

Banditry's Toll On Tomorrow: Exploring the Consequences on Youth in Northwest Nigeria

Ikechukwu Anthony Kanu¹, Mike Boni Bazza² and Pilani Michael Paul³

Abstract

In recent years, the northwest region of Nigeria has experienced a surge in banditry activities, leading to profound repercussions on local communities. This paper aims at examining banditry's toll on tomorrow, with a focus on the consequences on the youth in northwest Nigeria. The method adopted for this research is the qualitative method of investigation which tends to emphasize the description, meaning, and understanding of the phenomenon being studied. It relies on questioning and observation in the effort to discover or generate a profound understanding of the phenomenon or situation under investigation. This qualitative research uses a paradigm interpretive approach (naturalistic), which tries to understand the phenomenon from the subjective experiences of individuals. The study discovered that banditry has multiple consequences (economical, political, social, cultural, religious, etc) on the youth in Northwest Nigeria. The paper recommends that, despite the challenges posed by banditry, efforts can be made to promote resilience and develop coping strategies among youths in the Northwest, Nigeria. This may involve implementing psycho-social support programs, trauma-informed teaching practices, and community-based interventions to address the psychological impact.

Keywords: Youth, Banditry, Religion, Violence, Northwest Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Banditry is an organized crime committed by outlaws usually involving the use of threat and violence (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989). Historically, it has been documented since pre-colonial times, often manifesting as localized acts of theft, violence and criminality perpetrated by individuals or small groups (Okoro, 2022). Given the complex nature of the activities of bandits and focusing on the Nigerian context, Egwu (2016) in a restricted manner, described banditry as a practice of stealing cattle and animals from herders or raiding of cattle from their ranches. Banditry, according to Uche and Iwuamadi (2018), is also reflected in criminal escapades like kidnapping, armed robbery, drug abuse, arson, rape and the brazen and gruesome massacre of people of agrarian communities with sophisticated weapons by suspected herdsmen. Shalangwa (2013) and Udounwa (2013) add that banditry is the practice of raiding and attacking victims by members of an armed group, whether or not premeditated, using weapons of offence or defense, especially in semi-organised groups for the purpose of overpowering the victim and obtaining loot or achieving some political goals.

Abdullahi (2019) avers that bandits operate within and along rural borders with the assistance of their local collaborators including in some cases, state agents deployed to work for the safety and security of the people. Okoli and Okpaleke (2014) compares banditry with armed robbery. And in the view of Okoli and Ugwu (2019), economic or political interests motivate banditry. It is a threat to socio-economic development in the Northern part of Nigeria, especially the Northwest and the North central particularly Sokoto, Kano, Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kebbi and Niger States. This has become worrisome and a threat to National Security and development in past ten years (Olaniyan and Yahaya, 2016). It was reported by the Sahara Reporters (2020), that between October, 2013 and March 2023, over 18,000 cattle were rustled from commercial livestock farms and traditional hardens in Northern Nigeria (Bashir, 2014 and Tauna, 2016). While about 431 attacks were made by bandits and 3,465 deaths were recorded between January and July in 2019 (Abdullahi, 2019). In most cases, the bandits killed, maimed the people and raped the women before dispossessing them of their cows (Akowe and Kayode,

¹ Department of Philosophy Veritas University Abuja, FCT, Abuja, E-mail: ikee_mario@yahoo.com

² Department of History and International Relations Veritas University Abuja, FCT, Abuja. Email: danbazza68@gmail.com

³ Department of Theology Veritas University Abuja, Nigeria. E-mail: pilanim@veritas.edu.ng

2014; Mburu, 1999). While in some instances, they also kidnapped women and young girls in the process (Adeniyi, 2015).

The Northwestern region of Nigeria has seven states, namely Kano, Jigawa, Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Kebbi, however, five of these states: Katsina, Kaduna, Zamfara, Sokoto and Kebbi have been badly affected by the scourge of banditry. Kaduna, Katsina and Zamfara states have been most critical hot spots. It is, however, pertinent to note that the incidence of banditry and kidnapping is not limited to northwestern Nigeria only. In fact, it is also prevalent in some parts of North central part of Nigeria (Kuna and Jibrin, 2016). According to Olaniyan and Yahaya (2016) and Suleiman (2017), several factors are at the base of the prevalence of banditry in Nigeria. Some of these factors they argued include the fragility of the state, weak state institutions, especially the security agencies, availability of grossly ungoverned spaces, porosity of Nigerian borders, arms proliferation, weak leadership, corruption, unemployment and poverty.

