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EDITORIAL

The Chief Editor on behalf of the Editorial Board, has great pleasure in presenting the maiden edition Vol 1 No 1 of the Journal of the Faculty of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences (JFHSMS) Edwin Clark University, Kiagbodo to the research community and the world at large. JFHSMS aims to create a platform between the researchers and authors who seek to publish their work and the people who wish to keep up with the latest findings in the areas of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences. The journal provides opportunities to the researchers, academics and professionals to publish their research papers around the world. The quick review process, quality Editorial Board and quality articles guarantees this Journal as unique.

The Chief Editor is very grateful to the members of the faculty research committee and Editorial Board for their prompt and kind response towards the establishment of this Journal. Their contributions, no doubt is highly commendable and their efforts both human and material cannot be over-emphasized.

We seek the blessings and support of all in the success journey of the Journal.

Prof. (Mrs) Juliana O. Okoh

The Editor-in-Chief

ARMED BANDITRY AND HUMAN SECURITY IN NORTH WESTERN NIGERIA: THE IMPACTS AND THE WAY FORWARD

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria has been facing multiple crises since independence. Such problems include citizenship, bad governance, ethnicity, economic and political instability. These negative factors have been lingering on in Nigeria and getting worse yearly. Issues of militancy, Boko Haram, Banditry and kidnapping are some of the effects of the above problems. The paper is an attempt to extrapolate the nexus between Banditry and Human Security in North western Nigeria given the present social and political challenges in the country. The study adopts the collapse state, failed state and fragile theories as the model of our analysis. With regards to the methodology, the paper made use of qualitative content analysis. A critical assessment of Banditry revealed that many years of governance in Nigeria, the hopes and aspiration of the citizenry could still not be met. The inability of our leadership to provide good democratic governance therefore was responsible for the insecurity in the country and this in effect gave rise to robberies, kidnappings, bunkering of oil pipelines as well as the emergence of militancy across the country. The paper therefore submits that until, good democratic governance is put in place with security agencies well-funded and trained with modern gazette system, internal security cannot be guaranteed.

Keywords: Banditry, Human Security, Governance, Insurgency.

Introduction

A review of the Nigerian Fourth Republic quickly portrays the nation with uncertainty, as many Nigerians are apprehensive of what the future of the country might be. This is as a result of series of threats and attacks that have been ravaging the nation in recent time. With the proliferation of arms and ammunitions gaining entrants into the country on daily basis, it becomes glaringly clear that insurgents are emerging in different parts of the country. This also has resulted in bunkering of Nigeria's oil, armed robberies, kidnapping and rising trend in ethno-religious conflicts across the countries among others (Ahmadu, 2019). Over the years, emerging forms of human, social and political organization have stimulated necessity for the protection and safety of the individual, family, community and the nation. As threats become incessant and recurrence on daily basis, insecurity emerged as the dominant fear of human beings. Insecurity in the present circumstance arose out of social and political contradictions such as the crisis of legitimacy, autonomy and sovereignty. Thus, at the

regional level, porous borders, insurgent movements, poverty, human trafficking, official corruption with impunity and underdevelopment have resulted in high level insecurity. To this end, both internal and external threats are becoming a global phenomenon (Okoli & Ioryer, 2014). Nigeria's North West, one of the country's six geopolitical zones, comprises seven of the country's 36 states. These are Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara. It covers an area of 216,065 sq km or 25.75 per cent of the country's total land mass – close to the size of the UK. Its major ethnic groups are the Hausa and Fulani, who historically share strong cultural ties and are very much intermixed, with other smaller groups especially in Kaduna state. The region's estimated population of 33 million (based on figures from the contentious 2006 census) is predominantly Muslim (Sunni). Most of the population (about 80 per cent) are farmers, pastoralists, agro-pastoralists or small-scale entrepreneurs. The region has substantial solid mineral deposits, including gold exploited by

artisanal miners in open pit mines (NPC, 2006).

For more than four years, northwestern Nigeria has faced devastating attacks from armed bandits, particularly in the states of Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna, Niger, and Sokoto. Such attacks are driven by many overlapping factors, including cattle rustling, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, illicit artisanal mining, youth unemployment, poverty, and inequality. This further compounded by the weakened, stretched, and demoralized security services, which are deployed in thirty-five of Nigeria's thirty-six states and will soon enter the second-decade of their war against Boko Haram, one of Africa's deadliest terror groups. It is estimated that many of the armed bandits are of Fulani origin, as are many of the victims. Banditry, which includes armed robbery, murder, rape, and cattle-rustling, is present in Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Senegal and Mali (National Bureau of Statistics, 2019).

The North West has the highest poverty rate in Nigeria, considering its economic potential. As of 2019, poverty levels were above the national average of 40.1 percent for all seven states in the region, led by Sokoto (87.7 percent), Jigawa (87 percent) and Zamfara (74 percent)(United Nation International Children Fund, 2019). Millions lack access to basic health care and clean water, and coverage of immunization is well below national objectives. Although the area has a long and proud tradition of Islamic and Arabic scholarship, apathy for formal education and insufficient investment have led to a literacy rate of 29.7 per cent over the decades (Hanna, 2018). The region has the largest number of out-of-school children in Nigeria at present (Hanna, 2018). Millions of children are in the poorly resourced and poorly controlled Quranic school system, or almajiranci, which creates cohorts of unqualified youth, on top of those who do not attend school at all (Alkali,2015). The area also suffers, like the rest of the world, from very weak local governance, marked by the mismanagement of public funds (United Nation International Children Fund, 2019).

