



FROM THE VALLEY OF DEATH

Memory, Healing and Inter-Group Dialogue in Southern Kaduna

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Fr. Atta Barkindo
Program Manager,
The Kukah Centre

Habiba Makanjuola
Research Manager,
Nigeria Stability & Reconciliation
Programme (NSRP)

Dr. Arthur Martins-Aginam
Executive Director,
The Kukah Centre

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Finally, we would like to state that the findings and conclusions contained in this report are those of the authors and represent neither the official view of The Kukah Centre nor the opinion of the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme.

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ACRONYMS

TKC	The Kukah Centre
NSRP	Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme
LGA	Local Government Area
IDP	Internally Displaced People
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisation
UN	United Nations
NPF	Nigerian Police Foreign
NA	Nigerian Army
NSA	Non-State Actors
SK	Southern Kaduna
CENPODEV	Centre for Population and Development
JDPC	Justice, Development and Peace Commission
OHK	Operation Harbin Kunnama
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
JNI	Jama'atul Nasril Islam
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
JAS	Jama'atul Ahlil Sunna

FOREWORD

After my work at what Nigerians popularly came to call, Oputa Panel, the issue of Memory became one of the themes that I kept reflecting upon. I visited other parts of Africa and Asia in exploring the larger issues of Reconciliation. I was invited as a Special Guest of the Government of Ghana when it inaugurated its own Truth Commission in 2002. I found that in the course of our work, most victims were largely appreciative that the whole world had heard their story. Very often, when victims were asked what they wanted the Commission to do, they would simply say that they either wish to leave everything to God, or that they were pleased they had had a chance to tell their story.

At the heart of the Kukah Centre's work is the need to lend our voice, our influence to the weak and the powerless, those with no voice, those whose voices are only heard when the system puts them in the dock to defend themselves against an infringement or discomfort cause to the powerful, those who hold the power of life and death over them. The Centre's mission is to elevate the voices of the weak and the marginalised so that we can together become an orchestra of hope and not despair. Since the killings in Southern Kaduna erupted, those with power have learnt no lessons in leadership and responsibility to protect our people, all people. An obsession with power exudes a level of arrogance that simply sees even the weak voices of the victims as an infringement, a trespass

across the garden of power. Even when lives and properties are being destroyed and their future hangs in a balance, it is they who have brought it on themselves, it is they who are the accused, it is the victims who do not want peace.

The Kukah Centre decided to avoid the cacophony of noise and the vitriol, the accusations and counter accusations. The Centre is aware that at end of it all, the political class will do what it does best, make peace with itself and focus on grabbing power and sharing it within its elite circles. The victims will survive if they may or die if they can't and life will go on. Importantly, the Centre believes that it is foolish to argue over how people died and even the agency, by whom while the larger and real question should be why. Therefore, the Centre opted to take a path that can rise beyond the curve of power and focus on our common humanity.

With assistance from the National Stability and Reconciliation Programme, NSRP, the Kukah Centre embarked on doing what it thought was best, secure a place in history for the dead so that the living can shape their future. With collaboration from the Justice and Peace Commission of the Diocese of Kafanchan, Ja'amatu Nasril Islam, Miyetti Allah, Centre for Population and Development, and Southern Kaduna People's Union along with other initiatives, the Centre made a conscious decision to place Memory at the front burner.

The Kukah Centre also designed a mixed-methods research framework that combined qualitative and quantitative approaches to reach those affected directly or indirectly by the conflict in Southern Kaduna. Specifically, information and records on those who had died were collected. The Centre is of the view that fifty or a hundred years from now, after most of us would have gone, a new generation of Nigerians have a right to know what happened to their families or their friends. Next was the need for the Centre to provide some deeper historical evidence of the nature of the womb that has bred all these distorted histories and how the feelings of exclusion and hate had been built. The Centre carried out a historical research that provides a background analysis of the current conflict in Southern Kaduna. It also conducted a comprehensive review of past conflict reports to ascertain the extent to which government's fidelity to previous recommendations continue to exacerbate the conflict. The findings of both the historical research and review will serve as a reservoir of information useful for researchers and those who wish to follow the stories beyond the purview of political convenience.

What you have in your hands is a launch pad to many other initiatives because we are developing a theme, Reconciliation Through Wealth Creation. Through this, the Centre invited the Honourable Minister for Agriculture to speak to the people of Southern Kaduna on the Agricultural opportunities available to them and how all our people can take their destiny into their hands and focus on self development. At the heart of the grievances and bitterness in Southern Kaduna, as evidenced

through this research project, has been the issue of the lack of a just mechanism for power sharing as it concerns the people of Southern Kaduna. The vision of the Kukah Centre is that Southern Kaduna people can focus on their own development rather than focusing on the pie in the sky that a greedy political elite has hoisted well beyond their reach. The Centre shall continue to explore other areas such as education, women and empowerment, inter-group dialogue and other peace initiatives to bring the people together across religious, ethnic and gender lines.

The Kukah Centre would like to thank NSRP very much for this collaboration. The Centre considers this to be one of their legacies and it looks forward to collaboration with DfID at another level. The Centre will also like to thank Rev. Dr. Athanasius Barkindo who guided this process with diligence along with all those who worked with him. The cross cutting community, gender, faith and thematic nature of the Report is its main strength. The Staff at the Kukah Centre and those who in various capacities worked or were consulted on this project, you are deeply appreciated. May God bless you and the Kukah Centre hopes that this is the beginning of a long journey of self discovery together.

**Bishop Matthew
Hassan KUKAH**

Founder: The Kukah Centre

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Increasingly, herder-farmer conflict has become a major security concern across sub-Saharan Africa. Evidence suggests that increase in population, the depletion of environmental resources, and weak cross-border institutions of law and order as well as regional instability have altered the migration patterns, pushing pastoralists to move towards more fertile areas in search of greener pastures.¹

In Southern Kaduna, there have accumulated grievances over a long period of time which are capable of triggering violent conflicts. These grievances are linked to factors such as issues of perceived injustice in governance by various administrations. Such injustices include the establishment of federal government institutions, mostly located in northern Kaduna, appointment of key government officials favoured Northern Kaduna over the Southern part. Additionally, there is growing indigene-settler contestations over land distribution, access to power and privileges, and political manipulations of ethnic and religious differences. In other words, political opportunism plays an important role in the conflict. Traditional, political, and religious leaders often manipulate public sentiments and encourage violence for political expediency.²

Another element of the conflict is the widespread impunity, where perpetrators of violence in Southern Kaduna are never arrested, prosecuted and punished; and victims are not adequately compensated. Additionally, gangs of bandits have taken advantage of the situation to instigate violence, rustle cattle for personal gain while conducting outright criminal activities against innocent citizens. Therefore, these have combined to give birth to cries of perceived social exclusion, historical injustices and a sense of victimhood across all communities; making southern Kaduna a fertile ground for violence to fester. Importantly, recommendations of previous white papers and reports of commissions of enquiries established by previous administrations to investigate the conflicts, resolve the issues, and end the crises were mostly neglected or not implemented satisfactorily.³ This failure has not only widened the gap between communities as well as farmers and herders, it has also sustained the mutual distrust that triggers conflict and violence.

From the communities selected for this project (Jama'a, ZangonKataf, Kaura, Kauru and Sanga LGAs), thousands of people have been killed and displaced.⁴ The Kukah Centre, conscious of the political instrumentalisation of numbers, but

¹ ChomBagu and Katie Smith, 2017. Criminality and Reprisal Attacks in Nigeria's Middle Belt, Search for Common Ground, <https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/.../Criminality-Reprisal-Attack-dr-2.pdf> (accessed May 2, 2017).

² Assessment Report of Jema'a Local Government 18-19th April, 2011 Post Presidential Election Crisis in Kafachan

³ Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots and Subsequent Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry Report, September 1992.

⁴ Empirical Evidence provided by The Kukah Centre Field Research Conducted in Southern Kaduna. The findings have been subjected to scrutiny by various stakeholders from the region to avoid the politicisation of numbers.



▲ Burnt buildings in Southern Kaduna

also sympathetic to the significance of not reducing victims to figures alone with no identity, trained data collectors from across the different communities to empirical data during the research. A criteria was developed for this data collectors: they must have the experience and be professional in their conduct. They must also be impartial, know the context and the environment, speak the language of the area and be people of integrity accepted by the community. They were selected and trained irrespective of ethnicity, gender and political affiliation.

