

**VICTIMS COMPENSATION, PERCEPTION OF JUSTICE AND COPING STRATEGY
AND THE IMPLICATION OF FUTURE OCCURRENCES OF CONFLICT IN JEMA'A
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE**

DAVID MARKUS SHEKWOLO (PhD)

**Department of Psychology, Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna
+2347068447288. Email: davoe80@yahoo.com**

LUKA ODITA ASHAFI

Department of Political Science, Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna.

DOKA JERRY JAMES

Department of Psychology, Nasarawa State University, Keffi.

&

DEBORAH AHEMEN SAAKA

**Department of Sociology & Anthropology,
University of Maiduguri.**

ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation into the compensation of the victims of the multiple conflicts that had occurred in Jema'a Local Government Area of Kaduna State. Some of these conflicts, though political and economic, usually have religious undertone to it. Notable among these conflicts are the year 2000 Sharia crisis, the 2011 post-election crisis and the recurrent farmers-herders' crisis. The study explicates the coping strategies employed by the victims to ameliorate the agony that comes with their victimization status especially those with multiple victimization experiences. In another vein, the research also unearths the victims' perception of justice in the light of government politicization of relief materials. The exploratory nature of this study necessitated the employment of a qualitative method of research; non-probability sampling technique was used to reach the participants of the research and to choose the study areas which was purposive because such areas are the worst hit of all the violent conflicts that had occurred in the region. Kafanchan, the main urban area of Jema'a and four other villages were chosen for the research which was on the basis of their frequent exposure to violent conflicts. There are total of 29 participants in the research which includes traditional leaders, religious leaders, women (mostly widows), youths, and the disable. In the administration of research instruments, In-depth Interview, Focus Group discussions and observations were administered to the participants on the issue of victim compensations, their perception of what justice is, and the coping strategies they employed in the aftermath of the crises that have ravaged their communities. The result of the study shows victims were not properly compensated and many of the victims have suffered multiple experiences. Some of the victims have device means of survival that is alien to their social status and cultural beliefs and are taking menial jobs to keep body and soul together. Politicization of relief materials and

the lack of commitment on the part of the government to prosecute perpetrators of the conflicts has deepened the animosity between Christian and Muslims and in this regard, victims have a very awful perception of justice. In conclusion, it was found that many of the victims lack means of livelihood and instead of trading or farming, have decided to take jobs that pay less for their security. It further shows that adequate lack of compensation and prosecution of offenders still opens the communities to future conflicts as many victims are carrying grudges of previous conflicts. Many of the participants opined that there is no justice on the part of government and that the government is showing favoritism in dealing with offenders. The study recommends that the Kafanchan 2018 peace accord should be implemented; there should be speedy dispensation of justice and that victims should be adequately compensated to avoid future occurrences of such violent conflicts.

Keywords: Conflict, Coping strategies, Victims Compensation, Perception of Justice.

Introduction

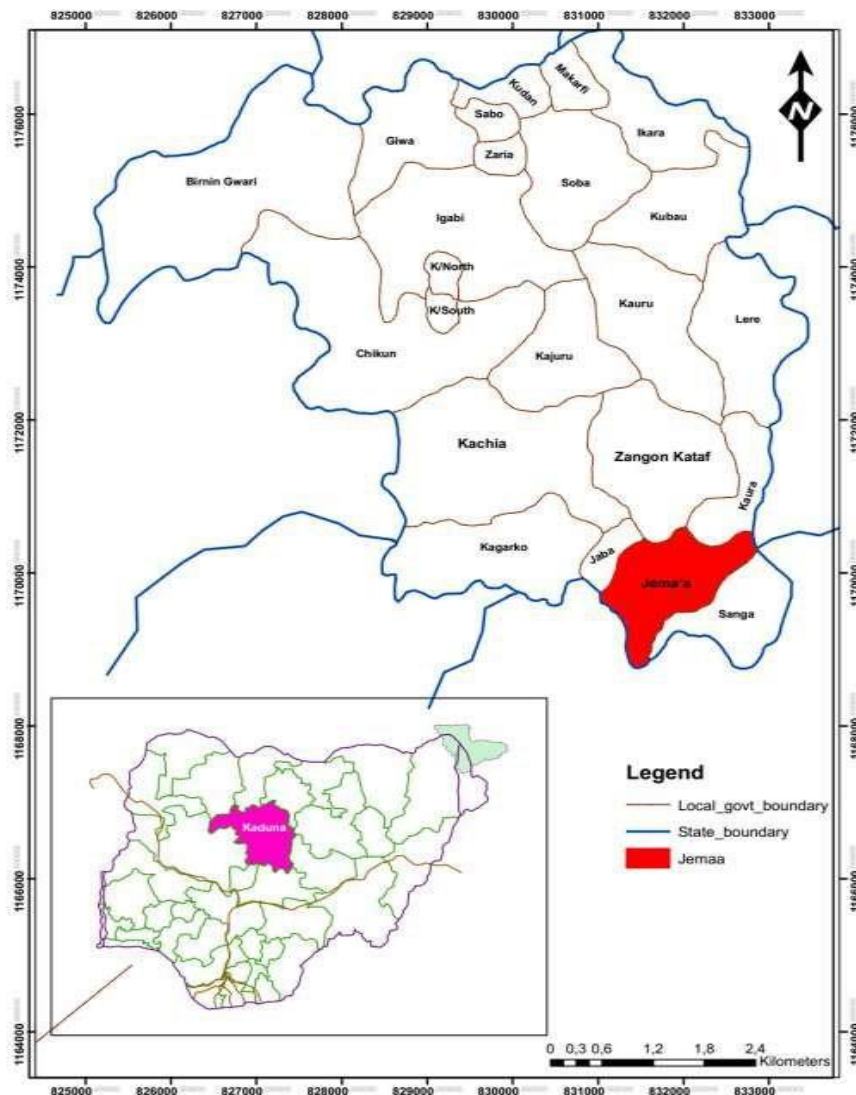
Nigeria has experienced many violent conflicts that have resulted huge loss of lives and properties (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). Most of the victims are pushed down the economic ladder and little attention is paid to their welfare; which means that the victims assume total responsibility of pulling themselves up by their bootstraps in attaining economic and social stability. The agony that comes with rebuilding their lives often spur them to device coping strategies that was hitherto alien to them. Government policies on providing full remedies to victims of such violent conflicts are premised on short time panacea. Agencies that are oriented towards the compensation and rehabilitation of victims and criminals for restitutive or restorative justice are ill-functional or hibernated in the Nigerian Criminal Justice System. The adverse conditions of IDPs in camps, confirmed that the Nigerian government lacks capacity in creating long time policies and strong institutions that will ease the soreness of those victimize by violent conflicts.