From January to December 2019, armed

bandits were responsible for more than 1,000 civilian deaths in the Northwest, according to a report from the West Africa Network for Peace Building (WANEP). This is greater than the civilians killed by Boko Haram over the same period, according to the Nigeria Security Tracker (though not greater than all those killed, which includes soldiers and Boko Haram members). The consequences of these deaths have ripple effects that last for decades across cultures. A committee set up to investigate the danger of armed banditry, headed by former police inspector general MuhammedAbubakar, estimated that 4,983 women were widowed in Zamfara state between June 2011 and May 2019; 25,050 children were orphaned; and more than 190,000 people were displaced as a result of armed banditry.

The Nigerian security forces initially responded to this issue by increasing the deployment of the military and police to the troubled zones. These deployment were under several code names such as “Operation Puff Adder,”“DiranMikiya,” “SharanDaji,” HadarinDaji,” “Thunder Strike”, and “Exercise Harbin Kunama 111.” But these operations have produced mixed results. While the security forces have successfully pushed back bandit attacks, destroyed several hideouts, and killed or arrested hundreds of bandits, attacks have continued(Momale, Nawaj, Duperas, 2019).

The importance attached to security therefore is expressed in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Section 14 (2) (b) of the Constitution states that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. The implication of this is that the responsibility of safeguarding lives and property as well as the welfare of the entire Nigerians against any form of threats rested on the military and other security agencies (FGN, 1999).

Statement of the Problem

About 200 years ago, exactly in 1826, the North was aptly described by the Scottish explorer, Huge Clapperton, in his memoirs thus:” a woman can walk alone on foot from Kano to Sokoto without fear of molestation”.

This explains the level of peace, tranquility and social justice established under the Sokoto Caliphate. What a turn of events? Today, the same Northern Nigeria's having become so insecure that even Army Generals dare not to follow roads and opt for the rail, sometimes in uniform. Surely five years ago, the gross situation in the country was very bad with half of Borno State under the full control of the Boko Haram insurgents, now banished to the Sambisa Forest, Mandara Hills and the shores of Lake Chad. However, the larger North has become worse especially its rural areas. Rural North is Nigeria's food basket, and unfortunately due to banditry is facing eminent famine this year (UNICEF, 2019). Though we are being reassured that the Army and Police are doing their best, the situation is deteriorating daily. It is very embarrassing to see bandits attacking a boarding secondary school in Kankara, Katsina State, taking away over 300 young kids in a Chibok attack style, in a week when Mr. President was on a private visit to his State (Daily Trust, 2020).

The problem of Armed Banditry in North West is worsened by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons affected by conflict especially in the African Sahel region due to lack of successfully implementation of disarmament programs. Most often than not targeted groups merely cross porous borders acquiring new identities in the process. Coupled with poor communication, lack of social amenities such as good roads, adequate power supply and health facilities and poverty aggravate the situations transforming it into ideal space for rustling, smuggling and small arms trade. These conditions also provide potential routes for terrorist activities. These core challenges of human security are increased further by democratic governance's failure to deliver development and livelihood security for either individuals or groups of people in the study area. Also perhaps, major violent crises have been manifestations of the deteriorating human security situation and the failure of democratic governance in North West Nigeria. It has also sparked discourses that frame conflicts between different occupational groups such as crop farmers and grazers (Chuma-Okoro, 2013, Egwu, 2014;

Augustine, 2015, Shinkafi, 2020).

We must therefore start to 'think out of the box' if a solution is to be found, and do this quickly to bring an end to this growing and very dangerous situation. Insurgency, terrorism, banditry, kidnapping for ransom, herdsmen attacks and other acts of criminality, could all be related and we must attacks frontally and quickly bring both short and long term solutions before the country becomes another War-Lords-Governed Somalia. BnFodio's thesis in 1802 titled "Bayan WujubulHijrahAlalIbad" (The Compulsion of Migration on God's Servants) could have applied to our current situation but for the post-colonial borders. We must therefore remain and bring forth solutions from within.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective is to look at armed banditry and its impact on North Western Nigeria and proffer solutions to this. The specific objectives are to:

- i. Examine the underlying causes of the current banditry and human security in Northern Nigeria and their mode of operation through which the bandits spilled over to the rest of the country.
- ii. Examine the impact of the insecurity on the Nigerian economy at large and Northern Nigeria in particular.
- iii. Espouse the lessons learnt by Nigerian and the response made by the Nigerian policy makers.
- iv. Recommend policy measures that should be adopted to reduce the negative impact of similar crisis in the future.

Conceptualization

Armed Banditry

Understanding armed banditry may create a problem when one tries to delineate the difference between it and armed robbery. This is because in each situation there is the use of force and weapons of offence and defense. The basic aim is that of dispossessing their victims of their possessions, in the course of which injury or even death may occur. Robbery is a

proto-type of the kind of crime most feared by the public. It usually involves theft with violence or threat of violence by a person, with whom the victim has had no previous contact, and it is usually unprovoked and unpredictable (Conklin, 1992:103). It is therefore the crime of taking or attempting to take something of value by force or by putting fear in the victim. The lives and actions of the bandits on the other hand are often shrouded in mystery and legend and usually involve violent acts, by common criminals who may be termed 'ignoble robbers' for whom theft is simply an expedient means to an end (Slatta, 1987: 22).

