



Global Rights



Institute for Peace
&
Conflict Resolution

#SouthernKaduna

A DIALOGUE ON THE **SOUTHERN KADUNA CRISIS**

- Analysing the Conflict
- Framing a Holistic Narrative

REPORT

“creating a multidimensional narrative to intellectually map the Southern Kaduna crisis & proffer tenable solutions for its mitigation ”

Introduction

Global Rights, in collaboration with the Institute for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, hosted a roundtable dialogue on February 21, 2017, on creating a multidimensional narrative to intellectually map the Southern Kaduna crisis and proffer tenable solutions for its mitigation. Conveners at the meeting comprised core security personnel, stakeholder government departments of government and civil society organisations. This report documents the proceedings at the meeting.

Welcome Address by Professor Oshita O. Oshita- Director General, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution

Professor Oshita welcomed discussants to the roundtable which he described as an important engagement which would enable stakeholders understand the intricacies of the crisis prevalent in the Southern Kaduna region. He also expressed hope that with Global Rights as a crucial partner, insights would be shared which would form the foundation for the remediation of the protracted conflict in Southern Kaduna and other conflict prone regions across Nigeria.

Opening Remark by Abiodun Baiyewu-Teru- Country Director, Global Rights

Ladies and gentlemen, good morning. Thank you for heeding our call to this auspicious dialogue.

As you know, we are here to discuss the insistent communal crises across Nigeria, and in particular today, the Southern Kaduna Crisis.

The crisis in Southern Kaduna did not start with the recent spate that commenced in October 2016 clashes. Rather, it has been a long unsavory history of violence from the early 1940s till date. Within that period and now, there have been at least 34 major combustions. Between 1980 till date, it is estimated that at least 10,000- 20,000 persons have died in the region. At least a million have been displaced. At this point, the crisis has shown no sign of abatement: at least 30 persons have died this week alone.

Where do we draw the line? There do we begin to draw the fodder for peace from?

There have been many postulations to explain the crisis but these have embraced what Chimamanda Adichie calls “*The danger of a single story*”. Yes, like blind men grasping an elephant from different ends, each one has a truth to tell: religion, pastoralist issues, herdsman and farmer clashes, cattle rustling, political clashes, bad memories from previous conflicts leading to reprisals. The truth is, it is all of these things.

The Kaduna crises like most conflicts are multidimensional and have evolved due to various factors. However, the worrying trend of incomplete facts and false narratives built around this crisis, have only served to negatively complicate the situation.

Given IPCR¹ mandate and expertise on the subject matter, Global Rights considered IPCR a critical partner in addressing the crisis, and therefore did not hesitate to cohost this dialogue with the Institute to create a veritable multidimensional narrative, to intellectually map the crisis and proffer solutions for its mitigation.

¹ Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution

So what do we hope to achieve through this initiative?

This dialogue is a start. It will lay the foundation for addressing the issues and their nuanced dimensions. It will allow us to map what interventions will work, and what will further fuel the conflict. It will enable us to issue an advisory to the government, and provide intervening parties materials with which to work. It will also afford other stakeholders an opportunity to have their point of view heard and validated.

So why is this important for us at Global Rights?

Security and Human Rights is one of our core program areas.

In recent years, both the nature and extent of human rights violations have significantly worsened in Nigeria concurrent with rising insecurity and violence. Most of these violations play out in the theatre of the on-going communal clashes and the counter-terrorism operations of security forces, with limited opportunities for redress for victims. In this militarized situation, there is little state accountability and vulnerable populations have become victims of indiscriminate attacks by warring factions, the military and insurgents, who act without adherence to the norms of the standard care for non-combatant civilians.

Global Rights therefore works with vulnerable groups, communities, and civil society organizations, to demand accountability of all parties and ensure that the rights of citizens are promoted and protected. We do this by promoting adherence to the rule of law even in asymmetrical warfare, amplifying the voices of indigent communities caught between warring groups, insurgents, and government security forces, because they are particularly at risk of having their basic human rights violated, given the often long histories of weak governance, inadequate resources and lack of basic understanding of their rights; and how to hold government accountable for their protection.

I thank the leadership of the IPCR for identifying with our objectives and for cohosting this august meeting.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish you a fruitful deliberation.

