

## **THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF ARMED BANDITRY, KIDNAPPING AND CATTLE RUSTLING IN SOME SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN ZAMFARA STATE**

**BY**

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### **Abstract**

*This research study, attempts to find out how armed banditry, kidnapping and cattle rustling has been disturbing the entire community in Zamfara State, and specifically Seven out of 14 local government area of the State which is distress to humanity and touch the Sociological life of the people in term of their communication. The Seven local governments chosen as case studies from three senatorial zones are; Shinkafi, B/Magaji and Zurmi, (Zamfara north); Tsafe and Maru in (Zamfara central) and; Anka and Maradun in (Zamfara west). Ten affected wards have been chosen from each local government, making total of seventy wards chosen to be the sample size of the study. The research categorically identified the root causes of the violence which includes Changes in land ownership; encroachment and sales of grazing land to farmers; and environmental factors that led to a largely absence of peaceful coexistence. The study adopts the democratic peace study as a theoretical frame work. Fulbe communities felt marginalized by government and therefore invited their relatives from elsewhere to take revenge. Another key factor the study found was the increased in cross-border flow of arms as a result of bunkering of armed warehouse from Libya when the Ghaddafis' administration overthrown. In its consequences however, the Conflict has killed and disabled hundred thousands of people. The research study employs survey method, by using questionnaire and in-depth interview as it's useful in getting an overview of a particular situation. This analysis presents current conflict patterns and identifies options for promoting peace, public safety and security. The study therefore recommends effective formulation and implementation of policies capable of tackling the root causes of insecurity in Zamfara state.*

**Keywords:** Rural Banditry, Causes of Banditry Consequences, Kidnapping selected communities and Cattle rustling

### **INTRODUCTION**

Zamfara has witnessed increased levels of violence in recent years. Conflict has not only been spread to neighboring states particularly Sokoto and Katsina but also Kebbi, Niger and Kaduna, caused massive genocide, displacement and disability, destroyed livelihoods, seen high levels of gender-based violence (GBV) and differentially impacted populations according to age, disability, gender and location. While the Nigerian state has responded, most notably via military operations and a peace process initiated by the Governor, there are widespread allegations of complicity and collusion of security agents, community leaders and politicians in perpetuating insecurity.

The situation not only has grave humanitarian and human rights impacts on conflict affected communities but the potential for security to deteriorate and violence to spread. Zamfara State has experience Civil unrest which has been highly affected almost five hundred communities in eight local governments in the state. The government itself has not been hesitated to take necessary measures to tackle the worrisome insurgent. According to a report by *This day* Newspaper, between January and April 2019, a number of operative Nigerian Army namely; Operation Harbin kunama, Diranmikiya and Puff Adder has been fully in operation 24 Hours in order to tackle banditry, cattle rustling and kidnapping in the Northwest State. Study shows that the government of Zamfara alone spent over 17 billion funding military and security operatives in the state. However, the measures taken has been abortive since the armed bandits seem to be expanding the scope of their operation beyond Zamfara to its neighboring state as said earlier (*This day newspaper* 15 September)

Cattle rustling and armed banditry, kidnapping for ransom (huge amount of money) have become major problems in Zamfara State. The phenomenon has relatively increased in a complete decade (since 2010) leading to violent conflict between the Fulani people and their supporters from Niger Republic on one side and the farmers on the other. The outcome of this conflict has claimed thousands of lives and destroyed properties worth billions of naira in the state. It could be argued that there is no village in the state that has not witnessed the impact of cattle rustling and rural armed banditry. In Mada District, Gusau Local Government for instance, the District Head stated that they witnessed over 36 different attacks by the bandits which claimed the lives of over 200 people and 3,500 heads of cattle were stolen at different times from 2014 to 2019, excluding other assaults like rape, kidnapping and injuries inflicted on the people by the bandits. Thus, incidents like these occur virtually in all the villages in the state. It is, therefore, inappropriate to describe the security situation in Zamfara State as involving mainly cattle rustling, because all forms of criminality are involved. There is wanton destruction of live and properties and high level of human rights violations.

Banditry has created a large number of destitute, orphans and widows in the rural areas of Zamfara State due to constant raiding, theft and raping. The village of Badarawa in Shinkafi Local Government Area, is another area hit by the bandits, the village head has compiled a list of 318 widows, orphans and destitute who lost loved ones in the various attacks carried out by the bandits in 2015 alone. The levels of attacks in these areas are less compared to, Maru and Chafe (Zamfara Central) that witnessed frequent attacks and recorded high casualties. In these areas, so many villages were raided and people were killed indiscriminately; women were raped and stolen by the bandits.

Zamfara State is among the seven states that formed the Northwest geopolitical zone of Nigeria. It was carved out of the then Sokoto State in 1996. It shares an international border with the Republic of Niger to the North, and inter-state boundaries with Katsina to the East, Sokoto State to the West, Kebbi, Niger and Kaduna States to the South. Zamfara State Comprises fourteen local government areas namely; Gusau, Tsafe, Bungudu, Maru, Kaura-Namoda, Zurmi, Shinkafi, Birnin-Magaji, Talata-Mafara, Bakura, Maradun, Anka, Bukkuyum, and Gummi. The State has a landmass of thirty-nine thousand seven hundred sixty-two square kilometres (39,762km<sup>2</sup>). It has a population of three million two hundred and seventy-eight thousand, eight hundred and seventy-three people 3,278,873 (2006 Census Figures), and predominantly agrarian. Hausas are the dominant tribe while the Fulanis (as Pastoralists) formed between 25-30% of the total population out of which 20% are pastoraistl in nature. The Zamfara State being “*Farming is our pride*” as the motto of the state, has fertile and arable land that support the cultivation of many crops of about 80% of the population lives in agricultural produce. The State is endowed with vast forest composed of thirty thick grazing reserves covers about two million, two hundred and twenty five thousand, six hundred and forty eight hectares (2,225, 648 hectares). However with the emergence of the insecurity hits the state, hindered the sociological communication of the whole community, many investment were discourage and some were blockade from normal operating. This research work is an attempt to look at the current security situation in Zamfara state with a view to proffer a way forward for achieving permanent peace in the state and the region at large. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria spelt that “The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government” (1999 Constitution). Unfortunately Zamfara state and the Federal government at large fail to properly address the security issue in the state leading to unsecured and unsafely situations to the lives, environment and properties of the people of State.

