SDN

Public perceptions of security dynamics and stabilisation interventions in the Niger Delta
April 2019–September 2019

SDN

SDN supports those affected by the extractives industry and weak governance. We work with communities and engage with governments, companies and other stakeholders to ensure the promotion and protection of human rights, including the right to a healthy environment. Our work currently focuses on the Niger Delta.

Summary

This report summarises the results of a public perception survey (PPS) carried out by Stakeholder Democracy Network (SDN) in three Niger Delta States—Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers. The purpose of the PPS is to understand local-level concerns about security in the region, and priorities for addressing security-related issues.

The PPS is conducted bi-annually, with each examining public perceptions relating to the previous six-month period. The survey for this report was conducted in August 2019. The particular focus of the period under review was the aftermath of the general elections, which were held in February and March 2019, and the build up to the Bayelsa State governorship election in November 2019.

Key Messages

- Across all states, there was little difference between whether respondents felt the situation was better, the same, or had got worse over the past six months. This could highlight the uncertainty caused by the fact that low-level crime and violence was up, but it was relatively more peaceful since the general elections ended seven months ago.

- In Rivers State, as in Bayelsa State, the period covered saw gang-related killings and kidnappings rise. Many believe this has become the norm - and cult groups remain the biggest security threat to the public in this survey, as in previous ones, across the three States.

- Surveyed citizens continue to view creation of employment opportunities as the top priority for improving peace and security in the region, with 45% saying this should be the government's priority, reflecting a belief that this will lower crime rates.

- Surveyed citizens also continue to view the State Government as the most responsible and effective stakeholder in responding to security and stabilisation, which highlights the growing lacuna between the Federal Government and the region.

- In addition to the usual questions, responses on the Pan Niger Delta Forum (PANDEF) indicate that a majority of the public do not know who the group are, and out of those that do, the majority do not know their goals or believe they are acting in the interests of the region. This highlights visibility and credibility challenges for the foremost non-governmental body claiming to represent the region with the Federal Government and militant groups.

- Specific questions on the role of women in politics highlighted that the majority of citizens surveyed feel there are not enough women in the three tiers of government, and would like to see more women in leadership roles.

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1. Introduction

For over 15 years, SDN has worked with communities and stakeholders in the Niger Delta, tackling issues related to the impact of the oil and gas sector on the region. During this time, we have investigated security issues in the region relating to political unrest—in particular, around elections, extrajudicial use of force by the security services, militancy (including attacks on the extractives sector), cultism, and kidnapping.

In 2017, we began monitoring the security situation in communities through administering a bi-annual public perception survey (PPS), in an attempt to raise awareness of the concerns and priorities of those living in the Niger Delta.

This survey was the fifth in the series, and was conducted in Bayelsa, Delta, and Rivers states in the Niger Delta, where most of SDN's work is focused. 300 responses (100 per state) were gathered in August 2019. Participants were asked questions relating to the security situation in their state over the past six months, and their outlook over the next twelve.

The survey period included the period following the general elections, which is previously known for heightened security issues, a hangover made worse by the high level of arms proliferation and gang activity. It is also typically a period of political jostling, where actors seek to present themselves for political appointments under victorious politicians, not least, as Federal Ministerial positions, which permeated the public debate during the period under review.

The following pages present the information collected through the survey.[1]

2. Contextual dynamics in the survey period

The major sources of insecurity during the period under review were a result of the elections earlier in the year, and tensions over the delay in resumption of governance.

Political appointments

By far the biggest public political debate during the period was the appointment of Federal Ministers due to the history of the characters involved. These were announced in August, six months after elections, and former Governors Timipre Sylva (Bayelsa), Godswill Akpabio (Akwa Ibom) and Rotimi Amaechi (Rivers) were given large portfolios (Petroleum, Niger Delta, and Transport). The appointment of these high-powered outspoken politicians signalled hope that the region would gain more attention from the Federal Government. But because each of these figures are known to the public for allegations of corruption and as the pioneers of polarising political tactics, it also reinforced a number of negative perceptions surrounding politics—that doggedness will be rewarded over acumen.

Low-level criminality and gang violence

While the general election was over, results were announced, and there was no contest over the outcome at the level of States, the tactics used perpetuated a number of perennial sources of insecurity. Firstly, there was a spike in arms proliferation before and during the elections, which remained in circulation afterwards. Secondly, as has become common practice in the Niger Delta, gangs were recruited to influence voting and counting of results. Many maintained possession of resources beyond election, including weapons and uniforms, and used them to facilitate crimes. Thirdly, politicians and gang members were spending the money earned on flash cars and pleasures such as night clubbing in major cities. Highly territorial, this mingling of winners and losers led to a number of clashes in metropolitan areas in the period immediately after elections, especially in Port Harcourt and Yenagoa.[2] Furthermore, after some time, when the money ran out, there was a spike in crimes to sustain income.

State governments established structures to counter this violence, including the Security and Advisory Planning Committee and the Bayelsa Vigilante Service, in Rivers and Bayelsa States respectively. While this may have reassured the public that the Governor is actively deploying resources to address this issue, past initiatives similar to these have rewarded cronies and failed to deliver impact.

Lack of accountability for electoral violence

With no serious questions, investigations, or arrests related to electoral violence, and the rewarding of the host of actors involved, there was a growing acquiescence towards the security situation across the region. Tensions were rising in Bayelsa State, where off-cycle gubernatorial elections were set for later in the year (November). Observers were anticipating a repeat of the same approaches employed in other Niger Delta States, especially Rivers and Akwa Ibom, but with a more intense application without the distraction of other

elections. Another factor increasing the ante is the fact the All Progressives Congress (APC) failed to win a State in the Niger Delta, which is the heartland of the rival People's Democratic Party (PDP), and were desperate to get a symbolic victory in Bayelsa.

Quantitative Conflict Data

The data displayed in Fig. 1 is from the *Partners for Peace* (P4P) peace map.[3] It shows all incidents recorded under the conflict indicator categories in the target three states, for the survey period (April—September 2019), and also for the six months before and after.[4] This is provided to compare one source of data on reported conflict incidents with the perception of the level of conflict, as experienced by the public.
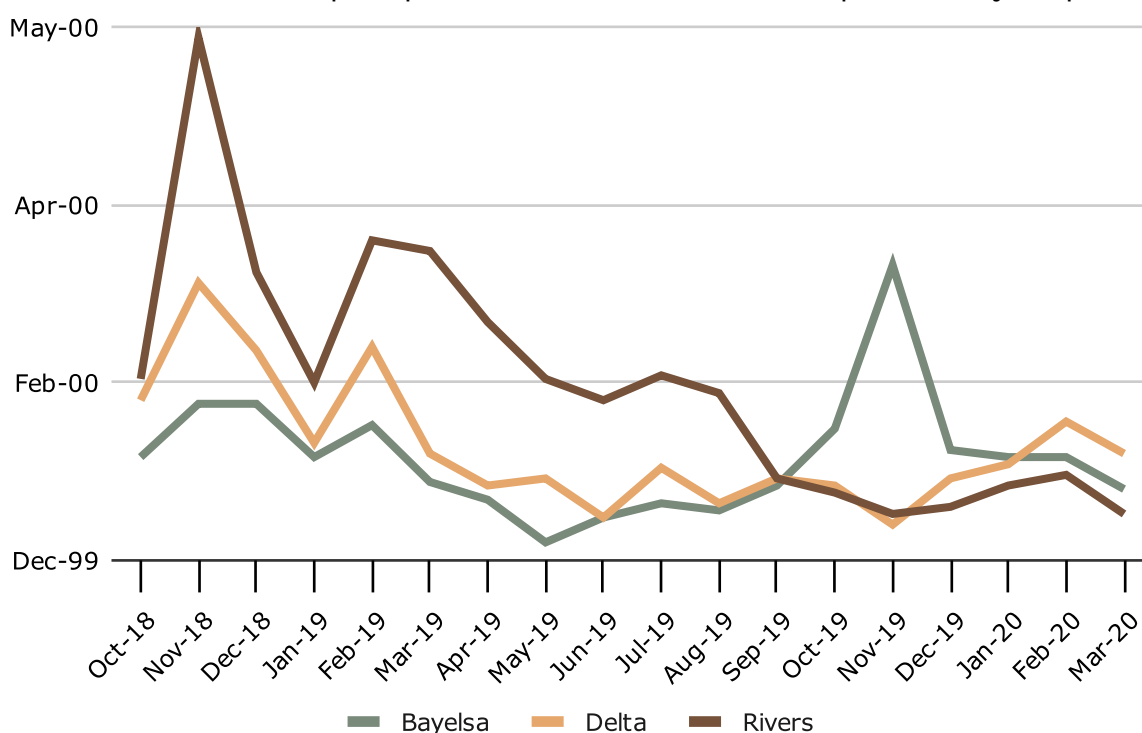
Fig.1. Conflict incidents recorded in the target states during the period October 2018—March 2020[5]

During the period under review, the data indicates there was a general reduction in conflict incidents from the start (April) to the end (September), and a much lower number than the six-month period before. The number of incidents in Rivers State remained higher than in other States throughout the period, but dropped to the same level in September (at which point incidents in Bayelsa took over as preparations for the November elections commenced).

