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<http://www.ifra-nigeria.org/IMG/pdf/violence-deaths-yobe-nigeria.pdf>

A Study of Violence-Related  
Deaths in Karasuwa, Machina,  
Nguru, And Yusufari Local  
Government Areas of Yobe State  
North-Eastern Nigeria



### ***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 reports 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, Gagawawa, 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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Emmanuel Baba ADUKU<sup>1\*</sup>

## **A Study of Violence-Related Deaths in Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru, and Yusufari Local Government Areas of Yobe State, North-Eastern Nigeria**

### *Executive Summary*

Invisible violence exists in some rural areas in northern Nigeria. ‘Invisible’ here entails lack of available documented instances of fatal violence in such areas. Against this backdrop, the lack of data has prompted this study to unearth, document, and evaluate any occurrences of lethal violence in Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru, and Yusufari local government areas (LGAs) of Yobe State from 2006 to 2014.

The specific objectives are to:

- Assess invisible violence in Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru, and Yusufari LGAs in Yobe State
- Identify the causes of lethal violence
- Document the series of fatal incidents through terrorism, ethno-religious conflicts, land disputes, and political clashes.

The field research gathered evidence of the drivers of violence through desktop research and review of secondary materials such as media reports, Internet sources, databases, policy reports, and academic literature, combined with the administration of questionnaires and the conduct of unstructured interviews.

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According to the findings, the lack of data on fatal incidents in Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru, and Yusufari LGAs is not due to the lack of violence but to a host of issues such as the lack of infrastructure for the media. The study also discovered that, since 2012, the Boko Haram insurgency has become a significant cause of violent death. The majority of respondents (71%) saw their neighbourhoods as violent, and more than 96% were aware of the occurrence of fatal incidents in their communities in the previous 10 years.

## BACKGROUND

A cursory look at Nigeria shows different forms of violence, including terrorism, ethno-religious conflict, torture, human rights abuses by state and non-state actors, domestic violence, rape, kidnapping, ritual murder, and communal clashes. In this context, the Nigeria Watch database records fatal incidents through a variety of credible sources. More specifically, the 'Invisible Violence' research project is concerned with investigating and analysing LGAs in which the press have not reported any fatal incidents. The following study investigates such occurrences in Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru, and Yusufari LGAs of Yobe state. Its two main objectives are: (1) To complement missing data on lethal violence; and (2) to explain why these fatal incidents were not reported in the media.

## METHODOLOGY

The study employed both a quantitative and qualitative approach. Two hundred copies of survey questionnaires (50 for each of the four LGAs under review) were distributed by research assistants to randomly selected respondents. Unstructured interviews were also conducted to complement and crosscheck the data derived from the distribution of the questionnaires and to make up for those who failed to respond to the survey. The data collected through the questionnaires were crosschecked in the field by the research assistants and the author. This was done by orally asking other inhabitants of the area the same questions to see if any discrepancies would arise. In many cases, there were a variety of responses given for a particular event. As a result, the number of fatalities in an incident was averaged when the new information differed from that obtained in the first instance. If a mathematical average proved problematic, the most frequent answer was adopted as the number of fatalities.

### LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Because of the Boko Haram insurgency, the fieldwork was conducted during a time of intense insecurity and uncertainty, which imposed some constraints on the author and the research assistants. Sometimes, the study had to be abruptly halted. There was also a great deal of fear and suspicion on the part of the local population. This meant that the research assistants had to dig deep to find respondents who were willing to participate in the study. Consequently, transportation costs became exorbitant. Finally, the study was constrained by the lack of literature on 'invisible violence' in rural Nigeria, especially in the four LGAs under review in Yobe State.

The researcher then faced challenges in the analysis of the data collected from the field. Some questionnaires duplicated fatal incidents and confused their causes, their timing, and the communities in which they occurred. There were multiple and conflicting sets of responses for the same occurrence of violence. As explained before, this was resolved by using the most commonly stated answer and holding all other variables static. Another challenge was the difficulty many respondents had to remember the actual dates of a fatal incident. This is why the following tables bear only the year of occurrence.

