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A Study of Violence-Related Deaths in
Gudu, Gwadabawa, Ilela Local
Government Areas of Sokoto State, and
Sakaba Local Government Area Of
Kebbi State (2006-2014)



The 'Invisible Violence' Project

Based in the premises of the French Institute for Research in Africa on the campus of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria Watch is a database project that has monitored fatal incidents and human security in Nigeria since 1 June 2006. The database compiles violent deaths on a daily basis, including fatalities resulting from accidents. It relies on a thorough reading of the Nigerian press (15 dailies & weeklies) and reports from human rights organisations. The two main objectives are to identify dangerous areas and assess the evolution of violence in the country.

However, violence is not always reported by the media, especially in remote rural areas that are difficult to access. Hence, in the last 8 years, Nigeria Watch has not recorded any report of fatal incidents in some of the 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs) of the Nigerian Federation. There are two possibilities: either these places were very peaceful, or they were not covered by the media. This series of surveys thus investigates 'invisible' violence.

By 1 November 2014, there were still 23 LGAs with no report of fatal incidents in the Nigeria Watch database: Udung Uko and Urue-Offong/Oruko (Akwa Ibom), Kwaya Kusar (Borno), Nafada (Gombe), Auyo, Gagarawa, Kaugama and Yankwashi (Jigawa), Ingawa and Matazu (Katsina), Sakaba (Kebbi), Bassa, Igalamela-Odolu and Mopa-Muro (Kogi), Toto (Nassarawa), Ifedayo (Osun), Gudu and Gwadabaw (Sokoto), Ussa (Taraba), and Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru and Yunusari (Yobe).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A Study of Violence-Related Deaths in Gudu,
Gwadabawa and Illela Local Government Areas of
Sokoto State, and Sakaba Local Government Area of
Kebbi State (2006–2014)

Project Invisible Violence

Introduction and methodology.....	5
Gudu, Gwadabawa, Illela and Sakaba: a bird’s-eye view.....	7
Violent incidents in Gudu, Gwadabawa, Illela and Sakaba 2006–2014.....	11
Explaining invisible violence in Gudu, Gwadabawa, Illela and Sakaba LGAs.....	41
Conclusion.....	42
List of tables.....	44
List of acronyms and abbreviation.....	44

Arshad MUNIR & Akinola Ejodame OLOJO*

**A Study of Violence-Related Deaths in Gudu,
Gwadabawa and Illela Local Government
Areas of Sokoto State, and Sakaba Local
Government Area of Kebbi State (2006–2014)**
Project Invisible Violence

Executive Summary

This paper highlights the outcome of a study on fatal incidents in four local government areas (LGAs) of northwestern Nigeria: Gwadabawa, Gudu, and Illela LGAs in Sokoto State, and Sakaba LGA in Kebbi State. Data obtained from 1,083 questionnaires (out of 1,200) reveals that, since 2006, the year 2011 had the highest number of fatalities. Between 2006 and 2014, Gudu LGA recorded the highest number of fatalities and violent incidents, while Sakaba LGA had the lowest. For the period under review, the most frequent cause of fatal incidents was cattle grazing, followed by political clashes. Religion, which is often perceived as a major factor of conflict, contributed quite insignificantly to the overall level of violence in the four LGAs, with a few incidents involving the Yan Shi'a, the Tijaniyya Sufi brotherhood,

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and the Yan Izala movement. Finally, the study demonstrates that, just as in the urban centres of Sokoto and Kebbi, there are many fatal incidents in rural areas—yet these are unreported. Some explanations for this omission are discussed in relation to poor road infrastructure.

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

One of the primary concerns of the Invisible Violence project of Nigeria Watch¹ is to analyse particular local government areas (LGAs) where fatal incidents appear to have fallen outside the radar of press coverage. The issue is to discover whether this omission results from a dearth of media reports or from an authentic absence of lethal violence. Bearing this framework in mind, the current study investigates ‘invisible’ fatal incidents in Gudu, Gwadabawa, and Illela LGAs in Sokoto State, and Sakaba LGA in neighbouring Kebbi State.

Northern Nigeria now offers the general impression of an entire region in crisis. However, some analytical nuance is required to distinguish areas that are indeed rife with violence from those largely undisturbed. Thus the north-western geopolitical zone of Nigeria includes a mix of states such as Kano and Kaduna, characterised by occasional-to-recurrent crises, and Zamfara, Sokoto, and Kebbi, which have relatively low-intensity violence. To fine-tune our focus on selected LGAs in Sokoto and Kebbi, two main questions must be asked. First, what is the general character of fatal incidents in Gudu, Gwadabawa, Illela, and Sakaba? Second, what factors help to make sense of this gap in the recognition and reportage of violence in the affected LGAs?

The paper responds to these questions by starting with a brief background of the socio-political and economic local context. With empirical content, it then

¹ Nigeria Watch is a database and research project that monitors lethal violence, conflicts, and human security in Nigeria.

Collated data reflected in the database is used to provide statistics, draw maps, and analyse trends across the country.

discusses the nature of lethal violence in the selected LGAs. In the next section, it sheds light on the factors identified as responsible for the shortcomings of reports and records of fatal incidents, while the final part of the paper concludes with remarks on the overall research findings.

In regard to methodology, a total of 1,200 questionnaires were circulated across a broad spectrum of residents in the four LGAs. Although not all respondents completed every aspect of the questionnaire, a total of 1,083 returned sufficient data to generate a gender matrix complete with figures and percentages in relation to each of the four LGAs. However, to employ further rigour in the distillation of the received data, questionnaires not containing key indices for analyses (causes and descriptions of violent incidents, number of fatalities) were separated to generate another set of tables in relation to the four LGAs. Therefore, the total number of respondents recorded in the gender matrix (Table 1) does not necessarily match the total number of respondents recorded in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5.

A challenge encountered in the study was in relation to questionnaires that appeared to duplicate the same fatal incidents, year of event, affected communities, and cause of violence. While such questionnaires presented nearly the same set of data, they tended to contain different figures for the number of fatalities. Therefore, such cases were addressed by taking the average of the fatalities recorded since all other variables remained constant. Furthermore, it is possible that there were instances where certain questionnaires presented different causes for a single violent incident. It should also be taken into account that the limitations of human memory on the part of most respondents limited the generation of data in regard to dates of violent occurrences. Consequently, the tables presented for each of the four LGAs reflect only the year of incidents, not the days and months. In all, this study establishes that the overarching pattern of lethal violence in Sokoto and

Kebbi has been generally underestimated in terms of its occurrence rate in rural areas and the frequency of fatalities.