3. Findings

This section presents the findings of the fifth PPS. The data is based on responses from a total of 300 people, 100 selected from each state, 50% female, 50% urban and 50% rural. (See section 4. *Methodology* for further information).

3.1 Perceptions of the current security situation

3.1.1 Changes to the security situation over the last six months

Participants were asked to describe the security situation in their state in August 2019 compared with six months previously (April 2019). Fig 2. presents their answers.
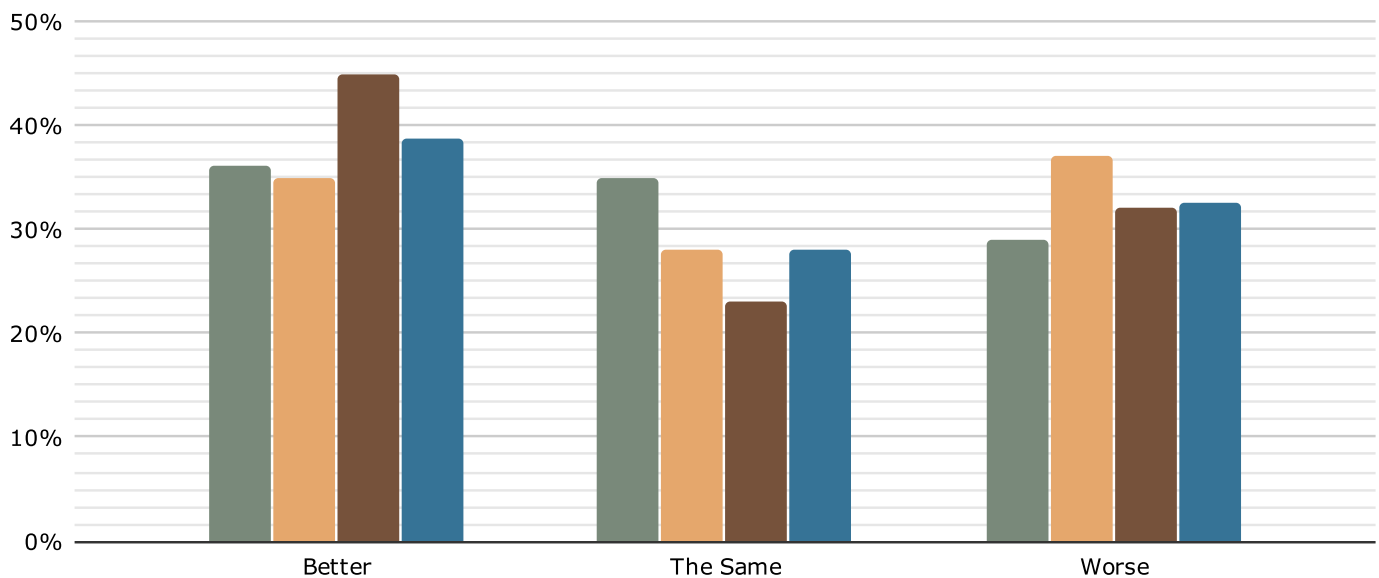
Fig. 2: Percentage of survey participants in each state selecting from available options on the perception of the security situation in their state

Across all states, there was little difference between whether respondents felt the situation was better (39%), the same (28%), or had got worse (33%) in August compared with April 2019. Mixed perceptions about the past six months may be because crime and insecurity were actually quite high compared to 'normal', but not as high as immediately before this period, during the February—March elections. The quantitative data from P4P also suggests a general decline in incidents during the period. Rivers State had the highest number of people who thought that situation has improved - even though it witnessed a spike in cult and gang violence through to August - because this was relatively low compared to the particularly bad election period.

In the previous survey (October 2018—March 2019), most respondents thought the overall security situation in their state remained the same over the six-month period. There has therefore been a slight shift towards feeling the situation is either better or worse, indicating that post-election violence and tension is not evenly distributed.

3.1.2 Security threats in the last six months

Participants were asked to state which actors they believed were most likely to be involved in security threats in their state. Fig.3. below presents their answers.
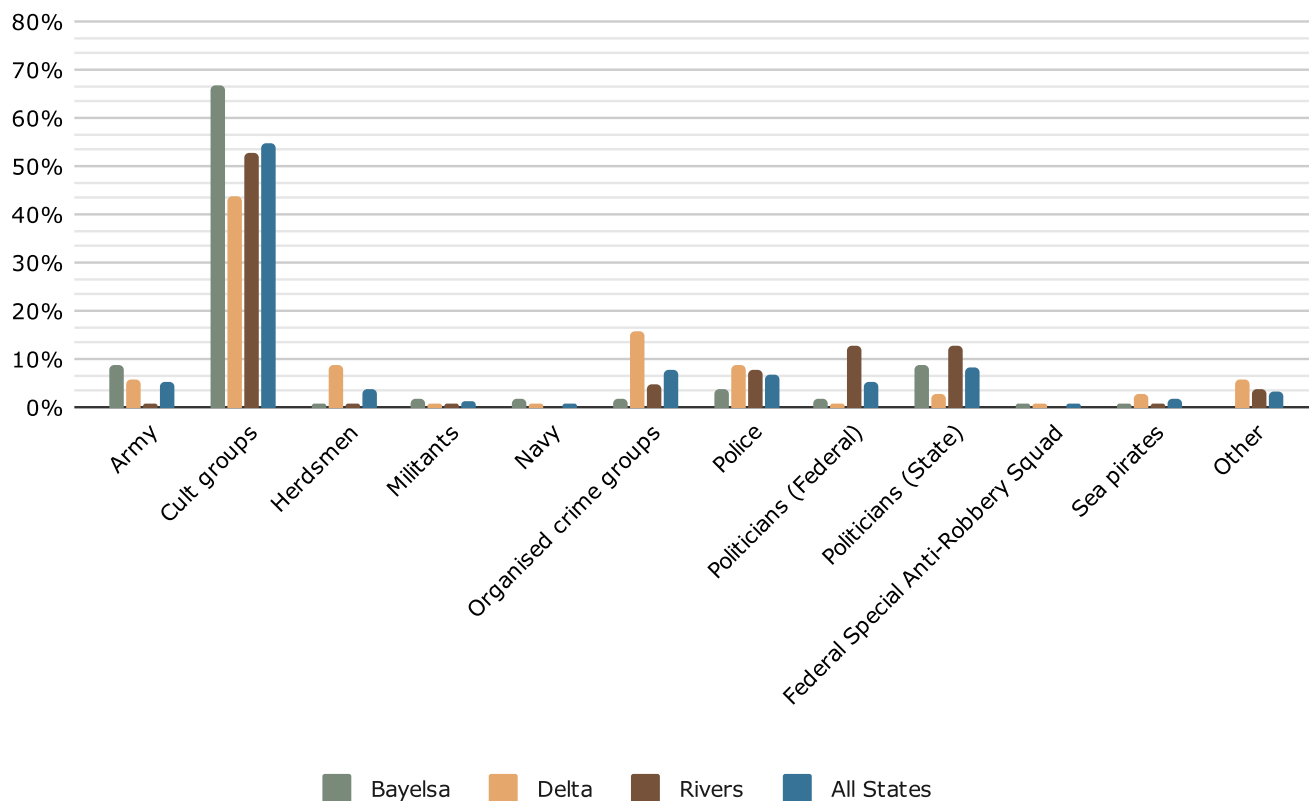
Fig. 3: Percentage of survey participants selecting one response between given options on actors who they believe were most likely to be involved in security threats between April—September 2019

The highest number of respondents (55% overall) said that cult groups were most likely to be involved in security threats. This reiterates responses from all previous PPS surveys, highlighting the threat they pose across the Niger Delta. In the previous survey, less than 40% of respondents labelled cult groups as the biggest threat—and this has increased to 55% for the period under review. This is likely as a result of the role they played during elections, and then the high rate of cult related violence following the election, as outlined during the context.

