

Insecurity as a Development Challenges: A Study of Northwestern NigeriaMuhammad Tasiu Dansabo, Phd¹Usman Ahmad Karofi, Phd²**Abstract**

In recent time, Northwestern Nigeria has witnessed insecurity, which has affected its performance in the development arena. The scourge of insecurity ranges from kidnapping, banditry/cattle rustling, political thuggery, and ethno-religious conflicts among several others. The States mostly affected are Zamfara, Kaduna, Katsina and of recent Sokoto State. The scourge of insecurity is of negative and detrimental effects to the region. It has consequences on the economy; Agriculture being the predominant occupation of the people of the region is seriously affected, which has impact on food security. In addition, it has impact on commerce and commercial activities in respect of movement of goods and persons, proliferation of refugees and IDPs. These and many more have implications on the development of the region in terms of labor productivity and increasing poverty. Against this backdrop, this paper seeks to examine the interplay between insecurity on the one hand and development in Northern Nigeria on the other. This is with a view to proffering recommendations on how to curb the scourge and by extension enhance socio-economic development of the region.

Key words: Insecurity, Development, Poverty, Northwestern Nigeria

1. Introduction

In recent past, the most disturbing problem facing Nigeria in general and Northwestern Nigeria in particular is the issue of insecurity. No one and nowhere is safe in the region. Security which is an

¹ Department Of Sociology, Usmanu Danfodiyo Uiniversity, Sokoto, dansabo.tasiu@udusok.edu.ng

² Department Of Sociology, Usmanu Danfodiyo Uiniversity, Sokoto, uakarofi@gmail.com

indispensable ingredient of life of any nation has been threatened in the region. Armed banditry constitutes a serious threat to the peace, security and development of the region.

In the past, kidnappings are mostly perpetuated in oil-rich southern Delta region, where militants lobbying for greater share of oil revenue regularly blew up pipelines and kidnapped foreigners that work for oil but in recent past, the scourge has taken a toll on the Northwestern region. This has affected the development arena of the region. This necessitates the need for an elaborate research to come up with reliable data on the dynamics of the problem with a view to proffering policy recommendations to the government.

Less than 10 years ago, Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara, states had been the peaceful states in North West geo-political zone in Nigeria. In those days, the major crime witnessed in these four states was armed robbery and the victims were mostly rich targets. Despite the prevalence of crimes of robbery and burglary, the people of the states believed that they were safe and never imagined they could face security threat that could sack a whole community, ward or council area. But now, the situation has changed. The people no longer feel safe, as they live in fear of being attacked by armed bandits, cattle rustlers, kidnappers with the attendant loss of lives and properties. The major states in the North West so affected by this menace presently are Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara (Suleiman, 2019).

The physical and psychological toll on residents of these states is high. They now sleep with one eye open; no one really feels safe in most communities. In fact, the situation has deteriorated that some communities in the selected states now experience weekly invasion by gunmen, who abduct residents and take them to unknown destination. Commuters and private cars plying the routes linking to these four states are always jittery and drive with apprehension with the hope of arriving their destinations without any form of kidnapping or attack on the road.

Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara States, which before 2010, was regarded as peaceful states in Nigeria have been witnessing incessant attacks by armed bandits. Hitherto, these states were safe for citizens to live without fear of attack by any group of criminals; Fulani Herdsmen, cattle rustlers, kidnappers or whatever form of criminals,

Insecurity as a Development Challenges: A Study of Northwestern Nigeria

Until 2010, many residents of the state, particularly in the rural communities slept in the open, without fear of attacks. But after 2010, there was upsurge in criminal activities characterized by armed robbery, cattle rustling, burglary, raping of minors, kidnapping, ritualism and political thuggery. Killings of innocent citizens started when clashes began to occur between suspected cattle rustlers and the Fulani herdsmen especially in Zamafara, Katsina and Kaduna. At that point, there were series of complaints by the Fulani herdsmen that some criminals, armed with sophisticated weapons, had invaded the states and to dispose them of their cattle (Okoli, 2019)

