



NIGER DELTA UNIVERSITY
WILBERFORCE ISLAND, BAYELSA STATE.

62nd Inaugural Lecture

**CORRUPTION, GOVERNANCE
AND DEVELOPMENT:
NIGERIA IS SECURE**

Prof. Philips O. Okolo

FRHD, MNPSA, MNIPR, MSPSP, ACIPM, MNIIA, MIPS A

B.Sc. (Hons) Pol & Admin Studies (UNIPORT), M.A.

Peace & Conflict Studies (UI), PhD Pol. Sci. (DELSU)

Professor of Development, Peace and Security Studies

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences

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NIGER DELTA UNIVERSITY

Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State, Nigeria

Motto

Creativity, Excellence, Service

Vision

To be a centre of excellence defined by well articulated programme that will produce creative and innovative minds

Mission

To strive to maintain an international reputation for high quality scholarship, research and academic excellence for the promotion of the socio-cultural and economic well-being of mankind

NIGER DELTA UNIVERSITY ANTHEM (THE BRIGHTEST STAR)

Like the brightest star we are, to lead the way
To good education that is all our due,
The dream of our fathers like the seed has grown;
Niger Delta University if here to stay.

In all that we do, let us bring to mind
Our duty as staff and students of N.D.U
Ev'rywhere to promote peace towards mankind.
Creativity, Excellence and Service

Let us build on this noble foundation
And with love, let our dedication increase,
To rise and uphold this noble vision
Ev'ry passing moment let our zeal never decrease.

CHORUS
Rejoice, great people old and new, rejoice
For the good fruit through us is shown;
Be glad in our worthy contribution
To the growth of humanity (x2)

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Dedication

This Inaugural Lecture is dedicated to my mother Mrs. Enugu Okolo (Nee Okorodudu), and my children Engr. Boboye, Ebitare, Funkakpo, and Ebikombowei.

Protocol

The Vice-Chancellor

Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Administration)

Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic)

The Registrar

The Bursar

University Librarian

Members of the Governing Council that is present here

Provost of the College of Health Sciences

Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

Dean, Faculty of the Social Sciences

Deans of other Faculties, and Directors of Institutes and Centres

Head, Department of Political Science

Heads of other Departments

Distinguished Professors

Other Academic and Administrative Staff

Comrades of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU)

Their Excellences, and other Honourable Members

Clergy

Royal Fathers

Members of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), and other professional bodies

Unique alumni of Delsu, UI and Uniport

Great Members of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), particularly NONWA 89

People of Tarakiri Kingdom

Members of Ebedebiri Federated Community

Members of the Gbelele/Alole Family

Members of Toru-orua and Bulu-orua Communities

Great Students of Niger Delta University

Gentlemen of the Press

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen

PREAMBLE

My Vice Chancellor Sir., I count this Inaugural Lecture a profound privilege to profess my testament to this distinguished intellectual audience. I have had the opportunity to listen, and privileged to read several Inaugural Lectures across Universities in Nigeria and beyond. I am the 62nd in our Niger Delta University Inaugural Lecture Series; 6th in the Faculty of Social Sciences; and 3rd in the Department of Political Science. The first in my Department was delivered by Prof. Ambily Etekpe (the 24th Inaugural Lecturer), who dwelled on Nigeria without oil, by applying the CAABA Model. The second was delivered by Prof. Ibaba S. Ibaba (the 28th Inaugural Lecturer), who delved on “Mopping the Wet Floor While Overlooking the Leaking Roof...”. Drawing inspiration and lessons from these lectures, I am now set to deliver today's 62nd Inaugural Lecture which contains my testament in the academic sojourn. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, before I proceed to the testament, it may interest you to know that I have researched widely, and discovered that Niger Delta University produced the first professor of Development, Peace and Security Studies in Nigeria and Africa at large.

Vice Chancellor Sir, I will start this testament with my long academic attention, being drawn towards issues of corruption, governance, development and security in Africa, Nigeria, and the Niger Delta in particular. It properly started with my undergraduate project, which addressed corruption in Nigeria, from the perspective of the Nigerian Police Force. My Master degree thesis in 2004 and Doctorate degree thesis in 2016 were directed to addressing security (and/or conflict) and development challenges in Nigeria and Niger Delta in particular.

I discovered from these my three earlier major research works that governance failure (at all levels) has being the major motivating factor for the problems of corruption development and insecurity in Nigeria. This drives my attention to the study of governance in Nigeria. Few of the numerous research works I have embarked on understanding "Governance in Nigeria" in this regard are: my work in 2015 on "The Role of a Free Press in Good Governance"; My work with Pally E. Agidi in 2018 on "Governance failure: The roots of Terrorism in Nigeria" my work with Sunday Otuya in 2019 on "Leadership and Accountability in Nigerian Universities: A critical Factor for the Nation's Sustainable Development"; my work with Zideke Kasikoro in 2024 on "Poverty and Governance: Assessing the Role of the State in Alleviating Poverty in Nigeria"; my work with Prof. Ambily Etekpe in 2022 on ...“assessment of rural community development programme in Bayelsa State” among several others. I discovered from my research works that if governance were to be the problem, then Nigeria is secure as against the popular assumption. But, this may not be true, looking at the level of insurgency, health insecurity like the period of covid-19, death rate, food insecurity, high inflation and poverty levels, etc prevalence in Nigeria (also see Okolo & Micah, 2022; Okolo & Boubai, 2023).

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir., I therefore, went back to critically research on the intricate nexus between **CORRUPTION, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT, WITH A VIEW TO UNDERSTANDING NIGERIA BEING SECURE**. I have carried out about two hundred (200) research works in this direction. My Vice Chancellor Sir., what I discovered was like that of the hunter who could not voice what he discovered in the forest. However, as we proceed in this lecture, I shall progressively whisper to Mr. Vice Chancellor what was discovered.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I will like to start this Inaugural lecture by asking a very vital and pertinent question "Is Nigeria really insecure?". It is believed that Nigeria is insecure due to the intricate problems of corruption, governance and development in the country. However, Vice Chancellor Sir, I have envisioned a secure Nigeria, and I shall prove to you in this lecture, that Nigeria is "secure". Sir, it is my deliberate intention to explore the common believe on the intricate and often tumultuous relationship between corruption, governance, and development within the Nigerian context, a nation rich in resources yet challenged by systemic issues that hinder her security, progress and development.

Corruption, as we know, is a multifaceted phenomenon or concept as it were, that transcends borders and cultures, manifesting in various forms and impacting societies in profound and diverse ways. In Nigeria, it has become a pervasive challenge/problematic that undermines governance, erodes public trust, and stifles economic and socio-political development. This is also the major problem associated with our democratic and electoral system in the country (see Efebeh & Okolo, 2016; Allen & Okolo, 2018; Ndeche et al 2023). Despite the wealth of human and natural resources at our disposal, the specter of corruption looms large, casting a shadow over our aspirations for a prosperous and equitable society (Okolo, 2016).

As I navigate these complex issues, it is essential to recognize that the path to a secure and prosperous Nigeria is not solely dependent on the eradication of corruption, but also on the cultivation of a governance culture at every strata of society

that prioritizes integrity, inclusivity, and resilience. Vice Chancellor Sir, in one of my work in 2018, titled "Governance failure: The roots of Terrorism in Nigeria" and several others, I have envisioned a Nigeria where governance is synonymous with service, development is equitable, and the future is secured for all its citizens. It is this good news I have brought as my testament in this inaugural lecture.

2. CORRUPTION

The common view of corruption refers to the misuse of authority by government officials for personal benefit, frequently manifesting via activities such as bribery, embezzlement, and favoritism. Corruption affects the integrity of public institutions, erodes public confidence, and leads to systemic inefficiencies that may destabilize government and hinder economic progress. It is in this light that I have described corruption as:

...any act or behaviour or omission, committed, intentionally or not to influence the actions of another, the influencer and the influenced, respectively has corrupted a system which is detrimental to the entire society (Okolo & Akpokighe, 2014; Okolo & Etekpe, 2015).

An alternative to political or grand corruption is bureaucratic or petty corruption, mainly used in reference to corrupt acts perpetuated by persons not entrusted in public office. Beyond public offices, corruption exists in all facets of the globe. In line with Voglewede (nd), I have captured a number of such

aspects/areas where corruption manifests as well as the dimensions of corruption in Figure 1 and 2:

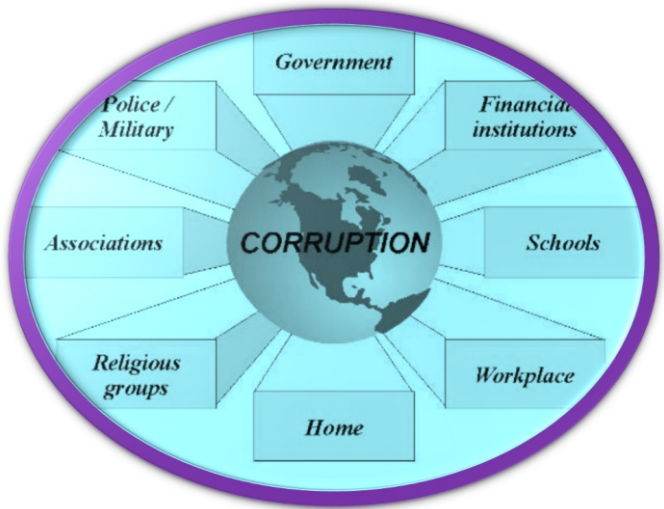


Figure 1: Some Aspects Corruption Manifests
Source: Author, 2025

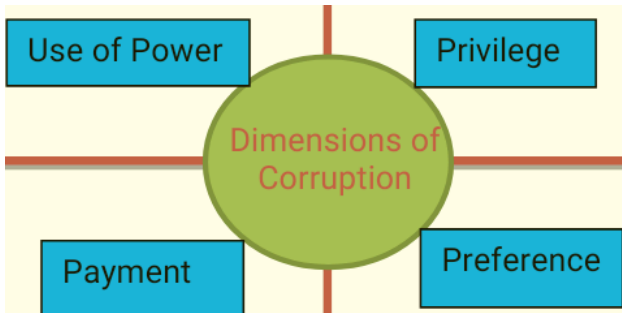


Figure 2: Dimensions of Corruption
Source: Author, 2025

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the pervasive nature of corruption, highlighting its presence across various aspects and/or areas of the globe and its manifestation in multiple dimensions. Corruption is not confined to a single sector; rather, it infiltrates numerous areas of society, including government institutions, law enforcement agencies, military organizations, financial institutions, educational establishments, social associations, religious groups, workplaces, and even within the confines of homes. This widespread occurrence underscores the complexity of corruption, as it takes on different forms and affect various aspects of daily life.

To better understand the multifaceted nature of corruption, I have categorized its manifestations into four distinct dimensions as captured in Figure 2: the use of power, privileges, payment, and preference. The use of power refers to the exploitation of authority by individuals in positions of influence, often leading to decisions that benefit a select few at the expense of the greater good. This dimension highlights how those in power manipulates systems and processes to serve their interests, thereby perpetuating a cycle of corruption.

The second dimension, privileges, pertains to the special rights or advantages granted to certain individuals or groups, often based on their status or connections. This results in unequal access to resources, opportunities, and services, further entrenching corruption within societal structures. For instance, individuals with political ties may receive preferential treatment in government contracts or job placements, undermining fairness and equity.

The third dimension, payment, encompasses the various forms of bribery and illicit financial transactions that facilitate corrupt

practices. These include direct monetary exchanges, kickbacks, or other forms of compensation that incentivize unethical behavior. Such payments create a culture of corruption where individuals feel compelled to engage in dishonest practices to achieve their goals or maintain their positions.

Lastly, the dimension of preference involves the biased treatment of individuals based on personal relationships or affiliations rather than merit. This manifests in favoritism in hiring practices, promotions, or resource allocation, leading to a lack of accountability and transparency. When decisions are made based on personal connections rather than objective criteria, it fosters an environment where corruption thrives (Okolo, 1997; Okolo & Etekpe, 2015).

In the context of Nigeria, existing literature provides compelling evidence that corruption is not just a sporadic issue but rather an endemic problem deeply rooted in the fabric of society. The prevalence of corrupt practices in Nigeria has been documented extensively, revealing how it affects various sectors, including governance, law enforcement, and public services. This endemic nature of corruption poses significant challenges to the country's development, undermining trust in institutions and hindering economic progress (Okolo & Etekpe, 2015).

In Nigeria, extant evidence in the literature reveals that corruption is endemic. It is in this regard that the former British Prime Minister, David Cameron's description of Nigeria as fantastically corrupt points to the perception of the country on the international scene (BBC News, 2016). More so, Nigeria has consistently ranked poorly in the global corruption index. The information in Table 1, shows Nigeria's position in

Transparency International's corruption ranking from 1999 to 2023 alludes to this:

Table 1: Global Corruption Ranking for Nigeria 1999 – 2023

S/N	Year	Score	Position	Number of Countries
1	1999	16	98	99
2	2000	12	90	91
3	2001	10	90	91
4	2002	16	101	102
5	2003	14	132	133
6	2004	16	144	146
7	2005	19	152	159
8	2006	22	142	163
9	2007	22	147	179
10	2008	27	121	180
11	2009	25	130	180
12	2010	24	134	178
13	2011	24	143	184
14	2012	27	139	170
15	2013	25	144	177
16	2014	27	136	175
17	2015	26	136	168
18	2016	28	136	176
19	2017	27	148	180
20	2018	27	144	180
21	2019	26	146	180
22	2020	25	149	179
23	2021	25	149	180
24	2022	24	150	180
25	2023	25	145	180
26	2024	26	140	180

Source: Transparency International (2024)

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, the trend in poor performance of Nigeria in global corruption ranking index as shown in table 1 point to the endemic nature of corruption in the country. Considering the magnitude of corruption in governance in Nigeria, I have asserted in my works on Nigerian Police and Corruption, and Petro-Economy and Corruption in Nigeria, that corruption in Nigeria is institutionalized, and therefore a corporate affair (Okolo & Etekpe, 2015; Okolo, 2016).

In Nigeria, Mr. Vice Chancellor, uncorrupt acts are considered as being foolish, and persons of that nature are deemed barbaric. If my Vice Chancellor is elected into a high political office like that of our former president, His Excellency, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, and failed to build mansions in his Community and/or State, the public perception, particularly his people may not be different. Corruption in Nigeria has being the premise for successive governments in Nigeria, both military and civilian. In the immediate post-independence era, the military used the pervasive corruption and enormous rigging that characterised the 1964 and 1965 elections to justify their takeover of the initial post-independence administration (Okolo, 1997; Okolo, 2017). Similarly, after a long period of General Gowon's administration, an Assets Investigation Panel established by Murtala Mohammed to investigate state governors and other public officers who served under previous administrations indicted 10 of the 12 military governors who served under Gowon and had their assets frozen. Aside from the military governors, approximately 10,000 civil personnel were fired for corruption in what is known as the purge of civil service (Dent, 2023).

Buhari's military administration also exerted efforts at tackling corruption through the War Against Indiscipline (WAI)

programme, and the setting up of many investigative tribunals to probe public officials. Under General Babangida's administration, over four hundred million Naira was discovered to have been wasted on the Better Life Project following a probe of the regime (Dent, 2023). Corruption was also pervasive under the Sani Abacha administration as the recovery of the infamous 'Abacha loot' has become a seemingly extra source of foreign revenue for Nigeria. Billions of dollars stolen by Abacha were stashed in various countries, including Switzerland, Jersey Island (UK), Liechtenstein, and the United States. Over the years, significant amounts have been repatriated in multiple tranches, with specific figures detailed during different Nigerian administrations, including Abdulsalami, Obasanjo, Jonathan, and Buhari (The Nation, August 24, 2022).

2.1 Corruption Incidents in Nigeria Since 1999

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, it is on record that the transition to democracy in 1999 brought about a newfound determination to combat corruption, which had previously seemed difficult to achieve. During Obasanjo's tenure, the EFCC and ICPC were founded with the purpose of combating corruption in Nigeria. Nevertheless, these failed to halt the pervasive corruption that had trailed the country since independence. Obasanjo, who professed to combat corruption, tried to extend his tenure beyond the two terms specified by the constitution by offering substantial sums of money to lawmakers to modify the constitution and enable him to pursue his goal for a third term. Upon Obasanjo's departure from power, it was documented that he granted contracts to himself and acquired or transformed some government assets for personal use (Okolo, 2017).

