

**PERSISTENCE OF ARMED BANDITRY IN NORTHWEST NIGERIA:
IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN SECURITY AND POVERTY.**

Aliyu Bokani Usman
Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
Sokoto Zonal Directorate
07030880112
aliubokani112@gmail.com

Adrew Zamani
Institute of Governamce,
Nasarawa State University, Keffi

Udo Chikezie Osisioogu
Department of Sociology
Nasarawa State University, Keffi

Abstract

Armed banditry poses devastating effects on human security in the affected regions. However, it has persisted in the northwest region, with its associated repercussions. The objective of this study is to examine the implications of persistent armed banditry on economic security and poverty in the Northwest region. The paper relies on secondary sources of data such as journal articles, textbooks, organizational and institutional publications, and newspaper reports. It adopts critical analysis in examining the ways in which armed banditry adversely affects economic security and exacerbates poverty in the region. The paper argues that, owing to the endangerment of agricultural activities, armed banditry plunges farmers in the region into poverty, given that agriculture is the dominant occupation in the region. Consequently, the capacity of the people to meet their basic and other needs is jeopardized. Furthermore, the crime contributes to increasing the rate of poverty in the region by endangering the livelihood of the people. The paper concludes that armed banditry is inimical to economic security in the Northwest region due to the activities of bandits against farmers, which militate against agricultural activities in the region. Also, given that banditry contributes to poverty, the persistence of armed banditry implies that the rate of poverty in the region will continue to worsen until banditry is nipped in the bud. Among other things, the paper recommends that law enforcement be intensified by deploying adequate security personnel and crime-fighting equipment to the region.

Key words: -Armed banditry, human security, economic security, poverty.

Introduction

Human security refers to freedom from occurrences that threaten the lives, safety, and property of the people. It is defined as safety from threats such as starvation, diseases, and oppression as well as defense against unanticipated and damaging disturbances in routines of daily life (Johns, 2014). According to Frechette (nd.), human security encompasses the things that people value across the globe such as sufficient food, adequate housing, good health, education for the kids, protection from every form of violence, and a state where governance is devoid of oppression, but carried out with the consent of the people. Among other factors, a violent crime known as armed banditry, which involves robbing, killing, or sexually assaulting the victims (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014) constitutes grave threat to human security. Armed banditry refers to organized crimes such as rape, kidnapping, looting, livestock rustling, and village raids committed by criminal gangs (Okoli & Ugwu, 2019). Armed criminal gangs that frighten, assault, and forcibly evict people from their property are responsible for carrying out this crime. Nigeria is not unique in its banditry experiences. It has existed for a very long time and has evolved significantly throughout time. Banditry was viewed by the citizens as a type of freedom warfare in the nineteenth century in both Europe and America, according to Warty (1994). In the 19th Century Europe and America, while the general public perceived banditry as a liberation movement, and the bandits as heroes deserving admiration, the state, however, referred to it as a crime and the bandits as undesirable nuisances who must be put behind bars. Banditry is an economically driven crime in Africa. The employment of weapons by bandits in Africa results in the maiming, killing, ransom kidnapping, and destruction of property for economic gains. According to Okoli (2016), the states of East Africa have Africa's highest rate of banditry. It has also evolved into one of West Africa's most horrifying insurgencies, as submitted by Abdullahi (2019). In Nigeria, the level of insecurity occasioned by crimes such as banditry has increased. Armed banditry is currently one of Nigeria's most feared causes of instability, especially in the northwest of the country. The government and the populace have been very concerned about the ubiquity and brutality that characterize armed banditry. Public safety, socioeconomic activities, political stability, and the country's overall existence are all gravely threatened by it.

According to Murtala (2018), banditry in Nigeria became evident in 1999. However, since 2011, the crime has grown more deadly and widespread (International Crisis Group, 2020). The prevalence of the crime has been worrying in recent years. Highway robbery and kidnapping were among the armed banditry types that Okoli and Okpaleke (2014), highlighted. Other types of banditry include livestock rustling, murders, looting, and property theft (Uche, 2018). Village raids are one of the ways that bandits carry out their illegal activity (Dutse & OLowoselu, 2020). While banditry is practiced throughout Nigeria, it is especially severe and concerning in the North West region. Since 2011, the region has been beset by increasingly frequent banditry incidents (International Crisis Group, 2020).

