



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Nigeria

Nigeria – NGA38309 – MEND – Niger
Delta – Edo State – Police Protection –
Christians
4 March 2011

1. Please provide information relating to:

- (i) **Whether a Christian person affiliated with the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and who intends to work in the oil industry would be at risk of harm from MEND (a) in the Niger Delta, and (b) elsewhere in Nigeria;**

- a) **Whether such a person would be at risk of harm from MEND in the Niger Delta.**

Each of these personal characteristics is considered in turn below. The most pertinent of these characteristics in relation to MEND appears to be the desire to become an oil worker. However it is also noted that ‘MEND’ are not a homogenous group and that criminal gangs and thugs may carry out their own agendas and activities using the MEND label.

Work in the Oil Industry

The Ijaw are the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria and the largest in the oil-rich Niger Delta. Since the late 1990s there have been a number of predominantly Ijaw militia groups operating in the Delta. These militias claim that their primary aims are to achieve a greater proportion of the revenue generated by gas and oil extraction in the Delta for the Ijaw people, as well as end the environmental damage inflicted on the Delta by oil and gas extraction.¹

According to the International Crisis Group (ICG), militant attacks on the oil industry in the Niger Delta has caused Nigeria’s oil exports to fall from 2.6 million barrels per day in 2006 to 1.6 million by March 2009. Lost production, theft and sabotage has meant that during the first nine months of 2008 alone Nigeria lost “at least \$23.7 billion” in revenue and “about 1,000 people were killed”.² The *Financial Times* states in a September 2009 article that production fell in the middle of 2009 to “as low as 800,000 barrels a day”.³ In January 2009 the

¹ Marquardt, E. 2006. “The Niger Delta Insurgency and its Threat to Energy Security”, *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IV, Issue 16, Jamestown Foundation, 10 August – Attachment 1

² International Crisis Group 2009, *Nigeria: Seizing the Moment in the Niger Delta*, ICG website, 30 April p.2 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/west_africa/b60_nigeria_seizing_the_moment_in_the_niger_delta.pdf – Accessed 1 May 2009 – Attachment 2

³ “Into the Heart of the Niger Delta Oil War” 2009, *Financial Times*, 12 September <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/69fbae48-9da3-11de-9f4a-00144feabdc0.html> – Accessed 4 December 2009 – Attachment 3

Government had called an amnesty for militants in the Niger Delta; however there are some doubts as to how effective this has been.⁴

One such militia group is the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, or MEND.⁵ There is no reliable data on MEND demography. Stephanie Hanson, writing for the Council on Foreign Relations in 2007 states that the true number and makeup of MEND members is not precisely known; “[e]stimates of its size range from the low hundreds to the low thousands” and “[t]he leadership of MEND is similarly unclear.”⁶

MEND target international oil companies operating in the Niger Delta. MEND came to public attention in January 2006 when they destroyed pipelines, killing at least 29 security force members and a strike on the Shell’s Benisede flow station damaging the facility and killing 14 soldiers and 2 civilian contractors.⁷ MEND has kidnapped oil company employees and bombed oil company infrastructure and military cars.⁸ On 30 January 2010, MEND called off a ceasefire, which had been declared on 15 July 2009. In March 2010, MEND claimed responsibility for explosives detonated in Delta State capital Warri.⁹ In October 2010, the group also reportedly claimed responsibility for bomb blasts in the capital Abuja.¹⁰

Given MEND’s agenda against the oil industry and their reported activities, primarily including kidnapping oil workers and attacking oil infrastructure, it is reasonable to speculate that a person working for an oil company in Nigeria may be at risk of being targeted by the group. Stephanie Hanson writes that that the group’s primary tactic is kidnapping foreign oil workers.¹¹ According to a statement by MEND in 2009, “Our policy on kidnapping high-value oil workers from western Europe and North America remains unchanged and will continue to form an integral part of our pressure strategy in the emancipation struggle in 2009”.¹² Stratfor reports that MEND kidnaps foreign oil workers to deny oil companies the specialised skills needed to lift and load crude.¹³ Current travel advice from the UK Foreign

⁴ UK Home Office 2010, *Country of Origin Information Report Nigeria*, 9 July, p. 14-15 – Attachment 4

⁵ UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2011, “Travel Advice, Sub Saharan Africa, Nigeria”, 21 January <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 5

