



SOUTHERN
KADUNA

A CRITICAL LOOK

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Our researchers employed methods such as desk research, site visits and phone interviews to collate the available data. Our editors sifted through the data and prepared the report, using various proprietary tools to fact-check and copy edit the information gathered. A baseline of accurate and comprehensive historic data is collected from respondents and publicly-available information, including from research partners, newspapers and government agencies.

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Kaduna State is currently enmeshed in a humanitarian crisis. The southern part of the state has become the epicentre of deadly violence, most of it inflicted by herdsmen on farming communities. This is situated within two wider contexts:

Attacks by Fulani herdsmen on farming communities, and reprisals, particularly in the North Central region. Further into the past, the epicentre was Plateau State (mainly the Barkin Ladi area), then Nasarawa State, and finally Benue State. In these areas, whole communities have been displaced, many lives have been lost, and many of the farmers unable to plant and harvest for years. The main theatre of this violence has now moved from these North Central states into a North Western state, escalating historic tensions in Southern Kaduna. In Birnin Gwari in the Kaduna Central zone, cattle rustling continues to be a major problem, but in the Kaduna South zone, things have gone several notches higher especially as the victims are people, not cattle.

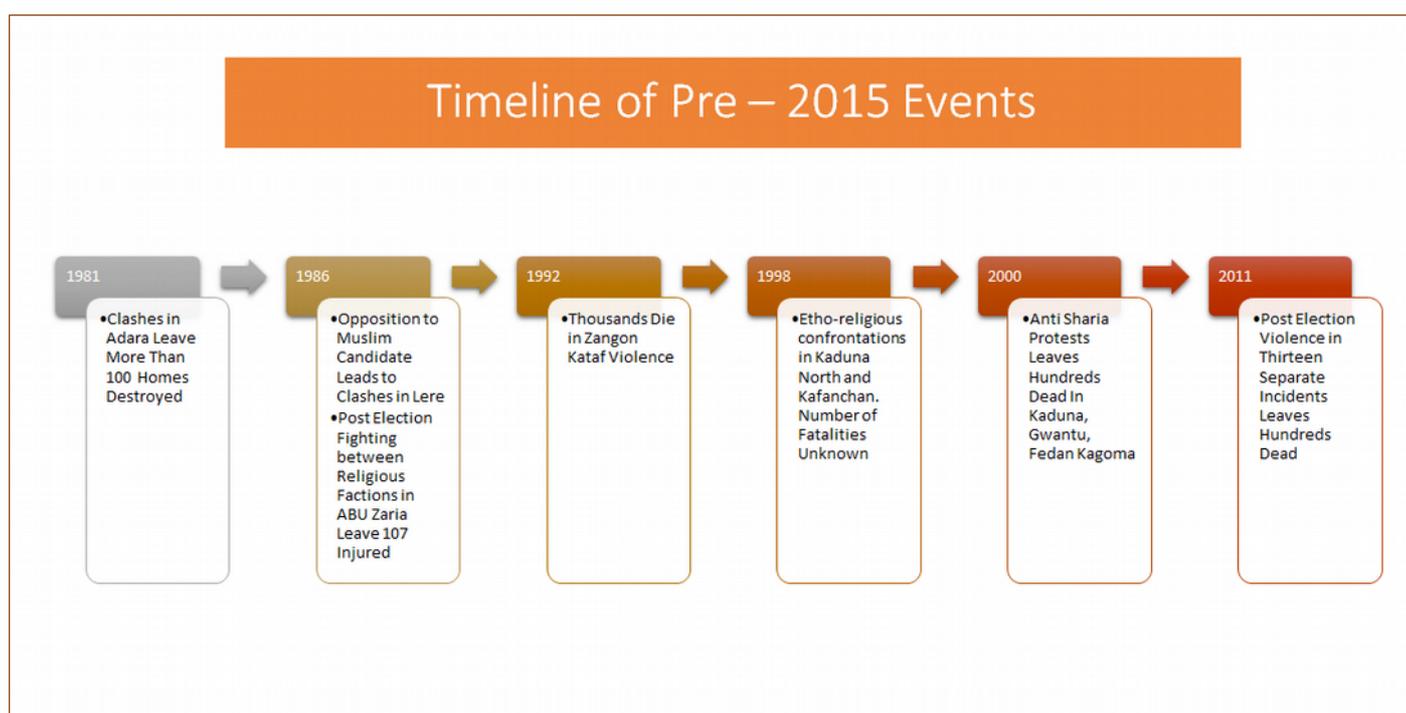
The second context within which we must place the current escalation is traceable to a series of confrontations over property rights as well as the right to express and practice deeply held religious beliefs in 1981. In that year, a land dispute between Hausa traders and residents of Adara in Kachia local government area led to violent clashes which left at least a hundred homes destroyed. In 1986, a contest over the district headship of Lere in Lere LGA, when some locals were opposed to the candidature of a Muslim contestant, resulted in renewed violence. Fighting in the aftermath of a closely fought election among rival religious factions at the Ahmadu Bello University left at least 107 persons injured in Zaria. In 1992, a market relocation sparked two riots in Zangon Kataf which claimed thousands of lives. This figure has never been verified. Further ethno-religious confrontations in Kaduna North LGA which spread to Kafanchan and other towns resulted in an unspecified number of victims on the eve of Nigeria's return to democratic rule. Protests in the wake of the State's decision in 2000 to impose Sharia rule resulted in violence in Kaduna, Gwantu and Fadan Kagoma. Then Nigeria's hosting of the Miss World beauty pageant in 2002 led to protests by Muslims across Northern Nigeria, violence in parts of Kaduna, and