GUDU, GWADABAWA, ILLELA AND SAKABA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

Gudu, Gwadabawa, and Illela are among the 23 LGAs in Sokoto State. Population distribution figures published by the National Population Commission (NPC) suggest that the total population of Gudu, Gwadabawa, and Illela are 95,400, 231,569, and 150,133 respectively.² For reasons that may help to explain why violent incidents have received minimal attention from the media, it is important to note that Gudu LGA is situated in a remote part of Sokoto State and in fact shares a border with the Republic of Niger. Its capital is a town called Balle, but there are a number of other localities. Similar to Gudu, Illela LGA is also situated far from the geographic centre of Sokoto and shares a border with the Republic of Niger. Among the three LGAs, Gwadabawa is the highest in terms of population size, akin to Sokoto North for instance. However, demographic features do not explain why some LGAs receive little attention as far as violent incidents are concerned.

Gwadabawa is noted to have played an important role in the historical build-up of the Sokoto Caliphate. This fact is acknowledged by Hugh Johnston, who further explains how certain parts of present-day northern Nigeria such as Gwadabawa were geographically compact and in

² National Population Commission, 2010. "2006 Population and Housing Census: Priority Table Volume IV". <http://www.population.gov.ng/index.php/publications/141-population-distribution-by-age-and-sex-2006-census-priority-tables-vol-4>

fact not dissimilar from English counties.³ Gudu, Gwadabawa, and Illela—and by extension the entire north-western zone of which Sokoto and Kebbi are a part—owe much of their relative order and peaceful milieu to the influence of history and particularly that phase associated with the legacy of the 1804 *jihad*. Although not the main focus of this section, there is an important point to be made regarding how the *jihad* led by Sheikh Uthman dan Fodio occasioned not only an Islamic and scholastic revolution but also the bequeathing of a profound socio-political structure and administrative organisation of a society which we now know as contemporary Sokoto State. What appears to be the peaceful character of Sokoto and Kebbi is even more significance in light of the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency, to which other northern states such as Borno and Yobe bear witness. It is therefore amidst this apparent atmosphere of relative peace and stability in Sokoto and Kebbi that the challenge of addressing the phenomenon of unreported violent incidents also gains importance.

Like most of the other LGAs in Sokoto State, Gudu, Gwadabawa, and Illela have their economies based on agriculture and particularly subsistence farming. Several crops are cultivated, but the main ones in these LGAs include millet, maize, guinea corn, and beans/cowpea. Cattle grazing remains a common practice, which explains why the data in this study underscores how this economic activity is fused with the overall portrait of violent incidents. Weaving, dyeing, and tanning constitute a main focus of local industries; and although attempts have been made by a number of state government authorities to stimulate mechanised agriculture, these LGAs—and indeed Sokoto State—still exhibit a high level of both relative and absolute poverty in comparison with other states.⁴

³ Hugh Johnston, 1967. “The Fulani Empire of Sokoto”. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴ National Bureau of Statistics, 2012. “Nigeria Poverty Profile 2010 Report”.

IFRA-Nigeria epapers series, 2015, n°47

In terms of religion, Gudu, Gwadabawa, and Illela, in common with other LGAs in Sokoto State, are over 90 per cent Muslim, and the predominant language spoken is Hausa (with Fulfulde spoken to a lesser extent). The political landscape in Gudu, Gwadabawa, and Illela has maintained quite a competitive character over the years and especially during the period (2006–2014) examined in this study. A considerable number of the violent incidents identified in the aforementioned LGAs are attributable to the evolution and contestation involving political parties, such as the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and the four defunct parties that later merged to form the All Progressives Congress (APC). These four defunct parties, which were once active within the aforesaid LGAs, comprise the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the All Nigeria People’s Party (ANPP), and a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA). Another party involved in some of the violent incidents was the Democratic People’s Party (DPP).

The socio-political and economic dynamics of Sakaba LGA in Kebbi State are largely associated with the larger historical trajectory of Sokoto State. This of course can be understood by the fact that Kebbi was carved out of Sokoto in August 1991. Of 21 LGAs, Sakaba is among the three least populated LGAs in Kebbi State, with a population of 91,728. The other two smaller LGAs are Kalgo (with a population of 84,928) and Aleiro (67,078).⁵ Its comparably low population contributes to the perception of Sakaba by the media as unimportant, and its geographical location within Kebbi places it at an extreme corner of the state, sharing borders with

<http://www.tucrivvers.org/tucpublications/Nigeria%20Poverty%20Profile%202010.pdf>

⁵ National Population Commission, 2010. “2006 Population and Housing Census: Priority Table Volume IV”.

neighbouring Niger. Most people from Sakaba practise Islam and are largely Hausa-speaking. There are also some inhabitants who adhere to Christianity or traditional religious beliefs. For instance, traces of traditional religious worship can still be found among the Cicipu-speaking people ethnically referred to as the Acipu in the part of Sakaba that shares a border with Kontagora LGA in Niger. Subsistence farming and livestock production are widely practised in the area. However, the remote communities of the LGA are severely challenged by problems of accessibility, especially by car during the rainy season. Absent road infrastructure hampers the possibility for farmers to market their harvests outside Sakaba and explains the tendency for violent incidents to go unnoticed by the media and local authorities.

Table 1 - Demographics of respondents in Gudu, Gwadabawa, Illela, and Sakaba LGAs. Source: Fieldwork, August–September 2014

LGA	Male	Female	Total	% Male / Female
GUDU	234	47	281	83.27 / 16.73
GWADABAWA	217	87	304	71.38 / 26.62
ILLELA	155	90	245	63.27 / 36.73
SAKABA	149	104	253	58.89 / 41.11

As earlier noted in the introductory section, the table above is based on the data from questionnaires in which respondents indicated their gender status in the respective LGAs. While it may not provide the complete gender portrayal of every respondent, it does however provide an impression suggestive of the gender ratio in each of the LGAs. Thus, if the suggested gender ratio is anything to go by, the most striking feature is that there is a much lower response rate from females than from males in all the LGAs. However, the lower feedback rate from females is not in any way a consequence of fewer women in the LGAs. In fact, according to official statistics, Illela LGA for instance has a slightly higher number of females

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 11
STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

(75,184) than males (74,949). Such a skewed outcome can be understood in light of socio-cultural dynamics which persist in obscuring the ‘visibility’ and representation of women in these communities. Furthermore, the marked religious context of these communities also shapes the interaction of males and females in certain public spaces. This factor no doubt exerted some influence on the willingness of certain women to respond and render numerically representative feedback to some of the questionnaires.

