

Research Article

Interpreting the Complexity of Zamfara Security Challenges: The Ouster of Notorious Buharin Daji and Prospect for Peace

Abdullahi Nuhu Liman and Anas Sani Anka

¹Department of Political Science, Nasarawa State University, Keffi

²Department of History and international Studies, Federal University Gusau
Email: likitafirst@yahoo.com; anasankafugus@gmail.com

Received: Mar 10, 2019

Accepted: Mar 17, 2019

Published: Mar 21, 2019

Abstract: One of the critical dimensions to the security situation in Zamfara State since 2011 is the complexity nature that characterized the entire scenario especially after the collapse of the peace deal that was executed between the government and leadership of the armed bandits late in 2017. With the varying degrees at which ordinary people, the government and indeed security agencies in Zamfara state tries to interpret the security situation at hand, people especially those that are not within the territory of the state found it very difficult to define the actual nature and dimension of the conflict. While many believed the conflict at the inception is a mere misunderstanding between Fulani herders and local farmers, few years in to it, the perception of the people have been changed especially when rustling of public livestock has been allegedly involved.

Keywords: Leadership, peace deal, local farmers.

Introduction

The situation after the end of the 2015 has shifted to a full blown conflict especially when people are indiscriminately killed without mincing whether they owned livestock or not, whether they have the history of an unending conflict with Fulani herders or not,. Danladi (2018). The complexity nature of the security challenges in Zamfara is believed to be one of the contributing factors that make it harder for the government and indeed all other stakeholders to come together in synergy and ends the conflict. Politics has however, played a very dangerous role in making the conflict in Zamfara more complex one. When it started as cattle rustling for instance, opposition politicians take advantage of the situation to politicize their political motives, Abubakar (2018).

More criticisms trailed the security situation in Zamfara with the full blown massacre of lives and properties and alleged attempt by the bandits to establishing parallel authority within the state. As alleged by Senator Marafa, there is total loss of control of security situation by the government of Zamfara state with the new dimension the bandits are operating in the state, they took an authoritative control, over many communities in Zamfara state especially the constituency I represent as they went to an extent of intermediating between disputing parties, they sent an invitation to an accused or personally come to pick an accused to the forest in a broad day light for judgment and moved freely among people with armed and dangerous weapons because the constituted authorities cannot contain their excesses Anka, (2018).

This dramatic turn of event continue to raise a question on the complex nature of the security situation in Zamfara especially with the way majority of the state citizens alleged that, some powerful forces have taken over the conflict similar way the Boko Haram phenomenon went

after the killing of Muhammad Yusuf the sect leader in 2009. This complex situation has resulted to worsening the security situation in the state especially with the recent cases of human kidnapping and abduction and demand for ransom. Yusuf (2018) argued, from January 2018 to date Zamfara state citizens have never being in a state of fear than now hence the bandits have no target, they abducted rich and poor in the state and ransacked rich and poorest communities killing any person sighted.

The objective of this paper is to make an assessment of the factors responsible for the mutli-dynamic complexity of Zamfara conflict. The paper would adopt mixed methodology of field interviews and literature review to ascertain the extent of the complex nature of the situation especially that victims, eye witnesses and survivors are going to share their experiences for the purpose of an academic documentation.

Genesis of Zamfara Conflict: An Over-view

The genesis of Zamfara conflict has been perceived through mixed testimonies as no clear cause is considered strong enough to be the basis of the conflict. For instance, when the conflict started early in 2011, many believed it was a mere retaliation by some groups of organized vigilante on Fulani herders who once destroyed their farmland or those with recorded cases of animal rustling. The most pronounced of this assertion was the attack and murder of some Fulani herders at Chile a community in Dansadau early 2011 and how the scenario sets a dark picture to some other groups of vigilante in the state. As argued by Anka (2014), the scenario at Chile Market where some suspected Fulani persons were arrested and gruesomely murdered by the vigilante groups for alleged involvement in the cattle rustling in 2011 had actually sent a wrong signal to other organized vigilante groups in the neighboring emirates who resorted to adapting similar strategies of killing any Fulani herder that is pointed as cattle rustler.