With the support of vigilante groups, the Fulani herdsmen carried a search of their neighbourhood, during which they identified some suspected cattle rustlers and in the process slaughtered them in the presence of their families. Some Local Government Areas, which witnessed this slaughtering of suspected cattle rustlers in Zamfara state, are Maru, Birnin Magaji, Bukkuyum, Zurmi, Shinkafi, Tsafe, Anka and Gusau . This led to skyrocketed offensive attack by armed bandit and cattle rustlers to katsina,Sokoto and Kaduna (Suleiman,2019)

As at today, armed bandits, cattle rustling, kidnapping constitute the major threat to peace and security not only in Zamfara where it first started but also Sokoto, Kasina and Kaduna. These criminals element operate uninhibited because of the lackadaisical attitude by the government and security agencies.

The cattle rustlers were said to be well organized, that they set up their own courts to try offenders of their law, and sentenced them to various forms of punishments, including fines and flogging. They were also alleged to have got support from security agents, who provided them with ammunition, which they used in their operations.

2. Objectives of the paper

The broad objective of the study is to examine the interplay between insecurity in the Northwestern Nigeria on the one hand and the socio-economic development of the region on the other. The specific objectives are: to explore the magnitude of the problem; to examine the causes of the problem; to determine the developmental effects of the problem and to proffer policy recommendations on how to curb the menace.

3. Literature review and theoretical framework

Quite extensive volumes of literature have been written on insecurity in Nigeria. Okeshola (2011) is of the view that violence breeds insecurity and that lack of security of lives and property of the citizenry is a severe hindrance to meaningful development. Her view is generic but can be found to be true related to the situation in Northwestern Nigeria where bandits takes arms, threatening the peace and security of people's lives and property, which has radical implications on the development of the region. It has impact on commerce and commercial activities in respect of movement of goods and persons, proliferation of refugees and IDPs. These and many more have implications on the development of the region in terms of labor productivity and increasing poverty.

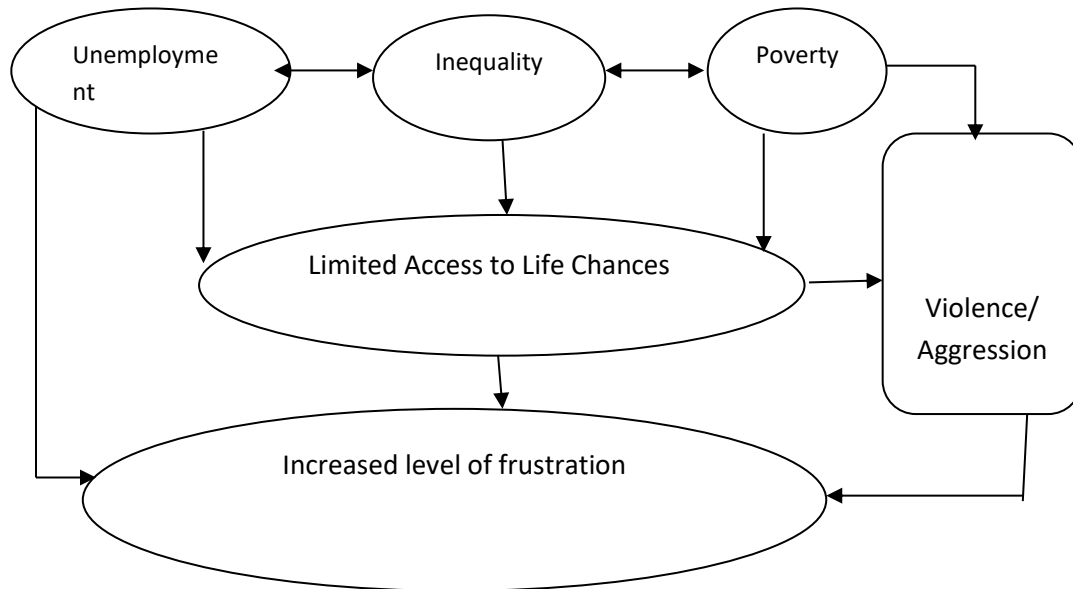
Scholars (Okeshola, 2011; Kalu, Ajuzie and Chukwu, 2018; Gaberial and Joseph, 2016; Achumba, 2013; Apityan, 2015) have advanced varied reasons as causes of insecurity in Nigeria among which includes God fatherism, poverty, unemployment, corruption, small arms proliferation, the rise of armed groups, religious based violence, election fraud, etc. There is thus a dearth of literature on the dynamics of insecurity in Northwestern Nigeria. Most of the studies on insecurity in Nigeria are generic not particular to the Northwestern Nigeria. This study hopes to fill the gaps in previous works so as to provide a space for this work in previous works.