⁶ Hanson, S. 2007, “MEND: The Niger Delta’s Umbrella Militant Group”, Council on Foreign Relations, 22 March <http://www.cfr.org/publication/12920/> – Accessed 28 January 2010 – Attachment 6

⁷ Onigbinde, D. 2008, “Natural resource management and its implications on national and sub-regional security: the case of the Niger Delta”, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, 1 September – Attachment 7

⁸ Marquardt, E. 2006. “The Niger Delta Insurgency and its Threat to Energy Security”, *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IV, Issue 16, Jamestown Foundation, 10 August <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2373587> – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 1

⁹ UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2011, “Travel Advice, Sub Saharan Africa, Nigeria”, 21 January <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 5

¹⁰ “Nigeria: Henry Okah is Arrested as Jonathan Cites Terrorism” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *This Day*, 2 October <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201010030010.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011 – Attachment 8

¹¹ Hanson, S. 2007, “MEND: The Niger Delta’s Umbrella Militant Group”, Council on Foreign Relations, 22 March <http://www.cfr.org/publication/12920/> – Accessed 28 January 2010 – Attachment 6

¹² “Kidnapped Britons ‘safe and well’ after four months held hostage in Nigeria” 2009, *The Telegraph*, 12 January <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/4223771/Kidnapped-Britons-safe-and-well-after-four-months-held-hostage-in-Nigeria.html> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 9.

¹³ Stratfor 2009, ‘The Financial Crisis in Nigeria’, 27 January http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/20090126_financial_crisis_nigeria – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 10

and Commonwealth Office states there is a high risk of kidnappings, armed robberies and armed attacks to ships and offshore oil rigs in the Niger Delta, and that there has been an increase in offshore attacks since 2007.¹⁴

However, Human Rights watch reports that MEND abducts both foreign and Nigerian oil workers in the Niger Delta.¹⁵ One spate of incidents which MEND reportedly claimed responsibility for in November 2010 involved the kidnapping of 7 foreigners and 12 Nigerians from an oil rig operated by an exploration firm, an Exxon Mobil platform and a Nigerian construction company.¹⁶

MEND typically releases their hostages unharmed after a period of negotiations, via intermediaries, with oil company representatives and the government. Okonta (a research fellow in contemporary African politics at the University of Oxford) writes that taking hostages allows MEND to focus international attention on the Niger Delta and “to exploit the blaze of publicity thus generated to announce their grievances and demands of the Nigerian government.”¹⁷ A recent article in *The Daily Independent* included a statement from MEND spokesperson Gbomo Jomo warning of future attacks on oil infrastructure in the Niger Delta. Whilst Jomo stated that the group would not cease in their cause until all land “stolen by the western oil companies” was reclaimed, the following statement is indicative that MEND will provide advance warning of an impending operation:

“Due to the severity of this onslaught against the oil industry and our desire to prevent the loss of lives, the opening attack as promised, will be preceded by a warning with guidelines to all oil workers concerning their conduct in the event of an attack.”¹⁸

In another report MEND offers “advance warning for immediate evacuation...hereby issued to residents in close proximity to depots storing petroleum products such as aviation fuel, diesel, kerosene, petrol, propane gas and engine oil.”¹⁹

Christianity

No reports of Nigerian nationals being targeted by MEND on the basis of their affiliation with the Christian faith, either in Edo State or in Nigeria generally, were located.

In fact, Christians constitute over forty per cent of Nigeria’s population and form the majority in the South.²⁰ A number of sources refer to the Ijaw as predominantly Christian, with a small

¹⁴ UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2011, “Travel Advice, Sub Saharan Africa, Nigeria”, 21 January <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 5

¹⁵ Human Rights Watch 2009, *World Report 2009 – Nigeria*, 14 January – Attachment 11

¹⁶ “Nigeria: Renewed Militancy and 2011 Elections” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Leadership*, 20 November <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201011221260.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011 – Attachment 12

¹⁷ Hanson, S. 2007, “MEND: The Niger Delta’s Umbrella Militant Group”, Council on Foreign Relations, 22 March <http://www.cfr.org/publication/12920/> – Accessed 28 January 2010 – Attachment 6

¹⁸ “Nigeria: Militants Rejects Kuku, Threatens Fresh Attack on Oil Facilities” 2011, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Daily Independent*, 13 February <http://allafrica.com/stories/201102140631.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011 – Attachment 13