Research also reveals that aside the complex interplay of economic, political, and social factors, activities of bandits in northwest Nigeria, there is the possibility of religious undercurrents often playing a role. Thus, Ojo, Oyewole and Aina (2023) aver that religious forces are also prominent among the triggers of armed banditry in north-west Nigeria. This is important as Nigerians tend to identify themselves based on ethnic and religious identities, rather than state-centric nationality. The region is home to various ethnic groups, including the predominantly Muslim Hausa-Fulani, who are often associated with the pastoralist lifestyle. Bandits in most instances are alleged to come from these groups. While not all bandit groups are explicitly religious (Barnett et al., 2022), some may exploit religious sentiments for recruitment or justification of their actions. In fact, in some cases, bandit leaders or recruiters are said to have used religious rhetoric to garner support or legitimize their activities (Gustafson, 2017; Osasona, 2022; Kanu and Agbo, 2023).

Banditry poses a serious challenge not only to the socio-economic development of Northwest states but also to the country at large. The level at which armed bandits operate within the northwest region and some parts of North central calls for the attention the state and federal governments (Okoli and Orinya, 2013; Ejimabo, 2013). The increasing attacks of bandit groups have led to the destruction of lives and property, displacement of people from their community. There is a growing number of widows, widowers and orphans, who now reside in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) Camps following the continued attacks of armed bandits on both farmers and pastoral communities across different areas of the northwestern states (Okoli and Ugwu, 2019; Nwogwugwu et al, 2012; Uche and Iwuamadi, 2018). Scholars have a correlation between violence and the quality of the life of the youths of an area, with the understanding that each instance of violence is ingrained in memory, and contributes to the molding of persons (Anderson, 1999; Schröder and Schmidt, 2001). Studies have also found that exposure to violence and insecurity associated with banditry can have long-lasting effects on mental health, leading to increased levels of stress, anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among affected populations, disruption of economic activities such as agriculture, trade, and tourism, leading to loss of livelihoods, reduced investment and economic stagnation (Srinivasa and Lakshminarayana, 2006; Femi-Lawal et al., 2023; Carpinello, 2023). Thus, this paper focuses on the consequences of banditry on the youths of the Northwest of Nigeria who have been badly hit by the activities of bandits in the region.

METHODOLOGY

The method adopted for this research is the qualitative method of investigation which tends to emphasize the description, meaning, and understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Berger, 2013). It relies on questioning and observation in the effort to discover or generate a profound understanding of the phenomenon or situation under investigation. This qualitative research uses a paradigm interpretive approach (naturalistic), which tries to understand the phenomenon from the subjective experiences of individuals. Thus, without neglecting the inner perspective of human behavior (Aspers & Corte, 2019). This research is located in the Northwest part of Nigeria, with a focus on the youths in Kebbi, Kaduna, Zamfara, Sokoto, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, and through field research and strengthened by literature research.

Research Design

The research results and empirical data used and discussed in this article are data from research projections of the IOM Flash Reports for 2021, 2022, and 2023. The assessments were conducted by utilizing direct observation and a broad network of key informants to gather representative data and collect information on the number, profile and immediate needs of affected populations. The three reports reveal that the activities of banditry in the northern part of Nigeria have sent new waves of population displacement in the region, led to the death of thousands of innocent citizens, and increased the tension and suspicion between religious and ethnic groups in the region. Beyond the flash report of the International Organization for Migration, data was also collected through the interview of thirty five young persons from different parts of the northern region (Kebbi, Kaduna, Zamfara, Sokoto, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina). Five persons were interviewed from each of the mentioned states of the region. The numbers were skewed towards men (23-12) as the male folk were more available for the interview than the women were.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is carried out continuously when data is collected by reduction techniques (reduction of the number of data records by eliminating invalid data or producing a summary data at different aggregation levels), data presentation, extraction, verification, and conclusion (Miles and Huberman, 2014). The analysis is carried out simultaneously when collecting observation data, interview data, and documentation obtained. Data presentation is carried out by describing and writing them in quotation marks. The verification process is done by checking the data described in relation to experience and previous researches for the purpose of ensuring accuracy and reaching a right conclusion (Sugiyono, 2005).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The investigation reveals that banditry has consequences on the youths in Northwest of Nigeria, especially in areas like economic development, education, value of life, etc. This is in line with the outcome of the research of Akeem, Samuel and Abel (2020) who investigated the effect of violence on youth performance. Their study adopted a descriptive survey research design through the use of questionnaire. The population of the study comprised of 123 staff of a company, which was further reduced to 76 staff as the sample size through the use of a formula derived by Taro Yamane. Purposive sampling technique was used to select the staff. The data was analyzed using Regression Analysis with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 25.0) at 5% level of significance. Findings revealed that there is significant effect of violence on youth performance. Thus, the study recommended that organizations should discourage violence among their staff so as to enhance its performance. This is also confirmed by the research of Godfrey, Stephen and James (2015), who examined the effect of criminality on youth performance. The study adopted explanatory and cross-sectional survey design. The target population of this study comprised 43 Commercial Banks in Kenya. The findings of the study established that youth criminality influence performance.

