Porous Borders , Banditry and Insecurity in Northern Nigeria: A Human Security Perspective in the Country's Fourth Republic

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Abstract
The Nigerian Democratic fourth republic, which commenced on the 29th May 1999, greeted by Nigerians within and diaspora with a sigh of relief . Thus after many years (32years) of military rule with its colloraries of human rights abuse, the militarization of civil society, ban and embargo on many democratic tenets like students union, workers union, suffocating the powers of the court, unlawful imprisonment and detention of persons, etc., hence the coming of democracy was to reverse the old shackles of military rule, where transparency, accountability, human security, human right, equality, safety, development would prevail. Ironically as the country journeyed into the fourth republic, the Nigerian society saw itself drowning in many trouble waters, mostly in areas of conflicts conflagration. This manifested in the Niger Delta Resources conflict, Boko haram, various ethnic cum religious conflicts, unknown, gunmen, Herdsmen, bandits, etc. The current nefarious activities of bandits in Nigeria have been a matter of serious concern due to the death toll, destruction of lives and properties, attack at military camps/bases, and carting away their weapons, etc. It is based on this, the paper set to interrogate the human security implication of bandits in northern Nigeria. The study proceeds by finding answers to questions such as: what is the connectivity between Porous Borders and banditry? How does banditry breeds human insecurity in the form of death of civilians and soldiers, food insecurity, employment and hunger as a result of attack at farmers, internally displacement? etc. To achieve this, the paper utilized the content analysis methodological orientation as data were mainly secondary sources: textbooks, magazines, internet materials, Journal publications, etc. the human security theory was explored.it was discovered that: poor border policing, easy manipulations of youths by criminal agents, poor internal security architecture paved way for prevalent of bandits and other criminal agents. the paper recommends: effective policing and security, adequate and judiciously utilizing of security votes.
Keywords: borders, porous borders, banditry, security, internally displaced, human security.

Introduction

The democratic fourth republic of Nigerian, which came on the 29th of May 1999, saw an end to the 32 years of military junta in the Nigerian body polity. The Euphoria of hope expressed in the minds of Nigerians within and in the diaspora, was an expression of that feelings of freedom from many years of bondage and chain, emancipation from years of excruciating human rights abuse without redress, repression, unlawful imprisonment, etc, (Aihe 1971; the Refworld 1996; Santos 2022; the African Portal 2021). The coming of democracy on the 29th May 1999,was expected by the "mouth watery" Nigerian masses to usher in an atmosphere of leadership accountability, transparency, development that is human-oriented, the revival of all

democratic tents and institutions that where suffocated during the military era, etc. Ironically, the democratic experience has not been a palatable one. This is so as the fourth republic quickly ran into many boiling and troubled waters of unbearable developmental, political, economic and social catastrophes, that is why yagboyaju (2012) affirmed that:

> *Nigeria's present democratization, which culminated in the*
> *country fourth republic on May 29, 1999, started amidst*
> *great hope and expectations. Disturbingly years after the*
> *commencement of democratization in Nigeria, the political*
> *landscape is yet to show clear evidence of good governance.*

Although some few achievements, in nation building and development was recorded in the early years of democratic experimentation.This evidently during the tenure of former President Olusegun Obasanjo such as: the introduction of EFCC to fight corruption, revamping of private sector, settling of Nigeria's huge foreign debts, turning our nation into an international investment destination, and elevating her from a pariah and debtor nation to becoming one on the fastest growing economies. The private sector boomed in areas of telecommunication, aviation, banking and finance, education, manufacturing, sports, entertainment, health care etc., (The Nigerian Tribune 2021; the world leadership Alliance; Oludare 2022). While his successor, preside Umaru Musa Yar'adua also tried to better the lots of Nigeria in the following ways: reduction of petrol pump price from N75 naira to N65 naira, declaration of all his assets setting a template for others to follow suits, approval of the dredging of river niger, granting amnesty to niger delta militants, implementation of the N18,000 minimum wage, construction of the Kaduna-Abuja railway allocation, the release of 10 billion worth of allocation to Lagos state local government after political differences between ex-president Olusegun Obasanjo and Bola Ahmed Tinubu, judicial reforms and respect to rule of law, electoral reform, etc,(The Naija super fans.com; the vanguard of 5th may 2020).