Banditry according to (Slatta, 1987) is the taking away of property by force or the threat of force, often by a group, usually of men. Of necessity, bandits usually operate in the shadows, often on the fringes of society, in geographically isolated areas. Armed banditry has been observed to be carried out in homes, workplaces, schools, banks, highways and neighborhoods; it seems to be concentrated in towns, cities, urban centers and major highways. The robbers are also mostly residents of these towns and cities. Bandits on the other hand are observed to operate from among hills and bushes, along major highways and bush paths, and between villages. They have no fixed abode during their operations, villages are razed, cattle stolen and persons displaced. Since it is not easy to arrive at a conception of armed banditry that will command general acceptance by all scholars, a worthwhile conception must therefore be faithful to the empirical world that it purports to represent. This means, ideally, that the conception should be developed through a careful examination of a set of representative instances of armed banditry with the aim of identifying its essential features. We can therefore start from the premise that armed banditry is a distinctive type of armed robbery. Conceptually therefore, armed banditry and armed robbery are complimentary and can indeed supplement each other. Both derive from a complex of inter-related socio-economic factors, but are primarily related to the actor's search for greater wellbeing. Armed banditry for the purpose of this study should be seen as the practice of raiding and

attacking victims by members of an armed group, whether or not premeditated, using weapons of offence or defense especially in semi-organized groups for the purpose of overpowering the victim and obtaining loot or achieving some political goals. Such bandits are usually regarded as outlaws and desperate lawless marauders who do not have a definite residence or destination, and they roam around the forest and mountains to avoid being detected or arrested.

Human Security

The definition of human security is subject to policy and academic debate in literature. Its first, most commonly cited usage came in the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report. The report devoted a chapter the 'New Dimensions of Human Security', characterizing the term as a "a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced," as well as stating that human security was universal; its components interdependent; based upon preventative, rather than reactionary measures; and intrinsically people-centered (UN, 1994, p.22-23). Defining human security as "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and disruptions in the patterns of daily life," the UNDP broadened the conceptualization of security. This moved it away from state-centric approach that had prevailed to encompass seven key individual centric components: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security (UN, 1994, p.24-25).

As underlined in General Assembly resolution 66/290, "human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people. " It calls for people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people." (UN. Org: 2020). For the purpose of this paper, the conceptualization offered by the UN aligns with how Banditry impacts

humanity by making them vulnerable to economic, so-political and food insecurity among others. This vulnerability has played out in Nigeria since the outbreak of the disease in the country.

Human security in Nigeria is threatened by economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Banditry dislocated the economic security of millions of Northern Nigeria as it disrupted their stable basic income from productive and remunerative work. Banditry caused many Nigeria households to suffer food insecurity and it seriously threatened their health security because the incidents of rape and other forms of gender based violence in Nigeria increased which threaten personal security of the people. It is in view of the effects of Banditry that the FGN and other stakeholders make efforts to combat the crisis in order to enhance the security and wellbeing of the people.

What drives Banditry in Northwestern Nigeria?

Banditry, in the northwestern states of Zamfara, Kaduna and Katsina has reached alarming heights in recent years. Bandits terrorize villages with impunity. They have actually settled in Zamfara state, setting up fortified enclaves in the hinterland and on the frontiers, from where they plot and carry out their operations (Shinkafi, 2020).

Crimes thrive in context where there's little deterrence. In most of Nigeria's rural communities, there are many opportunities for criminal activity. Some of these communities are located in remote areas where there is little or no government presence. More importantly, households are in some cases separated by and interspersed with forest areas. This renders them vulnerable to banditry. The situation is made worse by the absence of effective community policing mechanisms capable of addressing the hinterlands peculiar security challenges (Chikwuma&Francis, 2014).

The prevailing socio-existential conditions in northwestern Nigeria have complicated the security situation. The rural pastoral sector is not well regulated. Illicit artisanal mining and

the proliferation of arms in the region are also veritable factors. Geography plays a role, too. Northwestern Nigeria's forestlands are vast, rugged and hazardous. They are also grossly under policed. Some of the forests run alongside the diverse porous borderlines on the region's frontiers. Borders are poorly delineated, under-policed and thus not well governed. The consequences of this are an abundance of nefarious activity, often facilitated by the criminal syndicates (Rufai, 2018).

Rural banditry in northwestern Nigeria also derives impetus from the poorly governed mining and small arms sector. Bandits have been drawn to the region by illicit and artisanal mining in states like Zamfara where bandits have been raiding mining sites for gold and cash. The federal government has recognized the apparent linkage between rural banditry and illicit mining. It suspended all forms of mining in Zamfara State in early April of 2019. Transhumance: the movement of cattle is poorly regulated. This has seen it being infiltrated by criminals, which has led to the intensification of cattle rustling in the region. In states such as Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara and Kebbi, there exists a clan of livestock bandits who specialize in mass cattle raids. While some of these cattle rustling gangs are affiliated to local and transnational syndicates, a number of them are mercenaries of Boko Haram. Cattle rustling constitute a valuable source of funding for the terror group (Momde, 2019, Shinkafi, 2020).

