

Impacts of Violence on Women and Girls in Kaduna

Examining Patterns and Trends in Violence Affecting Women and Girls

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■ Located in north-central Nigeria, Kaduna state has a diverse population, and is no stranger to periodic outbreaks of conflict and violence. Inter-communal conflict, including sectarian group-based polarization, has fuelled tensions and violence in Local Government Area (LGAs) such as Zaria in recent years. Clashes between herders and farmers in central and southern parts of the state have also led to scores of fatalities in the past six months.

Women and girls are often the targets — either directly or caught in the crossfire — of this inter-communal conflict. They also bear the brunt of economic pressures through displacement, livelihood and property destruction, or loss of household breadwinners as a result of the violence.

In their daily lives women and girls also encounter frequent interpersonal abuse and sexual violence, which is prevalent in family, community and school settings – but remains underreported.

This brief will explore the key themes in Violence Affecting Women and Girls (VAWG) in Kaduna state, drawing from quantitative data from the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) Observatory platform, as well as information gathered during a July 2016 workshop convened by NSRP, Education as a Vaccine (EVA) and the Kaduna Observatory Steering Committee (OBSTEC).

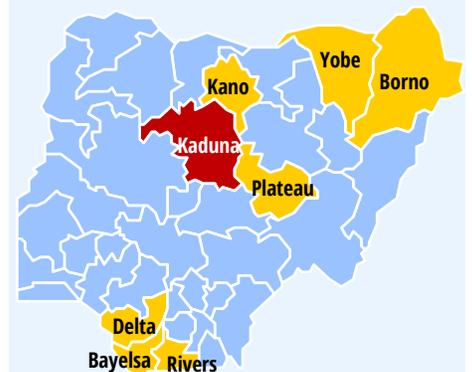
“ *Women and girls in Kaduna are often the targets – either directly or caught in the crossfire – of inter-communal violence. They also bear the brunt of economic pressures through displacement, livelihood and property destruction, or the loss of household breadwinners as a result of the violence.* ”

Background to Kaduna Insecurity

Kaduna is one of the country's most populous and diverse states. The city of Kaduna, the state capital, has historically been a manufacturing centre for the region, drawing people from across the country and contributing to the state's ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. Unlike neighbouring states in the north, the population of Kaduna is more evenly split between the predominantly Muslim groups from the north and Christian groups hailing from southern regions. However, while the demographics of Kaduna are diverse, the state and its inhabitants remain relatively segregated, contributing at times to inter-communal tensions. Kaduna City itself is split, with Kaduna North LGA — including the city's commercial centre — primarily inhabited by Muslims and Kaduna South LGA mainly inhabited by Christians.

While inter-communal tensions in Kaduna can historically be traced back to issues of political control and resource distribution,

NSRP Target States, Nigeria



Data used in this Brief is based on reported incidents on the VAWG Observatory Platform, using the Partners for Peace (P4P) Map. The map integrates and formats conflict data from different sources including NSRP, Nigeria Watch and ACLED. The map is supported by Partnership Initiatives in the Niger Delta (PIND) www.pindfoundation.org

