

The pattern of ethnic prejudice against Fulani in ORFA and Steven Kefas's writing (Section 1); with scholarly research showing multiple ethnic groups perpetrate violence (Sections 2 and 3).

Compiled by Mary Crickmore, Whole Truth Nigeria, June 26, 2026

1. ORFA publications that show ethnic bias

The four articles below are by Steven Kefas, naming and blaming the Fulani ethnic group without recognition of the role other ethnic vigilantes play in cycles of violence.

- a) The Illusion of Progress: Mapping Nigeria's Deteriorating Security Landscape, ORFA Web Production 1 On May 29, 2025 By Steven Kefas or Observatory for Religious Freedom in Africa (ORFA)

"The security situation in Kaduna and some states in the North West tell a story of adaptation rather than elimination. Local government areas such as Kajuru, Chikun, Kauru, and Kaura have experienced a shift from mass casualty attacks to targeted kidnappings.

This tactical shift suggests that while dispersed FEM [Fulani Ethnic Militia] bandits from the North West have successfully infiltrated Kaduna state, they currently lack the coordination and capacity for large-scale attacks. Instead, they have pivoted to kidnapping for ransom operations, which require fewer resources while still generating funding and spreading terror."

"The Berom Youth Moulders Association's recent press statement raises alarming concerns about [threats](#) of future attacks."

(Mary's note: Berom vigilantes have made multiple attacks on Fulani non-combatants. Here the Berom are portrayed as victims. There is also deliberate lumping of criminal kidnapping for ransom with activity of ethnic militias, but these are two separate things.)

- b) How Fulani Militias Became Nigeria's Deadliest Group While Escaping Global Notice, ORFA Web Production 1 On July 14, 2025 By Steven Kefas

"The ORFA data suggests that Nigeria is experiencing what amounts to a slow-motion genocide in its Middle Belt, with **one ethnic militia group** (*my emphasis*) systematically targeting civilian populations based on religion and ethnicity."

"Until global monitoring systems adapt to capture the full spectrum of political violence, groups like the Fulani militias will continue to operate in the shadows, leaving devastation in their wake while escaping the accountability that comes with international recognition and response."

- c) Captivity by Creed: The Religious Sorting System Nobody Talks About ORFA Web Production 1 On May 29, 2026 By Steven Kefas

“The terrorists conveniently called bandits by the media had a rule. They stated it plainly, in the open, in front of their captives: Fulani people would not be taken. They were brothers. Christians and certain Muslims majorly non-Fulani were fair game.”

- d) Who Is Behind the Violence in Northern Nigeria? ORFA Web Production 1 On May 29, 2026

By Steven Kefas

“The violence in northern Nigeria is not random or faceless. Field research consistently points to identifiable armed groups, predominantly of Fulani origin”

The following article had no by-line, but has similar language blaming Fulani.

- e) Mass killings, abductions and torture of whole families go largely unchallenged as military pursue targets hundreds of miles away, finds four-year data project ORFA August 29, 2024

“Researchers at the Observatory of Religious Freedom in Africa recorded over 55,000 killings and mapped thousands of farm massacres and mass abductions in a four-year period, including in Nigeria’s fragile North Central Zone and Southern Kaduna. A little-known terror group, the Fulani Ethnic Militia or FEM, commit mass killings hundreds of times a year through this region.”

“Across the North-Central zone and Southern Kaduna – where hundreds of FEM atrocities occur – there is markedly little security engagement at the scene of attacks.”

“**The Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM)**, an ethno-religious terror group, are considered by many security experts to be a ‘twin’ of Islamists killing and kidnapping civilians in Northern Nigeria”

2. Scholarly research on the Kaduna conflict (noted in ORFA articles and Kefas’s home area)

- a) A Review of Ethnic Conflict in Kaduna State, Nigeria Mustapha Salihu MSc. Conflict, Peace and Strategic Studies, Department of Political Science, Nile University Abuja, Nigeria. Published: August 22, 2019 Volume-2, Issue-8, August-2019: 14-28
International Journal of Current Innovations in Advanced Research