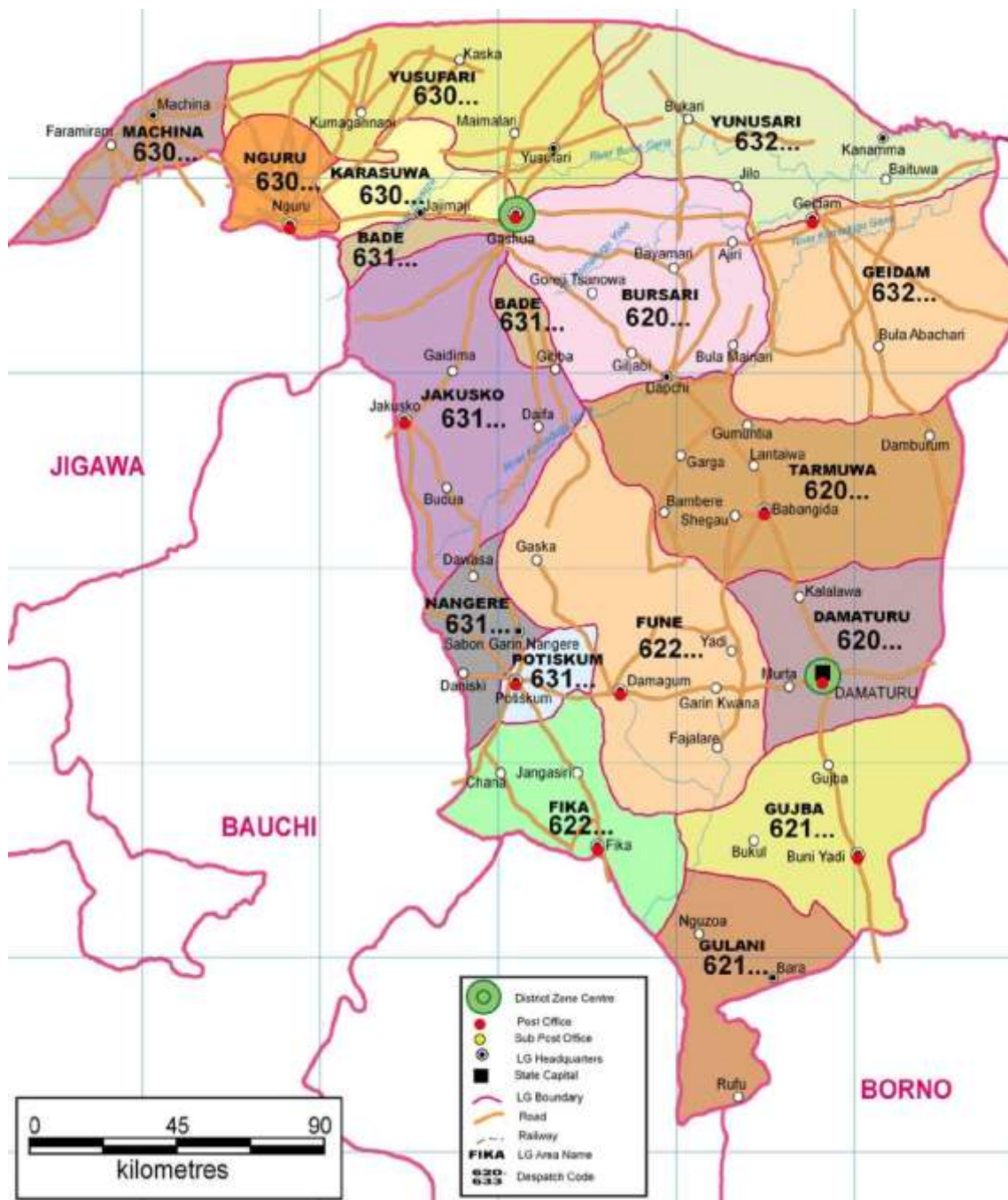
### AN OVERVIEW OF YOBE STATE

Yobe State was created on 27 August 1991. Headquartered in Damaturu, it covers an area of about 47,153 sq km and shares borders with the Republic of Niger to the north, Jigawa and Bauchi states to the west, Borno to the east, and Gombe and Borno to the south. Its population of about 2.5 million people includes Manga/Bodowoi Kanuri, Fulani, Karai-Karai, Bolewa, Bade, Ngizim, Ngamo, Babur, Hausa, and several other ethnic groups from different parts of the country. The