In Rivers State, politicians, both Federal and State, scored highly—and this is likely due to reports that were emerging with allegations politicians played key roles in the election violence. The reason that organised crime groups, distinct from cult groups, were rated highly in Delta state is not clear, but could be related to a spike in kidnapping.

These dynamics were reiterated during focus group discussions in each of the states that accompanied the surveys.

In Rivers State the evolving nature of cultism was a feature for most:

"In Ogoniland, disturbance rate dropped. At Sakpenwa, stakeholders denounced cultism. Feelers have it that cult groups in Okrika have been trying to infiltrate Ogoni. Cultism is on the increase."

"In Choba, cultism has been an issue. The rate has dropped since the meeting with the State Governor. Sea piracy is a problem in Okrika. The kidnap of Chief Harrison is a case in point. In Borokiri, there have been cases of robbery and theft. It is very frequent."

"Armed robbery, kidnapping, gangsterism and cultism rife in this area. Renunciation is not helpful at all. Security operatives appear to be conniving with them."

In Bayelsa State, participants said that cult clashes and armed robbery have increased:

"There was an increase of cult related clashes from May to August. Cult clashes and gunshot cases from armed robbery. Since September, the number has reduced. Attacks on Keke (tricycle) passengers."

"Akenfa, near Ebisam. Increase in armed robbery and cultism. Inter-cult clashes have been rife. Stealing of phones in the night has increased. Cultists dabble as armed robbers and petty thieves."

"Within the Prison vicinity, no security threat. Stealing, robbery and rape occur around the entrance to the road. The rate, however, has reduced. Towards Obele-Swale Market area too, the security situation has improved."

In Delta State, participants cited killings, cultism, kidnapping, armed robbery and rape:

"High level of cultism in Udu area. Communal conflict in Alaja. Bomadi area has high rate of cultism. Piracy and rape cases abound in the riverine area."

"Efurun has been witnessing cases of armed robbery and kidnapping."

"In Udu area, crime rate is very high. Loss of life. Idle youth have become cultists."

"Ekpan area is very volatile. Lots of criminal attacks. Cultism and robbery. The area has become more peaceful after the elections. Isolated cases of robbery and kidnapping. The rate of toutism (harassment and intimidation) is high. Cult activities in schools. Teenage armed robbery and rape groups."

"In Oruwhuoro robbery by people in motor bikes. Shooting. Miscreants terrorise the place. Crimes committed with/by Keke drivers. High level of killing. Enerhen Junction is another hotspot. Ogbe-Ijaw vs Alaja conflict has taken a different dimension. One can be misdirected and killed by virtue of the person's tribe."

3.1.3 Security situation over the next 12 months

Participants were asked to comment on what they think will happen to the security situation in their state over the next 12 months. Their answers are presented below in Fig.4.
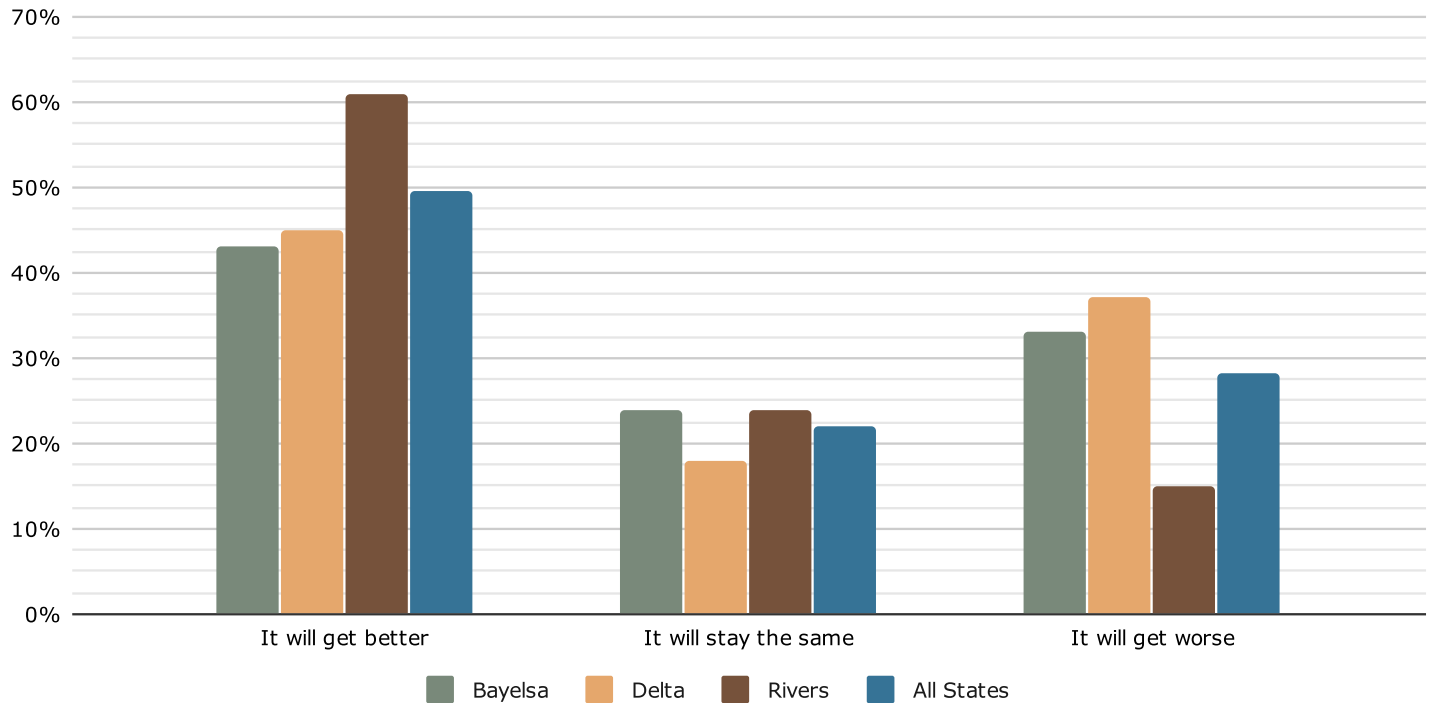

Fig. 4: Percentage of survey participants who thought the security situation in their state would get better, stay the same and get worse over the next 12 months.

Overall, half of all respondents thought the security situation would improve in their State over the next 12 months, especially in Rivers State. This indicates that six months after the elections, the majority feel that they are past the worst of the security issues, highlighting the threats associated with elections in the Niger Delta. Despite the fact the off-cycle gubernatorial election was on the horizon, more respondents in Bayelsa State thought the security situation would get better than worse (43% compared with 33%).

There was a noticeable discrepancy between the opinions of survey respondents and participants in the focus group discussions. The majority opinion during these sessions was that the security situation in the Niger Delta would not improve during the next 12 months. Discussion points raised included:

- Ongoing concerns related to cultism, and the negative influence of internet fraudsters.
- That hunger would worsen the security situation, and that this would not change unless the economy improves.
- Related to that, that unemployment continues to be an exacerbating factor.
- The perception that the government is not doing anything to improve local living conditions.