perhaps most infamously, politically motivated violence in Zaria, Kaduna, Zonkwa and Kafanchan in the wake of the 2011 presidential election led to the burning of churches, mosques, homes, the Kafanchan market, and a heavy death toll. In that year, there were at least thirteen separate reports of ethno-religious clashes in the state. In the half decade since 2010, there has been a steadily increasing number of violent clashes between the various groups in Kaduna.

When viewing the current Southern Kaduna crisis, it is important to differentiate between this and the previous historical incidents. The first critical difference is in the duration of the incidents. Most of the violent incidents prior to 2016 were either single incidents or closely related incidents occurring within a short space of time. That is not so with the ongoing violence. The violence has occurred in several separate incidents over a period of time much longer than any other in the history of Southern Kaduna.

The second difference appears to be in the motivation. Prior to 2016, specific incidents, most of them localised or religious, were the motivating factors for the violence. Many of those involved in the violence were locals and could trace their grievances to those specific issues. The current violence however, is clearly retribution over lost cattle and for grazing land by the Fulani. The Executive Governor of Kaduna State, Nasir Elrufai, has also said that many of the perpetrators are not locals, but Fulani herdsmen that had to be tracked down to other West African countries. The Northern Governors Forum also repeated this claim in January 2017. Clearly, this is different from the previous incidents.

The third difference is the wider context of attacks by Fulani herdsmen following similar patterns in Benue, Nasarawa and Plateau states. In all these locations, while there were historical local tensions amongst the ethnicities living in those locations (as with Eggon against Alago in Nasarawa, or Tiv against Idoma in Benue), the herdsmen related violence in these areas was clearly delineated from those historical conflicts, and decimated the populations in these areas. The historical conflicts introduced complexities to the situation but they were different. Hence, it is important for observers and policy makers delineate the ongoing killings in Southern Kaduna from the historical violence in planning aid to the victims, response to the violence, and the dispensation of justice.



The National Emergency Management Authority (NEMA) has put the number of casualties at just a little above 200 people but this appears to be a very conservative estimate given what SBM saw on ground. In Godogodo alone, the number of deaths is close to 200 and the herdsmen have attacked several villages along that line including Linte, Ungwam Fari, Kanikon, Goska, Gidan Waya, Pasakori. As of early January 2017, the actual number of deaths was closer to the 808 fatalities across 53 villages put forward by the Catholic Archdiocese of Kafanchan. Perhaps this might be an explanation for why the Inspector-General of Police, Ibrahim Idris, who disagreed with the church's record, did not give a specific number of casualties involved, even though he paid a visit to some of the villages.

A list obtained by SBM complete with names and next of kin information shows that between 24th September – 24th October 2016 alone in Godogodo, 30 people were killed, 16 seriously wounded and 326 houses burnt down during the combined raids.