In order to stop banditry in its tracks, the Zamfara State government signed a peace agreement with the outlaws in 2015 (Yahaya & Bello, 2020). But in 2019, bandit hatred worsened and increased. This, according to Yahaya et al. (2020), was the outcome of both the government and the bandits failing to uphold the terms of the peace treaty. Omotuyi (2021), for his part, found that the peace agreement between the government and the armed bandits failed because there are numerous groups of bandits, each with its own leadership and no central leadership

coordinating the affairs of all the groups. His research focused on the evolving dynamics of banditry in Northwestern Nigeria. The study also revealed that rather than slowing down the deterioration of banditry, the government's amnesty program encouraged young people without jobs in the area to become bandits, boosting the region's already high number of bandits. Hence, the author claimed that using financial inducement to "buy peace" (restore peace by putting an end to bandits' activities) was ineffectual and consequently unproductive.

Furthermore, Omotuyi (2021) discovered that the link between banditry in the Northwest and terrorism in the country's Northeast has increased the threat's severity. The findings of Maigani, Dantani, and Arafat (2021) are in agreement with the aforementioned finding regarding the breakdown of the peace agreement between the government and the bandits. In a study that examined the backdrop of armed banditry, livestock rustling, and kidnapping in Katsina State, Maigani et al. (2021) discovered that the agreement between the two sides was only established with a portion of the 62 groups of bandits, which is why it failed. The group that entered into the peace agreement with the government does not have the authority to decide for other factions. Due to the government's ignorance of the intricate details that define the brigands' methods of operation, a counterproductive peace agreement was the consequence.

The foregoing indicates that armed banditry poses a threat to human development in Northwest, Nigeria. Despite the efforts made by the government to end it, armed banditry remains persistent and seems to be worsening. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to examine the implications of armed banditry for human security in the Northwest Nigeria. Although human security has many dimensions, this paper focuses on economic security.

Conceptual Clarification

Armed Banditry

Banditry has been viewed historically and in the present from a variety of perspectives. Banditry, according to Slatter (2004), is when a group, typically made up of men, uses or threatens to use force to seize property. It is considered a criminal conduct on the one hand, but it is also seen as a social crime carried out for the benefit of the rural poor. Eric Hobsbawm popularized social banditry in 1959 when he asserted that while the rural poor may support and admire social bandits as heroes for defending their interests, the authorities may view them as criminals. Social banditry entails fighting for the liberation of those who are oppressed in society (Perry, 1983). The same bandits that Mexicans honored as important figures in the country's liberation were viewed by the state as lawbreakers, hoodlums, or miscreants, according to Watson (1987). The relationship between banditry and social class, social banditry as an expression of the peasantry, and rural support and protection are some of the elements of social banditry that Perry (1983) noted. In Nigeria, armed banditry is an organized crime committed by criminal gangs for economic gains (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). According to Osasona (2023), it is the most acute security threat plaguing Nigeria. In Zamfara and other North-West Nigerian States, bandits are a collection of several criminal organizations who engage in widespread cattle rustling, sexual assault, kidnapping, armed robbery, plunder, and attacks on gold miners and commerce (International Crisis Group, 2020).

In this paper, banditry is defined as a violent crime carried out with the intent to profit financially by robbing victims of their possessions or extorting money from them through kidnapping and

threats. Armed robbery, rape, murder, arson, shooting, cattle rustling, automobile theft, and kidnapping are all examples of banditry (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014; Uche, 2018).

Economic Security

Economic security, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross (2013), is the capacity of people, households, or communities to meet their basic needs and inevitable expenses in a way that is sustainable. These needs include food, shelter, clothes, and healthcare, among others. According to Global Social Development Innovation [GSDI] (2023), on the one hand, a reliable source of income or a productive resource that produces revenue enables people and households to have a fitting and sustainable standard of living. On the other hand, economic insecurity plunges people, households, and communities into abject poverty. Similarly, the Legal Information Institute (nd) refers to economic security as the state of having reliable access to the resources needed to maintain a livable standard of living and safeguard fundamental national values, along with a secure and resilient domestic production capacity.