Additionally, many of the displaced live in IDP camps and with relatives and families in Kafanchan, Kagoro or Kaduna and are in need of aid. Additionally, houses have been destroyed, farmlands affected, while commercial trees cut down. Occasionally, there are night raids by suspected militants, reprisal attacks and attacks specifically directed against

women.⁵ The reason being that most of these villages are isolated, and the number of security operatives to cover the entire area remain lean. Again, lack of electricity means that attackers find the cover the night more convenient to carry out attacks without being identified. The reprisal attacks are also possible because many of the victims feel the security services are compromised and can no longer protect them. As such, they are inclined to defend themselves on the principle that 'attack is the best form of defense.'⁶ Women are particularly vulnerable because they provide water and firewood which are obtained in the forests and the streams. Going out alone make them easy targets.

One of the features of the Southern Kaduna conflict is the failure to listen to the voices of victims and ordinary people in policy formulation. Again, there is the inability to sustain inter-

⁵ For example, an attack was launch in Bakin Kogi on 9th April 2017, around 8pm, barely two hours after The Kukah Centre Team had left the village following three hours of community engagement.

⁶ The Kukah Centre Team Interview, Simon Dauda, Resident of Bakin Kogi, 9th April, 2017.



community engagement and dialogue as a necessary process to attaining peace and stability. Therefore, the Kukah Centre, with support from the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP), carried out a study in Jema'a, Zangon Kataf, Kaura, Kauru and Sanga LGAs of Kaduna State. The study was designed to provide survivors and victims of violent conflict in Southern Kaduna to voice their narratives on the understanding that community voices in this conflict have been marginalized. However, in addition to allowing the community members to speak about their trauma, this study adopted an action-research approach and formed small dialogues between various groups to not only address their conflict issue, but allow them to propose recommendations for what can be put in place, both practically and policy-wise, to ensure that the resolution is sustainable.

Key findings from the research include a general perception that impunity and lack of accountability that is largely responsible for the continuous violence among the people. Along with the lacking legal frameworks or enforcement of existing frameworks, affected groups attribute the conflict to

the failure to modernize grazing and the continued young age of the average grazer who lacks experience and socio-economic awareness to fully know the ramifications of the lack of attention to detail while grazing. Another major finding pertains to the unresolved national question about the rights of both indigenes and settlers. In the case of the selected LGAs in Southern Kaduna, this issue has he tag of suspicion placed on herdsmen with every attack is a deep source of conflict. Lastly, Individuals within families and communities are willing to engage for peace to return, however, there remain institutional obstacles, including the high levels of insecurity.

This report documents the key findings from both qualitative and quantitative research on the issue, presents the outcome of the small dialogues held with conflicting groups, and proposed recommendations for stakeholders such as Federal, state and local government representatives, civil society, and community members.

BACKGROUND

According to a Chatham House report on Southern Kaduna in February 2017, “over the past two decades, Nigeria's Kaduna State has experienced a sharp segregation along religious and ethnic lines precipitated by about a dozen outbreaks of violence.”⁷ An estimated 10,000 to 20,000 people have lost their lives in Kaduna State between 1980 and the present, with peaks in violent conflict in 1992 and between 2000 and 2002. The conflict in Southern Kaduna can also be sparked by conflict in other states, as we witnessed in 2011 when protest from the Presidential election in 2011 in the northern states of Nigeria sparked conflict in Southern Kaduna leading to the deaths of over 500 people.⁸ “Outbreaks of violence in this area have now reached an unprecedented scale and frequency over the past five years. Nigeria's National Emergency Management Agency reports that 204 people were killed in southern Kaduna between October and December 2016 – the bloodiest period

since 2011– though these figures are hotly disputed by various local and religious groups.”⁹

The pattern of violent conflict in Southern Kaduna has had a long history, and is intimately tied to struggles for power and political representation, socio-cultural expression, and economic opportunities linked to employment and natural resource management. “Kaduna's Hausa-Fulani residents, who are mostly Muslim, are the majority in the northern half of the state, while the people of southern Kaduna are predominantly Christian, although tribally and linguistically diverse. The river that runs through the city of Kaduna, the state capital, highlights the starkness of the divide: the northern half is unofficially called Mecca; the south, Jerusalem.”¹⁰ Specific grievances have manifested over time and as a result, “many of the tribal groups in southern Kaduna have shaped their



histories and identities around deeply held grievances and the perception of suppression by the more politically influential Hausa-Fulani people.”¹¹ Specifically, grievances levied include a lack of development in the region, lack of quality education, extensive deprivation leading to increasing poverty levels, lack of representative governance including political exclusion and elite capture which subsequently fostered additional grievances of untrustworthy government, and diminished capacity and influence of traditional leadership and traditional institutions. These grievances have lacked appropriate conflict management mechanisms and as such, often manifest in the form of violent conflict mainly involving nomadic or semi-nomadic herdsman (predominately Fulani and Muslim) and local farmers (mixed ethnicities and religious backgrounds). Therefore, while sectarian tensions are present, they are intertwined with the root causes aforementioned and are expressed in a multitude of ways including but not limited to rural banditry, cattle rustling, land and water sharing disputes,

as well as transhumance and grazing disputes. And during windows of opportunity, these root causes also manifest as electoral violence and criminal gang violence. The history of violent conflict has led to cries of marginalization, social exclusion and injustice by all actors involved. Lack of inter-community and inter-group engagement has widened the gap for finding a common ground. The voices of victims and ordinary people who live with the conflict daily are stifled and unrepresented. The trauma suffered by women, children, the disabled and the most vulnerable have mostly gone unnoticed.

The conflict has another complex dimension with the current posture of the Kaduna State government, led by Governor Mallam Nasir El-Rufai who assumed the position in 2015. His state government as well as the Federal government have been implicated in the conflict or lack of conflict management and have received a drove of criticism to that extend.¹² The challenge that the governor is facing is related to the fact that

⁷ Hoffman, Leena Koni. Violence in Southern Kaduna Threatens to Undermine Nigeria's Democratic Stability, Chatham House, February 2017, pg. 1

⁸ Hoffman, Leena Koni. Violence in Southern Kaduna Threatens to Undermine Nigeria's Democratic Stability, Chatham House, February 2017, pg. 1

⁹ Hoffman, Leena Koni. Violence in Southern Kaduna Threatens to Undermine Nigeria's Democratic Stability, Chatham House, February 2017, pg. 1

¹⁰ Hoffman, Leena Koni. Violence in Southern Kaduna Threatens to Undermine Nigeria's Democratic Stability, Chatham House, February 2017, pg. 1

¹¹ Hoffman, Leena Koni. Violence in Southern Kaduna Threatens to Undermine Nigeria's Democratic Stability, Chatham House, February 2017, pg. 1

¹² Ending the violence in Southern Kaduna By ibrin Ibrahim | Publish Date: Jan 2017 <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/columns/ending-the-violence-in-southern-kaduna/181687.html>



he must manage the affairs of the state with impartiality and/or neutrality, yet he is a Hausa-Fulani, Muslim individual and is seen as a leader within the Fulani community countrywide, but especially in Kaduna. Therefore, when proposals are put forward to resolve conflict issues, such as compensation for transhumance herding, he is seen as showing partiality and therefore, favoring one ethno-religious and cultural group over another. For El-Rufai, the need to resolve conflict issues that span groups while he is positioning within one particular identify group which at the center of the conflict has been a difficult balance, and the reliance on military solutions that have employed thus far have presented even more grievances among community members. The solution to the conflict in Southern Kaduna will require a more sustained, “long-term, multi-pronged and well-resourced security and rural development plan.”¹³

The Southern Kaduna conflict is not an isolated issue in Nigeria, but an illustration of a larger set of conflict dynamics which have a weak conflict management system to mitigate. Violent insurgency in the Northeast and continued communal conflict in the Niger Delta highlight this point. However, the challenges faced in South Kaduna around the conflict between agrarian and pastoral economies is a shared dynamic across the entire region and a wider issue across the entire country, and as such, requires a comprehensive solution which focused on more inclusive dialogue among the various actors as well as improvement to the dispute resolution systems at the community level.