The Catholic Church has also said 1,422 houses, 16 Churches, 19 shops, and one primary school were destroyed since September 2016 across those 53 villages.

Roll call from Godogodo attack

Killed in Godogodo, October, 2016

Audu Livinus	Zakka Sunday
Abba Tanimu	Yakubu Shekari
Shedrack Dauda	Philip Danjuma
Theresa Bitrus	Goldbest Audu
Hassan Peter	Patrick Dauda
Tani Danjuma	Shinom Yusuf
Into Audu	Likita Dan'Azumi
Inneka Gambo	Zakka Sunday
Ajuji Patrick	Patience Usman
Aminu Yusuf	Simon Habu
Dan'Azumi Ango	Stephen Maigari
Bitrus Sunday	Tanimu Ashu
Matan Chindo	Sambo Musa
Lami Yakubu	Joseph Musa
Lami Maigari	Ayuba Musa
Agwaza Achi	Anthony Okonkwo
Joseph D. Nok	Eli Bobai
Musa Lenge	Samuel Sunday
Ishaku Ali	Helen Yakubu
Luka Ali	Apolo Ambi
Daniel Silas	Stanley Samuel
Samuel Damina	Jonah Yakubu
Ajah Hamza	Markus Ango
Monday Hamza	Livinus Ashu
Aisha Musa	Tanimu Ashu
Ike Johnson	Sunday Ayuba
Monica Bulus	

Injured in Godogodo, October, 2016 + current treatment location

Gideon Peter - Jos
 Meshach Waziri - Jos
 Julius Joseph - Jos
 David Ali - Gwantu
 Solomon Yohana - Kafanchan
 Bobai Danjuma - Kafanchan
 Haruna Goni - Kafanchan
 Bobo Oliseh - Owerri
 Gideon Alhaji - Zonkwa
 Blessed Musa - Kafanchan
 Shabishi Bala - Kafanchan
 Lydia Alli - Abuja
 Samuel Danjuma - Kafanchan
 Uba Monday - Kafanchan

Fully recovered and discharged from hospital

Abba Samuel
 Princewill Inuwa



Unlike in the North East where the Internally Displaced People (IDPs) affected by the Boko Haram insurgency crisis are camped out in schools and government-funded shelters, there are no such provisions for the refugees in Southern Kaduna. SBM visited one of the primary schools where some of the IDPs had been staying for a week. Many of the refugees had either returned home to salvage what was left of their property or had been integrated into families of distant relatives.

Another reason for the camps being empty was the nightly cold and even though blankets had come from several donors, there were few mattresses. A clergyman who had opened his family house to allow some displaced young women from the Kanikon chiefdom live with his immediate family, mentioned that the IDPs had withdrawal symptoms as many had never spent more than two or three days at a time, outside their villages.

Another volunteer at the church programme told SBM that an IDP camp setup at Takau Primary School in Kafanchan was closed after local government officials came and chased everyone away. While this could not be immediately verified, the refusal of NEMA officials to state how many IDP

camps had been set up by the government at any level, if any, was a pointer that something was amiss.

Whatever food donations coming to the IDPs in these areas have come from the local churches and a few of the indigenes outside the state. Some of the IDPs were forced to beg from neighbours who were slightly more privileged and could afford to share during the festive season.

The North Central's contribution to the food supplies of the entire country cannot be Overemphasized, and Kaduna in particular is the highest producer of ginger in the country. It also accounts for a good percentage of the beans and maize produced within Nigeria. Given that there has been a distortion in the harvesting schedule for most of the farmers, many of the crops have been left to rot on the farms as their owners remain scared and far away from their home communities.

In Goska, SBM spoke to several farmers who had lost farm machinery, bags of maize and ginger; together with money saved from sales of these crops earlier in 2016. Only a major intervention can prevent acute food shortage in these communities.

Speaking anonymously, one of these farmers said the planting season in the area begins from April to May, while harvest falls in the period of September to November. Given the recurrent attacks during the later period in 2016, large parts of the harvest remain in the field or have been trampled by cattle as the herdsmen move from one village to the other.