3.1.4 Actors responsible for security

Participants were asked to choose from a list of actors who they believed should be responsible for improving security in the Niger Delta. These results are presented in Fig.5.
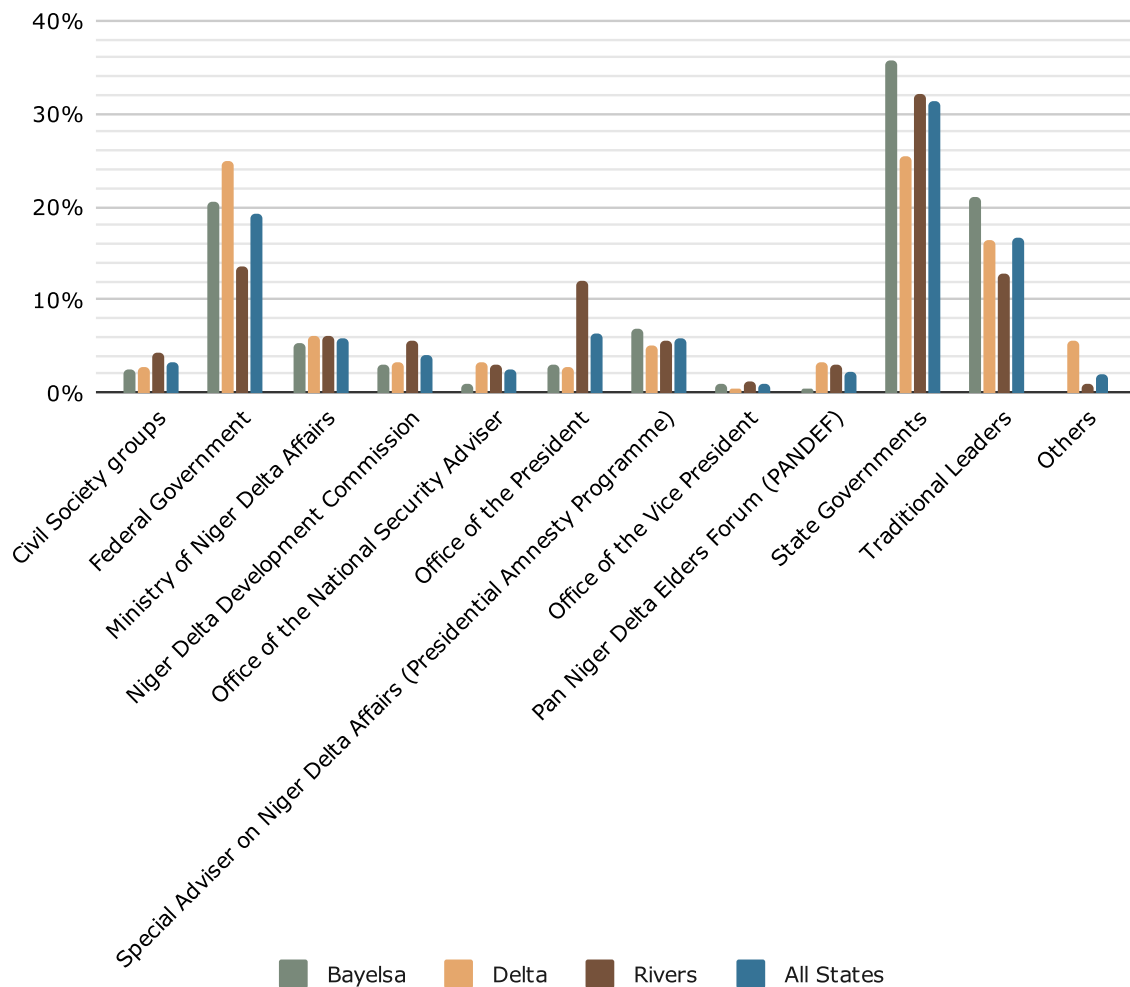

Fig.5: Percentage of survey participants selecting given options for who should be responsible for improving security in the Niger Delta

The highest number of respondents overall (31%) said that they think State governments should be responsible for improving security in the Niger Delta. This is down from almost half of all respondents in the last survey, indicating that the public feels State Governments had a net negative effect on security during election periods. This is reinforced by the fact that in Rivers and Delta States, where there were gubernatorial elections in March, the percentage of respondents citing State government decreased between surveys; while in Bayelsa State, where the off-cycle gubernatorial election was going to hold later in the year (November), responses backing State government increased from 30% to 36% between surveys.

Many also said that responsibility lies with the Federal Government (19%) and traditional rulers (17%). These results are consistent with the last survey, where participants also highlighted these three as the most responsible for improving security in the Niger Delta. Interestingly, these top three groups often clash over their opinions on security and stabilisation and rarely work together.

In focus group discussions in Rivers State, participants report the high success rate of local vigilante groups. This is interesting because the State governor has made numerous attempts to build on these structures, but has been repeatedly denied by the Federal Government.

> *"In Omoku, there was issue of cultism and kidnapping earlier in the year. Improvement has been witnessed because of the OSPAC (local vigilante). Insecurity has reduced."*

> *"Buguma used to be a free town. At a point, cultists took over. Army, police and Neighbourhood Watch has been active. Buguma is now peaceful. In Rumuosi, thieves come around. OSPAC has been invited by the Chiefs. Rumuosi is relatively peaceful now."*

> *"Eleme axis has been witnessing constant robbery incidents. Local vigilantes have been set up. Since then, robbery and kidnapping has reduced"*

3.1.5 Federal Government initiatives to improve regional security

Survey participants were provided with a list of Federal Government initiatives, all of which aim to improve security in the Niger Delta, and were asked to select all of those that they were aware of. The responses are presented in Fig.6. below.
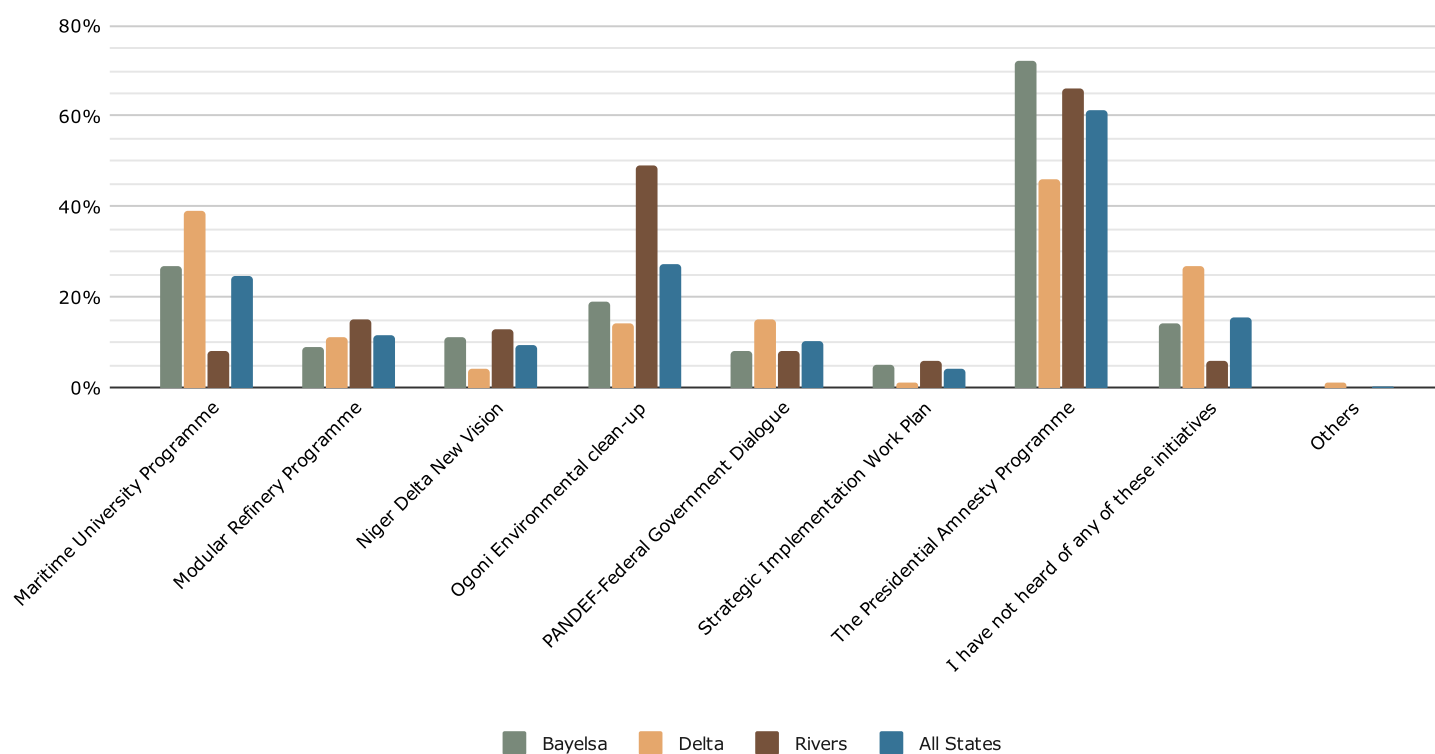
Fig.6: Percentage of survey participants aware of Federal Government initiatives (provided as options) to improve security and stabilisation in the Niger Delta

In all states, the Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP) was by far the most well-known initiative by the Federal Government for improving security and stabilisation, especially in Bayelsa (72% compared to 46% in Delta and 66% in Rivers), possibly because the largest number of ex-militants in per capita terms are registered in Bayelsa.