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state, which has a legislature and a judiciary system, is ruled by an executive governor and his appointed officials. It comprises 17 LGAs: Bade, Bursari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Gaidam, Gujba, Gulani, Jakusko, Karasuwa, Machina, Nangere, Nguru, Potiskum, Tarmuwa, Yunusari, and Yusufari (see map in Figure 1). The official language in the state is English, but Hausa, Kanuri, and Fulani are widely spoken. Islam is the most widely practised religion, and Yobe has 14 emirate councils: Fika, Bade, Damaturu, Machina, Gazargamo, Gujba, Nguru, Tikau, Potiskum, Yusufari, Gudi, Fune, Jajere, and Ngelzarma. Most of the people are peasant farmers, with quite a number engaged in livestock rearing, fishing, and trading.





*Figure 1: Map showing Yobe State and its Local Government Areas*

*Source: [www.google.com/map-of-yobe-state](http://www.google.com/map-of-yobe-state)*

The state is endowed with natural resources. In the mineral sector, it has gypsum, kaolin, limestone, diatomite, granites, silica, potassium, and soda ash. In the agricultural sector, the following products are grown: rice, wheat, maize, beans, cotton, corn, groundnut, gum Arabic, and livestock. The state therefore has great potential for the establishment of pharmaceutical, cement, glass, soap, flour, textile, leather, and meat processing industries. It could also develop tourist attractions such as the Dokshi spring water in Gulani, the Dagona bird sanctuary in Bade, the cemetery of past Emirs in Fika, the Old Gorgaram city, and the fishing festival in Jakusko.

In recent times, however, Yobe State has been engulfed by the Boko Haram insurgency. Nevertheless, many fatal incidents go unreported. Hence, the following sections show the occurrence of invisible violence in Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru, and Yusufari LGAs. They begin with a presentation of the LGAs, before introducing tables of fatal incidents from 2006 to 2014. A discussion then follows, in an attempt to analyse trends.

#### INVISIBLE VIOLENCE IN KARASUWA LGA

Karasuwa LGA is headquartered in the town of Jaji-maji on the banks of the Hadeja River. It has an area of 1,162 sq km and a population of 106,992 persons, according to the 2006 census count. Karasuwa is mainly rural, with a few towns such as Jaji-maji, Bukarti, Karasuwa, Mai Kasuwa, Wani, Kamal-Jaji Maji, and Wachakal, and small villages such as Tsamiyan and Gada. The population is said to be 70% Manga, a Kanuri sub-ethnic group. Most residents are farmers, and some also speak Bade.

Located between Nguru and Gashua, Karasuwa is one of the smallest LGAs in Yobe State. It has only one police station and a primary healthcare centre, forcing its residents to rely on the Nguru and Gashua secondary health centres. According to respondents, Karasuwa

recorded the following fatal incidents of violence (Table 1):

*Table 1: Fatal incidents in Karasuwa LGA of Yobe State (2006–2014)*

S/N	Date	Community	Cause of violence	Description of event	Fatalities
1	2006	Karasuwa: Ngalu	Land	Clash between cattle grazers and farmers	1
2	2006	Mai Kasuwa	Land	Clash between cattle grazers and farmers	3
3	2006	Wachakal	Land	Dispute among farmers over land boundary	2
4	2006	Karasuwa	Crime	Thieves snatch motorcycle from rider	1
5	2007	Mai Kasuwa	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	6
6	2007	Karasuwa	Crime	Clash between thugs and police	2
7	2007	Karasuwa	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	1
8	2007	Kamal Jaji Maji	Land	Clash between farmers and herdsmen	2
9	2007	Karasuwa town	Road accident	Car swerved on the road due to high speed and lost of control	1
10	2007	Gikawa/Malle	Ethnic conflict	Clash between youths from Gikawa and Malle communities	4
11	2008	Kamal Jaji Maji	Crime	Some residents of the community were kidnapped and murdered by unknown assailants	3
12	2008	Mai Kasuwa	Other accident	Several houses were razed by fire as a result of bush-burning activities	1