Consequences of Banditry on Youth in Northwest, Nigeria

The study shows that banditry has disrupted the means of livelihood of communities in the north western states (Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto and Zamfara) of Nigeria. Since 2011, nearly 200,000 people have fled bandit violence and remain internally displaced within the northwest region. Approximately 77,000 Nigerians have fled to neighboring countries, and humanitarian efforts to respond to emergencies in Nigeria as well as crises in neighboring Sahel and Lake Chad are overstretched. The majority of those displaced do not receive organized assistance and are in desperate need of basic necessities. Brenner (2021) had also observed that the rise of banditry and armed attacks has severely disrupted means of livelihood and the distribution of essential services for people across the northwest region.

Table 1: Armed bandit attacks and fatalities in Northwest Nigeria 2013-2022

S/N	States	Attack	Fatality
1	Jigawa	5	7
2	Kaduna	324	1917
3	Kano	1	0

Banditry's Toll On Tomorrow: Exploring the Consequences on Youth in Northwest Nigeria

4	Katsina	208	1416
5	Kebbi	14	202
6	Sokoto	64	644
7	Zamfara	275	4114
	Total		

Author created from Aina (2024); Aina, Ojo & Oyewole (2023); IOM (2021, 2022; 2023)

Banditry, characterized by armed attacks and violence, often leads to the closure and disruption of schools in affected areas. The reasons for this are not far-fetched. First, there is the reason for safety concerns: schools become targets for bandits seeking ransom, loot, or to spread fear within communities (Sanchi, Alhassan, Ajibade, and Sabo, 2022). Consequently, authorities may temporarily or permanently shut down schools to ensure the safety of students, teachers, and staff. Other implications of banditry on school activities include the displacement of Students, the destruction or damage of school infrastructure, including classrooms, libraries, and administrative buildings, teachers fleeing conflict-affected areas due to safety concerns or lack of support from authorities. This exacerbates the shortage of educators, further hindering efforts to maintain educational continuity.

Table 1: Number of out of school children in different zones in Nigeria

S/N	Zone	Number of out of school children
1	North west	3,490,671
2	North East	2,001,038
3	South West	1,451,740
4	North Central	1,329,111
5	South South	1,208,187
6	South East	713,176

Author created from the report of Olabisi (2021)

Banditry has significant psychological implications for both students and educators, affecting the learning process in different ways with trauma and fear. In fact, there is no gainsaying that exposure to violence and insecurity can cause trauma among students, leading to fear, anxiety, and difficulty concentrating in class. The constant threat of attacks can create a hostile learning environment, inhibiting students' ability to learn effectively. Additionally, the psychological distress caused by banditry can disrupt students' cognitive processes, impairing their ability to retain information and engage in academic activities. This can result in academic regression and hinder long-term educational attainment. Moreover, pupils and students are susceptible to emotional distress including depression, anger, and feelings of helplessness, which can further impede their learning and overall well-being. Similarly, educators may struggle with their own emotional challenges, affecting their capacity to support students effectively. The ripple effect of these is loss of trust in institutions, including schools and educational authorities by pupils/students and parents.