Video Message by Chidi Odinkalu- Senior Legal Officer, Open Society Justice Initiative

[One Person Killed is One Person Too Many](#) (Click for link to video)

Professor Chidi Odinkalu began by stating that the situation in Southern Kaduna was very sobering because it had been with us for such a long time. According to him, the crisis represented the complexities of Nigeria being a heterogeneous country, with a variety of ethnic, language, religious, cultural identities as well as the political diversities that hold sway in the state of Kaduna. Positing that in the periods since about the 1940s, Professor Odinkalu stated that the region had had over 35 flash points and incidences resulting in very significant loss of lives. He informed discussants that the Kaduna State Governor had recently told the Nigerian Bar Association that in the last 30 years, the state had lost a minimum of about 20,000 people to the conflict. However, he continued, the numbers of deaths recorded overtime could be juxtaposed. Giving an example of the 2011 post-election violence that took place in Kaduna, Professor Odinkalu expressed that different organisations had recorded different numbers; the Nigeria Security and Civil Defense

Corps recorded 907 deaths, the Justice Bello Commission of Enquiry had recorded 674 deaths, the Nigerian Police Force had counted about 405 deaths and the Sheikh Lemu Panel had reported that at least 800 persons were killed. In spite of the contradictory figures, he opined that it was worthy of note that each incident had led to a lot of killings because one person killed was one person too many. He added that the cycle of conflict in the country, especially the seemingly intractable conflict in the Southern Kaduna region had begun to make citizens regard these killings as a norm.

Professor Odinkalu opined that the government needed to show that Nigerian lives matter, irrespective of faith identity, occupation, gender or political identity. In addition, he posited that it was unsuitable for leaders to make incendiary speeches that could trigger violence, and that leaders were to encourage communities to coexist by initiating symbolic coexistence initiatives across communities. Professor Odinkalu asserted that if these actions could be initiated, overtime the country would reach a point where the real challenges of impunity and law and order would be addressed.

He stated that the first phase to quelling the Southern Kaduna Crisis was to contain the situation to prevent more deaths and then asserted that people should be encouraged to value human lives. Emphasizing the need for proactiveness of the civil society and non-governmental organisations, he said that most cases of violence would have been managed if civil society, and especially, human rights non-governmental organisations were more concerned about incidents that occur in the hinterlands of the country as they did the metropolitan axis. He expounded that if citizens did not take responsibility for the recurrent conflicts in the region, reliance would be placed on people who do not understand the situation in its entirety and this might spring up new challenges, even with the best of intentions. Professor Odinkalu decried the inability of the government, civil society, human rights community and the public sector to own the Southern Kaduna phenomenon and bring proper attention to it. According to him, there was a profound urgency about containing the crisis and preventing a recurrence.

Having the seat of power just a few kilometres from Kaduna State and the most elite division of the Nigeria Army situated within the heart of Kaduna, Professor Odinkalu asserted that it was injurious to the reputation of the country that no significant action had yet been taken to quell the crisis in the region.

Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution Overview of the Southern Kaduna Crisis by Mr. Haruna Adejo- Principal Research Fellow, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution

Mr. Adejo commenced his presentation by stating that due to the dynamic nature of conflicts, it was erroneous to state that there were experts in conflict management and resolution, however, it was the mandate of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution to seek solutions to the myriads of conflict that threaten national unity and coexistence as people. In furtherance of the above stated mandate, he informed discussants that the Institute had an internal conflict prevention and conflict resolution directorate that had undertaken several types of interventions within the means and possibilities that allowed for such interventions. According to him, the Southern Kaduna crisis had

presented in itself a conflict of narratives which the Roundtable was to aptly address. Acknowledging that most of the views surrounding the Southern Kaduna crisis were valid, Mr. Adejo expressed hope that the Roundtable would develop a resolution to the narratives in conflict. With a well-meaning organisation like Global Rights and its partnership, he continued, sustainable meaningful interventions would be crafted to manage and consequently bring an end to the crisis in the Southern Kaduna region.

Poser: *The dominant single narrative about the Southern Kaduna crisis seemingly revolves around a contention between the two faiths, with the Muslims dominating the Northern region of the state and the Christians dominating the Southern region. I am curious to know what other narratives surround the crisis, of particular interest to me is the narrative about climate change and migration and how it affects tensions and conflict in the Southern Kaduna region.*

Response:

Ms. Abiodun Baiyewu-Teru, responded that:

Global Rights official perspective of the Southern Kaduna crisis is that it is multidimensional in nature. Grasp of the conflict would be lost if the single threads are held unto, therefore the strands need to be artfully woven together to develop a right narrative tapestry. The conflict is not isolated. We cannot for example divorce this conflict from other tensions, for example in Riyom (Jos). The political tension that was created during last administration by the Governor being selected to become Vice President to stabilize the Federal dynamics, but this in turn skewed the balance of power in Kaduna State because the state had developed some form of political balance that was religious in nature, which was shaken as a result of the emergence of an unexpected Christian governor. That dynamics changed the political clime and it became a skew in the local politics in Southern Kaduna.