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13	2008	Mayi	Crime	Female member of the community raped and killed by armed gang members	1
14	2009	Mai Kasuwa	Road accident	Accident due to bad road	3
15	2009	Mai Kasuwa	Crime	Two youth groups clashed with each other	3
16	2009	Dajin-Galu	Crime	Clash between vigilante and thieves	1
17	2009	Mai Kasuwa	Ethnic conflict	Clash between neighbouring villages	6
18	2010	Waru Waro	Crime	Females raped and killed by unknown fake vigilantes	3
19	2010	Karasuwa by-pass	Road accident	Accident due to over-speeding	1
20	2010	Karasuwa: Ngalu	Ethnic conflict	Neighbouring villages clash with each other	2
21	2010	Kamal Jaji Maji: Upper Area	Crime	Fulani herdsmen clash with cattle thieves	1
22	2010	Karasuwa: Ngalu	Political issue	Suicide bomber killed himself and one other person	2
23	2010	Mai Kasuwa	Crime	Clash between police and armed robbers	3
24	2010	Mai Kasuwa	Market issue	Clash between commercial drivers and police over refusal to give bribe	1
25	2010	Karasuwa: Ngalu	Crime	Neighbours fought each other	2
26	2010	Tudun Gari	Crime	Unknown armed gang attacked people with machetes	1
27	2010	Karasuwa: Ngalu	Religious issue	Suspected Boko Haram members	5

				attacked police	
28	2010	Along Karasuwa/Nguru main road	Crime	Thieves snatched car from owner	2
29	2010	Waru Waro	Religious issue	Insurgents clashed with CJTF vigilantes	7
30	2010	Kamal Jaji Maji	Sorcery	Clash between cult group and police	4
31	2011	Wachakal	Political issue	Opposition youths clashed with ANPP officials	1
32	2011	Karasuwa town: Ngalu Street, Line A	Religious issue	Suspected Boko Haram insurgents opened fire on members of the public	9
33	2011	Karasuwa town	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	1
34	2011	Karasuwa bypass	Insurgency	Clash between army personnel and suspected Boko Haram insurgents	8
35	2011	Karasuwa town	Road accident	Road accident due to reckless driving	2
36	2012	Bukarti axis	Political and religious issue	Suicide bomb attack in community	1
37	2012	Mai Kasuwa	Crime	Suspected Boko Haram collaborator lynched by community members	1
38	2012	Mai Kasuwa	Crime	Clash between police and armed robbers	1
39	2012	Mai Kasuwa	Resource conflict	Herdsmen clashed with farmers	2
40	2012	Doron Gari	Resource conflict	Herdsmen clashed with farmers	2
41	2013	Mai Kasuwa	Political issue	Suicide bomber exploded bomb in a market	16
42	2013	Wachakal	Crime	Clash between	3

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				security forces and suspected human traffickers	
43	2013	Karasuwa: Ngalu	Sorcery	Cult group carries out ritual sacrifice	1
44	2013	Kagum Tudun	Ethnic conflict	Inter-communal clash between neighbouring villages	6
45	2013	Bakin Tasha	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	5
46	2014	Karasuwa: Bukarti ward	Political issue	Female suicide bomber detonated bomb in crowd	9
47	2014	Mai Kasuwa	Political issue	Suspected Boko Haram terrorists attacked civilians	17
48	2014	Garbi: GSSS	Sorcery	Students lured to drink poisonous substance	1
49	2014	Mai Kasuwa	Insurgency	Boko Haram insurgents attacked civilians	7
50	2014	Doron Gari	Insurgency	Boko Haram raid	4

Source: Field survey, July 2015

#### INVISIBLE VIOLENCE IN MACHINA LGA

Headquartered in the town of Machina, Machina LGA has been in existence since Yobe was part of Borno State. It occupies an area of 1,123 sq km and has a population of 61,606 persons, according to the 2006 census count. Machina LGA shares borders with the Niger Republic to the north. It possesses a number of primary healthcare centres, but the police station does not function effectively because of frequent attacks by armed bandits. According to respondents, Machina recorded the following fatal incidents (Table 2):