Theoretical Framework

Routine Activity Theory

The focus of the routine activity theory is the study of crime as an event, with regard to its relation to space and time and emphasizing its ecological nature and implications, in contrast to theories of crime causation that link crime to psychological, biological, or social elements. Instead than emphasizing the traits of the criminal, the theory concentrates on the features of crime. So, the environment affects the likelihood of crime, therefore the theory of routine activity can be regarded as a component of crime prevention theory. According to Cohen and Felson (1979), the convergence of the following three crucial elements—a motivated criminal, suitable targets, and the absence of a capable guardian—at a particular location and time causes crime (Siegel, 2005). A motivated offender is someone who is driven to commit crime and is ready and eager to do so. A potential target is a person or item that the offender might threaten. Felson's "targets," as he termed it, were victims. The definition of a capable guardian is someone who, if present, could prevent a crime from occurring. Guardianship could be provided by police patrols, security guards, observant workers, coworkers, friends, or neighbors, among others. According to the routine activity theory, offenders are more likely to commit a crime in part because of their regular daily activities. Without adequate supervision, a motivated offender's routine activities and movements could bring them into contact with a target or asset that is vulnerable.

However, four more factors also have an impact on crime commission at the point where the aforementioned elements converge. From the perspective of the perpetrator, four characteristics impact whether a target would be a good target or not. Value, Inertia, Visibility, and Access, or VIVA, is an acronym used to describe the level of risk involved (Cohen & Felson, 1979). According to Felson and Clarke (1998), value means that an offender will only go for targets they value, depending on what is valued and how much they want it. The term "inertia" relates to the weight of the intended object, which determines whether it can be moved easily or not. The likelihood of theft is higher for lightweight items than for large ones that are difficult to cart away. When something is visible, it is put on show for future offenders to see. For instance, displaying money and expensive stuff in public or placing expensive objects in a place where they can be seen through the window.

By "access," we mean placing or arranging things in places where potential offenders can easily access them. The likelihood of theft is higher for valuable items that are placed near windows or in public areas where they are easily accessible to possible motivated criminals. Any person who possesses the desire and capability to commit crime is a potential offender (Felson & Cohen, 1980). Young males without secure jobs and school dropouts are also more likely to be potential offenders (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). This method of comprehending criminal commission calls attention to the necessity of taking into account environmental circumstances. Although it's important to focus on other parts of crime in order to comprehend and avoid it (Felson & Clarke, 1998), that doesn't mean the offender's perspective should be disregarded (Felson, 2008).

The three factors that lead to criminal commission—a motivated offender, suitable targets, and a lack of effective guardians in rural sections of the region—converge in the instance of banditry in the Anka community. Farmers, pastoralists, and commuters make for good targets for armed robbers, while the absence of a capable guardian refers to their inability to put a halt to their activities. Because there are motivated criminals who are ready and willing to participate, banditry thrives in the area. The availability of acceptable targets that are vulnerable to attack follows this. Due to the lack of capable guardians, the environment that the bandits and their victims share is "conducive" for the bandits to function. Farmers, pastoralists, and commuters are targeted by bandits because of their regular activities. Bandits that operate out of the forests target pastoralists and their cattle as they move about with their animals in search of pastures. They do this by taking advantage of their vulnerabilities. Those who travel on routes that are part of the bandits' axis of activity are more likely to become victims of the bandits. In this instance, they are abducted and held for ransom. Large-scale farming makes agricultural produce readily available, which makes crop-robbing robbers' targets. According to RAT, each of these is made possible by the lack of capable guardians. Even though security troops have been sent to the impacted areas, the bandits' persistence in operating is a sign of ineffective guardianship.