Theoretical Framework

There are number of perspectives upon which the horrendous activities in Northern Nigeria could be fully appreciated. These perspectives include among others the Frustration aggression thesis, Marxist conflict thesis, failed state and human need theory. Of these, this paper adopted failed state thesis in its attempt to analyse the emergence of insurgency and banditry syndrome in Nigeria. It is an eclectic theoretical framework and the essence is to observe the ineffectiveness of public policies and governmental regulations among which internal security could be located. The proponents are Osaghae (2010),

Reno (2002), Zartmain (1995), Migdal (2001) and Reymaekers (2005). They argued that states in Africa constitute a generic species and has continued to be the lowest substratum in order of ranking when it comes to matter of performance. They stressed further that state failure in Africa is as a result of regional phenomenon.

The premise of this thesis as advance by Khomsky (2006) in his work "Failed State: the abuse of power and the Assault on democracy" argued that a state should have the monopoly of legitimate violence in its territory. State should have the ability and capability, military or other wise to curtail vagaries of internal violence as to protect both the criminal and the conformists. The thesis further added that state emerge on the basis of thrust, protection of fundamental human right, ability to make collective decisions, ensure distributive justice contents internal crises and animosity. As in the words of Thomas Aquinas (1225-74).

The state make emperor or king; a people set a man over it to the end that he may rule justly, given to every man his own, aiding good men and coercing bad; in short, that the state may give justice to all men. If then the agent violates the agreement according to which the representative was chosen, disturbing and confounding the very things which he was meant to put in order, reasons dictates that the state absolve the people from their obedience; especially when he has himself first broken the faith which bound him and the people together. By his oath at his coronation the state is supposed to have a pact with the citizens to promote a happy and virtues life and if the state failed to fulfill the implied fact the state cease to deserve citizen's obedience.

However, the failed state index published 2015 by Fund for Peace clearly corroborates the extent to which state has failed or failing. Unfortunately, on the basis of this report, most of the glaring features of the Nigerian state

- i. Loss of control of its territory or of monopoly on the legitimate use of violent.
- ii. Erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decision.
- iii. Inability to provide public services (essential social amenities and basic needs)
- iv. Inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community.

However, of all four indexes of failed state, there is no doubt that 1-3 above have become recurring decimal in Nigeria. No wonder the league of the worst 20 cases in the failed state rank Nigeria the worst 20th in 2007, 19th 2008, 15th 2009, 14th 2010 and 14th 2011 respectively. This analysis explains the audacity of the banditry which contributed significantly to the worsening Nigerian security challenges.

Therefore, the Nigerian state contrary to the media humbug is regarded as the enemy not just to the bandits, but by several Nigerians, groups and host of others who advance their grievances in different dimension as the state has failed to provide greatest happiness to their greatest number. The resultant state of affairs is that each group is attacking that state with pottage fierceness as Boko-Haram bombs using whatever means at its disposal. A state where politicians 'break the law with impunity; where law enforcement agents become law breakers see or hear no evil at a slight inducement; where civil servant refuse to stand by moral code of conduct; where mass media report becomes unsubstantiated and diluted; where corruption is the ultimate and only game in town; where hard work is not rewarded and crime is not punishable demonstrate that the state is heading towards a looming danger (Baban'umma, 2010).

What the above perpetrators have in common with the contemporary bandits is that the premise on which they act is justifiable and that

the Nigerian state is unfair to them, if not an outright enemy there by advancing alternative means knowing clearly the state has failed. This is exemplifying in the ways and manners the Nigerian citizens are flagging to decide their faith, the likes of various groups across the nooks and crannies of the country. This is a dangerous and devastating trends leading to de-Nigerianisation process. Giving the democratic and security situations in Nigeria and the current trends in security breaches, the theories above capture the study.

Research Methodology

In this research paper, the data for the study were basically selected from secondary sources materials such as textbooks, internet sourced materials, newspapers and magazines, journals and articles through the method of qualitative content analysis.

The Socio- Economic and Political Impact of the Banditry on Human Security in Northwestern Nigeria

Banditry and other causes of insecurity in northern Nigeria have been allowed to degenerate into a complex national emergency with dire territorial implications. This mirrors exactly what happened with the Boko Haram insurgency. From sporadic incidents, Boko Haram began launching systematic attacks targeted at individuals, communities and, eventually the state.

Educational Effect

The Bandits have attacked Nigeria's education system, targeting Northern Nigerian schools, students and teachers, disrupting access to education and social services, especially for young people. Teachers have been targeted, kidnapped, and killed in some instances. Schools were demolished and damaged, and people who were internally displaced converted school into shelters. If we use conflict incidents instead of casualties to measure the effect on education, we find that during in 2019, one additional conflict incident in a 5-km radius from the child's village decreases the likelihood of school enrollment by 2 percentage points for the child. This translates into a 4 percent drop in overall school enrolment (from 68 percent to 64

percent). For each additional conflict event when it is carried out by Bandit, the impact of a conflict event becomes even greater than 3 percentage points and the target is a school (Abdulqadir, 2020, Shinkafi, 2020).

