it is embedded in a wider situation that helps sustain it); grand corruption (acts committed at a high level of government that distort policies or the central functioning of the state, enabling leaders to benefit at the expense of the public good); political corruption (manipulation of policies, institutions and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth) and petty corruption (everyday abuse of entrusted power by low- and mid-level public officials in their interactions with ordinary citizens, who often are trying to access basic goods or services in places like hospitals, schools, police departments and other agencies). Corruption can also take

⁵ Grand corruption consists of acts committed at a high level of government that distort policies or the central functioning of the state, enabling leaders to benefit at the expense of the public good. Petty corruption refers to everyday abuse of entrusted power by low- and mid-level public officials in their interactions with ordinary citizens, who often are trying to access basic goods or services in places like hospitals, schools, police departments and other agencies. Political corruption is a manipulation of policies, institutions and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth. For more details, please see: <https://www.transparency.org/what-is-corruption#define>

⁶ General Assembly resolution 58/4 of 31 October 2003

forms of sexual exploitation and sexual extortion; however, these forms – which are more likely to affect women – are often not included in official definitions of corruption.

1.1 Corruption as a Violation of Human Rights

The dominant narratives on corruption tend to explain it in terms of its economic consequences, ignoring one of its most negative effects – the impact it has on human rights. United Nations (UN) treaty bodies and special procedures have concluded that, where corruption is widespread, States cannot comply with their human rights obligations.⁷ The 11th International Conference on Anti-Corruption held in 2013 declared that large scale corruption should be designated a crime against humanity and that all human beings have a basic right to live in a corruption-free society. The conference further condemned corruption as an immoral, unjust and repugnant contrast to the ideals of humanity enshrined in the UDHR.⁸ In recent years, there has been an increased attention to the issue of the negative impact of human rights within intergovernmental bodies. The HRC has recognized this link in its Resolution 35/25, adopted in June 2017, which recognizes “the necessity to step up cooperation and coordination among different stakeholders at the national, regional and international levels to fight corruption in all its forms” (A/HRC/35/25 (3)). In April 2018, the HRC adopted a follow-up resolution on the negative impact of corruption on the right to be free from torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (A/HRC/37/19). In 2019 and 2020, the issue has also been discussed by the Working Group on Business and Human Rights. The impact of corruption was a key agenda item at the Annual Forum on Business and Human Rights in 2019, as well as at a multi-stakeholder consultation held in February 2020. In July 2020, the Working Group presented a report on “Connecting the business and human rights and the anticorruption agendas” during the 44th session of HRC. The report includes a short section dedicated to the gendered dimension of corruption. It recognizes its disproportionate impact on women and notes that “[c]orruption in the business sector may increase women’s economic marginalization.”⁹ The issue has also been increasingly recognized and addressed by other treaty bodies, notably the CESCR and the CRC. According to an analysis conducted by the Centre for Civil and Political Rights and the Geneva Academy, between 2007 and 2017 CESCR mentioned corruption in 55% of its reviews of State Party reports, and CRC in 41.5% of its reviews. This is high compared to 9% of the reviews of the CEDAW Committee and 36% of the HRC reviews.

There is growing evidence that corruption affects women and men differently. URG, Kroll and Angela Barkhouse note that women’s literacy is more affected by corruption than men’s literacy and that “differences between male literacy and female literacy rates can be as high as 25% in countries with a CPI [Corruption Perceptions Index¹⁰] score of 40 or less.”¹² In Uganda, women reported higher

7 Statements by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights by the Covenant (ICESCR) (CESCR, 2003, Para.12); Committee on the Rights of the Child CRC/C/COG/CO/1 Para.14; Statement by the UN Special Rapporteur on Independence of Judges and Lawyers in E/CN.4/2006/52/Add.4. Para.96

8 Findings of the 11th International Anti-corruption Conference, Seoul, May 2003. Retrieved on 5 October 2017 from: <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN019160.pdf>,

9 Connecting the business and human rights and the anticorruption agendas Report of the Working Group on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises, 17 June 2020. Retrieved on 30 October 2020 from: https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Business/A_HRC_44_43_AdvanceEditedVersion.pdf

10 The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) is an index published annually by Transparency International since 1995 which ranks countries “by their perceived levels of public sector corruption, as determined by expert assessments and opinion surveys.”¹² Angela Barkhouse, Hugo Hoyland and Marc Limon, “Corruption: a human rights impact assessment”, Universal Rights Group and Kroll, May 2018. Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: <https://www.universal-rights.org/urg-policy-reports/corruption-human-rights-impactassessment/>

rates of interference with their businesses, with 43% of women business owners reporting harassment, compared to 23% of Ugandan businesses as a whole.¹¹ As such, corruption is an impediment to the fulfillment of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) – especially the SDG 5 on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment and SDG 16 on Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions.¹²

Understanding and continued strengthening the linkages between corruption, human rights, and peace and security in policy-making and implementation of anti-corruption initiatives is of critical importance. Linking corruption with human rights reinforces the fact that preventing corruption is the Member States' obligation under the human rights instruments such as the Universal Periodic Review and the Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. Moreover, recognizing corruption as a violation of human rights, empowers the victims of corruption to look for avenues for redress through human rights mechanisms including international human rights courts, UN complaints mechanisms, or human rights institutions might prove useful to also remedy corrupt practices that violate international human rights laws.

In order to effectively adopt a strong human rights approach to corruption, a gender lens must be ingrained within the discussion. While a gender analysis of the impacts of corruption is still very limited, there is sufficient evidence to establish that women's security and human rights are disproportionately affected by corruption. Therefore, the relationship between gender, corruption and human rights must be addressed as a key issue, rather than as an afterthought within anticorruption policies and reports.

1.2 Gender, Corruption and Armed Conflicts

Corruption can also be identified as a security concern, as it has an impact on the level of peace and security in societies – including the security of women. In 2015, a study by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) revealed that "corruption has a major influence over decreased levels of peace, including violent crime and the homicide rate."¹³

Conflict impacts men and women, girls and boys differently. While they might face similar phenomena during and after conflict, their experiences, responses and levels of vulnerability are often influenced by their gender. For example, armed conflict impacts women differently than men; direct violence tend to affect men more significantly than women, as men are more prone to take up arms, to become combatants or to be forced into armed groups and so are more likely to be killed in combat. However, women are more likely to experience rape and sexual assault during conflict, compared to men. Moreover, women are also more likely to be affected by the indirect forms of violence, many of which are exacerbated by corruption.

Women's socio-economic livelihoods are significantly transformed as a result of violent conflict, often putting them in a vulnerable position with fewer resources

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Corruption impedes the achievement of the SDG 5 on Gender Equality in a number of ways. Women and men are affected by corruption in different ways, and are subjects and objects of different corrupt practices and behaviors. Gender inequality breeds corruption and vice versa: corruption tends to exacerbate gender inequalities. While anti-corruption is not a stand-alone Sustainable Development Goal, tackling corruption, bribery and money laundering, as well as recovering stolen assets, are specific targets under SDG 16 on Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions. Goal 16 includes commitments to fight corruption, increase transparency, tackle illicit financial flows, and improve access to information. It recognizes that without addressing corruption, and without effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels, sustainable progress on all other fronts will be hampered by depriving vulnerable groups access to vital services such as healthcare, water and sanitation, and education.