### **Statement of the Problem/Justification**

The nature and pattern of armed banditry in contemporary Nigeria has become so pervasive that only few Nigerians that travel or lived in rural communities can be free from being victims. The phenomenon could take various forms in various places which may include waylaying victims on the highways and on transit points; storming and sacking of whole villages; stealing hundreds of cattle; settling in villages and collecting taxes; and extortion on village routes. Losses could range from monetary, material, valuables, livestock human resources and above all human lives.

In Nigeria bandits that raid pastoralists, farmers, travelers, and even businessmen have, taken a huge toll in terms of lives and disrupted economic activities by attacking the network of highways that link various parts of Africa's most populous country (108million). According to United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Pastoralists and farmers have often been targeted by bandits in search of food. In the worst affected areas of the Northeast, harvests are threatened as most people are afraid to go to their farms for fear of being attacked (UNOCHA, 1999).

According to Dodo (2000), as a result of the activities of some suspected foreign bandits, most routes within the Northwest sub-region are said to be insecure especially those ones leading to the Zamfara borders with Niger Republic and that of Kaduna through Birnin-gwari and Katsina through Zurmi, Shikafi and Birnin-Magaji axis. Usually the bandits operate in gangs who might have been supplied necessary information by their State counterparts' collaborators. Such information could be given to the bandits for two reasons: either information may be given for a price; or should be supplied to be in the good records of the bandits for a credit (Dodo, 2000). The problem of armed banditry in Nigeria's Northwest is similarly known to have occasioned a special resolution of the Senate, sponsored by Senators from the affected constituencies, calling on the presidency to mount diplomatic pressures on Cameroon, Chad and Niger, identically in taking necessary measures in respect of the Republic of Benin, to deal with the unbearable problem of armed bandits operating from the bases that has been widely believed to be located in the adjacent border areas of the neighboring countries (Asiwaju, 2005:49) In addition to this, recently a legislative member from Plateau State representing Jos-North confirmed and revealed the secret of 300 people who were currently having a sophisticated training in Israel and a surviving sophisticated armed company that's currently operating and conveying weapons in Nigeria. Although the member confirms that he knew how-presently-his life is in danger, however he prefer to die than to leave the issue uncovered (National Assembly 2021).

### **Objective (s) of the study**

The study aims at understanding contemporary armed banditry and their notorious activities in Zamfara State, its dynamics, dimensions and impact on the seven affected communities in particular. The specific objectives of the study therefore are:

1. To find out the causes, nature and pattern of armed banditry in the rural communities in Zamfara State

2. To determine the socio-demographic attribute of identified perpetrators and victims of armed banditry in rural communities of Zamfara State.
3. To determine the impact of armed banditry on the individual victims and the affected rural communities in Zamfara State
4. To identify and assess the efforts put in place by individuals, communities and governments law-enforcement agencies towards addressing the menace of armed banditry in the areas affected in Zamfara State
5. To find out the appropriate medium in addressing the situation and make necessary recommendations towards effective prevention, control and possible ways of addressing the security issues in Zamfara State.

### **Literature Review**

Rural banditry and kidnapping are major concern for public policy in contemporary Nigeria. It refers to the practice of stealing cattle and animals from herders, or the raiding of cattle from the ranches. Although driven by different needs and factors, it is increasingly an economically-based form of criminality perpetuated by informal networks (Kwaja, 2013). Rural banditry thrives as a means of 'primitive' accumulation of cowherds in the context of subsistence and commercial pastoralist. The most disturbing effect of this banditry is the unsettling of pastoralist transhumant activities. Furthermore, rural banditry is accompanied by rape, kidnapping, organized attacks on villages and communities, and looting their valuables.

Transhumance is a system of animal production characterized by seasonal and cyclical migration between complementary ecological areas as a means of adapting to unfavorable conditions. Migration is supervised by a few people. As an enduring system of livestock production, transhumance is based on practical and economically viable management of pastoral resources. Transhumance has not only enabled pastoral people to survive the major ecological and climatic crises that periodically occur, it has also enabled groups to affirm and maintain their cultural identities (Crummney, 1999).

Rural banditry and cattle rustling intersect with several other important themes in the Nigerian political economy; the problems of human and national security; altered balance in state-society relations; the impact of climate change on agricultural practices and different occupational groups; the emerging challenge of food security and the modernization of agriculture; and the question of inter-group relations and social harmony in Nigeria's diverse and plural context.