While the attacks on some targeted Fulani communities persisted, an alleged attempt by the locals to eliminate Fulani and extend their chain of marginalization in both social and economic spheres of lives in the state contributed to the escalation of the conflict. As argued by Ruwa (2018), when the attempt extinction of the Fulani herders started before the 2011, not even the government and communities believed that, the situation can go out of hand. The situation which started along Dansadau axis of the state later spread to almost all parts of Zamfara especially those local governments that shares border with Dansadau-Birnin Gwari forest.

In the views of Tukur (2014), there is not a single settlement in Zamfara state where a Fulani herder can leave peacefully and rear his cattle as they fulanis become a source of wanted killings by the organized vigilante groups. Areas like Rukudawa, Dajin Ajja, Nasarawar Mailayi and Nasarawar Godal in Birnin Magaji as well as Maradun, Gusau, Anka Shinkafi and Zurmi are all victims of this tragedy. Field estimates have shown that, over fifty communities of both Fulani herders and local settlers have been attacked either in the name of reprisal attack or fight against cattle rustlers and armed bandits.

Ruwa (2018) argued, dozens of communities are either attacked or vandalized since 2011 and only very few attacks are pronounced because some attacks are not even made known to the government due to the fear of the unknown. Before the latest peace deal entered in to with the armed bandits in late 2017, there is not an accurate estimation as to the number of towns attacked by these bandits and record of casualties either killed or wounded, but some findings are presented as compiles from the various sources.

Table 1. Some Graphic Pictures of Areas Affected by the Zamfara Conflict Since 2011

S/No		Incident	Casualties
1	February 14 th 2018	Attack on Villagers travelling on Truck to Birane Village	41 people Killed
2	January 18 th 2018	Gun men attack Gora Village in Maradun	6 People Killed, Four wounded and 2 sons of a Federal Legislator abducted
3	September 22 nd 2017	Gun men attack Tsafe Town	An official of FRSC Killed
4	January 26 th 2017	Suspected herdsmen killed one person in Magazu in an attempt to find one Rabo who allegedly stole their Cattle	One Person killed
5	November 19 th 2016	Gun men attacked Dole, Tudun Bugaje and Kwangami Villages in Zurmi	25 People Killed
6	November 18 th 2016	Gunmen Rustle Cattle and abducted people in Maru Local Government	40 People Abducted
7	November 7 th 2016	Gun men Killed Gold Miners at a mining Camp near Gidan Ardo Village in Maru	40 Gold Miners Killed
8	November 6 th 2016	Gun men killed Ten traders from Kanoma Village in Maru Local Government Council	10 people killed
9	May 5 th 2016	Gun men invaded Madada Village RuwanTofa	Number of Casualties not confirmed.
10	February 6 th 2016	Gun men attacked Kwanar Dutse Village in Maru Local government Council	50 people killed, Cattle stole and houses burnt
11	July 2015	Gun men attacked Kokeya and Chigama	Over 30 people killed and hundreds of cattle rustle
12	September 2014	Gun Men Killed people at Akuzo, Zarfarawa, Girke, Kofa, Kundubau, Wonaka, Fura Girke, FeginMahe, Kukar Gwandu, Kanawa Lafiya and Gora Villages	33 People were killed
13	April 6 th 2014	Suspected Gun Men attacked Yargaladima Village of Maru Local government Council	200 People were killed

14	September 30 th 2013	Gun men attacked Buzuzu Village in Bukkuyum Local government Council	3 People were Killed
15	July-September 2013	Summary of people killed and abducted as stated by the State Governor	160 people killed and 10 married women abducted
16	June 18 th 2013	Gun Men attacked Kizara Village In Tsafe	48 People were killed
17	December 14 th 2012	Gun men attacked Rukudawa Village in Zurmi Local government Council	10 members of vigilante o Vigilante were shot dead
18	October 30 th 2012	Gunmen attacked Kaboro Village in Dansadau Maru Local government Council	20 people including the Village Head were killed
19	June 11 th 2012	Gunmen attacked Guru, Dangulbi Sabuwar Kasuwa and Biya Village all in Maru Local government Council	26 people killed
20	May 12 th 2012	Robbers attacked Jangeme Village	Killed four Police men and 2 Children
21	October 3 rd 2011	Gun men attacked Lingyado Village in Maru Local government Council	23 people killed

Sources: Reuters, NTA, BBC, Premium Times, Daily Trust, Leadership, Vanguard, The Street Journal, The Scoop, Nigerian Tribune, Fox News, Africa Review, Information Nigeria, Channels Tv, PM News (2018).