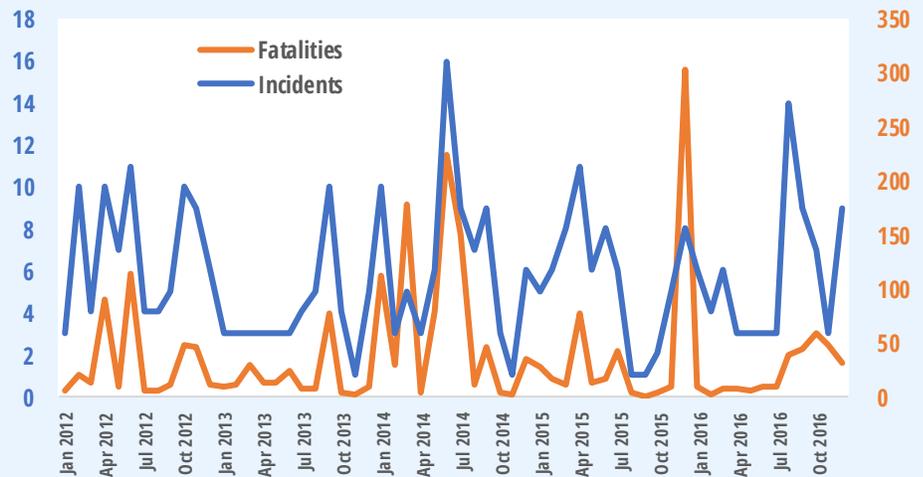
over the past few decades religion has become a critical fault line. These tensions came to a head in 2000 when Kaduna state, along with other northern states, moved to introduce Shari'a law into the criminal code. Fighting between Christians and Muslims in the months following the decision led to the deaths of as many as 5,000 people according to Human Rights Watch (HRW).¹ Two years later, an article published in *This Day*, a Lagos-based newspaper, that was perceived to be blasphemous to Muslims, led to religious- and ethnic-based violence and reprisal attacks. There are also sectarian tensions between Sunni and Shiite Muslim communities in Kaduna state, with reported incidents of violence as recently as late 2016.

Over the past few years, Kaduna state has also been affected by the insurgency in northeast Nigeria and activity by other non-state actors. Several suicide bombings, claimed by Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād, or JS, have taken place in the state. The Nigerian army also clashed with the Islamic Movement for Nigeria (IMN) in Zaria in December 2015 (see fatalities spike in Figure 1), with reports of at least 250 people killed during the violence. There remain conflicting reports between the two groups over how the fighting broke out, however the clashes represented the most violent month in Kaduna in the last five years according to Nigeria Watch data. Among the dead, it was reported that the Shiite leader Ibrahim Elzakzaky was killed, along with his wife, son and other family members. Concerns have been raised about the potential for future radicalization of the aggrieved parties, as outlined in a December 2015 report by the International Crisis Group (ICG).²

Similar to the conflict dynamics in other states in northern Nigeria and the Middle Belt region, Kaduna has also seen recurrent inter-communal conflict between herder and farmer communities. These clashes

Overall Levels of Violence in Kaduna State

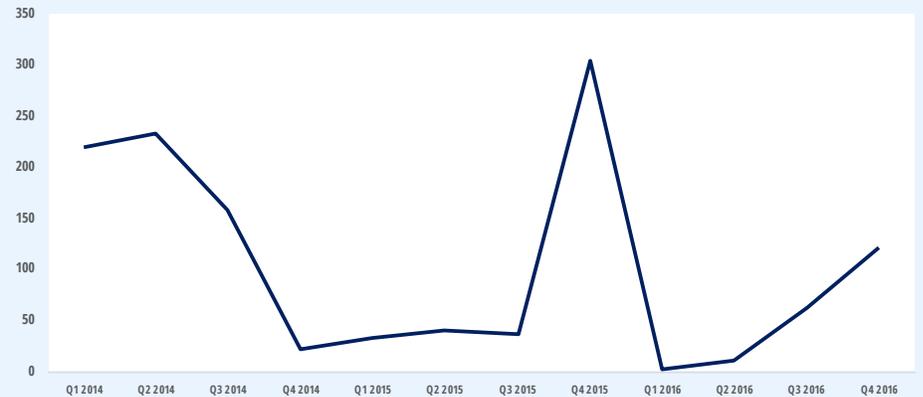
Figure 1: Reported Incidents 2012-2016



Graph shows the number of reported incidents of violence and conflict-related fatalities, in Kaduna state between January 2012 and December 2016. Source: ACLED and Nigeria Watch data. Formatted for the for the VAWG Observatory Map: <http://www.tgpccloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=nsrp>