Banditry also has severe economic consequences on affected communities, especially their youths on two fronts, loss of livelihoods and increased poverty rates among youths and the families they depend on. It often disrupts economic activities, leading to the loss of livelihoods for individuals and communities (Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Robaro, 2013; Umar, 2021).

Table 2: Banditry and Economic development

S/N	Major ways it affects economic development	How it affects economic development
1.	<i>Agricultural Disruption</i>	Many banditry-prone regions rely heavily on agriculture for livelihoods. Attacks on farms, destruction of crops, and looting of livestock can devastate farmers, leading to significant income losses.
2.	<i>Market Disruptions</i>	Banditry disrupts market activities as traders may fear traveling to or operating in affected areas due to security concerns. This limits access to essential goods and services, affects supply chains, and reduces economic opportunities for local businesses.
3.	<i>Displacement of Workers</i>	Individuals forced to flee violence may abandon their jobs or businesses, resulting in a loss of skilled labor and entrepreneurial talent. This can further stagnate economic growth in already marginalized regions.
4.	<i>Impact on Tourism</i>	Banditry can deter tourists from visiting regions known for insecurity, leading to declines in tourism revenue and loss of jobs in the hospitality and service industries.

5.	Income Inequality	Banditry disproportionately affects vulnerable populations, exacerbating income inequality within communities. The loss of livelihoods and economic opportunities widens the gap between the rich and the poor, further marginalizing already disadvantaged groups.
6.	Limited Access to Resources	Economic deprivation resulting from banditry restricts access to essential resources such as food, healthcare, and education. This perpetuates cycles of poverty as individuals struggle to meet their basic needs and break out of poverty traps
7.	Erosion of Assets	Persistent banditry can lead to the erosion of assets such as land, livestock, and property, which are crucial for wealth accumulation and intergenerational poverty alleviation.
8.	Reduced Social Mobility	Economic deprivation hampers social mobility as individuals lack the resources and opportunities to improve their living standards and access quality education, healthcare, and employment opportunities

Author created

Strategies for Prevention and Intervention

Addressing the social and economic root causes of banditry is essential for preventing recruitment and effectively countering criminal activities. A major strategy is the implementation of targeted poverty alleviation programs that provide economic opportunities, vocational training, and financial support to marginalized communities, reducing their susceptibility to recruitment by bandit groups; this might also include the promotion of sustainable livelihoods and income-generating activities through microfinance initiatives, small business support, and agricultural development projects, empowering individuals to pursue lawful means of earning a living (Kanu, 2016).

Enhancing access to quality education, vocational training, and skill-building programs, equipping individuals with the knowledge, skills, and qualifications needed to secure stable employment and pursuing alternative paths to success cannot be undermined. Fostering community engagement, participation, and empowerment through community-based initiatives, grassroots organizations, and participatory decision-making processes that address local grievances and promote social cohesion is also fundamental (Kanu, 2017). This involves investing in conflict resolution mechanisms, dialogue processes, and peace-building initiatives that address underlying grievances, promote reconciliation, and build trust between communities and authorities.

It might not be enough to invest in conflict resolution mechanisms alone. There is also the need to strengthen law enforcement capacities, improve access to justice, and enhance accountability mechanisms to deter criminal activities, prosecute perpetrators, and ensure fair and impartial treatment of all individuals, regardless of their socio-economic status. Raising public awareness about the dangers of banditry, the consequences of involvement in criminal activities, and the importance of community solidarity, cooperation, and resilience in preventing recruitment and countering criminal influence is also an important strategy (Kanu, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The north-central and north-west zones of Nigeria for years have been afflicted with a multidimensional crisis rooted in long-standing tensions between ethnic and religious groups, which has involved attacks by criminal groups and banditry, such as kidnapping and grand larceny along major highways. During the past years, the crisis has accelerated because of the intensification of attacks and has resulted in widespread displacement persons across the region and beyond. Given that Banditry often thrives in environments marked by social and economic vulnerabilities, this has contributed to the recruitment of individuals into criminal activities injustices. Some key factors are poverty and unemployment, economic deprivation, lack of employment opportunities, and limited access to basic services have pushed individuals towards banditry as a means of survival and livelihood. Social marginalization, discrimination, and unequal distribution of resources have also created fertile ground for banditry recruitment, especially among marginalized communities who feel disenfranchised and excluded from mainstream society (Ejiofor, 2022).