Victimology and by extension victimization, has gotten less concern from the Nigeria Criminal Justice system, the media and in scholarly discourse. It is for this reason that the issues of compensation, coping strategies, and victims' perception of justice comes to the fore in this study. Karmen (1990) saw victimization as "an asymmetrical interpersonal relationship that is abusive, painful, destructive, parasitical, and unfair." This definition connotes that victims are individuals who have weak and relatively less privileges than their offenders. In the discourse on victim provocation and penal victimology (Van Dijk, 1999), victims seem to be regarded as those who are at the receiving end of a crime. It is for this reason that victimological discourse has spurred some intellectuals into the academic rigor of understanding and categorization of crime victims according to what precipitated their victimization and the relationship between the victims and their offenders (Van Dijk, 1999; Von Hentig, 1948; Christie, 1986 & Newburn, 1993).

The compensation of victims and prosecution of offenders is instrumental in healing the traumatic stress disorder experienced by the victims in the cause of their victimization (Van Dijk, 1999). The United Nations General Assembly on 29th November, 1985 made a Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power which

adopted both national and international perspectives pertaining to the rights of victims of crime and victims of abuse of power. It was also declared that offenders or third parties responsible for their behaviour should, where appropriate, make fair restitution to victims, their families or dependents (Antony, Frans-Willem, Marc & Groenhuijsen, 2008 and Campbell & Raja, 1999).

When a person is victimized, his/her perception of justice has been tempered; as such, when an offender violates the norms and values stipulated of the society by infringing on the right and privileges of another member, the cohesiveness and the readiness of the society in dispensing justice is tested (Orth, 2009). For this reason, it is imperative for the society through its criminal justice system to mete out punishment to the offender and provide a composite compensation package for the victims so as to create a healthy perception of justice and to further reassert the societal ideal of 'one for all and all for one' (Wemmers, 1996, Van Dijk, 1999). Failure in this regard might lead to reprisals by the victim which is tantamount to making a criminal out of the victim and thereby reverting to the Hobbesian state of nature (Project JUST, 2012, MHRD, 2014).



Source: Google Earth (2016)

Background to the Violent Conflicts

Jema'a local government area is geographically located on 9d 35' 00" N 8d 17'33" E southern part of Kaduna State. It is a home to one of the oldest Islamic caliphate in Nigeria established in 1810 (Suleiman, 2011 and Smith, 1960). The caliphate is situated at Kafanchan, a nodal town with so much economic importance and it is politically instrumental as it holds the local government secretariat and the office of the local government administrator. By population, Jema'a Local Government Area consists of a substantial number of Hausa/ Fulani population who are predominantly Muslims surrounded by ethnic groups like Kaninkon, Fantswam, Numana, Bajju, Kagoro, Marwa, and Kagoma, who are predominantly Christians. The caliphate was established (Suleiman, 2011 & Smith, 1960) by the Hausa/Fulani Islamic conquest of 1804 amidst the above mentioned indigenous ethnic groups.