¹³ Institute for Economics and Peace, "Peace and Corruption", 2015. Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/04/Peace-and-Corruption.pdf>

and eroded livelihoods. Women and children often constitute the majority of internally displaced populations. This makes women vulnerable to diverse forms of corruption and exploitation. In situations where most aid workers and peacekeepers are men, opportunities arise for abuse of entrusted power, exposing vulnerable women and girls to sexual and other forms of exploitation such as survival sex, rapes, Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA).

Corruption in the judiciary is particularly damaging when it comes to peace and security. As the IEP study has shown, “higher levels of corruption within the police and judiciary create inefficiencies by disabling sound legal frameworks and formal and informal codes of conduct. This leads to increased levels of crime and violence within society.”¹⁴ By weakening state institutions, corruption also allows for the development of criminal networks and activity, including human trafficking, which often disproportionately affects women.¹⁵ A 2011 Issue Paper by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime notes that “victims [of trafficking] often mention to have been able to gone through immigration checks where an officials appeared to be complicit.”¹⁶

Studies have shown that the combination of weak institutions and an influx of outside funds in post-conflict countries provide incentives for officials to make corrupt deals for personal gain.¹⁷ In addition, the UNDP report “Journey to Extremism” indicates that corrupt and ill-performing governments and institutions create an enabling environment for violent extremism.¹⁸

Corruption and armed conflict are mutually reinforcing. The relationship impacts women’s socioeconomic positions, limits their access to justice and social services, thus increasing their vulnerability. Therefore, corruption exacerbates women’s discrimination and human rights abuses during conflict due to the lack of accountability within government institutions and judicial mechanisms.

Corruption also aggravates this exclusion as it has an adverse effect on women’s participation in politics and public life. For example, the 2014 Guatemala State Party report to the CEDAW Committee states that “women have no faith in the political process and believe that they have been deceived and exploited by male politicians”. Similar sentiment was also expressed in the 1996 State Party reports from the Philippines which attributes women’s low participation in election to the “persisting notion that electoral politics is dirty and basically for men only”. The 2009 State Party report of Papua New Guinea and the 2010 State Party report of Kenya also pointed to corruption as a major barrier of women’s political participation.

Women’s socio-economic livelihoods are significantly transformed as a result of violent conflict, often putting them in a vulnerable position

1.3 Corruption and the WPS Agenda

In recognition of the gendered dimensions of conflict, and women’s important role in peacebuilding, in October 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ According to 2015 report by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 70% of victims of human trafficking are women: https://www.heuni.fi/material/attachments/heuni/projects/wmPiHN4hb/Trafficking_in_Persons_and_Gender.pdf; See also: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, “Gender and Corruption: Brief”, March 2015. Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: <https://www.sida.se/contentassets/165672c0e28845f79c8a803382e32270/gender-and-corruption.pdf>

¹⁶ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “The role of corruption in trafficking in persons: Issue Paper”, 2011. Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/2011/Issue_Paper_-_The_Role_of_Corruption_in_Trafficking_in_Persons.pdf

¹⁷ Rose-Ackerman, Susan, “Corruption and Post-Conflict Peace-Building” (2008). Faculty Scholarship Series. Paper 593., Retrieved on 24 April 2019 from: http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/593.

¹⁸ Ojielo, Ozonnia. “Journey to extremism in Africa: drivers, incentives and the tipping point for recruitment”, United Nations Development Programme, 2017. Available at: <http://journey-to-extremism.undp.org/>

WPS agenda provides a useful framework for better understanding the impacts of corruption on women, and informing gender-sensitive and effective anti-corruption policies.

(WPS) which acknowledges the differential and sometimes unique impact of armed conflict on women. The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Resolution 1325 urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts.¹⁹ It also calls on all parties in conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict. The resolution also urges all parties to ensure that women have access to justice and services during conflict as well as in undertaking relief and recovery efforts. Resolution 1325 was followed by eight WPS Resolutions, which reiterate and further advance the key messages of WPS. Together, the WPS resolutions constitute a normative framework for women's meaningful participation in decision-making, conflict resolution, conflict prevention and peacebuilding; protection of women and girls' rights; and prevention of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict-affected situations.

The provisions of the WPS agenda can be divided into four key pillars:²⁰

- ▶ **Prevention** pillar focuses on 'prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations' and is the one that has received least attention. It includes integrating gender considerations into conflict early warning systems and involving women and their specific needs in conflict prevention and disarmament activities. It also includes measures to prevent Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) through fighting impunity and increasing prosecutions for perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence, as well as through challenging discriminatory gender norms, attitudes and behavior and working with men and boys, not only as perpetrators, but also victims of violence and agents of change.
- ▶ **Protection** pillar seeks to ensure that women and girls' rights are protected and promoted in conflict-affected situations or other humanitarian crises, including protection from SGBV and sexual violence. The protection pillar also emphasizes the imperative to ensure that governments, regional organizations, continental bodies, peace support operations and humanitarian missions provide leadership and coordination in response to SGBV, and establish infrastructures that protect women from SGBV, and that provide holistic care to victims of sexual violence- physical, psycho-social, legal and institutional support.
- ▶ **Participation** pillar aims to ensure women's equal participation and influence and the promotion of gender equality in peace and security decision-making processes at national, local and international levels. The participation pillar affirms the importance of women and the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace negotiations, peacekeeping, post-conflict peacebuilding and governance. Participation aims to ensure that women are represented at all levels of decision-making, including at local, national, regional and international levels; as well as promotion of gender equality in peace and security.

¹⁹ <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/>

²⁰ <https://www.sida.se/contentassets/3a820dbd152f4fca98bacde8a8101e15/women-peace-and-security.pdf>

- ▶ **Relief and Recovery** pillar seeks to ensure that women and girls' specific relief needs are met, especially in conflict and post-conflict contexts. This is achieved by specifically addressing the needs of women and girls and strengthening their capacities to act as agents in post-conflict relief and recovery processes. The women's needs for relief and recovery should receive special attention in processes such as humanitarian assistance, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes (DDR), repatriation and resettlement as well as economic development processes in the post-conflict agenda.

Given the strong links of corruption to peace & security, and the gendered nature of corruption, including in the context of conflict, insecurity and post-conflict recovery, the WPS agenda provides a useful framework for better understanding the impacts of corruption on women, and informing gender-sensitive and effective anti-corruption policies.

