

Briefing Note



**Sexual Enslavement
Of
Displaced Women
From The Lake Chad Conflict
Through
The Gidan Drama System**

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1. Summary

Since 2009, the Boko Haram War has raged unabated in Northeast Nigeria and the wider Lake Chad region. Millions of men, women and children have been displaced by the conflict. Faced with the loss of livelihoods, insufficient humanitarian assistance, and a lack of opportunities, many women and girls in Northeast Nigeria are vulnerable to the lures of human trafficker networks centred around entertainment centres colloquially known as Gidan Dramas, particularly in Southern Nigeria and neighbouring West African countries. Women and girls trafficked by these networks from the Northeast down south, are enslaved and subjected to enforced prostitution, physical and psychological abuse.

To tackle this problem, the international community must:

1. Pursue more research into the depth and spread of this ecosystem
2. Pursue more research into understanding the intersection between crime, corruption and destabilising non state armed groups in Nigeria.
3. Expand the resources devoted to combating sexual violence in armed conflict(SVIC), especially sexual exploitation of displaced persons in the camps and host communities in the Lake Chad region, through advocacy and education.

4. Expand cooperation with aid agencies and local authorities to ensure humanitarian aid is reaching the vulnerable populations it is intended for.
5. Expand cooperation with local law enforcement to strengthen anti-corruption and combat trafficking, especially cross border trafficking.
6. Identify and sanction kingpins of criminal networks involved in the enslavement and trafficking of displaced persons within the Gidan Drama system, local government officials known to be corrupted by pay offs from the kingpins and cartels, plus local government officials involved in aid diversion.

For the Nigerian government we recommend:

1. A greater investment in accountability in government agencies overseeing aid distribution in the Northeast and North Central regions.
2. Pursuing more research into understanding the scale of criminal ecosystems fueling conflict within Nigeria, and responsible for enslaving displaced women and girls
3. Cooperate with neighbouring states to tackle the cross border drug trade and trafficking of persons.
4. Create and implement a national action plan to tackle sexual violence in armed conflict
5. Develop and implement a national action plan to dismantle the criminal ecosystem centred around Gidan Dramas.

2. Background

The decision to produce this briefing note, was informed by reports GICS personnel were receiving during field work on other projects, about the existence of networks involved in the trafficking of displaced women and girls from the Lake Chad area, to centres in Lagos and Ogun States (and other parts of Southern Nigeria), through the guise of the Gidan Drama system. These reports is along with other cities on the West African coast with resident Hausa-speaking trading communities.

The field research that went into producing this briefing note was commissioned in the middle of 2018, and was concluded by the end of December that year.

During the course of the above period, our researchers conducted interviews in Lagos, Ogun, Kano, Abuja, Nassarawa and Kaduna States, plus the Nigerian-Republic of Benin border. Our researchers also paid physical visits to some of the Gidan Dramas in the above states.

Several hundred people were interviewed for this note including, displaced women and girls currently enslaved in Gidan Drama centres in Southern Nigeria, formerly enslaved women and girls who had escaped the system, traffickers, scouts, Gidan Drama operators, patrons of these establishments, and relevant government officials. In addition, we interviewed workers in Gidan Drama centres, enforcers in the various cartels, drug traffickers, small time drug dealers, and other criminal networks in the areas of these Gidan Dramas albeit not involved with the Gidan Drama ecosystem.

Particular emphasis was placed on the networks surrounding the Gidan Dramas in Ogere Remo in Ikene Local Government Area, Ogun State; Agumalu, Apapa, Lagos State; Idi-Araba, Lagos; and Alaba-Rago, Lagos.

3. Introduction

Gidan Dramas[1] are places in settlements across Northern Nigeria and in Hausa-speaking neighbourhoods in Southern Nigeria and the West African coast where travelling or local dance and theatre troupes are supposed to put on performances to entertain local audiences.

In addition to providing entertainment for locals, Gidan Dramas were also initially portrayed as feeder banks for the Hausa language movie industry based in Kano, in Northwestern Nigeria. Ostensibly, the idea was that aspiring movie stars, seeking access to the Hausa film industry (also called Kannywood), would first enter into the Gidan Drama centres as dancers, actresses etc and hope to get noticed by movie producers who were expected to visit these places. However from the early days[2], Gidan Dramas developed a reputation for being centres for trade in sex.