For over six months, children outside Kafanchan, the main town in Southern Kaduna region, have not been to school. The Nigerian educational system posits three terms for primary and post primary education, with each term in the education calendar lasting not more than three months. Following the spike in the violence during the period under review, the children of Kafanchan and surrounding communities have missed out on writing their promotional third term exams making them ineligible for promotion to the next level, in effect delaying their education for a year. This is extremely worrying.

Worse still, the worsening state of security in the area under review has altered the education calendar, thereby reducing school enrolment for the first and second term in some areas and non-existent in others.

NBS figures on Public Primary and Public Junior Secondary School enrolment for 2014 rank Kaduna State fourth and seventh respectively. This does not negate the attendant effects of having children of school age in Southern Kaduna being denied their fundamental right to education. It more than not, adds to the 10.5 million Nigerian children out of school, while putting a dent on the EFA 2015 (Education for All) initiative whose target Nigeria failed to meet.



Interview

Name: **Dan Azumi**

Origin: Sanga LGA, Kaduna State

Ethnicity: Nizom

Resides at: Fadan Karshi (his family home) Sanga LGA.

Dan moved back home in 1994 with his parents in a family of 10 where he's the eldest child. Some of his siblings are married and reside in Fadan Karshi. His late sister, Ande, got married to a Gwandara man and they had 5 children.

According to Dan, his village was attacked by some Fulani who the villagers claimed had a week prior, sent a letter informing the community they would be carrying out a raid of the community. Men and young adults formed a vigilante group. At about 10pm on the appointed day, a market day, the vigilante were outside while Ande was sleeping with her 3-month old baby, while her other kids, aged 13, 10, 8, and 5 were sleeping elsewhere.

When the gunmen stormed the community, the youth who were keeping guard scampered to safety. The gunmen shot Ande in the head. She died immediately. Her baby didn't cry so he wasn't seen.

When the other kids heard the gunshot, they ran from the other rooms into their mothers'. They were all shot. Being a community compound where other members of the extended family lived, thirteen persons were killed that fateful night, all related to Azumi.

The attackers went into other houses in the community and killed scores in Kabamu settlement in Fadan Karshe village. They also attacked Karshin Daji, Ningshe, Unguwan Pa, Kobin. Since that incident, there have been killings and reprisals. Some silently, others open attacks like the prior, planned one.

The District Head of this community was killed in 2015 while he rested under a tree in his compound. He was shot and decapitated. Another boy who just wrote his GCE and ran to the scene was killed. Attackers came and opened fire on him. Till date, peace eludes the community. People can't farm for fear of being killed, women no longer go to streams, and night life is non-existent.

RECENT ATTACKS

In Mayir, Dogon Daji communities were attacked. In Dogon Daji, the attackers set fire to the houses in the community.

According to Dan Azumi, in the 1980s, his grandfather would reserve remnants of his harvests

for his Fulani friend. When they play under the full moon, Both communities shared visits during festivals. Along the line (like in Sanga) the three traditional rulers (four chiefdoms) the Nizom traditional ruler was Muslim; Numana was Muslim; Ayu Village chiefdom was also Muslim. All are second Class chiefs. The relationship between the Hausa, Fulani and the Christian indigenes was cordial until recently. The Sharia Crises and the Miss World crisis didn't affect Sanga.

Things changed only after the post election violence in 2011 when they started hearing that Fulani herdsmen were being sighted around their communities bearing assault rifles while they reared their cattle. They eventually started using those guns on the locals.

This story is almost similar across the region.

Azumi believes the killings are a systematic targeting of certain select people who are important in the community: people who wield power, the elite or young persons with prospects. The attackers come for particular houses, execute their plan and move away. If they don't come to target's house, they lay an ambush. Women and children are also not spared, age is disregarded.