VIOLENT INCIDENTS IN GUDU, GWADABAWA,
ILLELA AND SAKABA 2006–2014

*Table 2 - Violent incidents in Gudu LGA. Source:
Fieldwork, August–September 2014*

S/N	Date	Community	Cause	Description	Fatalities
1.	2006	Balle	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Balle farmers	3
2.	2006	Kurdula	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
3.	2006	Gwazange	Car accident	Due to bad roads	7
4.	2007	Balle	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters	3
5.	2007	Balle	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters during rally	5
6.	2007	Kurdula	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters during rally	5
7.	2007	Gwazange	Political crisis	ACN vs PDP supporters	2
8.	2007	Gwazange	Political crisis	ANPP vs DPP supporters	1
9.	2007	Dayeji	Political crisis	ANPP vs DPP	8

				supporters	
10.	2007	Tunga	Political crisis	Former governor's (Bafarawa) supporters vs incumbent Sokoto State governor's (Wammako) supporters	7
11.	2007	Bachaka	Political crisis	ANPP vs DPP supporters	2
12.	2007	Karfe	Political crisis	Internal fighting within DPP	1
13.	2007	Kuturure	Political crisis	ANPP vs DPP supporters	2
14.	2007	Gurdam	Political crisis	ANPP vs ACN supporters	6
15.	2007	Gwazange	Crime	Neighbouring villages fought each other	1
16.	2007	Bangi	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
17.	2007	Kurdula	Crime	Family feud involving Hussaini and Amina	2
18.	2007	Balle	Crime	A man against another man over marriage matters	1
19.	2007	Bachaka	Car accident	Due to overspeeding	8
20.	2007	Filisko	Crime	Kanwuri vs Sabon Gari communities	2
21.	2008	Balle	Political crisis	ANPP vs DPP	1

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 13
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

				supporters	
22.	2008	Bachaka	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters	1
23.	2008	Chalasko	Political crisis	ANPP vs DPP supporters	2
24.	2008	Dayeji	Cattle grazing	Fulani and farmers fought over allegation of stolen cattle	4
25.	2008	Gwazange	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
26.	2008	Bachaka	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
27.	2008	Dayeji	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
28.	2008	Bachaka	Crime	Family dispute	1
29.	2008	Kurdula	Car accident	No description	8
30.	2008	Gwazange	Car accident	No description	2
31.	2009	Kurdula	Political crisis	ACN vs PDP supporters	1
32.	2009	Tunga	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Tunga farmers	3
33.	2009	Rafin Kubu	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
34.	2009	Karfe	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	6
35.	2009	Bachaka	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
36.	2009	Kurdula	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
37.	2009	Tunga	Crime	Associated with community issues	1
38.	2009	Bachaka	Market issue	Family feud over	1

				economic issues	
39.	2009	Balle	Crime	One man with his wife against another man	1
40.	2010	Gwazange	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters	1
41.	2010	Rafin Kubu	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters	1
42.	2010	Filasko	Political crisis	CPC vs PDP supporters	2
43.	2010	Gudu Town	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters	3
44.	2010	Balle	Political crisis	CPC vs DPP supporters	2
45.	2010	Gurdam	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters during rally	1
46.	2010	Tunga	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Tunga farmers	3
47.	2010	Bachaka	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	3
48.	2010	Kurdula	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Hausa community	3
49.	2010	Kurdula	Crime	Violence erupted between a couple leading to death of the man	1
50.	2010	Tunga	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Tunga farmers	1
51.	2010	Bachaka	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	3
52.	2010	Gurdam	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	2
53.	2010	Gwazange	Crime	Family feud	1
54.	2010	Dorasa Area	Crime	Community vs community	1

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 15
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

				over economic issues	
55.	2010	Gwazange	Crime	Involvement of male and female youths	2
56.	2010	Bachaka	Car accident	Due to bad roads	2
57.	2010	Yakka	Crime	Parent-to- parent violence	2
58.	2011	Bachaka	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters during electoral campaign	2
59.	2011	Bachaka	Political crisis	PDP vs ACN supporters	1
60.	2011	Gudu	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters	5
61.	2011	Balle	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters during rally	2
62.	2011	Balle	Crime	Villagers vs hooligans in town	1
63.	2011	Kokotau	Political crisis	PDP vs CPC supporters	2
64.	2011	Balle	Natural disaster	Flooding crisis (water)	1
65.	2011	Yakka	Political crisis	PDP vs ANPP supporters	2
66.	2011	Salawa	Political crisis	PDP vs CPC supporters	2
67.	2011	Salawa, Gudun Buki	Fire	Fire in the houses of Dan Tunau and Suleiman	4
68.	2011	Salawa, Gudun Buki	Natural disaster	No description	5

69.	2011	Shatoka, Zabarma	Natural disaster	No description	2
70.	2011	Karfen Chana	Political crisis	CPC vs APGA supporters	2
71.	2011	Gwazange	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters during rally	2
72.	2011	Gwazange	Market issue	Two persons clashed over ownership of a bag of rice in a market place	2
73.	2011	Tunga	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters during rally	2
74.	2011	Filasko	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters	2
75.	2011	Filasko	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
76.	2011	Filasko	Market issue	Business- related conflict	2
77.	2011	Kurdula	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters during rally	3
78.	2011	Rafin Kubu	Political crisis	ANPP vs DPP supporters during rally	1
79.	2011	Dayeji	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters during voting campaign	1
80.	2011	Gurdam	Crime	Community vs community	1
81.	2011	Karfe	Crime	Community vs community	2
82.	2011	Karfe	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters during voting campaign	33