Methodology/Approach

This paper relies on secondary sources of data such as journal articles, organizational and institutional publications, newspaper reports, and textbooks. Data were retrieved from internet sources based on their relevance to the phenomena being analyzed. Critical analysis was deployed to show the implications that persistent banditry portends to economic security and poverty in Northwest Nigeria.

The problem of armed banditry in Northwest Nigeria

Bandits in Nigeria's Northwest (and other parts of the nation) have killed a lot of people, kidnapped people for ransom, rustled cattle, stolen goods, and raped women over the years (Uche, 2018; Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). The government's attempts to put a halt to the crime appear to have failed, as banditry has continued unabatedly. As a result, news of people being victimized by bandits is constantly in the media. Crime victims, including banditry victims, are more likely to encounter negative outcomes like having their rights violated, losing their possessions, their lives, their means of support, or even their freedom. They could experience psychological stress as well (Hillary, Umeh & Kuchaks, 2025).

For more than ten years, several criminal bands known as bandits have been spreading increasing amounts of destruction in the Northwest region (International Crisis Group, 2020).

According to the report of The New Humanitarian (2023), armed banditry in Zamfara State is traceable to the formation of *Yan Bindinga to defend the farming Hausa community*. The report indicates that, consequent to the activities of the group against the Fulanis, the Fulanis responded by forming their own militia, known as Yan Bindinga. Yan Bindinga has, over the years, developed into an organized criminal group. The Center for Democracy and Development (2015) referred to Zamfara State as the hub of banditry in Nigeria due to the recent wave of banditry there. Residents of Zamfara State have experienced a variety of victimization tactics from the bandits, such as kidnapping for ransom, death, robbery, rape, and livestock rustling. Since 2011, the criminals have killed thousands of civilians. The bandits who use the Dansadau forest as their hideout, according to the report of ICG (2020), have killed about 8000 people over the past ten years. According to Ademola (2021), numerous women whose husbands were killed by bandits are now widows, and many children became orphans as a result of the bandits' repeated killings. In Zamfara and other North Western States alone, 1,100 people were slain by bandits in 2018, 2,200 people were killed in 2019, and 1,600 people have been killed as of January 2020 (Ademola, 2021). Similar to this, Nagarajan (2020) reports that the bandits had abducted and raped women and girls before killing and disabling hundreds of people and raping them in their homes and bushes.

Large numbers of individuals have also been forced out from their houses as a result of the bandits' violence. The displaced people are additionally exposed to unpleasant internal displacement-related experiences such as lack of food, water, and shelter (Nagarajan, 2020). The International Organization for Migration (2019) stated that as of 2019, 6,149 people had been forcibly removed from their homes as a result of the bandits' activity. The report also stated that the IDPs, which included adult men, children, adult women, and old people, were in desperate need of non-food items, water, food, shelter, and medical care. Education is suffering due to armed banditry as well. Consequently, numerous students have been taken away from their educational institutions. According to Orjinmo (2021), millions of Naira in ransom were given to the bandits in order for the bandits to release the captive students. As a result, the bandits have kept abducting additional students in order to demand more ransoms from the authorities and the relatives of the victims. Due to the detrimental effects of banditry in the Northwest region, the region's governors gave amnesty to the bandits in 2019 as a preventative step (Premium Times, 2019). However, banditry has continued to worsen despite the steps intended to stop it, proving that the measures used thus far to combat the crime have been ineffectual.

Banditry-related deaths in the area have also had a negative impact on economic development. According to the media and other groups, there have been widespread killings of human resources who ought to be working to advance the local economy. Amnesty International (2018), stated that due to the alarming number of attacks on the villages, which result in daily killings, the villagers in Northwest continually lived in dread. Over 371 persons were slain in Zamfara state alone (AI, 2018). Banditry claimed the lives of 1071 persons in the first quarter of 2019. (Punch Newspapers, 2019). According to Sahara Reporters (2019), 1460 lives were killed in various bandit attacks over the course of seven (7) months in 2019. Abdulrashid, Saifullahi, and Amir (2018) assert that pastoralists make a sizable economic contribution to developing nations. Pastoralism is one of the main farming practices practiced by rural residents in the northwest. However, the pastoralism practiced in the area has been seriously threatened by armed bandits robbing cattle.

