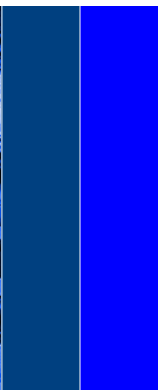


Nigeria: Unfinished Business After the Election



*UNLock Update Report 13
December 2010 - May 2011*





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The Fund for Peace
1720 I Street NW
7th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20006

T: +1 202 223 7940
F: +1 202 223 7947


www.fundforpeace.org

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Contents

This report was compiled by Annie Janus, under the supervision of Nate Haken, Senior Associate at The Fund for Peace. It is the thirteenth in a series that is part of a pilot project to integrate data and perspectives

from populations in conflict-affected zones into CAST, the FfP's conflict assessment early warning methodology. The project, the Early Warning and State Building Initiative, is made possible with funding from

Carnegie Corporation of New York, Humanity United, and National Endowment for Democracy. The statements made and views expressed are solely the responsibility of The Fund for Peace.

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Unfinished Business After the Election

Nigeria's national and state elections, held in April of this year were rightly praised as the freest and fairest of Nigeria's history. But that success was not necessarily tangible to everyone on the ground. As

reported by local civil society organizations in the UNLoCK early warning network, there were significant problems before, during, and after the elections, including ballot box snatching, vote buying, and a lot of political violence. These ongoing problems need to be recognized and addressed for this successful election to be consolidated as a turning point for democracy in Nigeria.

This report compiles the incidents and issues documented by civil society representatives in the UNLoCK Nigeria early warning network from December 2010-May 2011, with a focus on the state and local government area levels in the Niger Delta region. Incidents and issues summarized here include political corruption and violence as well as social and economic pressures relating to environmental degradation, group grievance, and poverty. These incidents and issues are categorized according to the Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) framework, which allows for a holistic assessment of the pressures on society and the state which could increase the risk of instability.

This report does not presume to be comprehensive or evenly distributed from one indicator, state, or local government area to another. Rather, it provides a glimpse into the concerns and perspectives of a particular network of civil society organizations, trained in conflict assessment, most of whom come from the Niger Delta region.

The Indicators

The 12 CAST indicators for which data is sought include social, economic, and political/military pressures on the state:

-  Demographic Pressures
- Social**
-  Refugees or Displaced Persons
-  Group Grievance
-  Human Flight/Brain Drain
- Economic**
-  Uneven Development
-  Economy
-  Legitimacy of the State
-  Public Services
- Political**
-  Human Rights
-  Security Apparatus
-  Factionalized Elites
-  External Intervention

A Focus on Akwa Ibom and Rivers States

The last UNLock Nigeria report focused on Bayelsa and Abia states between the months of August-November 2010. This report will focus on Akwa Ibom and Rivers states. Both states faced similar issues during this period, including election irregularities, inadequate public services, and organized crime. Pages 14-16 provide a deeper analysis of those two states.

Findings

This is the third summary report for UnLock Nigeria. The report covers a six-month period (December 1, 2010 to May 31, 2011) of field reports from participating civil society organizations. It is organized by indicator, with maps showing affected states and local government areas. Districts with field reports associated with them are colored red. A red color does not necessarily mean the area is more at risk than districts lacking in data, though it does highlight problems that need to be addressed in that area, as reported by local civil society.

Broken down by indicator and state, there were 106 reports logged during this period. Of the 12 CAST indicators (see page 1 for a description of the indicators), reports relating to State Legitimacy were the most prominent (35 reports), followed by Security Apparatus (31 reports), Human Rights (11 reports), Group Grievance (8 reports), Demographic Pressures (7 reports), Factionalized Elites (6 reports), Public Services (5 reports), Human Flight (2 reports), and Economic Decline (1 report).

Geographically, the vast majority of the reports came from the South-South region (91 reports), followed by the South-East (7 reports), North-East (4 reports), North-Central (3 reports), and North-West (0 report). There was 1 report that dealt with the country as a whole.

The distribution of reports reflects the geographical spread of the participating organizations, most of which are based in the South-South. Many of them are human rights and civil rights organizations, which

influences the types of reports that they contribute. Thus, this summary provides a rich description of the environment over the last four months, as seen by a specific network of civil society organizations focused in the Niger Delta region.