From the late 2000s[3] the Gidan Drama system exploded out of the Kano-Kaduna area and spread across Northern Nigeria, before making its appearance in Hausa-speaking communities in Southern Nigeria.

Along with the music and the theatre came the prostitution and pimping, until by 2018, the newer Gidan Dramas were known to be mostly havens of prostitution, and drugs, with a thin veneer of sexualised dramas and dance displays (in a local take on strip dance clubs).

Women and girls seeking stardom, in desperate financial situations from across Northern Nigeria followed to perform in these new Gidan Dramas, with plans to return back home after a few months with earnings saved. Many of these women have not been able to fulfill those wishes as they found themselves trapped by Gidan Drama owners and their enforcers.

The outbreak of inter-communal crises in Plateau State in North Central Nigeria in the mid 2000s^[4], led to the displacement of people affected by the fighting, including women and girls who soon found themselves recruited/lured by scouts with offers of slots to perform at Gidan Dramas in Southern Nigeria. These women and girls soon found themselves trafficked to destinations other than those they had agreed to go to, where they were impressed into working as sex-workers cum strippers cum dancers/performers.

By 2012, when the wave of the displaced women and girls available to be trafficked and sold to Gidan Dramas in Southern Nigeria, was slowing down, the Boko Haram conflict raging in the Lake Chad region was picking up steam, uprooting millions of people from their homes in Northeast Nigeria (the epicentre of the conflict), Diffa Region in neighbouring Niger Republic, Chad, and Northern Cameroon.

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4. The Victims, The Networks And Recruitment

The Victims

For this note, we interviewed fifty women and girls from displaced by the conflict in the Lake Chad area, from Northeast Nigeria, Diffa in Niger Republic, and Northern Cameroon, who have been pressed into sexual slavery and prostitution, and are currently in Gidan Dramas in Lagos, Ogun, and Kaduna States. Forty of these girls were in Lagos and Ogun, and the final ten were in Kaduna State where they were working for traffickers in preparation for shipment to Lagos, the Republic of Benin and Togo. This was in addition to thirty women and girls who had escaped the Gidan Drama ecosystem, and whom we interviewed for this note.

We also interviewed twelve girls displaced from the inter-communal conflicts in Plateau, Nassarawa and Taraba States, trafficked and enslaved in Kano, Kaduna, Lagos and Ogun States. Finally, we interviewed five girls from Sokoto and Zamfara States in Nigeria, and the area around Tungajado.

A village in the Republic of Niger on the border with Nigeria's Kebbi State, all abducted by armed militias that terrorise rural settlements in those areas[5] and then sold to traffickers in Lagos.

These girls were between the ages of 16 and 25 with the majority of them in their late teens. From the time they were lured into the system to when we interviewed them, they had spent between nine months (for the person with the least time spent), and six years(for the person with the most time).

While a majority of the girls interviewed were Muslim(55 girls), a minority were Christian girls(12 girls), displaced from conflicts in Northeast and North Central Nigeria. Although several of these girls had given birth during their stay[6] in the Gidan Drama system, most of them reported being forcefully made to take pills to prevent pregnancy, in addition to having abortions performed on them when they got pregnant.

None of the girls interviewed was literate in any language, or had any sort of formal schooling. Asked about their families, each one individually responded that their family members have no idea where they currently are, and they (I.e the girls) are not allowed to leave to visit their relatives, nor are they allowed to develop friendships with clients they have commercial sexual relations with.

The Networks

The Gidan Drama ecosystem involved in the trafficking and forced sexual exploitation of women and girls displaced by conflicts in Nigeria and the Lake Chad region, is made up of a series of overlapping networks, whose primary operations centre around the the Gidan Dramas. These networks separately focus on the actual recruitment and trafficking, the sexual slavery in the Gidan Dramas, and the trade in opioids and other narcotics around the Gidan Drama centres.

The trafficking networks from -what was observed in the scope of this note- are mostly centred around Maiduguri (Borno State), Yola (Adamawa State), and Kaduna(Kaduna State). These networks retain recruiters who visit camps for internally displaced people, host community neighbourhoods housing displaced persons, and rural areas affected by the particular regional conflict, and recruit girls and young women who are victims of the crisis.

The drug networks that supply the Gidan Drama owners and sell to their clients within and around their premises, are subsets within the larger drug scene of Northern Nigeria. These subsets traffick most of their opioids from Kano and Kaduna [7]. The crack cocaine traded within and around the Gidan Dramas by these subsets, is obtained from cocaine trafficking networks centred around Kaduna and Abuja[8].