The present research, however, has focused on the phenomenon of banditry which has assumed an unprecedented dimension in Nigeria, with the current trend suggesting that there is hardly an end to the problem. This worrisome situation of banditry has been traced to the issue of unemployment, large forestry land, use and dumping of youths by politician, porous nature of Nigeria’s borders, poor motivation of security agents, lack of seriousness on the part of government, lack of modern equipment for tracking down criminals and lack of synergy among security agents etc.

The research found that rural banditry has harmed the youth of northwest Nigeria in a multidimensional manner. There is, therefore, the need to promote resilience and develop coping strategies among the youths. This might require the implementation of psycho-social programs, trauma informed teaching practices and community-based interventions to address the psychological impact of banditry on the youth. Also required is a deliberate effort by government to reduce unemployment among the youth, vocational training, financial support to marginalized and affected communities and engaging in poverty alleviation programs that provide economic opportunities.

REFERENCES

- Abdullahi, A. (2019). "Rural Banditry, Regional Security, and Integration in West Africa". *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*. 2. 3. 644-654. 10.31014/aior.1991.02.03.107.
- Achumba, I. C., Ighomereho, O. S. and Akpor-Robaro M. O. (2013). "Security Challenges in Nigeria and the Implications for Business Activities and Sustainable Development". *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*. 4. 2. 79-99.
- Aina, F. (2024). "Political economy of sub-national fragility and armed conflict in Northwest Nigeria". *African Identities*, DOI: 10.1080/14725843.2024.2308638.
- Aina, F., Ojo, J. S. and Oyewole, S. (2023). "Shock and awe: Military response to armed banditry and the prospects of internal security operations in Northwest Nigeria". *African Security Review*, 32:4, 440-457, DOI: 10.1080/10246029.2023.2246432
- Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Aspers, P., Corte, U. (2019). "What is Qualitative in Qualitative Research". *Qual Sociol* 42, 139–160. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-019-9413-7>
- Barnett, J., Rufa'I, M. A. and Abdulaziz, A. (2022). "Northwestern Nigeria: A Jihadization of Banditry, or a 'Banditization' of Jihad?" *Combatting Terrorism Centre Sentinel*. 15. 1.
- Berger, R. (2015). "Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research". *Qualitative Research*, 15(2), 219-234. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112468475>
- Carpiniello, B. (2023). "The Mental Health Costs of Armed Conflicts—A Review of Systematic Reviews Conducted on Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and People Living in War Zones". *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*, 20, 2840. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20042840>
- Ejiolor, P. F. (2022). "Beyond Ungoverned Spaces: Connecting the Dots between Relative Deprivation, Banditry, and Violence in Nigeria". *African Security*. 15. 2. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2022.2061320>
- Femi-Lawal et al., (2023). "Effects of Armed Conflicts and Insecurity on the Mental Health of Nigerians". *Razi International Medical Journal*, 3(1). DOI: 10.56101/rimj.v3i1.53
- Gustafson, O. (2017) *Social Banditry, Myth and Historical Reality Conceptualising Contemporary Albanian Organised Crime Against the Hajduks*, <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=15ded7c04f6165aa6e68b18ea386753c9f4d2726>
- IOM Nigeria Flash Report (2021). *Population Displacement, North-West/North-Central Nigeria (20 - 26 December)*. <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=iom+flash+report+on+banditry+2021>
- IOM Nigeria Flash Report (2022). *Nigeria — North-central & North-west Flash Report #95 (28 March - 03 April)*. <https://dtm.iom.int/reports/nigeria-north-central-north-west-flash-report-95-28-march-03-april-2022>
- IOM Nigeria Flash Report (2023). *Population Displacement - North West/North Central Nigeria (13 - 19 February)*. <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/iom-nigeria-flash-report-134-population-displacement-north-west-north-central-nigeria-13-19-february-2023>
- Kanu, I. A. (2016). "Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria as a Religio-political Locus Theologicus for Misericordia Vultus". *Harvard Journal of Humanities and Social sciences*. 3. 4. 117-128.
- Kanu, I. A. (2016). "The Culture of Political Corruption and the Emergence of Terrorism in Nigeria". *Sub-Saharan Journal of African Sustainable Development*. 3. 7. 127-149.
- Kanu, I. A. (2017). "Igwebuiké as an Igbo-African modality of peace and conflict resolution". *Journal of African Traditional Religion and Philosophy Scholars*. 1. 1. 31-40.
- Kanu, I. A. and Agbo, M. N. (2023). "Nigeria and the question of national security: North-Central in perspective". In Kanu, Ikechukwu A.; Bazza, M. B.; Bakwap P.; Kanu C. C.; Martin Onukwuba; Dokpesi, T. (Eds.). *Economics, Higher education and Sustainable Development in 21st Century Africa: A Festschrift in honour of Professor Ichoku Hyacinth Ementa (549-570)*. Jos: Augustinian Digital Press.
- Kanu, I. A. and Agbo, M. N. (2023). "Traditional rulers and national security". In Kanu, Ikechukwu A.; Bazza, M. B.; Bakwap P.; Kanu C. C.; Martin Onukwuba; Dokpesi, T. (Eds.). *Economics, Higher education and Sustainable Development in 21st Century Africa: A Festschrift in honour of Professor Ichoku Hyacinth Ementa (549-570)*. Jos: Augustinian Digital Press.