Olaniyan and Yahaya (2016) assert that cattle rustling and pillaging are a problem in almost all Northwest states. 2015 saw the recovery of 850 rustled cows in Kaduna state by a joint security task force (Daily Post, 30th January, 2016). A governor from the Northwest region was quoted in Daily Post (2016) as saying that over 30,000 cattle that were stolen across the region's states were also found in 2015. According to the aforementioned, banditry poses a serious threat to livestock production in the area. Because the robbers receive the proceeds from the sale of the animals, cattle rustling threatens the livelihood of commercial livestock farmers. According to Bashir (2014), who was referenced by Olaniyan and Yahaya (2016), between October 2013 and March 2014, robbers in Kaduna state stole 7000 cows from commercial livestock farmers. In addition to impacting the farmers' income, rustling may prevent further investment in the company due to a lack of or inadequacy of capital.

Muggah and Batchelor (2002), assert that banditry may negatively impact the supply of cash crops. Bandits steal crops from farms as well as steal cattle (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016; Gadzama, Saddiq, Oduhie, & Dariya, 2018). If crops intended for sale and the growth of further crops are pillaged, it is equivalent to impoverishing farmers and putting their commercial farming at risk. The risk of visiting the fields for cultivation or harvest only makes the situation of the farmers worse. Bandits demand money from farmers before granting them access to their farms in addition to stealing their harvests (Odebode, Ameh, Adepegba, Nnodim, & Isenyo,). Extortion indicates that farming will become more expensive and will only be accessible to those who can afford it. Agriculture, as said, is the mainstay of the populace's rural economy. Low yield, poverty, and the associated negative repercussions would follow if farmers were forced to endure such terrible experiences. In a violent climate, economic development cannot flourish. The aforementioned shows that banditry is absolutely detrimental to economic development in the Northwest region because of the havoc the bandits have caused on the area, which has led to the suspension or little pursuit of commercial operations. People who live in an area where economic development has been threatened run the risk of experiencing the related effects. Poverty is one of these effects. The next thread examines how poverty might come from economic development that is in jeopardy.

Numerous causes have been identified for banditry in Nigeria. Rufai (2016) claims that in 2010, the expansion of criminal groups across the Nigerian border led to a rampage of banditry, particularly in the form of cattle rustling. Furthermore, Murtala (2018) emphasized that the porosity of borderlands considerably increases the rate of the crime, impeding growth and development. According to Samuel (2015), psychological demands, greed, climatic change, competition, and unemployment are the root reasons of banditry. According to the World Bank (2006), reported in Anne (2010), the percentage of ungoverned places increased from 11% in most nation states in 1996 to 26% in 2006, resulting in insecurity. Banditry, insurgency, and other criminal activities have been facilitated by states' incapacity or lack thereof to adequately police all regions, as well as by political leaders' lack of political will. According to Suleiman and Victor (2017), the Rogu Forest, which spans more than 220 kilometers through Zamfara, is where the majority of the bandits in the states of Katsina and Zamfara may be found. The bandits recruit, train, and organize their criminal activities in the forests. Additionally, it causes a state of continual anxiety that can undermine human dignity and make it difficult for people to organize and pursue livelihoods. As a result, competent law enforcement and strong administration are necessary to

control the ungoverned zone. It is also important to note that the prevalence of weapons contributes to banditry. The Center for Democracy and Development (2015) determined that one of the key causes of banditry is the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs).