Recruitment

The desperate situation of these women and girls displaced by conflicts in the Lake Chad and North Central Nigeria, has by default created entry points for traffickers affiliated with the Gidan Drama ecosystem to recruit them. For the most part this happens without coercion, as the girls are often too glad to be offered an “opportunity” to go to a new place and earn what is pitched to them as good money, while getting a chance to become movie stars[9].

A number of girls trafficked into the Gidan Drama ecosystem are lured by petroleum tanker drivers, interstate truck drivers and similar types who begin romantic relationships with these girls, giving them stipends to support their families. These relationships serve to groom these girls, cementing their trust for these men, and to deepen the dependence of their families on the extra stipends they receive from them. Then they ask the girls to accompany them on their travels, only to stop over in towns such as Ogere Remo(Ogun), and Alaba Rago(Lagos) where they sell these girls directly to Gidan Drama owners or to agents of trafficking networks.[10].

5. The Gidan Drama Ecosystem

However they are obtained, once the girls enter the Gidan Drama ecosystem, they rarely leave.

The Gidan Drama ecosystem consists of the traffickers who supply the girls enslaved in the Gidan Dramas, the owners, their enforcers, the girls who are held captive and cannot leave, the drug dealers who trade within and around the Gidan Dramas. It also includes the clients who come to partake of the performance entertainment and sex trade on offer, plus the local law enforcement authorities, vigilante groups and local traditional rulership establishments who are paid off by owners, drug dealers and traffickers, to protect them.

Once the girls are obtained from the traffickers, they are placed in houses separate from the Gidan Dramas. These houses are guarded by the enforcers of the owners, who are armed (albeit not openly)[11]. Entry is only given to patrons of the girls who come in to have sexual relations with them, and to others permitted by the owner to enter. Anyone who is not a patron and is not permitted by the owner to enter these houses, if discovered would be held until he or she is accessed to determine if him/her was a threat of sorts to the establishment[12].

The girls are then gradually hooked on drugs starting with codeine before being scaled upwards to crack cocaine. Girls who refuse to do drugs are marked as stubborn, and are then broken in by the enforcers of the particular establishment, who physically and sexually abuse them until they yield. The majority of the girls interviewed for this note, reported being subjected to terrifying physical abuse until to make the torture stop, they relented and began to indulge in imbibing drugs.

In the Gidan Dramas where the drug networks maintain a presence there is a strict no-sales to the girls rule which underpins the relations between the dealers and the owners. Since the girls never see their earnings (all earnings from money thrown at the during performances, to money paid for sex with them by patrons are, collected by the owners' agents), and since they are always under guard (save for when they are carrying out sexual relations with clients), this rule is largely moot.

During the time it takes for the girls to become addicted to drugs, they do not work, but rather practice dances, plays, and other performances they are expected to put on when they finally start working. Once they are sufficiently addicted, they are then put to work, where they now finally get to meet the final consumer.

The clients who visit the Gidan Dramas ostensibly come for the entertainment until they are introduced to the sex and drugs, which keeps them coming back.

The night at the Gidan Dramas, begins with the girls coming on the elevated stages to perform sexualised dances and plays. A moderator eggs on the crowd to express their satisfaction with the performances of girls they like by throwing money at them as they perform.

At the end of the performances, the girls who earned the least from the money would be shamed by the moderator, to go into the crowd and use their feminine skills to tease their admirers into giving them more money.

While the girls who earned the most would remain on stage and continue a new set of performances. Men who continue throwing money at particular girls during the second round of performances would be hailed by the moderator as the “husband of so and so” with sexually explicit terms thrown in the mix to imply what such men stand to “win” by the end of the set’s performance.

When the final performance of this set of girls is complete, patrons interested in spending the night with them would then go to them and make arrangements with their pimps. The client who threw the most money at a particular girl, has priority claim over her.

The clients are not allowed to go with the girls to their private lodgings, they can only spend the night with them at the girls’ accommodations guarded by the establishment owner’s enforcers. The only exception to this last rule are to those clients who are associates or friends of the owner, or are feared by the him[13].

