Working for Peace in North-East Nigeria

A Challenge for Nigerian Trade Unions
Our Mission:
Empowering workers to raise their voice for dignity on the job, justice in their communities and greater equality in the global economy.

Our Approach:
The Solidarity Center empowers men and women around the world to earn safe and dignified livelihoods, exercise their fundamental labor rights and have a voice in shaping work conditions and public policies that impact their lives. Workers accomplish this by organizing and joining unions, through which they are able to negotiate collective improvements as well as build and balance power at the workplace and within the global economy.

Our professional staff of more than 200 work in more than 60 countries with 400-plus labor unions, pro-worker nongovernmental organizations, legal-aid groups, human rights defenders, women's associations, advocacy coalitions and others to support workers—in garment factories, home service, seafood processing, mining, agriculture, informal marketplaces, manufacturing, the public sector and beyond—as they exercise their rights, including organizing for safer work sites, demanding living wages and improving laws (and the enforcement of existing laws) that protect working people, and fighting exploitation and abuse.

Specifically, we:

- Provide training and technical expertise that can help workers take on societal ills such as child labor, human trafficking, unfair labor laws, infringement of women's rights, dangerous workplaces and the exploitation of the vulnerable
- Assist unions trying to strengthen internal structures, including achievement of gender parity
- Work with women as they challenge the systems and organizations that deny them voice
- Conduct health and safety trainings for factory and other workers, and support networks of workers injured on the job
- Implement legal assistance programs, including training paralegals, to help workers recover stolen wages or benefits illegally denied them
- Connect migrant workers to protective networks, decreasing their vulnerability
- Link workers and their unions with others sharing similar struggles and experiences
- Boost advocacy efforts so that campaigns resonate beyond borders
- Stand in solidarity with social-change activists around the world as we strive to build a global network of worker rights defenders

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1 Fundamental labor rights established by the International Labor Organization in its 1998 “Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work” promote freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, the elimination of forced or compulsory labor, the abolition of child labor and the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/declaration/lang--en/index.htm. (accessed on August 20, 2018)
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Boko Haram has operated in Nigeria since the early 2000s, beginning a violent insurgency in 2009. The group has waged an all-out assault on government authority and institutions it labels as under Western influence in northeastern Nigeria. The results in loss of life and economic destruction have been staggering, accentuating the historical marginalization of the region in terms of economic and human development. The Nigerian government and a regional military coalition, backed by the United States, have reduced the group’s military capacity and control of territory, although international bodies report that much of the North-East is still inaccessible due to continued fighting. The threat of attack extends even to urban areas within the region, and more than 1.9 million people are internally displaced, with few prospects of returning to their homes.¹

Boko Haram has particularly targeted symbols of state authority, of which the most readily accessible are soft public infrastructure targets such as schools and hospitals, and the teachers, health care professionals and civil servants who operate them. Most analysts agree that military efforts against Boko Haram have reduced its control. But even if those efforts continue to make progress, the humanitarian and development effects are profound and recovery will be difficult. Basic goods and services are unavailable across the afflicted region, presenting a significant challenge to achieving lasting peace.²

The impact of the conflict is both fueled by and adds to historical economic marginalization. The Human Development Reports for Nigeria published in 2009 focused on this issue of regional inequality, laying out the statistics by state and by region.³ The North-East states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe are the most directly affected by Boko Haram and are under a state of emergency. Bauchi, Gombe and Taraba also are seriously affected.


As efforts to achieve peace continue, the Nigerian labor movement must be an essential actor in North-East Nigeria’s process for coping with the crisis and rebuilding for sustainable development and peace.

In 2008–2009, the Human Development Index (HDI) for the North-East was 0.322, the lowest among Nigeria’s six regions, compared to the national HDI of 0.499 and highs of 0.523 in the southwest and 0.573 in the South-South. The human poverty index in the North-East was 48.90, more than twice that in the South-West (21.50).