Yar'Adua became President after Obasanjo and demonstrated a strong dedication to combat corruption in Nigeria, however his nonverbal cues suggested otherwise. Yar'Adua's decision to halt the prosecution of former governor James Ibori and to dismiss Nuhu Ribadu as EFCC chairman demonstrated his lack of commitment to combating corruption. The death of Yar'Adua resulted in a brief tenure for his government, and his successor, Goodluck Jonathan, shown a lack of determination in combating corruption. Several political appointees under Jonathan were embroiled in corruption cases. Jonathan's ministers embezzled funds from the government coffers and evaded punishment. Notable instances include Miss Stella Odua's alleged heist of her ministry's finances to acquire bulletproof automobiles for her own use, as well as the alleged loot of a stunning \$9.3 billion by Diezani Allison Madueke, former Minister of Petroleum.

The administration of Muhammadu Buhari assumed power on the promise to tackle corruption and insecurity in Nigeria. His fight against corruption was, however, described as a witch-hunt, and accused of being selective. His reinstatement of Rasheed Maina, the former chairman of the defunct pension fund task force who was standing trial for corrupt practices while in office as head of the task force, was a clear pointer to the lack of genuine commitment to tackle corruption.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, corruption in Nigeria is never hidden to anyone. It has been so obvious to the extent that even the little child knows that Nigeria is not safe, in terms of corruption. Sir, the long table (Table 2) presented herein gives an overview of few selected cases of corruption between 1956 and 2020 in Nigeria:

Table 2: Selected Corruption Case Dairy in Nigeria, 1956 - 2020

S/N	DATE	NAME/INSTITUTION	NATURE	REMARK
1.	24/07/1956	Nnamdi Azikiwe, Premier, Defunct Eastern Region	- Abuse of office, bribery, and corruption - Justice Stamford Foster-sutte commission of Enquiry	-Found guilty and he transferred his right in African Continental Bank (ACB) to Eastern Nigerian government on 06/01/1957
2.	26/06/1962	Obafemi Awolowo, Premier, Defunct Western Region	- Abuse of office, bribery, and corruption in relation to private investment in National Investment and Property (NIPC). - Justice GB Cooker Commission of Enquiry was set up for it.	Indicted and he transferred NIPC to Western Nigerian government
3.	1967	15 Public officers in Midwest region	- Public officers corruptly enriched themselves	- Assets were forfeited and transferred to Midwest regional government.
4.	1985	Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC)	- Embezzlement - Could not account for missing ₦212 billion	No action as alleged were politically exposed persons (PEPs) and case abandoned.
Table 2: Continue				
5.	09/09/2004	Joshua Deriye, former Governor of Plateau State	Money Laundering (€90,000)	- British authorities arrested him in London. - He jumped bail. - Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) re-arrested and charged him for 14 counts. - In April 2007, an English Court convicted/sentenced him to 3 years in prison for laundering about US \$1.4 -million public funds. He refunded ₦90m

6.	2005	Tafa Balogun (Fmr. Inspector General of Police – IGP)	- Embezzlement of US 121 million - Fined US 30, and property worth US 150 million seized	Convicted/ sentenced for 6 counts.
7.	03/05/2006	Diepreye Solomon Peter (DSP) Alamiyeseigha (former Governor, Baye lsa state)	- Money Laundering - - - -	Convicted on 26/07/2007 after pleading guilty. Arrested in London in September 2015 over corruption allegation but jumped bail and returned to Nigeria. Forfeiture of assets. Pardoned by former President Goodluck Jonathan
8.	03/06/2007	Dr Peter Odili (former Governor, Rivers State)	Abuse of office and corruption -	He secured an order of Justice Ibrahim Buba for perpetual injunction from investigating him.
9.	04/09/2007	Onyema Ugochukwu (former Chairman, Niger Delta Development Commission - NDDC)	- Embezzlement - of \$10.2 billion, making false statements in respect of ₦9.3 billion allegedly trapped in Society General Bank, contract inflation of 150 kilometers road from ₦250,260m to 880,000m and another road in Umuahia (Abia state) from ₦80m to ₦462m ed	PEP and abandon

10.	08/2009	Olabode George. (formal Chairman, Nigerian Ports Authority-NPA, 1999-2003	- illegal practices/ contract related offences and misappropriation of NPA fund - of about 85 billion Naira.	- Convicted and sentence to concurrent terms of 2 1/2 years imprisonment - He was, however, released by Supreme Court Order in 2011.
11.	04/2011	James Onanefe Ibori (fmr Governor, Delta State)	- Money laundering, forgery and fraud. -Obtaining properties by deception amounting to about US 70 million	- Arrested in United Arab Emirates (UAE) and extradited to United Kingdom (UK) for 25 counts on money laundering. - Pled guilty of 10 counts. - Convicted and sentenced to 13
12.	05/2013	Mrs. Cecilia Ibru (fmr Managing Director / Chief Executive Officer — MD CEO, Oceanic Plc)	- Corruptly amassed wealth and recklessly granted credit facilities Without sufficient security and due process	- Prosecuted
13.	03/2013	Ndudi Emunelu (fmr Chairman, House of Representative Committee on power).	Fraud and abuse of Office, etc. to about N5.20 billion	- EFCC charged to court, but Justice Garba Umar ruled that he 'has no case to answer'.
14.	04/2015	Nusilia Obamikoro (fmr Senator / Minister); Godswill Akpabio (fmr, Governor Akwa-ibom state), President, 10th senate), Martins Elechi (fmr governor, Ebony state).	- Abuse of Office, bribery and corruption	- PEPs and abandoned

15.	25/02/2016	Olisa Metu, Destra Investment	- Fraudulently received- million from office of National Security Adviser (ONSA), Sambo Dasuki - - -	Justice Abang, Federal High Coun (FHC). Abuja found him guilty and was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. - Appeal Court on 17/12/2016 ordered a re-trial - EFCC appealed to Supreme Court. - Status of case not clear
16.	12/04/2017	Ikoyi Gate - Wife of fmr Director-General (DG), National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Mrs Ayo Oke Folashade, Choba Ventures Ltd (Vanguard 2019).	US \$43,449, \$27,800 and ₦23,218,000 found in iron cabinet and blue tote container in Flat 7B, Osborn Towers, Ikoyi, Lagos. - Earlier marked proceeds of about US \$1.658 million paid on 25/08 and 03/09/2015. - Money amounted to ₦360 million and paid to fin d company for purchase of the property at Ikoyi.	- Whistle blower reported the case. - FHC, Ikoyi, Lagos ordered forfeiture of the property of Flat 7B, Osborn Towers, Ikoyi, Lagos. - fmr Governor Ezeobunwo Nyesom Wike later stated that the said money belonged to Rivers State Government (RSG) as the apartment was owned by Rotimi Chibuike Amaechi (fmr Governor, RSG and Minister of Transportation) from the state.
17.	06/2018	Senator Abdullahi Adamu	- Fmr Chairman, Northern Senators Forum (NSF) couldn't account for the N70 million of the 7th Assembly. - Financial mismanagemen t	- He was removed - Senator Dino Melaye (then Spokesman stated that it was investigated and found to be true) - Abandoned as PEP

18.	12/12/2018	Doyin Okupe, Value Trust Investment and Abrahams Telecoms.	- Fraudulently received N702 million from ONSA	- Released on administrative bail - Abandoned as PER
19.	25/05/2018	Jolly Trever Nyame (fmr Governor, Taraba State) and Joshua Dariye (fmr Governor, Plateau State).	- Abuse of office, bribery, and corruptions	- Prosecuted for 11 years and both decamped from Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) to All Progressive Congress (APC -ruling party) - Convicted and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment - Joshua Dariye was pardoned by fmr President Goodluck E. Jonathan
20.	03/2019	Finance Office, Kano Zoological Garden.	- N6.8 million - WâS swallowed by gorilla during Salah celebration	- Umar Kobo, along with Abdullah Haruna (Investigation Police Officer - IFO) confirmed the missing money. - Abandoned as PEP
21.	30/09/2019	Abdulrasheed Maina, Pension Reform Task Force Team.	- Fraud, abuse of Office and corruption to about 100 billion Naira, using fictitious accounts	- He jumped bail - Case abandoned as PEP.

22.	25/11/2019	Mohammed Alope, Aliyu Abubaka and Six others	- Fraudulent enrichment 'of US \$1.10 billion Malabu Oil deal.	- Prosecuted but charges were later dropped. - Abandoned as PEPS
23.	25/11/2019	Siemens AG and Halliburton (SAGH)	- Kellogg Brown Root (KBR) Inc entered in a guilty plea bargain US \$579 million fine for payment of bribes to secure Nigel Ian Liquified Gas (NLG) contracts in Nigeria.	- While company was prosecuted expediently, investigation of Nigerian senior Government Officials that received the bribe of US \$18 million was abandoned.
24.	03/2020	Ibrahim Magu, financial Chairman, Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC).	- Unable to account for N550 billion interest generated from banks of recovered monies deposited in 2015 — 2020. - Unable to give proper accounts of 332, Out of 836 recovered properties in March 2018	- Investigated and prosecuted.

Source: Etekpe, (2023) Culled from: Gonee, Barile Jonathan (2023: 49-117)

Over the years, Nigeria's anti-corruption body, the EFCC has indicted some former governors over corruption cases and placed others on watch lists. The information in Table 3 summarizes these cases as reported by Akhigbe (2016), a columnist for *Business Day*, Nigeria-based online news outfit shows the pervasiveness and enormity of corruption in governance within Nigeria.

Table 3: Former Governors Indicted for Corruption or Under EFCC's Watchlist

S/N	Former Governor	State	Corruption Cases/Charges
1	Diepreye Alamieyeseigha	Bayelsa	Money laundering charges related to £1.8 million found in the UK
2	Joshua Dariye	Plateau	Initially accused of diverting N1.126 billion state's ecological funds
3	Murtala Nyako	Adamawa	Under EFCC's watch-list
4	Ikedi Ohakim	Imo	Under EFCC's watch-list
5	Sule Lamido	Jigawa	Under EFCC's watch-list
6	Timipre Sylva	Bayelsa	Under EFCC's watch-list
7	Martin Elechi	Ebonyi	Under EFCC's watch-list
8	Ibrahim Shema	Katsina	Under EFCC's watch-list
9	Chimaroke Nnamani	Enugu	Under EFCC's watch-list
10	Orji Uzor Kalu	Abia	Under EFCC's watch-list
11	Saminu Turaki	Jigawa	Under EFCC's watch-list
12	Abubakar Audu (late)	Kogi	Under EFCC's watch-list
13	Danjuma Goje	Gombe	Under EFCC's watch-list
14	Aliyu Akwe Doma	Nasarrawa	Under EFCC's watch-list
15	Jolly Nyame	Taraba	Under EFCC's watch-list
16	Ali Modu Sheriff	Borno	Under EFCC's watch-list
17	Gabriel Suswan	Benue	Under EFCC's watch-list
18	Ayo Fayose	Ekiti	Under EFCC's watch-list
19	Lucky Igbinedion	Edo	Embezzlement of over N19 billion; Convicted for non-declaration of assets
20	James Ibori	Delta	Convicted in the UK for stealing at least \$250 million of public funds

Source: Akhigbe (2016)

Table 3 further alludes to the pervasiveness of corruption in governance across Nigeria as all geopolitical zones in the country have a governor who has either been indicted for corruption or is under the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission's watchlist. Cases against these notable figures have been pending for years and as of January 2024, the EFCC has reopened its probe against high-profile corrupt public officials, including 13 former governors for corrupt cases worth 722 billion Naira. The affected persons include former Ekiti State governors, Kayode Fayemi and Ayo Fayose; former Zamfara State governor, Bello Matawalle; former Enugu State governors, Chimaroke Nnamani and Sullivan Chime; former

Nasarawa State governor, Abdullahi Adamu; former Kano State governor, Rabi'u Kwankwaso; former Rivers State governor, Peter Odili; former Abia State governor, Theodore Orji; former Gombe State governor, Danjuma Goje; former Sokoto State governor, Aliyu Wamako; former Bayelsa State governor, Timipre Sylva; and former Jigawa State governor, Sule Lamido (Economic Confidential 2024). Whether or not anyone will be convicted remains to be seen.

In addition to these, three other examples in recent times further speak to the issue of corruption in governance. First is the issue of Godfatherism as manifest in the ongoing case between former governor of Rivers State, Nyesom Wike and the incumbent, Siminalayi Fubara, which has led to the declaration of state of emergency and appointment of Vice Admiral Ibokette Ibas (Rtd) as Administrator on 18th March, 2025. A second is the ongoing litigations bordering on corruption at the center of the nation's purse, with former CBN governor Godwin Emefiele facing trials over allegations of illegal procurement and conspiracy. A third is the issue of corruption emerging from the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, in the lights of Hon (Dr.) Beta Edu, and former Minister of the ministry, Ms Sadiya Farouq who is allegedly involved in N37.1 billion corruption.

2.2 Petroleum and Corruption in Nigeria

Petroleum resources serve about 95 percent of Nigeria's financial need, which in most cases are diverted, embezzled and/or siphoned through corruption. This is why looking at corruption from the perspective of crude oil or petroleum resources is pertinent to properly understand corruption in Nigeria; and how it affects sustainable development and

security in the country (Okolo & Etekpe, 2011; Etekpe & Okolo, 2011; Etekpe & Okolo, 2015). Petroleum and corruption in Nigeria are deeply intertwined issues that have significant implications for the country's economy, governance, and development. Nigeria is one of the largest oil producers in Africa and has vast oil reserves, which have the potential to drive economic growth and development. However, the management of its oil resources has been marred by widespread corruption, mismanagement, and lack of transparency. Corruption is indeed pervasive in Nigeria's oil sector, involving various actors, including government officials, oil companies, and intermediaries. The system of federalism operated in Nigeria promotes acts of corruption (see Okolo, 2014f; Okolo, 2014d; Okolo, 2011; Osimerah & Okolo, 2017; Okolo et al, 2018). Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, in my work with Professor Ambily Etekpe in 2015, we have described this form of corruption as Petro-Economy Corruption (PEC). Sir, we have deduced five forms of such PEC in Nigeria. These are:

- a. The Halliburton Scandal
- b. The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) Saga
- c. Excess Crude Oil Sales
- d. The Oil Block Sales
- e. Oil Bunkering and the MV African Pride, and
- f. The Fuel Subsidy Scandal

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have debunked two prevailing impressions about corruption, and PEC in particular. First, there is the argument that corruption in Nigeria can be traced back to colonial rule or neo-colonialism. While colonial rule may have played a role, this argument is now obsolete (Okolo,

et al 2024). The evidence, as shown in Tables 4, indicates that the cases of public sector corruption (PEC) investigated and prosecuted in Nigeria involved high-profile individuals, particularly from the petty bourgeoisie, including politicians, bureaucrats, and business magnates. This trend reached its peak during the presidency of Olusegun Obasanjo from 1999 to 2007, when corruption became both an accepted practice and almost revered.