*Table 2: Fatal incidents in Machina LGA of Yobe State (2006–2014)*

S/N	Date	Community	Cause of violence	Description of event	Fatalities
1	2006	Kori ward: forest area	Land	Conflict between cattle breeders and farmers	7
2	2006	Hausari: 'Sahara'	Crime	Community members kidnapped and murdered	6
3	2006	Dole Ajiri: forest area	Sorcery	Attacks by secret cult group	2
4	2007	Tudun Machina	Land	Clash between farmers and cattle grazers	1
5	2007	Tudun Dole	Ethnic conflict	Clashes between police and members of the community	4
6	2007	Dole Machina	Ethnic conflict	Clashes between police and community leaders	5
7	2007	Kanamma Layout	Crime	Cattle grazers attacked by thieves	3
8	2007	Machina Main Town: Maternal and Childcare (MCH) Clinic area	Crime	Kidnappings and murders	2
9	2007	Machina Main Town: Gamo-Bakin Kasuwa	Political issue	Clashes between youths and ANPP delegates from Tudun Dole Ajiri	1
10	2007	Kori ward	Political	Clash	1

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			issue	between ANPP and PDP supporters	
11	2007	Gamo: forest area	Political issue	Internal fighting among ANPP supporters	2
12	2007	Machina: forest area	Crime	Clash between a gang of robbers and vigilantes	1
13	2007	Dole Machina	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP supporters	5
14	2007	Nguru-Machina Road	Road accident	Car accident occurred due to bad road	6
15	2007	Dole Machina	Road accident	Collision between a saloon car and a motorcycle	1
16	2007	Dole Machina	Political issue	Clash during a political rally	2
17	2008	Tudun Dole	Religious issue	Attack by radical Islamist sect (allegedly Boko Haram)	3
18	2008	Machina Main Town	Crime, Market issue	Unknown persons set fire to a market	6
19	2008	Kori ward: 'Sahara'	Crime	Camel breeders attacked by thieves	1
20	2008	Machina Main Town: outskirts	Crime	Farmer assaulted and killed his neighbour	1



21	2008	Machina-Yusufari by-pass	Road accident	Collision between a trailer and a car	1
22	2008	Machina-Nguru Road	Road accident	Collision between a truck and a bus	5
23	2008	Machina Main Town	Fire	Mysterious fire outbreak	6
24	2008	Dole Machina	Political issue	Clash between rival political party supporters	2
25	2009	Sirte	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	9
26	2009	Dole Machina	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	6
27	2009	Dole Machina	Crime	Thieves attacked cattle market	1
28	2010	Machina Main Town	Crime	Kidnappers attacked almajiri	1
29	2010	Tudun Machina	Crime	Rape of primary school girl which led to her death	1
30	2010	Machina Main Town	Crime	Attack by armed robbers	3
31	2010	Dole Machina	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	1
32	2011	Machina Main Town	Ethnic conflict	Clashes within the community	2
33	2011	Machina Main Town	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	5
34	2011	Machina Main Town	Ethnic conflict	Clash between youths and vigilantes	1

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35	2011	Gaidamari	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	2
36	2012	Tudun Machina	Land	Farmers vs. herdsmen	8
37	2012	Doron	Sorcery	Clash between secret cult group and vigilantes	6
38	2012	Machina Main Town	Crime	Traders attacked by armed robbers	2
39	2012	Babban Layi	Crime	Fighting between neighbours	2
40	2012	Gamo	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	5
41	2013	Machina Main Town	Sorcery	Clash between cultists and vigilantes	2
42	2013	Kanamma: along old road	Insurgency	Boko Haram attacked and killed many people	26
43	2014	Dole Machina	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	4
44	2014	Gamo	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	16
45	2014	Tudun Dole	Crime	Attack by armed robbers	9
46	2014	Gamo: Kanamma	Insurgency	Boko Haram attack	14
47	2014	Tudun Dole	Insurgency	Boko Haram attack	10
48	2014	Machina	Other accident	Boy bitten by snake	1
49	2014	Kori ward: forest area, 'Sahara'	Crime	Group of students attacked by unknown gunmen	4