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 17
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

83.	2011	Boto	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	2
84.	2011	Karfen Sarki	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
85.	2011	Karfen Sarki	Crime	Football clash: Gudu United vs Karfen Sarki Stars	2
86.	2011	Tunga	Crime	Rapist beaten to death	1
87.	2011	Karfen Chana	Religious crisis	Izala vs Yan Shi'a	1
88.	2011	Shiyar Yamma	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
89.	2012	Gudun Buki	Political crisis	PDP vs ANPP supporters	2
90.	2012	Salawa	Crime	Conflict between husband and wife	3
91.	2012	Salawa	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
92.	2012	Boto	Political crisis	CPC vs ANPP supporters	2
93.	2012	Gozange	Political crisis	PDP vs CPC supporters	2
94.	2012	Bachaka	Political crisis	ANPP vs PDP supporters	3
95.	2012	Bachaka	Crime	Tunga vs Bachaka community clash	2
96.	2012	Bachaka	Market issue	Muslim vs Muslim	2
97.	2012	Bachala	Political crisis	PDP vs ACN supporters	31
98.	2012	Bangi	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Bangi farmers	1

99.	2012	Balle	Car accident	Bad roads and overspeeding	2
100.	2012	Makuya	Fire	No description	1
101.	2012	Kokotau	Fire	Explosion in Makepa area in Kokotau	3
102.	2012	Yakka	Religious crisis	Muslims vs Christians	9
103.	2013	Balle	Political crisis	PDP vs APC supporters	1
104.	2013	Balle	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
105.	2013	Gwazange	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	2
106.	2013	Bachaka	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	2
107.	2013	Bachala	Political crisis	APC vs PDP supporters	5
108.	2013	Yar Bakwai	Religious crisis	Yan Shi'a vs Sunni	2
109.	2013	Boto	Religious crisis	Tijaniyya vs Izala	6
110.	2013	Karfen Sarki	Crime	Bakin Gari vs Chikin Gari communities	2
111.	2013	Chalasko	Crime	House of Dan Mamman vs family of Saraki	3
112.	2013	Chalasko	Market issue	Buyer vs seller	2
113.	2013	Filasko	Crime	Conflict over a girlfriend	1
114.	2013	Kurdula	Cattle grazing	Hausa-Fulani clashed for three days before police intervention	2
115.	2013	Huda	Natural disaster	Windstorm	1
116.	2013	Bangi	Natural disaster	Water erosion	3

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 19
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

				between Kokotau and Bangi towns	
117.	2014	Karfe	Political crisis	APC vs PDP supporters	2
118.	2014	Karfe	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers clash over missing cow	7
119.	2014	Balle	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
120.	2014	Balle	Political crisis	APC vs PDP supporters	6
121.	2014	Balle	Car accident	Collision between two motorcycle riders, leaving one dead	1
122.	2014	Balle	Car accident	Due to bad roads	2
123.	2014	Balle	Natural disaster	Heavy rainfall and floods	1
124.	2014	Tunga	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers clashed over allegation of stolen cattle	1
125.	2014	Kurdula	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
126.	2014	Kurdula	Car accident	Due to bad roads	2
127.	2014	Garin Gabas	Crime	Armed gang invaded community	1
128.	2014	Makuya	Car accident	Due to overspeeding and bad roads	2
129.	2014	Shetallo	Religious crisis	Tijaniyya vs Izala	2
130.	2014	Bachaka	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1

131.	2014	Bachaka	Car accident	Due to bad roads	1
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Based on the data presented, there were at least 131 violent incidents that occurred in Gudu LGA between 2006 and 2014, resulting in a total number of 367 fatalities. These unreported incidents affected at least 39 different wards and communities within Gudu. The top three causes of violence were political crisis (45 incidents), cattle grazing (33) and crime (23). The three least frequent causal factors of violent incidents were market issues, fires, and religious crises. Matters related to sorcery and land issues did not appear at all as causes. Returning to one of the leading three causes, political crises caused the greatest number of incidents particularly in 2007 and 2011, which both happened to be election years in the country. Similar to a number of other states, political tensions usually rise in Sokoto before, during, and after elections.

Table 3 - Violent incidents in Gwadabawa LGA. Source: Fieldwork, August–September 2014

S/N	Date	Community	Cause	Description	Fatalities
1.	2006	Tungar Zaki	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	7
2.	2006	Tungar Shanu	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
3.	2006	Kola	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
4.	2006	Kaura Huchi	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
5.	2006	Lukuwa Tudu	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
6.	2006	Chimola	Cattle grazing	Hausa vs Fulani	1
7.	2006	Gidan Kaya	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
8.	2006	Buzan Lega	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
9.	2006	Tajaye	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Hausa	1
10.	2006	Gigane	Cattle	Farmers vs	1

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 21
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

			grazing	Fulani	
11.	2006	Here Village	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	2
12.	2006	Tungan Shanu	Land issue	Land struggle led to violence between members of community	3
13.	2006	Gidan Kaya	Crime	Armed robbers murdered an individual	1
14.	2006	Asara	Sorcery	Community members arrested and killed a suspected wizard	1
15.	2006	Gwadabawa	Car accident	A lorry ran into an electric pole and exploded, electrocuting two individuals	2
16.	2006	Gwadabawa	Crime	A fight broke out between Gwadabawa youth and the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA)	1
17.	2006	Gwadabawa	Crime	A Yoruba woman threw her child into a well	1
18.	2006	Gwadabawa	Land issue	Inheritance battle	1
19.	2006	Zangiru	Crime	Execution of armed robber by community	1
20.	2006	Darma	Cattle	Farmers vs	1

			grazing	Fulani	
21.	2006	Tungar Bugaje	Religious issue	Yan Shi'a vs Tijaniyya brotherhood	2
22.	2007	Dangero	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
23.	2007	Tungar Zaki	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	8
24.	2007	Kagoye	Cattle grazing	Hausa vs Fulani	1
25.	2007	Kagara	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
26.	2007	Chimola	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
27.	2007	Buzan Lega	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
28.	2007	Mamman Suka	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
29.	2007	Tsolawa	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	5
30.	2007	Kulalo	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
31.	2007	Gwadabawa	Car accident	A fatal accident involving two cars in a head-on collision	25
32.	2007	Male	Religious issue	Yan Shi'a vs Tijaniyya	3
33.	2007	Rugar Mande	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
34.	2007	Kola	Crime	Asariya group vs Gubudiyya group during gathering in the town	1
35.	2007	Tungar Shanu	Political crisis	Allocation of government projects by the ruling party DPP led to a disagreement by PDP (opposition)	3
36.	2007	Gwadabawa	Political	DPP's LGA	1