The dynamic natures of this conflict make it absolutely difficult to examine who is the target of these bandits. They killed vigilante members, married women, adult and aged and sphere no one especially that, in the recent times when they invaded communities they shoots sporadically killed and injured any one sighted Labbo (2018). Even the security agencies admitted that, the bandits have no choice target as security personals have become parts of the target. Former Zamfara State Police Commissioner Tambari Yabo confirmed in a press briefing that, the command loss several police officers who are directly attacked on gun points and due to the complex nature of the terrain, security operatives found it difficult to contained their action as they always take people by surprise Sidi (2013).

From 2014 to date, the situation in Zamfara took a very dangerous dimension when it was alleged that the hoodlums take control of deadly weapons that are sophisticated and deadlier than the one used by conventional security operatives including military in the state. I saw with my eyes one of the Fulani bandits was carrying magazine ripple and whenever he fired a shot on the air the atmosphere wrecked like thunder and even if you did not meet them face to face, the sound of their gunshots no doubt scares every reasonable human being Bala (2014).

The sources of the weaponry is also another complex nature of their operation as even security agencies admitted that, their men cannot face these bandits unprepared because of the strong nature of their weapons. C.P Akila Usman Gwaryin 2014 at Yargaladima confirmed that, the police are humans and cannot just be deployed to face these powerful hoodlums without adequate information of the nature of the weapons they are carrying. You have heard the villagers narrating that, the bandits are carrying magazine rifles and we cannot

turn Zamfara to a battle field by expecting police to carry magazine and fight the bandits back, Anka (2014).

Politicians also added in to the complex situation of the conflict as both the supporters of the ruling and opposition political parties resort to using the situation to buy cheap political popularity from the citizens. The opposition People Democratic Party in the state for instance always accused the ruling government of playing low with security challenges at hand. The government of Zamfara is not showing much concern with the unwanted complaints against the government of the PDP at the center. You cannot expect the President to come and instruct the police officers in zamfara to come to Rukudawa or lingyado or Dansadau to fight bandits.

The Governor must cut down unnecessary trips and stay to coordinate the security strategies of his state, Danmaliki (2013). The ruling government always claimed that, the Governor has and indeed the state government has a limit to what it can do to manage the security situation in the state. The governor is only a the Chief Security Officer of the state in line with what the constitution envisaged but he apparently lacks the requisite powers to instruct the security operatives on what to do due to bureaucratic bottleneck Danmadami (2014).

Toward the end of the 2017, the conflict took another complex dimension when cases of human kidnapping and abduction become integral parts of the situation. Between August 2017 to January 2018 not fewer than eighty people are kidnapped including the two sons of the current House Representative Member Alh Chado Yahaya Labbo (2018). Though many people try to ask whether if there is a connection between armed banditry and abduction taking place in Zamfara, Garba (2018) argued, there is stronger connection because hence the bandits have not seen the cattle and sheep to rustle any more, they resort to kidnapping humans to get monies and sustain their operation within the forest.

The Complex Nature of Zamfara Conflict

With the current realities in the state, stakeholders believed, the conflict has taken a complex dimension that makes the situation much difficult to assess. Now the state is battling with four critical issues, cattle rustling armed banditry, human kidnapping and abduction as well as militia.

Cattle rustling refer to the use of force in taking forceful ownership of cattle for the purpose of self-enrichment or enhancing an existing stock Jide (2012). It is normally carried out in rural areas and is targeted at those groups of Fulani people or families that are highly stocked in terms of cattle and other livestock.

Earlier before 2011, cattle rustling have been on existence in Zamfara for years especially along Dansadau and Birnin Gwari forest. It involves many families including hausa settlers losing large stocks of the cattle to these rustlers who normally invaded them in the night and asked them to forcefully surrendered their cattle in substitute to their lives.