Collective Violence in Kaduna State

Figure 2: Collective Violence Fatalities Q1 2014-Q4 2016



Bar chart shows the number of reported fatalities from collective violence in Kaduna state between Q1 2014 and Q4 2016. Violence spiked between a Shiite group and the Nigerian military in Zaria in Q4 2016, and rose again in Q3 and Q4 2016 as a result of inter-communal violence in Southern and Central Kaduna. Source: ACLED and Nigeria Watch data. Formatted for the for the VAWG Observatory Map: <http://www.tgpccloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=nsrp>

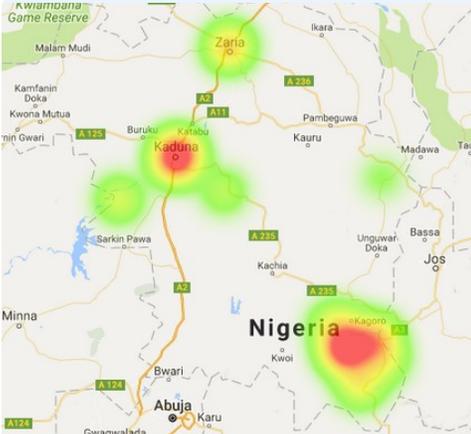
have resulted in the destruction of property and livelihoods and the deaths of thousands of people, including women and children, as documented by NSRP Observatory Platform incident data. While the violence stems from struggles over access to land, water and

other key natural resources, the diversity of the region means that land-based conflicts often become conflated with grievances related to ethnicity, religion and political power.

1. URL located at: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2003/07/22/miss-world-riots/continued-impunity-killings-kaduna>
 2. URL located at: <http://blog.crisisgroup.org/africa/nigeria/2015/12/16/new-risks-on-nigerias-shiite-fault-line/>

Hotspots of Collective Violence

Figure 3: Collective Violence Incidents 2016



Heatmap shows the concentration of reported incidents of collective violence during the period Jan.—Dec. 2016. The largest concentration of incidents was in Southern Kaduna where inter-communal conflict between herders and farmers was prevalent. All data sources were used—including NSRP, ACLED and Nigeria Watch—formatted for the VAWG Observatory Map: <http://www.tgpccloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=nsrp>

Violence in Kaduna has spiked in the last two quarters of 2016, predominately due to inter-communal conflict. At least 226 fatalities were reported between July and December 2016 — compared to 36 in the first half of the year — based on ACLED and Nigeria Watch data (See Figure 2). The violence has chiefly been concentrated in southern and central Kaduna state, where herder/farmer clashes have resulted in scores of casualties in the LGAs of Jema-a, Kauru, Sanga and Chikun (See Figure 3). In late December 2016, a 24-hour curfew was imposed by the government in several southern LGAs in an attempt to stem the violence, though several incident reports have suggested pockets of violence continue.

Given the diversity of religious and ethnic makeup of the state, reports of violence

between herders/farmers often takes on a politicized ethno-sectarian dimension. However, the underlying conflict drivers — particularly as they relate to the most recent wave of inter-communal violence in Southern Kaduna — include land competition and political rivalries. As a 2016 bulletin from the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Kaduna suggested, the lack of clear polices or demarcations between farmlands and grazing zones within the LGAs is causing ongoing pockets of violence, and builds perceived grievances on both sides.³

The pervasive impacts of collective violence on women and children in Nigeria have been highlighted in previous NSRP briefs on Rivers and Plateau states,⁴ and incident data from the NSRP Observatory Platform shows a similar theme in Kaduna state. Women and girls in Kaduna are often the targets — either directly or caught in the crossfire — of inter-communal violence. They also bear the brunt of economic pressures through displacement, livelihood and property destruction, or the loss of household breadwinners as a result of the violence. In a reported attack by an armed group on a community in Jema-a on 24th December 2016, at least five women were killed. In a similar attack, also in Jema-a on the 8th September 2016, it was reported that a 6-year old girl was killed during the gunfire.