These indigenous ethnic groups, with the coming of the colonialists, took a faith path (Christianity) that was different from that of their Islamic subjugators and since Nigeria's independence, there has been contestations on indigene and settlers' issues between the Christian indigenous ethnic groups and their Muslim counterpart. One of the implication of this is that the violent conflicts in Jema'a made many of these Christian ethnic groups in the region to see the presence of the Hausa/Fulani as agents of a bigger Islamic conspiracy promoting a continuous Muslims expansionist agenda; it is for this reason that their supposition to this perception has turn the region into a theatre of recurrent violent conflicts. Jema'a Local Government Area has experienced a lot of violent conflicts in the last three decades of its existence (Abdulbarkindo, Alupsen, & Gloria, 2017). Arguably, it is believed to have experienced more crises than the whole Kaduna state. Some of these crises are: the 1987 Gidan Waya College of Education religious crisis, the 1999 Jema'a emirate tussle, the 2011 post-elections crisis and the 2016-2017 farmers-herders' conflicts. Jema'a local government just like the entire Kaduna state is divided along ethno religious lines (Abdulbarkindo, et'al 2017). The contestation is usually expressed in frequent ethno-religious conflict, political crisis and socio-economic crisis (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005; Okpanachi, 2011). Urban regions like Godogodo, Kafanchan, Matsirga, Gidan-Waya in Jema'a often experienced ethno-religious and political violence mostly because of the huge population of both Muslims and Christians residents. It is worthy to note that the afore mentioned towns are the economic hub of the Local government and by implication, the local government administrators usually depend on such towns for revenues and this makes the contestation for the political control of the town very intense.

In another vein, the good vegetation and favorable weather condition of Jema'a Local Government Area is accommodating to both farmers and herders (International Crisis Group, 2017; Blench & Dendo, 2003; Abgo, 2016). In rural communities like Ninte, Goska and Bakin Kogi of the local government area, the locals opined that a farmer does not need fertilizer to have a good harvest. The arable nature of the land and the varieties of crops planted by the farmers in most rural areas of LGA attracted a huge community of herdsmen, who come to graze their cattle. In 2016, an intense violent conflict ensued between farmers and herder which lasted till 2018 (Abdulbarkindo, et'al 2017). A sedentary Fulani community of Dangoma became the object of targets by most farmers in Bakin-Kogi and other farming communities whenever they got attacked by unknown gunmen.

Methods

Jema'a is a Local Government Area located at Southern Kaduna. It is a miniature representation of the state. It has towns like Kafanchan, Godogodo, Gidan-Waya and Matsirga. These towns are business hubs and it draws many ethnic nationalities from around the country. Kafanchan especially has train stations and was once the departure point for people coming from the northern, southern, eastern and western part of Nigeria. The cultural integration of the city gave it popularity but it came with consequences in that the locals who constitute the majority of the population have had political contestations with mostly the Hausa Fulani population of the region who came earlier through Uthman Danfodio Islamic conquest of 1810. The indigenous ethnic groups include Kaninkon, Fantswam, Numana, Bajju, Kagoro, Marwa, Fulani and Kagoma. Some of these ethnic groups like Fantswam, Bajju, Kagoro and the Hausas Muslims are scattered around urban region of Kafanchan, Matsirga and Godogodo while the others mostly dwell in the rural regions like Goska, Bakin Kogi, Ninte with the exception of Dangoma which is a Fulani settlement. Suffice to say that all the above mentioned ethnic groups are Christians with the exception of the Hausas and Fulanis. While urban regions like Kafanchan, Matsirga and Godogodo experienced ethno-religious and political conflicts, rural areas like Goska, Bakin Kogi, Ninte and Dangoma, usually experienced farmers-herders' clashes. It is for this reason that this study seeks to investigate the victimization status of the victims of these conflicts, their coping strategies, the compensation given to them and their perception of justice.

The study employs the qualitative method of In-depth interview and questions were raised to address the subject matters of compensations, coping strategies and perception of justice. The 29 participants interviewed cut across the two dominant religions practiced in the region. Among them are traditional rulers, religious leaders, women and men from various works of life. Most affected communities include Kafanchan, Gidan-Waya, Godogodo, Ninte, Mastirga, Goska, Dangoma, Bakin-Kogi, Takau, as such using purposive sampling technique, the participants were drawn from these communities. Another notable feature of these conflicts is that they vary across the communities listed above. Kafanchan, Godogodo, Gidan-Waya and Mastirga because of their economic importance and the diverse cultures and religions mostly experience ethno-religious conflicts and political crisis while the rural communities Bakin-Kogi, Goska, Ninte, and Dangoma are beseeched by the so called farmers-herders conflicts. This study does not attempt to establish relationship between the conflicts in the rural and urban centers but to holistically look explore through the eyes of the victims in Jema'a local government whether there has been improvement in their standard of living and concern from relevant authorities since their victimization experience.

Discussion of Findings

Compensation and Victim Perception of Justice

The most devastating conflict for some of the victims is the 2011 post-election crisis which though political, took an ethno-religious dimension and was prevalent in Matsirga, Kafanchan, Takau and Gidan-Waya. It was reported on the dailies that the 2011 post-election violence victims were given compensations. For example, the Peoples Dailies reported on march 31st 2014 that the federal government of Nigeria budgeted 7 billion naira for victims' compensation of the 2011 post-election crisis while the state government distributed financial

assistance worth over N163 million to 366 groups comprising Muslims and Christians organizations in the state.