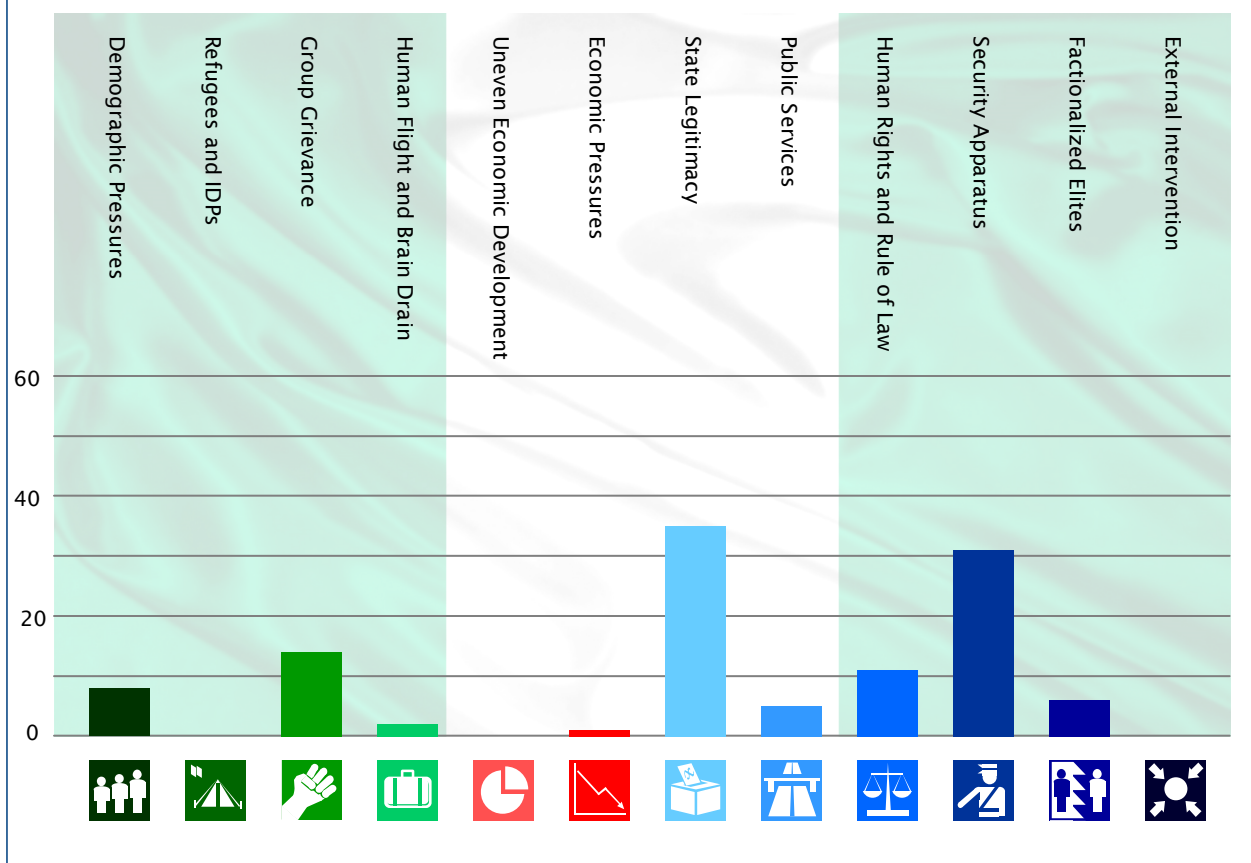
Methodology

In 2010, The Fund for Peace conducted two workshops in Port Harcourt with representatives from 22 organizations. During these workshops, FfP staff introduced the participants to CAST, FfP's conflict assessment methodology, then collaboratively contextualized it to make it relevant to the local conflict landscape. Participants in the network contributed reports to a database throughout the course of the year. The Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, a local NGO, conducted four additional workshops approximately every three months to maintain the engagement of the wider UNLock Nigeria network, and discuss solutions to problems emerging in the data as identified by the participants.

Participants included a broad range of civil society representatives, the goals being to facilitate early warning of potential danger signs, document events, gather data from across the country (with an emphasis on the Niger Delta region) and communicate that knowledge among the network for processing and analysis. This information is to be used both for helping people get out of harm's way in the short term, if necessary, as well as for developing conflict-sensitive approaches to development and policy in the long term. Since the UNLock early warning system was established, over 537 reports (broken out by indicator and state) have been entered into the database as of this writing. The data generated by the participants has been saved on a password-protected website, accessible by the participants for their own analysis and for the corroboration of details to ensure accuracy.

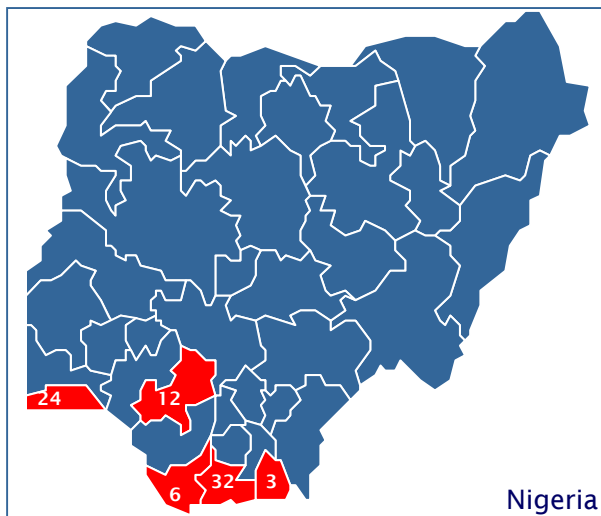
Analysis by Select Indicators

Number of Reports by Indicator





Reported Demographic Pressures



- In Itkot Abasi LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3), thousands of women reportedly protested the government’s plan to build a ceramic industry on land they claimed was theirs. 10 were reportedly injured in the protest.
- It was reported that in Bayelsa (State 6), a parcel of land was polluted by oil and the compensation funds were allegedly hijacked by a local chief.
- It was reported that in Ovia North East LGA, Edo (State 12), soldiers have been harassing a local community in a land dispute between the military and the villagers.