Second, the claim that poverty is the root cause of PEC in Nigeria is also inaccurate; in fact, corruption is a primary driver of poverty in the country. The reasoning behind this is that if poverty were the root cause of PEC, it would be difficult to explain the actions of the petty bourgeoisie, who are by no means impoverished yet still embezzle public funds. Ultimately, what fuels PEC in Nigeria is greed. See Table 4 for details on petro-economy corruption in Nigeria:

Table 4: Selected Cases of Petro-Economy Corruption in Nigeria

S / N	Period / Administration	Nature	Amount	Alleged Key Personality	Remarks
1	1960 – 1966 Nnamdi Azikiwe / Tafawa Balewa, First Republic	Over Invoicing of imports and fraudulent inflation of national debt part-financed from oil African Continental Bank Scandal Corruption resulted from the import-substitution (dependence) industries	£2.5 million	- Festus Okotie Eboh - Nnamdi Azikiwe	Foundation of Financial mis-management / economic corruption
2	1967 – 1975 Yakubu Gowon, Military Head of State & Government (HOS&G)	Sold crude oil at concessionary prices to some African States 16 million tons cement scandal to build military barracks Over inflated contracts	£35 million	- Joseph Tarka - Joseph Gomwalk & 9 Military Governors - Ministry of Defence - Obafemi Awolowo	Emergence of millionaires from petro-economy corruption

3	1979 – 1983 Shehu Shagari, Second Republic	Payment of 10 percent for the award of contract as a condition precedent to such awards	₦12 billion	Umaru Dikko & Other Ministers	Corruption became the dominant feature in Nigeria
		Oil gate – misappropriation of oil sales revenue overseas	₦2.8 billion	Muhammadu Buhari	
		Amount for import bill siphoned out of Nigeria	₦11.9 billion	Umaru Dikko, Bisi Onabanjo and Adamu Attah	
		Over invoicing of imports	₦0.57 billion	Jim Nwobodo	
4	1985 – 1992 Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB), HOS & G	Diversion of proceeds from sales of oil during Gulf war, 1990 – 1991	₦12.2 billion	- P. Okongwu - Paul Ogwuma	Corruption became epidemic
		Underreporting petroleum revenue in 1990	₦2.1 billion	- 20 Separate banks - IBB	
		Debt –buy-back process	₦6 billion		
5	1994 – 1998 Sani Abacha, HOS & G	Halliburton scam involving TSKJ bribe for the award of contracts for construction of NLNG trains 1,2 &3	US\$180 million (₦11.70 billion)	- Dan Etete - Tesler Stanley - Tri-Star (TSKJ) - Ibrahim Aliyu - Abdullahi Bello, etc	Corruption was internationalized
6	1999 – 2007 Olusegun Obasanjo (OBJ), Fourth Republic	Oil bunkering involving MT African Pride, OBJ ordered the release of the Russian pirates and disappearance of MT African Pride from Nigerian territorial waters	-	- Tafa Balogun, retired Inspector General of Police - Vice Admiral Sunday Afoloyan - Funso Kupolukun etc	Taking PEC to a height unsurpassed in the history of Nigeria.
		Fuel subsidy scam	₦49.50 (US\$ 3) billion	Gaius Obaseki	
		Sales of oil blocks	-	OBJ, Gaius Obaseki, Funso Kupolukun	
		Unaccounted proceeds from excess crude oil production	₦515.07 billion		
		Money collected to settle salaries / allowances of National Assembly Aides	₦0.376 billion	109 Senators and 366 Reps of National Assembly	
7	2008 – 2012 Umaru Yar'Adua & Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, Fourth Republic	Fuel Subsidy Scam	₦382 billion	- Patrick Ubah - Ifeanyi Anosike - Emma Morah - Ngozi Ekeoma (Tables 5, 6 & 8)	Triumph of corruption

Okolo & Etekpe, 2015; Akinbi, 2003.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, permit me to briefly highlight the impact of such PEC on the sustainable development and security prospects of our dear country "Nigeria". I have deduced six (6) aspects of such impacts:

- i. **Conflict and Violence:** The competition for control over oil resources has fueled conflict, particularly in the Niger Delta, where militant groups have emerged to demand a share of oil revenues and address environmental degradation (Okolo & Inokoba, 2014; Ibaba & Okolo, 2009; Okolo, 2012; Okolo, 2010; Okolo, 2025). These violence not only destabilizes the region but also deters investment and economic growth. I have compiled an oil-related violence report from 2003 - 2006 as captured in the Box 1:

Box 1: A CATALOGUE OF ESCALATING VIOLENCE IN THE NIGER DELTA, 2003 - 2006

- 2003: At Iri, Isoko South local council, a traditional ruler was alleged to have sold the rights of the community to Agip Oil. This sparked off violence. At the end of the imbroglio, no fewer than 10 persons died and property worth millions of naira was vandalized, including the palace of the traditional ruler who took to his heels in the heat of the crisis.
- 15 January 2003: Indigenes of Ohoror-Uwheru community in Ughelli North local council were attacked by a detachment of soldiers from the joint security task force 'Operation Restore Hope'.
- 21 March 2003: While the Security Task Force was on patrol off Escravos River, youths attacked the team with 17 speedboats at Oprosa on the Escravos creek, killing three soldiers and one naval rating.
- 2 March 2003: Youths struck at the Total FinaElf tank farm in Oponani Village and killed five soldiers and destroyed property worth billions of naira.
- 2 May 2003: Barely 24 hours after the state House of Assembly election, youths brandishing, AK-47 pump rifles and other light weapons attacked the naval base, leaving two naval ratings severely injured.
- 7 November 2003: Eight mobile policemen were reportedly killed by youths between Otuan and Oporoma in Sothem Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.
- April 2004: Five persons including, two Americans were killed by militant youths. They were among nine people travelling in a boat along Benin River, West of Warri, when they came under what was described as 'unprovoked attack'. The two American expatriates were on the staff of Chevron Texaco.
- January 2004: Suspected Itsekiri militants invaded some communities in Okpe Kingdom, killing 17 people and injuring three others.
- 14 April 2004: Ijaw youths attacked and killed four children including a 90-year community leader, Madam Mejebi Eworuwo, in Koko, headquarters of Warri North Local Council, Delta State.
- 23 April 2004: A beat nine members of the joint Security task Force, 'Operation Restore Hope' in charge of security in Warri was killed by militant Ijaw youths.
- 2 November 2004: For several hours, youths of Igboodu and soldiers of the Joint Task Force clashed in Igboodu area of Warri, Delta State.
- 18 November 2004: Ijaw youths from Odioma community in Brass Council in Bayelsa State, protesting and alleged violation of the Memorandum of Understanding, (MOU) by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC), shut down and occupied its 8,000 barrel a day flow station.
- 22 November 2004: At least 17 youths of Ijaw extraction were confirmed dead as soldiers deployed to guard a flow station belonging to an oil-servicing firm shot sporadically into a crowd.
- 28 November 2004: Ijaw youths clashed with soldiers at Beneside flow station, near Ojobo in Bayelsa State over breach of MOU.
- 23 December 2004: The youths in Ogbé-Osewa and Ogbé Illo quarters in Asaba clashed over a land dispute. Over 100 houses were ransacked, with property running into millions of naira destroyed.
- 23 December 2004: At Ekpan, Uvwie local council of Delta State, youths clashed over the appointment of Unuevworo (traditional head) of the community.
- 24 December 2004: Militant youths kidnapped 16 oil workers including a Yugoslav at Amatu Community in Ekeremoh local council of Bayelsa State. They were kidnapped from a vessel identified as Sea bulk, owned by an oil-servicing firm working with Shell.
- 26 December 2004: Alleged similar breach of MOU by SPDC led to the abduction of a Croatian worker, Mr. Ivan Roso, at the company's sea Eagle heating erode oil production facility.
- 21 December 2005: Explosion rocked Shell pipeline in Niger Delta.
- 22 December 2005: Fire raged in Shell installations causing 13 deaths.
- 31 December 2005: Explosion rocked Shell pipeline in Niger Delta (*The Guardian*, 21 December 2005).
- 12 January 2006: Pirates took four expatriates hostage.
- 16 January 2006: Militants attacked another Shell platform and torched houseboats.
- 16 January 2006: Fourteen soldiers killed in Niger Delta shoot out (*This day*, 16 January, 2006).
- 18 January 2006: Soldiers, Bayelsa militants engaged in gun duel.
- 18 January 2006: Shell cut oil output by 115 BPD (*This Day*, 18 January 2006).
- 19 January 2006: Federal Government opened talks with militants (*The Punch*, 19 January 2006).
- 29 January 2006: Oil workers threatened to pull out of Niger Delta.
- 4 October, 2006: Niger-Delta Six soldiers fear-death: (*The Vanguard*, Pp. 1 -5)

Source: Okolo & Etekepe, 2015.

- ii. **Terrorism and Insurgency:** Corruption and the mismanagement of oil resources contributes to broader security challenges, including, internal wars the rise of extremist groups (Tarabinah & Okolo, 2015). The Nigerian Civil War is a clear instance, as it is connected to corruption and mistrust. Disenfranchised youth in oil-rich regions like the case of Niger Delta where different groups including the Ijaws have struggled resource benefits be more susceptible to recruitment by such groups, exacerbating insecurity (Okolo, 2014a; Okolo, 2014c; Edo et al 2023; Okolo, 2005; Okolo, 2010b; Okolo, 2020).
- iii. **Weak State Institutions:** Corruption undermines the legitimacy of state institutions, making it difficult for the government to effectively respond to security challenges. A lack of trust in government leads to a breakdown of law and order, further complicating efforts to achieve stability (Okolo et al 2023; Etekpe et al 2015).
- iv. **Poverty and Inequality:** Despite Nigeria's oil wealth, a significant portion of the population lives in poverty (Okolo & Etekpe, 2011). Corruption in Nigeria's federal system exacerbates this issue by preventing equitable distribution of resources (Okolo, Rufus & Eyo, 2019; Okolo, 2011; Adagbabiri & Okolo, 2020) The wealth generated from oil does not trickle down to the average citizen due to corruption, leading to social discontent and unrest.
- v. **Infrastructure Deficits:** Corruption leads to inadequate investment in critical infrastructure, such as roads,

schools, and hospitals. This lack of development hampers economic growth and limits opportunities for citizens, perpetuating a cycle of poverty, particularly at the rural areas in the Niger Delta (Okolo & Lawyer-keme, 2023; Okolo, 2014; Okolo & Boubai, 2021).

- v. Environmental Degradation: The oil industry has caused significant environmental damage, particularly in the Niger Delta region (Okolo & Rufus, 2017). Corruption allows companies to bypass environmental regulations, leading to oil spills, gas flaring, and destruction of local ecosystems, which further impacts the livelihoods of communities dependent on these resources (Okolo, et al 2015; Baghebo & Okolo, 2018)

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, my intense research in this direction as captured in Plate 1, 2 and 3 shows that, it is as a result of such corrupt act that the environmental problems of degradation, gas flaring, oil spillages among others cannot be properly remediated or resolved.



Plate 1: Prof. Philips O. Okolo, at the First Commercial Oil Well in Nigeria for Research
Source: Author, 2025; Okolo, 2016; 2004.



Plate 2 Prof. Philips O. Okolo, at gas Flaring sites in Bayelsa State to assess its impact on the Environment and People

Source: Okolo, 2004; 2016



Plate 3: Prof. Philips O. Okolo, at Oil Spillage Sites and poor infrastructure in Otuasega-Oloibiri in Bayelsa State to assess its impact on the Environment and People's Livelihoods

Source: Okolo, 2004; 2016.

My Vice Chancellor Sir, in the series of my research on corruption, and PEC in particular, I have brought out three important lessons. The lessons are anchored on the demand for good governance. The demand has to be a collective effort of government and civil society organizations – just the way they demanded for explanation for the fuel subsidy removal in January 2012, and even demands for minimum wage increase in the country (Adagbabiri & Okolo, 2019; Okolo, et al, 2024).

3. GOVERNANCE

Governance refers to the processes, structures, and practices through which organizations, institutions, and societies make decisions, implement policies, and manage resources. It encompasses the mechanisms by which authority is exercised and accountability is ensured. Governance in this regard, covers the procedures, institutions, and traditions that define how power is exercised and choices are made in a community (Etekpe et al, 2015). It includes the methods by which public institutions conduct public affairs, administer public resources, and hold themselves responsible to the public. Myself and Prof. Etekpe have aligned with Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) to view governance via characteristics such as voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption (Etekpe et al, 2015). The various aspects of governance are:

- i. **Institutions:** Governance involves formal and informal institutions, including governments, NGOs, and community organizations.
- ii. **Decision-Making:** It includes the processes by which decisions are made, who is involved in those decisions, and how they are implemented.

- iii. Accountability: Good governance emphasizes transparency, accountability, and the rule of law, ensuring that leaders and institutions are answerable to the public.
- iv. Participation: Effective governance encourages the participation of various stakeholders, including citizens, in decision-making processes.
- v. Policy Implementation: Governance is also about how policies are executed and the effectiveness of those policies in achieving desired outcomes.

3.1 Governance System in Nigeria

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, in my works on 'Governance Failure and Terrorism in Nigeria', and "Governance failure: The roots of Terrorism in Nigeria" respectively, I have coined governance to entail six interrelated components in line with World Bank's World Governance index, - voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption (Okolo & Agidi, 2018; Agidi & Okolo, 2018; Isaiah, 2025). Evidence from the same works has revealed that, governance, measured through each of these identified indicators and parameters, has been in a state of precarity in Nigeria. The World Bank's Governance Index for Nigeria clearly shows this fact as captured in Table 4:

Table 4: Governance Indicators in Nigeria (WGI)

Indicator	Voice and Accountability: Estimate	Rule of Law: Estimate	Regulatory Quality: Estimate	Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism: Estimate	Government Effectiveness: Estimate	Control of Corruption: Estimate
2000	-0.5	-1.2	-0.9	-1.5	-1.0	-1.3
2002	-0.6	-1.5	-1.2	-1.6	-1.0	-1.5
2003	-0.7	-1.5	-1.2	-1.6	-0.9	-1.4
2004	-0.8	-1.4	-1.3	-1.8	-0.9	-1.4
2005	-0.9	-1.4	-0.8	-1.7	-0.9	-1.2
2006	-0.6	-1.1	-0.9	-2.0	-1.0	-1.1
2007	-0.8	-1.1	-0.9	-2.0	-1.0	-1.1
2008	-0.7	-1.0	-0.8	-1.9	-1.0	-0.9
2009	-0.8	-1.2	-0.8	-2.0	-1.2	-1.0
2010	-0.8	-1.2	-0.7	-2.2	-1.2	-1.1
2011	-0.7	-1.2	-0.7	-2.0	-1.1	-1.2
2012	-0.7	-1.1	-0.7	-2.0	-1.0	-1.2
2013	-0.7	-1.1	-0.7	-2.1	-1.0	-1.2
2014	-0.6	-1.1	-0.8	-2.1	-1.2	-1.3
2015	-0.4	-1.0	-0.9	-1.9	-1.0	-1.1
2016	-0.3	-1.0	-0.9	-1.9	-1.1	-1.0
2017	-0.3	-0.9	-0.9	-2.0	-1.0	-1.1
2018	-0.4	-0.9	-0.9	-2.1	-1.1	-1.1
2019	-0.4	-0.9	-0.9	-1.9	-1.2	-1.1
2020	-0.6	-0.8	-1.0	-1.9	-1.1	-1.1
2021	-0.6	-0.9	-0.9	-1.8	-1.0	-1.1
2022	-0.6	-0.9	-1.2	-1.8	-1.0	-1.1

Source: World Bank, 2024.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, permit me to briefly state on these further. The six composite WGI measures are useful as a tool for broad cross-country comparisons and for evaluating broad trends over time. The Worldwide Governance Indicators report on six broad dimensions of governance for over 200 countries and territories over the period 1996-2022. The six aggregate indicators are reported in two ways: (1) in their standard normal units, ranging from approximately -2.5 to 2.5. For this study, the standard normal units are presented (in Table 4).

This means that the minimum possible scores obtainable in the table 4 is -2.5 while the maximum possible scores is 2.5. Considering that the scores for Nigeria, as can be discerned in Table 4, are all in the negative (-), it becomes crystal clear and apparent that Nigeria's performance across all governance indices have been poor throughout the period covered by the 2022 world governance indices.

Specific country-level empirical evidence supports this. The pervasiveness of corruption discussed extensively in preceding sections is a clear pointer to the limits in the Nigerian government's capacity to control corruption. The country's antigrift agencies, the EFCC and ICPC have been widely criticized, at different periods, to have been used as tools for political witch-hunt. More so, where proceeds of corruption are recovered, it is often said that, they are looted again. These are all indicative of the governance challenge or problematic viewed from the country's capacity to control corruption.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, going beyond corruption control, evidence in the country supports the poor performance of government across all other governance indicators. Challenges with voice and accountability, rule of law, regulatory quality, stability and governance effectiveness are hard to miss. Challenges with ensuring voice and it's evident in the opacity with which government business is conducted across the country. A clear example is recent clamours for clarification on the remuneration of Nigerian legislators and the seeming reluctance by legislators to address these clamours. On the rule of law, prior incidents of Nigerian judiciary's inability to convict key government officials accused of corruption, (who were later convicted outside Nigeria) and protracted delays in

judicial processes (especially of corruption-related cases) show a clear deviation from Dicey's principles of the rule of law.