Due to mass displacements in affected areas, educational deprivation in the North-West area has been aggravated by armed banditry. The escalation of banditry, however, has led to a large number of out-of-school kids in the area. In the North-West (Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kebbi, Kano) and Niger states in the North Central region, 30 percent of the 10.5 million out-of-school children in Nigeria are in the region (premium times news, 2019).

Besides, as school activities were interrupted in disadvantaged areas, for fear of kidnapping of students or assaults and murder by bandits, the few existing schools were unable to function properly. Owing to insecurity on major roads, parents have discouraged their children from attending schools. This in turn increased teachers' work turnover in these societies. On May 1, 2019, at the Government Girls Secondary School in Zuru LGA of Zamfara State, a failed attack by school bandits was reported (Thisday live, 2019). A 'Threat Note' to shut down a Government Day Secondary School in Zamfara State's TalataMafara LGA also generated tension as students and teachers stayed away from the school (Abdulkadir, 2020). This situation further exposes children to the possibility of abuse and exploitation.

Armed men invaded the Government Science Secondary School for boys in Kankara (state of Katsina) on 11 December 2020 and abducted an undisclosed number of students, most of who have returned. The assault has been alleged by Boko Haram, who typically operates in northeastern states. In Katsina province, all secondary schools were closed, followed by school closures in the states of Kano, Kaduna, Zamfara, and Jigawa. Student and school attacks limit access to education and highlight the need for safe educational facilities and security for students in violent and conflict-affected states. In Nigeria, 10.5 million children are out of school aged 5-14 years. The situation in the north of the country is of particular concern, since only 53% of

children aged 6-11 years attend primary school on a regular basis(Shinkafi, 2020).

Effect on Social Dislocation and Internal Displacements

In Kankara LGA, Katsina province, violence and fear of attacks resulted in more than 3,400 people fleeing the villages of Gatakawa, Zurunkutu, and Dan Nakwaguzo, arriving in Kankara town on 26-27 November. (4/12/2020) They need shelter, sanitation kits, food and NFIs. Over the last decade, violence in north-western Nigeria has claimed thousands of lives. Considering that most of the conflict has occurred in remote rural areas and has thus never been reported by either the news media or security forces, accurate estimates for casualties in the country are difficult to come by. However, at least 8,000 individuals were killed from 2011 to 2019, mainly in Zamfara province, with the majority of the casualties occurring over the last five years. There are hundreds left behind or unaccounted for (Ahmadu, 2019,Shinkafi, 2020).

In the North West, one of the most noticeable consequences of armed banditry includes the internal displacement of neighborhood people. According to a 2019 report released by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Nigerian Government, more than 200,000 individuals have been internally displaced in many communities in Zamfara, Katsina and Sokoto states between January and August 2019. Most of these IDPs were women, children and the elderly taking refuge in the neighboring Republic of Niger, Cameroon and Chad. Reports from the Zamfara State Government revealed that banditry has resulted in an estimated 22,000 widows and 44,000 orphans since 2011 in Zamfara State (PM News, June, 2019).

Owing to the enormity of the impacted populations, the provision of humanitarian aid to displaced persons and communities in the North-West has been a very complex problem. In some internally displaced camps in the host States, factors arising from erratic and/or zero food distribution, inadequate shelters, poor medical services and facilities, among others, were evident. A humanitarian problem was

also caused by the crisis. It has displaced hundreds of thousands of people. In September 2019, a joint assessment mission by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons, citing local government authorities' estimates, recorded 210,354 persons displaced from 171 towns and villages in the North West. Of these, 144,996 were in Zamfara state, 35,941 in Sokoto and 29,417 in Katsina. Approximately 60,000 of the displaced also fled across the border to the Niger Republic, where 19,000 Nigerians were internally displaced by the same instability along the border areas. On 22 February 2020, the Government of the Nigerian State of Niger (which shares borders with the states of Zamfara, Kebbi and Kaduna) announced that violence had displaced 10,000 people from communities in ten of the state's states (Daily Trust, 2020).

A survey conducted at some evaluated locations in the state of Zamfara revealed that 70% of the displaced population in the Internally Displaced Person camps expressed irregular distribution of food. Nevertheless, local and foreign organizations' activities in the provision of relief materials and the provision of health care further complemented government efforts to displace persons (Punch newspaper, 2019). As affected states continue to report a decrease in violent attacks, an estimated 25,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) out of the 37,000 IDPs in Zamfara State were reintegrated into the communities as of August 2019. The remaining 12,000 IDPS were in the host communities in Katsina, Kaduna, Kebbi, Sokoto and some areas of the Niger Republic, according to the Zamfara State Emergency Management Agency (ZEMA) (ZEMA, 2019).

The provision by federal and state governments of social services and public facilities has been adversely impacted. Instead, state government funds that would have been dedicated to delivering social services were redirected to respond to the challenge of defense. Many remain unused or under-used even where governments have constructed hospitals and schools, as the local population has been displaced or residents avoid using

them for fear of attacks (Abdulkadir, 2020).