1.4 Corruption in Nigeria

Nigeria has consistently been ranked high in corruption by Transparency International. In the year 2000, Transparency International conducted a survey on the corruption levels of 90 countries; Nigeria was ranked as the most corrupt country in the world. This high ranking has continued: in 2018, Transparency International indicated that Nigeria was the 36th most corrupt country in the world. In 2017, a household survey conducted by the UN Office on Drugs and Crime and the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) found that on average, every adult citizen in Nigeria pays one bribe per year to public officials. The average amount of cash paid for bribes is equivalent to one fourth of the average monthly salary in Nigeria.²¹ Corruption in Nigeria affects numerous aspects of the social life, as the money that would have been used to reduce poverty in the country is being channeled into the pockets of a select few. The consequences of corruption are many and varied – increase in poverty, poor national development and national crises including the Boko Haram insurgency in the North East part of Nigeria²⁴. In 2018, Nigeria overtook India as the nation with the highest number of people living in extreme poverty (87 million)²². This number further increased in 2019, with 91.8 million Nigerians living in extreme poverty²³.

1.5 The Boko Haram Insurgency in North East Nigeria and new forms of corruption

Since 2009, the North East (NE) has been under the scourge of Boko Haram insurgency, that at its peak resulted in the internal displacement of about 2.5 million people and the death of over 20,000 people; 200,000 people were displaced as refugees in neighboring countries. Of identified internally displaced persons (IDPs), 55% are children and 53% are females. IDPs are spread across formal and informal camps and among host communities. 86% of the IDP populations in

North East Nigeria are living in host communities. The insurgency has also severely damaged socio-economic, physical and emotional wellbeing of the people especially women and children exacerbating an already precarious conditions in the NE, and creating one of the worst humanitarian crisis in recent

21 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Corruption in Nigeria. Bribery: Public experience and response". July 2017. Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2017/August/corruption-in-nigeria-survey-reveals-far-reaching-impact.html> 24 Uzo Chukwu, M.

22 <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/06/nigeria-overtakes-india-as-worlds-poverty-capital-report/>

23 <http://saharareporters.com/2019/06/05/918-million-nigerians-are-extremely-poor-says-world-poverty-clock>

times.²⁴ The insurgency has been attributed to many drivers – socioeconomic inequalities and political isolation, lack of education, infrastructures, charismatic preachers, corruption (Boko Haram playing on the sense of injustice and perception of corruption amongst government leaders that exacerbated poverty, unemployment) and bad governance.

The crisis brought to the fore the disproportionate impact of conflicts on women and the importance of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and other WPS resolutions in Nigeria. Women and girls are disproportionately affected by the insurgency, creating new dangers and exacerbating existing risks and gender inequalities. Due to gender norms and stereotypes, women have been targeted by Boko Haram, sexually violated, and recruited as suicide bombers.²⁵ Those who returned have faced rejection from their communities.²⁶ Moreover, poverty and lack of resources render women vulnerable to exploitation in order to meet their basic material needs. In the IDP camps and host communities, their bodies became receiving grounds for all sorts of attack – sexual and gender based violence, denial of resource that are rightfully due them unless they traded their bodies; sexually exploited and abused.²⁷ Despite the severe impact the conflict has had on women, they remain powerless with no say in decision-making regarding the response to the crisis.

The Boko Haram insurgency has also created new forms and channels of corruption. The response to the Boko Haram crisis has been met with accusations of corruption, including allegations that funds meant for procurement of arms have found their way into private accounts²⁸ and that food and other items meant for IDPs have found their way into various markets in and outside the north east. There have also been reports of trafficking and raping of women and girls by persons supposed to provide protection and services for them.²⁹ However, there has been no study on the linkage between corruption, human rights and women, peace and security in the Nigerian context as corruption has always been explained primarily in terms of its economic consequences, ignoring its negative effects on human rights.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

This research study was designed to address the gap in the gender analysis of the impacts of corruption in Nigeria, in particular in the context of the response to the Boko Haram insurgency.³⁰ The study set out to analyze the new forms of corruption that emerged due to the conflict, and their impact on women's human rights and security, with the following objectives:

1. **To establish the linkages between Corruption, Human Rights and the Women and Peace and Security (WPS) agenda in the context of Nigeria.** This will be done through the conduct of research wherein the research methods that will be used are document reviews, key informant interviews and case studies. While it is in the 'protection' pillar of the WPS resolutions to which corruption can be linked directly, this research will also allow probe deeper on how corruption can hinder the implementation of the other pillars of the WPS agenda namely: participation, prevention,

24 <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/news/12310>

25 See, for example: <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/10/africa/boko-haram-women-children-suicide-bombers/index.html>;

26 See, for example: <http://www.international-alert.org/publications/bad-blood>

27 See, for example: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/10/31/nigeria-officials-abusing-displaced-women-girls>; <https://odihpn.org/magazine/sexual-violence-and-the-boko-haram-crisis-in-north-east-nigeria/>.

28 Nigeria: Corruption undercuts Boko Haram fight. <http://www.africafocus.org/docs17/nig1705.php>

29 www.icimigeria.org/grim-tales-of-rape-child-trafficking-in-displaced-persons-camps

30 See, for example: <http://www.international-alert.org/publications/bad-blood>

and promotion. The findings from this work will be used to raise awareness of corruption as a root cause of human rights violations and a driver of conflict for various audience (policy makers, activists and practitioners on issues of human rights and WPS and development of policy brief) to define the intersection between corruption, conflicts and how the intersection impacts women's rights.

2. To identify organizations/institutions working on WPS and explore opportunities to integrate the anti-corruption perspective into WPS advocacy.

The study was conducted as part of a broader GNWP research. The present report will be used to inform a case study highlighting the linkages between Corruption, Human Rights and the WPS agenda, which will accompany a Policy Brief on the intersections between corruption, human rights and WPS produced by GNWP.

The policy brief and the case studies will be used to present concrete recommendations to duty bearers and rights holders on the intersections of corruption, human rights violations and WPS.

2.0 Research Method and Approaches

2.1 Selection of Borno State as the Research location

Borno state is the epicenter of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. In response to the crisis, much aid has come from the humanitarian agencies, government, individual and other countries; such huge contribution in an environment devoid of monitoring is conducive for corruption to thrive. The Boko Haram crisis, which has affected the Borno State over the past 10 years, has also created an environment conducive to violation of the rights of women and girls. In 2014, Boko Haram abducted 276 girls from a school found in Chibok, in addition to over 100 young girls that were taken from their school in Yobe, Nigeria.³¹ The UN Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights stated that Boko Haram has committed "extremely severe and widespread violations of the rights of women and girls, including sexual slavery, sexual violence, forced so-called "marriages", and forced pregnancy in violation of human rights and international humanitarian law principles."³² All these factors combine to justify the selection of this state as the research location.