The act of rustling in Zamfara especially after 2011 has caused a lot of difficulties for the people of Zamfara as hundreds of Fulani herders had to migrate out of the state after losing significant stocks of their cattle. The situation becomes more pronounced with the extension of the rustling operation to virtually all the communities across Dansadau forest. Though there is no accurate estimation as to the number cattle rustle since this tragedy started in 2009, Bello (2017) captured as follows:

Table 2. Flash Point Areas and Villages that are mostly affected by armed banditry and & Cattle Rustling in Zamfara

S/No	Flash Point Areas	Number of Cattle/Sheep Stolen
1	Kizara	Over 4000 Cows
2	Lilo	90 Cows
3	Shigama and Kwokeya	1,020 Cows and Sheep
4	Gidan Kaso	1,455 Cows
5	Lingyado	Over 2,100 Cows
6	Tsabre	Over 3,500, Cows
7	Rukudawa	250 Cows and Sheep
8	Bagegga	Over 4,500 Cows
9	Unguwar Galadima	350 Cows and 500 Sheep
10	Guru	270 Cows
11	Tungar Baushe	1,100 Cows
12	Yar gada	180 Cows
13	Badarawa	Over 200 Cows
14	Jangeme	Over 600 Cows
15	Madaba	76 Cows
16	Nasarawa Godal	Over 1,000 Cows and Sheep
17	Nasarawa Mailayi	Over 500 Cows and Sheep
18	Dorayi	Over 2,500 Cows
19	Filinga	Over 5,000 Cows

Source MCBAN as cited Bello (2017)

Two factors played very significant roles to the escalation of the conflict since when cases of cattle rustling are first recorded in Zamfara State. The extinctive nature of the state of the grazing reserves in Zamfara influenced the harsh reaction from the Fulani herders. Tukur (2014) argued, every grazing reserve and watering places where Fulani usually carried their livestock for daily routine feeding watering have being forcefully hijacked by the farmers. Not only that the native authorities allegedly connives with the wealthy individuals to allocate large portions of the grazing reserves to them for farming.

Secondly, when the conflict started, government especially the state did not accorded the deserving attention. This is the more reason why when it becomes apparent that government is not ready to contain the situation at hand, people resorted to applying the concept of self-defense by forming organized vigilante groups to protect themselves and their animals. Lawal (2018) argued, when this issues started, not many believed it can lead to a complex situation like the one we are experiencing but today the situation has been hijacked and we are having a sleepless night as citizens of the state.

How has the conflict situation being hijacked by the bandits?. Conflicting accounts have it that, after the massacre in Kizara in 2013 and Yargaladima in 2014 the scenario was assessed to be beyond the ordinary handiwork of cattle rustlers. Mande (2018) argued, when they attacked Kizara and killed over fifty innocent lives, they didn't took a single cattle or sheep. The same thing with the Attack in Yargaladima so it was very clear that, from the late 2013 upward, Zamfara conflict between herders and farmers have been hijacked by what many called the armed bandits. Revelation often revelation, the conflict have been tagged as a bigger one as the government and even the security agencies admitted that, the state is fighting a bigger problem at hand.

While addressing people of Kizara community two days after they were attacked, the state Governor publically declared that, those perpetrating the tragedy of attacking communities and murdering innocent blood are missionaries and they are not the typical Fulani residents of Zamfara state NTA, (2014). In another testimonies while addressing Press Conference three days after the Yargaladima massacre, the State Governor declared that, “based on intelligence report gathered, by the state government, the perpetrators of the Yargaladima communities and indeed previous attacks along Dansadau forest are invaders from the Republic of Chad, adding that even the government doubt the capability of the typical Fulani residing in Zamfara of having capacity to operate magazine rifles and AK47.

Another dynamic factor to the Zamfara conflict is the recent scenario of kidnapping and abduction that follow the banditry. From February 2017 to date not fewer than 200 people are either abducted or kidnapped on return for millions of naira ransom, Garba (2018). With the few cases of abduction at the beginning of 2017, not many citizens of the state believed there is connection between the ongoing banditry and kidnapping. Along Dansadau forest alone Madugu (2018), argued, in a single day, twelve people including three married wives and their eleven and twelve years old daughters were abducted along Dangulbi-Dankurmi axis of Dansadau and the funniest parts of the whole scenario, what they are demanding as ransom, some us have never seen such kinds of money. They subjected our married women abducted to cooking and washing of clothes while some times they resorted to raping them. Jamilu (2018) on the other hand argued that, his two younger brothers were kidnapped in Kurar Mota and they have to sell their only surviving local trucks to raise money and paid for ransom of their abducted family members. To show how serious the scenario is, the suspected bandits invaded communities in Maradun local government area of the state and abducted ten people including the two children of the serving National Assembly legislator Yahaya Chado and demanded for ransom of ten million naira. Malami (2018) argued, when they come they were more than two hundred on motorbikes and started shooting sporadically. That scared every one and went straight to their targeted locations they realized over five million naira from that singular attack based on the money raised by the affected family members.