“in the case of Kaduna ethnic conflict, there is multiple literature available on the issue (Lukat, 2016; WANEP, 2018b; Uroko, 2018), with varying degrees of accounts both factual, neutral, and bias as evident in the work of (Adamu et al. 2017). For instance, while some of these writings were able to adequately analyze the problem from objective point of view, others could not do justice to the problem as they adopted somewhat value-laden approach in favor of either Muslim or Christian communities of Kaduna State, thereby contaminating their analysis with bias. In political and sociological analysis, value-free approach and objectivity are the watchwords (Henslin, 2009). However, some researchers are violating this ethic even in studying empirical problems like the

Kaduna conflict. For instance, in their narrations of the ethnic conflict in Kaduna State, Adamu et al. (2017: 3) gave the following account:

In 1987, violence erupted in the College of Education Kafanchan where Christians were attacked by Muslims over an alleged misrepresentation and interpretation of the Quran. The violence soon extended to Zaria, Kaduna, Katsina, Ikara and other places. Hundreds of Christians were killed, churches were burnt and property worth millions destroyed. In 1992, Zangon Kataf was twice engulfed in violent clashes where indigenous Christians of Atyap community were attacked by Muslims residents over the relocation and opening of the market on the outskirts of the town in May of 1992... The conflict spread to many cities and towns within the state including Kafanchan. The most recent violent conflict in Southern Kaduna occurred in May 2016 where Christians (mostly farmers) were attacked by Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen.

The above narrative is replete with bias, because it is not only an indicative of interpolation, based on many studies that proved otherwise (Luka, 2016; Uroko, 2018; WANEP, 2018a; WANEP, 2018b); but it is illogical to claim that an ethnic minority can initiate conflict where it is not the dominant ethnic group. In other words, there are two falsifiable statements: first, the crises started in southern Kaduna; second, the conflict extended to other parts of Kaduna, particularly northern part, such as Zaria. Since Kafanchan was the place the conflict first erupted, and it is situated in the southern Kaduna, where the Muslims are the minority, it is illogical to claim that the Muslims were the ones who ignited or initiated the conflict. People are rational actors and they venture into action if they rationalize and perceive that they can gain rather than lose.

It is not conceivable that Muslims can provoke a conflict where they lack strength, just like the Christians cannot provoke conflict in the northern Kaduna, where Muslims are the dominant ethnic. Also, if Adamu et al. (2017) stated that the conflict started in Zaria and then extended to Kafanchan, it will sound reasonable to blame Muslims as the culprits for all the conflicts in Kaduna, but they could not turn the story upside down, though they ended up exonerating one group and laying the whole blame on the other. Since the Zaria and other northern Kaduna areas crises followed that of the southern Kaduna, it is very likely that the former is more of a reprisal attack.”

b) Natural Resource Conflict in Southern Kaduna State of Nigeria
Ja’afar, A. A. Zankan, Hassan, A. Abdul, Hussain, A. Abdul, Augustine, T.
Shat J, Isaac, Martins, E. Shuka, Gabriel, M. Rien, Mohammad, Y. Abubakar, & George, S.
Tagwai *OSR Journal of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 25, Issue 12, Series 5 (December. 2020) 08-20 e-ISSN: 2279-0837, p-ISSN: 2279-0845.*
www.iosrjournals.org

“The degradation of the natural resources (vegetation, water and land) occur due to increase in human population and the need for the expansion of farmland and houses have led to the shrinking of the available land for grazing by herders, and the struggle for survival has led to conflicts between herders and farmers, farmers and farmers, herders and herders and communal clashes among others.

Land problem or other resource control has led to communal disputes in many places in Nigeria more especially the southern Kaduna that has diverse ethnic groups. Example of this is the clashed between Kariyo vs Kwagiri communities in Jema'a local government, Atyap vs Hausa/Fulani and Bajju vs Ikulu in Zangon-Kataf local government. Most of the crises happened due to claiming of ownership of land but degenerates later into religious fight because of the belief (religion) of the participants."

3. Other research demonstrating that many ethnic communities have perpetrated violence over the long-term including against Fulani

Many of these researchers point to the policies of Britain in colonial rule which favored competition based on ethnicity, and to current Nigerian practice of discriminating by ethnicity against "settlers" to favor "indigenes," as root causes of violence.