The prevalence of interpersonal violence and abuse — including domestic violence and rape — also remains a significant issue within the state. The misuse of power by community leaders, family members and other people in positions of authority, to sexually assault women, girls and boys is a prevalent theme in incidents reported in Kaduna from the NSRP Observatory Platform.

Overall trends in VAWG in Kaduna: January 2014 – December 2016

Domestic abuse, rape and sexual assault accounted for 72% of reported incidents of VAWG from NSRP Observatory Platform sources between January 2014 and December 2016. These incidents included both sexual and domestic abuse by male family members – fathers, husbands and uncles – as well as by male friends and members of the community such as shopkeepers, neighbours and teachers. However, the majority of the reported lethal violence involving women and girls in the state were related to inter-communal violence.

The following sections look at the predominant trends that have arisen in the data from the Kaduna Observatory, as well key observations that were contributed by Observatory Steering Committee (OBSTEC) members during a July 2016 refresher training workshop convened by NSRP in Kaduna.

3. URL located at: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5404f2c1e4b01b550b3ebfba/t/58402dd859cc68cd8a1cf85c/1480601055256/bulletin+edited+pdf.pdf>
 4. URLs located at: <http://library.fundforpeace.org/303011610-abuseoftrust>; and <http://library.fundforpeace.org/303011612-plateau>

Impact of Insecurity and Intercommunal Violence on Women and Girls

Women and girls in Kaduna continue to be affected by wider conflict trends in the state, including activity by armed non-state actors and intercommunal violence between herders and farmer communities. While these two categories (crime and insecurity, and intercommunal violence) comprised less than 10% of all reported cases from NRRP Observatory Platform sources from 2014-2016, they were responsible for nearly 95% of reported lethal incidents from Nigeria Watch data involving women and girls (see Figure 4).

The immediate impacts of inter-communal violence on women and children, including the most recent spate in late 2016 of herdsmen-farmer attacks, can be devastating; but is often lost in the reporting either by not being reported at all or being consistently underreported. One such incident occurred between 15-16th October

2016, in which an estimated 20 people were killed in Jema'a after herdsmen reportedly attacked a farming settlement called Godogodo, according to NSRP Observatory sources and the *Vanguard* newspaper. While there are occasional reports that women and girls are raped or sexually assaulted in intercommunal attacks perpetrated by each side, the exact numbers are rarely given or details provided which might allow for more follow-up or a better understanding of the actual impact that these attacks are having on women and girls in the short term.

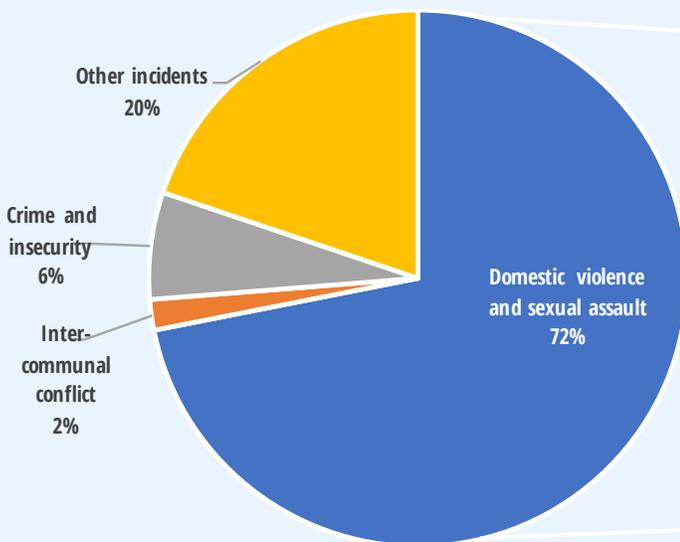
In the longer term, however, the impacts of intercommunal violence can be easier to gauge. Insecurity can affect women and girls in many ways, including through displacement, loss of livelihood (their own or that of a male family member), or direct violence. Economic and social disenfranchisement experienced by women and girls affected by conflict can in turn increase their vulnerabil-

ity to sexual and economic predation. In reports received by the Kaduna Observatory, the displacement of women and children following intercommunal clashes between herdsmen and farmers is more often cited, either at the time of the attack or in later reports. In later reports, frequently these issues are intertwined with wider societal issues around women and girls being evicted from lands by relatives after husbands or brothers are killed or have lost their farms in attacks. It can often be tricky to create a direct causal relationship between the intercommunal violence and the impacts on women and girls as research on this issue, in particular, has not been extensively published.