Any girl that at the end of the performances did not get any money thrown at her, (and during the hustling of the crowd also did not get any money gifted to her) will be made to lie on the floor, while the highest earning girls for the night of her set would be ordered by the moderator to prescribe a humiliating punishment to be meted on her. This punishment, ranging from cold water poured on her to her being whipped, will be meted out by the enforcers in full view of the crowd.

Meanwhile, as the performances go on, a separate group of girls would be sent to work the crowd, to get clients who would exit with them, pay the fee to the pimp in charge of the particular girl, before going to have quick sexual relations with her, after which they may return back to continue with watching the performance.

These establishments operate in the full view of the law. Although officials of the National Agency For The Prohibition Of Traffic In Persons(NAPTIP), Nigeria's anti human trafficking agency, when contacted for information for this note by, revealed that their agency had no knowledge of the existence of the Gidan Drama ecosystem and expressed shock at finding out such an ecosystem exists, local police units are quite aware as these establishments operate in full view of the Police.

Allegations were made by the Gidan Drama owners, their enforcers, other criminal elements, that local police units are paid off to ignore the existence of this trade. In addition the various cartels inform the police in some locations on criminals the cops have interest in who patronise their establishments.

6. The Cartels

The Gidan Drama ecosystem is controlled by a number of independent owners who have- in their particular sector and/or region- come together to increase their collective prices by price fixing, controlling supply and eliminating independent providers of the services they provide in the ecosystem that they operate in, that refuse to join their collectives.

There are the cartels which control the Gidan Dramas, the cartels which control the trafficking networks(especially those groups focused on recruiting displaced persons), and those subsets of the wider groups and cartels that control the narcotics and opioids trade within Northern Nigeria and emigrant Hausa-speaking communities outside the region.

The Gidan Drama cartels relevant to this note are focused on Ogere Remo(Ogun State)[14] and Alaba Rago(Lagos State)[15], and Ojota(Lagos State)[16]. While the trafficking networks are mostly operationally centred around Kaduna[17], Maiduguri(Borno State), Yola(Adamawa State), the cartels controlling the supply of women and girls to the Gidan Drama establishments in Southern Nigeria are based mostly in Kaduna, Kano, and Ogbomosho(Oyo State).

7. Gidan Drama System Outside Nigeria

A number of girls interviewed for this note claimed to have been trafficked to work in Gidan Dramas in the Republic of Benin and Togo on the West African coast.

There are Gidan Drama centres in Niger Republic to Nigeria's north, although the cartels that run the Gidan Dramas in parts of Southern Nigeria and the West African coast have only begun to expand into Niger Republic(Maradi and Niamey)[18].

The Kaduna and Kano trafficking cartels however have a much larger reach than their Gidan Drama clients, with claims that they traffick women and girls from Nigeria to Egypt, Morocco[19], Sudan[20], Saudi Arabia[21], and the United Arab Emirates.

8. Recommendations And Conclusion

While rightly the international community and relevant partners, have been focused on the critical humanitarian and security situation in the Northeast, less attention has been paid to the growing problem of sex slavery and trafficking of displaced persons by criminal networks, which this note tried to scratch the surface of.

Along with the trafficking and enslavement of women and girls displaced by this conflict, is the traffic in opioids and narcotics including crack cocaine, conducted by persons from the epicentre of the Boko Haram conflict, including persons who themselves possess ambiguous links to Boko Haram groups[22]

Currently, there is no strategy within the Nigerian government to tackle the sexual slavery and trafficking of the many women and girls from the Lake Chad region who are now victims of this criminal ecosystem.

To this end we propose that the international community adopts the following measures:

1. Pursue more research into the depth and spread of this ecosystem
2. Pursue more research into understanding the intersection between crime, corruption and destabilising non state armed groups in Nigeria.

3. Expand the resources devoted to combating sexual violence in armed conflict(SVIC), especially sexual exploitation of displaced persons in the camps and host communities in the Lake Chad region.
4. Expand cooperation with aid agencies and local authorities to ensure humanitarian aid is reaching the vulnerable populations it is intended for.
5. Expand cooperation with local law enforcement to strengthen anti-corruption and combat trafficking, especially cross border trafficking.
6. Identify and sanction kingpins of criminal networks involved in the enslavement and trafficking of displaced persons within the Gidan Drama system, local government officials known to be corrupted by pay offs from the kingpins and cartels, and local government officials involved in aid diversion.