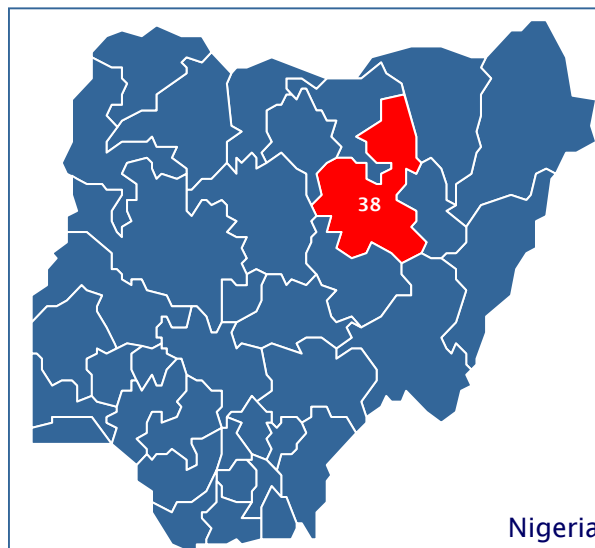
The main issues reported within this indicator dealt with land disputes and environmental degradation, especially as related to oil extraction. Both of these issues have long exacerbated group tensions in the region.



Reported Human Flight

Many southerners living in the north returned home to escape the post-election violence that broke out after Goodluck Jonathan, a southerner, was elected president in April. Living in the north as a southerner was dangerous, given the tensions. This dynamic was reminiscent (though not as severe) of the period immediately preceding the Biafran war in the 1960s.

- 64 National Youth Corps members were evacuated from Bauchi (State 38) after post-election conflict erupted.

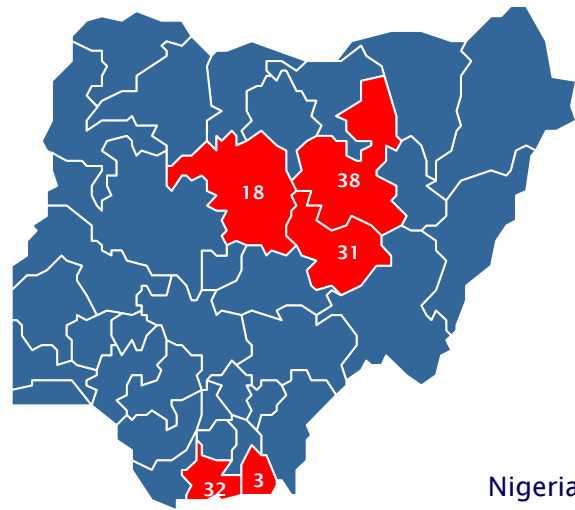




Reported Group Grievance

This six-month period brought many tensions among groups out into the open. Some of the incidents were triggered by political campaigns or the election results. However, just because the election is over, it doesn't mean these tensions have gone away. Group grievances among religious groups, pastoralists and farmers, and between indigenes and non-indigenes all need to be addressed for democracy to truly take root in Nigeria.

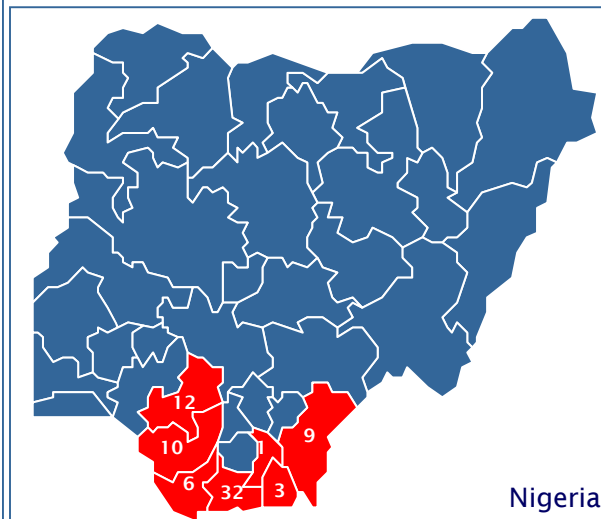
- In Rivers (State 32), one person was killed in a renewed communal clash between two communities in Gokana LGA. Gokana has been the site of such problems since the beginning of the UNLock project in early 2010.
- After the presidential elections, violence broke out in the North, especially Kaduna (State 18), Bauchi (State 38), and Plateau (State 31), in protests against the victory of a southerner in the election. Protestors destroyed houses owned by non-indigenes and some members of the ruling party. 9 youth corps members were reportedly burned to death. Many southerners living in the north moved back home to flee the violence.
- In Ikwerre LGA, Rivers (State 32), a pastoralist was allegedly killed by farmers who objected to the cattle damaging their crops. This type of incident has traditionally been more common in the Middle Belt



Nigeria

- of the country.
- Several were reported killed in violence between PDP and ACN supporters in Ikot Ekpene LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3). Violence then spread to other parts of the state. The incident exacerbated distrust among the indigenes who began interpreting the incident along major dialectic divisions in the state.