We cannot as well overlook climate change and migration and how it has affected Southern Kaduna. We have had a national population implosion in 40 years, moving from a population of a little over 60million in 1975, to about 180million people. The increase in population would naturally result in the fight for the control of finite natural resources. Nigeria is at the verge of a fresh water crisis. Water bodies throughout the country are shrinking. River Kaduna as we know it is no longer what we used to know - which, in turn, means that farmlands have become smaller. The Ministry of Water Resources has not told us exactly how bad the water situation in Kaduna has become or how to mitigate the effects of these shrinking essential water bodies.

The issues with the pastoralists and the farmers have also been long enduring. This crisis has been recorded to have begun as far back as the 1940s and overtime it has gained momentum, picking up different strands as it snowballed: religion, a contest for resources, ethnic identity (which it from all indications originated from).

We also have the ‘indigeneship’/citizenship tussle which mostly manifested at those grassroots levels. How then have we connected the dots on these issues in the entire West Africa region the migratory citizens of West Africa who would move their kraals and cattle in defined circuits from one geographical point to the other every two years, but due to the encroaching deserts now return to find that the routes that have served them for over a century have been converted to farmlands

and their usual trails have been taken over as well by farmlands which have been moved further down because of climate change that has made farming in certain parts of, even in Kaduna more difficult.

There are also the social justice issues: how we distribute resources as an entire country and the public narrative of minerals resource control in Nigeria. The polity has long held the view that the dialogue around minerals resource control was a South-South dialogue. However, the battle to control these resources is a national issue that is manifested in most states, and we have not faced up to these facts. Mining has gone on in Kaduna for decades and in these same farmlands are quarries and gold mines, coupled with pastoralists issues complicating how these communities then coexist.

The vicious circle of reprisals and vengeance keep the ambers of the crisis burning for generations, especially because there have been no attempts at providing psychosocial support or developing a template for managing memory moving forward.

Government has not effectively managed the narrative around the deployment of security forces to the region. Rather than boost feelings of safety, they invoke fear and suspicion of government bias. There needs to be a change in the deployment language to reflect that they are “protection assets”.

The sense of powerlessness and a loss of control has left many citizens with the feeling that they no longer have anything to lose. People who harbor deep grievances and have nothing to lose, are some of the greatest threats to security in any community.

Comment: The UN Resolution 1325 identifies the need for an expanded mainstreaming of women in conflict resolution. Nigeria is failing in its implementation of this Resolution. There needs to be an increased participation of women in conflict resolution processes at all levels of national life without which about 50% of our population will be expected to be spectators.

Are the information and documentations raised by the Institute appropriately transmitted to the people who need them?

The deployment of the military to these crises areas has generated many more human rights issues that have continued to redefine how security is being governed. The Police need to take responsibility for internal security and map out strategies for which interventions can be made.

Comment: There have been several committees instituted by the government to deeply analyse the situation of the Southern Kaduna region and develop tenable solutions to the protracted conflict in that area. These committees have been true to their responsibility however, documents and solutions proffered by these committees have continually been overlooked by government. Consequently, the civil society and non-governmental organisations have to find another approach in order to initiate the government to action.

Comment: The issues of impunity, lack of accountability and bad governance are basically at the root of the Southern Kaduna crisis. There have been accusations that these notorious herdsmen are foreigners. There is a standing joint military task force between Nigeria and some other bordering countries that may be used to address the transhumance migration to and from the country,

however, nothing has been done in that regard. The level and sophistry of their penetration into the different parts of the country, including the hinterlands, is deep rooted. Notwithstanding the security network that Nigeria should have, the situation has not been contained considering the number of security outfits we possess, not excluding the Nigeria Customs Service and the Nigeria Immigration Service.

As regards cattle routes, the move of herdsmen and their cattle through communities has been age long. It is a tradition and culture of Fulani nomads. These movements are like water and when it does not flow, it will dam and cause havoc. Nigerians have decried the movements of this ethnic group saying they should be driven back to their homes, however, an important question to ask is where are their homes? They have been recognized by the Constitution as part of Nigeria even though they are nomadic communities, which most other communities now consider disruptive to our redefinition of citizens which was inherited from colonial traditions. So if they are asked to leave, does our Constitution give us the right to banish a certain ethnic society? Many of the Fulani camps in the suburbs of cities have been eroded by development, yet we are only concerned about our welfare. Nigerians should be reminded that the Fulani ethnic society are also Nigerians and inasmuch as peace and stability is craved by all, the rights of the Fulani should also be protected.