2.2 Development of Research Tools

The consultant developed the research tools that will capture the required information as stipulated in the objectives of the study. These tools were reviewed by West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) Nigeria and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) and finalized by the consultant thereafter. There were two tools – questionnaire for Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

³¹ CBC, "Nigerian army says it has freed more than 50 women and children from Boko Haram", 2019. Retrieved on 26 August 2019 from: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/boko-haram-kidnapping-nigeria-freed-1.5133960>

³² United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Boko Haram". Retrieved on 26 August 2019 from: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16176&LangID=E>

2.3 Desk Review

Desk review of existing local, national and international documents and instruments in relevant areas as well as of literature on the intersections of corruption, human rights and WPS was carried out to achieve the objectives.

2.4 Mobilization of Respondents

Key informants (KIs) were identified as representatives of key stakeholders working with vulnerable groups – women and girls. Letters were written to each identified KIs intimating them about the research and their being a critical stakeholder to be interviewed. This was followed by phone calls for a date and time of interview.

2.5 Collection of Data

The data collection was carried out between 25th of June and 16th July 2019 using the tools described in section 2.2. The data collection was done through two approaches: FGDs and KIIs.

2.5.1 Focus Group Discussions

There were 5 FGDs comprising of women and youth. The women FGDs comprise of IDPs from three camps in Maiduguri – Bakassi, El Miskin Extension and EYN Wulari and members of WIPNET Borno. The youth FGDs comprised of young people working as Community Volunteers (CVs) across the various camps. Each FGD comprised 10 persons except for that of the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) Borno state Chapter with 7 persons. Two of the Women's FGDs needed an interpreter to ask the question in a language the participants can understand and also express themselves.

2.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

Twelve key informants were interviewed comprising of persons from the following – Ministry for Women Affairs and Social Development, INGOs (Street Child), NGOs, Camp Elders and Officials, Network of Civil Society Organizations in Borno (NECSOB), National Council for Women Society, Women in Peacebuilding Network. Most of the interviews comprised of face to face interviews. Those that for one reason or the other were not in town asked for the questionnaire to be sent via mail to be filled and sent back.

2.6 Analysis of Data

The data collected were recorded in the questionnaires direct from interviewees. The data collected and findings were analyzed using descriptive statistics. The information obtained from the key informants and FGDs were transcribed (verbatim) from conversations and studied to identify the categories of themes. The quantitative data were interpreted in percentages and presented in graphs for easy reading and interpretation.

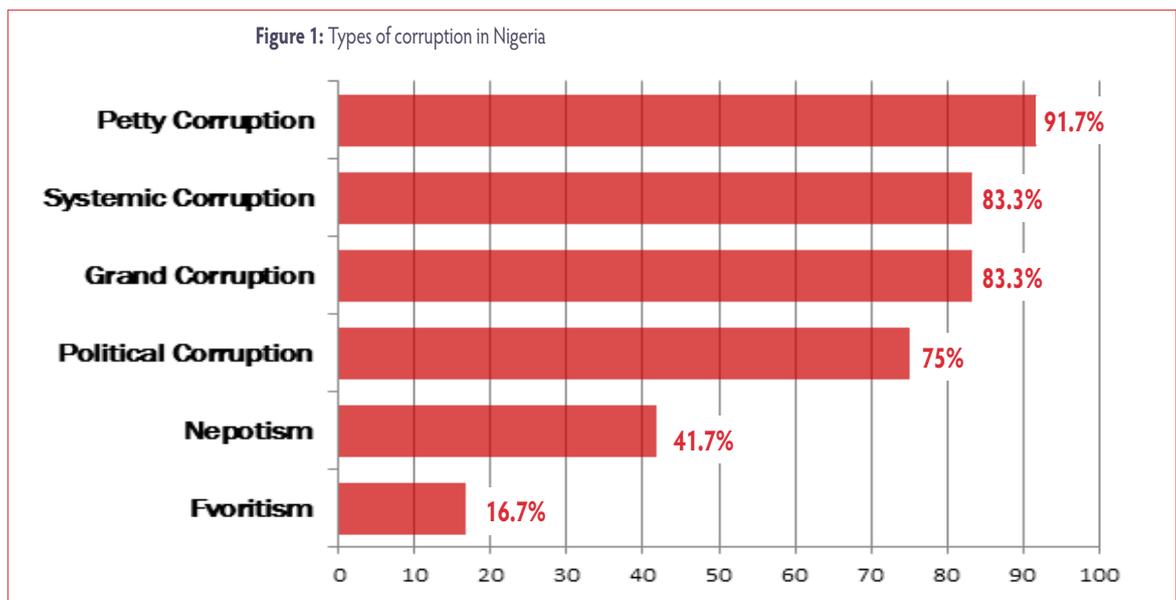
3.0 Key Findings

3.1. On what forms of corruption exist in Nigeria

This study found that Nigerians hold numerous views regarding the different forms of corruption that exist within the country. The findings also illustrate that Nigerians are aware of the negative impacts the different forms of corruption have on the society. One key informant stated that “the situation of corruption has eaten deep into the fibers of every aspect of life ranging from economic, social, political and all other aspect.”³³ The informants identified six main forms of corruption that exist within Nigeria:

1. **Petty corruption** which refers to everyday abuse of entrusted power by low- and mid-level public officials in their interactions with ordinary citizens, who often are trying to access basic goods or services in places like hospitals, schools, police departments and other agencies was identified as the most prevalent at all levels (91.7%). Examples of such corruption in the context of Borno included having to offer money to access basic services. One key informant noted that there have been “Several cases of police and medical personnel demanding payment for services provided to SGBV survivors, even when they should be provided for free.”
2. **Grand corruption**, which refers to acts committed at a high level of government that distort policies or the central functioning of the state, enabling leaders to benefit at the expense of the public good. Examples of such corruption in the context of Borno included alleged redirecting resources allocated for the provision of basic social amenities, such as healthcare or education, to suit personal needs or interests of few political and or public office holders at the expense of the vulnerable population, which was referred to as a practice by several informants.
3. **Systemic corruption**, which refers to instances when corruption is an integrated and essential aspect of the economic, social and political system, when it is embedded in a wider situation that helps sustain it (83.3%).
4. **Political corruption**, which is defined as a manipulation of policies, institutions and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth (75%). In the context of Borno, one of the Key Informants shared that “Policies and laws are distorted in other to shield some high ranking officials from accountability for corrupt practices. Immunity for political office holders to me is a form of policy that favor the elites at the expense of the masses.”
5. **Nepotism**, which is the practice among those with power or influence of favoring relatives or friends, especially by giving them jobs (41.7% of FGD participants).
6. **Favoritism**, which is the practice of giving unfair preferential treatment to one person or group at the expense of another (16.7% of FGD participants).

33 Key Informant Interview 10



3.2. On how these different forms of corruption affect the rights of women and girls

The lack of oversight in government funding for the provision of basic services, such as education, social amenities, and health care facilities, leads to funds being diverted for self-serving purposes by individuals in positions of authority. As one Key Informant noted, "it is very common to see funds that are meant for women and children taken to other sectors because women's issues are considered less important." Figure 2 demonstrates which women's rights are negatively impacted most predominantly by corruption in Nigeria, using the data collected from the informants.