Pervasive security challenges including issues of cultism and sea-piracy in the southsouth, the present secessionist threats in the southeast, and to a limited extent, the southwest, banditry and herder-farmer conflict in the northcentral and northwest, Boko-Haram Insurgency in the northeast, deep-seated intergroup cleavages, protests as evident in the #EndSARS and recently, #EndBadGovernment protests of 2020 and 2024 respectively, are all indicative of the presence of violence and threats to political stability. Poor regulatory quality manifests in the prevalence of substandard products in the country. Lastly, ineffectiveness and inefficiency in governance is evident in the crass wastage of resources and the prevalence of projects abandoned by Nigerian governments across all levels. These issues and problematic are widely documented in the literature, and they point to the poor governance outcomes in the country.

4. DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In my PhD thesis, I associated development to mean a qualitative change and thus improvement on the lives of the people and their environment. It involves man and man alone. It requires skills, techniques, tools and resources which collectively can be put together by man to help attain the desired transformation (Okolo, 2016; Etekpe & Okolo, 2022). Development in this sense refers to the process of economic, social, and political change and/or transformation that leads to improvements in the quality of life for individuals and

communities. It encompasses a wide range of areas, including economic growth, poverty reduction, education, health, and infrastructure. The various forms of development are captured in Figure 3 and explained herein:

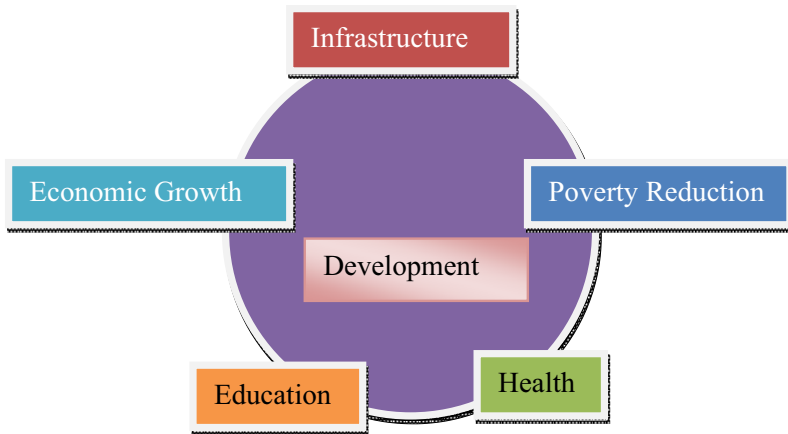


Figure 3: Development Indicators/Elements

Source: Author, 2025.

These elements of development highlighted among others are explained briefly as follows:

- i. **Economic Development:** This includes growth in income, employment opportunities, and overall economic productivity.
- ii. **Social Development:** Focuses on improving social indicators such as health, education, and equality, ensuring that all members of society can access basic services and opportunities.
- iii. **Sustainable Development:** Emphasizes the need for development that meets the needs of the present

without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, often incorporating environmental considerations. This means that sustainable development as implied, sought to protect the physical environment, and largely concerned with the impact of man's activities on the environment (Okolo, 2016).

- iv. Human Development: Centers on enhancing individual capabilities and freedoms, often measured by indicators such as the Human Development Index (HDI), which includes life expectancy, education, and income.
- v. Political Development: Involves the establishment of democratic institutions, rule of law, and respect for human rights, contributing to a stable and just society.

The emphasis in this lecture is on sustainable development. This is because as stated earlier, it allows development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. As I have simply defined it in my PhD thesis, sustainable development implies a balance in the enthronelement of development in the society, and Nigeria in this case (Okolo, 2016).

4.1 The Effects of Corruption on Governance in Nigeria

Taken holistically, the analysis thus far in this Inaugural Lecture and my studies over the years reveals that corruption impedes governance in complex, interrelated ways. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, for this lecture, the followings is highlighted as the ways political corruption trigger governance deficit:

i. Citizens' Disillusionment and Distancing:

Corruption in Nigeria has led to a pervasive sense of disillusionment among citizens regarding their government. When public officials engage in corrupt practices, it diminishes the public's trust in government institutions. Citizens become skeptical of their leaders' intentions, believing that decisions are made for personal gain rather than for the public good. This erosion of trust manifests in lower civic engagement and participation, as people feel their voices are not heard in a system riddled with corruption. Consequently, this disengagement exacerbates the governance deficit, as accountability mechanisms weaken when citizens do not actively participate in the political process.

ii. Weakening of Institutions: Corruption significantly undermines the effectiveness of governmental institutions. In Nigeria, anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) have often been criticized for being politicized and ineffective. Reports indicate that these institutions are sometimes used as tools for political witch-hunts rather than for genuine anti-corruption efforts. This politicization leads to a lack of trust in these agencies, further diminishing their ability to combat corruption effectively.

Moreover, the judiciary, which should serve as a bulwark against corruption, often fails to uphold the rule of law. High-profile cases of corruption frequently result in acquittals or protracted delays, undermining

the legal framework designed to combat such practices. When the judiciary is perceived as ineffective or biased, it emboldens corrupt officials, perpetuating a cycle of impunity that deepens the governance deficit.

iii. Perpetuation of Inequality: Corruption exacerbates social and economic inequalities in Nigeria. Resources meant for public welfare and governance functions are siphoned, resulting in inadequacy of public goods, with an attendant disproportionate effect on the most vulnerable populations. As a result, the gap between the wealthy elite and the impoverished majority widens, leading to social unrest and a lack of social cohesion. The failure to address these inequalities further destabilizes governance structures, as marginalized groups may resort to protests or violence in response to their disenfranchisement.

iv. Discouragement of Investors: corruption has led to a perception that government officials prioritize personal enrichment over public service. This perception not only discourages foreign direct investment (FDI) but also stifles economic growth, as businesses are deterred by the unpredictable regulatory environment and the potential for corrupt practices.

4.2 The Linkage between Governance and Development

Good Governance as a Catalyst for Development: Effective governance can create an enabling environment for development by ensuring that resources are allocated efficiently, policies are implemented effectively, and citizens are engaged in the development process. Successful

development can lead to stronger institutions and better governance practices, as improved living standards and education levels often empower citizens to demand accountability and participation in governance (Etekpe, 2012; Etekpe & Okolo, 2011).

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, this is to say that governance provides the framework and processes through which development can be achieved, while development outcomes can enhance the quality and effectiveness of governance. Both concepts are essential for fostering sustainable and equitable progress in society.

5. SECURITY AND SECURITY SITUATION/INDEX IN NIGERIA

Security is described as state of being safe, while insecurity is the opposite of security. It refers to a lack of safety or the presence of danger, uncertainty, and a lack of trust. It can mean being inadequately protected, unstable, disturbed, or unsafe (Achumba et al., 2013). In simple terms, security can only exist when insecurity is absent. This is to say that security and insecurity represents two sides of one coin (Ijeomah & Wonah, 2022). Insecurity can make people lose trust, feel frightened and unsettled, and can lead to oppression and devastation, causing them to lose focus and their sense of humanity. Adebajoko and Ugwuoke (2014) describe insecurity as being constantly subjected to terror, threats, risks, molestation, bullying, and harassment.

Insecurity can also be seen as a threat to the state, leading to the arms and nuclear weapons race for protection (also see Nweze, 2004). According to the Encarta dictionary (2009), insecurity is a state of being unsafe or insecure, or a state of mind

characterized by self-doubt and vulnerability. Causes of insecurity can include childhood experiences, disturbing situations, mistreatment, and personal fears.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, in relation to Nigeria, the country has been severally regarded as unsafe. In fact, Nigeria is currently ranked 8 on the Global Terrorism Index of 2024. In the 2022 Global Peace Index produced by the Institute for Economics & Peace, Nigeria ranked 143 among 163 independent nations and territories according to its level of peacefulness. As of 2021, the terrorism index in Nigeria indicator stood at 8.23. In the northeast of the country, Boko Haram suffered setbacks this year with the killing of its leader, while in the northwest, both Boko Haram and the Islamic State in West Africa expanded their presence and influence, building ties with local communities, criminal gangs, and herder-affiliated militia (Ijaseun, 2024). Figure 4 captures the security expenditure in relation to casualties of insecurity in Nigeria:

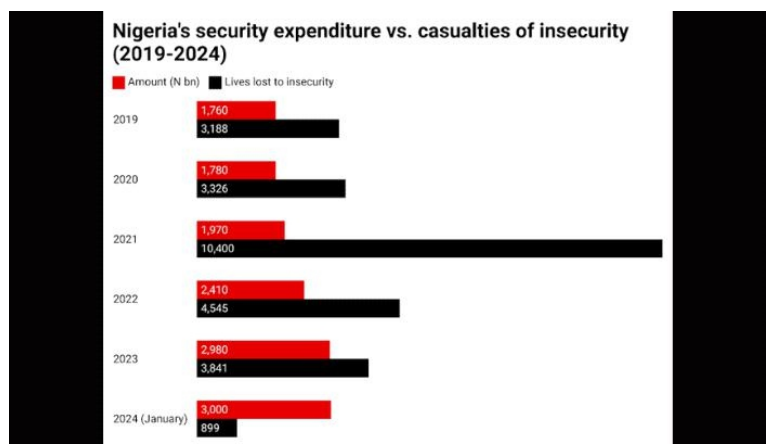


Figure 4: Security Expenditure and Casualties of insecurity in Nigeria
Source: Ijaseun, 2024.

The security landscape of Africa's largest economy is deteriorating rapidly, with each region facing its unique challenges, from cybercrime in the South-West to the Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East. —From 2012 to 2020, we have lost over 70,000 lives to various acts of insecurity, indicating the cost of this violence, a security expert said with kidnappings for ransom becoming increasingly common, the country saw about \$18.34 million paid in ransoms from 2011 to 2020. The economic impact is equally alarming. A study by the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP) reveals that violence has cost Nigeria approximately N50 trillion, significantly impacting its GDP. This amount is three times larger than Nigeria's 2022 budget of N17.127 trillion. Despite spending at least N8 trillion on security measures, the government has failed to curb the crisis (Ijaseun, 2024). Figure 5 and 6 capture Nigeria's level of insecurity:

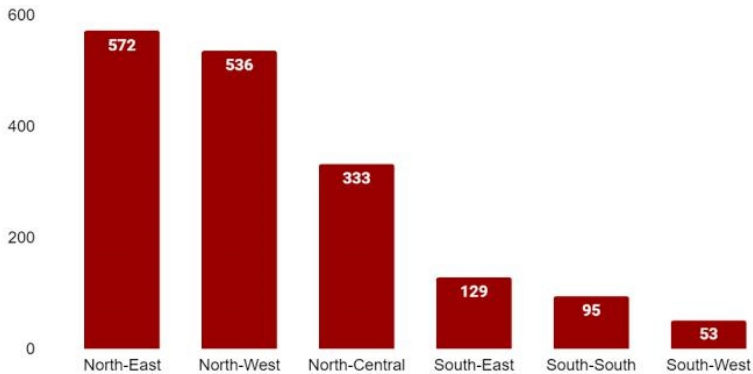


Figure 5: 2024 Insecurity Index in Nigeria
Source: ACLED, 2024.

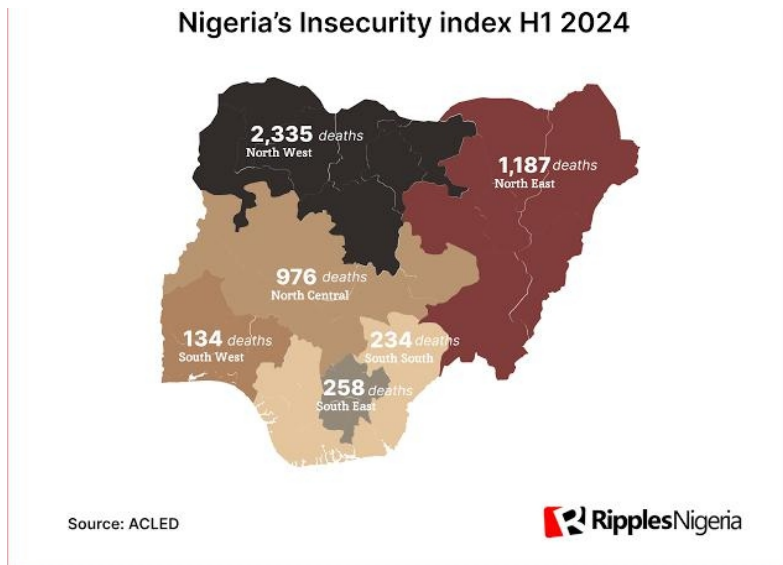


Figure 6: Reported Killing by Zones in Nigeria in 2022
Source: ACLED, 2024.

According to the 2022 third quarter (Q3) media reported killings data published by SBM Intelligence on November 1, a total of 1,718 deaths were reported in 3 months, that is, between July to September. Although the reported deaths in Q3 declined when compared to the 1,833 recorded in the previous quarter, the government needs to do more to ensure the safety of Nigerians, a security expert opines (Amata, 2024).

Vice Chancellor Sir, concerning food security, the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) projected 33.1 million Nigerians to be food insecure in 2025. It is an alarming 7 million people increase from the same period last year, driven by economic hardship, coupled with record high inflation, impacts of climate change and persistent

violence in the northeastern states. Between October and December 2024, 25.1 million people are likely experiencing food insecurity even at the peak of the harvest season. Of this, 3.8 million live in the northeastern states. This number is projected to rise to 5 million (FAO, 2024).

5.1 Insecurity Motivators in Nigeria

Nigeria remains a less developed country, struggling to establish herself among other nations. One major reason for this struggle(s) is the ongoing insurgency and insecurity, which continue to hinder her growth and development. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have identified several causes of insecurity in a number of my works, including Okolo and Boubai (2023), and Okolo and Zideke (2022) The causes of insecurity I have identified include the following:

- i. **Poverty and Unemployment:** Many Nigerians live in poverty and lack job opportunities. This makes it easier for criminal groups to recruit people who are desperate for money and a better life, as the promised made by government always fail fulfillment as expected (Okolo & Karimo, 2017; Okolo & Itu, 2022).
- ii. **Corruption:** Corruption within the government and security agencies weakens efforts to maintain law and order. Funds meant for security are often stolen, leading to poorly equipped and underpaid security personnel (Okolo, 1997).
- iii. **Ethnic and Religious Conflicts:** Nigeria is home to many ethnic groups and religions. Conflicts between these groups often lead to violence and insecurity as different communities fight over resources, land, and

political power (Derik – Ferdinard & Okolo, 2015; Boubai & Okolo, 2024). This therefore has made me to always advocate for the need to resolve such conflicts in most of my works to allow national integration in Nigeria (Okolo et al, 2014).

- iv. **Weak Law Enforcement:** The police and other security forces often lack the resources and training needed to effectively combat crime. This weakness allows criminals to operate with little fear of being caught or punished (Okolo, 1997).
- v. **Political Instability:** Political tensions and power struggles can lead to violence. Politicians sometimes exploit ethnic and religious differences to gain support, which can incite conflict and insecurity. In some cases promotes political party rivalries (see Ndeche et al, 2023; Okolo et al, 2014).
- vi. **Insurgency and Terrorism:** Groups like Boko Haram and the Islamic State West Africa Province carry out terrorist attacks, especially in the northeastern part of the country. These groups aim to destabilize the government and create fear among the population.
- vii. **Poor Education:** Lack of access to quality education leaves many young people without the skills or opportunities to improve their lives. Uneducated youths are more vulnerable to being recruited by criminal and extremist groups (Okolo, 2022; Okaba et al, 2012; Okolo & Karimo, 2016).

- viii. Inequality: There is a significant gap between the rich and the poor in Nigeria. This inequality can breed resentment and lead to criminal activities as people try to improve their situations by any means necessary.
- ix. Inadequate Infrastructure: Poor infrastructure, such as bad roads and limited communication networks, makes it difficult for security forces to respond quickly to incidents of crime and violence.
- x. Border Porosity: Nigeria's borders are not well-secured, allowing illegal arms and criminals to enter the country easily. This contributes to the prevalence of armed groups and criminal activities.