Effects on Livelihoods and Food Security

A climate of instability has been created by violence and warfare in north-western Nigeria. Violence by bandits has plagued communities living in the northwest of Nigeria's Zamfara, Kaduna, Niger, Sokoto, Kebbi and Katsina states. Approximately 21 million people living in these states have been subjected to bandit insecurity. The banditry violence started as a farmer/herder conflict in 2011 and escalated between 2017 and 2018 to include cattle rustling, abduction for ransom, sexual violence and killings, unrelated to the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast. Around 35 out of 92 local government areas in the 4 states have been affected by the conflict. Further intensifying the presence and actions of armed groups in the northwest has been the discovery of gold mines and the activities of illicit miners vying for the control of gold deposits. By March 2020, there were over 210,000 people internally displaced. By the beginning of March 2020, over 35,000 refugees had crossed the communal borders to Maradi in the Niger Republic. These refugees are located in Madaou, Dan DajiMakaou, Garin Kaka and GuidanRoundji, in the Tahoua region (Abdulkadir, 2020).

Violence has had knock-on security consequences elsewhere in the country. In the three most affected states (Zamfara, Sokoto and Katsina), herders fleeing conflict are moving south, straining resources in the Middle Belt and southern regions of the nation. While the influx of Fulani cattle herders has been going on in the more southern regions for decades, the uptick seems to intensify tensions in the south-east, south-west and Niger Delta. Increasing herder-farmer frictions are reported in these regions, often degenerating into lethal violence. In the North West, several criminal groups fleeing police operations have also relocated to the central and southern states, creating additional security problems for the affected communities and the governing authorities (UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2019).

Insecurity has also adversely affected the exploitation of environmental resources (e.g.

gold mining) in the North-West region, thereby affecting the livelihoods and growth potential of the affected states. Artisanal mining activities were attracted by the presence of lucrative gold deposits in Zamfara State, as bandits and families relied on it for livelihood maintenance. Nevertheless, gold is stolen and sold on the international market, resulting in a loss of income for the economy of Nigeria. AlhajiAbubakarBwari, the former Minister of Mines and Steel Production, disclosed that Nigeria lost 353 billion Naira from the illegal activities of gold miners and smugglers between 2016 and 2018 (Momale&Duperas, 2019).

While artisanal mining has been linked to economic benefits, including informal employment, poor extraction standards have led to soil degradation, water contamination and health risks. The State announced an outbreak of 'lead poisoning' disease in 2010 and 2013 due to illegal mining operations, resulting in a death toll of 734 children less than 5 years of age. In view of the fact that agriculture is the backbone of local economies, agricultural disruption due to bandit attacks affects agricultural productivity, with significant repercussions for food security. Most farming communities have been forced to abandon their farms, especially in areas close to forest areas, as bandits have taken advantage of these locations to attack communities. Few farmers who remained behind were subject to bandit taxation before gaining access to their farms. Approximately 30% of the agricultural land in Kaduna State was abandoned by the affected communities, while agricultural activities in Zamfara and Katsina States were limited to a few areas, resulting in a 60% decrease in food output (Rufai, 2018).

In Kebbi State, as a result of bandit attacks, over 350 rice farmers were affected by farmland abandonment. The diminishing income of local farmers and other vulnerable groups, especially women, also affects their ability to support education for children and household income. Violence in the North West continues to spread, with security forces already over-burdened. The long-running counter-insurgency operations by the military

against jihadists in the North East have dragged on, partially because of insufficient manpower and equipment (Ahmadu, 2019, Rufai, 2018). More resources needed to the east will be drained by continued military participation in countering bandit and other activity in the North West. The propensity of state governments affected by the spillover from the North West to establish local vigilantes or paramilitary groups is an additional emerging danger. On 9 January 2020, governors of all six states-Ekiti, Lagos, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun and Osun-established the Western Nigeria Security Network, also referred to as Operation Amotekun, in the South West geopolitical zone, following widespread protests over deadly incidents between Fulani herders and local farmers, along with kidnappings increasingly involving criminals from the North West. This development could set a precedent for the advent of ethno-regional security arrangements elsewhere in the world, which could also erode national stability if it becomes a trend while boosting security locally.

Effect on Wider Economic Costs

The violence has profoundly disturbed the economy in many parts of north-western Nigeria. Agriculture, which is the livelihoods for about 80% of the population, has been especially hard hit. Farmers in the affected areas have been leaving their fields for many years for fear of attack or kidnapping. In Zamfara state, as a result of attacks by herder-allied armed groups and criminal gangs, over 13,000 hectares of farmland have been either destroyed or made inaccessible (SSG, 2019). The State Emergency Management Agency estimates in Sokoto state that as of October 2019, some 21,316 hectares of farmland remained uncultivated across five local government areas, as 80,000 intimidated farmers stayed away (Daily Trust, 2019). Similarly, huge numbers of livestock were lost: from 2011 to 2019, for example, about 141,360 cattle and 215,241 sheep were rustled in Zamfara state. In some communities, these disturbances have impoverished farmers and herders alike, produced food shortages, and exacerbated malnutrition, particularly among children. In April 2020, Governor Abubakar

Bello of the State of Niger warned: "We are heading towards famine and starvation" (Leadership, 2020)

The movement of illegal weapons is also a cause of security concern in communities in the North-West region. In addition to reported deaths, attacks by bandits on communities increased social risks, discouraged investment and caused individuals and communities to undergo economic crises. In the North-Central region, the conflict has triggered a spillover impact on other neighboring communities and local government areas of the Niger State, hindering inter-communal and inter-state trade. As a number of major local markets, such as Iiella, Dandume, Maidabino, Kankara (Katsina State) and Bardoki, Shinkafi (Zamfara State) have been shut down due to incessant attacks, Insecurity has had a significant effect on other economic activities in the area (All Farmers Association of Nigeria officials,, 18 January 2020.)

