***Ethnic Marginalization, Relentless Terror, and Institution Building in Nigeria***

**Background**

* Startling Data:
  + 25% of Africans are Nigerian
  + 7th most populous country in world
    - 1970 = 55 million
    - 2000 = 125 million
    - 2014 = 175 million
    - 2050 = 450 million
  + Urbanization: 1975 - 2000 = 23 → 44% urban
    - Lagos will have 25 million residents by 2050
  + 45% under 15 years old.
  + Life expectancy = 52
  + Literacy rate = 68%, Secondary graduation rate = 25%
  + According to Nigerian National Poverty Eradication Programme 35% in poverty. According to World Bank 60% in poverty.
* Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo account for 70% of the population
  + Hausa-Fulani- North (subsistence agriculture)
  + Yoruba- Southwest (trade and oil)
  + Igbo- Southeast (trade and market agriculture)
  + Federal government moderates between tribes (esp. in super-diverse Middle Belt)
  + 50% Muslim, 45% Christian (25/75% Catholic/Protestant)
    - Closer ties to religion than ethnicity (not necessarily mutually exclusive)

**Assumptions**

* + Ethno-religious identification is the most prominent source of social and political identity
  + Ethnicity is the central avenue for collective action
  + Ethnicity is a destabilizing force
  + Ethnicity is constructed; it is malleable, flexible, and fluid. It can be deconstructed. Should it be? If so, how and why?

**Agents of Socialization**

* Education
  + 45% of population is under 15 years old. Educate them!
  + 40 Federal Universities, 39 State Universities, 50 Private Universities
* Religion
  + Section 10 of the Constitution states that, “The Government of the Federation or of a state shall not adopt any religion as state religion.”
  + Three recognized legal systems: African Customary Law, Sharia Law, and British Common Law
  + 80% belong to religious organizations. 50% of these participate regularly.
  + The Christian Association of Nigeria: Igbo Pentecostal Christianity
  + The Islamic League: Pan-Islam
* Media
  + Most free and outspoken press of any African country
  + Freedom House says ‘partly free’ (4 of 7 on both civil liberties and political rights)
  + Self-censorship: facing fatwas
  + 60 million internet users and rising
  + Nollywood

**Violence & Terror**

* Boko Haram
  + Founded in 2002. Official Arabic name, *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad*, means "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad"
    - Commonly *Boko Haram*, "Western education is forbidden"
    - Boko Haram regards the Nigerian state as being run by non-believers (even when the country had a Muslim president)
  + 2009: Founding leader Mohammed Yusuf killed
  + New leader Abubakar Shekau ‘a fearless loner, a complex, paradoxical man - part-theologian, part-gangster.’ (BBC)
  + Thousands killed, mostly in NE Nigeria
  + Timeline of Terror
    - 2010: Bombed Jos, killing 80
    - 2011: Bombed Abuja police HQ and UN building
    - 2013: Attacked agricultural school in Yobe, killing 50 male students
    - 2013: Goodluck Jonathan declares state of emergency
    - 2014: Killed at least 75 people in twin bomb blasts in Abuja
    - 2014: Kidnapped more than 200 girls from a school Chibok in Borno state
  + Some 3 million people affected
  + Declared terrorist group by US in 2013
  + Because of the military's human rights record, Nigerians do not trust them. Also, they lack modern equipment, training, and motivation. Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have both criticized the Nigerian military for their tactics.
* The Middle Belt
  + Jos, capitol of Plateau state
  + 4,000 feet above sea level, Jos has the best climate in Nigeria. A favored residence of Nigerian elites.
  + 785 people have died 2012-2014
  + The conflict is "economic and ethnic with a religious dimension"
  + "Indigenous" vs. "Settlers"
    - The "**indigenous**" population of Plateau is made up of small tribes, of whom the Barome are probably the largest. They are predominately Christian.
    - Jos elites regard their city as "Christian." They claim that "Jos" stands for "Jesus our Savior."
    - The British opened up tin mines in the historically Christian area and invited in outsiders from other parts of the Nigerian colony to work them. Many of these "**settlers**" were Muslims from small tribes and from Fulani. It is hard to get "settler" status today. Jos Muslims accuse the local administration of facilitating the process for Christians, but not for them.
  + "Weak government at all levels, poor security, an under-resourced court system, incomplete rule of law, and a culture of impunity hinders the peaceful resolution of the inevitable disputes. Peace and reconciliation non-governmental organizations (Nigerian and foreign) have had only limited and episodic success." (John Campbell, former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria, in *The Atlantic*)
  + Unlike in the north the killing is not directed against the government in Abuja. But the failure of Abuja to stop this mayhem undermines their legitimacy.

**Institutions Matter**

* Military → Civil Rule: Hopes, prayers, and speeches make not a democracy
* State or national?
* Executive, Legislative, or Judicial?
* Need real political parties that transcend ethno-religious lines
* Institutions Must Prize Communications:
  + Work more closely with the 774 Local Government Authorities (LGAs)
  + Roads
  + Electronic Communications
  + Communicate Hope and Increase Transparency

**Civil Society Matters**

* Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC) (42 union collective est. 1978). Make class an issue!
* National Union of Journalists
* The Akassa Council of Chiefs for Environmental Protection
* The Alliance for Credible Elections (ACE-NIGERIA)
* Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)
* Nigeria Bar Association (NBA)
* United Action for Democracy (UAD)
* Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN)
* Civil Liberties Organization (CLO)

**Revitalize Babangida’s Associational Group, MAMSER?**

* Mass Mobilization for Self Reliance, Economic Recovery and Social Justice
  + encourage political participation among all segments of society
  + support locally made goods
  + fight against opportunism, decadence, materialism, and vanity

**It’s the Economy Stupid!**

* Distribute the “national cake” carefully and openly. Reconstitute the “derivation formula”?
* Diversify. Invest. Balance foreign and domestic investment. Build cities other than Lagos. Watch China.
* Implement World Bank’s Structural Assistance Program (SAP)

**Olsegun Obasanjo’s Role (1999 – 2007)**

* Born again Christian and former military dictator. Wolf in sheep’s clothing?
* Reformer
  + 36 Member Cabinet
  + Human Rights Violation Investigation Committee (HRVIC).
    - Staged live hearings that condemned military influence.
    - He “retired” the Top 100 Military Officers
  + Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC)
  + Economic and Financial Crimes Committee (EFCC)
  + Independent National Elections Commission (INEC)
  + Pushed Anti-Corruption Bill written by Transparency International through legislature
  + Recovered $2 of the $5 billion pocketed by Abacha
  + National Population Commission
  + Niger Delta Development Commission--$500 million in environmental damage
* Largely silent on Sharia Law issue (even in Zamfara)
* Sent troops in to quell the Kaduna and Kano Riots. Pacified Tiv-Junkun Civil War
* Visited all regions regularly. Tried to build trust.
* Everyone just wants the basics: clean water, food, and a chance.