6. THE MYTH OF CORRUPTION, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, corruption, governance, and development are intricately intertwined issues that shape the socio-political and economic landscape of Nigeria. The relationship is like that of spousal relationship in the family level (husband and wife), where proper communication and agreement is required to foster any meaningful development (Awosan et al, 2023a; Awosan et al, 2023b). The narrative surrounding these themes often paints a bleak picture of a nation grappling with systemic and endemic corruption that undermines governance and stifles development. However, this narrative is not merely a reflection of isolated incidents or the actions of a few; it is a complex web of behaviors, practices, and societal norms that perpetuate a cycle of corruption and hinder progress, and sustainability of development efforts in the country (Okolo & Akpokighe, 2014; Okolo, 2016; Agidi & Okolo, 2018; Okolo & Agidi, 2018). See table 5 for details.

Table 5: Consequences of Endemic Corruption-security Nexus on Development of Minority Areas in Nigeria

S/N	Corruption Undermines Peace	Corruption Accelerators of Insecurity
1.	Erosion of the social fabric and social disintegration	Perpetuation of poverty, inequality, and inequitable distribution of resources
2.	Compromised rule of law and government -oil companies quick -fix strategy of conflict management approach	
3.	Prevention of host communities from legitimately benefiting from oil and oil -related venture in the region	Political and economic marginalization that leads to emergency of armed ethnic militias and warlords

Source: Okolo & Etekpe, 2015.

Vice Chancellor Sir, I have deduced from the aggregate of my works, four (4) aspects to look at the myth of corruption, governance and development in Nigeria. See Figure 7:

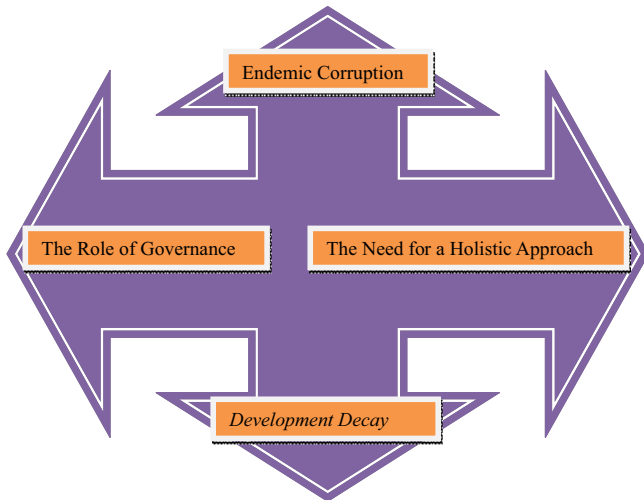


Figure 7: Four Dimensions for Understanding Myth of Corruption, Governance and Development in Nigeria

Source: Author, 2025.

6.1 Endemic Corruption

Corruption in Nigeria is often perceived as a phenomenon primarily associated with political leaders. High-profile cases

of embezzlement, bribery, and misappropriation of public funds dominate the headlines, leading to a widespread belief that the political elites are the primary culprits. While it is undeniable that many politicians engage in corrupt practices, this perspective oversimplifies the issue and overlooks the broader societal context in which corruption thrives.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have identified from my works, including Okolo (1997), Okolo and Akpogighe, (2014), Okolo and Etekpe (2015), and Okolo (2016) that corruption is not solely a top-down problem; it is a pervasive issue and problematic that permeates and transcends various levels/strata of society. From the grassroots to the highest echelons of power, individuals engage in corrupt practices that contribute to the overall malaise. For instance, the phenomenon of vote selling during elections is a glaring example of how citizens themselves can perpetuate corruption. When voters accept monetary inducements in exchange for their votes, they not only undermine the democratic process but also enable corrupt leaders to ascend to power. This creates a vicious cycle where corrupt individuals are rewarded, and the governance system becomes increasingly compromised.

6.2 The Role of Governance

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, governance in Nigeria is often characterized by inefficiency, lack of accountability, and disconnect between the government and the governed. Poor governance creates an environment where corruption can flourish. When institutions are weak, and oversight mechanisms are ineffective, the opportunities for corrupt practices multiply. The lack of transparency in government operations, coupled with inadequate checks and balances, allows corrupt individuals to operate with impunity.

Moreover, the governance structure in Nigeria is often marred by nepotism, favoritism, and a lack of meritocracy. This not only affects the quality of leadership but also discourages honest individuals from participating in public service. When capable and honest individuals are sidelined in favour of those who engage in corrupt practices, the overall governance system suffers, leading to a decline in public trust and confidence. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, it was out of my intentions toward ensuring good governance, particularly in the electoral system in Nigeria, and beyond that I have met with several persons discuss critical issues, including the former INEC Chairman, Prof. Attahiru M. Jega, and high profiled electoral officers in Mali while on my mission for election observation and monitoring, as captured in Plate 4 and 5:



Plate 4: Philips O. Okolo and Former INEC Chairman, Prof. Attahiru M. Jega

Source: Author, 2025.



Plate 5: Philips O. Okolo and the Head of CENI (INEC), Mali
Source: Author, 2025.

6.3 Development Decay

The impact of corruption on development in Nigeria is profound. Corruption diverts resources away from essential services such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure. When public funds are embezzled or mismanaged, the consequences are felt most acutely by the most vulnerable segments of society. The lack of investment in critical areas stifles economic growth and exacerbates poverty, creating a cycle of underdevelopment that is difficult to break.

Furthermore, Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, corruption undermines the rule of law and perpetuates social inequality. When individuals can buy their way out of legal consequences or

secure government contracts through bribery, it creates a sense of injustice and disenfranchisement among the populace. These not only fuels resentment but also erodes the social fabric of the nation, leading to increased tensions and conflict/insecurity.

6.4 The Need for a Holistic Approach

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, addressing the issues of corruption, governance, and development in Nigeria requires a multifaceted approach. It is essential and absolutely pivotal to recognize at this juncture that corruption is not solely the responsibility of political leaders; it is a societal issue that requires collective action. Citizens must be educated about the importance of integrity and the long-term consequences of corrupt practices. This includes fostering a culture of accountability and encouraging civic engagement to hold leaders accountable.

Strengthening institutions and governance frameworks is also crucial. This involves implementing robust anti-corruption measures, enhancing transparency in government operations, and ensuring that public officials are held accountable for their actions. Additionally, promoting good governance practices, such as participatory decision-making and community involvement, can help bridge the gap between the government and the people.

This is to say that the myth of corruption, governance, and development in Nigeria is a complex narrative (paradox) that requires a nuanced understanding. While political leaders often bear the brunt of blame, it is essential to recognize that corruption is a societal issue that involves the complicity of

various actors. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, by addressing the root causes of corruption, strengthening governance structures, and promoting a culture of integrity, Nigeria can begin to break the cycle of corruption and pave the way for sustainable development. Only through collective action and a commitment to positive change can the nation hope to overcome the challenges that have long hindered its progress and prosperity.

7. NIGERIA IS SECURE: A PARADIGM SHIFT IN PERSPECTIVE

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, the question of security in Nigeria is often met with a resounding "no." It is always in the negative direction. That is to say that Nigeria is not secure. This perception is fueled by a myriad of challenges, including terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, and communal clashes-conflicts (Okolo, 2016c). However, to understand the complexities of Nigeria's security landscape, it is essential, and absolutely pivotal to delve deeper into the underlying issues (variables) that contribute to this insecurity. Corruption, poor governance, and developmental challenges are intricately linked to the security situation in the country. Therefore, the path to a more secure Nigeria lies not only in addressing these systemic issues but also in fostering a culture of accountability and civic responsibility among its citizens.

7.1 The Security Landscape in Nigeria

Nigeria's security challenges are multifaceted. The rise of Boko Haram in the northeast, the activities of herdsmen in the Middle Belt, and the rampant banditry in the northwest have created a climate of fear and instability. These issues are exacerbated by a lack of trust in law enforcement agencies, which are often

perceived as corrupt and ineffective. The Nigerian military, while making strides in combating insurgency, faces criticism for human rights abuses and a lack of transparency.

Moreover, Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, the socio-economic conditions in Nigeria contributes and plays a significant role in the security crisis. High unemployment rates, poverty, and a lack of access to quality education create a fertile ground for criminal activities. Young people, feeling disenfranchised and hopeless, are often lured into joining militant groups or engaging in criminal enterprises. In the other way round, when manifestations of insecurity, such as uncertainties, fear, and dangers prevails in a country like Nigeria, social, economic activities and/or development comes to standstill. This disruption brings long-term developmental setbacks (Uwuseba, 2025). Thus, the question of security cannot be divorced from the broader socio-economic and political contexts.

7.2 The Role of Corruption

Corruption is a significant impediment to security in Nigeria. It permeates every level of government and society, undermining public trust and eroding the effectiveness of institutions. Resources that could be allocated to security, education, and healthcare are often siphoned off by corrupt officials. This misallocation of resources not only hampers the government's ability to address security challenges but also fuels public discontent and unrest.

For instance, Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, the Nigerian military has been severely accused of misappropriating funds meant for the procurement of equipment and training. This has led to a

situation where troops are ill-equipped to face well-armed insurgents. Furthermore, corruption within the Nigeria police force has resulted in a lack of accountability and a culture of impunity, where criminals operate with little fear of repercussions.

7.3 Governance and Sustainable Development

Good governance is crucial for achieving security in Nigeria. Effective governance entails transparency, accountability, and the rule of law. When citizens perceive their government as legitimate and responsive to their needs, they are more likely to cooperate with law enforcement and support initiatives aimed at enhancing security.

Development is equally important. Addressing the root causes of insecurity requires a comprehensive approach that includes economic development, education, and social services. By investing in infrastructure, creating jobs, and providing quality education, the government can reduce the allure of criminal activities and empower citizens to contribute positively to society.

7.4 The Role of Citizens

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, while the government bears the primary responsibility for ensuring security, citizens also play a crucial role. Individual actions can either contribute to or mitigate insecurity. Promoting a culture of integrity, accountability, and civic responsibility is essential. Citizens must hold their leaders accountable and demand transparency in governance. This can be achieved through active participation in the democratic process, advocacy for anti-corruption measures, and community engagement.

Moreover, citizens can contribute to security by fostering social cohesion and promoting peace within their communities. Initiatives that encourage dialogue and understanding among different ethnic and religious groups can help to reduce tensions and prevent conflicts. Grassroots movements that advocate for justice and equality can also play a significant role in creating a more secure environment.

7.5 My Vision for a Secure Nigeria

Vice Chancellor Sir, to envision a secure Nigeria, a multi-faceted approach is necessary. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, my well researched work with Professor Ambily Etekpe on —Value Re-Orientation Policy Option for Sustainable Development in the Niger Delta in 2014 is a clear evidence of my interest in a “Secure Nigeria”. We have proffered several measures by which the vision of secure Nigeria can be realised. These include:

- i. **Strengthening Institutions:** Building robust institutions that are accountable and transparent is crucial. This involves reforming the police and military to ensure they are well-equipped, trained, and held accountable for their actions.
- ii. **Combating Corruption:** Implementing stringent anti-corruption measures and promoting a culture of integrity within both public and private sectors is essential. This can be achieved through the establishment of independent anti-corruption agencies and the enforcement of laws that punish corrupt practices.
- iii. **Promoting Good Governance:** Ensuring that governance is participatory and inclusive will help to build trust between the government and citizens. This

includes engaging citizens in decision-making processes and ensuring that their voices are heard.

- iv. Investing in Development: Prioritizing economic development, education, and healthcare will address the root causes of insecurity. This includes creating job opportunities, improving quality education as well as providing social services to meet needs of the populace.
- v. Encouraging Civic Engagement: Citizens must be encouraged to take an active role in their communities. This includes participating in local governance, advocating for their rights, and promoting peace and understanding among different groups.

8. MY CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, the list of my contributions to both humanity and academia are vast, and may need full book publication to be contained. However, few can be mentioned in this lecture. For about twenty years, My Vice Chancellor Sir, I have directed my academic attention towards addressing issues of corruption, governance, development and security in the oil driven economy in Africa, Nigeria, and the Niger Delta in particular. In this regard, Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have published over one hundred and eighty, if not about two hundred (200) publications, which is a huge contribution to knowledge.

- In my undergraduate project, I addressed corruption in Nigeria, from the perspective of the Nigerian Police Force. In this work, I researched on the Nigerian Police Force and established how the Police that has the basic objective to maintain peace has turnout to pose threat to the development of Nation, due to excessive

corruption. Mr. Vice Chancellor, my aim to successfully carryout this study, as a key contribution to knowledge that prompt my voluntary withdrawal/retirement from the Nigerian Police Force.

- My work on “Corruption and Post 2015 Development Agenda in Nigeria” examined the impediments corruption pose on Nigeria's economy. I have established corruption in Nigeria is endemic in all facets and it has continued to challenge the goals of sustainability of development efforts in all ramifications. I provided explanations on the corruption variable in the country, its negative impacts, consequences and impediments towards the country's match to economic recovery in post 2015 and the sustenance of development efforts (Okolo, 2016).
- Still on corruption, my work on "Petro-Economy and Corruption in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and Lessons for the Future" have also contributed enormously to extant literature. In this work, the nature, determinants, manifestations and beneficiaries (collaborators/perpetrators) of petro-economy corruption, as well as measure its impacts on the national economy, governance and society were contributed to the academia. I have established a strong linkage between economic factors and corruption, and the need for the establishment of special courts to stamp out petro-economy corruption in Nigeria (Okolo & Etekpe, 2015).

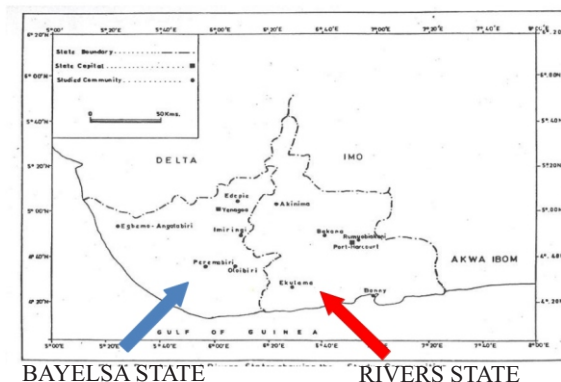
- Myself and Akpokighe in 2014, researched on Corruption in Nigeria, with the aim to devise possible way out. The article titled "Corruption in Nigeria: The Possible Way Out" pointed out the fact that corruption is alien to Africa and that a sizable number of African pre-colonial nations – states like Nigeria and others were founded on strong ethical values ensuring social justice and compliance. We identified non – conformity religious tenets, values, culture, ethnicity, favoritisms, nepotism and weak legal systems among others as the causes of corruption in Nigeria. We also found four factors as the costs of corruption in the country:
 - a. Political;
 - b. Economic;
 - c. Social; and,
 - d. Environmental factors.

The possible way out we established in this paper are still extant till date. These are restoration of indigenous values and institutions; formal, informal and non-formal education; religion as a nation building institution; promotion of the —African nation state; Nigerians must be encouraged, motivated and facilitated to travel widely; strengthening of anti-graft institutions: strong antigraft institutions are a necessity across Nigeria state, as in any other part of the world; the need for the establishment of anti corruption court; the EFCC need leadership that commands legitimacy, which will enable them to assert their independence and build the integrity with its rank and file; and economic growth. These are clearly captured in the slate on Figure 8:

1. Restoration of indigenous values and institutions 2. Formal, Informal and non-formal Education 3. Religion as a nation building institution 4. Promotion of the "African" nation state: 5. Nigerians must be encouraged, motivated and facilitated to travel widely	6. Strengthening of anti-graft institutions: Strong antigraft institutions are a necessity across Nigeria state, as in any other part of the world 7. The need for the establishment of anti corruption court 8. The EFCC need leadership that commands legitimacy, which will enable them to assert their independence and build the integrity with its rank and file 9. Economic growth
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Figure 8: The Possible Way-out for Corruption in Nigeria
 Author, Compiled from Okolo and Akpokighe, 2014.

- Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, though, I am not a geographer, but I have designed a cartographical map that shows study Communities in Bayelsa and Rivers States as captured in Figure 9. This map has being cited widely in the literature, which is a large contribution to academics.



Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have also instigated an facilitated the signing of Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) between Niger Delta University and National Defence College of Nigeria; and between Niger Delta University and the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution at the Presidency to foster collaborations in addressing security concerns in the country, and the world at large. The signing of these MoUs is captured in Plate 6 and Plate 7:



Plate 6: Philips O. Okolo, VC of NDU, Prof. Allen A. Agih, Registrar of NDU, Mr. Benjamin Joffa, and Provost of Nigerian Defense College (NDC), Prof. Adam Okene Ahmed on signing of MoU between NDU and NDC.