For the Nigerian government we propose:

1. A greater investment in accountability in government agencies overseeing aid distribution in the Northeast and North Central regions
2. Pursuing more research into understanding the scale of criminal ecosystems fueling conflict within Nigeria, and responsible for enslaving displaced women and girls
3. Cooperate with neighbouring states to tackle the cross border drug trade and trafficking of persons.
4. Create and implement a national action plan to tackle sexual violence in armed conflict
5. Develop and implement a national action plan to dismantle the criminal ecosystem centred around Gidan Dramas

End Notes

References

[1] The phrase Gidan Drama is a combination of the Hausa word 'gida' meaning house, the particle 'n' in the Hausa language indicating 'belonging to', and the English word 'drama'. Another term for Gidan Drama, which also refers to a similar kind of place, is Gidan Wasa, which in English roughly translates as 'playhouse', 'fun house', 'a place for recreation'.

[2] While there is no clear dating as to when the Gidan Drama phenomenon began, long time owners involved in it interviewed for this note, postulated a time stamp of the late 90's as the time when Gidan Dramas came to stay. This coincides with the period when the cinema-viewing industry in Northern Nigeria began to collapse, as deteriorating economic conditions and the spread of VHS home systems cut into the profits of cinemas across the region, and Nigeria in general. From 2003, Gidan Dramas, still largely a small scale activity mostly present in the Kano-Kaduna area, was already acquiring a reputation for being a setting where commercial sex could be obtained for the right price.

[3] The first Gidan Drama in Ogere Remo, Ogun State, run by an alleged notorious human trafficker, Usman Aroke, was established in 2008. One of the researchers that worked on this note, observed first hand Mr Aroke's enforcers preventing a girl trapped in his establishment, from being alone by herself. On being questioned by this researcher, Mr Aroke admitted that he could not take the risk of leaving her alone, as she was one of his prettiest girls/high earners. He told the researcher that he made that decision after she ran away four months earlier and through his network found her and brought her back to his establishment.

[4] Relief Web. "A Deadly Cycle: Ethno-Religious Conflict In Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria."

Published November 2011. Retrieved from:

<https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/deadly-cycle-ethno-religious-conflict-jos-plateau-state-nigeria>

[5] One trafficker interviewed described moving his operations (on the other of his boss) from Jos, Plateau State, to the refugee camps in Maiduguri when they were being set up. From 2012 and particularly in 2014-2015, he claimed to have been inundated with requests from displaced persons seeking some sort of work to provide them a living income, that he had a shortage of places to traffick them to. Another trafficker corroborated this separately, saying that there was a glut of people available to be trafficked at that time, particularly women and girls, that prices dropped significantly and the trafficking business became less profitable for a while.

[6] The fate of children birthed by these girls in the Gidan Drama system was not established with certainty in the research process for this note. None of the girls was willing to talk about what happened after they gave birth. Stories relayed to the researchers by other people within the Gidan Drama system indicate that the children may have been sold as part of illegal adoption processes. More research may be needed to ascertain the veracity of such stories.

[7] According to drug dealers who were controlling the drug trade within and around the Gidan Dramas in Ogere Remo, Apapa and Alaba Rago, the opioids are obtained from cartels who produce the drugs in these cities, and then transported down to Southern Nigeria.

[8] The crack cocaine trade within Northern Nigerian circles according to sources interviewe for this note are controlled by people from Northeast Nigeria (particularly people from Gwoza and Biu) and centred in Abuja and Kaduna.

[9] Fifty-nine girls interviewed for this report, reported willingly taking the risk of travelling to places they had never been to earn money to take care of their families. Of that number, twenty further elaborated that although they were afraid that they would be killed for occultic rituals or enslaved, they had no alternative but to hope that at the very least they would be alive and used for forced prostitution. When asked why they would be willing to be held in conditions of sexual slavery, they answered individually that although they had no illusions of how terrible such a fate would be before they followed the traffickers, they thought they could save enough money from whatever they could manage to hide, before they would try and escape. The alternative these girls said, was to remain in their homes and watch their families barely manage to feed once a day, and be subject to sexual exploitation by persons in authority in the camps and host communities, before they can get that once a day meal.

[10] Eight girls, currently within the Gidan Drama ecosystem, interviewed during research for this note reported that they were lured by petroleum tankers and interstate truck drivers that they had romantic relations with. These men had requested they travel with them and they had obliged, only to be abandoned at truck stops in the care of men they later understood to either be trafficker or Gidan Drama owners who had bought them from their erstwhile lovers.