METHODOLOGY

This research effort adopted a mixed methods methodology which combined qualitative and quantitative methods. For the qualitative data, a total of 687 people were reached through the various engagements during the research: 251 respondents who have been directly affected by violent conflict of which an additional 167 individuals participated in the focus group discussions. Lastly, 269 were part of the community and inter-community dialogues across the five selected LGAs.

A thorough desk review was conducted using secondary sources to provide an in-depth historical study of conflict in Southern Kaduna from the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and democratic periods. This research facilitated the framing of the research questions (qualitatively) and questionnaire questions (quantitatively). The historical research process also allowed the research team to identify specific communities within five LGAs for data collection, and community engagement in Kaura,Kauru, Jaam'a, Sanga and ZangonKataf LGAs in late March 2017. Informal Consultation was held with the Ministry for Agriculture on May 20, 2017. This involved different categories of professionals from Southern Kaduna.

The objective was to understand the current government policy response to the conflict in Southern Kaduna, particularly in the area of agricultural intervention and the need to provide farmers with the security to return to their farms. The consultation revealed various policy initiatives by the Federal government towards the Middle Belt Region generally, and Southern Kaduna in particular.

The field research commenced in April 2017 with a focus on the qualitative data collection. Specifically,

At the qualitative level, the research approach included high-level consultation, roundtable discussions, the various community engagements with primary sources through interviews and focus group discussions. This approach seeks to listen to the voices of victims and local people on both sides of the divide, with the aim of establishing community based conflict resolution initiatives. The approach also engages leaders at federal, state and local government levels as well as policy makers.

¹³ Hoffman, Leena Koni. Violence in Southern Kaduna Threatens to Undermine Nigeria's Democratic Stability, Chatham House, February 2017, pg. 1

A total of 179 interviews and 167 persons were engaged in Focal Group Discussions with stakeholders from Kaura, Kauru, Jaam'a, Sanga and ZangonKataf LGA in late April 2017. Between 5th - 16th April 2017, Kukah Centre conducted three important community engagements; victim/survivor engagement, focus group discussions in five local government areas in Southern Kaduna. Twelve days of focus group discussions were held between 5-16th April, 2017 in Barkin Kogi, Goska, Pasakori, Zonkwa, Mifi and Fadan Karshi in Jama'a, Zango Kataf, Kaura and Sanga local government areas respectively. The focus group discussions were conducted with different groups who witnessed or have been affected by the conflict. The Kukah Team met with farmers in Bakin Kogi and Goska, indigenous women and children in Pasakori, Fulani women in Zonkwa, Youths in Mifi and traders/businessmen in Fadan Karshi.

These were carried out between 17-22nd April, 2017, with five categories of victims: women, men, children, youths and aged survivors from across seven communities of Goska, Misisi, Pasakori, Mifi, Tudun Wada, Zonkwa and Godogodo. Some of these communities were displaced and often converged to obtain relief materials at the temporary IDP camp set up in a school in Kafanchan. This made it easier for The Kukah Centre Team to meet a good number of victims from across the different communities.

Evidently, victims and survivors that were engaged from all the categories expressed disappointment and frustration for the continuing violence and the level of impunity demonstrated by perpetrators. Some of the children interviewed from Goska and Pasakori described in vivid terms the violence they witnessed

and how they are coping with the loss of parents and relatives. While the older women expressed displeasure at the loss of long term relationships and friendships with the Fulani community, the youths, particularly the younger women recounted the nature of assault and gender related violence experienced by them.

At the quantitative level, a questionnaire was designed using conflict and gender sensitive approaches to assure that it would do no harm under guidance from NSRP. The questionnaire was implemented in 40 locations and received a total of 13, 181 responses. It was used in the research to document the number of people affected by the conflict, using categories such as those killed or injured, including age, gender, status and location. It seeks to document people's memory of the conflict, with the goal of promoting inter-group dialogue and finding ways of providing healing and attaining peace.

Data analysis was conducted on both the qualitative and quantitative data collected in May 2017 by the Kukah Center research team.

In addition to the quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, this research adopted an action research posture. Denscombe (2010, p. 6) writes that an action research strategy's purpose is to solve a particular problem and to produce guidelines for best practice. Action Research,¹⁴ or "learning by doing", was adopted by the Kukah Center to support individuals and groups involved in conflict in Southern Kaduna to identify the problem (quantitative and qualitative data collection) and actively address these problems (in the form of a dialogue).

"Action research...aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and to further the goals of social science simultaneously. Thus, there is a dual commitment in action research to study a system and concurrently to collaborate with members of the system in changing it in what is together regarded as a desirable direction. Accomplishing this twin goal requires the active collaboration of researcher and client, and thus it stresses the importance of co-learning as a primary aspect of the research process."

In this way, adopting an action research approach to this study means that the participants have the opportunity to find a resolution to the conflict itself in the process of the research. This is a way of creating a stronger community of practice around resolving conflict issues because it immediately connects the analytical component to the resolution component. 4 Community Engagements (intra-group) 3 Inter-Community Dialogue, 5 Focus Group Discussions, making a total of 12 engagements were held in the process of this research project in Kaura, Kauru, Jaam'a, Sanga and ZangonKataf LGAs between 18 and 22 April 2017.

Inter-community dialogues were attempted in five communities between the 24th and 29th of April, 2017. These communities included: Mifi (Attakar Chiefdom); Bakin Kogi/Goska and Dangoma; Zankwo and Samaru; Anguwan Rimi (Chawai Chiefdom); and Fadan Karshi. Mifi (Attakar Chiefdom) declined to have inter-group engagement with the Hausa-Fulani, first, claiming they do not have Hausa-Fulani within their domain. Additionally, they accused the Hausa-Fulani of perpetrating violence with impunity, and for receiving support

Victim Engagement		Focus Group Discussion	
IDP Camp	Older Women = 14 Children = 25 Women = 135 Male = 56 Young Women = 21 TOTAL = 251	Zango Kataf	Fulani Men = 24 Fulani Women = 19 = 43
		Fadan Karshi Sanga LGA.	Male = 22 Female = 10 = 32
		Mifin Village Kaura LGA.	Male = 24 Female = 12 = 36
		Emir's Hall Jama'a LGA.	Fulani Men = 20 Women = 16 = 36
		Bakin Kogi /Goska Jama'a LGA.	Men = 10 Female = 10 = 20
Total	251		167

¹⁴ Also known as participatory research, collaborative inquiry, emancipatory research, action learning, and contextual action research

Community Engagement		Inter-group Dialogue	
Bakinkogi/Goska Jama'a LGA	Male = 56, Female = 12	NIL	NIL
Dangoma Jama'a LGA	Male = 16 84		
Zango Kataf	Male = 13 Female = 3 Fulani Men = 13 Fulani Women = 2 31	Zango Kataf Farmers and Herdsmen	Male = 26 Female = 5 31
Chawai Kauru LGA	Male = 24 Female = 7 Fulani Men = 7 38	Chawai Farmers and Herdsmen	Male = 15 Female = 2 17
Fadan Karshi Sangha LGA	Male = 13 Female = 8 Fulani Men = 17 38	Fadan Karshi Farmers and Herdsmen	Male = 27 Female = 3 30
	191		78

from the government as well as from a compromised security outfit in Southern Kaduna.

The second inter-community dialogue between Goska/Bakin Kogi and Dangoma communities also suffered a setback. Goska/Bakin Kogi community is predominantly farmers (Christian) while the Dangoma community is predominantly herdsmen (Muslim). Both communities are cautious and not ready to engage, especially considering the years of tumultuous relationship. Obviously, wounds are fresh, mutual distrust and suspicion is still rife followed by accusations and counter-accusations. Inter-group dialogue was successful in Zonkwa/Samaru. As with previous inter-group engagements, the process included separate consultations with farmers and pastoralists, followed by a request for both groups to meet in Zonkwa or a neutral ground for the inter-group engagement. Again, a guideline for the engagement was provided which included – the need, during all discussions, to be honest, tolerant, respectful and to avoid making false and disparaging statements, providing false data to justify perspectives or

opinions. Furthermore, the need to agree to a sustained dialogue platform if and when necessary.