Northern Nigeria

- a) "INDIGENE/SETTLER AND ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: CAUSES AND DIMENSIONS" Aishatu Ahmed Aliyu & Mohammed Isah Shehu, Department of General Studies The Federal Polytechnic, Bauchi, International Journal Of Advanced Studies In Ecology, Development And Sustainability - Volume 2, Number 1 January, 2014 Website: <http://www.internationalpolicybrief.org> ISSN (electronic): 1741-8771 ISSN (print): 1741-8763

"The Jos, Kaduna and Tafawa-Balewa indigene/settler and religious conflict has been the longest in the history of Nigeria for its constant recurrence. More so, Kaduna and Plateau States have the worst records of ethno-religious and or indigene/settler conflicts resulting in deaths of thousands of people and properties worth billions of naira lost over the time."

"competitive partisan political activities are being used as avenues through which groups are exploited, identities rigidly reinforced, often infused with excessive religiosity. Violent youth gangs militias are formed and armed, and ethnic tensions and conflicts are thereby facilitated"

Plateau State

- b) "Can Two Wrongs Make A Right? Herders and Farmers Conflicts on the Plateau: The Study of Barkin Ladi Local Government Area, 2001-2018" Journal of Social Service and Welfare Volume 1, Issue 3, 2019, PP 21-32 ISSN 2642-8423 Journal, Cinjel Nandes Dickson Ph.D*, Ugwoke Chikaodilli Juliet Ph.D *University of Nigeria, UNN, Nigeria*
- c) " 2023 Christmas Eve Attack in Bokkos Local Government Area of Plateau State: Dynamics, Impact and Policy Suggestions" Vahyala Adamu Tari, PhD* & Chinge Ayuba Dodo, PhD Department of Political Science, Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil-

Kano e-mail: vahyalatariadamu@gmail.com FUDMA International Journal of Social Sciences (FUDIJOSS) Vol. 5, No. 1 April, 2025 ISSN: 2735-9522 (Print) ISSN :2735-9530 (Online)

Taraba State

- d) The History of Socio-Cultural and Political Violence in Takum Local Government Area, Taraba State (1800-2022) Surv. Asanarimam Shinge Araen, Copyright ©2022 Araen Asanarimam Shinge Lissam Cell phone: +2347063440190 E-mail: asaaraens@gmail.com

Benue State

- e) The Moral Economy of the Agatu “Massacre”: Reterritorializing Farmer-Herder Relations Cletus Famous Nwankwo, 2016:
<https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC10243266/> Department of Geography, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria

Nigeria overall

- f) IMPACT OF CITIZEN/SETTLER IMBROGLIO ON THE SURVIVAL OF THE NIGERIAN STATE GHAZZALI MUHAMMAD SAIDU, mallamgalgal@gmail.com Federal College of Education, Zaria., Adjunct [Impact of Citizen Settler Imbroglion on the Survival of the Nigerian State](#)
- g) Ethnic/ Religious Insurgencies and Nation-Building In Nigeria Egharevba, M.E. Ph.D. & Iruonagbe, C.T. Ph.D. Department of Sociology, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State, Email: matthew.egharevba@covenantuniversity.edu.ng
tunde.iruonagbe@covenantuniversity.edu.ng, International Affairs and Global Strategy ISSN 2224-574X (Paper) ISSN 2224-895 1 (Online) Vol. 29, 2015

“The paper concludes with the recommendation that employing constructive non-violent dialogue and demanding accountability from leadership in all spheres of life and authority will go a long way in addressing socioeconomic challenges faced in the country”

- h) FEDERALISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION: THE INDIGENE/ SETTLER DICHOTOMY IN NIGERIA Auwalu Musa, MPA , and Yusuf Abdullahi Manu, Department of Political Science, Federal University Dutse, Jigawa State *Sokoto Journal of the Social Sciences Vol. 3: No.1, June 2013* 57

“the government needs to bring all the stakeholders (in all the areas of communal conflicts) together with a view to reaching an understanding and a framework to which all can commit them in finding a lasting solution to peace in the country.”