The tide of things, changed sooner in the country's fourth republic. Thus the above appreciable deeds made by leaders in the infant days of Nigeria's new democracy were seen to turn into misfortunes. The threatening activities of many centripedal and centrifugal forces became cogs in the wheel of progress. Ethnic and religious skirmishes, Niger Delta agitation for resources control and the militancy that followed, boko haram insurgency, herdsmen, unknown gunmen, and the current bandits have continuously threatened the peace, security and unity of Nigeria. Militancy cost Nigeria a loss in crude oil revenue from that of 3.2 billion barrels per day (mbpd) to 1.3 million barrels per day (mbpd). The militant also ventured into kidnapping of mostly foreigners, which made Nigeria to be treated as a pariah state in international fora, as a report by the African Insurance Organization showed that at the 2012,18th African reinsurance forum at Balaclava, Mauritius, Nigeria was ranked for 34% of world's kidnapping for ransom. For Boko haram, the group as of 2018, has carried out I,639 violent attacks with 14436 casualties,6,051 injured victims and 2,063 hostages across northeastern region of Nigeria,(Essien 2008; Catlin 2012; salihu 2015;Shehu Musa Yar'adua foundation 2018;akubo and okolo 2019).

The current spate of bandit's mayhem, that is causing devastating and unbearable security problem, remains an issue of National concern. Barnett and Rufai (2021) opined that, in September 2019, several Nigerian social media accounts famous for their military inclined slant began reporting that a notorious bandit named Turji Gidde had been captured. This seemed to be a glorious triumphant of the military in its campaign against insurgency and other crime syndicates terrorizing Northwestern Nigeria. The Northern geopolitical zone of Nigeria has been battling with intensified conflict disturbing human existence that has attracted international policy makers and analyst. Since the mid-2010s fighting has killed at least 12,000(the death toll is likely much higher) displaced over a million people, and led to the shutting down of hundreds of schools and colleges across the region. The Nigerian state is all but absent from large swathes of the northwest, with even the federal highways unsafe for government officials and their armed escorts. The bandits number in the low, 10,000, Making them more numerous than the country's jihadits, and they have improve in their fighting

capacity, shooting down military jets, and breaching the Nigerian defence academy. The problem gets mind boggling due to the little attention by western policy makers to bandits than Boko Haram. That of bandits should not be ignored simply because it doesn't fit within the still potent "global war on terror" paradigm and because the bandits are not broadcasting their propaganda on global jihadi channels. The banditry crisis contains elements of criminality, inter-ethnic conflict, terrorism, and warlodism, while their features and tactics gets sophisticated that it becomes difficult to have a clear picture of them,(Barnett and Rufai 2021)

It is upon this back drop, the paper sets out to investigate the human security impacts of bandits activities in northern Nigeria. The study sets to achieve its goals by finding answers to the following questions: The extent which porous borders aids the penetration of bandits into Nigerian state? Whether the activities of bandits causes loss of Iives of both civilians and military/security personnel and attack at their formations? and whether bandits cause human security challenges in areas of food, loss to Farmers as the flee their farms and severe humanitarian catastrophe of internally displacement?

Statement Of The Problem.