A validation meeting was held on the 31st of May 2017 at Unity Wonderland Hotel in Kafanchan. The essence of this exercise was to evaluate the content of the research for potential problems before the project is finally published. The Kukah Centre Team presented the framework and the findings of the project. At the validation exercise, seventy people were in attendance including officials from NSRP, Ministry of Women Affairs, Acting Commissioner of Police-Kaduna, Deputy Director- Ministry of Environment, JDPC, Women Interfaith Council, Youth leader, Women leader from various communities in Southern Kaduna etc. Selected numbers of local indigenous farmers and Fulani herdsmen across the five LGAs were equally not left out in the validation exercise. Commendations were given for the fairness and accuracy of the report presented. An interpretation of the report in Hausa was done by Mallam Jibril Abdullahi for easy understanding and assimilation by the local indigenous farmers who were present.

KEY FINDINGS

Memory: The Narrative of the Local People Matters

Conflict resolution authors have documented the important role that memory places in conflict dynamics. For example, in the Journal of Peace Psychology, authors Brady Wagoner and Ignacio Breco document the importance of both individual and group memory on intergroup conflict dynamics in a number of cases, specifically arguing that the way societies often reconstruct the past which brings it into the present. “On one hand, conflicts deeply mark the memories of both individuals and collectives, thereby hampering future reconciliation. On the other hand, memory is behind many conflicts, insofar as certain ways of remember dramatic episodes (whether recent or remote) imply bringing the past into the present and with it the old scars, grievances, resentments, hatred, and sense of revenge”¹⁵

In the case of Southern Kaduna, respondents to the qualitative research component indicated that memory matters in this conflict, and often, the narrative of their pain and suffering has been overlooked as the conflict has been politicized and heavily militarized. Therefore, capturing their narratives and recording their memories of the conflict becomes an important first step to resolving the conflicts at the community level.

This section will document the narratives of five stakeholders of respondents: women, youth, farmers, herdsman and

community leaders. However, it is important to caveat this section and the entire report by saying that the respondents are not representative of the entire population of Southern Kaduna. Therefore, what is presented is an illustration or snapshot of the perceptions of various stakeholder groups involved, directly or indirectly, in the conflict in the five focal LGAs.

Perceptions of conflict: Women in Southern Kaduna

Regardless of the geographic location, women respondents reported their ordeal during the violence, such as assaults, harassment, intimidation, rape, abduction and sometimes outright banditry as they were robbed at gun-point.¹⁶ The victims and survivors, both male, female and children, narrated how women were raped, abused and assaulted by alleged attackers. Others confirmed the burning of houses, destruction of farms, the cutting down of commercial trees and its impact on the environment. This included the removal of unburnt roofing sheets from destroyed houses, the burning of household items and the outright desecration of the places of worship. 70% of the women engaged complained of lack of security and freedom of movement. The fear expressed by women is allegedly linked to perpetrator atrocity as well as to compromised security forces.

¹⁵ Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology © 2016 American Psychological Association 2016, Vol. 22, No. 1, 3–4 1078-1919/16/\$12.00 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000147>, page 1

¹⁶ Report of Community Engagement with Women and young girls at the IDP camp in Kafanchan, April 2017.

My husband and son were killed by the Fulani herdsmen. Some women were also raped while shouting for help. After the incident, we all had to leave Angwan Misisi because it was no longer safe. No woman will like to return to Misisi again because of the rape, the abuse and the way we were assaulted with impunity. In fact, the rape and abuses started before the village was destroyed. It reached a stage we could no longer go into the forest to search for firewood or water. It was pathetic.¹⁷

Mama Yakubu, aged 50 years, Angwan Misisi, Jema'a LGA, Kaduna State

Beyond the rape and abuse of women, there were reports on attacks, killings and destruction of farms and commercial trees. Thus, in addition to the human cost of the conflict, the women spoke passionately about how much the nature of grazing is destroying both the environment and the ecosystem. Trees are felled to feed the herds while the land is left barren and uninhabitable.

'On the 13th Oct. 2016, over 500 Fulani herdsmen invaded our village and started shooting. Four of my siblings were killed. There was a sick person who could not walk and he was killed. Our district head was killed. They destroyed my home and farm produce. We have abandoned our community and I now sleep in this place. I don't have food and I depend on charity for survival. The only two Fulani families in our community had since relocated...'¹⁸

TKC Team victim/survivor engagement with Mrs Margaret Peter, 40 years of Age, Pasakori, Jema'a LGA, Kaduna.

Many women have been displaced and left without homes and where to live. Additionally, husbands and male children are

killed leaving the women widowed and vulnerable. Tina Adamu (47) from Goska narrated how Fulani herdsmen destroyed her house and farm, and then killed her only male son days after killing her husband. Tina alleged that the security forces are compromised. Most of the community cannot return to the farms to harvest their crops no began preparing the land for cultivation.

'I am living under the mango tree with my eleven children. My husband is sick and there is no money to go to the hospital. When the Fulani were attacking, they were shouting- GOSKA, WHERE IS YOUR GOD, LET YOUR GOD COME AND SAVE YOU- The Fulani neighbors have military escort but we don't...'¹⁹

Mrs. Farara Pius, 50 Years, Goska, Jema'a LGA

Again, many of the victims also attributed the conflict to the lack of security and to government negligence. The details and structure of the killings are mostly lost in lofty political statements and not as explained by victims on ground. The attacks mostly took place in the night, using similar tactics as used in the JAS raids. Sometimes, the attackers come in the morning. In some instances, written threats were transmitted through letters them. The Kukah Centre collected some of these letters during the period of engagement.

'After a letter was dropped in Godogodo, I came back home on the 15th Aug. 2016, Fulani herdsmen invaded our village. 426 houses were destroyed. Women and children were mostly killed. The people escaped to Nindem. My younger brother lost two of his sons. 29 persons were killed and 8 people were injured. The two flats I built with my

retirement money were completely razed down. Our children are out of school and people are dying of heart attack...'²⁰

Joseph Oga, 57 years, Retired Police Officer, Godogodo, Jema'a LGA

For the number of victims engaged across the different categories, 55% attributed the constant occurrence of the conflict in Southern Kaduna to impunity and lack of accountability. There is a general perception that when those who carry out the attacks are arrested, investigations are untidy and they are eventually set free without accounting for their crimes. For example, a woman from Pasakori narrated how a herdsman killed her husband and later made a call to inform her of the murder.

'I am a farmer. We were seated in our house when we suddenly heard people screaming and running. Then I overheard people saying that my husband has been shot. I became confused so I ran inside and picked up my phone to call him. When I called, a Fulani man picked up the call. I enquired about my husband but the man laughed continually. Then he boldly told me that he has killed my husband. The Fulani began to mock me saying - I THOUGHT YOU ARE STRONG. WHY DID YOU RUN? He then told me that my husband's corpse is under the tree. It was after four days that we went to pick my husband's corpse. I know the Fulani man that picked my call and I recognize him very well...

Perceptions of conflict: Farmers in Southern Kaduna

The farmers from across Southern Kaduna interviewed for this project identified various causes of the conflict. Some of the factors include, grazing on farmlands, the use of under-age children for grazing, the use of mobile phones while grazing, the use of drugs by herdsmen, government rhetoric and

passivity, environmental degradation and lack of policy in modernising traditional grazing.

More than 70% of the farmers interviewed in Chawai chieftdom, Kauru LGA claimed that the herdsmen deliberately graze on cultivated lands with crops yet to be harvested. Additionally, the Chawai farmers accused the elderly herdsmen of abandoning herding to under-age children who lack the capacity and the techniques to look after 200-300 herds. In fact, most of the under-age herders now use mobile phones and other technology while grazing. They spent most of the time listening to music and making phone calls rather than look after the cattle. In Goska, Sanga and Kafanchan, farmers²¹ complained about the use of drugs and other enhancing drugs to help them withstand the harshness of grazing. In this way, they are easily provoked into conflict when confronted.

This may not be seen as a significant factor in the cause of the conflict. However, for many in Southern Kaduna, some of the factors are either immediate or remote, depending on the community, who the attackers and what their motivations might be.