Again the politics of jurisdiction among the security agencies has been considered critical factor that make the situation of security in Zamfara more complex. Sometimes security forces resorted to game of blames on who is responsible for containing an attack. Many a times, local authorities allegedly blamed security operatives for failing to act in spite of the timely signal passed on to them. After the attack on some communities in Anka Emirate for instance, the local authorities alleged that, they have passed early notice to the security agencies particularly police on the planned attack but they have failed to act and curtail the excesses of these bandits.

The traditional ruler of Anka Alh Attahiru Ahmad declared, “we have received the notice of their possible coming and we communicated to the appropriate security agencies especially the police and military but we have not seen positive response from them and now we are left with a very critical situation at hand, we have lost potential lives and our people are being put to constant fear. Again, the absence of synergy between these security operatives has always been an issue of concern. Police military and officials of the state security services always disagreed especially when the public complaints of their non-pro-active approach in curtailing attacks is becoming persistent. After the Birane attack for instance, the Emir of Zurmi alleged that, non-proactive response from the police and other sister security agencies make the attack on Birane a successful one by the bandits. They did not respond till when situation is out of hand. NTA (2018).

Another issue of concern is the difficult nature of the terrain which the bandits operated, conventional security agencies always found it difficult to manage conflict situation along these dangerous forest of Dansadau due to its difficult nature and non-accessibility. CP Akila Gwary a former Commissioner of Police once declared “it is very difficult for our officers and men to manage and fight these bandits along the Dansadau forest due to difficult nature of the terrain. The forest shares border with Kaduna, Kebbi, Niger, Katsina and Sokoto and these bandits knows every parts of the forest and from wherever you pursued them they have multiple number of exit routes NTA (2014). Not only that, the forest is not motor able due to absence of good road network. Gwary argued, “ whenever we received signal of an attack we find it difficult to responds instantly because some of these villages are more than five hundred kilometers away from the main road and sometimes our operational vehicles could not reach the targeted location and our men have to resort to using motorbikes even where they are available, NTA (2014). Beyond these challenges, absence of communication is also another problems and complexity in managing the Zamfaar conflict. Gwary argued, sometimes it took the locals hours to reach out to the security personals when attack by the bandits is launch or is about to be launched. The forest is not connected to mobile network and sometimes we received signals very late NTA (2014).

Inadequacy of the security personals also contributed to the complexity of the conflict. You find out in a community where there are more than two thousand people only one police officer is deployed to manage security in the area. When attack on people of Kango was launched in 2013, they came over two hundred of them with dangerous weapons and killed over twenty five people and the only police corporal attached to the outpost has to hide for his safety hence he lacks the powers to confront them Garba (2018). Similar scenario happened during the Yargaladima attack. When the invaders came to launched attacked and succeeded in killing over two hundred of our people, there is no a single police officer in the village and even where there he does not dare confront them hence their weapons are more sophisticated than that of the police Aliyu (2018).

Lastly the political dimension at which politicians in the state took the whole matter for political ball-game make it difficult for both the citizens and the security agencies to comprehend the better way to manage the conflict in the state. When the attack on people of Yargaladima was launched, Senator Saidu Muhammad Dansadau openly declared that he was the one who instructed the people to take arms and protect themselves hence the government has failed to provide adequate security for the people many saw his declaration as politically motivated hence he is looking for cheap popularity among people of his constituency. The then state Commissioner for Information Ibrahim Birnin Magaji declared “he is not concern about the lives of the people of Zamfara and this is why he is conspiring with the enemies of the state to turn Zamfara to a theater of war.