Interestingly there is very little knowledge of the Nigerian Maritime University in Rivers State (8%) compared to in Delta (where it is located) and Bayelsa States (39 and 27% respectively). This is one of the projects that both militants and the Federal government reference when it comes to security and stabilisation. As it is located in Delta state, Rivers is geographically the furthest away, but the low awareness also hints to the fact it is not as much of a priority as it is in the other two states.

Conversely, the Ogoni clean-up, which is located in Rivers State, is well known (49%), yet the level of awareness is low in both Bayelsa (14%) and Delta (15%) States. The disparity in awareness of key projects across states could be an indicator of the Federal government's approach to stabilisation—which is not outlined in a cohesive strategy, but rather focuses on the most popular project in the location. Meanwhile, awareness of the Strategic Implementation Work Plan (SIWP)—the Federal Government's attempt to deliver a cohesive strategy—remained low at 4% across the three States.

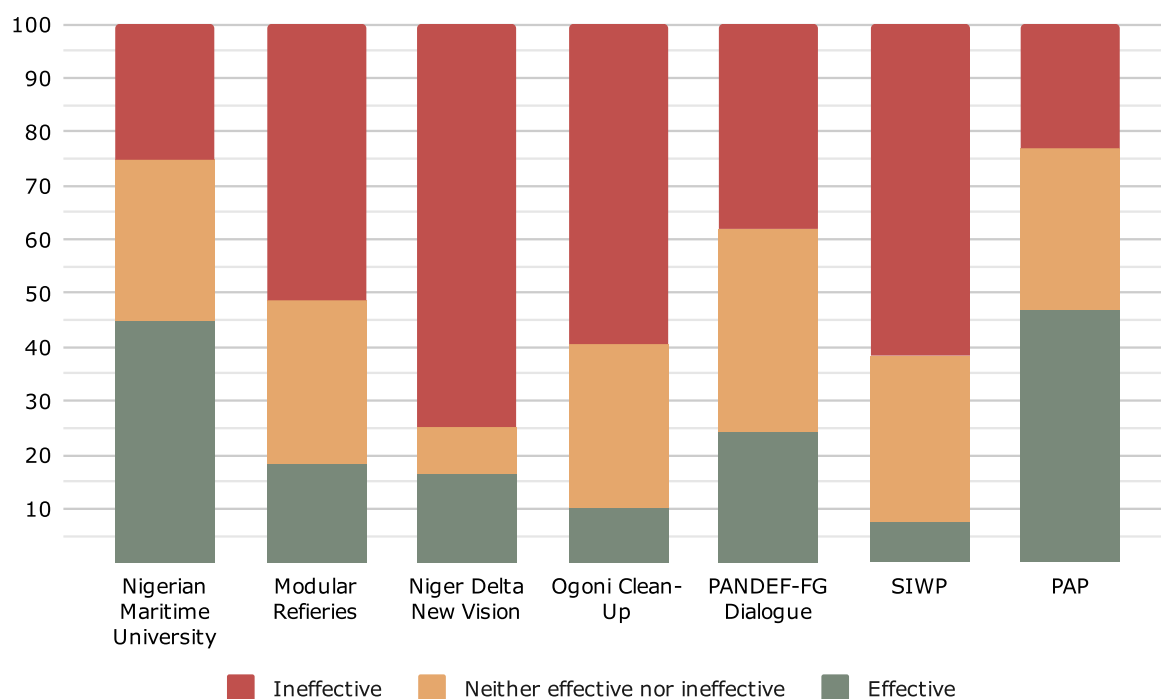*Fig 7: Percentage of perception of effectiveness of various initiatives to improve security and stabilisation in the Niger Delta (rated only by respondents who were aware of each initiative)*

Fig.7. shows how effective respondents rated each of the initiatives they had heard of. Note that these percentages relate to different sample sizes—for example, only 24 had heard of the Niger Delta New Vision, compared to 181 who had heard of the PAP, so the fact that 47% thought the PAP was effective is likely to be a more significant finding than 17% of respondents (only 4 people) thinking the Niger Delta New Vision is effective.

Aside from the PAP and Nigerian Maritime University, the other initiatives have very limited tangible presence on ground. All are in the planning or consultation phase, apart from the Ogoni clean-up, which has been operational for over two years, but is yet to deliver results, hence the low score.

3.1.6 Priority interventions for improving regional security

Participants were asked to choose from a list of options that they thought should be the main government priority to improve security and stabilisation in the Niger Delta. Their answers are presented in Fig. 8. below.
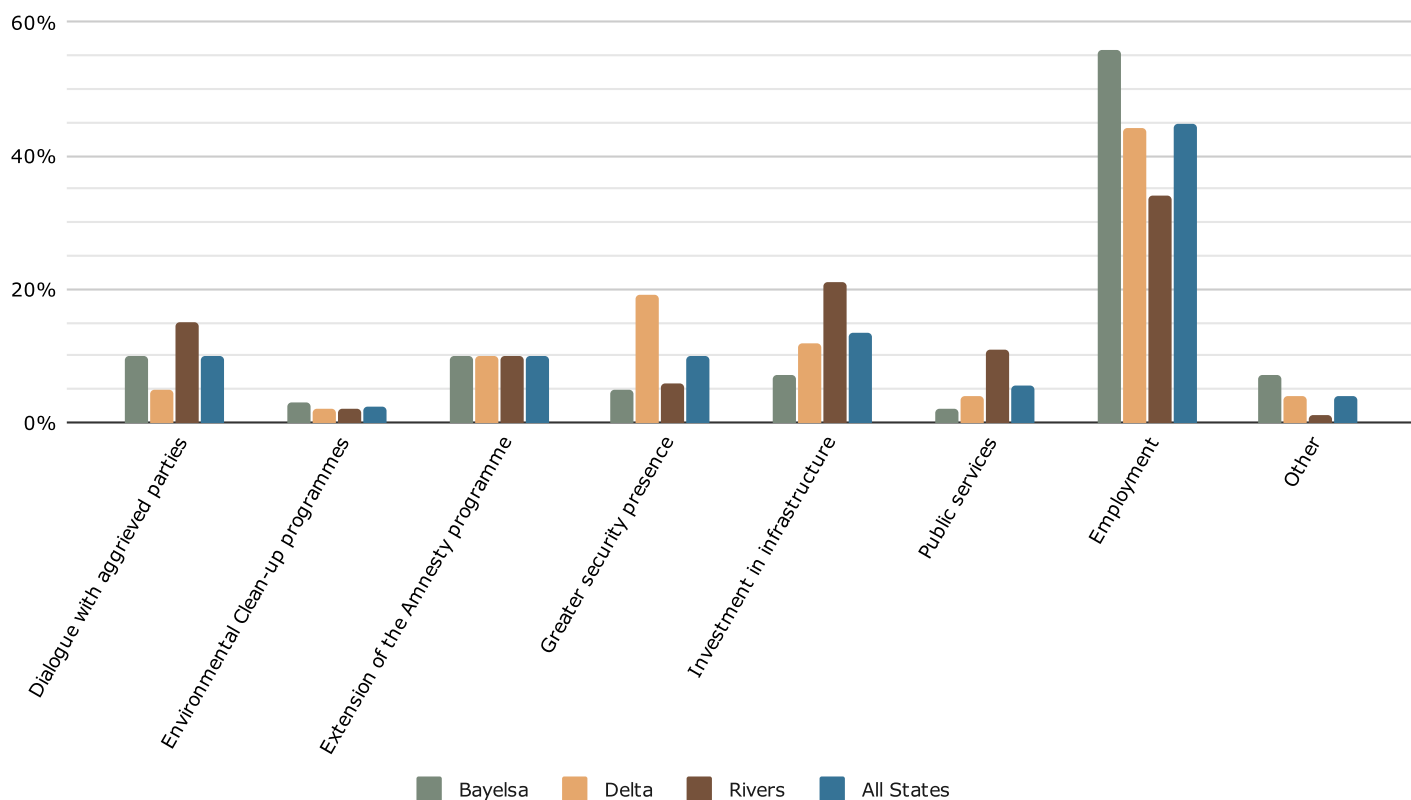

Fig.8: Percentage of survey participants selecting given options on what they believe the main priority is for improving security and stabilisation in the Niger Delta.

Reflecting responses in earlier public perception surveys, the highest number of respondents (45% across the three states) chose employment as the main priority area. This relates to the common perception that higher unemployment leads to higher crime, cultism and gang-related violence.