As efforts to achieve peace continue, the Nigerian labor movement must be an essential actor in North-East Nigeria’s process for coping with the crisis and rebuilding for sustainable development and peace. Public employees, including teachers and hospital workers, are represented by affiliates of the Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC) and are among those most affected by Boko Haram’s violence. Teachers and their unions have been on the frontline throughout the crisis, assisting union members and their communities in obtaining shelter and providing other key support. As integral members of their communities, union members are well-positioned to assess the local situation, understand the needs of community members and communicate this essential information to better facilitate the post-conflict rebuilding process.

While the NLC has a responsibility to address the economic, social and security needs of its members, the Nigerian government has a duty to the people in the North-East to provide basic services and the necessities of human security, both of which require the rehabilitation of the public sector. The international labor movement, which supports workers’ struggles for decent jobs, also must take a prominent role in ensuring that the creation of strong sustainable economies is core to the rebuilding process.

Many of these core functions that worker organizations are uniquely positioned to conduct are defined in the 2017 United Nations’ International Labor Organization/International Labor Conference (ILO/
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**BOKO HARAM: HISTORY AND CONTEXT**

Boko Haram, whose name loosely translates to, "Western education is forbidden," has been active in Nigeria since the early 2000s. Initially, the group began as a fundamentalist Islamic sect operating in relative obscurity in Nigeria's predominately Muslim North-East region, which is home to 14 percent of the population of Nigeria and 33 percent of its land mass. In 2009, clashes with police led then-President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua to initiate a full-scale military crackdown on the group that resulted in 700 deaths, including the group's leader, Mohammed Yusuf. The brutality of the administration's response, along with reports of widespread misconduct by security forces, primed the region for the present insurgency.

North-East Nigeria's regional economy is dependent upon agriculture. After independence in 1960, oil production in southern Nigeria rapidly expanded, leading to concentration of investment in the energy sector. Although Nigeria's federal structure eventually provided mechanisms for regional redistribution of oil revenues, agricultural development suffered from neglect. The marginalization of the northeastern region of Nigeria was never addressed by serious policy measures, and the Boko Haram conflict has intensified the disparities.

National statistics from 2010 show continued disparities among regions, even before the most intense escalation of Boko Haram attacks. The state-level poverty rate (measured per capita) was 40.3 percent in Lagos and 48.5 percent in Abuja. The rate was 60.6 percent in Borno, despite the presence of the large city of Maiduguri, with an estimated population of over a million (nationwide poverty rates were 69 percent in rural areas and 51.2 percent in urban areas). In the rural states of the North-East, the poverty rates were even higher: more than 80 percent in Bauchi, Gombe and Yobe, and 69.3 percent in Taraba and 77.8 percent in Adamawa. Conflict is both caused by and contributes to poverty. From 2010 to 2017, 49 percent of households in the North-East, which is the region most occupied by Boko Haram, had a family member affected by a conflict event as compared to 25 percent in North-Central Nigeria and 22 percent in Southern Nigeria. Literacy rates in 2010 showed similar patterns, with 62.8 percent of the population literate in any language in the North-East compared to 77.9 percent in the South-West.

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In addition to reliance on terror tactics, Boko Haram capitalized on economic discontent by offering a parallel system of governance in a region long neglected by the central government. In much of the region, it provided the only source of employment for young men. The poverty endemic to the region, combined with a historical suspicion of outside influence, proved volatile under the stress of what was perceived to be a needlessly heavy-handed crackdown in 2009 on a group who provided basic social services.

Following the crackdown, Boko Haram members were briefly scattered and, in their disarray, it is reported, they made contact with Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, attending training camps in the Sahel. In 2012, the group reemerged decisively more violent than in previous iterations.9

More years of fighting greatly weakened the group by late 2015. Yet the insurgency continues, as evidenced by deadly attacks continuing into 2018.10 Much of the countryside is still inaccessible to aid workers, casting doubt on recent proclamations by Nigerian officials that Boko Haram has been defeated. Observers have long argued that defeating Boko Haram is impossible without making significant investments in human development in the long-neglected North-East.11

**IMPACT ON WORKERS AND SOCIETY**

Teachers, medical professionals and civil servants—along with the students, patients and the broader public they serve—have been especially affected by Boko Haram’s attacks on education, health care and publicly provided services. While attacking these institutions as representative of Western influence, Boko Haram also justifies its violent attacks on public-sector employees by linking these institutions to the central government and trying to incite hostility to Nigerians from other parts of the country.