Even more important cattle rustling's impact on livestock production. Livestock production is not only a significant aspect of agriculture in Nigeria's quest to diversify its economy, it also remains crucial to the overall well-being of pastoralist communities, particularly the nomadic Fulani herders. Furthermore, cattle rustling and rural banditry appear to be tied to the incessant conflict between Fulani herdsman and crop farmers. The conflict may be connected to the wider context of identity politics and intergroup relations, including the relationships between pastoralist groups on the one hand and the Nigerian state system on the other. Transhuman pastoralists are perceived as violent and deliberately armed to deal with unsuspecting crop farmers; the farmers allege intentional crop damage by animals. The herders, on the other hand, perceive themselves to be victims of political marginalization, lacking a voice within the Nigerian state system. The exclusion of nomadic Fulani herders from the policy process and their lack of voice is so acute that the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBA), an urban-based Fulani pressure group, stands as the only known civic group that engages in policy advocacy on their behalf. In more recent times, there has been a dramatic increase in the spates of conflict between herders and farming communities, alongside the attendant problems of rural banditry and cattle rustling. This increase in conflict results from increasing sedentary situation along grazing routes. Increased in the sedentary could be seen as pastoralist communities' response to the numerous challenges and constraints they are facing; the unmovable situation has been one means of adapting to changing conditions over time. This is what Manger (1994) identifies as a part of expanding the spatial scale of exploitation, or the uncanny ability to survive and sometimes prosper under considerable adversity (World Bank, 1987).

Unfortunately, this has given rise to misconceptions regarding the self-inflicted hardships of herders by an apparent choice of a traditional lifestyle, which inhibits their capacity for innovation and adaptation to change (Concept Note, 2006). Consequently, there is a negative perception of pastoralists in the frequent violent conflicts with agricultural farmers, the pastoralists are often blamed for problems related to crop damage, farming along cattle routes, and access to water. As Tukur (2013) has summarized the issue, more often than not, nomadic Fulani herders are perceived to be prone to violence. The tendency to blame nomadic herders for the problems they bring as an occupational group is reinforced by perspectives like the cattle complex and the tragedy of the commons in the *academic research* on pastoralism. The cattle complex concerns environmental damage that harms pastoral societies; the environmental damage is attributed to inefficient traditional methods of raising livestock, and herders' penchant to keep large number of animals beyond their economic and reproductive functions.



The tragedy of the commons suggests that pastoralists, primarily driven by self-interest in their use of land and water resources, overgraze the land in pursuing their immediate interests, they compromise the long-term interests of all grazers (Tukur, 2013). The tendency to simply blame pastoralists from these perspectives obscures the multiple meanings cattle have for pastoralists, and how the choices they make are informed by the survival strategies of pastoralist households. Closely associated with this is the tendency to see nomadic Fulani herders as the primary perpetrators of rural banditry, including cattle rustling. The fact that Fulani nomads are familiar with the forest tracts tends to reinforce that perception. There are documented instances of pastoralists who resort to rustling after losing cattle to disease, inclement weather, and violence; there also are Fulani nomads active in the international syndicate of cattle rustlers. Fulani herdsmen, however, are also victims of the illicit transactions (IRIN, 2013). There were reported cases of cow population depletion around the Zamfara-North; notably Zurmi, Shinkafi and B/ Magaji local governments area, an area that reportedly experienced cattle theft by criminal gangs. Study shows that innocent Fulani herdsmen lost almost 20,015 cattle, 141,000 sheep and goats, 2600 donkeys and camels to rustlers and 147,800 vehicles and motorcycles were burnt into ashes at different times and different communities of the State (Ibid).

Cattle rustling and associated forms of rural banditry have persisted, despite efforts by the Nigerian state to fight them. The Nigerian police, for example, have constituted a Task Force on Cattle Rustling and Associated Crime (TCRA), saddled with the responsibility for preemptive intelligence gathering, anti-cattle rustling action and prevention of associated crimes. The task force is also responsible for the investigation and potential prosecution of people involved in rustling. Other initiatives include a proposed bill to establish a Federal Commission to Cater for and Manage Transhumant Stock Routes and Grazing Reserve Area where the bill is currently pending before the National Assembly. Furthermore, the federal government has decided to provide states with N100 billion to establish mini ranches (Daily Trust, November 20, 2014). These initiatives have yet to be executed, and are being contested. Crop farmers consider the idea of grazing reserves and routes inimical (Hamful) to their interests, and defenders of nomadic pastoralism consider sedentary situation an erosion of the pastoral way of life (Ibid).

Yet the context that frames the conflict between nomadic cattle grazers and sedentary crop farmers is global in nature, and efforts to grapple with the challenges need to draw from existing regional and sub-regional frameworks, and from existing initiatives intended to address the problems.

At the sub-regional level of West Africa, for example, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has recognized the critical role livestock mobility plays in preserving the environment and maximizing livestock productivity. This recognition has provided improved institutional frameworks for herd mobility, and for some of the reformist legislation in a number of countries (including Niger, Mali, and Mauritania). The framework and legislation have sought to address issues of pastoral land use, the provision of pastoral home areas and livestock corridors, including free movement of cattle and herders across borders (Hesse and Thibaut, 2006). Similarly, at the regional level of the African Union, there is recognition of the need for legislative, institutional, and operational reforms in pastoral policy development. There is recognition of the need for coordination of political commitment to development of pastoral policy, consultations with pastoral communities in the development of appropriate policies, and the role indigenous institutions play in conflict resolution (CSAO, 2007). Although these regional frameworks may not necessarily address the peculiarity of some national situations, they are nonetheless useful reference points. In the words of Odekunle (1986), The impact of attacks by armed bandits can be seen to be devastating especially for crimes such as armed banditry which takes a toll on their victims, both in material and other losses, as well as in social and psychological terms. These could be translated into material losses, physical injury or death, social intimidation, restrictions on freedom of movement, and even the psychological fear of potential victimization (Odekunle, 1996:94). In the same vein, Muggah and Batchelor (2002) speaks thus;

Armed banditry can severely affect the supply of cash crops, as public and commercial transportation to markets is often interrupted, and consequently, Farmers are forced to abandon commercial harvests. Where this happens Repeatedly on a large scale, social investment often declines with broad ripple effects on both foreign investor confidence and overseas development assistance. (2002:32),

The menace of armed banditry will therefore not only lead to the total boycott of markets or/ and businesses within and around the various market days of these communities, but also lead to the diversion of routes elsewhere, thereby losing major (in the side of the government) and affecting the economy of these areas. In fact at last, the Zamfara state government on the Saturday the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 2021 made an official announcement of the closure of all weekly markets days not within the territory where the notorious act of banditry is happening but in the whole of 14 local government community markets in Zamfara State.