The strategic nature of the trading locations made them attractive for foodstuffs like maize, millet, guinea corn and beans to major traders from across other regions of the world. However, their proximity to forest reserves has made these markets vulnerable to attacks. As revenue production and business sales/supplies decreased in the markets, this had an adverse impact on trading activities. A Katsina State revenue officer revealed that 'food trailers on the market decreased from eight (8) weekly trailers to half a truck in two months,' while revenue earnings decreased from 500,000 naira to less than 100,000 naira (Tanko, 2019). Commerce was similarly interrupted. In north-western Nigeria, thousands of shops and other businesses are in ruins or have been shut down because of direct attacks and kidnappings of businessmen, which have fed increasing fears of insecurity. Significant private property has been lost: "more than 10,000 houses, shops and silos" were destroyed at Zamfara state as of April 2019 (Leadership. April 2019). Local traders are afraid to transport farm produce to markets as road travel is risky. Also, investor confidence has plummeted. In May 2019, the National Trade Fair organized by the government of the State of Niger reported a

very poor turnout, a situation attributed to the fears of bandit attacks and kidnappings by the president of the State Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturing, Mines and Agriculture, Abdulkadir Hassan, by aspiring participants. The disposable income of relatively wealthy families in the region has also decreased: in Zamfara, from an average of about 4,500 in previous years to 1,500 in 2019, the number of people who can afford to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina dropped from about 4,500 in previous years to 1,500 in 2019 (SSG, 2019). Suffering, especially by women

The loss of many human lives and the displacement of the different classes of populations have resulted from banditry. In these modern types of abuse, women and children continue to bear the brunt. The illegal activities carried out by bandits in the North West have increased the insecurity of the region's women and children. Some women were faced with early widowhood or the death of their children in the affected communities, while some children were orphaned and forced to leave their villages for safety. This remains a crucial issue for human security, as numerous types of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) still occur. In Katsina and the Niger State, several cases of rape by bandits have been recorded (Ahmadu, 2019).

SGBV reports have been registered amongst the displaced (UNGO, 2019). Community members and leaders have highlighted a high incidence of SGBV, including rape and forced marriage explicitly targeted at women and young girls due to the presence and activities of bandits in rural areas, in a field evaluation conducted in Zamfara State using 'Focus Group Discussion' (FGD). Further studies have shown that kidnapping is the greatest risk faced by children in the affected states, as most children are kidnapped for ransom, while female children are kidnapped for sex and others for child labor (MSNA, 2019).

This often happened on the way to the market or during village attacks while gathering firewood. Females were also perpetrators, despite being victims of abuse. They disguise themselves as food vendors to provide information to bandits and are also suppliers/carriers of guns, narcotics and other

fundamental bandit needs. In May 2019, four women working as informants and cooking for bandits in the state were arrested by the Katsina State Police Command (MSNA, 2019). In addition, (Abdulkadir, 2020) states that "wars" and conflicts frequently leave women in circumstances where they can barely make ends meet. If they occur when attempting to make it across the border or in a refugee camp, they have little or no tools at all to fight these acts of aggression.

The Shelving of Development Projects

Because of the state of anarchy and lawlessness in the North West region, it is very difficult to implement any development project. Government officers and the NGOs based in the area live in constant fear of the bandits. The often wanton destruction of life and property and the use of terror in all its manifestations tend to undermine the sense of value, dignity and harmony. It should be noted, that a climate of peace is a prerequisite for the respect and enjoyment of human rights, and for sustainable socio-economic development. North-western Nigeria is no exception to this rule.

Nigerian Policy Response

Nigeria's federal and state governments initially responded to the violence primarily through military and police operations, and by prescribing harsher punishments for armed attacks, but results were disappointing. President Muhammadu Buhari repeatedly charged troops with eliminating armed elements destabilizing the North West, deploying soldiers and police along with air assets to the region over the course of several consecutive operations. But the state security presence on the ground remains too small and poorly resourced to subdue the armed groups or protect communities across the vast territory. At the same time, military operations against armed groups in the region have dispersed some of them to other regions, deepening insecurity countrywide.

Some state governments have more recently engaged in peace talks with herderallied armed groups, partly because these groups are perceived as the major actors in the violence. They are offering amnesties to those willing to disarm, while pledging to address herders'