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 23
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

			crisis	chairman allegedly prompted the PDP opposition party into violent demonstrations owing to complaints of injustice	
37.	2007	Tungar Kwangi	Political crisis	Opposition ANPP complained of violation of 'sharing formula' by PDP	3
38.	2007	Chimola	Political crisis	A complaint of election rigging caused a brutal fight between PDP and DPP supporters	4
39.	2007	Gidan Kwano	Political crisis	PDP complained of violation of 'sharing formula' by ANPP, leading to violence	3
40.	2007	Tungar Dillu	Political crisis	Election result opposed by PDP supporters	1
41.	2008	Dan Gero Salame	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
42.	2008	Tungar Zaki	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	5
43.	2008	Tungar Shanu	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
44.	2008	Chimola	Cattle	Farmers vs	1

		(Tajaye)	grazing	Fulani	
45.	2008	Asara	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
46.	2008	Atakwanyo	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	2
47.	2008	Gidan Karna	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
48.	2008	Tungan Mani Dan Kasari	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
49.	2008	Kalaba	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
50.	2008	Dan Sitti	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	2
51.	2008	Dan Burunje	Car accident	A motorcyclist collided with a car at a sharp bend in the road	3
52.	2008	Gidan Kaya	Political crisis	Alleged election rigging pitched DPP against ANPP supporters	1
53.	2008	Tudun Doki	Political crisis	Political rally of ruling DPP led to violence with opposition ANPP	1
54.	2009	Tungar Barga	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
55.	2009	Tungar Shanu	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
56.	2009	Lahodu	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
57.	2009	Kagoye	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	1
58.	2009	Kwalango	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
59.	2009	Ranganda	Cattle grazing	Farmers vs Fulani	3
60.	2009	Gwadabawa	Car accident	A car crashed owing to faulty wheels	2
61.	2009	Gwadabawa	Car	A commercial	2

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 25
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

			accident	motorcyclist and passenger crushed by a car	
62.	2009	Mammande	Crime	Armed robbery attack	11
63.	2009	Matse	Other accident	A tree fell on a man	1
64.	2009	Chimola	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
65.	2010	Millela	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
66.	2010	Kwankwanawa	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
67.	2010	Tungar Mallam	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
68.	2010	Hunchi	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
69.	2010	Mammande	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	3
70.	2010	Gorgawo Village	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
71.	2010	Takalmawa	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
72.	2010	Here Village	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
73.	2010	Lukuwa Rafi	Natural disaster	Gworonyo Dam overflowed into villages situated close to a river	9
74.	2010	Yar Tunga	Religious issue	Yan Shi'a vs Tijaniyya	1
75.	2011	Lukuwa	Natural disaster	Gworonyo Dam overflowed into villages along a river	2
76.	2011	Tungar Tudu	Religious issue	Yan Shi'a vs Tijaniyya	3
77.	2011	Burdi	Religious	Yan Shi'a vs	1

			issue	Tijaniyya	
78.	2011	Kwankwanawa	Religious issue	Yan Shi'a vs Tijaniyya	3
79.	2011	Millela	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
80.	2011	Mammande	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
81.	2011	Darna	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
82.	2011	Dan Fanga	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
83.	2011	Tunga Zaki	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
84.	2011	Salame	Car accident	A car ran into a mud house, killing the driver	1
85.	2011	Tungar Madugu	Political crisis	Supporters of the ruling DPP clashed with the opposition ANPP	3
86.	2011	Salame	Political crisis	ANPP supporters attacked the convoy of the LGA chairman	1
87.	2012	Kiliya	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
88.	2012	Tungar Zaki	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	3
89.	2012	Kola	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
90.	2012	Dan Fanga	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	3
91.	2012	Chanca	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
92.	2012	Tsolawa	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
93.	2012	Jihadi	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
94.	2012	Tunga Bugaje	Other accident	A weak wall fell on the occupants of a house	5

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 27
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

95.	2012	Tungar Zaki	Car accident	A motorcyclist lost control and crashed through a broken bridge	4
96.	2012	Tungar Jeje	Car accident	A driver lost control of his car and died	1
97.	2012	Dan Burunje	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
98.	2012	Gangada	Political crisis	Campaign rally involving violence between DPP and PDP	1
99.	2012	Mele	Political crisis	Opposition ANPP complained of violation of 'sharing formula' by PDP	2
100.	2013	Kwankwanawa	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
101.	2013	Dangero	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	3
102.	2013	Tungar Bugaje	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	3
103.	2013	Kagara	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
104.	2013	Asara	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
105.	2013	Tungar Dan Dolo	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	2
106.	2013	Salame	Market issue	Dispute regarding the location of a market caused violence	1
107.	2013	Tungan Bugaje	Other accident	A dilapidated mud house collapsed,	3

				killing its occupants	
108.	2013	Salame	Car accident	Head-on collision involving two cars led to the death of one of the drivers	1
109.	2013	Gwanja	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
110.	2013	Mammande	Religious issue	Yan Shi'a vs Tijaniyya	1
111.	2013	Gwadabawa	Car accident	A truck crushed a motorcyclist	1
112.	2013	Kuliya	Religious crisis	Yan Shi'a vs Tijaniyya	3
113.	2014	Kaime	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
114.	2014	Gwadabawa	Other accident	A person fell into a well and was found dead after two days	1
115.	2014	Salame	Car accident	A motorcyclist crashed into a ditch	1
116.	2014	Salame	Car accident	A car crashed through a bridge, killing its driver	1
117.	2014	Salame	Car accident	A car driver lost control and crashed into a market, killing one individual	1
118.	2014	Tungar Shanu	Car accident	A motorcyclist died following collision with a stationary car	1
119.	2014	Tungar Mai Komo	Car accident	A motorcyclist lost control and died following	1