The existence of small arms and incidents of armed banditry have also been observed to affect the supply and delivery of essential social services by non-governmental and governmental organizations. In some instances, field staff of such development agencies, come under attack by armed bandits. According to Muggar and Batchelor (2002:35), “to avoid areas where there are rising levels of insecurity – particularly the risks posed to government and NGO extension workers – planners turn to regions where the return on their investment and performance justify continued funding from “results oriented” donors.”

By and Large it is noteworthy that the socio-economic impact of armed banditry cannot be uniform to all communities or regions. This is so because, the structure of society, the kinds of social controls and pattern of relationships could be responsible for the presence of armed bandits in other community. In some communities like that of Niger-Delta, armed banditry is a major force in its overall economy and it is seen as an important determinant of the region's future development.

Lastly, the review of the available literature of this research study had solely and thoghrougly investigate the phenomenon of armed banditry cattle rustling and kidnapping in Nigeria in terms of its nature; its meaning; its changing forms; the underlying causes, and its diverse manifestations with specific concentration to that of Zamfara and what impact banditry has on different occupational groups and sectors specifically in the Nigerian economy and development.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study employs Democratic peace and strain theory. The theory was adopted for this study because it provides explanations in the overhauling of the security challenges, as security hugely depends on encouraging liberal institutions especially in a long-term spread of liberalism. Applying a generalized theory on armed banditry will have attendant difficulties due to the conspicuous literary barrenness on the subject, particularly the paucity of *academic analysis of its nature and regional implication*. This problem may however be explained in part by the limitation of empirical investigation due to the insecurity experienced by field researchers which arises as a result of the hostility that will be experienced in a bandit's environment, where it is physically dangerous to be a stranger.

In contemporary Nigeria, violent crimes such as armed banditry, its growth and advancement over time, is yet to be given appreciable academic attention.

Therefore, in trying to understand the crime of armed banditry, we must appreciate that we are living in a fluid and dynamic society consisting of individuals with a sharply different structure of sentiments and collective feelings (Otu, 2003:4).

Crime is a problem largely because of the accompanying negative consequences that the victim experience, and that one of the major preoccupations of criminology over the years has been, to conceptually and empirically establish the forces that dictate the interaction between the victim and the victimizer (Gyong, 1994). Gyong further stated that the theoretical model that accounts for the nature and character of crime should also suffice for the nature and character of the consequences of victimization. Maguire (1997) also observed that what could be regarded as a crime specific study should take a particular type of crime, the circumstances under which it is committed, the motives and behavior of those committing it, and the experiences and impact of such victimization on its victims. A number of theorists have tried to explain criminal behavior that appears to be heavily concentrated in the lower class social groups, and several theorists have based their explanation on the concept of anomie originally described by Emile Durkheim in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following on the work of Durkheim, E.strain theory have been advanced by Robert K. Merton 1957; Albert K. Cohen 1955; Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin 1960; and Robert Agnew 1992. Robert K. Merton, an American sociologist, adopted the broad concept of anomie and used it as a means of new theorizing. Jones (1998:141) however notes that in trying to understand the concept of anomie, it is important to appreciate the different settings in which Durkheim and Merton were writing.

That, although both lived in the midst of considerable social inequality, Durkheim lived in a Europe still under the influence of the aristocracy and the privileged, while Merton on the other hand, lived in the midst of “The American Dream” where it was believed that hard work could bring countless rewards, and where it is possible to aspire to become President. For Durkheim, a situation of anomie arose only when weak social regulation was unable to restrain people's aspirations during economic turmoil, while for Merton, it resulted from the lack of a structured and legitimate means for most people in the society to attain what is indiscriminately held out to all as the ultimate goal – material wealth. However, not everyone will be able to attain such wealth but, everyone is expected to try, or risk being called lazy or unambitious. Merton developed the structural strain theory as an extension of the functionalist perspective on deviance. According to Jones (1998:136)

The essence of functionalism is that there is a consensus of core values within a society which corresponds to the needs of its members, and it is the task of institutions such as the family and school to socialize individuals to conform to those values. And it becomes the concern of sociologists to explain why some people violate these commonly held values. Jones (1998:137) further argues that, each type of society would be characterized by a particular form of collective consciousness. That is, the set of beliefs which is common to the whole society and acts as a powerful force in shaping the way it behaves. In a mechanical society, this will take the form of strict conformity and uniformity of culture. On the other hand, in an organic society, the members are associated through structural interdependence rather than shared life experience. Jones further notes that, Durkheim considered that all societies are at a stage between being mechanical or organic; no society is entirely one or the other.