Source: Field survey, July 2015

### INVISIBLE VIOLENCE IN NGURU LGA

Nguru is one of the most prominent LGAs in Yobe State. It occupies an area of 916 sq km and has a population of 150,632 inhabitants, according to the 2006 census. The existence of the town probably dates from around the 15th century. There are a variety of landscape types in the area, including the protected Hadejia-Nguru wetlands of Nguru Lake, and the ‘Sand Dunes’, a semi-desert area. Most of the inhabitants are engaged in subsistence farming and animal husbandry. The LGA also hosts a Federal Medical Centre, which is a major health institution. However, the presence of security forces in the area is very skeletal despite the Boko Haram insurgency. According to respondents, Nguru LGA recorded the following fatal incidents (Table 3):

*Table 3: Fatal incidents in Nguru LGA of Yobe State (2006–2014)*

S/N	Date	Community	Cause of violence	Description of event	Fatalities
1	2006	Nguru Army Barracks along Gashua–Nguru road	Fire	Fire outbreak caused by electrical fault	20
2	2006	Nguru Main Town	Market issue	Clash between police and market sellers	6
3	2006	Nguru Main Town	Crime	A resident was kidnapped and murdered	1
4	2006	Bombori	Crime	Clash between NDLEA operatives and drug smugglers	2
5	2007	Garbi	Ethnic conflict	Fulani vs. Yoruba	7
6	2007	Nguru Main Town: Women Teachers College	Sorcery	Cultism within school	1

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7	2007	Garbi	Fire	Fire engulfed some homes	4
8	2008	Nguru Main Town	Religious issue	Clashes between preachers of different Islamic sects: Yan Schia, Tijjaniyya, Izala (Ahliissunnah)	3
9	2008	Nguru Main Town	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	9
10	2008	Bombori	Crime	Kidnap and murder of a businessman	1
11	2008	Nguru-Gashua	Ethnic conflict	Clashes between Takari and Bodalki communities	4
12	2008	Garbi	Crime	Fish sellers attacked by thieves	3
13	2008	Nguru Main Town: GRA	Fire outbreak	Fire razed several houses in the area	7
14	2009	Nguru Main Town: prison	Crime	Prisoners attempted to escape	1
15	2009	Nguru Main Town	Sorcery	Father uses sorcery on daughter	1
16	2009	Nguru Main Town: GRA	Crime	Clash between drug pushers and NDLEA officials	1
17	2009	Garbi	Crime	Fish sellers attacked by armed robbers	1

18	2010	Nguru Main Town: GSSS	Sorcery	Cult activities involving students	2
19	2010	Nguru Main Town	Road accident	Collision between a car and a motorcycle	1
20	2010	Bombori	Crime	Kidnappings and murders	2
21	2010	Kadawan Mita	Political issue	Alleged Boko Haram attack	7
22	2010	Kadawan Mita	Crime	Thieves attack cattle breeders	5
23	2010	Nguru Main Town: Premier Cinema, along Bakin Kasuwa Road	Crime	A person was killed inside a cinema house	1
24	2010	Nguru-Gashua road	Road accident	Accident due to overloading of vehicle	4
25	2010	Nayi Nawa	Crime	Thugs attacked some youths	1
26	2010	Nguru Main Town: Army Barracks, along Gashua-Nguru road	Fire	Unknown causes	5
27	2010	Nguru Main Town: low-cost estate area	Ethnic conflict	Bombori youths vs. army barrack youths	5
28	2010	Tsohon (Old) Nguru	Fire	Due to electrical fault	6
29	2010	Gashua Road	Road accident	Accident due to bad road	6
30	2010	Nayi Nawa	Road accident	Accident involving a car and a motorcycle	2
31	2011	Nayi Nawa	Road accident	Accident due to tyre puncture and car somersault	1