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 29
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

				collision in a crowded area	
120.	2014	Salame	Other accident	A child fell into a well	1

Compared with Gudu, Gwadabawa LGA experienced a slightly lower number of violent incidents (120) and fatalities (253) across 68 wards and communities between 2006 and 2014. The predominant cause of violent incidents was cattle grazing (68 incidents),⁶ followed by car accidents (15) and political crisis (12). Sorcery, market issues, natural disasters, and land issues constituted the least frequent causal factors linked with violent incidents in the LGA. In terms of years, 2006, followed closely by 2007, witnessed the highest number of violent incidents, among which the number of conflicts involving farmers and Fulani cattle herdsman were considerable. Although religious crisis was associated with only eight violent incidents, all involved clashes between the Yan Shi'a and the Sufi brotherhood known as the Tijaniyya. This significant number of incidents involving the Yan Shi'a exceeds the number in Gwadabawa LGA and, indeed, fits a broader pattern of religious-related crisis involving the group in some other parts of Sokoto State, such as in Sokoto North and Sokoto South LGAs.⁷

⁶ Some of the interviews conducted at the Sokoto State Police Command Headquarters helped to confirm the seriousness of issues arising from cattle grazing in several parts of the state. As the tables show, nearly all the incidents involve clashes between Fulani herdsman and Hausa farmers.

⁷ There have been a number of past violent incidents involving Shi'a members, such as clashes in 2005 and 2007, as well as more recent encounters in November 2014 during a Shi'a procession in Sokoto metropolis in Sokoto South LGA. Fieldwork for this study coincided with the period when a Shi'a procession took place; and although there were no reported fatalities, some individuals were injured.

Table 4 - Violent incidents in Illela LGA. Source: Fieldwork, August–September 2014

S/N	Date	Community	Cause	Description	Fatalities
1.	2006	Gaidau	Political crisis	Two opposing political parties, DPP and PDP, clashed over differences in interest	3
2.	2006	Illela Araba	Sorcery	Conflict between husband and wife	1
3.	2006	Gidan Hama, Gidan Katta	Fire accident	Explosion	1
4.	2006	Illela District	Crime	Incident involving the Hausa vs Adarawa community	1
5.	2006	Illela Stadium	Crime	Incident involving the Araba vs Amarawa football clubs	1
6.	2006	Gidan Kwanni	Crime	Incident involving the Nigerian Army against armed robbers	5
7.	2007	Kan Wuri	Political crisis	DPP vs ACN supporters	2
8.	2007	Gidan Katta	Political crisis	PDP vs DPP supporters	2
9.	2007	Zugana	Political crisis	PDP vs CPC supporters	5
10.	2007	Tudun Gudali	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters	1
11.	2007	Gidan	Political	ANPP vs	3

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 31
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

		Ayuba	crisis	PDP supporters	
12.	2007	Yar Kwalbati	Political crisis	CPC vs PDP supporters	1
13.	2007	Illela District	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters	1
14.	2007	Gidan Hama	Political crisis	ANPP vs PDP supporters	1
15.	2007	Gidan Kwanni	Natural disaster	Flooding (water)	5
16.	2007	Yar Marina	Religious crisis	Izala vs Tijaniyya	2
17.	2007	Danbar Dikko	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Fulani	6
18.	2008	Sandaga	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters	3
19.	2008	Central Market	Market issue	Conflict over land matter in the market	1
20.	2008	Illela Araba	Fire accident	Explosion	3
21.	2008	Illela Central	Natural disaster	Flood occurred owing to lack of drainage	1
22.	2008	Nasarawa	Natural disaster	Heavy rain caused flooding and deaths and left people homeless	3
23.	2008	Dan Boka	Natural disaster	Flooding	3
24.	2008	Kan Wuri	Religious crisis	Yan Shi'a vs Izala	5
25.	2008	Illela	Religious crisis	Tijaniyya vs Izala	2
26.	2008	Yar Tsakkuwa	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1

27.	2008	Anbarura	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	11
28.	2008	Illela Central	Land issue	Hausa vs Fulani	3
29.	2009	Munwadata	Cattle grazing	Hausa vs Fulani	10
30.	2009	Gidan Ayuba	Fire accident	The house of a family caught fire	2
31.	2009	Yar Marina	Market issue	Conflict over market transaction	2
32.	2009	Dan Boka	Religious crisis	Izala vs Tijaniyya	1
33.	2009	Amarawa	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Fulani	2
34.	2009	Tudun	Cattle grazing	Hausa vs Fulani	5
35.	2009	Hura	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	1
36.	2009	Gidan Ayuba	Crime	Hooligans attacked strangers	4
37.	2009	Dan Bar Dikko	Crime	Community defence against armed robbers	4
38.	2010	Kalmano	Political crisis	CPC vs PDP supporters	3
39.	2010	Danba Fulani	Fire accident	Explosion in a village	3
40.	2010	Dan Birema	Religious crisis	Izala vs Tijaniyya	4
41.	2011	Illela Araba	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters	1
42.	2011	Ambarura	Political crisis	ACN vs PDP supporters	2
43.	2011	Gaidau Chiwake	Political crisis	CPC vs PDP supporters	1
44.	2011	Tudun Gudale	Fire accident	Explosion incident	1

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 33
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

45.	2011	Gidan Hamma	Fire accident	Fire disaster in a village	1
46.	2011	Tambagarka	Market issue	Hawkers vs traders in market stalls	5
47.	2011	Illela District	Religious crisis	Yan Shi'a vs Izala	3
48.	2011	Ambarura	Religious crisis	Qadiriyya vs Izala	1
49.	2011	Danbar Dikko	Religious crisis	Tijaniyya vs Izala	2
50.	2011	Kalmalo	Cattle grazing	Hausa vs Fulani	2
51.	2011	Dan Kuda	Crime	Amarawa vs Kalmalo football clubs	1
52.	2011	Amarawa	Crime	Supporters of Real Madrid vs Barcelona football clubs	3
53.	2012	Kara	Political crisis	CPC vs PDP supporters	2
54.	2012	Tudun Gudale	Political crisis	ACN vs PDP supporters	1
55.	2012	Gidan Hamma	Natural disaster	Heavy rain	8
56.	2012	Amarawa	Religious crisis	Izala vs Tijaniyya	5
57.	2012	Illela Distict	Religious crisis	Izala vs Tijaniyya involving the police	4
58.	2012	Yar Marina	Crime	Yar Marina vs Madatsawa football clubs	2
59.	2012	Illela	Car	Due to bad	1