Seers' argument is relevant in an attempt to explain development in Northwestern Nigeria. To Seers, there are three fundamental questions to be asked about the development of a country. These are: "what happened to poverty?" "What happened to unemployment?" "What happened to inequality?" He argues that if these variables are on the decline from high level, then beyond doubt there has been a period of development of the country concerned. But if one or two of these central indicators are going worse, it would be strange to call the result development even if the national income has developed like in the case of Northwestern Nigeria. In terms of development in Northwestern Nigeria there is nothing to write home about as the region is bedeviled with high level of poverty as a result of unemployment and inequality.

Frustration-Aggression theory could be used to support Seers' argument in the region. The anthropologist John Dollard and his psychologist colleagues proposed that aggression was always caused by some kind of frustrating events or situation; conversely, frustration invariably leads to aggression. This reasoning could be applied to the effects of poverty and unemployment on

violence and the role of social and economic deprivation on the activities of armed bandits in the Northwestern Nigeria.

Figure 1: Theoretical Model



It is evident from the figure above that there is interplay between insecurity and development in the region. The youth in the region are mostly unemployed and poor having limited access to life chances, which increases their level of frustration and frustration is a necessary condition for aggression and violence. Most, if not all the armed bandits and kidnappers are ill educated unemployed and poor. Denying people employment and education makes them susceptible.

4. Magnitude of Insecurity in Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Zamfara

An increase in violent crime in Northwestern Nigeria States of Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara has triggered large scale displacements and population movement within the states as well as across international boarder of Niger republic.

As per a rapid assessment conducted by IOM Nigeria in Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara States an estimated 66,900 people has been displaced within the states and are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance

IOM rapid assessment found that the states of Zamfara has the highest number of internally displaced persons (IDP) at 38,113. This is not surprising given that 13 out of its 14 LGAs have been affected with the ongoing instabilities. Gusau the state capital recorded the highest number of displaced individuals at 8,420, Maru LGA in close second with an estimate of 5,447 displaced individuals. Bukkuyum with an estimated 4,215 IDPs. Anka with 3,869 and 16,162 in other LGAs

The state of Katsina has the next highest number IDPs at 16,257. Batsari has the most affected LGA with 3,375 affected individuals in Katsina with 2,375 and Danmusa with 2,2003 affected persons

The assessment carried out in Sokoto state recorded over 12,527 individuals as displaced within the state because of the recent hostilities perpetuated by the armed group ravaging the region. All the LGAs in Sokoto bordering Zamfara state namely Dange Shuni, Goronyo, Rabah, Sabon Birni, Kebbe, Isa, Tangaza, and Tureta LGA were reported to have been affected by this security challenges.

As per as the assessment Sabon Birni in Sokoto State has the highest number of affected persons at 10,000 followed by Rabah with 2,300 individuals

According to report by IOM Niger as many as 20,000 Nigerians have fled to Niger from the affected states. Most have made their way to boarder localities of Madarumfa, Guidan Rougamadiji Gordon Sory as well as Gabi and neighbouring township of Niger republic to have taken route to enter the country.