 **Reported Pressures on State Legitimacy**



State legitimacy was the most reported indicator during this period. Accusations of intimidation of political opposition, election irregularities, and government corruption were the primary issues of concern.

- Prior to the election, five were reported killed at the Government House in Uyo LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3). The incident reportedly stemmed from a sum of money that the governor was giving to his constituents as a “solidarity package”, which ended up being less than what they were expecting. The visit to the governor quickly turned violent.
- There were several reports regarding election irregularities. In Akwa Ibom (State 3), the INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner alleged that governor Akpabio illegally purchased voter registration cards from voters. Also in Akwa Ibom, Youth Corps members were reportedly given N10,000 each to ensure their support in the polls. A chapter chairman was reportedly involved in stealing ballot boxes in his constituency. After losing to the incumbent PDP governor Akpabio, the opposition party, ACN, declared its intention to challenge the results.
- It was reported that some local government chairmen were allegedly involved in ballot

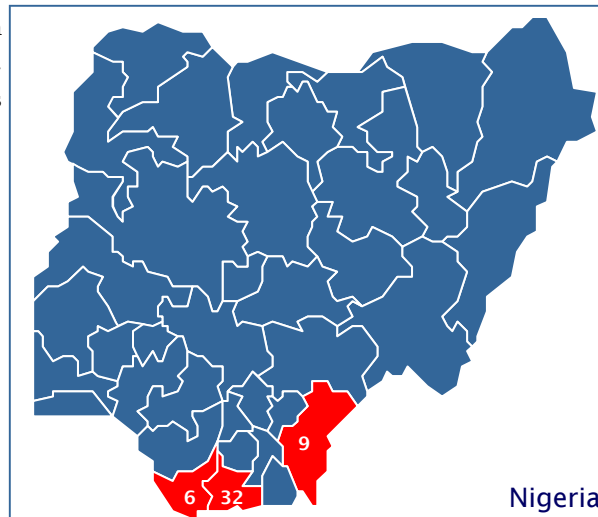
snatching in Etinan LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3).

- There were several instances of election violence, including two reports of political assassination in Akwa Ibom, and a violent assault against a police officer during post-election riots in Rivers (State 32). For more, see the reports under Security Apparatus.
- It was reported that two armed ballot box snatchers in uniform were caught by the voters and “dealt with” in Itu LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3).
- A ballot box was reported stolen in Uyo LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3).
- The ex-governor of Edo (State 12), Lucky Igbinedion, was arraigned for his alleged involvement in a N25 billion fraud committed while he was in office.
- Across Akwa Ibom (State 3) it was reported that rice, industrial salt, and money were given to rural women in exchange for their votes.
- Votes were reportedly bought in Akwa Ibom (State 3) for a price of 500 Naira each.
- In Delta (State 10) it was reported that thugs ravaged Sapele LGA after false rumors spread that the opposition DPP candidate had won the gubernatorial election. The PDP candidate was later declared the winner.
- In Andoni LGA, Rivers (State 32), some PDP agents were reportedly playing games under a fruit tree and were therefore taken by surprise when opposition party APGA supporters snatched the ballot box.
- In Obio/Akpor LGA, Rivers (State 32), a ballot box was reportedly snatched by a group of armed supporters of the ruling party. They zoomed off with countless gun shots. Some angry youths from the opposition set a car on fire. There was mass arrest by the police force and they were later released on bail.



Reported Pressures on Public Services

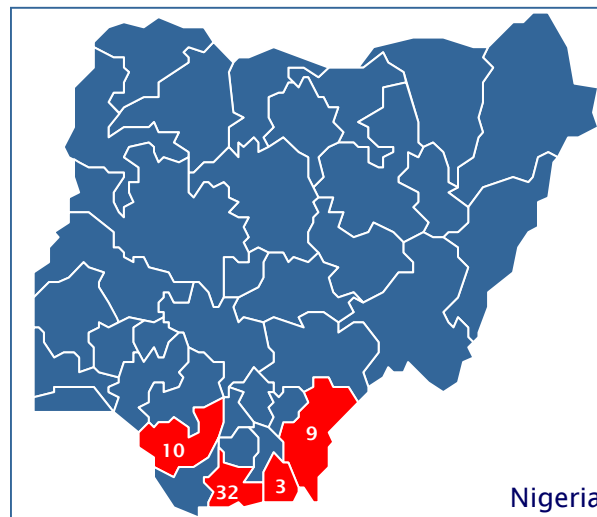
UNLock reports in this indicator dealt mainly with inadequacies in the educational system, fuel supply, policing services, and prison conditions during this period.



Reported Human Rights Violations

Politically-motivated violence as well as child labor and abuse cases were the most frequently reported issues in this indicator.