Nevertheless, the existence of the Kaduna Observatory and the ability of the OBSTEC to follow-up after attacks which are known to have directly impacted women and girls may play a critical role in addressing this

Overall VAWG Reported Incidents

Figure 4: Incidents reported in Kaduna 2014-2016



VAWG Incidents Involving Fatalities

Figure 5: Incidents reported in Kaduna 2014-2016

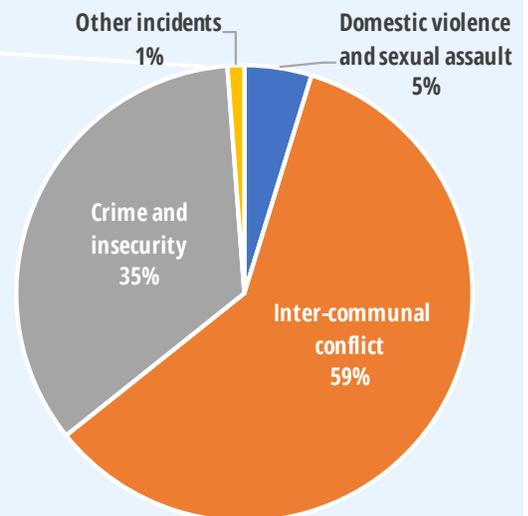


Figure 4 shows the types of violence reported in Kaduna involving women and girls, during Jan. 2014 to Dec. 2016, with majority of the incidents relating to sexual assault and domestic violence. All data sources were used—including NSRP, ACLED and Nigeria Watch—formatted for the VAWG Observatory Map: <http://www.tgpccloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=nsrp>

Figure 5 shows that of those VAWG reported cases involving fatalities, over half the incidents were due to inter-communal violence in Kaduna during Jan. 2014 to Dec. 2016. This highlights the significant impacts broader insecurity within the state can have on women and children. Data source: Nigeria Watch—formatted for the VAWG Observatory Map: <http://www.tgpccloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=nsrp> P4P Peace Map www.p4p-nigerdelta.org.

The Misuse of Power and the Role of Shame

Insecurity & Inter-Communal Violence: VAWG Key Incidents

- **February 2014** – An Islamic scholar and his wife and children are killed by gunmen while traveling in Zaria
- **June 2014** – Twenty people, including women and girls, are killed in clashes between herdsmen and farming communities
- **August 2014** – At least one woman killed in an attack on a community in Sanga LGA
- **September 2014** – Gunmen attack three communities in Sanga LGA, killing at least four women
- **July 2015** – A female suicide bomber attacks a school in Zaria, killing 37 people and injuring 32
- **September 2016** – A six-year old girl died from gunshot wounds sustained during an attack by gunmen in Jema'a LGA

lack of attention and knowledge. The incidents detailed above are just a few of the 217 reported incidents of VAWG in Kaduna state from NSRP Observatory platform sources since January 2014. The highest number of reports came from Local Government Areas (LGAs) Chikun, Kaduna-North, Kaduna-South and Igabi.

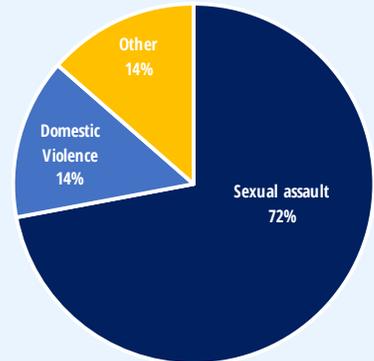
One of the other overarching themes from VAWG data in Kaduna is the prevalence of interpersonal violence, including sexual assault and domestic abuse, perpetrated by people known and trusted by the survivors.