Dan Madami (2014). Early 2018, Senator Kabiru Marafa came up with his new forms of criticisms against the government of Zamfara state when he declared that, State of emergency be enforced in Zamfara hence the state government has failed to provide security for its people. His passion in popularizing the issues at the floor of the National Assembly attracted reactions from the loyalists of the state government who promised to knocking his political carriers ahead of the 2019 elections The Maru Council Chairman Salisu Isah Dangulbi declared “ the utterances by Senator Kabiru Marafa against the government of Abdulazeez Yari is a clear testimony of his dislike for the government of Zamfara and indeed the people of Zamfara and he will be forced to pay for his action hence we would make sure that we have knocked his political carrier ahead o the 2019 elections.

The Murder of Notorious Bandit Buharin Daji: how it happened?

Killing of the notorious Zamfara armed bandit Buharin Daji has been considered as the most critical set back in the government's efforts to curtailing the conflict in the state. Buharin Daji is one of the most powerful head of the armed bandits operating along Zamfara Birnin Gwary forest. Buhari earlier than his recent involvement in the Zamfara conflicts used to be a peaceful person as many alleged as he inter mingled with people peacefully. Bala (2018) argued, we used to see him during market days at Dansadau and Dankurmi. We prayed together and he has never being involved in any crises until after 2011 when his attitude changes. The name Buharin Daji was coined by the residents of the state. It means "Buhari of the Forest", His name is Buhari Tsoho and of Fulani extraction. He was born and brought up at Dandundum village in Maru local government area of Zamfara state Shehu (2018).

His popularity becomes pronounced with the open attacks and killings he masterminded along Dansadau forest since 2012. Labbo (2018) argued, mention the name Buharin Daji to a typical child of Magami, Dankurmi, Dansadau and villages around Dansadau up to Birnin Gwary forest I believed he can tell you who Buharin Daji was. He has killed innocent lives and makes living almost difficult for hundreds of thousands of people who exited Zamfara for their safety.

His influence becomes highly popularized at the pick level of this conflict when government recognizes his leadership role by entering in to a peace deal with his camp. As reported by Shehu (2018), the government had in 2016 engaged him in a peace talk. He agreed to cease hostilities but later reneged. With the collapse of the peace deal Buharin Daji entered with the government, several communities were attacked in a renewed violence allegedly masterminded by Buhari Tsoho. Sani narrated "we have suffered enough as people. He was a brutal character and seems not caring about the plight of our communities. He attacked so many villages and rustled thousands of cows. I lost about 200 cows to his gang in the last four year, Shehu (2018). Earlier than his recent pronounced killing by the government of Zamfara state, previous operations on the bandits camp in the state indicated that, Buhari was killed but after some times he resurfaced. Bala (2018) argued, "this is the third time they are announcing that, Buharin Daji is dead and even now many believed it may not be true. Not more than six months it was reported that, he was killed but Buhari is still make an issue and he resurfaced abruptly.

The recent news of his killing occurred after he had an issue with his second in command one "Dogo Gide". The cause of the murder of Buhari comes after the deceased allegedly rustled cattle belonging to the family relations of Dogo-gide. Shehu (2018) argued, the relationship between Dogo Gode and Buharin Daji went sour after the former renounced armed banditry. This according source did not go well with the Buharin Daji who raided Gide's In-laws settlement and rustled their cattle. The action of Buharin Daji did not go well with Dogo Gide and after several pleas to return the cattle by Gide failed, he allegedly plan a meeting with Buharin Daji and take advantage of the plan to kill Buhari.

Shehu (2018) argued, having perfected the plan, Dogo Gide had warned his boys against disclosing the plan to anyone. When they arrived in the forest for the meeting, Buharin Daji saw a pistol with Dogo Gide and asked if he could help supply to his boys. At this point, Dogo Gide went closer to Buharin Daji and suddenly fired shots at his neck and chest. Though the development triggered reaction as Buhari's boys attempted to take revenge, Shehu (2018) argued, Dogo-Gide's boys started firing at their targets and killed about 24 of Buharin Daji's associates and left.

The aftermath of the Murder of Buharin Daji and Prospect for peace

Majority of Zamfara citizens received the news of the murder of Buharin Daji with high spirit of compassion admiring that, peace has return to Zamfara state. The reasons for the perception may not be unconnected with the facts that, hence Buhari as gang leader is dead, majority of his associates who may not be well organized and well-connected like Buhari may not be able to wear his shoe and sustain the carnage.