Plate 7: Prof. Philips O. Okolo and DG/ CEO, Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Dr. Joseph Ochogwu.
Source: Author, 2025.

As part of my contributions to our University, Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have single handedly developed two (2) curriculums. (i) the Institute of Peace and Security Studies (IPSS); (PGD, M.Sc, and PhD programme) and (ii) Diploma in Local Government Studies, Department of Political Science in conjunction of Institute of Continuous Education (ICE).

I have also facilitated the donations of Eight hundred (800) volumes of books, and hospital equipment valued at over Two hundred and fifty million (250,000,000.00) Naira only from Canada for the development of our Niger Delta University through our benefactor Rear Admiral T.J. Lokoson. I have captured this herein in Plate 8:



Plate 8: Prof. Philips O. Okolo captured with Rear Admiral Thomas, J. Lokoson, Prof. Humphery Ogoni (Former VC) in the Process of Donating Volumes of books and Hospital Equipment to NDU

Source: Author, 2025.

I have also made a collaborative effort with the Institute of African Studies and Sprott School of Business, Carleton University as part of the African Knowledge, Natural Resource Governance and Innovation. The collaboration was for the development of indigenous communities Africa is most marginalised, focusing on youth career, employment and Entrepreneurship opportunities in Africa. Sir, I recommended the Niger Delta, particularly the Ijaws as indigenous people in Nigeria that are marginalized to benefit from the collaboration. Out of the collaboration, I have contributed to academic knowledge (in furtherance of the collaboration) by developing an open access research publication titled —Youth Perspectives on Entrepreneurship and Employment in Indigenous Communities among the Ijaws in Nigeria which was published in Canada by the collaborators. Also, as S.S.A to Bayelsa State Government, on Public Private Partnership (PPP), I negotiated agreement with African Development Bank for development purposes in Bayelsa State. See Plate 9 and 10

for photographs capturing the collaboration and PPP negotiation efforts by Prof. Philips Okolo:



Plate 9: Prof. Philips O. Okolo on Collaboration with the Institute of African Studies and Sprott School of Business, Carleton University as part of the African Knowledge, Natural Resource Governance and Innovation for the development of indigenous communities Africa, Particularly the Niger Delta (Ijaws) in Nigeria.

Source: Author, 2025.



Plate 10: Prof. Philips O. Okolo (as S.S.A to Bayelsa State Government on Public Private Partnership - PPP), Negotiating Development Agreement Powered by African Development Bank.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have also led a team to win a trophy for our University in an inter-university debate competition. The debate involved several universities, in Departments of Political Science, including Niger Delta University, University of Port Harcourt, Federal University Otuoke, and Ignatius Ajuru University of Education. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, the team I led from the Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University emerge first position and brought the Cup to the University. The Cup is in the VC's office till date. See Plate 10 for photographs:

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, it will interest you to note that. I funded the expenses without any contribution from the university.



Plate 11: Philips O. Okolo Presenting the Cup to VC, NDU, Humphrey Ogoni, in the presence of Profs. Samuel Gowon Edoumiekumo the then Dean FSS, Ambily Etekpe, Ibaba S. Ibaba, and others.

Source: Author, 2025.

In my contribution to the humanity and national development, I have delivered several public lectures; and granted numerous media invitations/interviews to discuss and provide solutions to topical issues on development, corruption, security, public administration and good governance in Bayelsa State, Nigeria, and the World at large. Plate 11 and 12 captures a few photographs in that regard:



Plate 12: Prof. Philips O. Okolo Delivering Public Lectures on Topical Issues for National Development in Nigeria, and Beyond.

Source: Author, 2025.



Plate 13: Prof. Philips O. Okolo on media Discussing Topical Issues for National Development in Nigeria, and Beyond.

Source: Author, 2025.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I have made several other contributions to both humanity and academia, including successfully supervising inmates in Okaka, Bayelsa and Enugu Maximum Correctional Centres-Prison (undergraduate and postgraduate levels). However, these few are highlighted for the purpose of this lecture; as other contributions wait for full book publication.

As part of my contributions, I have interfaced with high profiled dignitaries, including Former President His Excellency , President Olusengu Obasanjo, and the then National Security Adviser, Aliyu Mohammed Gusau in 1999 as captured in Plate 14, for the emancipation of Ijaw Nation. This, and other efforts culminated to the establishment of NDDC.



Plate 14: Prof. Philips O. Okolo interfacing with His Excellency, President Olusengu Obasanjo and National Security Adviser, Aliyu Mohammed Gusau in 1999 for Emancipation of Ijaw Nation.
Source: Newswatch, 21th June, 1999

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, permit me to conclude this section by highlighting my impact factor on Google Scholar, Research Gate, and World Scientists and University Ranking where I am captured as number one (No. 1) Political Scientist in our esteemed Niger Delta University, as at 12th July, 2025 as displayed in Plate 15:

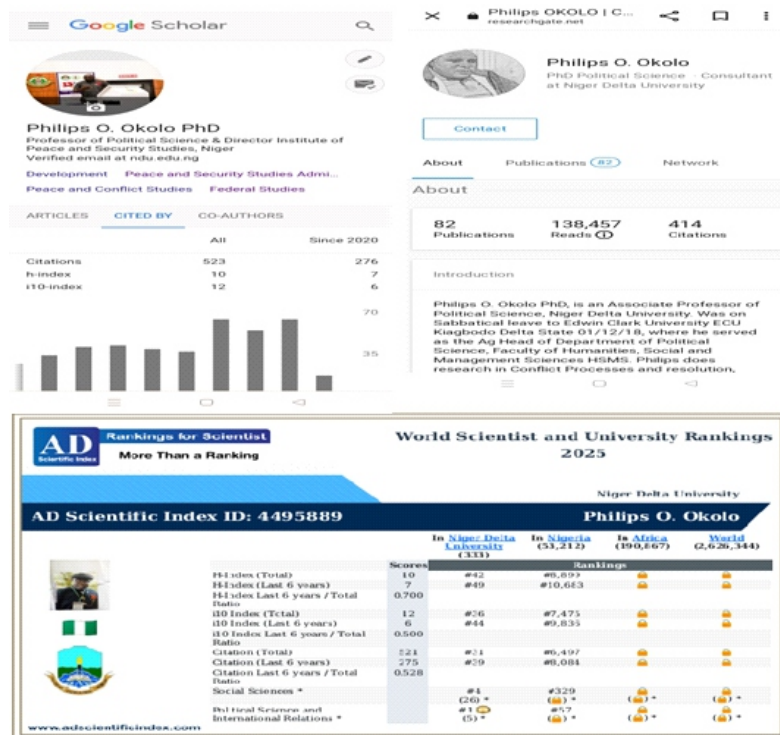


Plate 15: Prof. Philips O. Okolo's Impact Factor on Google Scholar, Research Gate, and World Scientists and University Ranking.

As captured in Plate 15, Mr. Vice Chancellor sir, I have a High Index Score of 10, i10 total Index score of 12, and total citation of 523.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, and distinguished guests, we have just listened to my story or rather testament on "Corruption, Governance and Development, in view of Nigeria's security prospects". This lecture has presented a critical examination of the intricate relationship(s) between corruption, governance, and development, in relation to security in Nigeria. It underscores the pervasive nature of corruption as a significant impediment to effective governance and sustainable development in the country. The lecture highlights that corruption not only erodes public trust in institutions but also diverts resources meant for public welfare, thereby exacerbating poverty and inequality.

The discussion emphasised that for Nigeria to achieve her developmental goals, she must confront the challenges posed by corruption head-on. The lecture articulates that good governance, characterized by transparency, accountability, and the rule of law, is essential for fostering an environment conducive to development. It posits that without addressing the root causes of corruption, efforts to promote economic growth and social progress shall remain futile.

Furthermore, the lecture drew attention to the role of civil society, the media, and international organizations in combating corruption and promoting good governance. It advocates for a multi-stakeholder approach that involves government, private sector, and citizens working collaboratively to create a culture of integrity and accountability. The need for strong institutions and robust legal frameworks to enforce anti-corruption measures is also emphasized, alongside the importance of political will in driving reforms, on which Nigeria can be secured.

10. MY RECOMMENDATIONS/POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, based on the insights gleaned from this lecture, and the conclusion drawn, I have highlighted a few recommendations and/or policy suggestions to enhance governance and development for a better security prospects in Nigeria:

- i. **Strong Institutions:** The need for strong institutions is paramount in this context, as they serve as the backbone of governance. Vice Chancellor Sir, the pressing issues of corruption, development, and security in Nigeria require strong institutions to address effectively. Strong institutions are characterized by their ability to operate independently, enforce laws impartially, and uphold the principles of transparency and accountability. They are essential for implementing policies that combat corruption, promote good governance, and ensure the equitable distribution of resources. The establishment of robust institutions can help create a culture of integrity, where public officials are held accountable for their actions, and citizens feel empowered to participate in governance processes.
- ii. **Strengthening Anti-Corruption Institutions:** In affiliation to the first recommendation, the Nigerian government should prioritize the strengthening of anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). This includes providing adequate funding, training, and resources to enable

these institutions to operate effectively and independently.

- iii. **Promoting Transparency and Accountability:** Implementing policies that promote transparency in government operations is crucial. This can be achieved through the adoption of open government initiatives, public access to information, and the establishment of whistleblower protection laws to encourage reporting of corrupt practices without fear of retaliation.
- iv. **Enhancing Civic Engagement:** Civil society organizations and the media should be empowered to play a more active role in monitoring government activities and holding public officials accountable. This can be facilitated through partnerships, capacity-building programs, and funding support for investigative journalism and advocacy initiatives.
- v. **Education and Awareness Campaigns:** A national campaign aimed at educating citizens about the detrimental effects of corruption and the importance of good governance should be launched. This can help foster a culture of integrity and encourage citizens to demand accountability from their leaders.
- vi. **Judicial Reforms:** The judicial system must be reformed to ensure that it is efficient, impartial, and capable of delivering justice in corruption cases. This includes training judges and legal practitioners on anti-corruption laws and ensuring that cases are adjudicated in a timely manner.

- vii. International Collaboration: Nigeria should engage in international partnerships to combat corruption, including sharing best practices, participating in global anti-corruption initiatives, and seeking technical assistance from international organizations.
- viii. Economic Diversification: To reduce the dependency on oil revenues, which are often susceptible to corruption, Nigeria should pursue economic diversification strategies that promote sustainable development across various sectors, including agriculture, technology, and tourism.
- ix. Political Will and Leadership Commitment: Ultimately, the success of anti-corruption efforts hinges on the political will of leaders at all levels. There must be a commitment to prioritizing governance reforms and a willingness to make difficult decisions that may challenge entrenched interests.

My Vice Chancellor Sir, addressing corruption and governance dilemma in Nigeria for better security prospects is not merely a matter of policy but a fundamental necessity for the country's future. Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I advocate for an effective, efficient and judicious application and/or use of our common resources. If we adhere to these few measures, Nigeria shall pave the way for a more transparent, accountable, and prosperous society, ultimately securing its development trajectory and enhancing the well-being of its citizens.

I think by now, it has become apparent that I have whispered profoundly to my Vice Chancellor and this cerebral academic

audience, what I discovered in the forest of academia. Let me now borrow the words of our Pro-chancellor/Chairman of Governing Council, NDU, Mr. Matthew Seiyefa, Mni “I am done”.

Thanks a zillion for listening and God bless us all.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Mr. Vice Chancellor sir, my academic sojourn owes tremendous debt of gratitude to my supervisors (at Ph.D., M.A., and B.Sc. levels) – Profs. Andrew Ohwona of blessed memory, and Victor. E. Clark of Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Delta State University Abraka, for their immeasurable support, encouragement, guidance and very prompt attention given to my Ph.D. research work. Without their collective concerns, the completion of my thesis would not have been possible on records time. I also want to knowledge my M.A. supervisor, Emeritus Prof. Layi Egunjobi, of the Department of Geography, Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Social Sciences, University Ibadan. My Vice Chancellor sir, the appreciation in relation to my M.A. supervision and/or Degree will be incomplete, if Prof. Chris Ikporukpo who later became part of the process is not acknowledged. Prof. Ikporukpo also became my Ph.D. supervisor in Peace and Conflict Studies (Environmental Conflict) at the University of Ibadan (UI), Ibadan Nigeria. He later became VC in the Niger Delta University. I must accord special gratitude to my B.Sc. project supervisor, Prof. Kimse A. B. Okoko, who was the Former President of INC, and incidentally was the HoD in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies during my research. He was also the Chairman of the Governing Council at the time of my appointment in the Niger Delta University.

I owe remarkable gratitude to the Chairman of the Governing Council, Barr. Matthew Seiyefa, Mni, who was also my course mate at UI; and the Vice Chancellor of our esteemed Niger Delta University, Prof. Allen Agih, for the opportunity to present this Inaugural Lecture. He is indeed a good friend and

elder brother. I also acknowledge the dependable DVCs, Profs. Tonbarapagha Kingdom (Administration) and Jonah Akekere (Academics). I want to also appreciate our Registrar & Secretary to the Council, NDU, Mr. Benjamin Joffa, the Bursar Dr. Bulouembele Yalah, and the University Librarian, Dr. Biokuromoye Fyneman Equally, my thanks goes to former Vice Chancellors, Niger Delta University, Prof. John C. Busiri, Prof. Humphrey A. Ogoni, and my friend and brother, Prof. Samuel Akpoebi Gowon Edoumiekumo (SAGE) of blessed memory, may his gentle soul rest in perfect peace continually, in Jesus Christ name. Amen.

I like to acknowledge my very highly esteemed Professors, Yemi Osinbanjo, GCON (Former, Vice-President) & all members of VPYO, Ambily Etekpe, Fidelis Allen Okolo, Benjamin O. Okaba (President of INC), Henry E. Alapiki, Edet M. Abasiokong, (Emeritus Prof.) Olufemi Otubanjo, Neto Emiemokumor, Ken Okiomgbo, Kenneth E. Eni, W. E. Brubai, Timothy Epidi, Akpoebi Egumu, Peter Ayunku, Robert Dode (DVC Dennis Osadobe University), Ben Binebai (the Orator, NDU), Aloysious M. Okolie (VC Enugu State University of Science and Technology, & immediate past President of NPSA), Gerald Ezirim of UNN, Hassan Saliu (current President of NPSA), Eugene N. Nweke, Dokun O. P. Oyeshola, Yahaya Baba (Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto), Philip Agbebaku (AAU), Celestine Bassey (UNICAL), George Atelhe (UNICAL), Solomon Ebobrah (VC University of Africa, Toru-orua), Barclays Ayakoroma (DVC University of Africa), Beke Toubokeye Sesse (Commissioner for Agriculture, Bayelsa state), Innocent Apreoku and those in the University of Ibadan, Isaac Olawole Albert, Eghosa E. Osaghae (Director-General NIIA), A. Iwara, O. B. C. Nwolise, Johnson N. Nna (Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Uniport), John Yeseibo (Dean Faculty of Art Uniport), Prof. O. C.

Nworgu, Timothy Nte, Kiale Nyiayaana, Allison Oguru (former SSG, Bayelsa State), Koku Obiyai, Abdu Abdulrasheed (Chairman, NDU Plagiarism Committee), Pere Tiemo (Director, NDU Publishers Ltd), Samuel Ojo Oloruntoba (of the Institute of African Studies, Carleton University, Canada), Rev. (Dr.) S. T. Appah (University Chaplain, NDU), and a host of other distinguished scholars for encouraging me.

I express my profound appreciation to former Vice Chancellor Prof. V. F. Peretomode; the current Vice Chancellor, Samuel O. Asagba; Dean of Postgraduate School, Prof. Sunny Awhefeada; Former Dean, Faculty of The Social Sciences, Prof. Christian Ewruhjakpor of the Delta State University (DELSU). I also owe gratitude to Prof. A. S. Akpotor and Prof. Atare Otite of blessed memory, Prof. A. Mukoro, Prof. C. N. Ikeoji, Prof. W. Ewherieme, Prof. F. A. Sanubi, Prof. K. B. O. Ejumudo, Dr. R. O. Aboribo, Prof. Laz Atemike, Prof. O. P. Okereka, Prof. Akpomuvie Benedict, Dr. Vincent Efebeh, Dr. Francis Ikenga, Mr. Benson and all other members of staff of the Department of Political Science, Delta State University, Abraka. I like to acknowledge the founder of Edwin Clark University, Kiagbodo, Chief. (Sen.) Edwin Kiagbodo Clark of blessed memory, the pioneer VC, Prof. T.O. Olagbemiro, former Acting Prof. Samuel Ugbolue, the current VC, Prof. Samuel T. Wara and the entire staff and students of Edwin Clark University, Kiagbodo, where I became visiting Professor on part-time since the year 2022.