¹⁹ “Nigeria: Militants to Attack Petrol Depots, Other Facilities” 2011, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Daily Champion*, 19 January – <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201101190517.html> – Accessed 24 February 2011 – Attachment 14

minority classified as animists (approximately five per cent).²¹ It is noted that an April 2009 research response by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada states that “[a] majority of MEND members are reported to be from the Ijaw ethnic group”, however, quoting a Jamestown Foundation report, it also states that MEND “draws members from communities across the Niger Delta, differs from other cults and ethnic militias ‘placing its struggle in a social rather than ethnic context.’²²

Significant tension involving Christian communities appears to centre on Northern Nigeria, where some states have adopted Sharia law.²³ No such reports of religious tension were found regarding the Niger Delta or other Southern Nigerian States.

PDP Affiliation

With respect to MEND activities towards Nigerians affiliated with the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), the 2010 Fund for Peace report states that thugs attacked two buses in Andoni district in the Niger Delta, killing 7 and injuring 20. The thugs involved were linked to a former MEND leader, and “[t]hose killed were apparently traveling to participate in the People’s Democratic Party registration when they were attacked.”²⁴

Regarding alleged pressure towards PDP affiliates to defect to the MEND cause, a June 2009 research response produced by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) found no sources indicating that MEND forcibly recruits Ijaws. However the IRB does quote a PhD student researching militias in the Delta as stating that some young Ijaw males might experience “some pressure” to volunteer.²⁵

Educational Status/Moderate Wealth

No reports of Nigerian individuals being targeted by MEND purely on the basis of their educational status or the moderate wealth of their family either in Edo State or in Nigeria generally, were located.

²⁰ Campbell, J. 2009, “Nigeria’s Leadership Vacuum”, Council on Foreign Relations, 30 December http://www.cfr.org/publication/21085/nigerias_leadership_vacuum.html – Accessed 1 February 2010 – Attachment 15

²¹ Minorities at Risk 2003, *Assessment for Ijaw in Nigeria*, Minorities at Risk website 31 December <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/assessment.asp?groupId=47506> – Accessed 6 January 2009 – Attachment 16

²² Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *NGA103175.E – Nigeria: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); whether it forcibly recruits its members and, if so, how; whether members are only from the Ijaw ethnic group (2006-May 2009)*, 16 June, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website <http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452413> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 17

²³ Olayode, K. 2010, “Self-Determination, Ethno-Nationalism and Conflicts in Nigeria”, Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique website, 18 February http://www.ifra-nigeria.org/IMG/pdf/Kehinde_OLAYODE_-_Self-Determination_Ethno-Nationalism_and_Conflicts_in_Nigeria.pdf – Accessed 4 November 2010 – Attachment 18

²⁴ Fund for Peace 2010, “The Death of a President: A Time of Uncertainty”, Fund for Peace website, April-July p. 10 [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/images/stories/unlock%20nigeria%20early%20warning%20report%20\(apr-jul%202010\).pdf](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/images/stories/unlock%20nigeria%20early%20warning%20report%20(apr-jul%202010).pdf) – Accessed 24 February 2011 – Attachment 19

²⁵ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *NGA103175.E – Nigeria: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); whether it forcibly recruits its members and, if so, how; whether members are only from the Ijaw ethnic group (2006-May 2009)*, 16 June, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website <http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452413> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 17

Pertinent issues around wealth and kidnappings in Edo state are addressed in Question 3.

Attacks in MEND's Name

In considering MEND's activities, it is apparent that MEND is not a homogenous group, and also that criminal gangs and thugs have been said to carry out their own attacks in MEND's name. The UK Home Office reports that MEND can be seen as a loosely organised and fluid set of groups attracted to the 'idea' of MEND, each of which bring their own local context and grievances to the movement. The groups constituting MEND are "constantly changing" and motivations range from the ideological and political to the criminal.²⁶ As an illustration of the latter, MEND reportedly claimed responsibility for bomb blasts in the capital Abuja in October 2010. Although MEND leader Henry Okah was arrested, President Goodluck Jonathan stated that other "terrorists" were responsible:

"Let me also use this opportunity to reassure Nigerians that what happened yesterday had nothing, I have to repeat, had nothing to do with the Niger Delta, people just used the name of MEND to camouflage criminality and terrorism."²⁷

One source reports that the blasts in Abuja may have been caused by splinter factions of the old MEND, under new leadership.²⁸

Similarly, a military spokesperson and Niger Delta elder both reportedly argued that a recent resurgence of militancy in the Delta was not the work of MEND, but criminals protecting their oil bunkering interests.²⁹

b) Whether such a person would be at risk of harm from MEND elsewhere in Nigeria.