Bashir (2018) argued, we hope the murder of Buhari would serve as lesson for the other bandits to repent and re-unite with the good people of Zamfara state and also for the government to renew sincerity in ending the conflict and killings in Zamfara state. But beyond this types of hope many questions triggered as to whether the killing of Buhari Tsoho may the beginning of sustainable peace in Zamfara state?. Bashir (2018), argued, government should not think the murder of Buhari Tsoho can end the conflict in the state hence Buhari is only a leader of a factional gang and we have seen what the murder of Muhammad Yusuf the leader of the Boko Haram sect has caused the nation hence the conflict was renewed and I am sure the Nigerian government has regretted killing of Muhammad Yusuf.

For me I am not praying but I doubt if the situation may not escalate. Not only that, Usman (2018) argued, Buhari is not the only leader of the bandits hence information had it that, Dogo Gide is also a factional leader of the other group and they are as dangerous as Buhari camp. And we have seen renewed violence even after the ouster of Buhari. Our situation in Zamfara is beyond Buhari Tsoho alone as government needs to address the real cause of the problem.

Days after the murder of Buhari, communities in parts of Maru, Anka, Bungudu and Tsafe suffered another sets of violent attacks from these bandits as hardly a day passes without a community in Zamfara being attacked and innocent people brutally murdered. Usman (2018) argued, a day after the dead body of Buharin Daji was brought at the State government house, a community in Maru was attacked and over ten people were killed. Two days after they attacked Kango and later Dankurmi and killed over fourty people.

Though many people perceived that, this may happened, the calls for the intervention of the United Nations to intervene in the Zamfara massacre by the Emir of Zamfara Alh Attahiru Muhammad Ahmad has caused a renewed fear among the citizens that the security situation in Zamfara even after the killing of Buhari may likely be worst than before. Muhammad (2018) argued, if a whole Emir feels his territory is lost to the terrorist and armed bandits then every citizens of Zamfara state most lost hope that, peace may not return quicker. Dozens of communities have been violently attacked by the Buhari Tsoho associates and this may be a reprisal against his killing. Below is the graphic summary of the communities attacked in Zamfara state since when the murder of Buhari Tsoho was announced.

Table 3. Number of Communities Attacked after the Murder of Buharin Daji

S/No	Month	Incident	Local Government	Number of Death Recorded
1	March 2018	Attack on Bingi Communiites	Maru	12 people
2	March 2018	Bindin and two other neighbouring communities were attacked	Maru	8 People
3	March 2018	Sabon Birni Community was	Anka	3 People

		attacked		
4	March 2018	Attack on Dankurmi Community	Maru	6 People
5	April 2018	Kurukur/Jar kuka Communities were attacked	Anka	16 People
6	April 2018	People of Bawar Daji Community were attacked	Anka	14 People
7	April 2018	Another attack on Mourners at Bawar Daji at the cemetery	Anka	2 People
8	April 2018	Attack on the People of Kango Community	Bungudu	10 People
9	April 2018	Gwoza Community was attacked		16 People
10	April 2018	People of Kulu-Kulu Community were attacked	Anka	4 People
11	April 2018	People of Tokwa were attacked		6 People
12	April 2018	People of Kabaro and Dan-Manau were attacked		16 People
13	May 2018	People of Gora Community were attacked	Maradun	3 People
14	May 2018	People of Fankashi Village were attacked		16 People
15	May 2018	Over thirty people were kidnapped in Kaura-Namoda	Kaura-Namoda	Over 35 People

Source: As compiled from the Field

With these types of development, some citizens are of the opinion that, not killing of Buharin Daji alone can bring an end to this negative development and instead a true peace deal needs to be negotiated with both camps and government needs to be responsive to perfecting the terms of the peace agreement. As argued by Malami (2018), in my own opinion, no matter who you killed you cannot bring an end to this unwanted killings except the cause root of this whole security challenges are addressed. The government needs to revive grazing reserves, cattle routes, and provides reliable watering places for the herders. Also policies toward reconstruction and rehabilitation of the affected communities and victims for live support need to be reshuffle to align them in tune with the overall interest of the majority. The politics between the state government and opposition politicians like Senator Kabiru Marafa and Senator Saidu Mohd Dansadau is also another dimension that may not allow peace back to Zamfara state especially with the emerging political development that seems to sideline the political future of the Senator Kabiru Marafa. Bashir (2018) argued, from the outcome of the ward and local congresses across the state and with the frustration Senator Kabiru Garba Marafa suffered in the hand of the current government of Abdulazeez Yari indication has shown that, Senator Kabiru Garba Marafa may implore all options of exposing some hidden issues regarding the identity of the bandits and those behind them. Senator Dansadau factor may also be an additional reason why achieving sustainable peace may be difficult in Zamfara state even with the murder of Buahari Tsoho. Bashir (2018) argued, Senator Dansadau is closely related to the victims of this banditry, he enjoyed their support and most likely they may use the security challenges in the state for campaign. They have already started and from all indication their utterances might caused an extended tension for among the people of the state.