Just as matter reacts to external stimuli, so man reacts to forces external to his being. Social and natural behavior is therefore determined and can be explained in terms of cause and effect relationship. Members of society are therefore directed by collective beliefs, values and laws, and by social facts. Collective ways of acting or thinking have a reality outside the individual and social facts such as armed banditry therefore constrains the individual to behave in a particular way. Katkin *et al* (1976) argued that, in tradition-bound societies everyone knows what is expected of him, and people tend to suffer hardship without protest. However, in modern industrial societies, progress tends to destroy tradition, and the rules of acceptable behavior change from generation to generation. Individuals feel that their horizon is limitless, and with limitless ambition, the prospects for dissatisfaction, disillusionment, and frustration becomes greater. The implication of the breakdown of the moral fabric of society therefore may be that, there would be a loss or inadequate means of social control, and the rules of acceptable behavior also changes. Though everyone knows what is expected of him, people tend to protest and consequently, the level of dissatisfaction, disillusionment, and frustration increases Merton's Strain theory traces the origins of deviance to the tensions caused by the gap between cultural goals and the means people have available to achieve those goals. Feldman (1993:219) cites Box (1971:105) as noting that Merton (1957) conceives of anomie as:

A disjunction between the cultural goals of success and the opportunity structure by which this goal might be achieved. Since the lower strata were discriminated against in educational and occupational market places, this was the group least likely to realize the American dream. No wonder that from these strata so many pursued deviant activities; only such activities offered an available route to success.

The implication here is that in a well-integrated society, people use accepted and appropriate means to achieve the goals that society establishes. In this case, the goals and the means of the society are in balance. This imbalance between cultural goals and structurally available means can actually lead an individual into deviant behavior. In other words, if legitimate desires cannot be achieved or satisfied by socially accepted behavior, this forces the lower class persons into delinquency. In the United States, for instance, economic success is a goal that everybody strives for. The legitimate means to economic success are seen to be education and jobs. Since the legitimate means for achieving material success are not uniformly distributed, which implies that, those from wealthier backgrounds usually have considerably more access to legitimate means than do those who are economically disadvantaged, the consequence is strain, which generates and produces certain 'modes of adaptation'. Simply put, it produces coping strategies, which the disadvantaged use to deal with pressures that are brought to bear on them.

Strain theory states that strain may either be:

1. **Structural:** this refers to the processes at the societal level which filter down and affect how the individual perceives his or her needs. That is, if particular structures are inherently inadequate or there is inadequate regulation, this may change the individual's perceptions as to means and opportunities; or
2. **Individual:** this refers to the frictions and pains experienced by an individual as he or she looks for ways to satisfy his or her needs, i.e. if the goals of society become significant to an individual, actually achieving them may become more important than the means adopted.

Crime and delinquency have been explained as reactions or modes of adaptation to strain or frustration caused by a dislocation between the culturally prescribed goals and institutionalized means for the realization of such goals.

According to Merton (1957) in Wolfgang *et al*, (1970) some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconformist rather than conformist conduct. One such pressure is that, the social structure determines the nature of aspiration of its citizens. The society prescribed goals that its citizens should aspire to.

Alemika and Chukwuma (2001:17) noted that, the institutionalized means for realizing these goals and aspirations are restricted by distribution of talents and opportunities, and by structural inhibitions. Furthermore, cultural goals are emphasized without corresponding opportunities on the means of attaining ends. Deviance therefore results from the disparity of society placing undue emphasis on realization of material aspirations and at the same time not adequately providing approved means for the achievement of these goals. This anomaly cannot however be said to directly lead to deviant behavior, rather, it creates avenues for individuals to evolve alternative modes to pursue those goals. According to Merton (1975) in Wolfgang *et al*(1970) the pressure experienced by those who are excluded from the institutionalized means for realizing cultural goals can lead those individuals to adapt five modes of adaptations. These are: Conformity and rebellion modes of adaptation that represents deviant ways that may involve crime and delinquency.

These adaptations are accounts of how people may react under strain. The different reactions are also not mutually exclusive. The relationship between these alternative responses and other phases of the social structure must also be prefaced by the observation that persons may shift from one alternative to the other as they engage in different social activities, and these categories refer mainly to role adjustments in specific situations. The question then is, which available means is most efficient in attaining the socially approved values?

Jones (1998:142) notes that, “the particular form of reaction will depend on the strength of the individual's commitment to the challenge and the availability of institutionalized means to pursue it. The institutionalized means are based on the protestant ethic of hard work, education, honesty and deferred gratification with the antithesis involving get rich quick notions, including fraud or force.”

Strain theory therefore assumes that:

1. The poor often feel the effects of crime more severely than others, as they lack the resources – both financial and otherwise – to deal with their losses or harm. Most crime is committed by the lower class, as they are subject to the greatest strain.
2. When job opportunities dry up, the resultant strain may lead to crime and the use of violence is seen as a measure of last resort.

3. The fundamental cause of crime is the feeling of relative deprivation and that the residents of deprived areas face a different reality every day, with their lives blighted by violent crimes.

Lynch (2008) notes that, studies concerning the influence of economic factors on criminal behavior have attempted to link economic deprivation to increased motivation to commit crimes, especially property crimes. Such studies assume that when economic conditions worsen, more people experience deprivation and turn to crime to reduce that deprivation.

Lea and Young (1984) also argued that relative deprivation, a conflict between socially diffused goals and needs and the restricted availability of the legitimate means for their achievement would likely be resolved by a turn to criminality among those groups additionally marginalized from participation in the political process of modern industrial societies.

It is noteworthy that, relative deprivation in itself is not, by itself, a sufficient explanation of why people turn to crime as not everyone who can be seen to be relatively deprived turns to crime. Secondly, relative deprivation may be a significant factor in explaining various forms of economic crimes (such as theft, robbery, armed banditry, etc.), but wholly inadequate in explaining why people murder each other or commit acts of sexual crimes among others. The implication of the strain theory is that, crime can be prevented or reduced if there is a concordance between cultural goals and institutionalized means for their attainment, and that crime and delinquency will increase whenever there is a dislocation between the means and goals.

### **Methodology**

This research study will employ survey method, as it allows the collection of large amount of data with relative ease from a variety of respondents. Survey method is particularly useful in getting an overview of a particular situation, as such it usually helps to investigate problems in realistic setting by going to the field and obtain information directly from respondents and relevant informants.