Investment in infrastructure was considered particularly important in Rivers State, while respondents in Delta State were more likely to call for a stronger security presence than elsewhere, potentially due to the heavily publicised nomadic herdsmen on the northern fringes of the state.

In addition, focus group members discussing this topic outlined other priorities for government:
- Include skill acquisition in school curriculum, and improve the general standard of education
- Support infrastructure development, prioritising link roads
- Encourage private investment in the manufacturing sector
- Increase accountability over the spending of 13% of oil revenue allocated to States
- Prioritise the employment of more security agents and implement community policing
- Include women and young people in relevant initiatives more effectively

3.2 The Pan Niger Delta Forum (PANDEF)

As with previous surveys, this survey included a section with questions on a specific topic. This survey asked respondents about the Pan Niger Delta Forum (PANDEF), an umbrella organisation which has been representing groups in the Niger Delta, including militant groups, in dialogue with the Federal Government since 2016. The results presented below highlight that PANDEF needs to contemplate strategies to increase their visibility and credibility in the Niger Delta.

First, respondents were asked whether they had heard of PANDEF, and overall, as is shown in fig.9, only one third had.[6] This result came in the same month that PANDEF announced that their dialogue with the Federal Government, which was instrumental in securing and sustaining a ceasefire from militants since 2016, had broken down.[7]

Awareness was significantly higher in Rivers State than in the other two states, despite comparably limited engagement from politicians and other public figures (for example the thought leader of PANDEF, Chief EK Clark is from Delta, and the Governor of Bayelsa regularly engages with the body).
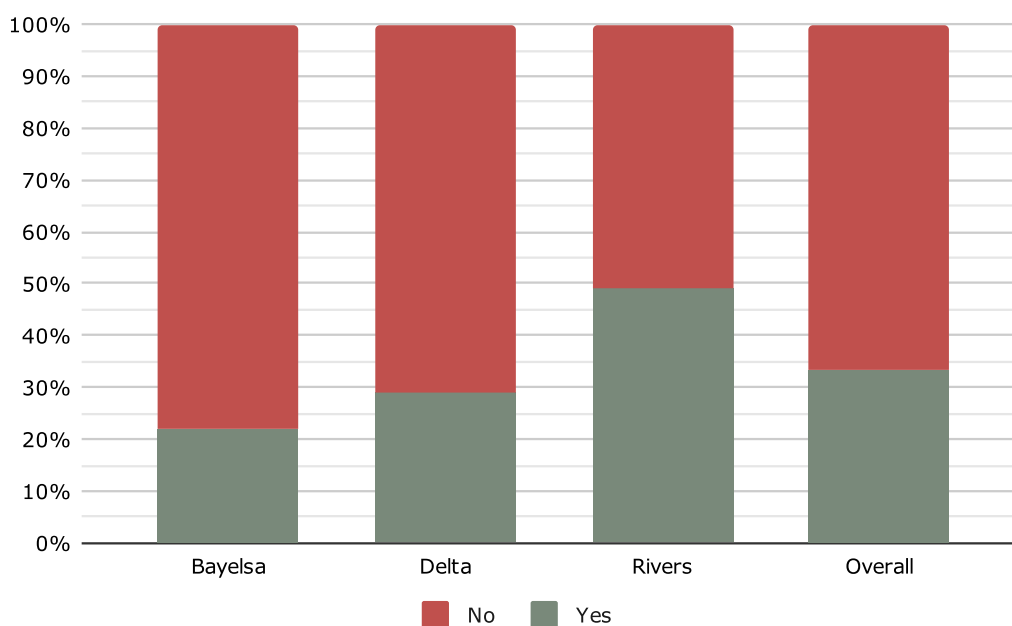

Fig. 9. Percentage of respondents who had heard of the civil society group PANDEF

Next we asked those who had heard of PANDEF whether they were aware of their goals, which are organised under peace, development and security for the Niger Delta, and include things like dialogue with the Federal Government and advocacy for fiscal federalism. The responses are illustrated in Fig. 10 below. The majority (54%) were not aware of their goals. Again, respondents in Rivers State scored highest, with more than 70% aware of their goals. This may be down to PANDEF's involvement in a number of issues in the State during the period, including:

- Consistent statements on the need for the interim committee of NDDC to produce a transparent audit at a time it was starting activities at the headquarters in Port Harcourt.[8]

- Mediation with militant groups threatening to shut down the NDDC headquarters, which is located in the state capital Port Harocurt, over the delay in appointment of the board.[9]

- Support to decentralisation of the security architecture in national debates, which aligned with vocal

demands from the Rivers State governor, Nyesom Wike.[10]

- Involvement in ongoing protests over the transfer of ownership of OML 25, which is located on the eastern border of Rivers State, from Shell to an indigenous company.[11]
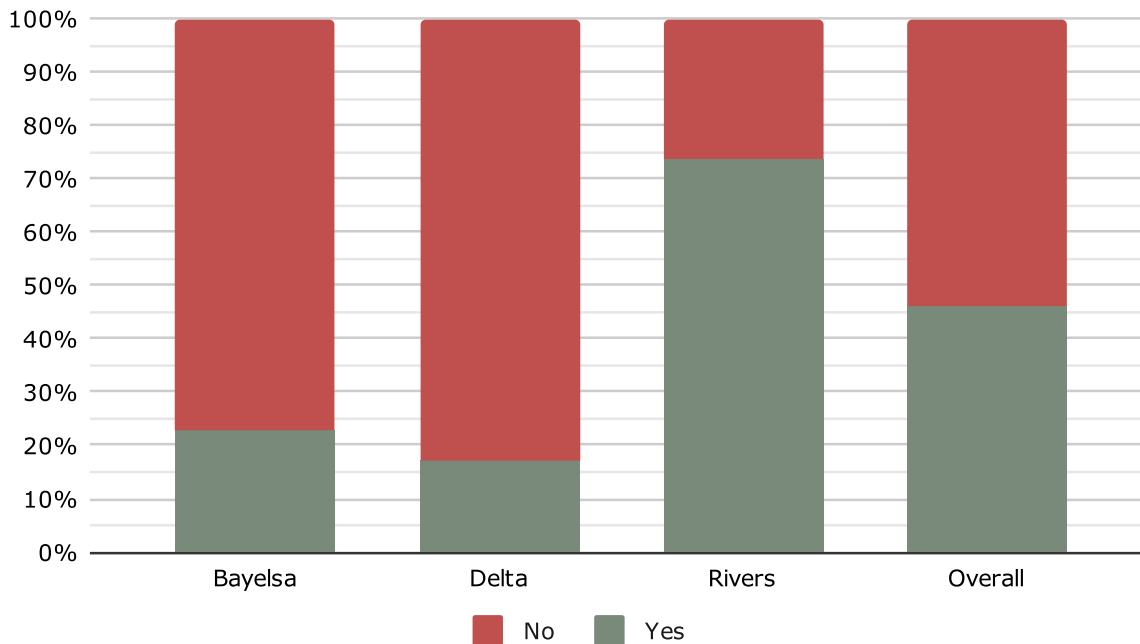

Fig. 10. Percentage of respondents who had heard of PANDEF and claimed they were aware of their goals

Despite respondents in Rivers State being most aware of PANDEF, they were also the most suspicious of PANDEF's motivations. When asked if they believed they represent the interests of the Niger Delta (for example by seeking the best deal for the region when negotiating with the Federal Government rather than serving their own personal interests) more than two thirds of respondents said no, as is illustrated in Fig.11. This could be related to the issues they were involved in, not least the OML 25 debate, which the public may have believed they were receiving payments for supporting, or were likely to gain financially from a positive outcome.