**Teachers, Students Devastated by Assaults**

Between 2009 and 2015, Boko Haram’s assaults destroyed more than 910 schools and forced at least 1,500 more to close. At least 546 teachers were killed and another 19,000 forced to flee. In Borno state alone, authorities in March 2016 reported that 512 primary schools, 38 secondary schools and two tertiary institutions had been destroyed.12 As of 2018, Boko Haram has killed at least 20,000 people and displaced 2 million more.

Despite the horrific conditions, the teachers’ union in Borno state, which includes members from 2,000 schools, has taken a leading role in ameliorating the crisis. The union converted nearly all of its conference space into housing for those displaced by the violence; provided food, clothing and shelter to hundreds of union members and their families; and created a database of Borno-based union members killed in the insurgency.

Further, despite incredible personal risk, teachers continue to do their jobs in the classroom. To encourage students to return to school, Suleiman Maina, the state representative of the National Union

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of Teachers in Borno state, says the union is partnering with the government and other stakeholders to keep as many schools as possible open in and around the state capital.13

Schools that still function are often repeatedly shut down for long periods because of the threat of attacks, as in Yobe state in 2013, when all schools closed for four months. Boko Haram assaults on schools have exacerbated educational inequality in a region where education already lags behind than in other parts of Nigeria. Analysts point to a cycle of poverty and violence developing from the long-term effects of repeated disruptions in the educational process. Given Boko Haram’s roots in high poverty and youth unemployment, the continued deprivation of education and, therefore, economic opportunity, is an additional factor contributing to instability.

Health Care Workers, Patients in Dire Need

Hospitals and pharmacies are under attack not only because they are symbols of Western influence but also because they are repositories of medical supplies needed by Boko Haram to treat wounded fighters and sell for income. A 2015 study found that in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states, only 37 percent of health facilities remained operational, yet they must serve some 10 million residents. In the Chibok community, all health facilities had been attacked.

In 2012, Nigeria was on the verge of eradicating polio. Now, Nigeria’s polio epidemic is the worst in the region and constitutes a threat to other nations.14 Yet the polio epidemic and other health care crises is exacerbated by the decimation of the health sector in northeastern Nigeria, where medical professionals are permanently unemployed. One worker, who shared his story with the Solidarity Center, describes how the hospital where he worked was the site of a daytime siege by Boko Haram, pillaging supplies and murdering workers.15

When health care workers are able to continue their jobs, they often do not have the resources they need to provide care and are not paid on time—if at all. In addition, medical professionals working in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps report being underequipped to address the injuries and

14 The Global Polio Eradication Initiative, April 2018, is a public-private partnership led by national governments with five partners – the World Health Organization (WHO), Rotary International, the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation with the goal to eradicate polio worldwide, April 2018, http://polioeradication.org/where-we-work/nigeria/. (accessed on August 20, 2018)
illnesses the insurgency has caused. Delivery of medical supplies, as with food aid, is impeded by the threat of Boko Haram attacks and by existing damage to transportation infrastructure.\textsuperscript{16}

According to a March 2018 report by Refugees International, the humanitarian situation in the North-East has improved somewhat in the last two years.\textsuperscript{17} However, there are still an estimated 6.1 million people in need of support in the region. In September 2017 the Norwegian Refugee Council estimated that 1.8 million people were still displaced from their homes. Although 85 percent of displaced people surveyed in camps said they felt safer than before, at least half said their homes had been destroyed, and 86 percent said that they did not feel safe to return.\textsuperscript{18} Although the Nigerian government is reportedly planning to return many to their local government areas and provide secure zones in urban centers, many officials and humanitarian workers warn that there are no conditions in those centers for employment, and that return to the rural areas for farming is highly problematic.