No further reports were located to indicate that MEND has targeted persons with the above profile outside of the Niger Delta. In July 2010 MEND reportedly attacked an oil facility in the Atlas Cove Jetty Area of Lagos, West of the Niger Delta.³⁰

Although not exclusively relating to MEND, it is also noted that current UK travel advice states "[i]t is possible that armed groups may be planning attacks on oil and gas industry

²⁶ UK Home Office 2010, *Country of Origin Information Report Nigeria*, 9 July, p. 31 – Attachment 4

²⁷ "Nigeria: Henry Okah is Arrested as Jonathan Cites Terrorism" 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *This Day*, 2 October <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201010030010.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011 – Attachment 8

²⁸ "Nigeria: Militants to Attack Petrol Depots, Other Facilities" 2011, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Daily Champion*, 19 January <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201101190517.html> – Accessed 24 February 2011 – Attachment 14

²⁹ "Nigeria: Renewed Militancy and 2011 Elections" 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Leadership*, 20 November <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201011221260.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011 – Attachment 12

³⁰ UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2011, "Travel Advice, Sub Saharan Africa, Nigeria", 21 January <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 5

targets in the Delta, and on other non-oil and gas industry targets and individuals throughout the country.”³¹

(ii) whether a person who had studied petroleum engineering, but worked in Nigeria in a different field, would be at risk of harm from MEND;

As stated in response to Question 1, oil workers, companies and infrastructure constitute MEND’s primary targets. No reports were located to suggest MEND targets Nigerians who are not oil workers. In fact *The Catholic Information Service for Africa* reports that MEND has been kidnapping oil workers since 2006 and in the “past they have “rescued” non-oil worker hostages from other gangs.”³² Similarly, no reports were located to suggest individuals who hold petroleum engineering qualifications, but who do not actually work in the oil industry or on oil facilities, are targeted by MEND.

As noted in the response to Question 1 however, it is reported that armed groups such as MEND may currently be planning attacks on non-oil and gas industry targets throughout Nigeria.³³

Furthermore, in 2009 an article in the *Daily Independent* reported that as foreign companies withdrew workers from Nigeria in response to “hundreds” of kidnappings, criminal gangs “filled the void by snatching politicians, children, and religious figures” particularly in the Niger Delta. Most victims were reportedly released unharmed.³⁴ However it is important to note that this advice does not exclusively pertain to MEND but rather to groups operating in the Niger Delta in general.

(iii) whether such a person is at risk from MEND because he is a member of a well-educated, moderately well-off family and has a father who was a member of the ruling party PDP;

No reports were located of individuals being targeted by MEND on the basis of their academic qualifications or level of education.

With respect to family affiliations with the PDP, it is noted in the response to Question 1 that thugs have attacked two buses in Andoni district, killing 7 people who were travelling to participate in PDP registration.³⁵ It is not made explicit in the report, however, whether the

³¹ UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2011, “Travel Advice, Sub Saharan Africa, Nigeria”, 21 January <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 5

³² “Nigeria: Catholic Priest Abducted by Gunmen in Niger Delta” 2009, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Catholic Information Service for Africa*, 27 January <http://allafrica.com/stories/200901270727.html> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 20

³³ UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2011, “Travel Advice, Sub Saharan Africa, Nigeria”, 21 January <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 5

³⁴ “Nigeria: 512 Kidnapped in Six Months” 2009, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Daily Independent* 23 July <http://allafrica.com/stories/200907230111.html> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 21

³⁵ Fund for Peace 2010, “The Death of a President: A Time of Uncertainty”, Fund for Peace website, April-July p. 10

motivation behind this attack was party-political. It is also noted in Question 1 that some young Ijaw males might experience “some pressure” to join MEND’s cause.³⁶ More generally, “unexplained killings”, including of PDP “stalwarts” have occurred in Nigeria since 1999.³⁷ However no further reports of MEND specifically targeting individuals or families on the basis of their affiliation with the PDP, or with any other Nigerian political party, were located.