The misuse of power and authority, whether by male family members or by other trusted members of the community such as religious leaders, educators and security forces, is a recurrent theme in VAWG reporting from Kaduna during the period of early 2014 to late 2016. This is particularly prevalent in cases involving underage girls, which made up 54% of reported NSRP Observatory platform incidents in Kaduna state. Of these cases, 72% of reported incidents were related to rape and sexual assault, often by fathers or other male family members (See Figure 6).

Societal stigma and the personal nature of these incidents often contribute to a sense of shame among survivors, which leads to lower reporting rates and a reinforcement of the culture of silence around VAWG.⁵ The sense of shame initially experienced by the survivor of sexual assault is then passed on to the immediate family or community, reinforcing the instinct to hide the event. Particularly in areas where cultural or religious teachings place high value on brides who come to the marriage “pure” or “untainted” by any prior sexual contact, a survivor of sexual assault is often compelled by her family to sweep the incident under the carpet. This silence, according to a World Health Organization (WHO) report published in 2002, avoids bringing the stigma of shame through perceived indecency on the family or community.⁶ This becomes even more pervasive when the perpetrator of the assault is a family member themselves, which, as noted above, was the case in nearly 72% of the reported incidents involving underage girls and boys in Kaduna.

Underage VAWG Incidents

Figure 6: Incidents reported in Kaduna 2014-2016 involving underage survivor



Pie chart shows the breakdown of VAWG incidents involving survivors under the age of 18 years old, reported in Kaduna during Jan. 2014 to Dec. 2016. The majority of incidents related to sexual violence. All data sources were used—including NSRP, ACLED and Nigeria Watch—formatted for the VAWG Observatory Map: <http://www.tgpccloud.org/p4p/index.php?m=nsrp>

Reducing shame is important both in prevention and response to violence against women and girls, and programs have taken several approaches to this issue. Some groups, including the WHO, have advocated for comprehensive education programs that encourage non-violence, teach healthy sexual behaviours and address societal and cultural norms that perpetuate VAWG.⁷

Another trend in reporting from Kaduna that further highlights the misuse of power by authority figures is the prevalence of using schools and institutions of higher learning as staging grounds for sexual assault. Schools are intended as a safe space for children to learn and have supervision during the day. However, one of the key trends in reported sexual harassment and assault of girls from NSRP Kaduna Observatory data was the abuse taking place at or around schools and universities. These cases occasionally involved teachers but also frequently involved perpetrators

5. URL located at: http://www.womenn.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/2015-WomenNC-ResearchPaper-Effects-ofSexEduc-on-PreventSexAssault_Dana-Raphael0415.pdf

6. URL located at: http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/42495/1/9241545615_eng.pdf

7. URL located at: http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/activities/intimate/en/

Misuse of Power: VAWG Key Incidents

- **July 2014** – A young girl was raped by a school proprietor
- **September 2015** – A man routinely raped and later impregnated his 17-year old daughter
- **February 2016** – A young girl died after her mother cut her genitals with a razor after being accused of promiscuity and inviting sexual attention
- **March 2016** – A 6-year old girl was raped by her father
- **August 2016** – A 7-year old girl was sexually mutilated and killed by her step-mother

who followed girls on their way to or from school as well as those who used school buildings as locations to commit their crimes.

Though abuse of girls may take place on their way to and from school, where often they travel unaccompanied and are more vulnerable to abuse, it can also occur in and around school buildings and campuses. In May 2015 in Chikun, for example, an incident involved a secondary school student being raped at school by external male perpetrators. In another reported incident in January 2016 in Kaduna South, a man attempted to rape a girl leaving school in an incomplete building on the property. The abuse by teachers and school employees was also regularly featured in many VAWG incident reports, with multiple reports from 2014-2016 in Kaduna North and Chikun relating to sexual abuse of young students by their teachers.