According to 66.7% of respondents, women's right to life is negatively impacted by corruption. The lack of federal oversight regarding healthcare and prescription drugs increases women's vulnerability when accessing healthcare services. Two key informants emphasized that "some services required to save lives are compromised by the actions of those committing corruption." They highlighted that corruption in the healthcare, including diverting of funds for medicines and medical equipment, "can be linked to the high maternal, infant and under 5 mortality that is recorded in Nigeria." It is important to note that Nigeria's maternal mortality rate is disproportionately high, making up 20% of all global maternal deaths.³⁴

According to 75% of respondents, women's right to education is negatively impacted by corruption. Corruption affects women's access to education in two primary ways. Firstly, significant school fees create financial barriers for families. As a fundamental right, education is supposed to be free in Nigeria. However, one of the key informants noted that parents have to pay all kinds of fees and levies to send their children to school. This makes education unaffordable, especially for the poor Nigerians. As a consequences girls are excluded from education, since, according to a key informant "often, when it comes to a choice of who goes to school in the facing of dwindling resources, it is the boy child that is favored (KI 3) the girl child under such circumstances is married off and most often to men old enough to be their fathers or even grandfathers." Secondly, the mismanagement of funds for education leads to a lack of funding for schools, thus leading to "school environment that is no longer conducive for learning."

³⁴ World Health Organization, "Maternal health in Nigeria: generating information for action," 2019. Retrieved on August 27, 2019 from: <https://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/maternal-health-nigeria/en/>

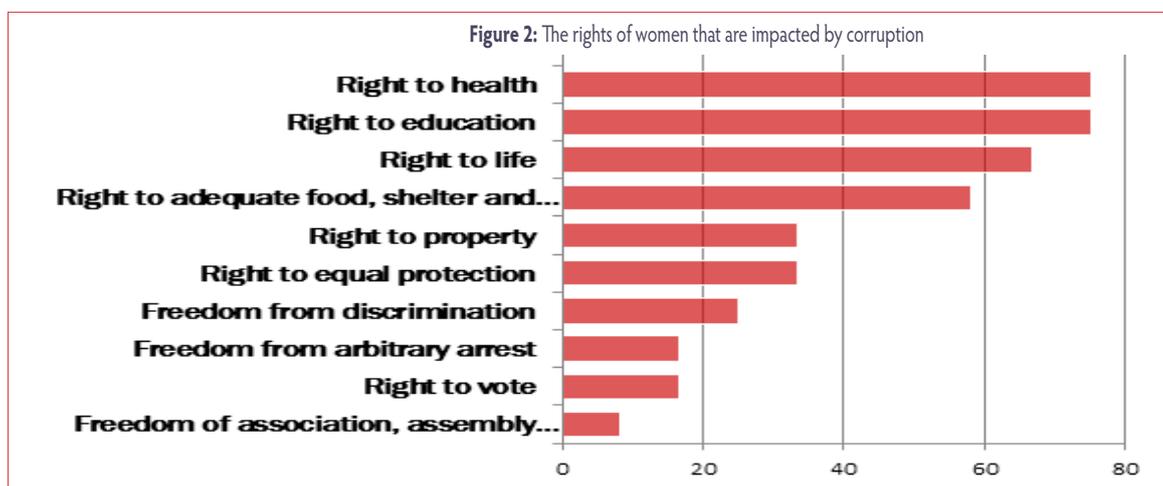
66.7% of respondents found that women's right to life is negatively impacted by corruption, due to lack of oversight of healthcare institutions

For instance, one of the informants pointed out that teachers employed by the state often face unpredictable and inconsistent salaries, which may affect their performance.

According to 33.3% of respondents, women's right to **equal protection under the law** is impacted by corruption. The high financial cost of justice in Nigeria hinders women's access to justice as "protection under the law goes to the highest bidder", as pointed out by several of the key informants. Bribes serve as an effective method to circumvent the rule of law and accountability mechanisms. Paying bribes to judges, police, or victims' family members allows perpetrators of crimes to evade justice. One key informant noted that sometimes corrupt family members or community leaders put pressure on women not to press charges or pursue the cases, because they had been bribed by the perpetrator. As a result, the justice system is "manipulated to favor those with wealth and the ability to give bribes." Nigeria's historically patriarchal society impacts women's economic independence within the family; as a result, when women are the target of crimes, they are less able to bring forward legal cases due to a lack of independent funds. Therefore, the prevalence of corruption disproportionately affects women's access to justice and legal protection of their rights.

According to 58.3% of respondents, women's **right to adequate food, shelter, clothing and social security** is negatively impacted by corruption. Abuses of power threaten women's access to basic necessities within vulnerable communities. Furthermore, in many circumstances women are exposed to the risk of extortion and sexual exploitation, as the cases of "requesting sex or valuables in exchange for food, shelter, clothing in the humanitarian sector" are not uncommon, according to one key informant. The lack of public oversight leads to a rise in petty corruption, in which certain individuals are able to obtain resources over others. Women are disproportionately affected by petty corruption in the distribution of basic necessities as they are more vulnerable to sexual exploitation and manipulation.

The informants emphasized that the rights of men are also affected by corruption. However, women are disproportionately affected, since – as one informant put it – "men have the upper hand and can always maneuver around things because of the privileges patriarchy has given them. Unfortunately, women are culturally bound due to the same reason." Another informant emphasized that the patriarchal system and nature of the Nigerian society shapes the patterns of corruption, as "it is very common to see funds that are meant for women and children be taken to other sectors because women's issues are considered less important."



3.3. On the new patterns of corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency

Each respondent in this study indicated that the Boko Haram insurgency and its associated insecurity has affected the patterns of corruption in Nigeria.

Because of corruption, “women [in IDP camps in North-East Nigeria] are compelled to offer sex or petty bribes to ensure access to basic services for their children”