'In late 2016, the attackers came and killed one of our own. Since then, there have been attacks in this community, and after each attack, it was clear that most of the attackers were on drugs. We have never had any confrontation with the Fulani herdsmen in the past. They only come here to graze their cows and go back. There have been claims that armed robbers are responsible for the attacks. In 2017, the Fulani herdsmen attacked us and killed our choir master. Markus Abarfal was killed when he went to enquire what happened. Now, Zillan community is

²⁰ TKC Team victim/survivor engagement with Retired Police Officer, Joseph Oga, 57 years, Godogodo, Jema'a LGA

²¹ During the community and inter-group engagement in Sanga, Goska and Kafanchan, most of the farmers complained about the increasing use of drugs among young people, both farmers and herders, and the extent to which it is influencing the conflict. However, it must be reiterated that the use of drugs is not limited to herder or farmer communities alone. It is a big issue within and beyond Kaduna state.

completely bare and we now live in this community...²²

William Sandu, 28 years, Zillan village, Attakar Chiefdom, Kauru LGA.

On the other hand, the perceptions of the herdsmen on the causes of the conflict differ from those mentioned above.

Perceptions of conflict: Herdsmen in Southern Kaduna

The Fulani perception of the conflict is however different. The herdsmen have linked the conflict to cattle rustling by farmers, the use of grazing routes for farming, the attribution of every attack to the Fulani community without evidence or investigation, the tagging of the Fulani community as settlers and non-indigenes, the refusal to recognise the indigenous rights of Fulanis and the marginalisation and exclusion of Fulanis in the political affairs of Southern Kaduna.

During the focus group discussion in Zonkwa, Zangon Kataf LGA, and the Fulani narrated their ordeal at the hands of cattle rustlers and farmers who have refused to recognise their rights. Mohammed Suleiman lamented on how the Hausa-Fulani Community and herdsmen are selected for continuous taxation and levy each time there is an attack.²³ These levies and taxations are allegedly used for victim compensation. However, the levies are collected from the Fulani community without legal support, and on mere suspicion with no adequate investigation to ascertain the facts and the culprits.

'Farmers have taken over grazing routes. I ran out of Goska with nothing. Fulani houses were destroyed and our grazing routes were all burnt down. There

is no truth. Politicians are responsible for this crisis in the state...²⁴

Mallam Adamu, Zonkwa, Zangon Kataf LGA

During the session in Zonkwa and Kafanchan, the herdsmen linked the root cause of this violent to a past incidence when the people of Aya killed their cows. Since then, there had been several cases of violence and unrest in the land that have not been addressed.

'I was born in 1960s and I grew up in Southern Kaduna. Our children cannot rear cows without being killed. Our cows should have the freedom to move anywhere. We are accused without concrete evidence. We use stick/knife to rear our cows and we don't know those with weapons...'²⁵

Maryam Namakyau (women leader of Miyetti Allah), Kafanchan, Jama'a LGA

In another aspect, the Fulani are treated as settlers and not indigenes. This means that they live under constant fear of attack, social exclusion and the threat of intolerance.

I went to the local government to obtain an indigene form for myself. I was completely denied. My parents, grandparents and even my great grandparents were born here. Am I not an indigene? Where do I go from here? Don't I have the right to belong here? Why am I segregated?²⁶

Muhammad Suleiman, Zonkwa, Zangon Kataf LGA.

A Fulani woman who opted not to be identified stated:

'Zonkwa has always been our land before this problem arose. The Bajus have been killing our husbands and relations. This started 2011 and till date. After dialoguing, the killings persisted. We are not at peace in this land. We are scared to move about and we have lost our freedom...'²⁷

Fulani women also attribute the cause of the conflict to drug about among young people, especially the herders. The leader of the group who declined not to be named, called on the government and the Fulani community to "rescue young people from drug abuse because when they take this drug, they have no respect for life and are inclined to violence beyond imaginable proportions..."²⁸

These experiences are linked to breakdown of community engagement and inter-group relationships. They are further intensified by lack of intervention supported by both the federal, state and local governments in encouraging community dialogues.

Perceptions of conflict: Youth in Southern Kaduna

Most of the youths interviewed were between the ages of 15-35, and they were mostly in Mifi and Fadan Karshi, Kaura and Sanga LGAs respectively, indicated that the conflict is the result of social and economic dislocation suffered by young people. Due to lack of jobs and the high levels of unemployment, the youths have sought refuge in criminal activities such as cattle rustling, kidnapping and armed robbery.

Furthermore, participants at the focus group discussions in Kafanchan and Fadan Karshi have confirmed that some of the

youths on both sides have taken to drugs and other social ills.²⁹ Additionally, the high levels of impunity and lack of prosecution for serious crimes have given the youths some sort of social confidence to cause mayhem and violence.

Perceptions of conflict: The Migrant Community

Those who have migrated from other states to Southern Kaduna for the purpose of trade, business or to be engaged in government job or farming, have also been massively affected by the conflict. Those interviewed have attributed the conflict to lack of accountability, socio-economic disempowerment, the growing humanitarian crisis, religious factors and lack of reconciliation platforms.

'During the Fadan Karshi conflict, I lost seven hectares of farmland to the herdsmen. And the herdsmen destroyed everything I cultivated on the land. In my opinion, the Fulani want this southern Kaduna land to be left for them to freely graze their cattle without interference.'³⁰

Anslem Opara, a farmer-business man, originally from Imo state, now settled in Fadan-Karshi, Sanga LGA, Kaduna State.

Others claimed that the cause of the conflict is religious. This is because during each attack Christians are selected either as individuals or as communities as targets. However, other Muslim migrants are left untouched. Thus, the attacks are directed against southerners because they are viewed as Christians and infidels.

'I lost my meals and the restaurant business due to the crisis. Right now I am displaced and stranded. My shop

²² TKC team Focus Group Discussion, William Sandu, 28 years, from Zillan village, Attakar Chiefdom, Kauru LGA.

²³ Muhammad Suleiman declined to specify who levies the Fulani community after each attack, when and where these levies are collected. It will be fair to suggest that some form of internal compensation mechanisms are put in place by the communities, and if this turns out to be true, it will be significant to make such part of the local conflict resolution initiatives.

²⁴ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion, Mallam Adamu, Zonkwa, Zangon Kataf LGA

²⁵ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion, Maryam Namakyau (women leader of Miyetti Allah), Kafanchan, Jama'a LGA

²⁶ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion, Muhammad Suleiman, Zonkwa, Zangon Kataf LGA.

²⁷ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion. Anonymous.

²⁸ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion in Kafanchan with Fulani women.

²⁹ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion, Fadan Karshi: a trader who doesn't want to be identified confirmed that some of these young persons come to his shop to purchase bicycle tire repair glue, abused as an intoxicant.

³⁰ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion, Anslem Opara, a farmer-business man, originally from Imo state, now settled in Fadan-Karshi, Sanga LGA.

and restaurant were completely attacked. The food was removed and thrown out by the attackers while shouting 'Allahu Akhbar'. We also lost loved ones and properties to the Fulani attacks. In fact, while I cannot ascertain the number of those who died, I lost forty-nine livestock and farm produce and shops/business to the herdsmen.³¹

Chinyere Nnandi, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA.

Although some of these explanations may be considered simplistic, evidence on ground appear to corroborate the fears expressed by the migrant communities who are victims. But it also goes to show that not only Fulanis are herdsmen. Other communities are also involved in keeping and grazing herds of cattle for commercial and business reasons.

Perceptions of conflict: Community leaders in Southern Kaduna

Affected communities engaged during the research, particularly survivors from Goska, Bakin Kogi, Dangoma, Misisis, Anguwan Rimi, Tudun Wada, Kafanchan and Zonkwa appear to have their own perceptions of the government intervention so far.