This abuse can sometimes take the form of “sex for good marks,” where a teacher or instructor manipulates the student into

providing sexual services in exchange for good scores, or even in exchange for books, paper, or school fees.

In a July 2016 training convened by NSRP, Education as a Vaccine (EVA) and the Kaduna Observatory Steering Committee (OBSTEC), OBSTEC members noted that in many of the reported cases of sexual abuse at schools, the survivors spoke of feeling compelled to comply out of fear that they would otherwise be expelled or would fail to meet the expectations of their families or communities. Other participants at the workshop who work directly with survivors in Peace Clubs also underscored the overarching role of shame in hindering the willingness of survivors to report specific incidents, particularly those involving teachers or school authority figures.

The use of school grounds to commit sexual assaults, and its violation of the concept of schools as “safe spaces” has an even wider effect on women and girls. Girls can encounter a significant amount of discrimination around access to education to begin with, and when this is compounded by the shame of sexual assault, it can be even more difficult to encourage reporting and prosecution. Other participants in the training shared that although wider societal stigmatization and shaming played a role in keeping the culture of silence intact, the role of institutions such as schools, churches, and mosques have also been able to provide safe spaces and lend legitimacy to help survivors and their families pursue justice. While these initiatives were not uniformly documented or formalized, they may provide an example that civil society members and leaders can emulate or replicate in future prevention, advocacy and response efforts.

Non-governmental organizations and civil society groups in other African states have implemented a number of initiatives aiming

Approaches to Making Schools Safer Spaces

The USAID-funded Safe Schools Program in Ghana and Malawi is a useful example of how to tackle the issue of violence and abuse in schools. Program activities included implementing “walk a child home” programs to escort children to and from school, developing training programs for teachers, community counsellors and students, creating national advocacy campaigns to raise awareness, and working with ministries of education and teachers to create codes of conduct.

As identified in the trends from Kaduna and other NSRP states, there is a need to think creatively and proactively about how to protect girls and boys on their way to and from school, as well as while on school property, perhaps through the formation of community monitors or community watch groups. The role of civil society and political actors as advocates for institutional change, and stronger government enforcement of legal protections of those vulnerable to abuse, is an important part of breaking the cycle of abuse. Support by local community groups to women and children survivors, encouraging the reporting of violence, is another crucial part of breaking the silence that often pervades the abuse of trust.

to prevent sexual violence in school settings that may provide useful models for Nigeria. In Ghana and Malawi, the USAID-funded Safe Schools Program worked to decrease sexual violence in schools by developing prevention programs and trainings for families and communities, strengthening response networks and services for survivors, and enhancing reporting systems.⁸

8. URL located at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pdacp103.pdf

Conclusion

These and other programs have underlined the importance of developing - and, more critically, enforcing - codes of conduct at all levels of the education system and of taking a holistic or "whole-of-community" approach to develop culturally-relevant programming. Increasing coordination between civil society, government and school authorities, and empowering children to identify and report sexual violence in schools is also critical. Increasingly these groups are recognizing the need to involve men and boys in programming, both to address norms of masculinity that perpetuate sexual violence and to reach male survivors of sexual assault.

Overall, the data and supplemental information from the Kaduna Observatory and July 2016 workshop indicated that stronger oversight and accountability for misconduct and abuse in schools is an important part of creating safer education spaces for students. Making clear the link between sexual harassment and abuse, including "sex for marks," and punitive measures such as the removal and prosecution of the perpetrator, might go a long way in discouraging future abuse. From a legal standpoint, The Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Education Institution Prohibition Act passed in the Nigerian Federal Parliament in October 2016 imposes new fines and five-year jail sentences for teachers convicted of sexual harassment of their students. Legislation such as this — and the promotion of the penalties for misconduct — are crucial to bringing the abuses of trust by offenders in education institutions to account, and deterring inappropriate conduct. However, one glaring omission in this legislation is that it does not cover primary or secondary education institutions, whose students are younger and may be even less likely to speak out. Also, as noted in the data from the Observatory, these are also most frequently the most vulnerable and most preyed upon targets for sexual harassment and assault.