Implications of persistent armed banditry on economic security and poverty in Northwest Nigeria

From the standpoint of routine activity theory, armed banditry is persistent in the Northwest region owing to the availability of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and a lack of capable guardians. It takes capable guardians—security personnel in this case—to end banditry. The failure of the security personnel to do so endangers economic security in the region. Given that the population of Northwest Nigeria is mostly farmers (Reliefweb, 2023), any incident that endangers farming equally endangers the capability of individuals, families, and communities in the region to meet their needs. Armed banditry endangers agriculture in many ways. First, the killing of farmers by the bandits (Akote, 2023) is inimical to the economy of the northwest region. Not only do farmers produce the food needed to meet the nutritional needs of members of society, farm produce is also sold to meet other material needs of individuals and families in the region, given that agriculture is the dominant economic activity in the region. It is therefore tantamount to endangering agriculture if the farmers who engage in it are killed in large numbers. Second, farmers are dissuaded from going to their farms due to the fear of being kidnapped. On this note, Mmahi and James (2023) found that farmers abandoned their farmlands in Nahuche community to forestall the chances of being kidnapped for ransom, while those who defied the associated risks of farming amidst banditry failed to tend the farms owing to the likelihood that they would be kidnapped while doing so. This situation implies that the major livelihood of the people in places affected by banditry has been endangered. Third, extortion of money from farmers before allowing them access to their farms cripples the farmers' food production capacity. This is because the money that could have been used to cultivate a larger portion of land is being used to pay the charges imposed by the bandits. By implication, a smaller portion of land is cultivated, thereby reducing the output of farmers. Fourth, the onslaught of the bandits has displaced a lot of farmers from their communities (International Center for Investigative Reporting, 2023). By implication, those farmers who could have been economically productive in their communities have been uprooted, thereby drastically reducing the number of people maintaining the economic base of the community and their families through agricultural activities. Only those who defied all odds by not fleeing the community can engage in farming, at least to the extent that bandits allow them.

The foregoing indicates that economic security is under acute attack in the northwest region following the activities of bandits. In other words, the capacity of a large number of people in the Northwest region to meet their basic and other needs has been hampered by the bandits. This is because the implication of the activities of bandits is that members of the affected communities whose livelihood and income generation have been jeopardized owing to endangered farming have been plunged into poverty. Therefore, the victims would experience shortages of food, difficulty or inability to afford healthcare services, clothing, education, and other material needs.

Banditry is also contributing to deepening the rate of poverty in the Northwest region by hampering the practice of agriculture, which is the economic mainstay of the region. According to a report by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2017), the northwest had the highest rate of poverty in Nigeria as of 2017. The 2022 report of the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2022) shows that with 45.49 million poor people in the Northwest, the region still has the highest number of poor people when compared with other regions on the multidimensional poverty index. One of the repercussions of the persistence of banditry in the region is that the rate of poverty would increase by virtue of the actions of bandits against farmers that are inimical to agricultural activities, as discussed above.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that armed banditry is inimical to economic security in the Northwest region due to the activities of bandits against farmers that militate against agricultural activities in the region. Furthermore, the persistence of armed banditry in the region contributes to the deepening rate of poverty that the region is experiencing. This is because it is tantamount to plunging people into poverty if their livelihood is destroyed or endangered.

Recommendations

Adequate law enforcement and prosecution of offenders would dissuade banditry, thereby allowing farmers to freely engage in agricultural activities. The paper therefore recommends as follows:

1. Law enforcement should be intensified by deploying adequate security personnel and crime-fighting equipment to the region.
2. The risk of apprehension of bandits should be increased by deploying unmanned aerial vehicles, also known as drones, to monitor the activities of criminals in the region.