CONCERNS

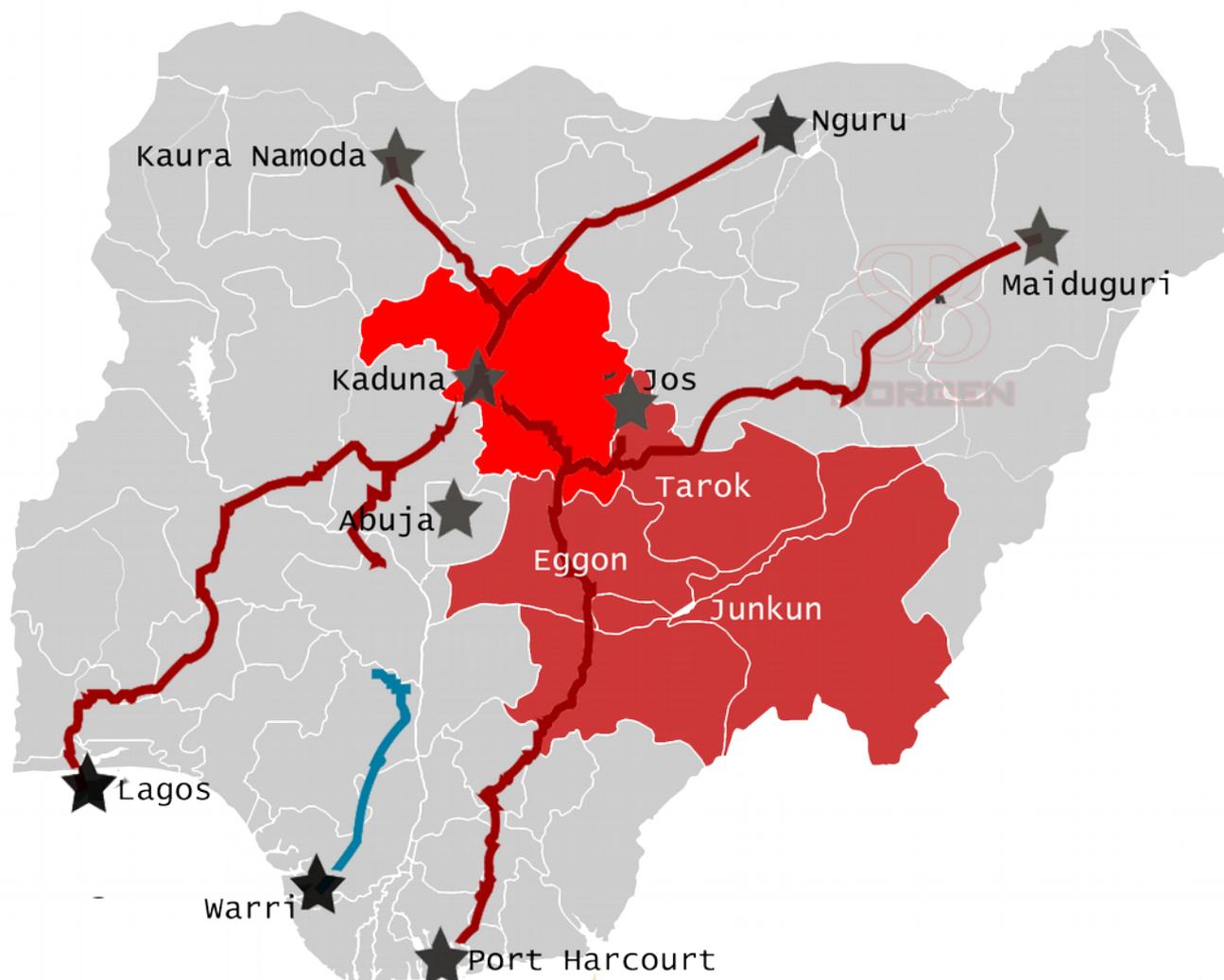
Azumi claimed that since the crisis began, not one person had been brought to book. People were fingered and arrested for the attacks, but no one is standing, or has ever stood trial. Some people from the community are in detention today for unlawfully possessing arms to defend themselves while the main culprits walk about freely, none apprehended. This, according to Azumi, is destroying the trust that once existed among the communities.



From Kaduna through Zango Kataf, Zonkwa and Gworok (Kagoro) down to Kafanchan, there were only two police checkpoints in the day. These visits occurred between 11 and 15 January, 2017. It is worth noting that the checkpoints (we counted seven across Kafanchan) come alive at night when the dusk to dawn (6pm to 6am) curfew comes into place. It is also worth noting that on each of the four days we visited, there were more anti-riot policemen than soldiers. This, despite the Nigerian Army declaring Operation Kunama 11 to curb the situation.

We also noticed that the curfew was lax. Multiple evening food vendors set up shop, just an hour before the deadline and stayed open afterwards.