These organizations were mentioned as follows: Salamatu Mosque Sardauna Crescent Kaduna, Jama'atu Izalatil Bid'ah Wa Iqamatis Sunnah (JIBWIS) Kaduna, Dogon Dawa Juma'at Mosque, Kwakwa Mosque Committee and MadrasatulIftahul Islam. Others are; St. Mary's Catholic Church Fadan Kaje, ECWA Church Gwari Road, Bishara Baptist Church Tsaunin Kura, Anglican Deanery Wusasa, Zaria and Salama Health Ministry and Gospel Kujama (Peoples Dailies 31stMarch, 2014). It suffices to note that with the intense violence that took place in Kafanchan and Matsirga, there were no names of churches or mosques that made it to the state government compensation package list. In the case of the federal government who budgeted 7 billion naira for the victims of the 2011 post-election violence, it was reported by Vanguard on January 10th 2015 that the amount released by the federal government was almost half the amount budgeted which is 3 billion naira. **IDI 27** who alleged to have lost his shops worth 10 million naira said:

My brother our names were pasted at the Local Government notice board that we will be compensated. After all the paper works, they only gave me a cheque of 80 thousand naira out of 10 million naira loses; is that money? The only reason I collected that meagre amount of money is because I don't have any food left. What will 80 thousand naira do my brother? For compensation, at least, for a start they were supposed to give me nothing less than 3 to 4 million naira. **(27 Male, Christian).**

Having observed the poor living condition of some of the victims especially **IDI 14** who lives in a rented mud house with two rooms' apartment situated at the outskirts of Kafanchan and the declining condition of his health, one can ascertain that there was no compensation given to him.

Apart from my hospital bills that were paid by some people, I was never given anything by the government for compensation, nothing was given to me, I don't know for others in terms of compensations. **(14, Male, Muslim).**

IDI 13 had a different experience although he was a victim of the same crisis with **IDI 27** and

IDI 14

I heard that the government shared #150, 000 each to all the injured victims in the hospital but mine was spent on treatment and the surgeries I had. And in the total compensation package some people were given 2 million, some 1 million but I was given only #500,000. What will five hundred thousand naira do? I rented a house before given this uncompleted building by my uncle. I paid my children school fees. All the money is gone now. #500,000 is not compensation to me. How can I start life as a family man with #500,000? **(13 Male, Muslim).**

Suffice to say politics and ethno-religious were instrumental in the distribution of the compensation packages. The testimonies of the participants above showed that there was

politicization of relief materials distributed to the victim of the 2011 post-election crisis. **IDI 13** was an assistant village head in Matsirga before the post-election crisis which could be the reason he collected #500,000 while **IDI 14** who was also a victim of the crisis in Matsirga was given nothing.

They were giving our people #50,000 for compensation while they were given hundreds of thousands to their people who didn't lose anything. What will #50,000 do for a family that has lost over a million-naira house, sons and daughters; what will it do?(**21, Pastor of ECWA church**)

In another vein, **IDI 21** is also a victim of politics and ethno-religious discrimination in the compensation of victims. At the time of the 2011 post-election crisis, the Kaduna state administration used religious organizations as the medium to reach out to the victims. This gesture although a good one further created animosity between the adherents of both Christianity and Islam.

The 2016 to 2018 farmers-herders' conflict that took place in the rural communities of Jema'a Local Government Area has plunged the settlers into economic hardship. Rural communities like Ninte, Goska, Bakin-Kogi where farmers who are predominantly Christians are domicile, have experienced frequent attacks by unknown Fulani militias. The implication of this is that the sedentary Fulani Muslim community of Dangoma is exposed to reprisals from the locals in Goska and Bakin-Kogi. Many of the victims from Ninte to Dangoma, to Goska, Godogodo and Bakin-Kogi have similar experiences in the conflict as such they were given almost the same treatment.

When it comes to the issue of compensation, victims of the 2016-2017 farmers-herders clash in Jema'a were vocal as to whether they got anything from the government. Non-Governmental Organizations have done a lot when it comes to providing relief materials to victims of violent conflicts in Nigeria. Expectations of victims, though high, have not been satisfactorily met especially by the submission this victim who was attacked by unknown Fulani militias at a village called Ninte.

It was Red Cross and some other organizations like church missions that supplied us food and clothes and seedlings but the governor himself came here and promised to help us till now that I speak to you we have not received anything from him (**23, Male, Farmer Ninte**).

The traditional leader of Goska added:

They have not done anything for us, it was organizations like Red Cross that assisted us with some victuals but the government did nothing except if they are preparing to do something (**28 Male, traditional leader of Goska, Farmer**).

The traditional leader of Godogodo, a Hausa/Fulani man, also submitted that the government did nothing except for organizations like Red Cross who came with food and clothes for the community. To him it might be that God has not given the government the opportunity to compensate the community. The victims in Dangoma also had similar testimonies of the help that was rendered to them by the Red Cross society.

It was not the government that brought us food, it was the Red Cross. They were sharing one measure of different varieties of food to each of the family affected. I didn't even get it because even those who were not affected came to get some. Before I could get there the food had finished but they told us that they will be back again **(10 Female, Fulani)**.