The Nigerian democratic fourth republic ailment of insecurity, has seen a paradigamatic shift from the Niger Delta conflict: the hey days of militancy, to the current crisis plaguing the Northern part of Nigeria. This is evident in the security challenges that engulfs the Northern states-Borno, Adama, Yobe and Gombe, Adamawa, Kano, Nasarawa, etc. that are known for unabated Boko Haram attacks: 37,500 deaths, with 2.4 million internally displaced persons. This is on-going in a region that has unpalatable attributes of underdevelopment: joblessness, illiteracy, early/child ,maternal mortality and terrorism. The threats from insurgency and banditry has made worse the above developmental issues. The northern part of Nigeria now grapples with population explosion and poor hygiene causing cholera outbreak, disruption in agricultural activities, which inevitably tantamount to unbearable food insecurity, low access to education (poor women education level and infant maternal mortality), disruption of health supply chains, referral networks, communication and supervision, poverty leading to insurgency and criminality, (olarewaju 2021).In their study on "nigerian democracy in a slippery hollow of insecurity :a case of conflict-induced human security challenges in the country's fourth republic ",the buttress how conflict of different colorations ranging from ethnic, religious, resource war/militancy in the Niger Delta, herdsmen-farmers clash, Boko Haram insurgency, etc have truncated the democratic fourth republic impeding the flourishing of democracy.

Barnett, Rufai and Abdul-Aziz (2022),   are of the views that, northern Nigeria is battling with two edged conflicts. In the Lake chad basin near the country's northeast, a 13 year jihadi insurgency that has caused the death of nearly 350,000 and displaced several millions goes unbated. The fraction of "Boko Haram" known as jama'at Ahl al-sunna li-daʿwa wal jihad (JAS) is in disarray after the killing of it's longtime leader- Abubakar Shekau in May 2021, but it is not yet a totally spent force. The rival Islamic state of west African province (ISWAP) faction, continuously wax strong and control large swarthes of rural maiduguri-borno state capital. In northwestern Nigeria, a complex and volatile insurgency is rolling a region the size of the United Kingdom, leading shockingly, to more civilian deaths in 2021 than the conflict in northeast.Well-armed bandits are rendering terror over communities and draining the already overstretched security forces, getting financial reward through illicit economy, such as kidnapping for ransom, and assuming defacto sovereignty over swatches of the region. Though most of the millitants are Fulani herdsmen who pretend to be ventilating their grievances as a result of government neglect of pastoralist communities But the insurgency to a large extent is a violence behavior of some bandits group loosely organized around warlords of varying power.

Hassan (2021) assert that, agents of death known as "bandits"-are armed criminal gangs that have terrorized Nigeria's rural northwest, killing, kidnapping, forcing people from their homes, and taunting the authorities with their braziness. The violence, typically involves scores of gunmen on motor bikes sweeping into villages, shooting all the young men they see, on the premise that,(the innocent young men) belong to local vigilantes, and then carting away livestock and anything within their reach at the scene after killing the young men and other innocent rural dwellers. The raids are increasingly daring. In the past few months ago at the time of this

writing, bandits have been so daring. They have downed an air force jet; attacked the military officers training school; struck a prestige commuter rail service running between the capital federal capital territory-Abuja, and the city of Kaduna; and kidnapped students for ransom from schools and colleges so many times that education is now a jinx,(Hassan 2021).

The above, clearly demonstrates, the excruciating security problematic associated with the refarious and inordinate activities of bandits in Nigeria. Based on the above, the study sets to discuss the human security implications of banditry in northern Nigeria. The study first present a factual correlation of Nigeria's porous borders and the activities of banditry, then delve into showcasing the impact of bandit on security, interms of loss of lives of both civilians and military cum security personnels and their formations, and finally the human security aspects in area of food, loss to farmers as they flee their farms, the unleashing of humanitarian catastrophe of internally displacement.

Objectives of The Study.
The seeks to examine the extent which bandits affect the security of lives and property in northern Nigeria. The study further looked into some salient issues below;
Whether porous borders aided the penetration of bandits into Nigeria, mostly foreign mercenaries
The extent which bandits activities affects human security in northern Nigeria in terms of food, shelter, internally displacement and the killing of soldiers/military personnel.

Definition of terms
In this study, certain concepts would be defined to ensure clarity and understand its applicability in the study.