### Civil Servants, Society under Siege

Residents of northeastern Nigeria have struggled for decades to survive in a weak economy, where formal employment options have been almost entirely limited to the civil service. As a result, civil servants in federal, state and local governments had comprised the foundation of the North-East’s economy. Boko Haram’s sustained attacks on public institutions have devastated the primary means by which working people support themselves and their families. Many have fled the area. Those who remain no longer have jobs and have little access to crucial government services.

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As shown in the infographic from the World Health Organization in 2017, the state of health infrastructure is highly precarious despite efforts by the Nigerian government and international agencies. Out of 749 health facilities in Borno State, for example, roughly 35 percent have been destroyed with 29 percent partially damaged and only 30 percent still intact.

Government attempts to rehabilitate the public sector in the North-East have been routed through the President’s Initiative in the North-East (PINE), begun in 2014 by the Jonathan administration and continued under the Muhammadu Buhari administration as the Presidential Committee on the North-East Initiative (PCNI). PINE/PCNI programs have so far focused on short-term solutions like rebuilding roads and other basic infrastructure, ensuring adequate temporary housing for displaced people and providing emergency services, such as mobile schools in IDP camps.

The initiative, although conceived as a long-term investment plan, has failed to address the significant infrastructural needs in the North-East, many of which predate the insurgency. Further, the lack of a harvest in 2017, fueled by Boko Haram’s attacks on civilian centers that destroyed nearly 500,000 homes and scattered small-scale farmers away from their holdings and into IDP camps, may create near-famine conditions throughout the Lake Chad Basin. Elsewhere in Nigeria, staple foods grown in the north, like tomatoes and peppers, are largely unavailable.

Across the North-East, workers and their families suffer from war trauma and poverty-induced ailments. Many teachers, health care workers and civil servants have left their homes, some living in IDP camps. Mitigating the economic, social and psychological impacts of a crisis of this magnitude requires collaboration of civil society actors such as trade unions and global nongovernmental organizations to complement the Nigerian government’s efforts.

Revival of agricultural production and retail trade in rural areas remains elusive, despite military gains by security forces. With public employment the principal source of jobs in the formal sector, it is essential that plans for relief and recovery center on restoring sustainable employment for government workers at locations where they can be both effective and secure. This requires particular attention to the efficient deployment and support of health workers and teachers, including in urban contexts and resettlement camps.

As noted by a 2017 planning document from a working group involving both relevant Nigerian ministries and non-governmental organizations, the issue of gender-based violence has been severely aggravated by the Boko Haram conflict. According to the report, six out of 10 women reported experiencing gender-based violence in the North-East in 2016, compared to a 30 percent before the years of intense conflict. Particularly notable is the forced use by Boko Haram of young girls as suicide bombers. While the plight of the Chibok girls abducted in 2014 attracted widespread global attention, including a four-page New York Times special photographic essay on the fourth anniversary.

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of their kidnapping,22 that well-publicized case is only an indicator of more widespread trauma. This is particularly relevant to the health and education sectors, as well as to other agencies involved in integration of those freed from captivity or otherwise affected by the violence.

Work by unions to address the issues caused by the Boko Haram crisis fall clearly within international norms, as most recently spelled out in Resolution 205 (See box). This solidifies the growing awareness in recent years among international agencies and humanitarian organizations that response to crises, whether from natural disasters or armed conflicts, must be addressed in a comprehensive way. Strategies for recovery, prevention and resilience in the face of such crises must take into account how peacebuilding relies on capacity to build employment and decent work, and that addressing these basic economic requirements also strengthens the capacity for peacebuilding.

In North-East Nigeria, historic marginalization and armed conflict intersect to block the capacity for sustainable economic and social development. A purely military response has no chance of bringing lasting resolution to these intertwined crises; instead, all sectors of government and society must be involved. Trade unions have an extremely valuable and unique role to play in building the stronger economy and civil society capacity needed.