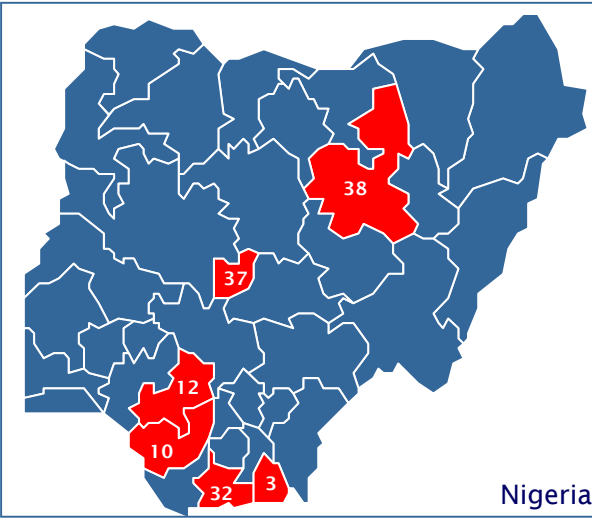
- In Rivers (State 32), an ex-activist of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People was assassinated by 10 people who broke into his house. Although his wife called the police, they reportedly did not arrive in a timely manner.
- In Calabar LGA, Cross River (State 9), an unemployed school teacher reportedly decapitated two of his nieces and sold their remains to ritualists for six million naira. The man also admitted to killing two other women, and selling organs to ritualists.
- In Uyo LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3), a journalist was allegedly killed for voicing anti-government opinions on his programs.
- Several reports cited issues with child abuse and labor. The number of children hawking and begging has reportedly increased in Rivers (State 32). And, in Obio/Akpor LGA, Rivers, a mother was arrested for battering her child who she believed to be a witch.
- In an operation against the militant Niger Delta



Liberation Force, the Joint Task Force (JTF) reportedly attacked the Ayakoromo community, Burutu LGA, Delta (State 10). Soldiers in more than 10 gunboats allegedly shot indiscriminately into the community, killing more than 51 civilians, including women and children.



Reports on Security Apparatus



With 31 reports, the security apparatus indicator was the second most reported during this period. Accusations of efforts to intimidate the political opposition, politically motivated kidnappings, and the misuse of security forces were the primary issues during this period.

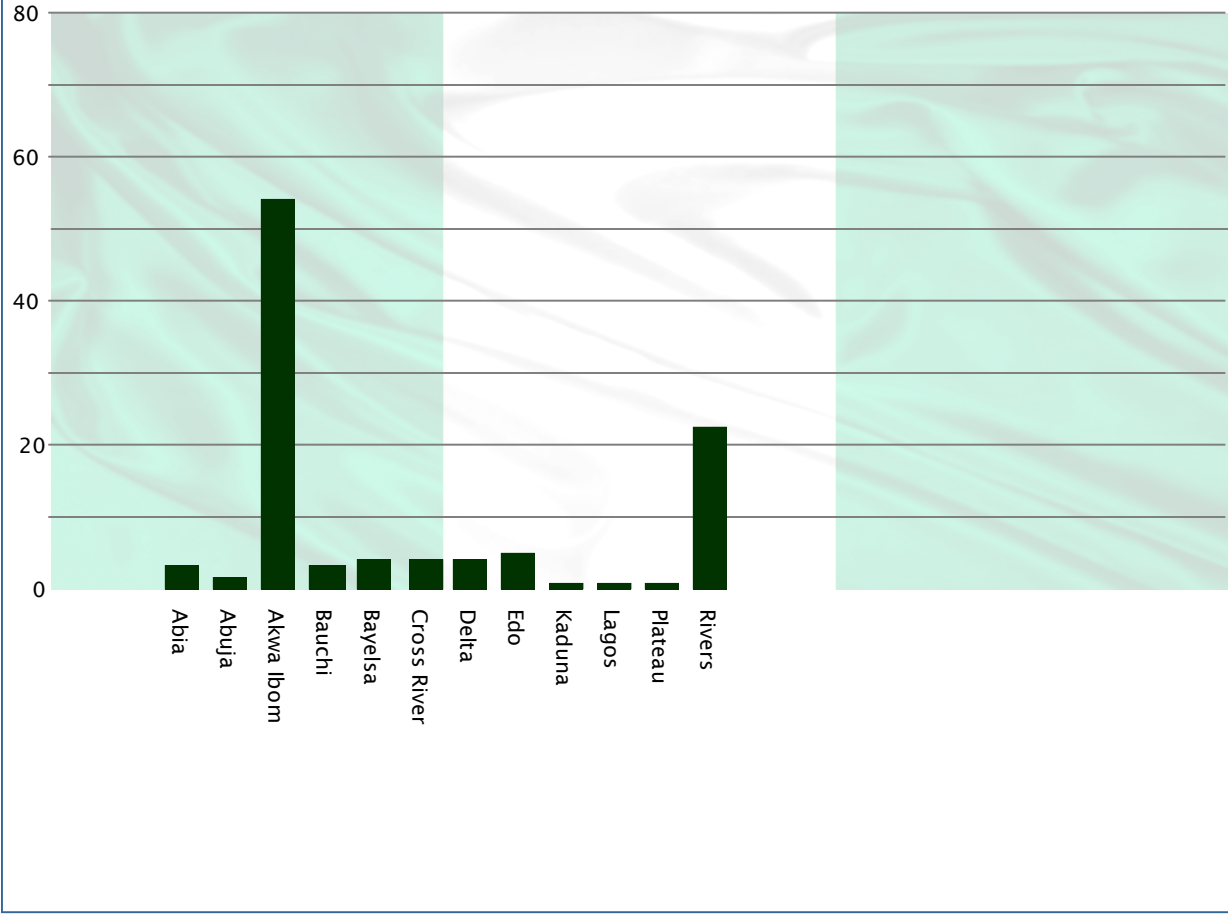
- In an operation against the militant Niger Delta Liberation Force, The JTF reportedly attacked the Ayakoromo community, Burutu LGA, Delta (State 10). The JTF is accused of using excessive force for the attack, in which over 51 civilians were killed, including women and children.
- It was reported that in response to a spate of kidnappings in Akwa Ibom (State 3), over 40 people were detained by the State Police Command's Anti-Kidnapping Unit, and kept in squalid conditions. While some were released, many could not afford bail.
- In Obio/Akpor LGA, Rivers (State 32), a ballot box