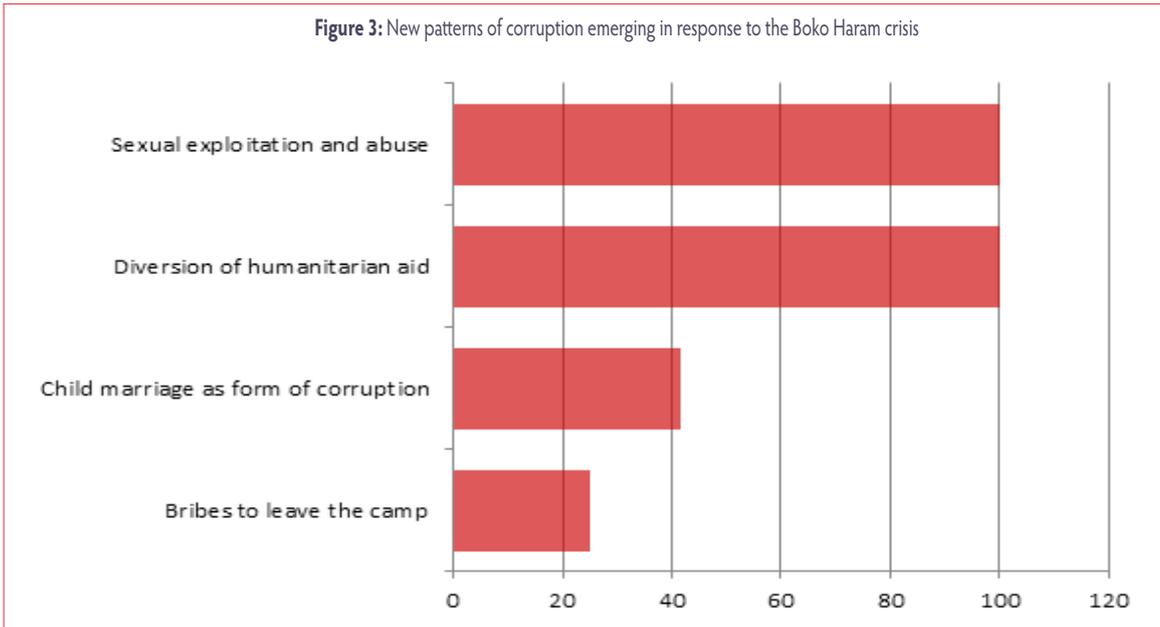
One of the major forms of corruption in the crisis is the **diversion of aid and other services meant for IDPs and their families**. According to two key informants “grants from INGOs and food (from various sources) for IDPs are being diverted [by government officials and traditional leaders] and become a source of wealth, especially for those in the government.” They provided an example of a situation in which rice that was brought for IDPs was diverted for political campaign purposes. Another informant emphasized that authority figures such as traditional leaders, who were highly trusted before the insurgency, have also been implicated in diverting resources, which has affected the trust and dynamics within the communities.

Another major form of corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency is **sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), including demands of sex in exchange for food or services**. The Boko Haram insurgency has altered the structure of families in Nigeria, and led to an increase of female-led households. Among those, exchange of sex for services was mentioned most often – by all research respondents. Exchange of sex for favors was mentioned by 33% of respondents, sex for shelter by 16,7%, while sex for employment by 8,3%. One informant explained that the insurgency has made it difficult for women to provide for their families, “thus exposing them to all forms of abuse and exploitation, including sexual exploitation and abuse. Women compelled to offer sex or petty bribes to enable them to have access to services for their children.” However, the respondents emphasized that in many circumstances, perpetrators of female exploitation do not uphold their promises to victims, leaving the women abused and without food or resources. Women are particularly vulnerable when accessing resources, such as firewood or water, as the access points are controlled by men. Figure 3 demonstrates the distribution of responses on different types of corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State.

Impunity for crimes, including sexual crimes has been noted as another major form of systemic corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency. All respondents agreed that corruption has enabled or contributed to impunity. According to one key informant, “*Corruption in institutions like the police plays a great role in dismissing cases of human rights violations against women and girls. When women are raped, police and the perpetrators connive to dismiss the cases, thus the perpetrators are not punished for this evil*”. Another informant noted that “*When sexual violence is perpetrated by a highly influential person in the community, it will be overlooked and the person will not be prosecuted because of their position (KI 9). Several rape cases that were supposed to be prosecuted and the perpetrators sentenced to jail never saw the light of the day because of the weak justice system, bribery of the law enforcement agency and fear of the unknown by the parents of the survivors*”.

Women who were recruited or abducted by Boko Haram and returned to their communities are particularly vulnerable to corruption and exploitation. The informants noted that these women face “stigma, discrimination and trauma” and are shunned from their communities, denied adequate health care and are

Figure 3: New patterns of corruption emerging in response to the Boko Haram crisis



occasionally “perceived as informants” by the communities. This makes it more difficult for them to access services and resources, and makes them a target for abusers.

In terms of the **perpetrators** of corruption in the context of the Boko Haram crisis, the respondents identified multiple perpetrators – Boko Haram, camp officials, camp elders, IDPs themselves and members of the communities surrounding IDP camps, security personnel (military and police), Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), humanitarian workers (local and international).

Root causes of the corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency include:

► **Increase of authority among the local officials, and lack of appropriate oversight and accountability mechanisms**

The Boko Haram insurgency has created an environment conducive to corruption by giving local officials greater authority, since they are responsible for monitoring what enters and exits the camps.

► **Lack of awareness and information about their rights among women IDPs**

The FGDs have revealed that the women IDPs in two of the camps visited in the course of this research (El Misikin Camp Extension and Bakassi Camp) do not know that demanding sex for food or favors is a form of corruption and violation of their rights. Women in the EYN Camp Wulari were aware that these are infringement on the rights of women and girls. However, they did not have confidence that their reports would be treated seriously, stating: “we don’t have any options. Though we complain, no one will back us up”

“We do not even have food, so how can we have rights?”
Testimony by an internally displaced person

Similarly, most of the KIIs have noted that women hardly report cases of corruption in the camps either because of ignorance of the reporting pathways, fear of victimization and stigma, as well as the fact that IDPs feel they have no rights and so there is no point in reporting. One key informant recalled a conversation with an IDP who said “we do not even have food, so how can we have rights?”. All this generates a culture of impunity.

► **Patriarchal culture and exclusion of women from decision-making**

All the KIIs alluded to patriarchal cultural norms as the reason for gender-related forms of corruption, such as SEA, in the Boko Haram insurgency context in Nigeria. The cultural bias leads to exclusion of women from decision-making in the camp, and makes it more difficult for them to access resources. This renders women and girls highly vulnerable to SGBV and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse.

Moreover, 60% of the FGD participants and key informants believed that corruption has impeded women from participating in decision making. Given Nigeria's historically patriarchal system, which ensures that men primarily control the distribution of funds and resources, women tend to be dismissed from formal decision-making process. However, the insurgency has aggravated and institutionalized gender inequality in the decision-making processes. One key informant indicated that there are a small number of committees that include women; yet, they are included as a form of tokenism. A select number of informants that indicated that some camps include women in "all committees of the camp." However, overall, respondents agreed that women are not sufficiently included in decision-making.

3.4. On impacts of corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency on women and girls

Increase in forms of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), such as sexual exploitation and abuse, forced prostitution and child marriage; and lack of access to justice were identified as the chief consequences of corruption for women in the context of Boko Haram insurgency, as described in more detail below.

Sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), including demands or extortion of sex in exchange of food was among the most common forms of corruption identified by the respondents within IDP camps. According to all the respondents, SEA is very common and is committed by security personnel, local vigilante and humanitarian workers (both local and international). As one key informant put it, "Women have become commodities that are exchanged for food". A story to buttress this point was shared during an FGD with members of the Women in Peacebuilding Network. The FGD participants shared a story of the exploitation of an 11-year-old girl whose father was slaughtered by Boko Haram in her presence and whose mother died on the same day from the shock. The girl was transferred to one of the camps and was being helped by a police officer who at the same was raping her repeatedly until she eventually became pregnant. The policeman then asked for transfer out of Maiduguri, changed his phone number and severed all communication with the girl. The girl gave birth at the age of 13, and the perpetrator has not faced consequences. A key informant shared another story of a woman who had to leave a camp when she was denied access to food and other basic services because she refused to let her 14-year-old daughter get married to a camp elder – a marriage that was arranged by the girl's grandfather.

Another consequence of the corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency in NE Nigeria was the emergence of **prostitution rings and human trafficking**. One key informant explained that “young girls are trafficked to various locations, including being exported to other countries on the pretense of getting them jobs that they might rescue their parents and loved ones from their current predicaments.” Another informant noted that “There have been cases of some influential people giving bribes to camp officials to take girls outside the camp in the pretext of giving them better education but most often exploiting them either as sex workers or house helps, sometimes trafficking them to other states or communities”.

Lack of access to basic services and amenities, resulting from corruption and diversion of aid, has also led to an increase in child marriage. FGDs with women and youth groups indicate that to get food and access to other basic services, children from very poor IDP households are married off to people working in the camp to improve the family’s status and access to services. As one informant put it, “Women from female headed households offer their under-aged daughters as child brides in exchange for a dowry of two thousand naira (N2,000)(USD8) to enable them feed their other children and also for protection”. This type of corruption is mostly perpetrated by the military, who then abandon the girls when they leave the community. As participants of the FGD with young people emphasized, “the girls are left pregnant, facing stigmatization and left to fend for themselves through survival sex”. Another informant noted that “more than 30 of such girls have been abandoned in one IDP camp alone”.

The following were listed by respondents across locations and across key informants as consequences of the increase in SGBV due to corruption: STDs including HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancies and children; trauma, destruction of women’s lives; stigma, rejection and depression resulting in drug abuse among women and girls; discrimination, low self-esteem and some Vesico Vaginal Fistula (VVF) due to age and lack of antenatal attendance. As the participants of the FGD with youth put it, “*When the young girls get pregnant, they try to hide it by wearing big hijab. Because they do not want people to know, they do not go to the hospital and when it is time to give birth they leave the camps where they are known to another area. After giving birth, many of them abandon the babies and some of them suffer damages; they cannot control their urine.*”

Majority of the respondents (75%) believed that corruption is **obstructing conflict-affected women and girls’ access to justice for human rights abuses**. One key informant explained that “This is because some victims of sexual exploitation and violence tend to be reluctant in reporting SGBV cases to the appropriate authorities due to the fear of exploitation by those who are supposed to protect them” due to reports of rape and SEA by members of the security forces, including the CJTF. The informants also noted that there have also been cases of police and medical personnel demanding payment for services to SGBV victims. As one of the informants pointed out, “*if a girl who is raped in the IDP camp by a police officer, the parents will require money to get to the health facility, pay for the services, get to the police station, pay for records, transport themselves and police officer coming to investigate and other expenses then the court and the lawyer. These services are supposed to be free but they are not.*”

“Women from female-headed households offer their under-aged daughters as child brides in exchange for dowry, to buy feed for their other children”

3.5. On how WPS agenda can be used as a framework to better understand and address corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency

Only 58.3% of the FGD participants and key informants were aware of the WPS agenda. These groups are also aware of the Nigerian National Action Plan and the Borno State Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions. Majority of those with knowledge of the WPS agenda were from non-governmental organizations involved in intervening with women and children. The informants from the IDP camps do not have any knowledge of the WPS agenda.

“If women are given an opportunity to participate in decision-making, women and girls’ rights will be respected, and their security will improve”

Once the facilitators/interviewers explained the key tenets of the WPS agenda, most of the respondents (66.7%) agreed that effective implementation of the WPS agenda can reduce corruption and mitigate its negative effects on women and girls security (66.7%). As an elder in one of the camps put it, “If women are given opportunity to participate in decision-making, women and girls’ rights will be protected and their security will improve. Women know better what is good for their fellow women, even culturally. Therefore, allowing them space in decision making is very important as far as women’s rights and security are concerned”. Other key informants also emphasized the importance of the participation pillar of the WPS agenda in combatting corruption and mitigating its negative impacts: “With the women peace and security agenda, I believe there will be significant improvement in women participation”; “It will give opportunity for women and girls to participate in decision making that would improve their security and wellbeing. They will also become aware of their rights and will be bold to demand for those rights, this will go a long way to reduce corruption”.

3.6 On organizations working on WPS Agenda and Corruption in Borno State

The following organizations were identified as those working on WPS agenda - Partners West Africa Nigeria, University of Maiduguri Moslem Women Association, Gender Equality, Peace and Development Centre, Women in New Nigeria, Samaritan Care, Herwa, National Council for Women Societies, Women in Peacebuilding Network and Health Care Development Focus Initiative while Borno Coalition for Democracy and Progress was the only organization identified to be working on corruption.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Nigeria has consistently been categorized by Transparency International (TI) as one of the most corrupt countries globally. These are in the form of grand, systemic, political and petty corruption. Nigeria was also among the unanimous adoption of resolution 1325 and the other related resolutions put in place to protect the rights of women and girls in armed conflict situations and to ensure their full and equal participation in decision making and peace processes.

To operationalize UNSCR 1325, Nigeria has developed two National action plans in 2013 and 2017 respectively. The crisis across Nigeria especially the Boko Haram insurgency in the NE has brought to the fore not only the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and girls but also the gender related corruptions with regard to the response to the Boko Haram crisis. This research has attempted to establish the intersection between corruption, human rights and women, peace and security using Nigeria as a case study and basing the study at the epicenter of the Boko Haram crisis (Maiduguri).

The research has brought to the fore the prevalence of corruption in humanitarian context and its intersection with human rights and the WPS agenda. This occurs from the screening and registration of IDPs, humanitarian assistance/aid including shelter and basic services (food, health, etc). The various type of corruption that affects women and girls during armed conflict in Nigeria (in addition to those generally recognized such as systemic, grand, political and petty corruption) include sex for food, favors, cards; nepotism, favoritism, SEA, SGBV (including rapes/gang rapes, child marriages, trafficking for prostitution, kidnapping/abduction), in both the camps and in host communities and diversion of aids. The perpetrators include the military, the police, CJTF, humanitarian actors, government officials, camp officials, Boko Haram. Unfortunately only very few IDP women (EYN Camp) are aware that all these forms of corruption are violations of their human rights and in fact, IDP women from other camps and host communities do not think they have a right. This ignorance means that the violations go on reported thus fueling impunity and pains/trauma. The stigma and fear of rejection and discrimination associated with some types of corruption (survival sex, abduction and association with Boko Haram, etc) has continued to fuel the culture of silence under which corruption associated with armed conflicts thrive.