In the words of Williams “The success of any survey depends heavily on the process of sampling and on asking questions, either through the questionnaire, interview or observation (Williams, et-al, 2004: 231). Similarly, Marshal lamented “thus the data may be generated face to face (interviewing), through the phone or at a distance via the postal questionnaire” (Marshal, 2002:38). The instrument/tool to be used for data collection is questionnaire and in-depth interview.



Chosen questionnaire is one of the most appropriate ways to gather information from a large number of respondents on a specific topic as well as “an effective instrument for getting data beyond the easy physical reach of the researcher” (Asika, 1991:75). In the same vein Williams observed that “questionnaire can be a relatively economic method in cost and time of soliciting data from a large number of people. Similarly it also pave way and have more time for checking facts and ponder on the question to be accepted from the respondents as well as fishing out the damage piece among the retrieved questionnaire which tends to lead more accurate information (Williams, 2001: 237). Similarly, in-depth interview will be conducted as a second way to source for data collection because it gives the respondents more room to respond to probing question in a conventional manner. According to Khan (2004), in-depth interview is a repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences and situations as expressed in their own words (Khan, 2014: 193). He added “through repeated contact and extended length of time spent with the respondents, its assumed that the rapport between researcher and informant will be enhanced and that the correspondence and confidence between the two will lead to in-depth and accurate information” (Ibid). To employ both the two sub-methods (questionnaire and in-depth interview) as the instruments of this research study is based upon the belief that in any case where two or more different instruments were adopted would result in improving the in-depth reliability and accuracy of the research findings. As a result this study will use the mixed method, quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (in-depth interview) as the operational step of data collection.

### **Location and Area of Study**

This research study covers the Nature and Consequences of Armed Banditry, Kidnapping and Cattle Rustling in some selected communities, with specific concentration on the seven affected local government in the *three senatorial zones* in Zamfara State. The local government highly affected were Birnin-Magji, Shikafi, Zurmi, Tsafe, Maru, Bakura and Maradun local government from Zamfara-North; Zamfara-central and Zamfara-west respectively. This seven local government community were apparently selected in this study, because they were the community that has highly affected and suffer a massive lost of wealth, property and many more lives from the hand of armed bandits. The research study analyses how the massive threat and suffering of the victims has been prevailed in the hands of the insurgents for almost a decade (2011-2021).

Similarly, in the end, this study found that since this three senatorial zones (in which the research study occurred) are the main and pioneering community in which banditry activity were so enormous and rampant; the study achieved its aim since the population share similar and common characteristics and attributes, in terms of geographical location and demographic attributes namely, gender, tribes as well as religious faith and suffers similar civil unrest and threat. With this therefore, the study result has yielded a reasonable, valuable and anticipated result.

### **Data Analysis and Discussion of findings**

In this chapter, the interpretation of data is carried out. The data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The data were generated from survey and in-depth interviews. During the in-depth interviews, key informants were asked to respond freely to the questions contained in the in-depth interview guide and other issues which they wanted the researcher to know. The qualitative data were grouped, sorted out and applied to complement the survey data. Data generated from the survey were sorted out, coded, analyzed and presented descriptively using frequencies and percentages. The results from the survey were complemented by the qualitative data from the in-depth interview.

### **CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY**

The presentation and interpretation of survey data were complemented by response from key informants who were direct victims of armed banditry, community leaders who may have received reports of incidents of armed banditry, Police officers who are involved with issues of security and prominent indigenes of the communities. Armed banditry has been linked to several causes among which are, displacement due to civil wars in Nigeria's neighboring countries, lack of basic amenities in the border communities, growing unemployment among youths, and moral decadence both among the youths and other members of the border communities. Table 4.2.1 presents survey respondents' views of the causes of armed banditry.

**TABLE 4.2.1**

| S/N | CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY                                      | Strongly agree |      | Agree |      | Strongly disagree |     | Disagree |      | Total |       |
|-----|---|----------------|------|-------|------|-------------------|-----|----------|------|-------|-------|
|     |   | Freq.          | %    | Freq. | %    | Freq.             | %   | Freq.    | %    | Freq. | %     |
| 1.  | Displacement due to civil wars in our neighbouring countries  | 184            | 73.6 | 41    | 16.4 | 7                 | 2.8 | 18       | 7.2  | 250   | 100.0 |
| 2.  | Displacement due to natural disasters e.g drought, floods etc | 17             | 6.8  | 76    | 30.4 | 24                | 9.6 | 133      | 53.2 | 250   | 100.0 |
| 3.  | Lack of basic amenities in the border communities             | 59             | 23.6 | 151   | 60.4 | 11                | 4.4 | 29       | 11.6 | 250   | 100.0 |
| 4.  | Growing unemployment among the youths                         | 226            | 90.4 | 15    | 6.0  | 6                 | 2.4 | 3        | 1.2  | 250   | 100.0 |
| 5.  | Moral decadence factor  | 192            | 76.8 | 48    | 19.2 | -                 | -   | 10       | 4.0  | 250   | 100.0 |
| 6.  | Farmers/Fulani herdsmen clashes                               | 10             | 4.0  | 28    | 11.2 | 19                | 7.6 | 193      | 77.2 | 250   | 100.0 |
| 7.  | Ready availability of small and light weapons                 | 220            | 88.0 | 18    | 7.2  | 5                 | 2.0 | 7        | 2.8  | 250   | 100.0 |

By looking into the aforementioned factors largely account for the state of armed banditry in the study area, the percentages refer to percentages of respondents who ascertain that the factors in question contribute to people's involvement in armed banditry.