On the issue of kidnapping and ransom in Edo State and the Niger Delta more generally, sources indicate that this is an issue for wealthy and well-off families. In the same report where he asserts that MEND were not behind the October 2010 bombings in Abuja, President Goodluck Jonathan states that there are “commercial kidnappings taking place in the South-south and southeast, especially, people kidnap for money. They are not struggling for anybody and they are not representing anybody’s interest.”³⁸ In the same month, President Jonathan reportedly deployed 2000 troops to Abia State in the Delta, where it was reported that “criminals and kidnappers have rendered commercial and social activities incapacitated in the last 10 months”³⁹

An opinion piece in an African news source stated in September 2010 that kidnappings in Edo State had reached “alarming proportions”, with 21 kidnappings in the week prior alone, and that Benin’s Oba had called upon psychics to find a solution. This piece was published following the kidnapping of chief medical director of the Psychiatric Hospital in Uselu, Benin city.⁴⁰ A news article published on the same day reported that people in Benin City were being kidnapped for ransom on a daily basis. Prominent victims in Benin have reportedly included local church figures and their family members⁴¹, and a former board member of the Nigerian Football Association.⁴² A recent news article in *Vanguard* predicts that kidnapping in Nigeria’s South may undermine the upcoming 2011 elections, “because a lot of credible candidates might be afraid to go home to campaign.”⁴³

[http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/images/stories/unlock%20nigeria%20early%20warning%20report%20\(apr-jul%202010\).pdf](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/images/stories/unlock%20nigeria%20early%20warning%20report%20(apr-jul%202010).pdf) – Accessed 24 February 2011 – Attachment 19

³⁶ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *NGA103175.E – Nigeria: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); whether it forcibly recruits its members and, if so, how; whether members are only from the Ijaw ethnic group (2006-May 2009)*, 16 June, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website <http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452413> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 17

³⁷ “Nigeria: Growing Insecurity as a Threat to 2011 Poll” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Daily Champion*, 29 April <http://allafrica.com/stories/201004300453.html> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 22

³⁸ “Nigeria: Henry Okah is Arrested as Jonathan Cites Terrorism” 2010, *This Day*, source: *All Africa*, 2 October <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201010030010.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011 – Attachment 8

³⁹ “Kidnapping: Jonathan Deploys 2000 Soldiers to Abia” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Leadership*, 11 October

http://www.leadershipeditors.com/ns/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=17221:kidnapping-jonathan-deploys-2000-soldiers-to-abia&catid=51:cover-stories&Itemid=101 – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 23

⁴⁰ “Nigeria: How Many of Us Are Left?” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Leadership*, 20 September <http://allafrica.com/stories/201009210413.html> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 24

⁴¹ “Nigeria: Oshiomhole Parleys Security Chiefs Over Kidnapping” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *This Day* 20 September <http://allafrica.com/stories/201009220351.html> – Accessed 1 March 2010 – Attachment 25

⁴² “Nigeria: Maigari Condemns Ekhosuehi’s Kidnapping” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Daily Independent*, 20 December <http://allafrica.com/stories/201012210413.html> – Accessed 1 March 2010 – Attachment 26

⁴³ “Nigeria: 2011 – Fresh Threats to Polls” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Vanguard*, 15 November <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201011150073.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011 – Attachment 27

(iv) whether the police in Edo State, and in Nigeria generally, would be willing and able to protect such people from the risk of harm from MEND.

No reports of police refusing protection to families on the basis of their potential harm from MEND, either in Edo State or in other areas of Nigeria, were located. However, in December 2010 an academic paper reported that the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) are suspected, “not always unjustly” of cooperating with criminals or taking bribes for their release.⁴⁴

Furthermore, Nigerian citizens generally have inadequate access to police protection. Sources report insufficient numbers of police officers, informal privatisation of policing services, and other corruption-related issues as areas of particular concern. The same academic paper from 2010 states that during the 1990s for example, “130-140,000 NPF officers were to police a population of 140 million—less than half the minimum ratio recommended by the United Nations.”⁴⁵ Human Rights Watch reports that as of August 2009, a quarter of the NPF (or around 100,000 officers) were assigned by superiors to provide private security services to wealthy residents and businesses. Some 271,800 officers remained with the mandate to protect Nigeria’s other 150 million citizens. This practice of selling off state policing services is reportedly widespread.^{46 47}