Bandits
The Wikipedia define bandits, as a type of organized crime committed by outlaws typically involving the threat or use of violence. The Dictionary.com defines bandit as a robber, especially a member of a gang or marauding band. The merrian-webster dictionary (1828) defines a bandit as an outlaw who lives by plunder: especially a member of a band of marauders. The Collins dictionary.com sees banditry as an act of robbery and violence in areas where the rule of law was broken. The Britanica dictionary defines banditry as a criminal who attacks and steals from travellers and who is often a member of a group of criminals.

Borders
The Cambridge Dictionary sees border, as a line drawn to divide one country from another. The vocabulary.com sees a border as a line that separates one thing from another, most famously countries. The oxford learner's Dictionary define border as a line that divides two countries or areas: the land near this line. The free dictionary.com sees border as a part that forms the outer edge of something. The line or frontier area separating political divisions or geographic regions: a boundary.

Security
The organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, defines security as a fundamental rights to people's livelihoods, reducing poverty. Security matters to the poor, and other vulnerable groups especially women and children, because bad policing, weak justice and penal system and corrupt militaries mean that they suffer disproportionately from crime, insecurity and fear. The SIPRI 2015 Year Book sees in the light of: individual, human and state security. Otto and Ukpere (2012), sees security as the protection against something that might happen in the future or as the activities involved in protecting a country, a building or persons against threats, danger, etc. (Wehmeier and Ashby 202 in Otto and Ukpere 2012).Essentially, security must be concerned with the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis, threats to human injury among others. The presence of peace could facilitate progress (Otto and Ukpere 2012).

The UN Chronicle define national security, as the ability of a state to cater for the protection and defense of its citizenry. The United nations office for the coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) expanded National security to broad range of salient issues, thus: economic – creation of employment and measures against poverty; Food – measures against hunger and famine; Health – measures against diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition and lack of access to basic health care; Environmental – measures against environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters and pollution; Personal – measures against physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence and child labour; Community – measures against inter-ethnic, religious and other identity tensions; Political – measures against political repression and human rights abuses.

Theoretical Framework

Human Security Theory

The human security theory, according to the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security as noted in General Assembly resolution 66/290, "Human Security is an approach to assist member states in identifying and addressing widerspread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people". In today's world, the many threats from protracted crises, violent conflicts, natural disasters, persistent poverty, epidemics and economic downturn, impose hardships and undercut prospects for peace, stability and sustainable development. Such crisis are complex, entailing multiple forms of human insecurity. Dorn (2022) opined that, human security can be mirrowed and understood from the 1994 Human Development Report, which defined human security as, people "Safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life". Seven types of security were listed as components of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal (physical) security, community security and political security. Gregoratti (undated) opined that, human security approach to national and international security gives primacy to human beings and their complex social and economic interactions. The concept of human security represents a departure from orthodox security studies, which focus on the security of the state. The subjects of human security approach are individuals and its end goals is the protection of people from traditional (i.e military) and non-traditional threats such as poverty and disease.

The inputs and relevance, of the human security theory as clearly buttressed above to the study, reveals the following: (1) The many conflict in Nigeria's Fourth Republic with reference to the banditry affects mostly the human's physical/personal, economic life in terms of means of survival like farming, livestock farming, fishing, trading etc. Those targeted are innocent civilians. The issue of internally displacement as a result of the masses fleeing to avoid Boko Haram mayhem, remains a terrible human security and humanitarian issue. The internally displayed suffers from severe neglect, as they find themselves living in unsanitary environments: poor housing, and poor hygiene , exposure to nature because most of their place of refuge has no wondow or door etc. some are exposed to environmental inconveniences because they stay in class room buildings, fields, uncompleted and abandoned buildings. They commonly face fear and threat due to the trauma from bandit attack, rape, molestation and kidnapping etc. The hunger, loss to farmlands, livestocks and other source of livelihoods are all human security issues. The incessant targeting of military/security personnels and their bases throw weights to the problem of human insecurity