Another added

I don't even know that they shared anything. May be God has not given the government the desire to compensate us but I thank you for coming to check on our plight **(11 Female, Fulani)**

Bakin-Kogi is the home to one of the most recognized first class emirs in Kaduna state, they were visited by the state governor's representatives and also offered some food items; It is also worthy to note that Bakin-Kogi experienced two attacks from unknown Fulani militias (Agbo, 2016). The traditional leader of the community submitted that:

In the second violent conflict that occurred, the governor sent his representatives and helped the community with food items like ten bags of rice, first, that we should give it to the victims who lost their loved ones or widows. After the previous episode, he sent another 20 bags of rice and 15 gallons' oil. That is all I know about what the governor did concerning this violent conflict **(4 Male, Traditional leader of Bakin-Kogi, Farmer)**.

For the gesture extended by the state government to the victims of Bakin-Kogi, some posited that it was the relief materials that was sent by some NGOs that is worth what they can call "compensation" but for that of the government, **IDI 5** said

I cannot say that is compensation, in fact to me it is mockery, are we hungry? even if we are hungry is that what the government is supposed to give us and why are you only giving it to the injured ones and those that lost their loved ones, how about us that lost our properties? **(5, Male. Retired Civil Servant)**.

From the above comment, one can conclude that compensation to the victims differ, while the Fulanis because of their nomadic lifestyle are just concern about what to eat, the more settled farmers are looking for not just food but the rebuilding of their houses and the restoration of their normal lives so that they can get back to their farm lands.

Conflict and disaster management is very significant in every society and this has at its core the issues of compensation and relief materials (Human Right Watch, 2011). Most of the communities affected by the 2016-1017 farmer-herders' clashes were not given adequate compensation from the government. It is NGOs like Red Cross Organizations and some Faith Base Organization that took it upon themselves to assist the victims of the crises. There was a political factor in the compensation; since Bakin-Kogi is the seat of a first-class chiefdom, they were given little food items by the government while communities like Dangoma, Goska and Ninte were given nothing for their loss. One can ascertain that this gesture is hypocritical as

only the most influential community among the victims were recognize by the government and by this act a stranger to the region might conclude that what was done in Bakin-Kogi was equally done to every society.

Victims Perception of Justice

On the issue of justice, most of the participants who were victims of the 2011 post-elections crisis out-rightly submitted that there was no justice served. But it is pertinent to note that not many of them took their cases to the appropriate authorities for complains. Although **IDI 27** ruled out any desire for complain to the appropriate authorities he still cries out for lack of justice.

My brother there was no justice. Justice to me is what I can get to start my life again. If the government can say come and take such and such amount, I think we will be able to start life again but there is no justice my brother (**27, Male Christian**).

But **IDI 13** has filed a case in court regarding compensation and the loss of his properties, though he asserted that no amount of relief material can sufficiently compensate him for his loss. He was instrumental in pushing for compensation for the Muslim Victims of the 2011 post-election violent conflict in Matsirga including **IDI 14**. In fact, he was appointed the chairman of the committee responsible to fight for the right of the Hausa/Fulani Muslims that lost their lives and properties in Matsirga.

I have written a letter to the traditional leaders of Bajju, I have written to the chiefdom, to the DPO, to the office of the commissioner of Police in Kaduna and even to the Department of State Security in Abuja. Our houses that were burnt and our lands that were taken must be given back to us. (**13 Male, Muslim**).

But **IDI 21** on the other hand believes that justice is a mirage as far as he is concern. Suing the government is a futile attempt because the whole system is controlled by them (Hausa/Fulani Muslims). This perception signifies the absence of trust for the democratic system practiced in Kaduna state. Some of the victims, given their level of education are not aware of their right and privileges in a democratic dispensation. But some, especially the Christians pointed that religion is instrumental in the justice system of Kaduna state. This is because in there was an attempt to a state where an attempt to introduce Sharia Law with the advent of democracy in 1999 in the state. (International Crisis Group, 2010; Okpanachi, 2011). Secondly Coupled with the fact that those at the bottom of the socioeconomic and political ladder of the society have little hope when it comes to legal contest with those in governmental authorities. Suffice to say that most victims have the perception that the judiciary is ineffective in providing justice to the citizens against the executive.

There is no justice in Nigeria, even the preferential treatment given to the Hausa/Fulani Muslims in Kaduna state will not make you get justice; they are the first class citizens and we are the second class citizens. I told my church

members that if God blesses them, they should try and rebuild their houses and not wait for government **(21, Pastor of ECWA Church Takau).**

Another issue raised by the pastor was that justice is gotten on the basis of one's religion and not by the state principle of equity and fairness. The structural nature of the state gave some people undue advantage over others and it is on the basis of that he opined that justice cannot be accessed. Furthermore, for him as a Christian in a Muslim dominated state, justice is a mirage and it is elusive. His assertion is supported by Osaghae and Suberu (2005). They posited that unlike in the southern part of Nigeria where groups discriminate themselves on the basis of ethnicity, group segregation in the northern part of Nigeria is more religious than ethnic. This discrimination has precipitated intense animosity in the northern region and by implication will sustain a structural victimization against a minority religious groups.

According to the data obtained from many victims of the 2016-17 farmers-herders clashes, they posited that they were not compensated by the government and not one perpetrator of the conflict has been brought to book. Only few of the communities were reluctant to admit that they were not served justice. Rural communities like Godogodo and Dangoma, attributed the lack of such effort by the government as the will of God.