was reportedly snatched by a group of armed supporters of the ruling party. They zoomed off with countless gun shots. Some angry youths from the opposition set a car on fire. There was mass arrest by the police force and they were later released on bail.

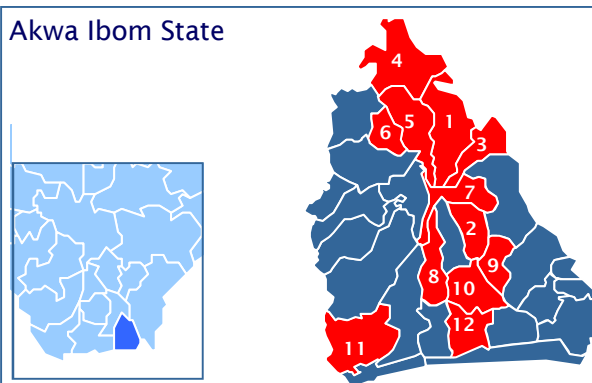
- There were several instances of election violence, including two reports of political assassination in Akwa Ibom, and a violent assault against a police officer during post-election riots in Rivers (State 32). Eight politically motivated kidnappings were reported in Akwa Ibom, most of which occurred in Uyo LGA.
- It was reported that two armed ballot snatchers in uniform were caught by the voters and "dealt with" in Itu LGA, Akwa Ibom (State 3).
- In Ovia North LGA, Edo (State 12), the Nigerian Army allegedly demolished civilian houses and farm produce. The community petitioned President Goodluck Jonathan, accusing the army of seizing their land.
- It was reported that large-scale violence erupted between PDP and ACN supporters in Ikot Ekpene and Uyo LGAs, Akwa Ibom. 4 were reportedly killed and much property destroyed.
- In Abjua (State 37) and Bauchi (State 38), bomb blasts reportedly killed over 20 people in late May.

State-Level Analysis

Number of Reports by State



Akwa Ibom State



Akwa Ibom is located in the South-South region of the Niger Delta, between Rivers and Cross Rivers states. With 53 reports, Akwa Ibom had by far the most reported incidents during this period. Some analysts have suggested that the 2011 gubernatorial election was the first time the state experienced a serious political opposition since 1999. The election resulted in Governor Godswill Akapbio of the PDP being reelected.

Within Akwa Ibom State, the Local Government Area with the most reported incidents was **Uyo** (LGA 7) with 24 reports, followed by **Etinan** (LGA 8) with 5 reports, **Itu** (LGA 3) with 4 reports, **Nsit Ubium** (LGA 10) with 3 reports, **Ini** (LGA 4) with 3 reports, **Eket** (LGA 12) with 2 reports, **Ibesikpo Asutan** (LGA 2) with 2 reports, **Ibiono Ibom** (LGA 1) with 2 reports, **Ikot Abasi** (LGA 11) with 2 reports, **Ikot Ekpene** (LGA 6) with 2 reports, **Nsit Atai** (LGA 9) with 2 reports, and **Ikono** (LGA 5) with 1 report.

Uyo

Uyo (LGA 7), the capital of Akwa Ibom, had problems with kidnapping, political violence, and electoral irregularities during this period.

- Kidnapping was a problem in Uyo LGA during this 6-month period. In five separate incidents, a bank manager, a prominent pastor's wife, two entrepreneurs, and a doctor were reportedly kidnapped and later released. At least one of these kidnappings was suspected to be politically motivated, as the victim had recently switched parties. The State Police Command's Anti-

Kidnapping unit reportedly detained over 40 people. A few have been released.

- Prior to the gubernatorial election, 5 were reported killed at the Government House in Uyo. The incident reportedly stemmed from a sum of money that the governor was giving to his constituents as a "solidarity package", which ended up being less than what they were expecting. The visit to the governor quickly turned violent.
- A journalist was reportedly assassinated for voicing anti-party/government views.
- Prior to the election, in reaction to the deadly violence between PDP and ACN party supporters in nearby **Ikot Ekpene LGA**, youths clashed and looted in Uyo LGA. The tensions were reportedly interpreted along major dialectic divisions by the people of Akwa Ibom.
- A ballot box was reportedly snatched by armed men at Nwaniba.
- It was reported that commercial bike riders were locked up and forced to pay N3000 each; purportedly to prevent them from attending an ACN rally in the state capital.
- The opposition ACN party is reportedly challenging the victory of PDP gubernatorial candidate Goodswill Akpabio, for alleged rigging.