Porous borders and Banditry in Northern Nigeria

Border, remains a geostrategic element in international relations, statehood and sovereignty, by virtue of boundary demarcation via air, land and sea. It has over the years, formed line of defence and fortress for nations in times of external attack and threats. Thus it is undeniable that international laws and foremost international organization, like the United Nations organization, the European Union, the many defence and security alliances, etc. respect borders of Nation-states. It has been the bedrock of territorial integrity and non-interference in domestic affairs of sovereign states. However borders have also been used negatively for the flow and furtherance of various transnational crimes like; human trafficking, sales of counterfeit drugs and

money, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, cross borders terrorist link in sharing training, arms skills ,financing, etc. This negative use of borders it's not without the impact of globalization. Thus as globalization promotes open border policy, free trade and movement of goods, services and humans, it also carries alongside the proliferation of transnational organized crimes.

Abdulaziz (2021), opined that, Nigeria occupies an area of 923,768 square kilometers, and shares boundary with chad republic in the northeast; Cameroon on the east, gulf of guinea on the south, Benin republic on the west and Niger on the north-west. Most of the country's border with those neighbours, stretching a total boundary length of 4,900km is made up of land, with only 853km as coastline, largely with the Atlantic Ocean. The country's borders with Benin and chad are 773km and 87km long respectively, while those with Niger and Cameroon span 1,497km and 1,690km respectively. Across the 4,000 square kilometer coverage, we have illegal routes without the presence of border police and other security and military post, as revealed by David S. Paradang, the then Nigeria immigration service (NIS) comptroller- General in 2014. He further informed that, although the country had 84 approved borders, there were over 1,400 illegal routes. Examples of such illegal entry units are in ogun state, Adamawa states with 83 and 80 illegal entry points respectively. The number of illegal routes 100 times surpasses the approved routes. Findings by Daily Trust revealed that armed smugglers along Nigeria –Niger borders are mostly in the corridor around jibia in kastina state, illela in sokoto and Ruwawuri and kamba in kebbi. In most border areas, the line is blurry as a result of absence of clear demarcation. In places like around daura, Kongolom, jibia and Magama in Katsina state, the border only exists in name but absent in social and psychological realities. In Kongolom for example, residents say there are about 13 unnamed entry points, mostly through farmlands from where persons from both ends can enter the other side.

Besides the challenge of poorly policing and the many illegal entry points, the problem of financial graft in the form of bribery, what the author called "greasing of palms " also contributed to the indiscriminate flow of Illicit activities across the nation's borders. The military and security personnels are only there to collect money from commercial vehicles and traders with no hesitation. There were 14 of such spots along 30 kilometers stretch between Katsina and Magama border in jibia, (Abdulaziz 2021). According to the Cable Network, a victim of bandits attack, Sani Umar, narrated his ordeal and experience from bandits attack at his resident in Batsari Local Government Area of katsina state. Due to fear of bandits attack, he relocated with his family to the bush for hide-out only to visit during the day. However his family were trapped and attacked by bandits when more than 100 masked assailants invaded Batsari on motor bikes, and blocked all the roads leading to the town. The bandits shoot sporadically not sparing children and the aged: while few managed to escape to the hills. Umaru's two younger brothers were killed and some residents taken as hostage. The gunmen, according to Umaru "gained access to their village through nearby Rugan forest, a notorious hideouts for the bandits and as a camp through the 1,497 km poorly policed border with Niger Republic. Since Niger is close to Batsari, the bandits in Niger used to align with bandits from the area. The bandits in Katsina mostly here in Batsari, they used to invite those bandits from Niger to come and help them to attack any town and those local people are suffering from this for long now (The Cable Network 2021). Annabi (2021), trenchantly observed thus:

The communities alongside Nigeria, Niger Border in Illela Local Government Area of Sokoto State and Konmi town in Niger Republic are working in synergy to forestall bandits and other criminal activities within their communities. The economy of the area is on the verge of collapse as a result of increased bandit attacks and kidnapping for ransom. However, the good thing is the Illela people were enjoying cordial working relationships with their neighboring Niger Republic Communities especially in monitoring and intelligent sharing and information aimed at boosting and improving the fight against insecurity challenges in the area.