Table 4.2.1 above shows that, 73.6% of the respondents strongly agree that one of the causes of armed banditry is displacement due to civil wars in our neighboring countries, while 2.8% strongly disagree. Findings from the In-depth interview with selected respondents also supported this finding. A Ward head stated that, "most of the bandits are not Nigerians. I was in the Police station one day when one of them confessed that the war drove them from Niger Republic and they are in Nigeria to look for food and shelter." A Police Officer also said that majority of the bandits are not Nigerians, stating that, "the suspected armed bandits that have been variously arrested turned out to be non-Nigerians who speak French, Hausa and Fulfulde and have had some form of military training". The leader of a vigilante group spoke in the same vein saying that, "they are mostly from Chad and Niger. Some of them even have military uniforms though not complete". These seem to confirm the speculation that acts of armed banditry are being committed by persons who have been displaced as a result of the wars and internal strife in Nigeria's neighboring countries such as Niger, Chad and in some cases, the political tension between Nigeriens. Though the researcher saw some displaced persons from the neighboring countries and inquired why they come to Nigeria, these displaced persons only indicated that they are in Nigeria in search of food. This suggests that effort towards controlling the influx of people through Nigeria's numerous border routes have not been very effective.

In another analysis the table 4.2.1 shows that 53.2% of the respondents disagree that displacement is due to natural disasters such that drought could lead to incidents of armed banditry while 6.8% strongly agreed. The In-depth interview also indicated that most of the respondents strongly disagreed. According to a Ward Head, “when there was drought and flood in Nigeria and in some of our neighboring countries, the major problem we had was that of frequent clashes between Fulani herdsmen and farmers”. When asked of the reason, he stated that, “the Fulani herdsmen usually drive their cattle into people's farms, and this result into clashes.” A Police Officer on his part retorted, saying, “What is the relationship between natural disasters such as drought and floods, with somebody carrying a gun, attacking people and collecting their money and belongings?” He went on to explain that, “it was simply the issue of someone who is no more fighting a battle in his own country, cannot be absorbed into any other job because he is a rebel, he has a gun and has to survive”. A Ward head however sees it differently as he said that such persons that have been displaced, collaborate with their brothers who have been displaced due to civil wars and have weapons such as guns, to do armed banditry because they know the terrain very well and also know when to attack people. So we can say they are also a cause of armed banditry.” This goes to suggest that we cannot totally disregard the contribution of natural disasters such as drought and floods to the growing incidents of armed banditry in the border communities of Adamawa State.

Still in the above table 4.2.1 it shows that, 60.4% of the respondents feel that lack of basic amenities in the border communities is a major cause of armed banditry in these border communities while 4.4% strongly disagree. In-depth interview indicated that most of the respondents also agreed with this finding. The leader of a vigilante group bitterly expressed his displeasure with government over the near total neglect of the border areas. He lamented ,

Would you blame some youths who engage in such action like armed banditry? We at the border have been neglected. The government does not know that we exist. We have no good schools, no health facilities, no good roads and no light, no jobs. What do you want them to do? How do you think we can control all of them? You should also look at our situation. Are we in good condition?

Official of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) has this to say;

It is a known fact that you most expect a situation where by most of our youths today have no jobs, no capital and in their areas, no light, no water, no schools,-in fact the total absence of social amenities-no good roads, and only the politicians are busy sharing local government money which is people's money? You expect them to just stay aside, watch and keep quiet? Government should better do something.”

A Police officer did not share this view. He said,

In a place like shikafi, basic amenities such as electricity, schools, health services, banking services, communication and hospitality services are available. Though the road from some of the rural areas to Zurmi, and from Shinkafi to Zurmi is bad, and most of the township roads and some basic amenities are bad, we cannot say that this can lead to incidents of armed banditry.

The researcher noted that the border communities through the Zurmi-Jibiya axis lack basic amenities such as portable water, electricity, good roads, schools and hospitals. The present Government is very negligible, except for the presence of unmotivated and ill-equipped law enforcement agents. Electric power is erratic, while the schools are in a state of neglect. Chung et al (2011). Asked the condition of electricity and water from seven of the residents of Gurbin-Baure, one of the border communities in Zamfara state and this elicited laughter and mirth of surprise. One of the residents was reported to have said, 'who dash monkey banana? If we want to see electricity or electric poles, we often go to our neighboring communities, such as Zurmi, Shinkafi or neighboring Niger villages to see it'. It is noted also that, while lack of basic amenities in the rural border communities may be one of the causes of armed banditry especially in the rural border communities, it may not constitute a cause of armed banditry in the urban border communities.

Table 4.2.1 shows that, 90.4% of the respondents strongly agree that growing unemployment among youths is one of the causes of armed banditry in these border communities while 1.2% disagree. The in-depth interview also agreed with the finding as indicated by a Police Officer who said, "Just take a look at our streets, you will see a large population of unemployed and under-employed youths. These youths can be easily convinced into engaging in acts of armed banditry, political thugs and other violent crimes". A teacher and victim of armed banditry also agreed saying that, "in my view, it is due to unemployment, heartlessness and the fact that they are not contented with what God has ordained them to be, that is why they collaborate with the armed bandits, attack people and collect their valuables." An opinion leader, on his part does not totally agree with this view and replied thus, "what I think is that, they are just after money that is why these youths collaborate with the armed bandits. It is not due to unemployment." It may be argued that unemployment may not be a direct cause of armed banditry because an unemployed youth may not have the means to acquire a sophisticated weapon like an AK 47 with which to carry out acts of armed banditry.

This therefore suggests that these youths are recruited, sponsored and provided with the weapons, or they act as the informants of the armed bandits considering the desire by the youths to make fast and easy money. In the course of the study, the researcher observed that there is virtually no employment generating facility in the border communities. Even where the youths choose to be self-employed, lack of electricity is a major setback. One of such youth stated that, "I have an OND Certificate but no job, so I decided to become a barber. But as you can see, I have to use this generator because we have no light and the cost of fuel here is high."