Justice, for the victims of the farmers-herders conflict differs from the perception of justice of the victims in the urban area of Jema'a Local Government. The 2011 post-election crisis victims mostly lamented on the issue of food and means of livelihood because of their previously held socioeconomic, cultural and political status but many of the victims of the farmers-herders' clashes do not perceive food as what they will refer to as justice. In fact, the traditional leader of Bakin-Kogi said,

No, no, if the government itself will only do that then they have not done anything to help us. It is not only food that is our problem. We have received help on these ones but building materials were not part of the relief materials. We have not received any assistance on it; we have not yet received any help on that **(4 Male, Traditional leader of Bakin-Kogi).**

The traditional leader of Ninte also shares the same thought with the traditional leader of Bakin-Kogi, for him, since they have successfully been able to work on their farms, next is to start rebuilding their desolate places so that they could have shelter over their heads before the rains becomes heavier.

We are not talking about food, at least let government help us with some building materials. Just a place to sleep is enough for us; that is what for me justice is **(22 Male, Traditional leader of Ninte).**

But the Traditional leader of Goska said:

How will you have two children and hold one and allowing the second one to be beaten him. That is what the government is doing to us. They have allowed

these Fulani men to be killing us while the left us without protection **(28, Male, Traditional leader of Goska).**

For the traditional leader of Goska, the unfair treatment given to his community is what he considers as injustice. Dangoma, a sedentary Fulani community is closer to Goska, a predominantly agrarian community and as such, any attack on farmers usually takes a heavy toll on Goska than all other farming communities. Goska has lost more people than any remote communities where the crises occurred (International Crisis Group, 2017; Agbo, 2016). The traditional leader of Goska asserted that the preferential treatment given to the Fulani community of Dangoma has ruled out any possibility of justice. He believed that in compensation and in prosecution of the offenders, the government has paid a lip service to that and has not provide adequate security to the residents of the community.

Coping Strategy

The coping strategy for most of the 2011 post-election crisis victims was one of hard knocks. Although the crises occurred for some years, the residue of the impact of the conflict is still felt till this day. Many of the victims' claims of government neglect, spurred them to invent alternative means of survival.

As I am, I have not eaten, I am the last born of my house and we are all done with school, my major concern is how they have rendered me useless. Yes, now I help my brothers by working for them, that is those that their shops were not burnt. I work in different shops now doing the menial work to get money to feed and send some to my mother in the village **(27 Male, Christian).**

Although for shelter and clothing he was reserved, but his own concern is the issue of feeding which to him remains like a tug of war. For him, the daily jobs to get by is sufficient for him but that he has a lot of people depending on him including his mother who migrated to the eastern part of Nigeria to escape the uncertainty associated with the recurrent violent conflict in Jema'a Local Government. The loss he experienced during the 2011 post-election crisis has altered his social status which to a greater extend affected his income.

We have nothing, yesterday I have to go and beg to get what to eat with my family, and it is by peoples' generosity that I am able to survive. The cloth I am wearing now is was what I came out with after the crisis, only some few ones were given to me by people **(IDI 14, Male, Muslim).**

The main concern about the victims is feeding. They just want to survive. The necessities especially food to get by for the day has become their major nightmare. By observation, none of the victims especially **IDI 14** and **IDI 13** live in an environment that is conducive. They both live in the outskirts of Kafanchan and in houses that were donated to them by their relatives. **IDI 13** complained in an off record conversation that any time it rains especially during the night he and his family get wet by it. He confessed to be a multi-million-naira farmer before the 2011 electoral crisis but he has relegated to begging as a means of coping with his current status.

The coping strategy of most of the victims of the 2016-2017 has been very challenging. The remote nature of their community put them far away from intensive commercial activity enjoyed in the urban centers and much more, social amenities like hospitals, markets, security e.t.c. They cannot beg or work in their communities to fend for themselves as they have only one source of livelihood, which is agriculture. Most of the victims in rural communities have similar experiences. The tragedies associated with their experiences have placed them in vulnerable conditions. In Dangoma for example, two women who lost their husbands confessed that the NGOs relief materials supplied to other communities did not get to them.

I am left with 13 children altogether to fend for. When my husband was alive, He normally goes to the bush to look for what we will eat but now we fend for ourselves and the children. we go into the bushes to scour for food and during raining season, we work as hired labourers in other people farms to earn money **(10 Female, Fulani Muslim)**.

IDI 11 added:

I have been in misery. As it is now, we don't have anything, we don't have food, we have lost everything. My son has been the one helping us and now he is dead. My grandchildren are still small not talk of them feeding me. it is with my old age that I go around picking firewood in the bush to sell so we can get food for my children. What will I do? That is what I do now **(11 Female Fulani Muslim)**.