Ikot Ekpene

In Ikot Ekpene (LGA 6), violence broke out between PDP and ACN supporters armed with guns, machetes and rocks. Several were killed. Violence then spread to Uyo (see above).

Etinan

Etinan (LGA 8) reportedly had problems with electoral irregularities and political violence during this period.

- Local government chairmen were reportedly involved in ballot box snatching during the election.
- A Youth Corps member was reportedly killed for political reasons.

Itu

Ballot box snatching by armed men was reported in Itu (LGA 3).

Akwa Ibom State (Continued)

Nsit Ubium

A paramount ruler was reportedly assassinated in Nsit Ubium (LGA 10), allegedly for political reasons.

Ini

In Ini (LGA 4), there were problems with election violence and kidnapping.

- 15 people were reportedly hospitalized after an ACN rally was attacked by thugs.
- The son of a paramount leader was reportedly kidnapped and later released.

Eket

A paramount leader from Eket (LGA 12) was reportedly kidnapped and later released.

Ibiono Ibom

Several people were reportedly killed in Ibiono Ibom (LGA 1) as a result of election violence.

Itkot Abasi

In Itkot Abasi (LGA 11), thousands of women reportedly protested the government's plan to build a ceramic industry on land they claimed was theirs. Ten were reportedly injured in the protest.

Nsit Atai

Nsit Atai (LGA 9) reportedly had problems with election violence and vote buying.

- Four people were reportedly killed in election related violence.
- Youth Corps members were reportedly given N10,000 by the ruling party to ensure their support at the polls.

Ikono

In Ikono (LGA 5), it was reported that an ACN rally was attacked, resulting in the hospitalization of 15 people.

Rivers State

Rivers is located in the South-South region, between Akwa Ibom and Bayelsa. Primarily due to oil, Rivers boasts one of the Nigeria's largest state economies in the country. Yet oil revenues have benefited the privileged few, while an estimated 70 percent of Rivers' population lives below the poverty line.

Within Rivers State, the Local Government Area with the most reported incidents was Port Harcourt (LGA 5) with 5 reports, followed by Obio/Akpor (LGA 4) with 4 reports, followed by Ikwerre (LGA 17) with 2 reports, followed by Okrika (LGA 14), Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni (LGA 1), Gokana (LGA 6), and Andoni (LGA 8), each with 1 report.

Gokana

In Gokana (LGA 6), environmental degradation and communal violence were reported.

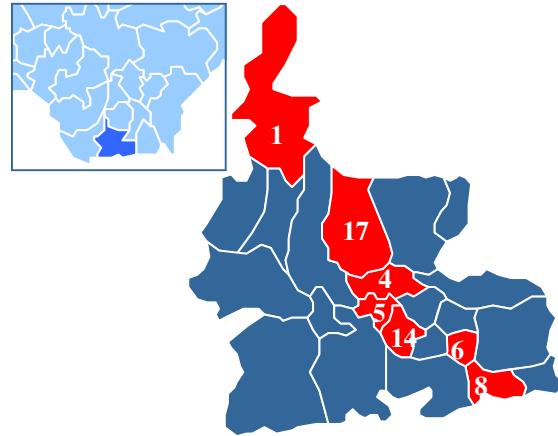
- Repeated oil spills have devastated several communities in Rivers. A Shell petroleum pipeline that runs through the Ogoni land reportedly leaked in 2008-2009 and has contributed to environmental degradation and group grievance, especially in Gokana.
- Also in Gokana local government area 6, renewed communal violence killed one. This has been an ongoing problem.

Andoni

In Andoni (LGA 8), election irregularities were reported.

- PDP agents were reportedly playing games under a fruit tree and were therefore taken by surprise when opposition party APGA supporters snatched the ballot box.

Rivers State



Obio/Akpor

In Obio/Akpor (LGA 4), child abuse and election irregularities were reported.

- An outgoing councilor of the ruling party reportedly invaded a polling station at the community primary school and carried away the INEC ballot box. After the event, angry youths from the opposition set his car on fire.
- A woman was reportedly arrested for battering her child because her religious leader told her the child was a witch.

Ikwerre

In Ikwerre (LGA 17) riots and communal violence were reported.

- A pastoralist was allegedly killed by farmers who objected to the cattle damaging their crops. This type of incident has traditionally been more common in the Middle Belt of the country.
- Some youth supporters of Mr. Celestine Omehia reportedly beat up a policeman after Omehia came in second in the gubernatorial election.

Looking Ahead

Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, with 155 million people, has worked very hard at managing its wide diversity through creative mechanisms such as a PDP agreement to alternate the presidency

between the North and South, split tickets, cabinets being representative of Nigeria's "federal character," and the requirement that a presidential candidate win the majority of the votes as well as at least 25% in two thirds of the 36 states to ensure broad national support.