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32	2011	Kargo	Ethnic conflict	Hausa vs. Yoruba	7
33	2011	Nguru Main Town: GRA estate	Crime	Attack by unknown gunmen	2
34	2011	Bombori	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	9
35	2011	Garbi: near Kargo	Political and religious issue	Suicide bomber exploded bomb in the midst of people	5
36	2011	Nguru Main Town: GRA	Crime	Females attacked, raped, and killed by unidentified persons	3
37	2011	Nguru Main Town: GRA	Crime	Unknown gunmen on motorcycle attacked and shot sporadically	1
38	2012	Nguru Main Town	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP officials	5
39	2012	Nguru Main Town: Yobe line mass transit	Political and religious issue	Suicide bomber exploded IED	9
40	2013	Nguru Main Town: GRA	Political and religious issue	Boko Haram attack	6
41	2013	Garbi	Road accident	Head-on collision between two vehicles	4
42	2013	Kanamma road	Road accident	Due to reckless driving	1
43	2013	Garbi	Political and	Boko Haram attack	18

			religious issue		
44	2013	Nguru Main Town: School of Health Technology	Crime	Unknown persons invaded the nursing school and raped 2 girls, who later died	2
45	2014	Nguru Main Town	Insurgency	Suicide bomber exploded bomb in market	6
46	2014	Gidan Inuwa	Political issue	Clash between members of PDP and CPC	2
47	2014	Bombori	Crime	Clash between hard drug peddlers and security agents	1
48	2014	Nguru Main Town	Road accident	Accident due to over-speeding	1
49	2014	Kadawan Mita	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	6

Source: Field survey, July 2015

### INVISIBLE VIOLENCE IN YUSUFARI LGA

Yusufari LGA occupies an area of 3,928 sq km and shares a border to the north with the Republic of Niger. It recorded a population of 111,086 persons during the 2006 census. The main occupations in the area are farming, animal husbandry, and trading. However, there is widespread poverty and vulnerability to environmental challenges such as desertification. There is also the challenge of the Boko Haram insurgency. According to respondents, Nguru LGA recorded the following fatal incidents (Table 4):

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*Table 4: Fatal incidents in Yusufari LGA of Yobe State  
 (2006–2014)*

S/N	Date	Community	Cause of violence	Description of event	Fatalities
1	2006	Miyori Town	Crime	Cattle rustlers attacked cattle rearers	4
2	2007	Yusufari Main Town	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP supporters	1
3	2007	Tulutulu	Crime	Youth vigilantes vs. thieves	5
4	2007	Yusufari Main Town	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP supporters	2
5	2007	Gumsi	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP supporters due to tearing down of campaign posters	6
6	2007	Yusufari Main Town	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP supporters	6
7	2007	Kante Side	Crime	Vigilantes vs. armed gangs	7
8	2007	Tudun Kanwa	Land	Clashes between Fulani and Badawa	15
9	2007	Yusufari Main Town: outskirts	Cattle grazing	Fulani herdsmen vs. Kanuri farmers	2
10	2008	Yusufari Main Town:	Road accident	Tire puncture leading to	3



		Line D		collision	
11	2008	Miyori	Road accident	Due to bad road	10
12	2009	Miyori	Political and religious issue	Boko Haram attack	15
13	2009	Gumsi	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP supporters	6
14	2009	Kunam Ganam	Land	Cattle grazers vs. farmers	6
15	2009	Yusufari Main Town: outskirts	Ethnic conflict	Youths vs. vigilantes	11
16	2009	Tulutulu	Crime	Cattle thieves vs. cattle breeders	4
17	2010	Yusufari Main Town	Ethnic conflict	Armed group vs. community youth	6
18	2010	Miyori	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP youth supporters	16
19	2010	Miyori: new area	Cattle grazing	Cattle grazers clashed with farmers	10
20	2010	Tulutulu	Suicide	An IDP committed suicide in an IDP camp	1
21	2010	Yusufari Main Town	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP youths	5
22	2010	Tulutulu	Crime	Murder within a household	1
23	2010	Kuman Ganam	Ethnic conflict	Gumsi vs. Kuman Ganam communities	5
24	2010	Kuman Ganam	Crime	Manslaughter as a result of fighting between two neighbours	1