			accident	roads	
60.	2012	Gaidau Chiwake	Car accident	Due to bad roads	3
61.	2012	Yar Kwalbati	Car accident	Motorcycle accident between Kwalbati and a market	1
62.	2013	Amarawa	Crime	Armed robbers vs residents	1
63.	2013	Madatsa	Political crisis	DPP vs PDP supporters	3
64.	2013	Gidan Katta	Political crisis	PDP vs APC supporters	2
65.	2013	Illela	Political crisis	PDP vs APC supporters	1
66.	2013	Dan Boko	Political crisis	PDP vs APC supporters	1
67.	2013	Illela Araba	Political crisis	DPP vs APC supporters	1
68.	2013	Machesare	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Farmers	1
69.	2013	Illela	Fire accident	Incident occurred in a market	2
70.	2013	Illela Nasara	Fire accident	Fuel station gutted by fire	3
71.	2013	Illela Araba	Oil distribution	Oil distribution led to violence in town	1
72.	2013	Zugana	Fire accident	Fire incident killed one individual	1
73.	2013	Kalmano	Natural disaster	Flooding	3
74.	2013	Illela Yar Kara	Natural disaster	Flooding	1
75.	2013	Illela Yar Kara	Religious crisis	Yan Shi'a vs Nigerian Army	10
76.	2013	Illela Araba	Political	PDP vs APC	1

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 35
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

			crisis	supporters	
77.	2013	Illela Araba	Religious crisis	Yan Shi'a vs Tijjaniyya	3
78.	2013	Kalmano	Cattle grazing	Hausa farmers vs Fulani nomads	11
79.	2013	Ambarura	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs Nigerian Police	1
80.	2013	Danba	Land issue	Fulani vs Hausa	4
81.	2013	Illela Wood Zone	Crime	Commercial motorcyclist vs angry mob	3
82.	2013	Kalmanu	Political crisis	Local government staff vs Kalmanu community	2
83.	2013	Sanke	Crime	Hooligans vs commercial motorcyclist	1
84.	2013	Illela Stadium	Crime	Gaidau Chiwake football club vs Gidan Hamma football club	1
85.	2013	Dogon Karfe	Crime	Armed robbers vs community	2
86.	2013	Kwanni road	Car accident	Due to bad roads	2
87.	2013	Ambaruru	Car accident	Due to bad roads	1
88.	2013	Karangiya	Car accident	Due to bad roads	1
89.	2013	Kanwuri	Car accident	Due to overspeeding	3
90.	2013	Tuddun	Car	Due to	1

		Wada	accident	overspeeding	
91.	2013	Dogon Karfe	Car accident	Due to bad roads	10
92.	2013	Dan Boka	Car accident	Due to bad roads	3
93.	2014	Illela Araba	Political crisis	APC vs PDP supporters	1
94.	2014	Illela Town	Car accident	Car owner, a relative, and three other victims	5
95.	2014	Amarawa	Land issue	Farmers vs Fulani	2
96.	2014	Dogun Karhe	Car accident	Fatal car crash	12
97.	2014	Illela Araba	Natural disaster	Flooding (water)	1
98.	2014	Gidan Hamma	Religious crisis	Tijaniyya vs Izala	1
99.	2014	Illela District	Crime	A criminal stole a Kasea motorcycle and was later killed	1
100.	2014	Kara	Crime	Hooligans (Area Boys) vs community elders	1
101.	2014	Gidan Katta	Car accident	Due to bad roads	5
102.	2014	Chiwaki	Car accident	Due to bad roads	3
103.	2014	Dogon Karfe	Car accident	Fatal auto crash on the way from Illela to Dogon Karfe	10

In spite of a higher population than LGAs such as Gudu, Illela experienced a lower level of violent incidents and fatalities between 2006 and 2014. There were 103 unreported violent incidents resulting in 291 fatalities

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 37
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

across at least 53 wards and communities. However, similar to Gudu, political crisis was the main cause of lethal violence, followed by 15 incidents associated with car accidents, which exactly matches the situation that transpired in Gwadabawa. As observed in Gudu and Gwadabawa, religious crisis again did not rank among the top three causes of fatal incidents in Illela. In fact, crime caused more violence in the LGA. Market and land conflicts, as well as issues pertaining to sorcery, were the least frequent causal factors of violent incidents. The year 2013 was the most violent year in Illela, measured by number of fatalities as well as frequency of incidents, of which political crisis (involving mainly the PDP and APC) and car accidents (due mainly to bad roads) were the principal causes.

Table 5 - Violent incidents in Sakaba LGA. Source: Fieldwork, August–September 2014

S/N	Date	Community	Cause	Description	Fatalities
1.	2006	Makuku	Crime	Attack led to the death of six	6
2.	2006	Laraba	Sorcery	Cult member vs community	4
3.	2006	Jan-birnin	Crime	Armed gang vs community	1
4.	2006	Doka	Sorcery	Act of witchcraft	1
5.	2006	Jan-birnin	Crime	Armed gang and community	4
6.	2007	Unguwar Yamma	Sorcery	Ritual incident involving a man and his elder brother	2

7.	2007	Doka	Sorcery	Act of witchcraft	2
8.	2007	Makuku	Crime	Armed gang against members of the community	8
9.	2008	Doka	Sorcery	An alleged witch was killed by members of the community	1
10.	2008	Dirin Daji	Crime	Cult member vs community members	2
11.	2008	Makuku	Crime	Armed gang vs community	7
12.	2009	Unguwar Yakkorau	Sorcery	Witch vs community	2
13.	2009	Doka	Sorcery	Victim of witchcraft	1
14.	2009	Jan-birnin	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs community	2
15.	2010	Diri Yakkoro	Sorcery	A alleged witch killed somebody and was later also killed	2
16.	2010	Sakaba gari	Crime	Armed gang vs community	2
17.	2010	Laraba village	Crime	Police vs armed robbers	3
18.	2010	Agale town	Crime	Armed gang vs community	2
19.	2011	Yakkorau Diri	Sorcery	Lady killed by a group of people	2
20.	2011	Rabe	Land	Kambari vs	5