Firstly, the broader insecurity related to inter-communal violence in Kaduna is having significant impacts on women and children. The hotspots of conflict between herders and farmers — most notably in Southern Kaduna in late 2016 and early 2017 — is having direct and sometimes devastating effects on women and girls. It is often underreported or the exact numbers needed to estimate its overall impact are frequently unavailable. While both sides have claimed rape and sexual abuse as a primary weapon in the conflict, actual figures are hard to come by, making an accurate portrayal of the depth and breadth of the issue, as well as follow-up support services, difficult.

Secondly, at the core of much reported violence perpetrated against women and children in Kaduna and other NSRP states, is sexual assault and abuse by those in positions of power and authority. Male family members as well as community leaders are not brought to justice for their crimes against women and girls (and boys) which perpetuates the idea that these individuals are "above the law" when it comes to physical and sexual abuse. The sense of shame plays a key role in stopping survivors from reporting, which further exacerbates the problem and often has much deeper societal or cultural roots. In some noted cases where community leaders or OBSTEC members were able to follow-up on such cases, it has been noted that a monetary exchange between families to keep the issue quiet is often the preferred way of dealing with the crime. While this face-saving mechanism may serve the purpose of helping to preserve the reputation of the family or individual, it undercuts the formal justice system and does little to bring relief and assistance to the survivor of the attack.

Thirdly, VAWG-related incidents occurring in or around school settings is a key theme in reported data in Kaduna. Closely linked to the issue of authority figures abusing power

and assuming impunity because of status, the sexual abuse of women and girls by teachers and administrators may often go unreported and unaddressed. Attacks on women and girls on their way to and from school, as well as the use of school facilities to stage attacks, is another dimension to the issue. When parents feel that it is unsafe to send their female children to school for fear of attack, it only further puts women at an educational disadvantage.

Recommendations

1 Civil society leaders should engage more strategically in awareness raising campaigns surrounding the abuse of power and authority by family members, guardians, and community leaders. This should include messages that target potential perpetrators and highlight the criminal ramifications of abuse. Further, OBSTEC members could reach out to other NSRP Observatory states where this has also been highlighted as a notable issue and determine if sharing best practices might lead to innovation in formulating preventative response.

2 Increased community vigilance and information campaigns surrounding the abuse of women and girls in school settings and on their way to and from school. In some settings, the formation of a “community watch” or a collective of concerned parents and community leaders who help monitor the safety of girls as they travel to and from school might be warranted. Support for legislation that focuses on tougher penalties for offenders in primary and secondary education institutions will also strengthen deterrence of inappropriate conduct.

3 OBSTEC members and other community leaders, particularly those trained in trauma and sexual abuse, should work more closely together to encourage reporting by designing effective information campaigns that are both socially and culturally sensitive, and consider the role of individual and collective shame in perpetuating the culture of silence.

4 While incidents of intercommunal violence, particularly between herders and farmers, is frequently reported, more attention needs to be paid to the impacts on women and girls. This should include in the short-term as well as more longer term effects, such as displacement, poverty, and vulnerability. While there continue to be reports of the rape and sexual assault, as well as the murder of women and children, it is rarely presented in a way that would allow for a deeper analysis of the patterns and trends occurring. Working with local journalists, the OBSTEC as well as other Observatory partners could ensure that this remains a focus and encourage a deeper examination of the specific impacts that the conflict is having on women and girls.

5 As peace actors and government stakeholders continue to collaborate on finding peaceful solutions to resolve the inter-communal conflict between herders and farmers – whether it is through National Peace Committees, coordination between Plateau and Kaduna state governments, or civil society networks – the impacts of the violence on women and children must be a core consideration in discussions and planning.