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25	2010	Gashua-Yusufari	Road accident	Head-on collision between two vehicles	10
26	2010	Bultumari	Crime	Armed gang attacked sex workers	3
27	2010	Kuman Ganam	Crime	Rapists attacked and raped students	3
28	2010	Gumsi	Political issue	Clashes between ANPP and PDP supporters	2
29	2010	Sunomari	Crime	Corpse found with no head	1
30	2010	Bultumari: 'desert'	Crime	Cattle thieves attacked herdsmen	6
31	2010	Korama	Crime	Thieves attacked horse breeders	1
32	2011	Kofar Mai Tireda	Crime	Manslaughter as a result of fighting between two neighbours	1
33	2011	Tulutulu	Ethnic conflict	Clash between youths from Tulutulu and Miyori	7
34	2011	Yusufari Main Town	Road accident	Tire puncture led to somersault of vehicle	5
35	2011	Yusufari Main Town	Crime	Residents of the community arrested and murdered by insurgents disguised as military personnel	18
36	2011	Yusufari Main Town	Sorcery, Crime	Secret cult group attacked	4

				sex workers	
37	2011	Tulutulu	Land	Land owners vs. cattle breeders	1
38	2011	Yusufari Main Town	Political issue	Suicide bombing	2
39	2011	Gumsi	Crime	Fulani cattle herdsman vs. thieves	5
40	2011	Kuman Ganam	Political issue	Clash between ANPP and PDP supporters	3
41	2011	Yusufari Main Town	Sorcery	A student was kidnapped and murdered by kidnapers for ritual purposes	1
42	2011	Kuman Ganam	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	1
43	2011	Tulutulu	Political issue	Boko Haram attacked and burnt houses	17
44	2011	Yusufari Main Town	Crime	Car thieves shot dead when trying to steal a police patrol vehicle	2
45	2012	Miyori	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	10
46	2013	Yusufari Main Town: outskirts and east side	Political issue	Local hunters vs. Boko Haram	7
48	2014	Tulutulu	Political issue	Military vs. Boko Haram	2
49	2014	Kuman Ganam	Political issue	Boko Haram attack	16
50	2014	Kuman Ganam	Political issue	Suspected Boko Haram members attacked a member of the community	1

Source: Field survey, July 2015

#### ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS OF UNREPORTED VIOLENCE IN ‘INVISIBLE’ LGAS

The data analysed on the 4 ‘invisible’ LGAs revealed that 71% of respondents considered their neighbourhood to be violent, mainly because of Boko Haram attacks. Also, more than 96% of respondents were aware that a fatal incident had occurred in their area in the previous 10 years. Clashes between herdsmen and farmers, political and communal conflicts, road accidents, armed robbery, and Boko Haram attacks were among the leading causes of violent deaths, followed by fighting between neighbours, sorcery, and kidnapping. As can be seen from Tables 1–4 above, however, the period before 2009 witnessed a low level of insurgent attacks.

#### FACTORS AFFECTING REPORTAGE OF VIOLENCE-RELATED DEATHS IN THE 4 LGAS

Reporting of fatal incidents continues to be lacking. Even the World Health Organization (2014) admits that getting data on violence remains a key challenge. Against this backdrop, the study showed that the rural nature of the 4 LGAs under review and the near absence of government institutions contributed to the problem. Furthermore, the media are primarily concentrated in the state capital, and journalists are not motivated, from both a security and a financial point of view, to venture into remote and poor areas. It is even more difficult when conditions demand that they report events in volatile areas affected by the Boko Haram insurgency.

#### CONCLUSION

In Karasuwa, Machina, Nguru, and Yusufari LGAs of Yobe State, the study found that there were many fatal incidents which fell under of the radar of the media. Lack of interest in rural and poor areas was the main reason why violence was unreported.

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Table 2: Violent incidents in Machina LGA of Yobe State (2006–2014)

Table 3: Violent incidents in Nguru LGA of Yobe State (2006–2014)

Table 4: Violent incidents in Yusufari LGA of Yobe State (2006–2014)

### LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION

ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
CJTF	Civilian Joint Task Force
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
FMC	Federal Medical Centre
GRA	Government Residential Area
GSSS	Government Senior Secondary School
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
JTF	Joint Task Force
LGA	Local Government Area
MCH	Maternal and Childcare Hospital
NDLEA	National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NPC	National Population Commission
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
WTC	Women Teachers College