grievances and needs. These concessions produced peace agreements that curbed the violence in late 2019, but with deadly incidents continuing and the region awash in arms, the sustainability of these deals is highly questionable (Ahmadu, 2019). According to Zamfara state secretary to the government in continuation of disarmament process as second phase of peace dialogue assented to by royal fathers, scholars, security agencies and other stakeholders, more weapons have just been surrendered by new repentant bandits who have forwarded themselves to take oath on the Glorious Qur'an never to go back to banditry or aid such a nefarious activity (Maru, 2021). The federal government's attempts to contain armed groups in the North West have largely depended on the security forces. Since 2016, the federal police have launched several "anti-banditry" operations, focusing on herder-allied armed groups and roving criminal gangs. The Nigerian security forces also responded to this issue by increasing the deployment of the military and police to the troubled zones. These deployment were under several code names such as "Operation Puff Adder," "DikanMikiya," "SharanDaji," "HadarinDaji," "Thunder Strike", and "Exercise Harbin Kunama 111." But these operations have produced mixed results. While the security forces have successfully pushed back bandit attacks, destroyed several hideouts, and killed or arrested hundreds of bandits, attacks have continued. Starting in 2016, the army has also expanded troop presence in the region, converting the Falgore forest in Kano state into a permanent training ground, establishing three new forward operating bases in that forest and in the Kafanchan and Kachia local government areas of Kaduna state, and launching five operations under "anti-banditry" mandates. The air force, which has become increasingly involved since 2017, has also deployed new units (including special forces personnel) and, since 2018, conducted numerous aerial operations targeting forest encampments of herder-allied armed groups and criminal groups (Marafa, 2019, Maru, 2019). The government's April 2019 attempt to prohibit all forms of gold mining in Zamfara

state, citing possible links between miners and criminals, has also had limited impact. Authorities have struggled to enforce the ban because of the remote location of many mining sites, limited resources for monitoring compliance and resistance by some powerful individuals behind the industry.

In curtailing the insecurity, armed groups challenges President Buhari had on Tuesday 26 2021 approved the immediate resignation of the then Service Chiefs, Abayomi Olonisakin; Chief of Army Staff, Vice Admiral Ibok Ekwehbas; and Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Sadique Abubakar. The President announced the appointment replacement in the persons of Major-General Leo Irabor, Chief of Defense Staff; Major-General H. Attahiru, Chief of Army Staff; Rear Admiral A.Z Gambo, Chief of Naval Staff; and Air-Vice Marshal I.O Amao, Chief of Air Staff (BBC News, 2021).

Considering the fact that the responses made by the Nigerian Government to the crisis are entirely short run in approach, there is the need to take long run measures in order to reduce our vulnerabilities to these kinds of crises in the future. Given the size and scope of the economic impact of the banditry on human security, there is the need to implement other recovery strategies to stimulate demand.

Conclusion

The paper is an attempt to extrapolate the nexus between Banditry and Human Security in Nigeria: The Impacts and the Way Forward. The paper contends that dividends of democracy have not really been achieved and to that effect, hopes and aspirations of many Nigerians (North) dashed despite the re-introduction of democracy in the country in May, 1999. The paper further argues that the rising waves of crimes such as armed banditry, armed robberies, kidnappings, and bunkering of the oil pipelines as well as the emergence of militancy across the nations was as a result of bad leadership. The paper further argues that unless there is a synergy the operation of security agencies their retirement from service. Those involved were the Chief of Defense Staff, General in the country the much desired peace cannot be guaranteed. Therefore, the

military and the paramilitary operative should collaborate and stem the tide in their security networks in order to forestall against unforeseen perils.

Recommendations

The paper wishes to recommend the following as additional measures and the way forward: Findings indicated that there is obvious failure on the part of government security agencies in efforts to prevent and control acts of armed banditry. As a result, it is recommended that, government should recognize vigilante groups while also resuscitating local community monitoring systems.

The federal government and governments of the North West states should continue to seek resolution of conflicts between herders and farmers that have been the engine of instability in the region, including through negotiated settlements that build upon previous state-level disarmament efforts.

Recruitment of 100 hunters in each Local Government of the North, organizing them and providing them with weapons and ammunition, some may prefer the Double Barrel Shot Gun (DBSG) while others may be given Rifles, such as the AK-47 and where necessary RPG Launchers. They need to be given a short training on communications during operations as well as intelligence gathering. They need to understand the role of GSM and Global Position System (GPS) in locating bandits.

These hunters must be screened at their ward levels to ensure they are of good character with guarantors in the community including Heads of Families, Imams, ward and village heads. For long these traditional institutions had been neglected and in some places the bandits have incorporated them into their networks.

Each LG should have a Commander and be given the mandate to clear the Bandits in their Local Government Area. Where there is need for coordinated action across the neighboring LGAs, the Commanders can sit and organize a joint action. This may be necessary in Forests such as DajinRugu in Katsina State which covers about 6 LGAs and part of Zamfara State.

At the end of the exercise, the Civilian Joint

Task Force (CJTF) of each state should be absorbed into the Army or Police or better create a new Security Outfit for each state to assist in fighting crime on a sustainable way. This may be a foundation for establishing a new State Security Force, which is long overdue. The South had for long been clamoring for State Police and there is really no cogent reason to stop that.

In the long term, after securing the nation, we must plan to create jobs and banish the endemic poverty in the North. This will require reviving the Northern industries by providing captive power supplies to industrial clusters through the Gas Master Plan, the AKK Gas Pipeline being a branch of it; the establishment of new industries utilizing natural gas such as urea fertilizer, methanol, polymers, etc...

Equally important our secondary schools and institutions of Higher Learning must change gear to train students in skills so that graduates of these institutions will have hands-on skills to deploy in Nigeria or overseas for gainful employment or even self-employment.

Conventional warfare will never defeat insurgency and banditry and so our conventional thinking will continue to fail, as long as we don't rise up and do something differently to avoid self-extinction in the North. We must approach our security challenges in new and innovative ways.

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