Situation of IDPs

The situation of IDPs is dire and they are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance. As per the rapid assessment, 50 percent of the IDPs residing in camps and with host communities are women and children, there are more girls than boys among the displaced. There very few formal camps available for the IDPs so many are residing with host communities. The couple of formal camps available include Mda camp with 3,351 individuals located in new palace of the Emir (traditional leader) in Anka LGA.

Insecurity as a Development Challenges: A Study of Northwestern Nigeria

Most of the IDPs (70%) are living within solid walls while less than 25% are living in makeshift shelters. All the camps have little or no water available.

Food is a major challenge for all displaced Camps They don't have enough food for the IDPs and there are no provision made by the government so far the IDPs. Non-food items shelter and other immediate needs. Psychological is also needed to the displaced persons most especially for those living in camps.

There is need for family reunification as families have been reportedly separated on account of movement following the attacks. There is no humanitarian agencies on the ground to assist the displaced persons so far. Many of the affected individuals interviewed said they do not plan to return to their place of origin because of fear of more attacks.

The displacements are a result of recent hostilities by the armed bandits in some LGA IN katsina namely Batsari, Bakori, Dandume Faskari Jibia, Kankara, Malumfashi and Safana. The bandits would raid these communities, rustle and cattle and other animals steal their properties sometimes kidnap and kill the victims and set their home ablaze. The displacements started around December, 2018 and escalated following full-fledge attacks Shekewa Dangeza, Yargamji, Kasai Dantudun Wagini and Kirtawa communities in Batsari LGA in April and May, 2019.

5. Causes of Insecurity in Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Zamfara

A. The case of Southern Kaduna

In the study of environment, scarcity and violent, large populations in southern Kaduna dependent on four key environmental resources that are fundamental to their livelihood: fresh water, cropland, forests, and fish. Scarcity or shrinking of these resources as a result of misuse, over-use or degradation, population growth, climate change and resources access lead to competition over the scarce ecological resources among groups, and may under some certain circumstances trigger off conflicts (Homer-Dixon, 1999, pp 73-74). In this perspective, resources scarcity is the product of an insufficient supply, too much demand or an unequal distribution of a resource due to political, economic, social and environmental factors.

By applying the theory to southern Kaduna, the conflicts have been driven mostly by the scarcity of land as a result of increase in population and economic activities where land remain the key resources, and competition between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen to ensure their viability in the area. The scarcity of land is due to the degradation and shrinking ecological space, human and cattle population explosion, and resources depletion. Therefore the farmers need the land for cultivation, while the herdsmen need the land for grazing and rearing of cattle.

The act of causing damage to farms and farm produce by the cattle and the Fulani herdsmen is one of the main reasons for the tension between the farmers and herders. According to the farmers, the herdsmen move their cattle to graze at night, destroying all their farms and crops. Some also move their cattle to feed on harvested agricultural produce and stored at a particular place. The farmers further explained that, the work on harvested crops such as maize, yam, groundnuts, plantain is very tedious, hence the need to pack and store them for the work to be done before transporting them to the market. However, the Fulani herdsmen intentionally move their cattle to feed on those harvested crops.

The increase in cattle population and influx of “alien nomads” also account for the problem of farmer-herder crises. They move their cattle to graze at farms, shooting, butchering and killing of innocent people by the Fulani. Some of the herders move around with Ak47, pump Action gun.

B. Armed Banditry in Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Zamfara State

Armed bandits, cattle rustling, kidnapping and other associated crimes exist in Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Zamfara because it is profitable. From around 2011 there was a surge which some analyst linked to increasing regional livestock prices. Rustling is now an entrenched and thriving underground business, with stolen cattle kept in the forests dot Zamfara’s border regions(including the equally troubled Birnin Gwari area of Kaduna State) before being discreetly sold to meet the ever-growing demand for beef in the southern part of the country.