- * IDPs in the Camp in Kafanchan have complained of lack of relief materials and utter negligence by government at all levels. Whatever aid they have received so far has been from church organizations such as the Justice Development and

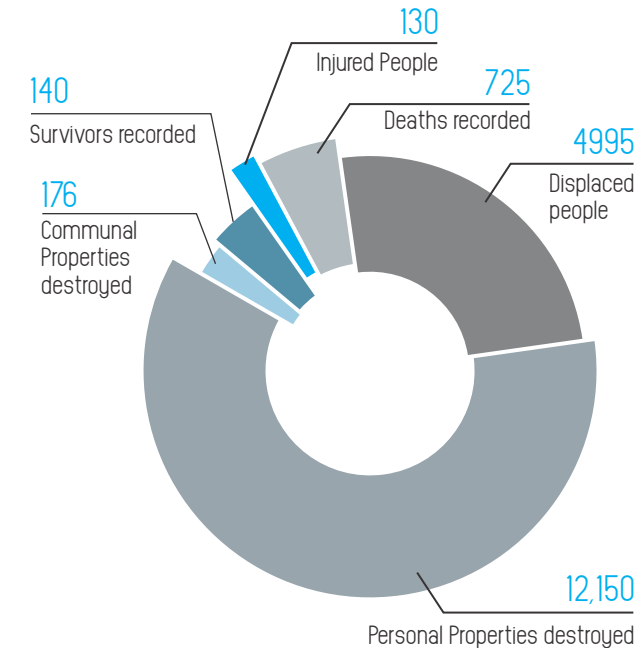
Peace Commission (JDPC) of the Catholic Church, other faith based groups, and good spirited individuals from within and outside southern Kaduna.³²

- * Despite the instruction of the Federal government for NEMA to carry out a joint assessment of the situation in Southern Kaduna, affected communities have accused both NEMA and SEMA for demonstrating inadequate response to the humanitarian crisis in Southern Kaduna, especially in the aspect of responding to issues of displacement, loss of lives and property.³³
- * Communities have complained bitterly about the failure of government to hold perpetrators to account. Sometimes when individuals who commit acts of violence are arrested, they are later set free without prosecution and due punishment.³⁴
- * Communities have complained about being harassed and intimidated by security agents, despite being the victims of raids and murder, instead of combing the bushes for the perpetrators of violence and murder.

In addition to the qualitative research findings presented above, a number of quantitative findings were also gleaned from 4,050 questionnaires administered in April 2017. Specifically, this section will illustrate a snapshot of those who were injured, killed, displaced, communal and personal property damaged. The response from those involved, directly or indirectly, in

conflict was collected between the 5th and 21st of April. Therefore, like that of the qualitative findings, the quantitative findings are representative of the specific timeframe and demographic of individuals surveyed, and is not representative of the entire conflict history or breadth of conflict geography.

- * **Injured** - 130
- * **Killed** - 725
- * **Displaced** - 4,995
- * **Communal property damaged** - 176
- * **Personal property damaged** - 12,150



³¹ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion, Chinyere Nnandi, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA.

³⁰ TKC Team Focus Group Discussion, Ansem Opara, a farmer-business man, originally from Imo state, now settled in Fadan-Karshi, Sanga LGA.

³¹ This day, 2017. Finally, Buhari Condoles with Victims of Southern Kaduna Violence, <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/01/06/finally-buhari-condoles-with-victims-of-southern-kaduna-violence/>.

³² Southern Kaduna Voices, 2016. Southern Kaduna People's Union Press Statement on Killings in Southern Kaduna and Godogod, <http://www.skvoices.com/southern-kaduna-peoples-union-press-statement-on-killings-in-southern-kaduna-southern-kaduna-and-godogodo>

³³ This day, 2017. Finally, Buhari Condoles with Victims of Southern Kaduna Violence, <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/01/06/finally-buhari-condoles-with-victims-of-southern-kaduna-violence/>.

³⁴ Southern Kaduna Voices, 2016. Southern Kaduna People's Union Press Statement on Killings in Southern Kaduna and Godogod, <http://www.skvoices.com/southern-kaduna-peoples-union-press-statement-on-killings-in-southern-kaduna-southern-kaduna-and-godogodo>

Conflict Resolution Efforts to Manage Inter-group Conflict in Southern Kaduna: Action Research

As indicated in the methodology section, this research was action research. Therefore, in addition to collecting data from respondents, The Kukah Center embarked on a process to also help the respondents begin to resolve a lot of the conflict issues that confronted the community. They did this by engaging with communities with both intra-and inter-group dialogue in five LGAs; Jama'a, Kaura, Kauru, Zangon-Kataf and Fadan Karshi. This section documents the outcomes of these dialogues.

Jama'a LGA: Goska-Bakin Kogi/Dangoma Communities

The effort to bring the Goska/Bakin Kogi and Dangoma communities together for engagement and dialogue failed on 24th April 2017. While Goska requested that a formal permission be sought from the Kaninkon chief, the people of Dangoma requested for more time to prepare for the engagements. Yet, further underlying reasons for the failure to engage were laid bare during separate discussions with the two communities. Goska/Bakin Kogi community gave the following reasons; for inter-community engagement to happen, all houses that have been destroyed in Goska/Bakin Kogi must be rebuilt; the Fulanis in Dangoma must accept that Dangonma is under Kaninkon chiefdom and under no circumstances will a separate emirate be created for the people of Dangoma; the discovery of 'Nickels' (a mineral resource) is on Kaninkon land and no Fulani effort can make the people of Kaninkon disappear from the area; Kaninkon chiefdom has seven districts, and no further district will ever again be created for the herdsmen; the separate community engagement conducted in Goska/Barkin Kogi community clearly revealed that wounds are still festering, and there is a need for urgent community dialogue to allay fears of future violence.

³⁵ TKC Team Inter-Community Engagement, Pastor Isaac Makama, Zonkwa, ZangonKataf LGA.

On the other hand, Dangoma community demonstrated the same willingness for community engagement, however, certain conditions must be fulfilled: adequate time must be given for preparation; Goska-Bakin Kogi communities must desist from attacking Dangoma; influential members and advisers to the Dangoma District Head expressed the desire to have a separate emirate, and there was an implicit request for support from Goska-Bakin Kogi communities.

Kaura LGA: Attakar Chiefdom

The effort to conduct a community engagement in Attakar chiefdom between the Hausa-Fulani herdsmen and local farmers failed. No immediate reasons were given. However, the local mobiliser for Attakar provided the following reasons: there are no more settled Fulani herdsmen in Attakar; most of the suspected Fulani who carried out attacks are migratory and do not stay in one place; there are suspected foreign elements and the people of Attakar are not in the position to dialogue with a group that is faceless and migratory. Rather, the people of Attakar call on the government to handle this sort of group.

Zangon Kataf LGA: Zonkwa/Samaru

Despite the success of the inter-group engagement in Zonkwa, challenges still abound. First, the farmers insisted that the Fulani must recognise they are not indigenes, but settlers.

The Fulani herdsmen must accept that this land is not theirs, that they are settlers. However, if they want us to take them seriously, they must begin to document the new arrivals of herdsmen, defend the land when its attack by herdsmen and report such herdsmen to the appropriate authorities. This will show that they love this land and are willing to protect it.³⁵

Pastor Isaac Makama, Zonkwa, ZangonKataf LGA

Herdsmen complained of continuous marginalisation and social exclusion from power and social privileges in southern Kaduna in general, and Zonkwa in particular. Thus, while the prospects for peace in all these communities remain hopeful, the challenges are enormous and adequate preparation must be made to continuously engage the two communities separately before an attempt to bring them together is likely.

Sanga LGA: Fadan Karshi

The inter-community engagement in Fadan Karshi, Sanga LGA was very successful. Both farmers and herders identified the causes of the conflict as the use of child labour for grazing, the cultivation of grazing routes by farmers, the use of mobile phones while grazing by herders and the lack of respect for the rule of law by farmers. In other words, some farmers take the law into their hands when they observe that there is a destruction carried out on their farms.

Both communities called for peace.

We don't want to remember the past. We don't want it at all. We have all been hurt in one way or the other. We want solutions to the many problems in our land. We want to maintain peaceful coexistence in our land and to forge ahead. It is farming season and we don't have time tampering with healing wounds.³⁶

Pastor Isaac Makama, Zonkwa, Zangon Kataf LGA

There is no need making reference to the past. The past is gone and the community is already at peace.³⁷

Monday Ogah, CAN Chairman, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA

³⁶ TKC Team Inter-Community Engagement, Mr. Luka Madaki, community leader, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA.

³⁷ TKC Team Inter-Community Engagement, Monday Ogah, CAN Chairman, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA

³⁸ TKC Team Inter-Community Engagement, Monday Ogah, CAN Chairman, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA

³⁹ TKC Team Inter-Community Engagement, Happy James, a Christian Participant, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA

⁴⁰ TKC Team Inter-Community Engagement: Shuaibu Yumusi, Fadan Karshi, Sanga LGA

However, other participants indicated that certain challenges must be recognised for the community to move forward.