Their status as the new breadwinner of their families negates the Fulani patriarchal culture. Culturally, they have violated the social order of male headship and the implication of that is that they will be stigmatized or called names like prostitutes. It is generally believed that the men are responsible for providing all the necessary things needed in the house while the women stay at home but the widowhood status of **IDI 10 Female** and **IDI 11** compels them to devise a means of survival contrary to their norms and cultures. Their children are also helping out for their welfare. This is not an isolated case because for many of the villages that were attacked, schools have closed and children have become instrumental in rebuilding homes. Child labour has been on the increase in such places while schools remain closed. **IDI 11** is an old woman who sustains herself with her children by selling firewood. Despite her advanced age, she posited that if she doesn't take care of herself and grand- children nobody will help her to do it. This category of victims represents the vulnerable groups that were affected by the farmers-herders' crisis that occurred in Jema'a local government area particularly women and children and their plight in the aftermath of the conflicts. Government aid and social welfare programmes especially for vulnerable groups has been deficient in Nigeria. The inability to document and provide sustainable means of survival for vulnerable groups has seen many of them falling into crimes.

For Goska and Ninte, the severity of the attacks made them to wholly put their trust in God for their as a coping strategy. Although Ninte was helped by some NGOs with seedling, security has become the main concern for them. They have seen relatives who visited their

farms which are miles away from the community and never returned. The traditional leader opines that the strain relationship between them and the Fulanis have not only led to loss of lives but has brought economic hardship to their communities. Restoration and reconciliation with the herders in the bush have to be ascertained for his community members to have access to their farm lands. And if the siege remains, there will be the likelihood of food insecurity and the rising price of food products in the markets. One of the participants in the Village has this to say:

Honestly when you came with this brown envelope in your hands, we thought it was one these NGOs that sent you to give us money. It is God that has been keeping us in this town. Some of us don't have what to eat for the night and can't go to our farms in the day **(22 Male, Ninte)**.

The traditional leader of Goska also submitted that:

When the government said we should go back to our farms, we planted all manner of crops, especially beans, maize, rice and many more crops. Do you know that the Fulanis still went back and ate everything? They went back and ate everything. We reported the case to the police and they were asked to pay us back. So what I did was that, I called my community members and asked them, who was feeding them before now? And they said it is God and I said let us leave everything to that same God, he will keep us and now we are back on our farms again **(28 Male, traditional leader of Goska)**.

For a government that wants to diversify its economy and move away from over dependence on oil to agriculture, it will be a stain on the diversification policy to allow the purveyors of the two major forms of farming (Meats and Crops) in the country to have clashes without concrete resolutions. The trust in God stems from the fact that the government has failed in its responsibility to provide adequate security to residents in rural communities. One of the excuses given to the incessant clashes is that it has been an age long conflict and as such will be difficult to resolve.

Discussion of Result

The result of the study is explicated in the discussion of the findings. From the objective of the findings, many of the victims have submitted that they never got compensation from the government or from anyone in the position of authority. From the assertion of 11 participants out the 29, many of the victims have not received any means of compensation in whatever form while some who received shows that there was an element of politics or favoritism that played for them to get such. This favoritism in ethnicity and religion. For **IDI 10** and **IDI 11** who are living in the rural areas, compensation was not anything that they have heard, it is the victims in urban regions that got some.

Apart from the regional disparity in distributing relief materials, some victims of the 2011 post-election crisis got compensation than the victims in rural areas who are experiencing farmers and herders' clashes. Although the 2011 post-elections crises and the 2016 to 2018 farmers and herders' clashes happened in two different administrations, it shows that the

government in power during the post-electoral crisis has more political will to compensate victims than the one during the 2016 and 2018 farmers-herders' conflicts.

In perception of justice, many of the participants posited that the government has not done what could be termed justice. For some who expected that the government provides building materials, food and protection, to those who demanded that the government prosecute the offenders or the perpetrators, it has not yielded the desired outcome for the victims. It is for this reason that many of the victims rule out the fact that there was no justice. The government have not really given much heed to what will induce peace to the much trouble region of Jema'a and if they are interested in peace, the inability to provide what the victims identified as justice will make them live unsatisfied and untrustworthy for the democratic system practiced in the state for the rest of their lives. Justice, for the victims means peace for the state and if that is not given, the victims will become the next perpetrators of violent.

Coping strategy has become necessary for the victims. For some it entails changing their means of livelihood while to some it demands transgressing their cultural and religious boundaries. This shows the extent that these victims are willing to go to survive. Two of the participants admitted that their means of livelihood has altered and base on their previously held social status, it is challenging for them confronts life squarely. Once, they were providers and financially buoyant and now they are into doing menial jobs and begging as a means of livelihood. In another vein, some of the victims have to transgress their cultural boundaries to survive. Such transgression often comes with stigmatization. In a culture where men are providers and women are socially discouraged to venture into occupation that are masculine oriented, it constitutes a challenge for most women who have lost their husbands and have nobody to provide for them. These women have to go out of their cultural tenets as a means of coping strategy to provide for their families despite the stigmatization.