There are competing narratives regarding the causes and nature of the problem of armed banditry in Zamfara and neighboring states. Some view the conflict as one of the effects of climate change,

Insecurity as a Development Challenges: A Study of Northwestern Nigeria

particularly decreasing amounts of rainfall, on the “scarcity” of arable land and pastures. The drop in rainfall over the years translates into the scarcity of water, which in the context of a rapid population growth rate places pressure on land, and fuels intense conflict between pastoralists and farmers whose livelihoods and survival are based on access to land.

Another school of thought associates the growing insecurity with state failure due to corruption, the collapse of institutions of governance, de-industrialization, growing poverty, and a culture of impunity that pervades state and local government in these states. Some observers also explain the instability in these four states to porous borders and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

The protagonists of a natural resource curse trace the conflict especially in Zamfara to competition over “gold deposits” pitching those engaged in illicit gold mining against local communities, as well as certain big-time mine owners believed to have strong links with government. Yet, there are those who believe the conflict is spiritual, and the problem facing these states is as a result of “test from God” (Charas, 2015).

6. Effects of insecurity in communities of Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Zamfara

A. The implication on Food Insecurity and Economic Development

Food insecurity exists when people lack sustainable physical or economic access to enough safe, nutritious, and socially acceptable food for a healthy and productive life. This may also result in severe social, psychological, and behavioral consequences. Food-insecure individuals may manifests feelings of alienation, powerlessness, stress, and anxiety, and they may experience reduced productivity, reduced work and school performance, and reduced income earnings, and this therefore has direct efforts on the economic development of the individuals.

Economic effects of patorialists and farmers conflicts lead to dire productivity and agricultural consequences, causing food shortages in the affected state. Economic implications relate to losses associated with the destruction of homes, farmlands, community assets, and household properties.

B. Impact of Banditry on Herders

Cattle rusting and theft is a major indicator and consequence of banditry in the four selected states. Cattle herders and farmers are the victims most affected by banditry. Some of those dispossessed of their herds become permanently impoverished.

C. Impact of Banditry on Market Operations

Markets form the hub of both commercial and social activities. They are also one of the social institutions often affected by armed attack in rural areas. Markets are usually shut down for several months because of banditry. The fear of insecurity is on the increase in Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Zamfara and this has been compounded by the rising waves of kidnapping and armed banditry in these four states. The impact of insecurity and kidnapping could be summarized as follows: economic factor, due to the fear of the unknown, banditry, kidnapping and farmers-herders crises. This has led to migration of people from the affected areas to the other safer states thereby created economic depression in the area. As a result, most commercial activities have almost been paralyzed. Food stuff are not only in limited supply but also costlier.

As a result of this problem of insecurity, agriculture which is the main economic activity in these four states are endangered by the activities of insurgents, bandits, kidnapping and cattle rustlers. Farmers in different parts of these states have abandoned their farming activities due to regular attack by armed bandits and kidnappers. The ripple effect of this is shortage of foods for the timing population of the states.

The former Governor Yari of Zamfara in a televised show June (2018) said: "Agriculture, which is the mainstay of the state economy and generates employment for the largest proportion of our population, has suffered a drastic setback. This is currently posing a threat to food security and commercial activities all over the state." He noted that about 53 people were killed in Shinkafi, 50 in Maru Local Government, 37 in Maradun, and 15 in Zurmi Local Government Areas of the state in the recent waves of attacks, bringing the total figure of those killed by these bandits to 155 people.

Insecurity as a Development Challenges: A Study of Northwestern Nigeria

‘This menace of banditry has various dimensions ranging from brutal assaults such as we have witnessed in the towns mentioned to kidnapping of men, women and children for ransom. According to IOM Report (2019), a total of over 50 People have been reported kidnapped across Zamfara State. This wave of kidnappings has become so alarming to the extent that movement of individuals from one part of the state to the other is greatly hampered.

Apart from the criminal activities of the cattle rustlers, there was also the reported operation of Boko Haram insurgents in the state. Intelligence reports had it that the insurgents were using Zamfara as recruitment ground. However, after the persistent complaints by residents of the affected communities, security operatives were deployed and this led to the destruction of their training camp.