Not forgetting my ASUU family, beginning with former President, Comr. (Prof.) Abiodun Oguyemi; the current president, Comr. (Prof.) Christopher Piwuna, who we elected few months ago at Benin City; Comr. (Prof.) Austin Sado (current vice president, ASUU); Comr. (Prof.) Emmanuel

Osedeke(immediate past president, ASUU); Comr. (Prof.) George Genyi and his wife Comr. (Prof.) Mrs. Member George-Genyi; Comr. (Prof.) Dennis N. Aribodor; Comr. (Prof.) Euhcaria Nwanchi; Comr. (Prof.) Alghaffa Amaoka Abdelmalik; Comr. (Prof.) Suleiman Abdul; Comr. (Dr.) Happiness Uduk; and our own Comr. (Prof.) Stanley Ogoun; Prof. Bina Odogu; Comr. (Prof.) Christine Odi; Comr. (Prof.) Mercy Orukari; and our Chairperson, ASSU NDU, Engr. Dr. (Comr.) Lucky Bebetedor, his executive, and all members of ASUUNDU.

I owe a tremendous debt of appreciation to Chief Diepreye Peter Solomon Alamieyeseigha, (Ph.D.) J.P., the first Executive Governor of Bayelsa State of Nigeria. He granted me an overseas academic sponsorship grant through the Bayelsa State Scholars Board to pursue and MBA degree in Human Resources/Research Risk and Crises Management at the University of Sheffield, U.K. Although, I was refused VISA to U. K. to embark upon my studies, which prompted my redirection to University of Ibadan. It is in this light that I will remain ever grateful to the University of Ibadan for granting me the opportunity to fulfill my heart desire and capacity.

Specific appreciation goes to my friends Benson Dunu, PhD (Dean, Student Affairs, UAT); Engr. Solomon Agwana (CEO Marine Energy Nigeria Ltd and Atron Oil & Gas Ltd, and current Chairman, PDP, Bayelsa State); His Excellency (Senator) Lawrence Ewhrujakpo (Deputy Governor, Bayelsa State); His Excellency Hon. Peremobowei Ebebi (Former Deputy Governor, Bayelsa State); Sen. Heineken Lokpobiri PhD (Minister of State for Petroleum Resources-Oil); His Excellency Sen. Henry Seriaki Dickson (former Governor of Bayelsa State & Senator representing Bayelsa West Senatorial District); His Excellency Amb. Godknows Bolade Igali PhD;

Rt Hon. Fred Agbedi (Member House Reps, reprenting Sagbama-Ekeremor Federal Constituency); Hon. (Chief) Robert Enougha Ayala (MD/CEO Ayala Group of Companies); Mr. Lawson Ayakoroma (CEO, Lawson Ayakoroma Educational Foundation), Prof. Steve Azaiki (former Chairman of Governing Council, NDU); Late Chief (Barr.) F. F. Egele (SAN) and members of Egele & Egele Chambers, Justice J. Egele of the Customary Court of Appeal, Bayelsa State. Other very important friends include Rear Admiral T.J. Lokoson (former Commandant of the Nigerian Defense College-NDC); His Excellency, Admiral Gboribiogha John Jonah (Former Deputy Governor of Bayelsa State), Prof. Sylva Opuala Charles; Prof. Adam Okene Ahmed (Provost of NDC); Prof. Mike Ozekhome (SAN); HRH (Prof.) Nabo Thomas-Akor (AIG-Intelligent); HRH Bokumo Orukari; Chief Joseph Akedesuo; Prof. W. Ganagana; Prof. Sunday D. Abraye; Prof. Prince Ebiowei Kainga; Prof. Odingowei Kwokwo; Dr. Joseph Ochogwu (DG/ CEO, Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution); Prof. Peter Eregbale; Prof. Mienbi Wankasi; Prof. Samuel Opeyimi Iroye of NOUN; Dr. Basil Ibebunjo of NOUN; Mr. Azana Azazi; Paul Young-Harry; Engr. Olanite Ahmed; Dr. Richard Addah; Prof. Obari Osaro (Yelei); Ibrahim Dasan of the Nigerian Defence College; Dr. Charles Alfred; Engr. T. Z. Osubo (MD T.O Zaria & Co. Nig. Ltd); Hon. Selekebina Saboh (MD/CEO Seles & Seles Global Ltd); Rt. Hon. Obolo Bubo (former speaker Bayelsa State House of Assembly); Arch. Rueben Okoya; Supol Ondo Gbekumo (retired); Associate Prof. Lasisi Raimi; Hon. Aaron Alukpa; Barr. Tesufa Alex Dumbo; Mr. Maxwell Embeleyi Ebibai (Commissioner for Finance, Bayelsa State); Dr. & Mrs. James Neminebor; Sir Abel Opuene (Director, DOCERAD); Dr. Ebiwari Warriwei; Ben Benikama; Mr. & Mrs. Kingdom Jojo; Mr. & Mrs. Cliff Onegiyefa Ipalimote; Sunny Ofehe; Jeph Agwana, who bought my B.Sc. Admission form to study in the

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Let me use this opportunity to acknowledge my school mates (primary, secondary, Nigerian Police Training School, UI, Uniport, and Delsu): Smart Ayama (my senior prefect in primary school); Boyekedou Ekerefi; Pleasure Kromiengha; Akpoabomoere Jacklin Marine (Yabuku); Reuben Ariso (Director, DSS Ekiti State); Major General Akposeye Egbejule (Army headquarters Abuja); Dagogo Edmonson; Pastor Areprekumo; my brother from another mother, Dr. Matthew Ojo; Olumuryiwa Adejobi (current spokesman of NPF-PPRP at Police Headquarters Abuja); Undie Adie (DIG retired); Ass. Prof. Adeola Adams (TJ-class captain at my Masters Programme); Dr. Famous Ibru Okpako; Dr. Harriet Efanodor; Dr. Pally Agidi; Mrs. Grace Alagua (P.S. Ministry of Sports Development, Bayelsa State); Alabo Nengi James (O.O.N., who founded the Bayelsa Youth Federation); Barr. Justice Amadi; Mike Mboye (Director of NAN-retired); Frank A.

Njoku (MD Fano Int'l Ltd); and my several other school mates whose names are not captured herein.

My Vice Chancellor sir, permit me to acknowledge my immediate family in this University, starting with my highly regarded Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Prof. Nkereuwem S. Ekpenyong, and all Heads of Department in the Faculty, particularly, the HoD Department of Political Science, Dr. Olawari D. J. Egbe. Others include Chief Isaac Kumoko (Member, Governing Council, NDU), Profs. Christian O. Opukri, Ibaba S. Ibaba, Preye K. Inokoba, Iyabrade Ikporukpo (my brother from another mother) and Jude Cocodia, Drs. Tubodenyefa Zibima, P. G. O. Odondiri, Fie D. Dan-Woniowei, Johnson S. Alalibo (the Resident Electoral Commissioner-REC Cross River State), Best Jim-Ogbolo, B. G. Ibani, Fidelis A. E. Paki, (Mrs.) Stella Embelakpo Ogroh, (Mrs) Pamela Danimighan, (Mrs.) F. Agara, Anthony Rufus and Epowedei I. Koko; and Micah H. Godbless, Okoro Charles, Dr. Ukiye Moses Ugo and late Dr. P. D. Johnny. I equally acknowledge the members of my Faculty: Prof. T. P. Okomoko, Prof. ThankGod Apere, Prof. Michael Baghebo, Prof. Odafivwotu Ohwo, Prof. Eliot Sibiri, Prof. Erebagha Ingiabuna, Prof. Lawrence Udisi, Dr. Michael Ayibanua Amaegberi, Dr. Undutimi Dudafa; Dr. Meshach Ojile, Dr. Moris Odubo (former Registrar NDU), Dr. Anderson Nikade, Dr. Wisdom Kurokeyi, Dr. Eteimowei Major, Dr. Ebierinyo A. Akarara; and all other members (teaching & non-teaching staff) of the Department and Faculty, and all postgraduate and undergraduate students I have been privileged to lecture and/or supervise both in and outside NDU.

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Grace Int'l Church; Bishop Peter Leghemo and his wife Dr. (Mrs.) Grace Leghemo; the President of the Men's fellowship, Barr. G. T. Deindomo PhD & his executive; Comrade Nathaniel Kaka, Hon. Jonathan R. Obuebite; Hon. Wisdom Fafi; Mr. Fred K. Mbiakpa; Elder Moses Teibowei (Commissioner for Works and Infrastructure, Bayelsa State); Timidi Warriwei; Elder & Dr (Mrs) Peter Oweifawari and the entire members of the Church. I specially acknowledge HRM King Seiyefa Koroye, the Pere of Tarakiri Kindgom and his council of Chiefs; HRM King Boleyi Sufadei, Pere of Kumbo Clan and his Council of Chiefs, the Amanaowei of Ebedebiri Community, HRH J. A. Akpe and his Council of Chiefs; Amanaowei of Toru-orua Community, HRH G. F. Tounaregha and his Council of chiefs; the amanaowei of Angalabiri Federated Community, HRH Famous S. Eseduwo PhD and his Council of Chiefs; my Cousin, the Olotu of Tarakiri Clan, High Chief Ebizimor Anthony Welson and our entire Allole Family; the chairman of Ebedebiri Federated Community, Godbless Oweikorogha & his executives; and his counterpart in Yenagoa, Mr. B. Akwakwa & his executive. Others include Pharm. Albert N. Ayibakeme (former P.S. Bayelsa State); Pastor Alex Apere; Dr. Pius Apere; Arch. Moses Teirimor; Mr. Simon Adomokeme; Mr. Timipre Seipulou (ICAN); Mr. Tamarakuro Abala-oru; Hon. (Pst.) Peter P. Akpe PhD (Chief of Staff, Government House, Bayelsa State); Hon. Michael Olomu; Barr. Embeleakpo Apere PhD; Mr. Douye Koroye; Mrs. Tope Pamela Seibidor (Nee Eseimokumo); Mrs. Selina Eking Dan-Albert (Nee Eseimokumo); Keme Embele (ICAN); Chief Daniel Allen-Okolo & his siblings (in J.K); Alomu Alagoa Mrs. Dele Koroye & my entire family in Toru-orua; Otis Perewari, High Chief Ayakeme Whisky PhD and our entire family in Bulou-orua Community; Sunday Akemiyefa and Dennis Akemiyefa & their siblings: Chief Ebizimor Okolo, and the entire Gbelele unit of Allole family.

Vice Chancellor sir, permit me to give special gratitude to my parents Late. HH Richman G. Okolo (the Olotu of Tarakiri Clan) & Mrs. Enugu Okolo (Nee Okorodudu) of blessed memory, all of Ebedebiri Community in Sagbama Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. I appreciate their parental care, particularly my mother who toiled so hard to lay the educational foundation of all her children, including myself. For my siblings, Chief (Dr.) Bartholomew Ogoibiriwei Okolo; Madam Elizabeth Bukazi (Nee Okolo), who is a Mathematician from UNN; Comr. Kelvin Ayamaowei Okolo (Director of Pension, Pension Board, Bayelsa State), who is a Political Scientist; and my immediate younger sister, Mrs. Vera Z. Madu (Nee Okolo), who studied Education; and the last born, Marcus Oweikorogha Okolo, who is a Chartered Accountant & Deputy Director, Finance KOLGA. Mr. VC sir, I am from a polygamous family (home); where my father legally married twelve wives, thus, I acknowledge all my other siblings from other wives of my father, who are too numerous to be contained in this lecture.

To my lovely children, Ebikombowei David Philips-Okolo (B.Sc Pol. Sci. in-view), Funkakpo Solomon Philips-Okolo (B.Sc Accounting), Ebitare Nathaniel Philips-Okolo (B.Sc Mass Comm.) and Engr. Boboye Philips-Okolo (Civil), and their mother (my former wife), Imomotimi Anita Sampson Okolomobiri for their perseverance and level of understanding showed all through my academic pursuit. Mr. Vice Chancellor sir, before I conclude, let me acknowledge Joseph Jackson Boubai, whom I supervised his M.Sc. and PhD. He has worked tirelessly with me in various capacities, even at the Institute of Peace and Security Studies (IPSS), NDU. Above all, I lack words to appreciate God Almighty for his infinite mercies in

seeing me through in spite of the numerous challenges.
For those who may have contributed in one way or the other to my success in life, but names are omitted in this acknowledgment and references are regrettable. I accept responsibilities for all errors and omissions.

Prof. Philips O. OKOLO

NDU 62ND INAUGURAL LECTURER



Prof. Philips O. Okolo

FRHD, MNPSA, MNIPR, MSPSP, ACIPM, MNIIA, MIPS

B.Sc. (Hons) Pol & Admin Studies (UNIPOINT), M.A.

Peace & Conflict Studies (UI), PhD Pol. Sci. (DELSU)

Professor of Development, Peace and Security Studies

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences

Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island

ABOUT THE INAUGURAL LECTURER

Philips Obololi-oweï OKOLO PhD is a Professor of Political Science -Development, Peace and Security Studies. Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences & Director Institute of Peace and Security Studies Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State, Nigeria. He was Ag Head, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences, Edwin Clark University, 11th January to 30th November, 2018 (Sabbatical Leave).

Philips O. Okolo, was born on 21st July, 1969 to the family of H.H, Richman Godfrey Okolo (The Olotu of Tarakiri Clan) and Mrs. Enugu Okolo (Nee Okorodudu) all of Ebedebiri Town in Sagbama Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. He had his early Primary and Secondary Education at the Community primary, and community secondary schools respectively in Ebedebiri Town and finished in 1988. Thereafter, the young Philips O. Okolo, joined the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) in 1989. He voluntarily retired from the State Investigations and Intelligence Bureau (S.I.I.B) now state Criminal Investigations Department (S.C.I.D.), in October, 1997 while carrying out a Bachelor's Degree project on the Nigeria Police and corruption at the University of Port-Harcourt.

Philips O. Okolo holds a B.Sc. (Hons.) Degree in Political and Administrative Studies (Public Administration) from the University of Port-Harcourt; MA degree in Peace and Conflict Studies from the University of Ibadan, Ibadan Nigeria; had a Certificate on Public-Private Partnership-PPP at the Lagos Business School, Pan-Atlantic University, Lekki, Lagos,

Nigeria; and Doctorate degree in Political Science from Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria. He is the Pioneer National Publicity Secretary, Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) in Nigeria, and Pioneer Auditor Nigeria Institute of Public Relations- NIPR, Bayelsa State Chapter.

His areas of research interest include Development Studies; Security, Peace and Conflict Resolution, Environmental Conflict; Federal Studies - Public Administration, multinational/International Relations; Niger Delta Studies; Nigerian Government and Politics/Human right Issues; and Indigenous Studies, as he is currently researching on Youth Perspectives on Entrepreneurship and Employment in Indigenous Communities among the Ijaws in Nigeria.

He was a one-time Senior Special Assistant to Governor of Bayelsa State on Public-Private-Partnership (SSA-PPP), 2013 - 14th February 2016; Assistant Chief Security Officer Hotel Presidential, Port- Harcourt; Pioneer Public Relations Officer Bayelsa Youth Federation (BAYOF); Pioneer Tarakiri clan representative of the Ijaw Youth council Mobile Parliament and a foremost Activist of Ijaw Nation.