This contrasts highly to Bayelsa state, where more than 75% who had heard of PANDEF agreed that the group does primarily represent the interests of the region; and also to Delta state, where respondents were split 50:50. As mentioned, the Governor of Bayelsa, H.S. Dickson, was the biggest proponent of the body, regularly engaging with PANDEF and supporting their statements and activities, unlike his counterparts in neighbouring states. The approval of the Governor could account for their credibility in the State above others.
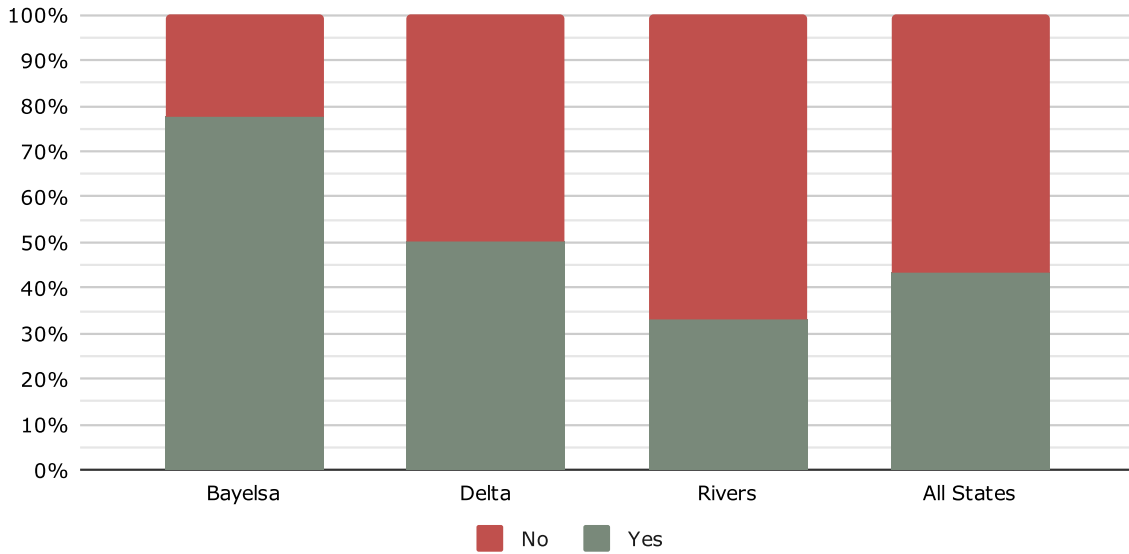
Fig. 11. Percentage of respondents aware of PANDEF who believe that they are acting in the interests of the Niger Delta.

Respondents who had heard of PANDEF were next asked if they thought the activities of PANDEF were helping to reduce insecurity in the Niger Delta, and the responses are illustrated in fig. 12 below.
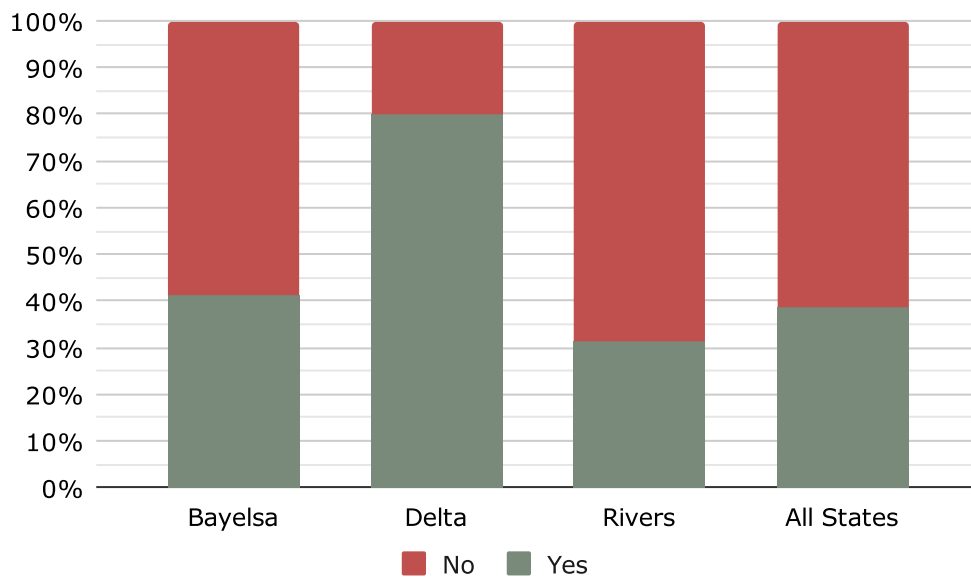

Fig. 12. Percentage of respondents who feel PANDEF is helping to reduce insecurity in the Niger Delta

Overall, the majority of respondents think that PANDEF is not helping to reduce insecurity in the Niger Delta (61%). This level is particularly low in Rivers State, which mirrors responses to the previous question that highlights a lack of trust. Interestingly, despite having the lowest knowledge of PANDEF's goals, respondents in Delta State were the most likely to believe PANDEF is having a positive effect on insecurity (80%). This could be because the thought leader, Chief EK Clark, is a renowned political figure in the State, and despite being in his 90's, is always associated with issues related to security in the Niger Delta.

3.3 The role of women in politics

This survey also asked respondents specific questions about the role of women in politics in the Niger Delta. SDN recently published research on this under-explored issue, which shows that insecurity is a key barrier to women's greater participant in politics.[12]

First we asked respondents if they think women are fairly represented in government positions, at the local, state and federal levels. The overall results are presented below in Fig.13. The greatest observable difference is the perception between states. The highest is in Rivers State, and this is perhaps because the Deputy Governor is female, as are all LGA deputy chairs.
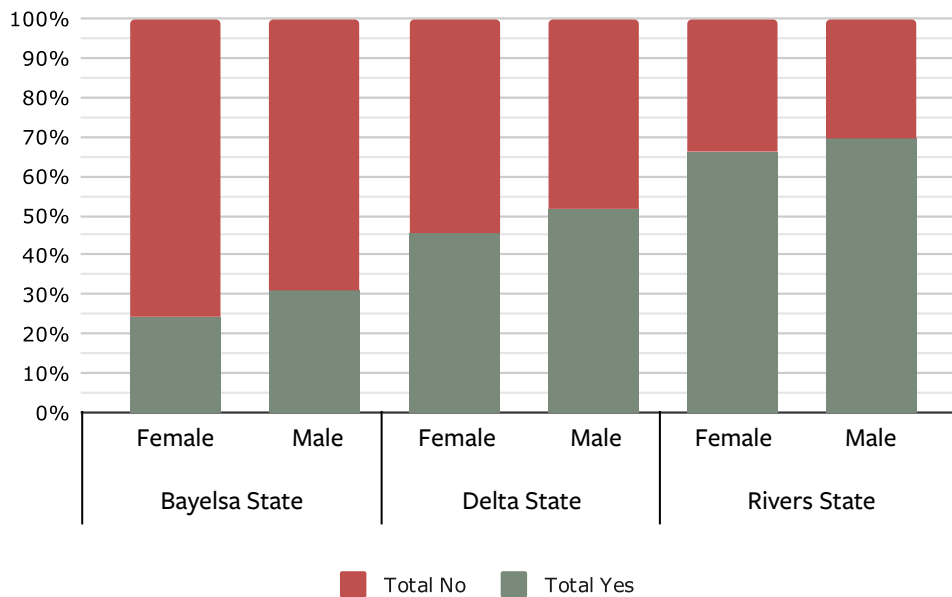
Fig.13. Percentage of respondents who think women are well represented in all three tiers of politics.

Second we asked whether women should be given more leadership positions in the Niger Delta. The overall results are presented below in Fig. 14. The vast majority, whether male or female, said yes. Difference between gender, which is slightly bigger in Bayelsa and Delta, could highlight a barrier.

Fig.14. Percentage of respondents who think women should be given more leadership positions.

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Respondents were then asked to select one of the following key measures that they think would reduce the impact of conflict and other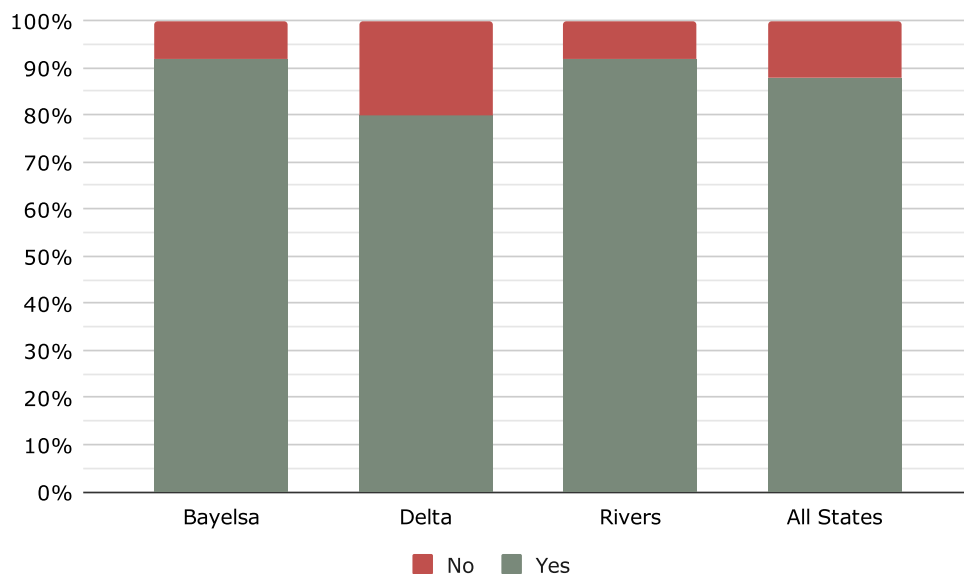 security issues on women in their state. (Given options are listed below, and these numbers correspond with the X axis in Fig 15 below).