Another major crime experienced in the state is abduction and kidnapping of notable individuals. Many people from the zone had fallen victim kinappers, including an Emir , a serving senior military officer in Kaduna, a corps member and the Secretary General of Jama’atu Nasral Islam (JNI), Plateau State (IOM 2019 report on Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara, p.42).

It is evident from the foregone analysis that banditry and gang violence have become a major problem in Northwestern Nigeria;cattle rustling, kidnapping and illegal mining are on the increase. Between March and April, 2019, several thousands of people have been killed and displaced due to escalating violence.

The diverse and escalating security threats damage social and economic development. Such threats reduce school attendance, restrict access to health care, destroy property and limit investment and job creation. The cumulative effects of the foregoing are loss of jobs, stagnation of economic growth and further impoverishment of the already poor local population. In addition, government and international development partners spend large sums of money that could be channeled to other developmental purposes in rebuilding, repairing or replacing infrastructure destroyed by criminals.

7. Solution to Insecurity in Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara

A. Government effort

In July this year, President Muhammadu Buhari officially launched ‘Operation Harbin Kunama’ in Dansadau forest, Zamfara State, to arrest the growing challenges of insecurity in the zone. The military operation was assigned the task of flushing out armed bandits and cattle rustlers, who have been terrorizing farming communities in the state. But that is yet to curtail the activities of the marauders. They are still invading communities, killing and destroying (<https://www.pressreader.com>)

Government must be proactive in dealing with security issues and threats, through modern methods of intelligence gathering, and sharing among security personnel, training, logistics, motivation, and deploying advanced technology in managing security challenges. The real solution lies in government accelerating the pace of economic development through creating an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure to support business and industrial growth.

B. Employment for the growing Youth population

According to the National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria’s unemployment rate increased to 23.9 percent in 2011 compared with 21.1 per cent in 2010 and 19.7 per cent in 2009. The country has a youth population of 80 million, representing about 60 per cent of the total population with a growth rate of 2.6 per cent per year, and the national demography suggests that the youth population remains vibrant with an average annual entrant to the labour force at 1.8 million between 2006 and 2011. In 2011, 37.7 per cent of Nigerian were aged 15-24 years and 22.4 per cent of those between ages 25 and 44 were willing to work but did not get jobs. The current level of social insecurity is alarming and unacceptable.

C. Dialogue

In May, 2019, Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa’ad Abubakar III said dialogue and truth were panacea to the security challenges facing Nigeria. He spoke during the presentation of a book on the former Chief of Defence Staff, Gen. Martin Luther: “How a Congress of Baboons Made a General,” in Abuja. The monarch admonished Nigerians to engage in continuous dialogue because such was the best way in resolving every problem.. Abubakar called for forgiveness so as to build a solid new Nigeria. He said: “There are problems facing us left, right and centre; insecurity problems everywhere. But we shall overcome them.“Let keep on talking to ourselves, let us never get tired of dialogue.“Let us never get tired of telling ourselves the truth because as you all know, the truth can set us free.

D. Ban on mining in Zamfara

The Nigerian government announced a ban on mining activities in the northern Zamfara State as way on stemming the tide of incessant killings and security concern in Zamafara state. The move is in line with the wider state of insecurity in the state. The government said the decision is in line with intelligence reports that show a “strong and glaring nexus between the activities of armed bandits and illicit miners – with both mutually re-enforcing each other. The three directives issued were as follows:

- 1. Mining activities in Zamfara and other affected States are hereby suspended with immediate effect.
- 2. Consequently, any mining operator who engages in mining activities in the affected locations henceforth will have his license revoked.
- 3. All foreigners operating in the mining fields should close and leave within 48 hours.