Okolo is a Fellow, Strategic Institute for Natural Resources and Human Development (FRHD) and a member of several other Professional bodies, including the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA); International Political Science Association (IPSA); Center for African Peace and Conflict Resolution, California State University, Sacramento State USA; Society for Peace Studies and Practice (MSPSP); European Centre for Research Training and Development; International Society for Development and Sustainability

(ISDS) Japan; Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (MNIIA); Chartered Institute of Personnel Management (ACIPM) and Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR). - He has several University and other Administrative & leadership experiences. A few are captured herein as:

- **Director**, Institute of Peace and Security Studies, Niger Delta University, 15th Feb., 2021 – Date
- **Associate Dean**, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Niger Delta University, 2024 - Date
- **Member** Senate Standing Committee on Curriculum and Instruction. 2022 - Date
- **Member** NDU Senate, 15th Feb., 2021 – Date
- **Member** ASUU National Executive Committee (NEC) on State and Politics 19th July, 2025 - Date
- **Member**, Editorial Advisory Board, Journal of Political and Administrative Studies University of Port-Harcourt 10th Oct. 2020 - Date
- **Member**, Faculty of Social Sciences Accreditation Committee, NDU, from 2020 to Date
- **Member**, Ethics and Privileges Committee, Nigeria Political Science Association-NPSA 2020-date
- **Faculty Rep (FSS)** member of Senate, NDU, 2020 – 15th Feb., 2021
- **Member** Faculty of Social Sciences Ethics Committee (FEC), NDU, 05th March, 2019.
- **Chairman Faculty of Social Sciences (FSS) Committee** on Review of Students Results in Sociology Department of 400 Level (Regular). 25th Feb, 2019.
- **Coordinator Faculty of Social Sciences (FSS)**, Research Seminar Series. 21st January, 2019
- **Ag: Head of Department of Political Science**, Faculty

of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences.
Edwin Clark University, 11th January, 2018 to 30th Nov,
2018.

- **Member**, University Wide Accreditation Committee, Edwin Clark University (ECU).
- **Member**, Faculty Accreditation Committee, ECU, from December 2017
- **Chairperson**, Committee on pension matters. Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Niger Delta University (NDU) Chapter.
- **Chairman**, Committee on Proposal to Establish Centre for Peace and Security Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, NDU 17th April, 2017.
- **Member**, Faculty of Social Sciences Research and Publications Committee. 17th April, 2017
- **Coordinator**, 1st Edition, Inter University Political Debate/Seminar for Undergraduate Student of Political Science.
- **Member**, Faculty Postgraduate Board, Faculty of Social Sciences, Niger Delta University
- **Member**, Department of Political Science Postgraduate Board, Faculty of Social Sciences, Niger Delta University
- **Member**, Faculty Committee to verify and correct students' claims on results.
- **Chairman**, Faculty Committee to Investigate Faculty of Social Sciences Students Association (FASSA) Part – Time Funds.
- **Chairman**, Faculty Committee on Investigation of Faculty of Social Sciences Burglary Incident
- **Secretary**, Faculty of Social Sciences, Internally Generated Revenue Committee

- **Secretary Finance/Welfare** Committee Department of Political Science Niger Delta University.
- **Member**, Department of Political Science International Conference Planning Committee
- **Ex officio Member** – Nigeria Political Science Association, South-South Zone
- **Pioneer National Publicity Secretary**, Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) in Nigeria.
- **Pioneer PRO/Publicity Secretary** Ebedebiri Community, Yenagoa Branch.
- **Pioneer Auditor Bayelsa State Chapter** Nigeria Institute Public Relations (NIPR).

Prof. Okolo is widely published in both national and international journals and books of repute, including being a columnist in Nigerian Newspaper articles on contemporary issues. He has published over: 130 Journal Articles, 30 Chapters in Referred Books, 40 Conference Proceedings and 30 Newspaper Articles. Prof. Okolo has also delivered several rewarding scholarly/motivational papers at many occasions/conferences national and international issues. Prof. Okolo has done several community services, including member of Editorial Board/Peer Review. Some of the services he has rendered are captured as follows:

Editorial Board/Peer- Review

- ✓ **Editor**, Journal of Political Science and Administrative Research (JPSAR). A Peer-Reviewed Journal of the Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State, Nigeria.
- ✓ **Member**, Editorial Advisory Board: Journal of Global South Research on Security and Development. Institute of Delta Development Studies, Western Delta University.

- ✓ **Member**, Editorial Board: Journal of Political and Administrative Studies. University of Port Harcourt.
- ✓ **Member**, Editorial Board: Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) South-South Journal of Political Science.
- ✓ **Peer-reviewer/ copy editor** to a number of National and International journals

Community Services

Invited Papers/Public

Lectures

- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2021). Passionate appeal for Book Review on Public Presentation and Launching of a book, titled FUNDAMENTALS OF THE NIGER DELTA STRUGGLE: THE IJAW YOUTH COUNCIL PERSPECTIVE, at Gabriel Okara Cultural Centre Yenagoa, Bayelsa State, on Thursday 28th October, 2021
- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2021). Special invitation/ Request for Review. Book Title: INSIGHT FOR SUCCESS: EXPLORING THE POWER OF INSPIRED WORDS, Authored by Lokpobiri Justice Ebiks, on the 16th of October, 2021 at Dr. Gabriel Okara Cultural Centre, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State by 12noon
- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2021). The Ijaws and the Minority Rights Agitation in The Nigeria to this Point: The Realities & Illusions. Being A Text Presented At The Major Isaac Adaka Japer Boro Remembrance Festival 2021 Symposium Lecture. Central Playground, under the Bridge, Kaiama, KOLGA, Bayelsa State, on Wednesday, 19th May, 2021 at 12:00noon
- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2021). Invitation for a Talk on Prevailing Social Issues that are affecting Young Ones in the

Society. At New Total Child Academy (Secondary School), No. 12 Asueifai Hospital Road, Off Bay-Bridge Road, Yenizue-Gene, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State, on Thursday 15th April, 2021 from 2.20 - 3.30pm

- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2019). Raising the Banner of Gender Equality. A Paper Presented at the DO (Dise Ogbise) Foundation's Bayelsa Champions week on “Raising the Banner of Gender equality” Held at the Banquet Hall, DSP Alamieyeseigha International Conference Hall, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State. 26th November, 2019. 12 pages.
- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2019). A Panel Discussion on the Lecture and Presentation “2019 Bayelsa Governorship Election: Participatory Democracy, Good Governance and the Leadership Questions by Prof. Ambily Etekpe. NUJ Press Week, Conference Hall, NUJ Press Centre, Ekeki, Yenagoa. 07th November,
- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2019). The Role of Security Agents in Preventing Gender Related Violence in Elections in Nigeria. A Paper presented at a Two-Day South-South Zonal Awareness Creation and Sensitization Programme for Stakeholders, Traditional Rulers/Religious Leaders and Women's Groups on Women Participation in Politics. Bayelsa State, 10th – 11th October, 2019. Federal ministry of Women Affairs in Collaboration with UN Women. 10 pages.
- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2019). Politics and Development in Bayelsa State – The Missing link. Paper presented a one-day Round-Table Conference on Bayelsa State and the Leadership Question Problems and Prospects. 30th July, 2019. Lady Daima Memorial Event Centre, Osiri Road, Ekeki, Yenagoa, bayelsa State. Powered by the

Destiny Movement (TDM), 23pages.

- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2019). Ijaw National Congress and the Nationality Question in Nigeria. Paper Presented at the Ijaw National Congress (INC) 2019 National Non-elective and Elective Convention, 29th June, 2019, Ijaw House, Sanni Abacha Expressway, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State.
- ❖ **Okolo, P. O.** (2018). Participation in the 2018 Mali Presidential Election as Foreign Observer, 25-30 July, 2018. Bamako, Mali under Communate Des Etats Sahelo-sahariens (CEN-SAD).
- ❖ **Philips O. Okolo**(2017). “The Change Mantra: A Panacea for Sustainable Development. Being a Lecture delivered to the Officers and Ratings of the Central Naval Command Headquarters, Yenagoa and NNS Delta Naval Base, Warri 13th and 17th February, 2017. Theme: Change Mantra in Nigeria. Pp 18.
- ❖ Philips O. Okolo “Political Elites and Development Crises in the Niger Delta Region”.

Radio/Television

Programmes

- ❖ Philips O. Okolo, Radio Nigeria, Radio Bayelsa, Peoples' FM, Silver Bird Radio and several other radio programs on diverse subjects
- ❖ Philips O. Okolo “ NTA Bayelsa, Channel Television (TV) and several other TV Programs from 2017 to Date
- ❖ Philips O. Okolo “ NTA Bayelsa, Several Episode of Enlightenment Programmes. Anchor: Ebinimi Zitimiyoala. Between 2017 to Date
- ❖ Niger Delta Television (NDTV), Several Episodes too Numerous to list on Diverse topical issues.

- ❖ Sports for Country People. (Weekly Sports Programme, Radio Bayelsa) Anchor: Jeff Ebilade Agwana, from 2012 to Date.
- ❖ Radio Bayelsa Newstalk, “Henry Seriake Dickson: Entering a Social Contract with Bayelsans” Friday 3rd, Feb. 2012 Time of Broadcast 6.15 AM, 9. 25AM, 1. 15PM and 6.25PM produced by Current Affairs Unit.
- ❖ **Issues of the Day:** Sunday 17th July, 2011 Topic: Encouraging Reading Culture. 3pm-4pm, Producer Mrs. Anne Koko Abidde
- ❖ **Issues of the Day:** Sunday 4th Sept. 2011 Topic: The Significance of Public Relations to Society. 3pm-4pm Producer: Mrs. Anne Koko Abidde.
- ❖ **Issues of the Day:** Sunday 11th Sept. 2011 Topic: Book Presentation/ Public relations. 3pm-4pm Producer Mrs. Anne Koko Abidde
- ❖ **Channels TV Sunrise Daily:** Monday 11th April 2011 Topic Bayelsa State National Assembly Election review Anchor Chamberlin Usoh, Maupe Ogun and Sulaiman Alede.
- ❖ **BBC World News:** 16th April 2011 Topic: Nigeria Presidential Election the view of common voter, Bayelsa Nigeria, West Africa.
- ❖ Radio Bayelsa Newstalk, “Royalty in Academics: His Highness Bokumo Orukari” Wednesday 7th Sept. 2011, Time of Broadcast 6.15 AM, 9. 25AM, 1. 15PM and 6.25PM produced by Current Affairs Unit.
- ❖ **Issues of the Day:** Sunday 9th May 2010 Topic: should USA Classify Nigeria as Security Risk Country. 3pm - 4pm Producer Mrs. Anne Koko Abidde; Radio Bayelsa
- ❖ **Issues of the Day:** Sunday 9th May, 2010 Topic: Legacies of Late President Yar'Adua & Setting Agenda

For President Goodluck Jonathan. 3pm-4pm. Producer Mrs. Anne Koko Abidde; Radio Bayelsa

- ❖ **Issues of the Day:** Sunday 21st November, 2010. Topic: X-Raying followership in Nigeria. 3pm-4pm. Producer Mrs. Anne Koko Abidde
- ❖ **Issues of the day:** Sunday 26th April, 2009. 3pm -4pm, Topic: Economic Meltdown, **Producer:** Anne Koko Abidde; Radio Bayelsa
- ❖ **The Way it is:** Thursday 22nd Jan. 2009, Topic The First Black President of the USA. What Lessons For Africa & Nigeria in particular. 10: am – 11 am; Radio Bayelsa
- ❖ **Focus Nigeria:** Federal Government Amnesty programme Challenges and Gains: AIT. Producer: Gbenga Arueleba, 7th August, 2009, 9am – 10 am.
- ❖ **Sport Panorama:** Weekly Sports entertainment programme since 2005 to date. Radio Bayelsa Produced by Jeff Ebilade Agwana

Selected Services to Multinationals Oil Companies

- ❖ Facilitated SPDC/NDU Local Content Workshop
- ❖ Discussant at the SPDC Round Table for Academia, Held at Meglams Hotel, Yenagoa, 28- 29th Oct., 2010.
- ❖ Discussant at SPDC Key Stakeholders Workshop on Oil Spill Management, held at Hotel Presidential, Port Harcourt from 11th to 12th May, 2011

Awards

- ❖ Academic Personality Man of the Year presented by Proudly Ijaw Merit Award, Prinma Award 7.0 Symposium 2023
- ❖ Letter of Appreciation from Edwin Clark University VC, Council, Senate & Management for invaluable

Assistance/Services

- ❖ Letter of Commendation from Niger Delta University (NDU) Administration/Management. 21st March, 2017
- ❖ PhD Fellowship Award by the Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State. 2011 – 2016.
- ❖ Pillars of Nation Building Award by the Strategic Institute for Natural Resources and Human Development (FRHD). 2014
- ❖ PhD Fellowship Award by the Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State. 2011 – 2016
- ❖ 2002 – 2003 Post Graduate Sponsorships grants, Bayelsa State Government.

Prof. Okolo has extended his services to have supervised over: 100 M.Sc. and 15 Ph.D. students (both in the Niger Delta University and National Open University of Nigeria-NOUN). Among others are Kasikoro, Zideke (PG/FSS/PhD/17/005)-Analysis of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Delta State: A Study of the Job Creation Office, 2015-2020 (PhD); Lawyer-keme, Koffi Romeo (PG/PhD/FSS/17/007)-Local Government and Socio-Economic /development in Bayelsa State (PhD); Ledogo, Patience Inimo (PG/PhD/FSS/18/394)-An Assessment of the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) in Nigeria: A Study of Bayelsa State (PhD); Atiye, David Ebikeme (PG/PhD/FSS/18/391)-The Role of Strategic Leadership on Quality Public Service Delivery: A Study of Selected Federal Medical Centres in Nigeria (PhD); and Boubai, Joseph Jackson (PGS/020-B/PhD/FSS/381)-Leadership, Oil Exploitation and Poverty in the Niger Delta: A Study of Bayelsa State. He has also examined over 300 M.Sc. and 12 Ph.D. Candidates in several Universities, including NOUN, and Delta State University, Abraka.

Okolo has served as External Assessor for 3 full Professors and 5 Associate Professors between 2023 - Date, in NOUN-Abuja, Ebonyi State University (EBSU), Federal University, Oye-Ekiti, University of Africa (UAT), Toru-Orua.

Okolo, has served as a member and chairman of NUC Accreditation Panels to six (6) Universities between 2023 - Date.

Prof. Philips O. Okolo's personal attributes include desire for competent research; to work in a challenging environment with a high level of responsibility; and ability to comfortably communicate and interact with personnel from all walks of life. His hobbies are writing, swimming, squash and traveling.

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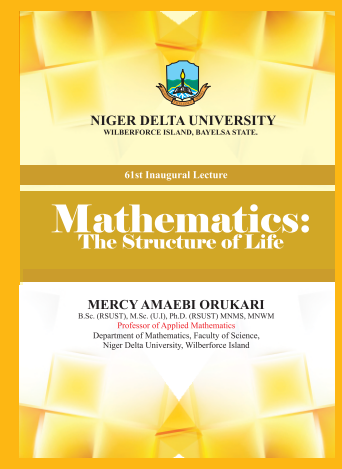
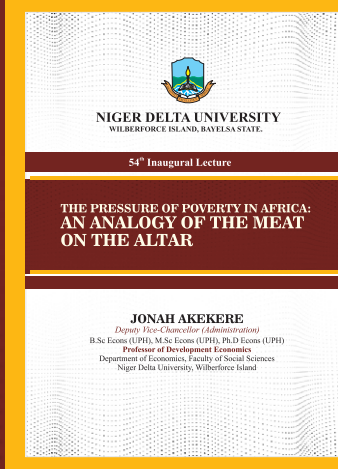
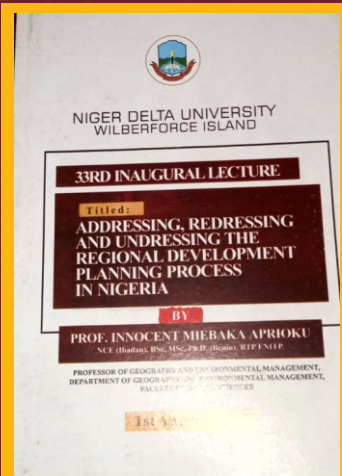
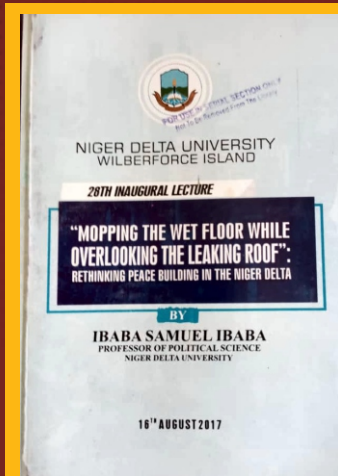
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