[11] Entry to the houses the girls are kept in, was obtained by researchers on this note, in Ogere Remo(Ogun State), Alaba Rago(Lagos), Apapa(Lagos). In Ogere Remo, enforcers on guard duties at the houses for the girls at two of the Gidan Dramas in that town were informally interviewed to better understand the dynamics around them.

[12] When asked what sort of threat a trespasser could pose that would worry the owner, seeing as law enforcement has been bought off, the enforcers revealed that the worry was actually competing Gidan Dramas trying to poach the more beautiful girls or the highest earning ones, and also people trying to help the girls escape.

[13] This last bit was how researchers secured direct access to interview the girls. In areas our researchers physically visited the Gidan Dramas and were able to interview the girls, connections to the main criminal overlords of the resident Hausa-speaking community were used to pressure the Gidan Drama owners to release the girls to be taken to places outside their own establishments.

[14] Mr Usman Aroke is alleged to be the leader of the Ogere Remo Cartel, as the first owner to arrive in Ogere Remo, he is from Gombe State and had himself worked as an enforcer and a dancer for years in Gidan Dramas in Kano. The cartel in Ogere has under his leadership allegedly expanded into Alaba Rago and other areas in Lagos, in addition to Seme on the border with Benin Republic, to Cotonou in that country, and to other border towns. Two years ago he allegedly tried to expand his cartel into the drug trade, but him and his allies almost lost their businesses as the main group which controls the criminal and non-criminal underpinnings of the Hausa-speaking community in the area, and under whose patronage they exist, disagreed with that expansion and clamped down hard on them.

[15] The Alaba Rago cartel is closely linked with the Ogere cartel. Sources interviewed claimed that although these cartels compete in the Idi-Araba(Lagos) and Seme (on the Nigeria-Benin Republic border)scene, they however are aligned together against the Ojota cartel. Unlike the Ogere cartel, the Alaba Rago cartel is said to have incorporated the drug dealing subsets that operate around its own establishments into its own operations fully. Although like the Ogere cartel, it operates under the patronage of another group that controls the petroleum products smuggling business,

general drugs trafficking, transportation, weapons trafficking etc in the area of Alaba Rago.

[16] The cartel of Gidan Dramas in the Ojota area is said to be expanding its reach across Lagos and supposedly controls the the locations in Agumalu area of Apapa and in neighbouring Ajegunle.

[17] The networks in Maiduguri and Yola recruit these girls and sell them to the cartels based in Kaduna and Ogbomosho(the Ogbomosho cartel is a subset of the larger Kaduna trafficking cartel), who then sell them to the Gidan Drama establishments in Southern Nigeria.

[18] One of the Gidan Drama owners in Ogere claimed that himself and one other owner had opened branches in Niger Republic, but that there is a strong existing set up in that country with stiff competition.

[19] A trafficker claimed to have managed a couple of runs, on behalf of his superiors in Kaduna, which took both girls displaced by conflict and local girls who wanted to travel and make money, to Morocco where they were sold to a Hausa man who had an underground enterprise catering to Northern Nigerians in that country.

[20] Sudan is, according to traffickers interviewed for this note, a major destination for displaced women and girls from Northeast Nigeria and the wider Lake Chad region, out of the area.

[21] Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have, according to traffickers interviewed for this note, being the amongst largest destinations, for displaced women and girls trafficked by the Kaduna, Kano and Ogbomosho cartels out of Nigeria.

But with the Saudi Arabian government vigorously clamping down on immigration into the country, multiple traffickers increasingly see Morocco as a viable alternative to the cash flow Saudi Arabia and the Emirates provided. However it must be noted that trafficking outside the region as at now plays a minor role in the activities of the trafficking cartels operatives interviewed for this paper.

[22] A number of the opioid dealers interviewed for this note, were affiliates of Ansarul-Muslimeena Fee Bilaadis-Sudan. Two of the crack cocaine dealers interviewed for this note, were former Jamaatu Ahlis-Sunnati Lid-Da'wati Wal-Jihad operatives, and they in turn were working for a third person who although he claimed to have quit the group, is rumoured to still provide support to the group's financial arm. Another dealer in opioids who supplies some of the dealers operating in and around the Gidan Dramas at Alaba Rago(Lagos), is known to have commanded a Boko Haram unit right up to 2016 when he left the Northeast and appeared in Kaduna from where he operates currently.

End

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