These mechanisms have had some success, inasmuch as there has not been another civil war since the 1960s. However, the level of violence in Nigeria among religious groups, ethnic groups, farmers and pastoralists, political parties, militants and the military, as well as criminal and vigilante elements, have been very high.

Meanwhile, the pressure on these inclusive mechanisms has continued to grow. Population continues to rise at a rate of approximately three million per year. Uneven development has increased. The overwhelming dependency of the federal government on oil revenues has only gotten more severe.

This election, which was the most successful election in Nigeria's history, also uncovered deep tensions among groups that need to be addressed if stability is to be maintained over the long term.

Complicating these dynamics even further, if democracy really does take root in the way that many analysts are hopeful it will, some of these mechanisms may change, such as the principle of alternating the Presidency between the North and the South every two terms. Judging from the intense violence that broke

out across the North after the election, it would appear that such a development may generate pushback, perhaps violently so.

At the state level, the gubernatorial elections were unusually close in several cases, such as in Akwa Ibom, as illustrated in this report. A stronger political opposition, although perhaps a sign of a maturing democracy, also resulted in higher political tensions, which broke out into deadly violence on many occasions, exacerbating ethno-religious group grievances.

Nigeria has perhaps reached a crossroads in the maturation of its democracy. Now, more than ever, good leadership is required to shepherd it though what will likely be a rocky period. Zero-sum political calculations on the part of power brokers must be changed to allow for politics of compromise. This will take courage on the part of the President and others and require them to draw on their stock of political capital.

In the Niger Delta, as the JTF attempts to degrade the capabilities of militants, there must be meaningful infrastructure development, economic diversification, and professionalization of the security apparatus. Civil society must be engaged in this process, not ignored. If all stakeholders perceive that their interests are being taken seriously by the government, then some of these fault-lines among identity groups might be minimized, and Nigeria can begin to realize its economic and political potential—at home, in the region, and beyond.

About The Fund for Peace

The Fund for Peace is an independent, nonpartisan, 501(c)(3) non-profit research and educational organization that works to prevent violent conflict and promote sustainable security.



Conflict Early Warning and Assessment

- The Failed States Index
- Content Analysis
- Country Profiles
- Universal Network of Local Knowledge (UNLOCK)
- Military Training



Transnational Threats

- Threat Convergence
- Prevention of Identity-Based Violence
- Identifying Hotspots for Political Violence and Radicalization



Sustainable Development, Sustainable Security

- Better Business for Better Communities
- Human Rights & Business Roundtable
- Voluntary Principles on Security & Human Rights
- Peace and Stability Operations
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We promote sustainable security through research, training and education, engagement of civil society, building bridges across diverse sectors, and developing innovative technologies and tools for policy makers.

A leader in the conflict assessment and early warning field, the Fund for Peace focuses on the problems of weak and failing states. Our objective is to create practical tools and approaches for conflict mitigation that are useful to decision-makers.

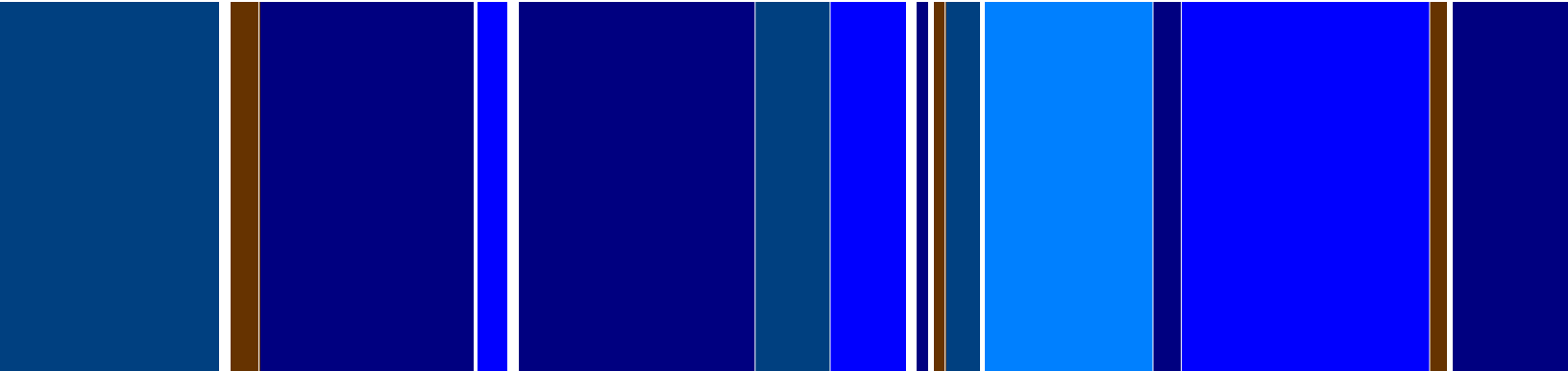
The Fund for Peace adopts a holistic approach to the issues stemming from weak and failing states. We work at both the grassroots level with civil society actors and at policy levels with key decision makers.

We have worked in over 50 countries with a wide range of partners in all sectors: governments, international organizations, the military, nongovernmental organizations, academics, journalists, civil society networks, and the private sector.

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- Transnational Threats; and
- Sustainable Development, Sustainable Security.





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