To term the tides of banditry, and cross-border exchange of intelligence among banditry, the Illela and Konmi communities share common goals among their people despite living in different republics. The security agents also have in many ways assisted to fight banditry, rustling, kidnapping for ransom and other related crimes in the Illela border towns. The locales are also engaging themselves in local vigilante adventures as voluntary

security personnels helping in the screening of local volunteers,(Annabi 2021).Odunsi (2021)informed that banditry has become the greatest challenge in contemporary Nigerian democratic dispensation, replacing Boko Haram and the Islamic State's West of Africa Province (ISWAP). Nigeria has porous borders that have contributed to the strength of terrorists. We should not have porous borders if we have good leadership. Under the various laws that established the customs and immigrations, the authorities have a duty to ensure safe and lawful entry and exit points. But the irony remains that, the laws are not respected nor complied with, leaving a loophole that allows terrorists and weaponry move in and out of the Nation's territory without hindrance. The failure, complicity and complacency of those meant to safeguard our borders have greatly aided the activities of the terror groups. Also the government should be held responsible because section 14(2)(b) of the 1999 Constitution makes the duty to secure the people, the primary purpose of government, (festus Ogun in Odunsi 2021)

Banditry and insecurity in northern Nigeria
The history and existence of bandit, can be traced to the 19th Century. This period witnessed the riding on horse by bandits from their hideouts to attack villages and then retreated back to their hideouts. In Europe, bandits have existed mainly in mountainous places in Italy, Spain, Greece and Turkey. In Asia, bandits have existed in several communities such as Iran, the Philippines and India. In India, bandits are called 'Daku' in Hindi language which the British colonialist coined as dacoity during colonial era (Ladan and Mutawahi, 2021)
In Nigeria, banditry emerged as a result, of nearly four decades of unresolved conflicts between settled cultivators and normadic herding that occured on the high plains of Northern Nigeria, particularly the North-West geo-political zones in states as Zamafara. In Zamfara, banditry commenced around 2009 and intensified in 2011 especially after the general elections. In fact Zamfara state has been the epicenter of banditry in Nigeria, where most of the bandits leaders were based and from the Zamfara state forests then would move riding on motorcycles to other states like Katsina to carry out their nefarious activities and return to their forest dens. By the year 2010, banditry had started in Katsina state primarily in the seven local government Areas that shared boundary with Zamfara State namely Jibia, Batsari, Safiara, Danmusa, Kankara, Faskari and Sabua (Ladan and Mutawali 2021). Mohammed,(2021) described the Northwestern region of Nigeria thus:

> :
> *Nigeria's North-West Region Comprises Seven States including*
> *Zamfara, Katsina and Sokoto, as well as Kano, Jigawa,*
> *Kaduna and Kebbi. Endowed with a sizeable landmass of*
> *216,065 square kilometers and a population estimated at*
> *approximately 35.8 million people, the region constitutes*
> *25.75 percent of the total population of Nigeria*
> *(National Population Commission, 2006 census). The majority*
> *of the population are farmers, with others engaged in trade and*
> *commerce and animal husbandry. (Mohammed 2021)*

According to Abdulaziz(2021)in some segments of the North West and North-Central Nigeria, banditry in rural communities which started as a little flame of criminality ballooning into another long-drawn security challenge and creating its trail of another humanitarian crisis. In the June 2020 report, a security think tank, International Crisis Group, estimates that since 2011, when the nauseating rural banditry erupted as a threatening security problem, 8,000 persons have been killed, mainly in Zamfara State, while about 200,000 were displaced from their homes, with about 60,000 of them fleeing into neighboring Niger Republic. Despite thousands of the displaced persons returning home, early this month over 50,000 others were still taking refuge in the neighboring country according to a Daily Trust story.Mohammed (2021), is of the view that, the spate of banditry–related violence began in 2014 with cattle rustling activity, but the matter became worse in early 2016 when the bandits started killing local miners in Zamfara communities. However, the attacks now cobwebs the