1. Psycho-social support/counselling.

2. Involve survivors of gender-based violence and local NGOs in advocacy efforts.

3. Ensure a more effective implementation of existing laws and policies to address gender-based violence.

4. Special security outfits that specifically address women's security issues.

5. Expand education programmes against gender-based violence to increase awareness of how to prevent and address gender-based violence.

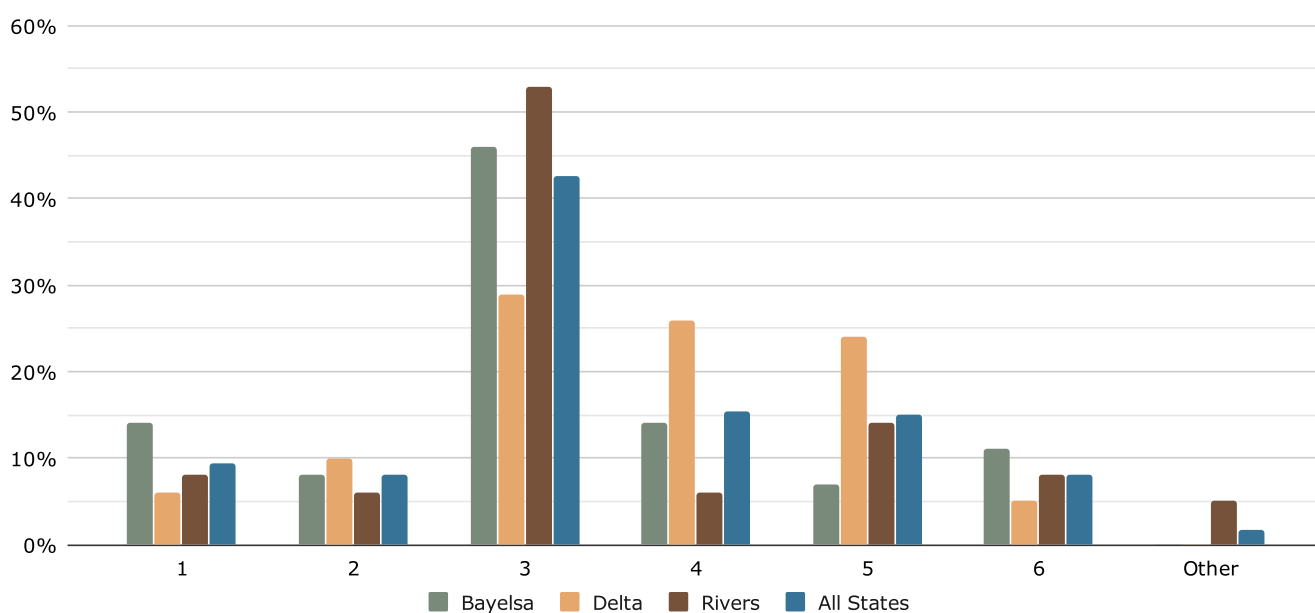**6.** Expand provision of safe houses and safe spaces for women affected by violence.

Fig.15: Percentage of survey participants in each state selecting from available options on measures to reduce the impact of conflict on women in their state.

The most popular measure among participants (43%) was the enforcement of existing laws and policies would have the greatest impact on protecting women from conflict. This was followed by special security outfits and increased education (15% each). In addition to the measures put forwards in the survey, FGD participants made the following suggestions:

● Give women a voice in the communities.

● Cultural barriers should be collapsed.

● Create platforms where experiences can be shared.

● Encourage the education of the girl-child

● Recognition of women as equal partners.

● Educate the men who always ask for sexual gratification before rendering any support.

● Aggressive gender equality campaign

● Creation of awareness to women. They are not to consider themselves as inferior.

● Fear of stigmatization should be watered down.

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4. Methodology

This research encompassed three states in the Niger Delta: Rivers, Bayelsa and Delta. A survey was administered by the SDN research team in various locations, including communities and towns, split between rural and urban areas. Multistage sampling was used—including purposive (to ensure gender balance) and convenience sampling, with the research team approaching respondents on the street, in their homes, and at public locations.

The survey was administered over four days in August 2019. There were 300 respondents in total—100 drawn from 20 LGAs across nine senatorial districts in the three states of coverage. The LGAs selected were Akuku Toru, Asari-Toru, Etche, Ogu/Bolo, Obio/ Akpor, Port Harcourt, Tai, Oyigbo, Ogbia, Sagbama, Southern Ijaw, Yenagoa, Udu, Ughelli North, Ethiope West, Warri South, Patani, Bomadi, Ndokwa East, and Ukwuani.

Respondents included people from a range of backgrounds, including apprentices, homemakers, NGO/local association workers, public servants, private sector workers, students, traders, the self-employed, and the unemployed.

Two eight-person focus group discussions were also held in each state to discuss the survey findings. Discussants included representatives from government, NGOs, faith-based organisations, the private sector, and traditional institutions.

A breakdown of survey respondents is below.

State	No. of Respondents	Sex	
		Male	Female
Bayelsa	100	50	50
Delta	100	50	50
Rivers	100	50	50
Age			
18-24	54		
25-34	104		
35-49	96		
50 and above	46		

5. References

1   This report presents the views of a sample of the public across the study area. Efforts were made to ensure respondents came from a variety of backgrounds, but the sample is not statistically representative. However, focus group discussions with key experts have been used to provide an additional level of confidence in the validity of the findings and, in this regard, the surveys provide a valuable indication into citizens' perceptions across the focal states. Further details are in the methodology (Section 4).

2   For example, Nkemakolem, S. (2019) 'Cult clashes claim five, mob beats two to death in Bayelsa. Punch. 13 July. https://punchng.com/cult-clashes-claim-five-mob-beats-two-to-death-in-bayelsa/

3   P4P (2020). Peace Map. https://www.tgpcloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=p4p. Last Accessed 12/08/2020. Data is gathered from a variety of sources, including Action on Armed Violence, ACLED, Nigeria Watch, Council on Foreign Relations, UNLocK, WANEP Nigeria, CSS/ETH Zurich, NSRP Sources, Community Initiative for Enhanced Peace and Development (CIEPD), and NEEWS2015/TMG.

4   Conflict indicators are human rights, demographic pressures, insecurity, economic pressures, group grievance/collective violence, governance/legitimacy, public services, and regugees/IDPs.

5   P4P (2020). Peace Map. www.tgpcloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=p4p. Last Accessed 12/08/2020.

6   Note this is different to the previous question under 3.1.5 which asks if participants were aware of PANDEF's dialogue with the Federal Government.

7   Amaize, E et al. (2020). 'Collapse of talks between FG, PANDEF risky, threat to peace—AGITATORS.' Vanguard. 11 January. www.vanguardngr.com/2020/01/collapse-of-talks-between-fg-pandef-risky-threat-to-peace-agitators/

8   Amaize, E. (2020). 'NDDC: Tension subsides in N'Delta as interim mgt takescharge'. *Vanguard*. 11 January. www.vanguardngr.com/2020/01/clark-stopped-militants-revolt-against-nddc-interim-management-%E2%80%95report/

9   Amaize, E. (2020). 'Clark stopped militants' revolt against NDDC interimmanagement – Report'. *Vanguard*. 29 January. www.vanguardngr.com/2020/01/clark-stopped-militants-revolt-against-nddc-interim-management-%E2%80%95report/

10   This Day. (2020). '23 States run local security outfits as groups demand decentralised policing.' *This Day*. 13 January. www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2020/01/13/23-states-run-local-security-outfits-as-groups-demand-decentralised-policing/

11   Chinwo, E. (2019). 'OML 25: Host communities tackle Wike.' *This Day*. 31 October. www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/10/31/hits-oml-25-host-communities-tackle-wike/

12   SDN (2020). 'Report: Women's politicalparticipation and representation in the Niger Delta.' www.stakeholderdemocracy.org/women-in-the-niger-delta/

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