Similarly the table 4.2.1 shows that, 76.4% of the respondents strongly agreed that moral decadence is a cause of armed banditry, while 4% disagrees. In-depth interview indicated moral decadence is a cause of armed banditry. This was confirmed by the response of a Ward head that has this to say,

The youths today have become something else; you can hardly give them advice because they want to make fast money. At the end you see a policeman at your door step telling you that your son has committed a crime and you are needed in the station.”

A Police Officer responded saying “it is because of moral decadence that we have corruption leading to neglect of the border and inside communities and subsequently to acts of armed banditry” while an informant, who is an opinion leader said that, “the youths today do not believe that they belong to a community which have set rules, regulations and traditions which they must obey. They just do what they want and have all kind of friends .A vigilante leader led the researcher to a primary school where a group of youths were seen smoking Indian hemp and then asked the researcher,

Is this what these youths should be doing? In those days, can they try this? After smoking, they can do terrible things including even the armed banditry you are talking about because as you see them now, they have sense and cannot even listen to their own guardians. some policemen are their I shope you aren't be surprise to see police men as their friends and they smoke this thing together? So you can see for yourself.

This goes to suggest that the social system is expected to play a significant role in shaping the attitudes and behavior of the youths as members of the community and therefore influence their decisions and actions.

Table 4.2.1 still shows that, 77.2% of the respondents disagreed that Farmers and Fulani herdsmen clashes is a cause of armed banditry in those communities while 4% strongly agreed. The in-depth interview also indicated that Farmers and Fulani herdsmen clashes are not a cause of armed banditry in the border and other communities. When asked if Farmers and Fulani herdsmen clashes could lead to acts of armed banditry in the region, an opinion leader simply said, “No, it is not true.” When further asked, he said that “Farmers/Fulani herdsmen clashes are usually when the herdsmen drive their cattle into farms.” A Ward head said that, “clashes between Farmers and Fulani herdsmen have drastically reduced. We have not experienced such for over five years now.” A Police Officer in Zurmi also stated that, “though we occasionally have such clashes, it cannot be said to be a cause of armed banditry as experienced here.”



The suggestion here is that, Farmers/Fulani herdsmen clashes should be seen as a phenomenon of its own with its causes and effects and, may not necessarily lead to attacking people on the highways and collecting their money and valuables. The same Table 4.2.1 shows that, 88% strongly agree that, ready-made availability of small and light weapons, is one of the causes of armed banditry in the border communities, while 2% strongly disagreed. Result from the in-depth interview also supported this view. There was no significant disagreement against the idea that easy availability of small and light weapons contribute greatly to acts of armed banditry in the region. A Police Officer simply stated that, “it is only logical to accept this” while another Police Officer was emphatic saying, “it is the weapons that give them the confidence to operate.” He went further to explain that the most disturbing aspect of all is the sophisticated weapons being used by the armed bandits. A vigilante leader said that, “without them getting these guns cheap and easy, they cannot give us much problem. The significance of this is that, to control the incidence of armed banditry in the border communities, there is the need to check the influx of such small and light weapons. The question here is, should this action be combined with other measures or is it a panacea

### Conclusions

The problem of cattle rustling and rural armed banditry was under rated at its inception about a decade ago in Zamfara state. Most of the security operatives showed little concern about the potential threat of this little quagmire until it became a serious nightmare in 2014. The dream of a common man in the rural areas is that the government will provide them with security, but when that proves merely impossible they relied on the vigilante group who are financially incapacitated, technically and even lacks confidence on the part of the general public. The last resort was to form up private security outfit that engaged the bandits in constant and perpetual armed conflict that claimed several lives and destroyed properties worth billion of naira. Even though, there were several attempts by the State Government to ban the activities and operations of this militant vigilante, but little success was achieved in that direction, simply because there were accusations in some quarters that the State Government is not up to its responsibilities. The major findings of this paper is that the MVG group were partly responsible for the prolongation of the conflict in Zamfara state and no meaningful peace talk and lasting solution to this conflict will be achieved without disbanding of both VGN and MVG groups in the state.

### **Recommendations**

The researcher found out that in most cases, the state military, police and other security agencies are unable to provide much needed security against marauders, robbers and armed bandits. As a result of such attacks by armed bandits, individuals, communities and government security agencies had to devise ways and means of curtailing and controlling such incidents. Failure on the part of government security agents to protect its citizens from incessant attacks by armed bandits could be seen as a failure on the part of government to fulfill its own part of the social contract and could lead to social unrest when victims are fed up and their efforts are no more effective in curtailing and preventing further acts of armed banditry. It is in the light of this that the following short and long term measures are recommended for consideration in policies, ways and means of addressing the problem of cross-border armed banditry:

Ø it is recommended that individuals travel with less money and valuables. It was found out that residents, victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry suffer psychological trauma as a result of incidents of armed banditry whereby they lose money, material and are maimed or injured. Consequently, it is recommended that individuals travel with less money and valuables.

Ø 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 recruit and recognize vigilante groups while also resuscitating local community monitoring systems.

Ø The study revealed that the respondents saw joint military and police patrol, and numerous road blocks set up by government security agencies as not being effective in the prevention and control of the crime of armed banditry.

Consequently, it is recommended that there is need for a more effective institutional coordination among specialized institutions in view of the multi-dimensional nature of state interest in border security.

➤ The findings revealed that, while the armed bandits are armed with very sophisticated weapons such as AK 47, the government security agencies are poorly equipped, under-funded and not well trained to control such acts as armed banditry. It is therefore recommended that the government should equip the security agencies with appropriate weapons that are superior to those of the armed bandits.

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