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 39
 STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
 GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
 GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

			issue	Fulani	
21.	2011	Yakkorau	Crime	People killed during an armed robbery attack	9
22.	2011	Dirin Daji	Crime	Armed gang vs police and also involving community members, during a robbery incident	7
23.	2011	Shiyar	Land issue	Communal violence over a plot of land	6
24.	2011	Makuku	Crime	Armed gang vs community	9
25.	2012	Yakoro	Sorcery	An alleged witch killed a man	2
26.	2012	Rabe	Land issue	Clash over land claims involving a Fulani individual	3
27.	2012	Dankolo	Crime	Robbery incident	1
28.	2012	Dankolo	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	5
29.	2012	Jan-Birnin	Crime	Armed gang vs community	2
30.	2013	Unguwar Wade	Land issue	Farm land destroyed by a Fulani man	4
31.	2013	Adeyi	Crime	Gang vs	1

				community during a robbery incident	
32.	2013	Sakaba	Crime	Armed robbery incident	2
33.	2014	Unguwar Wade	Land issue	Fulani cattle breeders claimed and destroyed land of Dakarkaru farmers	5
34.	2014	Dankolo	Land issue	Fulani cattle breeders vs Dakarkaru farmers	6
35.	2014	Rabe	Land issue	Fulani vs Kambari	5
36.	2014	Rabe	Crime	Armed gang vs community	5
37.	2014	Sakaba gari	Cattle grazing	Fulani vs farmers	5

In Sakaba, the only LGA in Kebbi State examined in this study, a total of 37 violent incidents led to 136 fatalities in 20 wards and communities. The data obtained revealed only four categories of unreported violent incidents: crime, sorcery, land issues, and cattle grazing. Crime and sorcery ranked as the top two factors that resulted in violent incidents, while issues within the realm of politics, religious disputes, and car accidents were unidentified. As noted in the introductory part of this paper, the limitations of human memory—for instance, the ability of Sakaba respondents to recall violent incidents relating to politics, religion, and car accidents—should not be entirely ruled out. Nevertheless, the fact that not a single incident within these categories was cited by any respondent underscores that they were not factors considered conspicuous enough to have caused any violent deaths during the period under investigation.

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 41
STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

In fact, as pointed out earlier, certain parts of Sakaba are known to be severely affected by the problem of inaccessibility with cars. Hence, it is possible to understand the absence of motor accident fatalities in the LGA. Finally, the number of violent incidents and fatalities was highest in 2011, with approximately two-thirds of the total number of deaths attributed to crime—and specifically to armed robbery attacks.

EXPLAINING INVISIBLE VIOLENCE IN GUDU,
GWADABAWA, ILLELA AND SAKABA LGAS

Accounting for unreported violence in the four LGAs requires an understanding of a number of factors. The first relates to the physical location of some communities in the most far-flung geographical areas of a state. In the case of Sokoto, for instance, there is little dispute over the fact that in geostrategic terms it is situated far from the so-called centre of the country. In addition to harsher climatic conditions in the Sahel, this in a sense also influences the predisposition of people to prefer to migrate in search of economic opportunities in more cosmopolitan and industrial cities and states of Nigeria. Illela, for instance, happens to be one of the LGAs located in an extremely distant part of Sokoto State, and in fact it shares borders with another country (Niger). These factors together offer a perfect excuse to media organisations that may claim justification for not exploring such LGAs; but at the same time, these organisations miss opportunities to report violent incidents when they do occur.

A second factor relates to the issue of inaccessibility, which is closely linked to the preceding factor but in an infrastructural context. In Sakaba, statistics thus show a complete absence of car accidents, because of the lack of tarred roads. In Illela LGA—where

car accident was the second-most significant factor of lethal violence—nine out of a total of 15 such incidents were attributed to bad roads.

A third issue identified by respondents was the perceived insensitivity of local government officials and political representatives in a position of accountability towards the affected people. Some more critical respondents underscored the need for more effective representation of their communities in the political sphere. Compounding these challenges is also the manner in which these LGAs are perceived in terms of their economic worth in the eyes of the media as well as other stakeholders in the polity. If the people of these LGAs are not held in high regard by those accountable to them at the political level, this is also reflected in the attitude of media entities, who on their part are less willing to spend money, time, and energy in reporting from these rural regions. The study nonetheless found that there were a few instances where state and national media indeed reported violent incidents in some of the four LGAs under review. But such reporting falls short of providing sufficient details. It simply conveys basic information linked with the entire state, without mentioning the specific wards or communities affected. Several of such incomplete media reports can be found on the websites of various media organisations.

CONCLUSION

The data analysed for each of the four LGAs under review clearly shows a range of factors accounting for fatal violence, including cattle grazing, political crisis, crime, and car accidents. Particular years were also exceptionally violent, such as 2011 and 2013. Gudu LGA in Sokoto State recorded the highest number of fatalities as well as violent incidents, while Sakaba LGA in Kebbi State had the lowest. Although religion was linked to certain clashes involving the Yan Shi'a, the Tijaniyya Sufi brotherhood, and the Yan Izala movement, it

ARSHAD MUNIR & AKINOLA EJODAME OLOJO – A 43
STUDY OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN GUDU,
GWADABAWA AND ILLELA LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AREAS OF SOKOTO STATE, AND SAKABA LOCAL
GOVERNMENT AREA OF KEBBI STATE (2006-2014)

accounted for few incidents in all four LGAs. Worthy of note is that the overall data draws attention to an alarming level of lethal violence in oft-neglected rural areas of Sokoto and Kebbi states.

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1: Demographics of Respondents in Gudu, Gwadabawa, Illela and Sakaba L.G.As
 Table 2: Violent Incidents in Gudu Local Government Area
 Table 3: Violent Incidents in Gwadabawa Local Government Area
 Table 4: Violent Incidents in Illela Local Government Area
 Table 5: Violent Incidents in Sakaba Local Government Area

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION

ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
APC	All Progressives Congress
APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
ANPP	All Nigeria People's Party
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
DPP	Democratic People's Party
LGA	Local Government Area
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NDLEA	National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NPC	National Population Commission
PDP	People's Democratic Party