References

- Abdullahi, A. (2019), Rural banditry, regional security, and integration in West Africa. *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 2(3), 644-654.
- Abdulrashid, I., Saifullahi, S. I. & Amir, A. (2018). The incidence and impact of cattle rustling in some rural communities of Katsina State, Nigeria. *FUDMA Journal of Sciences*, 2(2), 288-296
- Ademola, A. (2021). The growing threat of armed banditry in North-West Nigeria. Retrieved from <https://www.strifeblog.org/2021/01/08/the-growing-threat-of-armed-banditry-in-north-west-nigeria/>
- Akote, B. (2023). Dozens flee as bandits kill 50 farmers, rustle livestock in Niger. Retrieved from <https://dailytrust.com/dozens-flee-as-bandits-kill-50-farmers-rustle-livestock-in-niger/>
- Amnesty International (2018). Nigeria: Thousands living in fear as Zamfara armed bandits ramp up attacks. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/07/nigeria-thousands-living-in-fear-as-zamfara-armed-bandits-ramp-up-attacks/> on 13th July 2019
- Anne, L C. (2010) Ungoverned Space: The need for Reevaluation in Anne L Clunan and Harold A Trinkunas (ed) Ungoverned Spaces: Alternative to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty. California: an Imprint of Stanford University Press
- Bashir, M. (2014). Hopes for an end to cattle theft. In Olaniyan, A., Yahaya, A. (2016). Cows, bandits, and violent conflicts: Understanding cattle rustling in Northern Nigeria. *Africa Spectrum*, 51(3), 93–105
- Daily Post (2016, January 30). We have tamed cattle rustling, we will tackle kidnapping – Northern Governors. Retrieved from <https://dailypost.ng/2016/01/30/we-have-tamed-cattle-rustling-we-will-tackle-kidnapping-northern-governors/> 13th July 2019
- Centre for Democracy and Development (2015). Addressing rural banditry in Northern Nigeria. Retrieved from https://media.africaportal.org/documents/Addressing_Rural_Banditry_in_Northern_Nigeria_2015_jmGLFfi.pdf
- Dutse, A. & Olowoselu, A. (2020). Effects of armed banditry on human security in Kaduna State. *FUDMA Journal of Politics and International Affairs*, 3(2), 111-116
- Felson, M. & Clarke, R. V. (1998). *Opportunity makes the thief. Practical theory for crime prevention*. London: Research Development and Statistics Directorate
- Felson, M. & Cohen, L. E. (1980). Human ecology and crime: A routine activity approach. *Human Ecology*, 8(4), 389–405. Gottfredson, M. R., & Hirschi, T. A. (1990). *A general theory of crime*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Frechette, L. (nd). Definitions of Human Security. Retrieved from <https://www.gdrc.org/sustdev/husec/Definitions.pdf> on 10/03/2023
- Gadzama, I.U., Saddiq, N.M., Oduehi, T.C., & Dariya, C.J. (2018). Appraisal of rural banditry “Kamuku” forests in Burnin Gwari local government area of Kaduna State. *Nigerian Journal of Rural Sociology*, 18(1), 42-49
- Global Social Development Innovation (2023). Economic development. Retrieved from <https://gsdi.unc.edu/our-work/economic-security/> on 1/8/23
- Gottfredson, M. R., & Hirschi, T. A. (1990). *A general theory of crime*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hillary, E.Z., Umeh, C.B., & Kuchaks, D.P. (2025). Impact of Banditry on the Psychological Well-