Conclusion

From the discussion so far, it is evidently clear that, the complex nature of the security situation in Zamfara has become a source of concern every step taken to end the conflict lead to another development that increases tension among the people of the state. Contrary to the perception of those in the government and even the security agencies, that the murder of Buharin Daji may bring an end to the insecurity situation in the state, emerging scenarios as captured in this research has shown that the killings may likely go unabated.

Conflicts of interest: The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

References

1. Abubakar Yusuf. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident and Survivor Interview Conducted at his resident in Dansadau Village Maru Local Government Area, 22nd. April/ 2018.
2. Aliyu, L. 2018. Aged 40, Local Resident and Survivor Interview Conducted at his resident in Faru Village Maradun Local Government Area, 6th. April/ 2018.
3. Anka, A.S. 2014. News Report aired on Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) Gusau, Tuesday 26th August 2014.
4. Bala, M. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident Interview Conducted in Daki Takwas Town Gummi Local Government Area, 3rd. June/ 2018.
5. Bashir, L. 2018. Aged, 47, Local Resident and Survivor, Interview Conducted at his resident in Dangulbi Village Maru Local Government Area, 22nd. April/ 2018.
6. Danladi. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident and Survivor Interview Conducted at his resident in Dansadau Village Maru Local Government Area, 22nd. April/ 2018.
7. Danmadami, I.M. 2014. Live Radio Phone In Programme conducted at Zamfara State Radio & Television Services, 14th August 2014.
8. Garba, A. 2018. Aged 42, Local Resident and Survivor Interview Conducted at his resident in Faru, Maradun Local Government Area, 6th April/ 2018.
9. Labbo, U. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident Interview Conducted in Daki Takwas Town Gummi Local Government Area, 3rd/June 2018.
10. Lawal, 2018. Aged 57, Local Resident and Survivor Interview Conducted at his resident in Dankurmi Village Maru Local Government Area, 22nd. April/ 2018.
11. Malami, G. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident and Survivor, Interview Conducted at his resident in Nasarawar Mailayi Village Birnin Magaji Local Government Area, 11th. April/ 2018.
12. Mande. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident and Survivor Interview Conducted at his resident in Dangulbi Village Maru Local Government Area, 22nd. April/ 2018.
13. Muhammad, M. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident and Eye Witness, Interview Conducted at his resident in Wuya Village Anka Local Government Area, 2nd. June/ 2018.
14. Ruwa, N. 2018. Aged 65, Local Resident Interview Conducted at his resident in Kasuwar Daji Towne Kaura-Namoda Local Government Area, 22nd. May/ 2018.
15. Shehu, U. 2018. Will Death of Buharin Daji End Banditry in Zamfara?, (Online Version), Daily Trust, retrieved from www.dailytrust.com, 19th April 2018.

16. Sidi, K. 2018. Aged 45, Local Resident, Interview Conducted at his resident in Magami Village Maru Local Government Area, 22nd. May/ 2018.
17. Tukur, A. 2014. Aged 56 ,Chairman, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, Zamfara State, Interview Conducted at the State Government House Gusau, 13th. August/ 2014.
18. Usman, Z. 2018. Aged 52, Local Resident and Public Affairs Commentator Interview Conducted at Birane Village Anka Local Government Area, 2nd. June / 2018.

Citation: Abdullahi Nuhu Liman and Anas Sani Anka. 2019. Interpreting the Complexity of Zamfara Security Challenges: The Ouster of Notorious Buharin Daji and Prospect for Peace. International Journal of Recent Innovations in Academic Research, 3(3): 174-186.

Copyright: ©2019 Abdullahi Nuhu Liman and Anas Sani Anka. This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.