Conclusion

This research attempted to unmask from the victims' perspective issues associated with victim compensation, perception of justice and the coping strategies victims employ to help them out of their victimization status. In this vein, it provides sincere and unbiased narratives from the victims about the state of their victimization status as opposed to the government or relevant authorities report. Jema'a is a deeply divided local government area of Kaduna state which is polarized along ethno-religious line. This polarization stems from the history of the recurrent conflict that have occurred in the area which area mostly sponsored by competition for political power, economic and religious dominance. Towns like Kafanchan, Matsirga, Takau, have experienced devastating ethno-religious and political crisis while rural areas like Ninte, Bakin-Kogi, Dangoma and Goska where beseeched by the farmers-herders' clashes. Conflicts of this nature are usually brutal and it often leaves large chunk of victims in its aftermath. Many of the victims especially of the 2011 post-election crisis were not adequately compensated and the research found out that the compensation was politicized on the ethno-religious and class basis. The rural victims of the 2016 to 2017 farmers-herders' conflicts were also hardly compensated except for the activities of some NGOs like the Red Cross who provide succor for the victims' plight. The lack of adequate compensation and understanding term from the victim perspective made to conclude that justice is mirage to them and that God will be the judge of everything. Because of their new demeaning status, some have humbled

themselves to seek another means of comfort and survival especially at the expense of societal norms and tradition.

Recommendations

The report of various investigative commission set up by the government should be implanted especially the Kafanchan peace accord which has as one of its mandate the compensation of victims of the 2016 to 2017 farmers-herders' clashes.

Nigeria as a state needs also to have a permanent compensation structures as it is obtained in other countries to provide succor to the poverty and lack created by crisis in some states of the federation especially Kaduna state which has the history of sectarian violence. This compensation institution should be devoid of any ethno-religious bias.

Ranches should be established to curb the movement of cattle from one place to another so as to reduce crop damage and subsequent the victimization of the herders.

Victims should be sensitized on the criminal justice system and should be encourage to take their cases to relevant authorities for compensation and justice and not to take laws into their hands.

The criminal justice system should provide fair hearing to both parties involved in the conflicts and speedy justice should be administer to correct the perception of victims of equal right and justice so as to prevent secondary victimization and reprisal attacks by aggrieved parties.

References

- Abdulbarkindo, A., Alupsen, B & Gloria, C. (2018). *Nigeria: Southern Kaduna and the atrocities of Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen* (May 2016 – September 2017) Vol. 1 Open Doors International World Watch Research Unit. www.opendoorsanalytical.org.
- Agbo, A. (2016).** *Inside The Killing Fields of Southern Kaduna – Part 1*. International Center for Investigative Reporting.
- Blench, R., & Dendo, M. (2003). The Transformation of Conflict Between Pastoralists and Cultivators in Nigeria. Cambridge Cb1 2al United Kingdom. *The Journal Africa*, 2(1),231-242.
- Campbell, R. (2006). Rape survivors' experiences with the legal and medical systems: Do rape victim advocates make a difference? *Violence against Women*, 12, 30-45.
- Campbell, R., & Raja, S. (1999). The secondary victimization of rape victims: Insights from mental health professionals who treat survivors of violence. *Violence and Victims*,14, 261–275.
- Christie, N. (1986). The ideal victim, in E. Fattah (ed.) *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Hentig von, H. (1979). *The criminal and his victim, studies in the sociobiology of crime*. New-York: Anchor Books.
- Human Right Watch. (2011). *Nigeria: Post-Election Violence Killed 800*. Fifth Avenue, 350, 34th Floor, New York, NY 10118-3299 USA.

International Crisis Group(2010). Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict Africa. Report N°168.

International Crisis Group (2017). Herders against Farmers: Nigeria's Expanding Deadly Conflict Africa Report N°252. Brussels, Belgium

Karmen, A. (1990).*Crime Victims: An Introduction to Victimology*. Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

MHRD. (2014). Victimology and Victim Justice Impact of Victimization- Physical and Financial Impact.<http://www.police.windsor.on.ca/services/victim/Pages/Impactof-Crime.aspx>.

Newburn, T. (1993) *The Long-term Needs of Victims: A Review of the Literature*, Home Office Research and Planning Unit Paper no. 80. London: Home Office.

Okpanachi, E. (2011). *Ethno-religious Identity and Conflict in Northern Nigeria: Understanding the Dynamics of Sharia in Kaduna and Kebbi States*. University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Orth, U. (2009). The effects of legal involvement on crime victims' psychological adjustment. In M. E. Oswald, S. Bieneck, & J. Hupfeld-Heinemann (Eds.), *Social psychology of punishment of crime* (pp. 427-442). Chichester, UK: Wiley.

Osagbae, E., & Suberu, T. (2005). *A History of Identities, Violence, and Stability in Nigeria* Queen Elizabeth House, CRISE Working paper, University of Oxford.

Pemberton, A., Frans-Willem W., Marc S. G.,(2008). Evaluating Victims Experiences in Restorative Justice. *British Journal of Community Justice*, 6 (2), 98-119.

Peoples Dailies 31stMarch, 2014 Kaduna 2011 post-election violence: FG budgets N7bn compensation for victims. Access, July 15th, 2018.

Project JUST/2012/JPEN/AG/2949 "Strengthening judicial cooperation to protect victims of crime" financed within the Specific Criminal Justice Program of the European Union.

Van Dijk, J. J. M. (1999). Introducing Victimology. Caring for crime victims: Selected proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Victimology, Amsterdam, 1997. (pp. 112). Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Wemmers, J. M. (1996). *Victims in the criminal justice systems*. Ministry of Justice; Amsterdam: Kugler Publications. — (Studies on crime and justice) ISBN 90-6299-144-0