The Nigeria Police Force has commenced, in collaboration with the Nigerian military and other security services, “Operation PUFF-ADDER” which is a full-scale security offensive against the bandits. <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng> (May, 2019)

The operation is aimed at:

- reclaiming every public space under the control of the bandits
- Arresting and bringing to book all perpetrators of violence in the affected areas, and their collaborators
- achieving total destruction of all criminal camps and hideouts
- mopping up all illicit weapons fueling the violence and attaining a full restoration of law and order in the affected communities.

10. Conclusion

Insecurity is a product of poverty, unemployment, corruption, inequality, poor government policies, and weak judicial system and so on. Cattle rusting, kidnapping, armed banditry have been frequent in these selected states. Public and private facilities have been destroyed by bandits. Female victims of kidnapping raped and molested. Women and children were generally victims, even though they were not directly involved.

11. Recommendations

There is no doubt that a lot of measures need to be put in place to resolve insecurity in the region. New security policies, thinking and strategies need to be developed; corruption has to be stopped by all means; the government and the people need to develop trust and work together to resolve the insecurity situation for Nigeria to move forward. The following is therefore recommended:

1. Relevant agencies of government and civil society should work towards reviewing existing and developing new mechanisms for the monitoring and control of Fulani herdsmen movement across the region. Ruga settlement should be put in place to limit movement of herders as a way to curtail the incessant killings of farmers by herdsmen.

Insecurity as a Development Challenges: A Study of Northwestern Nigeria

2. Government should put more efforts in monitoring and controlling small arms and light weapon across the country. Great attention should be placed on our borders, especially illegal entry points across states that have international borders
3. Government should improve the standard of living of the people through creation of more entrepreneurship centers across the country, most especially Katsina, Kaduna, Sokoto and Zamfara as a way of urgent measure to stem the tide of insecurity in these four states.
4. Government should intensify fight against corruption to ensure developmental projects that are meant to lift rural dwellers are executed and completed according to plans
5. Government should promote good governance , transparency, accountability through the use of print and electronic media as well as enlighten the public through workshop, dialogue, seminars and NGOs
6. Government should establish or create more employment centers through the establishment of entrepreneurship skill acquisition programs. This will make more youths to be self-sustained

References

Achumba, I.C, Ighomereho, O.S and Akpor-Robaro M.O.M (2013). Security challenges in Nigeria and implications for Business activities and Sustainable Development, *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4 (2).

Charas M.T (2015) *International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*

Daily Trust, Hopes for an End to cattle Theft, Star feature written by Misbahu Bashir, Daily Trust, Thursday 4th September 2014

Ewetan, O.O and Urhie, E. (2014). Insecurity and Socio-economic Development, *Journal of Development studies*, 5(1).

Gaberial, N and Joseph, N. (2016). Bad Governance and insecurity: The challenges for Development in Nigeria, *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(3).

<https://punchng.com/25-killed-in-sokoto-bandit-attacks/> 25 Killed in Sokoto Bandit attacks in

<https://www.dailytrust.com.ng> May, 2019

Kalu, E.O, Ajuzie, H.D and Chukwu, C.C (2018). Insecurity challenges in Nigeria: Human Security option as a panacea, *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 8(5).

Kuna, M. J. (2015) Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria by Centre of Democracy and Development

Okeshola, B.F (2011). Violence and insecurity in Nigeria: The bane of National Development, *European Scientific Journal*, 7 (26).

Okoli, Chukwuma Al (12 September, 2019) What can be done to fight rural Banditry In Northern Nigeria. <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/what-can-be-done-fight-rural-banditry-northern-nigeria>

Saharareporters.com/2019/05/06/insecurity-kaduna and zamfara

Suleiman, Samaila: Vanguardngr.com/2019/05/Security-in-tatters

Suleiman, Samaila (June 13, 2019) Rural Banditry in Zamfara State North West Nigeria

<https://kujenga-amani.ssrc.org/2019/06/13/rural-banditry-in-zamfara-state-northwest-nigeria/>

Zakka, S, Marabs, J, Shehu, K (2017) An overview of the activities of the Herdsmen in Southern Kaduna 1999-2017