Where is all this headed?



It is vital to get a handle on the security situation in Southern Kaduna because of reasons of geography, economics and demography.

Kaduna state, at 6.1 million according to the 2006 census, is Nigeria's third largest by population. Southern Kaduna sits just beside Plateau state, which according to the same census has 3.2 million people. Plateau state is also geographically contiguous with Taraba state, population 2.3 million. This combined population of 11.6 million, is greater than the population of the three states, Adamawa, Borno and Yobe, which are the epicentre of the Boko Haram insurgency. That insurgency has displaced millions of people, and Nigeria is still reeling from the refugee crisis that has created.

Increasing militia activity in Southern Kaduna, which borders Plateau state, newly stabilising after years of bloodshed, is worrisome. There are lessons to be learned from the conflict in Plateau, and how it entered hibernation. As a result of the Nigerian state's inability to bring a satisfactory end to the crisis in that state, elements among the farmers

such as the Tarok people, who are found in Plateau, Nasarawa and Taraba, and the Eggon, who are found in Benue, Nasarawa and Kaduna states, formed militias, that have been responsible for multiple attacks on Fulani communities at least since 2013. The Eggon's Ombatse Group was revived to deadly effect, and in May 2013, was responsible for the murders of up to 90 members of various arms of Nigeria's internal security system. There is evidence that the Tarok militia have collaborated with another ethnic militia, the Junkun, in Taraba state, to carry out reprisal attacks on Fulani communities, many of whom knew nothing of previous attacks. Furthermore, the Tarok, from whom many of Nigeria's famous generals, names such as Domkat Bali, Joshua Dogonyaro, Joe Garba, Nanzip Shagaya, Jonathan Temlong and Jeremiah Useni, hail, appear to be intent on creating a buffer zone between themselves and the Fulani. This has led them to attack Fulani herdsman, and communities, both in Taraba and Nasarawa states.

The situation in Taraba and Plateau, just like in Southern Kaduna, was exacerbated by the government's inability to mediate between warring parties and punish the culprits. Seeing that perpetrators were hardly ever brought to justice, communities took to pooling arms and ammunition. In many cases, farmers banded together to form armed groups ostensibly for self defence, but also to go on reprisal attacks if they felt the need had arisen.

Unfortunately, the deployment of security operatives to quell the tit-for-tat attacks tend to last just as long as the boots are on ground. In most cases, once the troops are withdrawn, it takes a month or less, for the violent cycle to resume.

Finally, as the government attempts to resuscitate the Nigerian rail service, it is important to note that both of the major rail lines, the Western Line linking Nguru (Yobe) to Lagos, and the Eastern Line linking Maiduguri to Port Harcourt, intersect via a link line from Jos, in Plateau state, to Kaduna. This link line, passes through Kafanchan. It is vital to the economic interests of Northern Nigeria, that an acceptable solution is found to the Southern Kaduna crisis, before other people, go the way of the Tarok and Junkun.

ABOUT SBM INTEL

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We employ various methods of data collection such as personal interviewing, telephone, mail and the Internet. Depending on the survey design, our methods can be used separately or combined. Our Data Collection Methodology (DCM) team advises on data collection methods for all ONS social and business surveys. With clients both within the business and the wider government community, we aim to provide expert advice on data collection procedures and carry out research leading to improvements in survey quality.

Our firm's strategic communication services are designed to influence the stakeholders critical to our clients' objectives. We are a lean and fast machine that combines creative messaging and the right channels to deliver measurable and competitive business results.

We help organisations identify opportunities, keep an eye on the competition and be informed about market trends. We also combine our in-depth understanding of the Nigerian market with 360 degrees strategic communication skills to influence those that matter most to our clients

Since 2014, when SBM Intel started its operations, the firm has provided data analytics and strategic communication solutions to dozens of clients across various sectors in Nigeria, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and the United Kingdom.

In 2015 we became a partner to Stratfor, an American geopolitical intelligence firm that provides strategic analysis and forecasting to individuals and organisations around the world, including the various United States departments and agencies like the Department of Defense (DoD) and the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI). Since the partnership came into effect, several SBM Intel generated reports have been published on the Stratfor website; stratfor.com .