Comment: As regards the issue of methodology and cacophony of narratives, discussants ought to be context specific. Narratives should be categorized into variables and individually addressed.

Comment: The central narrative of the Southern Kaduna crisis is historical. Understanding the motives behind the actions of the actors in the conflict is a very crucial step in ameliorating the crisis in the region. Land ownership/indigeneship squabbles between the herdsmen and indigenes of communities in the region also holds sway in the Southern Kaduna crisis. Recognition of the rights of the indigenes as well as the privileges of the settlers should be well defined so as to promote peaceful coexistence in these communities.

Comment: There is a big problem with distributive justice in Kaduna State. Having gained experience from being a member of two committees set up by the previous Yakowa administration and the present El-Rufai administration specifically set to stem the killings in Southern Kaduna, it is not erroneous to state that 80% of the solutions to the conflict in that area have to be provided by the Government.

It is said that the conflict in the region is between the Fulani and the indigenous local communities due to transhumance pastoralism. However, I beg to defer. The main issue is that lands hitherto used by the Fulani for grazing their cattle have been taken away for development purposes. The River Basin Development Authorities and the FADAMA areas were places the pastoralists grazed their cattle in dry seasons but have now been overtaken by the government for development purposes. Should development be stopped on the basis of affording these pastoralists grazing lands? Cattle could be transported by means of cargo from place to place or ranches could be built so as to accommodate herdsmen as well as foster development.

Poser: *The right to culture and identity is for all. Land is sacred in these parts as opposed to the Western world where land is capital. Do we in keeping identity and culture lose development? Or in our quest for development, do we lose identity and culture?*

Comment: A truth and reconciliation mission should be established. This would create a sense of justice in the minds of the actors which would consequently provide a breeding ground for further peace and reconciliation actions and aid to erase bad memories from past clashes.

Comment: There are 34 designated entry points for herds into Nigeria at the Nigeria Disease Act. No one has ever taken into consideration what has happened to these entry points. Every herd that comes into Nigeria is required to carry an international transhumance certificate, for accountability and identification purposes. However, what are our security agencies doing to ascertain that these measures are practiced? Synergy between security and border agencies, community health officials, community leaders and veterinary doctors should be encouraged and a proper means of social identification should be formulated in order to easily identify who does what and how.

Interventions

The Roundtable considered as imperative the implementation of the following interventions:

1. **Building a holistic narrative:** Developing an official, holistic narrative around the Southern Kaduna crisis and all of the other communal crisis across the country, which captures the grievances of all the parties and their underlying causes is essential for commencing a dialogue on how to move forward from them.
2. **Economic paradigm shift:** Given the realities of climate change and the competition for scarce resources, the Nigerian government must begin to foster the development and transformation of traditional forms of livelihoods such as cattle rearing and pastoralism and devote resources to their growth and regulation. For instance, as development has caught up with pastoralism, the difficulty in moving cattle around necessitates the adoption of ranches as an alternative.
3. **Promoting the notion of secular state:** Nigeria is a secular state and should be governed as one. Religious sentiments should be demoted in addressing national issues.
4. **Implementation of past recommendations by the various committees and experts set up by government:** Measures should be taken for the Kaduna State government and the Federal government to look into the reports and recommendations proffered by committees set up to ameliorate the Southern Kaduna Crisis. These reports, if reviewed, would offer tenable solutions to some of the narratives raised.
5. **Dialogue:** Truth and Reconciliation mechanisms, and mediation/negotiation processes between the warring communities should be initiated with the aim of engendering a ceasefire and creating a renewed relationship devoid of bad memories for peaceful coexistence.
6. **Governance:** Measures should be put in place to strengthen the Nigeria's governance structures and to eliminate impunity and irresponsibility amongst government security institutions.

Closing Remark by Abiodun Baiyewu-Teru- Country Director, Global Rights

Ms. Baiyewu-Teru thanked delegates for sharing their insights into the Southern Kaduna Crisis and proffering recommendations to curb the crisis. She in particular thanked the IPCR for providing a platform for safe discussions and for being instrumental to the conveyance of the roundtable.

She informed the Meeting that the roundtable was the first in a series of many others that she hoped, would be the foundation for creating a peaceful Southern Kaduna, and indeed Nigeria.