My major concern is the free liberty the Fulani settlers give to their little children to shepherd over 50 cows. This is too much for them and in most cases, they cannot handle these cows and so they carelessly allow these cows to stray into our farms and destroy our farm crops.³⁸

Monday Ogah, CAN Chairman, Fadan Karshi, Sanga LGA

My major concern is these little children that are being given over 50 cows to shepherd. They can't handle the cows and they in turn stray into our farms and destroy our crops. Another concern of mine is the cutting of mangos and its leaves to feed the cows. These fruits can serve as a meal for both of us particularly when we are hungry. Remember that what your cows destroy are actually food crops for both our consumption. If we don't farm and harvest food crops, there won't be food for both you and your cows. So, let's be considerate and do the right thing.³⁹

Happy James, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA

The farmers were also requested to stop cultivating on grazing routes.

When you people have planted crops on the road path meant for the cows, where do you want the cows to go? Imagine someone planting right in front of a residential house. This is not acceptable.⁴⁰

Shuaibu Yumusi, Fadan Karshi, Sanga LGA

The Fulani community announced the establishment of a committee to monitor the activities of herdsmen and to report to the appropriate authorities for immediate action. The Herdsmen Monitoring Committee is headed by Abu Yakubu. The community leader, Mr. Luka Madaki assured the participants that:

We have heard your complaint. Whenever things like this happen, report the issue to me, any member of the community or even the community head. Every offender will pay for every damage caused. My fellow herdsmen, don't allow your cows to stray into our farmers and farmers stop planting on road path to avoid all these problems.⁴¹

Mr. Luka Madaki, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA.

Kauru LGA: Chawai chiefdom

Like others, the inter-group engagement held in Ungwan Rimi, Chawai Chiefdom, Kauru LGA on 27th April, 2017, was very successful. Both groups identified the causes of the conflict as lack of registering new herdsmen in the area, the lack of commitment to reconciliation programs, mutual distrust between herdsmen and farmers, high levels of insecurity and impunity, the use under-age children for grazing.

Shortly before the inter-group engagement, the farmers in Chawai were unwilling to meet with the Fulani due to the high levels of bitterness and mutual distrust. In addition, the Fulani were alleged to be supported by the government and are well armed. Besides, the farmers accused the Fulani for being responsible for most of the attacks with no accountability or prosecution. Finally, the farmers agreed to select 10 representatives to meet with the Fulani group.

On the other hand, the Fulanis were willing to meet with the farmers for various reasons:

- * They have for long looked for an opportunity to commiserate with the farmers over the losses, both human and material, that they have suffered.
- * Second, the Fulani expressed their sincere desire for reconciliation and for peace to return.
- * Again, they needed an opportunity to demonstrate that the Fulani responsible for most of the attacks were not resident in Chawai but were migratory Fulani.
- * The herdsmen also wanted to explain that they have paid compensation and had on several occasions reported the perpetrators to the authorities.
- * The Fulani are willing to discuss with farmers the best possible collaborative strategies available to end the conflict in Chawai chiefdom.

Both groups appealed for forgiveness and the need to move forward in peace and harmony. They request that the government provide adequate security for the community. The farmers requested that the Fulani desist from the habit of cutting down trees for their cattle which rightly affects the ozone layer. In response to this, a Fulani man advised the indigenes to discourage the act of bush burning so that their children will not have to climb the trees to cut down stems for their cows.

Government interventions so far

In addition to community efforts to find resolution to these conflict issues, the Federal and state government have also engaged a number of efforts to support sustainable conflict resolution.

First, the federal government deployed a special security task

force, code named “Operation Harbin Kunnama” (OHK). Among its objectives, the task force was mandated to enforce law and order and to restore normalcy to the area. There is an increase in the number of Nigerian Army personnel, the police and other security agencies in the area. However, communities remain apprehensive of unforeseen attacks, which have continued to occur in spite of the beefed-up security. The spate of kidnapping too has suddenly increased.

Communities are worried that the current security strategy is not working. The funds used in maintaining security presence could have been used to respond to the dire humanitarian need of the victims and survivors. Furthermore, security services are alleged to have been compromised, and are increasingly becoming part of the conflict.

Second, the Senate of the federation set up an Ad-hoc Committee on southern Kaduna crises and other parts of the country. So far, an interim report of the committee has been published but yet to be made public. The findings of the report have been rejected by the Senate citing poor recommendations. However, there are broader issues of the politicization of the conflict. The chairman of the committee claimed that Kaduna state has so far invested N15.61 billion on internal security, and yet the conflict remains unresolved. Again, it was recommended that the Kaduna state government publish previous white paper reports on Southern Kaduna conflict, and the recommendations be followed. Additionally, Senator Kabiru Gaya alleged that over 70 percent of the police officers deployed to Southern Kaduna were indigenes of the place, making it likely for such officers to take sides. The recommendation was that all security agents who are indigenes be withdrawn. This further questions the integrity of the security services and ethnicises the conflict.⁴²

Third, the state government has strongly resolved to fish out

and punish perpetrators of violence in any part of the state. This has been stated severally by the state governor, Mallam Nasir El-Rufai, during media engagement. However, most of the rhetoric coming from the governor so far has been vitriolic and divisive. The rhetoric of the governor has failed to heal wounds or rebuild community relationships.

Fourth, the state government has set up various committees, since 2016, with different mandates to provide policy recommendations that will bring stability and peace to the region. They include the Committee to Stamp out Attacks in southern Kaduna communities, Feb. 2016; Reconciliation Committee on Ninte-Sarki Crisis, in Godogodo District, 2016. This committee was set up by the Jama'a LG Council with the support of the state government, comprising Gwong Chiefdom, Jama'a Emirate Council, Kaninkon Chiefdom, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI), Jama'a LG Council, and the Social Welfare Department of the LG Council.

Unfortunately, most of the members of these committees simply re-harsh the recommendations of past conflict reports, receive their sitting allowances and simply disappear. The members of the committees hardly visit the local communities, victims and survivors. It appears that some of the committees are set up to reward political associates, and to establish a channel for stealing public funds.

⁴¹ TKC Team Inter-Community Engagement, Mr. Luka Madaki, FadanKarshi, Sanga LGA.

⁴² Vanguard News, 2017. Southern Kaduna Killings, Senate Rejects Panel Report. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/southern-kaduna-killings-senate-rejects-panel-report/>.

CONCLUSION

This is the start of an important process that will have the outcome of providing much needed evidence to all stakeholders so as to improve the planning and implementation of inter-group dialogue; the design of rehabilitation and reintegration programmes; and the engagement of the local donor community as it seeks to support the efforts of government in peace-building and sustainable development of Southern Kaduna. The pending activities include three roundtable discussions and one high level consultation. These will serve as part of the platform for the dissemination of the report.

It must be stated that the implementation of the project is not without its challenges. The Kukah Centre team encountered some security issues. An attack was attempted on Bakin Kogi community few hours after the team had left. Again, the security services denied the team access to Anguwan Rimi community until after hours of negotiations. Goska/Bakin Kogi communities will not accept the invitation to community engagement until the Kukah Team obtains express permission from their traditional ruler (The Kaninkon Chief). Despite these challenges, the engagements were successful.

Based on government efforts, the presence of the Nigerian Army, the Police and other security agencies have increased in the area. The government has also set up different reconciliation committees in 2016 to help resolve the crises. For example, in December 2016, Reconciliation Committee on Ninte-Sarki Crisis and in Godogodo District, 2016. This

committee was set up by the Jama'a LG Council with the support of the state government, comprising Gwong Chiefdom, Jama'a Emirate Council, Kaninkon Chiefdom, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI), Jama'a LG Council, and the Social Welfare Department of the LG Council. In January 2017, the Senate set up a six-man Ad-hoc Committee in Abuja on southern Kaduna crises and other parts of the country. This committee was headed by Senator Kabiru Gaya.