From the findings corruption affects human rights of women and girls such as: Right to life, Right to a name, Right to adequate food, shelter, clothing and social security, Right to health, Right to education, Right to property, Right to equal protection of the law, Right to fair a trial, Freedom of thought, conscience and expression, Freedom of association, assembly and movement, Freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatments or punishments, Freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention, Freedom from discrimination, Right to participate in cultural life and right to development. Though corruption affects the human rights of men, the magnitude on women is more because of their subordinate positions in the society. Majority of the key informants believe that corruption is exposing women to insecurity. Unfortunately, only about 58% of the key informants are aware of the WPS; few are aware of the pillars – prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery and prosecution and hence are not able to link the corruption being perpetrated with the WPS.

The following recommendations have been formulated based on the research findings and the suggestions made by the Key informants and the FGDs:

To the IDP Camps Management:

- ▶ Adopt a participatory approach to camp management that integrates a gender, age, and diversity perspective. For example, this can be done through systematically involving women in decision-making and in security committees at the camps. Women's role should not only be limited to mobilization of other women, but they should be involved in every aspect of camp management, and decision-making;
- ▶ Monitor closely and respond promptly and adequately to cases of corruption as well as sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). A confidential and secure reporting mechanism should be put in place to allow the community to report cases of corruption and SEA.
- ▶ Organize awareness-raising workshops for IDPs living in the camps on their rights and the unlawfulness of all forms of corruption and SEA.
- ▶ Require all staff members, management personnel, and volunteers to sign a code of conduct and zero tolerance to SEA policy. Provide trainings on different forms of corruption and its intersection with sexual exploitation and abuse and other forms of human rights and women's rights violations to all camp staff members and management.

To Humanitarian Actors and international non-governmental organizations

- ▶ Involve women at all stages of the project cycle, from the design through implementation and monitoring to prevent corruption or reduce its risks.
- ▶ Promote transparent processes in camp registration, distribution of food and other relief goods, and overall camp management. Guarantee women's meaningful participation in camp management.
- ▶ Require all staff members, management personnel, and volunteers to sign a code of conduct and zero tolerance to SEA policy.
- ▶ Ensure that there is adequate oversight of camp operations, including accountability mechanisms to report and act on allegations of misconduct. Existing complaint and response mechanisms should be periodically reviewed, updated and strengthened.
- ▶ Provide survivor-centered responses to SGBV and SEA. These should be designed in consultation with the survivors, in the spirit of "*nothing about us without us*". Such interventions should include psychosocial support and trauma counseling to survivors of SGBV, livelihood support, creation safe spaces and support to existing spaces and "one stop shop" centers for survivors of SGBV.
- ▶ Increase the number of women who work in IDP camps, since women and children comprise about 80% of the camp population.
- ▶ Organize awareness-raising and training on UNSCR 1325 and the supporting WPS resolutions, women's human rights, women's political and economic rights, and women's leadership in IDP camps and host communities.
- ▶ Enhance the capacities of local civil society to conduct trainings on

combatting corruption for local officials, policy-makers and traditional and religious leaders to ensure they are aware of the different forms of corruption, their negative impacts; and how to prevent corruption.

- ▶ Forge partnerships with, and invest in strengthening of, women-led organizations and networks, since they are crucial structures in the promotion and protection of women's rights, implementation of WPS and raising awareness on the importance of women's participation and the barriers women face in the political arena including discriminatory practices.

To the Nigerian Government

- ▶ Implement laws and policies that will protect women and girls from SGBV and SEA. Existing laws and policies should be reviewed, to ensure that there are clear accountability measures and adequate retribution for those violating the laws.
- ▶ Allocate funding for the full and effective implementation of WPS resolutions in Nigeria, including the implementation of the Borno State Action Plan on WPS.
- ▶ Provide an oversight of all activities implemented in IDP camps, to ensure their compliance with national and international laws. Ensure that there are functioning, confidential and accessible reporting mechanisms in all IDP camps.
- ▶ Investigate corruption and SEA cases thoroughly and promptly.
- ▶ Increase the number of female security personnel in IDP camps and ensure equal representation of women among government officials involved in camp management.

To the Security Agencies (Military, Police, Civil Defense Corps, CJTF, etc.)

- ▶ Proactively recruit more women and deploy them as security personnel to IDP camps.
- ▶ Adopt strict rules of conduct that protect the humanitarian character of the camp and prevent instances of corruption, abuse of power, sexual exploitation, and other forms of misconduct.

To the Traditional and Religious Leaders:

- ▶ Use their position of trust and authority within communities to promote a culture of peace and condemn abuse of power and all forms of corruption and SEA.
- ▶ Promote accountability, and support victims in seeking justice, rather than shielding perpetrators of corruption and SEA.
- ▶ Challenge negative cultural and patriarchal norms and misconceptions surrounding SGBV and SEA, which lead to stigma and marginalization of victims.
- ▶ Use their platform to preach about the importance of women's meaningful participation, and ensure that women are part of decision making in host communities and in IDP camps.
- ▶ Work closely with camp officials and humanitarian actors to ensure that

the needs and perspectives of local communities and IDPs are taken into account in their planning and decision-making.

To civil society (including non-governmental organizations and networks):

- ▶ Sustain awareness-raising and training on UNSCR 1325 and the supporting WPS resolutions, women's human rights, women's political and economic rights, and women's leadership in IDP camps and host communities.
 - ▶ Localize the implementation of national laws and policies, such as the National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 and the Violence Against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) Act of 2015, in Borno State.
 - ▶ Conduct communication campaigns to raise awareness about WPS and women's human rights more broadly especially on the impact of corruption; and generate support among journalists covering the campaign.
 - ▶ Sustain and strengthen support for survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, and promote their human rights, including their access justice and basic social services.
 - ▶ Raise awareness of women and girls living in host communities and IDP camps of their rights, existing referral pathways, and the unlawfulness of corruption and SEA.
 - ▶ Sustain advocacy for the full and effective implementation of laws and policies that protect the rights of women and girls in Nigeria, including the establishment of responsive and effective mechanism for the reporting, investigation, and prosecution of SGBV and SEA cases.
 - ▶ Conduct trainings for local officials, policy-makers and traditional and religious leaders to ensure they are aware of the different forms of corruption and their negative impacts on the fabric of the society.
 - ▶ Forge partnership with women's groups in the IDP camps and host communities in the North East to ensure a coordinated approach to delivering services and supporting women in camps. For example through documentation of cases of sexual and gender-based violence as well as SEA and referring them for reporting and prosecution; as well as providing identifying organizations that provide reproductive health care services.
 - ▶ Require all staff members, management personnel, and volunteers to sign a code of conduct and zero tolerance to SEA policy. Provide trainings on different forms of corruption and its intersection with sexual exploitation and abuse and other forms of human rights and women's rights violations to all staff members and management.
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