During the 2017 annual meeting of the United Nations’ International Labor Organization/International Labor Conference (ILO/ILC), a new standard—the Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation (R205)—was adopted. The new standard, adopted after three years of consultation, deliberation and review, provides global guidance to governments, employers and workers responding to crisis situations, including conflicts and natural disasters. The standard, excerpted below, also addresses conflict prevention and preparedness.

R205 – Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation, 2017 (No. 205)
Recommendation concerning employment and decent work for peace and resilience
Adoption: Geneva, 106th ILC session (June 16, 2017)

Section II. GUIDING PRINCIPLES:
7. In taking measures on employment and decent work in response to crisis situations arising from conflicts and disasters, and with a view to prevention, Members should take into account the following:

(a) the promotion of full, productive, freely chosen employment and decent work which are vital to promoting peace, preventing crises, enabling recovery and building resilience;

(b) the need to respect, promote and realize the fundamental principles and rights at work, other human rights and other relevant international labor standards, and to take into account other international instruments and documents, as appropriate and applicable;

(c) the importance of good governance and combating corruption and clientelism;

(d) the need to respect national laws and policies and use local knowledge, capacity and resources;

(e) the nature of the crisis and the extent of its impact on the capacity of governments, including regional and local government, employers’ and workers’ organizations, and other national and relevant institutions, to provide effective responses, with the necessary international cooperation and assistance, as required;

(f) the need to combat discrimination, prejudice and hatred on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction, social origin, disability, age or sexual orientation or any other grounds;

(g) the need to respect, promote and realize equality of opportunity and treatment for women and men without discrimination of any kind;

(h) the need to pay special attention to population groups and individuals who have been made particularly vulnerable by the crisis, including, but not limited to, children, young persons, persons belonging to minorities, indigenous and tribal peoples, persons with disabilities, internally displaced persons, migrants, refugees and other persons forcibly displaced across borders;

(i) the importance of identifying and monitoring any negative and unintended consequences and avoiding harmful spillover effects on individuals, communities, the environment and the economy;

(j) the need for a just transition towards an environmentally sustainable economy as a means for sustainable economic growth and social progress;

(k) the importance of social dialogue;

(l) the importance of national reconciliation, where applicable;

(m) the need for international solidarity, burden- and responsibility-sharing and cooperation in accordance with international law; and

(n) the need for close coordination and synergies between humanitarian and development assistance, including for the promotion of full, productive, freely chosen employment and decent work and income-generation opportunities, avoiding the duplication of efforts and mandates.
Solving the economic crisis brought on by neglect and conflict in Nigeria’s North-East will require immediate and sustained attention to the needs of its people, including bringing back family-sustaining jobs and helping institutions such as schools and hospitals recover and rebuild. In addressing this crisis, the government of Nigeria should follow general principles established in ILO Recommendation 205 to work in coalition with unions and employers in creating long-term solutions for a sustainable and inclusive economy.

Worker organizations are encouraged to:

1. Widely promote the new standard with governments, employers and members
2. Study the new recommendation and develop concrete, results-oriented plans that call on government to focus on:
   a. Prevention, specifically the root causes of conflict, including discrimination, prejudice and economic inequality, while promoting equality of opportunity
   b. Social dialogue and national reconciliation efforts
   c. Coordination with humanitarian and development efforts to ensure that decent work opportunities are identified and promoted
   d. Furthering efforts to expand social protection and promote economic recovery to both avoid conflict and in post conflict situations, while also exploring with social partners creation and promotion of sustainable employment and decent work and transition from informal to informal economy
3. Promote programs of public education and consciousness-raising about the critical situation in North-East Nigeria in other regions of Nigeria, including fostering exchanges among teachers, health-care workers, and other trade union members in the North-East and other regions. Such programs might begin with visits by trade unionists based in Abuja to the North-East and by trade-unionists in the North-East to Abuja, accompanied by news coverage and public opportunities for dialogue.