For The Kukah Centre, the findings will provide the needed data that will aid the National Peace Committee policy discussions with the Federal Government and the Kaduna state government. The findings will inform The Kukah Centre's direct engagement with the Nigerian government at the highest levels. The findings will also form the basis for The Centre's engagement with civil society organisations, faith-based groups as well as national and international agencies in finding lasting solution to the conflict.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the nature and extend of the farm herder conflict in southern Kaduna, developing a compressive strategy for ending the conflict is needed sooner than later. Such a strategy necessarily includes the following policy recommendations:

The Nigerian Government

- * It is necessary for government at all levels to strengthen opportunities for intra-and inter-group and community dialogue to reduce conflict tension. This should include addressing the negative enemy images held by various groups at local government area level in order to reduce the division or gap between communities in southern Kaduna.
- * The government should create socio-economic exchanges within groups and across groups which create incentives for communities to reduce the amount of dehumanization and demonization of the other which has resulted from the protracted nature of the conflict. For inter-ethnic and inter-religious markets, schools, and hospitals may encourage negative memories of the conflict to reach out to other groups and build bridges around specific super-ordinate goals such as education or healthcare.
- * The government should create a platform of engagement with local communities to understand their differences, their grievances and the contextual nature of the conflict before offering any policy solutions for rehabilitation and reintegration. Furthermore, a sincere stakeholder's dialogue and consultation by the federal, state and local

governments should be initiated and sustained for the purpose of building trust and eliminating prejudices.

- * The government should support peace initiatives established by local communities and local NGOs for peace and reconciliation in Southern Kaduna. These policies should include the processes that local and international NGOs can come in to provide technical support without adding to the existing levers of the conflict. It should partner with the UN and other development agencies that can support rehabilitation and reintegration efforts.
- * In providing support, the government must take into consideration all categories of victims: farmers, herders, men, women, the disabled and vulnerable, youths and children. An expert professional help should be sought for those in need. This should be accompanied by clear policies and legal framework for rehabilitating victims of the Southern Kaduna conflict.
- * The government should create forum for policy discussions at the highest and lowest levels of government within Kaduna state around the issue of indignity and grazing routes. This should include a process of demarcating clear grazing routes that take into consideration the value of human lives, and must avoid placing the life of a cow over and above human lives.
- * The government should avoid making very unbiased and

clear statements at the highest political level calling for tolerance, acceptance and reintegration. Government resources and campaigns must be focused towards the restoration of peace and permanent end to the incessant killings in Southern Kaduna.

- * The government should establish and fund local government level reintegration programmes that provide short, medium and long-term support. The programme should comprise selected transit center in Kafanchan that prepare victims and communities of the southern Kaduna conflict for eventual return to their homes.
- * Local communities should be engaged by the government to come with up with strategies for providing adequate security measures that involve the local populace. In this context therefore, particular attention should be paid to bringing the youths from the different communities together to understand their role in achieving peace and stability.

Humanitarian actors (e.g. the United Nations (UN), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international NGOs (INGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs):

- * The agencies should organize programmes that would address the mono-ethnic and mono-religious community formation which has developed as a result of the history of conflict in the communities heavily affected by violent conflict. Creating opportunities for different groups to meet with one another will reduce the opportunities for communities to continue to create generations of hatred for one another.
- * INGOs and other local agencies with the requisite expertise should provide trauma counselling for conflict affected populations in order to address the subjective as well as objective dimensions of conflict using local leaders and traditional rulers who remain trusted at the community level.

- * Both international organizations that seek to provide intervention in southern Kaduna should endeavor to listen to local perspectives, examine local initiative and understand the existing needs of communities. They should avoid creating parallel structures, but should take advantage of existing approaches for intervention. This will help integrate the different categories of people irrespective of religion or ethnic identity. Understanding local perspectives equally help in the implementation of support programmes such as skill acquisition as well as provide relief materials, food stuff and building materials for victims to rebuild their lives and return to the farm to avert famine and hunger.

- * NGOs should also provide additional inter-communal conflict resolution with community leaders and traditional rulers providing guidance and leadership for other conflict affected community members. Provide technical and professional support for the ongoing effort in rehabilitation and reintegration of victims of the conflict in Southern Kaduna.

- * NGOs should ensure the harmonization and proper coordination of resources for rehabilitation and reintegration. They should emphasize on the providing professional support for survivors of sexual violence and gender issues. Other support should be education, livelihoods and peace building.

- * NGOs should draw attention to psychological needs of children who has witnessed horrible and horrific scenes of the violence in southern Kaduna. Support institutional capacity building for the implementation programme, including targeted technical assistance.

Members of Communities

- * Members of the different communities affected by the conflict should accept that they are all 'indigenes' and that

the land belongs to all them. They must therefore find common ground to protect, preserve and benefit from the resources of the land in an agreed and equitable way.

- * While the herdsmen should desist from grazing on farms and the destruction of commercial trees; indigenous farmers should also avoid taking the law into their hands and report incidents of farm invasion to the appropriate authorities.
- * In collaboration with the security services, communities must develop a framework to monitor, observe and ascertain foreign elements, if any, that carry out such attacks. This framework should include both herders and farmers. This will erase mutual suspicion and provide clarity regarding the true perpetrators of the violence.

Traditional Rulers

- * Traditional ruler in collaboration with the government should encourage an evaluation of the relationship between the emirate and chiefdom systems at level the LGA.
- * Traditional rulers and local communities should be willing to establish local initiatives for dialogue and peace; these local ways are usually cost effective and encourage healing.
- * In collaboration with traditional rulers, research of community perceptions of the emirates and chiefdoms systems would highlight specific LGA nuances in the manifestation of conflict with each system. Customized mitigation strategies could be developed as a result of such research.
- * Research of the representativeness of the traditional emirate system at the LGA level would also highlight the challenges with representation between the emirate structure and community members. As a result of this research, a grievance mechanism could be built into the based on perception of misrepresentation.

Nigeria Security Services

- * The Nigerian security personnel deployed to work in Southern Kaduna should create a forum for the discussion of security challenges with community members in order to identify opportunities for enhanced community policy.
- * The security services should provide adequate security for farmers to return to the farms and be free to cultivate their land. Farmers should be supported with crop seeds, fertilizers and other implements owing to the fact that most of them did not harvest their crops since the conflict erupted September 2016.
- * It is necessary for security services to conduct an investigative formal processes for every attack and crime to avoid having the herdsmen community open to suspicion and unnecessary allegation. This should include the disarmament and demobilization of all actors with unlicensed and dangerous weapons in order to reduce conflict tension.
- * The security personnel should monitor and provide adequate information for the government, so that it has a better understanding of the nature of the conflict. The security services should differentiate between the different group's bandits, herdsmen, criminals and kidnappers that have different reasons and methods of inflicting violence and instability in Southern Kaduna.
- * The security services should establish a forum where security operatives in possession of information on current and past conflict issues involving violent death can be encouraged to help mitigate and de-escalate communities during crisis by sharing information in a conflict and gender sensitive manner.



About the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme

The Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) aims to reduce violent conflict in Nigeria by supporting Nigerian institutions, organisations and individuals to be able to manage Conflict non-violently and, in doing so, reduce its impact on the most vulnerable and marginalised. NSRP works in four interrelated programming areas (security and governance, economic and natural resources, women and girls, and research, media and advocacy). It supports initiatives at the national level, in eight states (Bayelsa, Borno, Delta, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau, Rivers and Yobe) and at the community level in three local government areas in these eight states.

www.nsrp-nigeria.org

About The Kukah Centre

The Kukah Centre (TKC) is a Nigeria-based policy research institute, with offices in Abuja and Kaduna. Interfaith dialogue is at the core of the Centre's work and involves actively promoting conversations among Nigeria's faith communities, as well as between leaders in faith and public policy. The Kukah Centre aspires to become Nigeria's leading institution for the promotion of an active and engaged citizenry by providing support for inclusive dialogue and advocacy initiatives. It aspires towards the attainment of a more humane, democratic and free society where citizens can live in real and true freedom unencumbered by any structures of exclusion on the basis of ethnic, religious, social status, economic or gender differences.

www.kukahcentre.org

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for inquiries and correspondences please contact:

Flat C1, American Specialist Hospital Complex, (opposite Rockview Royale Hotel),
1, Luanda Crescent, Wuse 2, Abuja - Nigeria

e-mail: info@thekukahcentre.org website: www.thekukahcentre.org