- Being of Christians in Kaduna State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research*, 11(8), 577-585
- International Organization for Migration (2019). Displacement in north central and North West Nigeria. Retrieved from https://displacement.iom.int/system/tdf/reports/Nigeria%20-%20Displacement%20in%20North%20Central%20and%20North%20West%20States%20Flash%20Report%20%20%2826%20July%202019%29_0.pdf?file=1&type=node&id=6349 on 15th July 2019
- International Center for Investigative Reporting (2023). Bandits kill 50 farmers, displace many in Niger state. Retrieved from <https://www.icirnigeria.org/bandits-kill-50-farmers-displace-many-in-niger-state/>
- International Committee of the Red Cross (2013). Economic security. Retrieved from https://www.icrc.org/sites/default/files/topic/file_plus_list/economic-security-delegate.pdf on 1/8/2023
- International Crisis Group (2020). Violence in Nigeria's North West: Rolling back the mayhem. Retrieved from <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/288-violence-nigerias-north-west-rolling-back-mayhem>
- Legal Information Institute (nd). Homeland security critical domain research and development. Retrieved from https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/6/474#c_2
- Maigari, M. A., Dantani, U. & Arafat, I. (2021). Negotiating with the bandits and endless security challenges in Katsina State, Nigeria (2019-2020). *Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo*, 5(1), 47-60
- Muggah, R., & Batchelor, P. (2002). *Development Held Hostage: The Socio-Economic Impacts of Small Arms on Development*. New York: UNDP
- Murtala A. R (2018) Cattle rustling and armed banditry along Nigeria- Niger borderland. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 23 (4) 66 – 77
- Nagarajan, C. (2020). Analysis of Violence and Insecurity in Zamfara. Retrieved from <https://chitrasudhanagarajan.files.wordpress.com/2020/05/zamfara-analysis-of-violence-and-insecurity.pdf>
- Okoli, A.C. & Abubakar, M. (2021). 'Crimelordism': Understanding a new phenomenon in armed banditry in Nigeria. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. DOI: [10.1177/0021909621990856](https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909621990856)
- Okoli, A.C. & Okpaleke, F. (2014). Banditry and crisis of public safety in Nigeria: Issues in national security strategies. *European Scientific Journal*, 10(4), 350-362
- Okoli, A.C. & Okpaleke, F. (2014) Cattle rustling and dialectics of security in northern Nigeria. *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, 2(3), 109-117
- Okoli, A.C. & Ugwu, A.C. (2019). Of marauders and brigands: Scoping the threat of rural banditry in Nigeria's North West. *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*, 4(8), 201-222
- Olaniyan, A. & Yahaya, A. (2016). Cows, bandits, and violent conflicts: understanding cattle rustling in Northern Nigeria. *African Spectrum*, 3, 93-105
- Orjinmo, N. (2021). Nigeria's school abductions: Why children are being targeted. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-56212645>
- Osasona, T. (2023). The question of definition: Armed banditry in Nigeria's North-West in the context of international humanitarian law. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 105 (923), 735–749.
- Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2017). *Nigeria country briefing*”,

- multidimensional poverty index data bank*. OPHI: University of Oxford. Retrieved from www.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-povertyindex/mpi-country-briefings/ on 15th July 2019
- Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2022). Nigeria multidimensional poverty index. Retrieved from https://ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Nigeria_MPI_2022_report.pdf on 2/8/23.
- Premium Times (2021). North-West governors grant amnesty to 'bandits', herders. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/nwest/344330-north-west-governors-grant-amnesty-to-bandits-herders.html>
- Reliefweb (2023). Research terms of reference: Multi-sector needs assessment (MSNA) – Northwest of Nigeria NGA2105. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/research-terms-reference-multi-sector-needs-assessment-msna-northwest-nigeria-nga2105#:~:text=Nigeria's%20Northwest%2C%20one%20of%20the,pastoralists%2C%20or%20agro%2Dpastoralists.>
- Samuel E (2015). The political economy of rural banditry in the contemporary in Nigeria. In Mohammed, J. K. & Jibril, I. (ed.). *Rural banditry and conflict in northern Nigeria*. Abuja: Center for Democracy and Development.
- Sahara Reporters (2019, August 29). 1,460 Nigerians killed by bandits in seven months. Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2019/08/29/1460-nigerians-killed-bandits-seven-months>
- Slatta, R.W. (1990). Banditry as Political Participation in Latin America. *Criminal Justice History: An International Annual*, 11, 171-187
- Siegel, L. (2005). *Criminology: The core*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth
- Suleiman, S. (2019). Rural banditry in Zamfara state, northwest Nigeria. Retrieved from <https://kujenga-amani.ssrc.org/2019/06/13/rural-banditry-in-zamfara-state-northwest-nigeria/> on 17th July 2019
- The New Humanitarian (2023). Everyone knows somebody who has been kidnapped: Inside Nigeria's banditry epidemic. Retrieved from <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2023/01/30/Nigeria-banditry-Zamfara> on 29/07/2023
- Uche, J.C. & Iwuamadi, C.K. (2018). Nigeria: Rural Banditry and Community Resilience in the Nimbo Community. *Conflict Studies Quarterly* 24, 71-82
- Warto P. A (1994) The social banditry in the rural area of Rembong by the end of 19th Century and 20th Century. *International Journal for History Studies*. 3(1)
- Yahaya, J.U. & Bello, M.M. (2020). The Rise of banditry and its attendant effect in governance and socio-economic relations in Zamfara State. *POLAC International Journal of Humanities and Security Studies*, 5(1), 109-129.