- Khan, T., Hayat, S., Hayat, H., Ali, S., Khan, S., & Ahmad, M. (2021). Population Estimation of *Oncorhynchus Mykiss*, *Salmo Trutta* and *Schizothorax Plagastimus* in Upper River Swat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. *Mathews Journal of Veterinary Science*, 5(1), 1-3.
- Mburu, N. (1999). "Contemporary Banditry in the Horn of Africa: Causes, History and Political Implications". *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 8(2): 89-107
- Murthy, R. and lakshminarayana, R. (2006). "Mental health consequences of war: a brief review of research findings". *World Psychiatry*. 5(1): 25–30.
- Mustapha, A. (2022). "The Causes And Consequences Of Armed Banditry, Kidnapping And Cattle Rustling In Some Selected Communities In Zamfara State". *Bakolori Journal of General Studies*. 12. 2.
- Ojo, J. S. (2020). "Governing "Ungoverned Spaces" in the Foliage of Conspiracy: Toward (Re)ordering Terrorism, from Boko Haram Insurgency, Fulani Militancy to Banditry in Northern Nigeria". *African Security*, 13:1, 77-110, DOI: 10.1080/19392206.2020.1731109
- Ojo, J. S., Oyewole, S. & Aina, F. (2023). "Forces of Terror: Armed Banditry and Insecurity in North-west Nigeria". *Democracy and Security*, 19:4, 319-346, DOI: 10.1080/17419166.2023.2164924.
- Olabisi D. (2021). Nigeria's out of school children. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/tag/nigerias-out-of-school-children>
- Oluwale O. and Omolara B. (2022). Banditry's impacts on women and children in Nigeria needs a policy response. London: London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Oxford English Dictionary (1989). *Oxford English Dictionary (Second Online Version)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rosenje, M. O. and Adeniyi, O. P. (2021). "The impact of banditry on Nigeria's security in the fourth republic: an evaluation of Nigeria's northwest, Zamfara". *Journal of Politics and Development*. 2. 1. 1-26.
- Salawu, B. (2010). "Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: Causal Analysis and Proposals for New Management Strategies". *European Journal of Social Sciences* – 13. 3. 345-353.
- Sanchi, I. D., Alhassan, Y. J., Ajibade, O. V., and Sabo, Y. A. (2022). "Implications of Rural Banditry on Educational Development in Nigeria: A Critical Review". *Journal of Social Science and Educational Studies*. 10(5), 77-87, <https://doi.org/10.26765/DRJSSE011759348>
- Schröder, I. W. and Schmidt, B. (2001). "Introduction: Violent imaginaries and violent practices." In Schröder, I. W. and Schmidt, B. (Eds). *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*. London: Routledge.
- Srinivasa, M. and Lakshminarayana, R. (2006). "Mental health consequences of war: a brief review of research findings". *World Psychiatry* 5(1): 25–30.
- Uche, C. and Iwuamadi, K. (2018). "Nigeria: Rural Banditry and Community Resilience in the Nimbo Community". *Conflict Studies Quarterly* 24. 71-82. DOI:10.24193/cs.q.24.5.
- Udounwa, S. (2013). Boko Haram: Developing new strategy to combat terrorism in Nigeria. <http://www.dfic/tr/u@9590264pdf>