For Nigeria generally, the country ranked 134 of 178 on Transparency International’s most recent Corruption Perception Index, with a comparatively low score of 2.4 (on a scale of 0, or “Very Corrupt”, to 10, or “Very Clean”).⁴⁸ Human Rights Watch reports that police corruption has largely become accepted as an inevitable fact of everyday life.⁴⁹ Amnesty International reports that the NPF have committed a range of human rights violations including unlawful killings, torture, disappearances, torture in prisons resulting in death, and targeting people who fail to pay bribes.⁵⁰ Human Rights Watch corroborates this statement: “Those who do not pay face threats, beatings, sexual assault, torture, or even death. Extended periods of detention leave victims and their friends and family vulnerable to repeated threats and demands for bribes.”⁵¹ A dated yet pertinent study from 2000 concludes that “the most common form of contact between the police and citizen is involuntary law enforcement encounter.” Many people have thus sought protection from crime and violence through alternative means.⁵²

In the context of pending elections, an article in the *Daily Champion* states:

⁴⁴Merz, S. 2010, “Security by Militia, but for Whom? Non-State Actors and Security Governance in Nigeria”, *Simons Papers in Security and Development*, no. 9, School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, December – Attachment 28

⁴⁵Merz, S. 2010, “Security by Militia, but for Whom? Non-State Actors and Security Governance in Nigeria”, *Simons Papers in Security and Development*, no. 9, School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, December – Attachment 28

⁴⁶ Human Rights Watch 2011, “*Everyone’s in on the Game*” – *Corruption and Human Rights Abuses by the Nigeria Police Force*, August. p. 62 – Attachment 29

⁴⁷ “Nigeria: How Many of Us Are Left?” 2010, *Leadership*, source: *All Africa*, 20 September <http://allafrica.com/stories/201009210413.html> – Accessed 1 March 2011 – Attachment 24

⁴⁸Transparency International 2010, *Corruption Perception Index*, 26 October. – Attachment 30

⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch 2011, “*Everyone’s in on the Game*” – *Corruption and Human Rights Abuses by the Nigeria Police Force*, August. p. 24 – Attachment 29

⁵⁰ Amnesty International 2010, *Annual Report 2010 – Nigeria*, 28 May – Attachment 31

⁵¹ Human Rights Watch 2011, “*Everyone’s in on the Game*” – *Corruption and Human Rights Abuses by the Nigeria Police Force*, August. p. 32 Attachment 29

⁵²Merz, S. 2010, “Security by Militia, but for Whom? Non-State Actors and Security Governance in Nigeria”, *Simons Papers in Security and Development*, no. 9, School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, December – Attachment 28

“Being confronted at all fronts by communal clashes, assassinations, intra party crisis, kidnapping among other crimes which may derail the nation’s democratic train, the police seem to be losing grasp in the battle against crime and creation of the atmosphere needed for the flourishing of democracy.”⁵³

(v) Deleted.

Attachments

1. Marquardt, E. 2006. “The Niger Delta Insurgency and its Threat to Energy Security”, *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IV, Issue 16, Jamestown Foundation, 10 August
2. International Crisis Group 2009, *Nigeria: Seizing the Moment in the Niger Delta*, ICG website, 30 April
http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/west_africa/b60_nigeria_seizing_the_moment_in_the_niger_delta.pdf – Accessed 1 May 2009.
3. “Into the Heart of the Niger Delta Oil War” 2009, *Financial Times*, 12 September
<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/69fbae48-9da3-11de-9f4a-00144feabdc0.html> – Accessed 4 December 2009.
4. UK Home Office 2010, *Country of Origin Information Report Nigeria*, 9 July.
5. UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2011, “Travel Advice, Sub Saharan Africa, Nigeria”, 21 January <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/> – Accessed 1 March 2011 –
6. Hanson, S. 2007, “MEND: The Niger Delta’s Umbrella Militant Group”, Council on Foreign Relations, 22 March <http://www.cfr.org/publication/12920/> – Accessed 28 January 2010.
7. Onigbinde, D. 2008, “Natural resource management and its implications on national and sub-regional security: the case of the Niger Delta”, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, 1 September. (CISLIB 19434)
8. “Nigeria: Henry Okah is Arrested as Jonathan Cites Terrorism” 2010, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *This Day*, 2 October
<http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201010030010.html> – Accessed 28 February 2011.
9. “Kidnapped Britons ‘safe and well’ after four months held hostage in Nigeria” 2009, *The Telegraph*, 12 January
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/4223771/Kidnapped-Britons-safe-and-well-after-four-months-held-hostage-in-Nigeria.html> – Accessed 1 December 2009.
10. Stratfor 2009, ‘The Financial Crisis in Nigeria’, 27 January
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