entire North-West region, especially the border area with Niger. The tragedy has caused the killing and also raping of women, children have become orphans, villages destroyed, property has been stolen and civilians have been kidnapped for ransom. This banditry have spiraled into the entire Northern Nigeria, such as the case of Katsina, Kaduna, Sokoto and Kebbi in 2019 would surface thus: These states established a committee headed by Muhammad Abubakar, a former inspector-general of police. The inspector general estimates that between 2011 and 2019, 4,983 women were widowed, 25,050 children were orphaned and more than 190,340 people were displaced in Zamfara due to armed banditry. The former governor of Zamfara State Abulaziz Yari, also reported that nearly 500 villages and 13,000 hectares of land were destroyed and 2,835 people were killed in Zamfara State between 2011 to 2018, (Nationonlineng.net, July 10, 2019;wanep.org, August 19, 2020; HumAngle.ng, August 2, 2020 in Mohammed 2021)

The bandits activities,is not without means of sustainability that emboldens their venture. They have resorted into kidnapping for ransom, rustling cattle and abducting people. In December 2020, there was an attack on Government Science School students in Katsina, Katsina State, where over 300 were abducted by a group of armed men on motorbikes. The state government claimed no ransom was paid for the release but a contradictory response from the rural residents confirmed that $73,000 (30 million Nigerian naira) was released to the bandits. Armed bandits stormed the Federal College of Forestry Mechanization in Mando, Kaduna State in March 2021 and abducted 39 students. The bandits demanded a $1.2 Million (500 Million Nigerian naira) ransom from Kaduna State government,but after the abduction and promised not to negotiate with any armed group. Three weeks after the kidnapped students were released in a negotiation facilitated by Shaykh Ahmed Gunmi's Dialogue Committee with support from Former President Olusegun Obasanjo. Regional banditry in North West Nigeria will be difficult to resolve if the government continues with its current strategy without considering the various factors involved in conflict. First, explosive population explosion and atmospheric imbalance in Nigeria are breeding economic anxiety and Fomenting lawlessness especially in communities bordering Niger. Also, there is the problem of poorly policed borders crossing between herder tribes, as there is totally no restriction on movements in these border areas. Anyone in Niger Republic can enter Nigeria, commit any crime and escape back to Niger Republic. The other side of the problem is the bribe collected by the border police who were to man the borders, which grant access for criminals in Nigeria, (Terrorism Monitor, January 15 2021;Daily Trust, May 2021 in Mohammed 2021). The Northwestern region of the Nigeriam state have been described below

The Nigerian government on its part, have done it's bid to curb and frontally tackle the security menace emanating from banditry. From 2019 to the present day, such military campaign against banditry includes: Operation Harbin Kunama and Exercise Sahel Sanity.Headquartered at the Special Army Super Camp IV in Faskari, Katsina State, the Operation Harbin Kunama led to the killing of 220 bandits and the rescue of 642 kidnapped victims from captivity. The troops also demolished 197 bandits enclaves, killed the notorious armed leader called "Dangote" of the eponymous "Dangote Triangle" in Katsina and arrested 335 suspected bandits and 326 illegal miners in Kebbi, Kaduna, Niger, Zamfara and Katsina States. In July 2020, Mustapha Inuwa, the then secretary to the Kaduna State Government announced that his State had spent about $73,000 (or 30 million Nigerian nairas) on an amnesty program for repentant bandits and cattle rustlers before it collapsed. Inuwa further stated that the reason for the call-off of the peace deal was the bandits ept reneging on agreements and betraying their promises to the government (This Day January 12 2021; Premium Times.ng, June 3 2020; the cable.ng July 7 2020 in Mohammed 2021).The efforts, at curbing the menacing terror activities of bandits,also saw some Northern Governors employing the services of non-state actors like vigilante groups and the Yan Sakai (Security Volunteers) to curtail the conflict. Although they possess knowledgeable insights and understanding of the local conflict, they are not without their setbacks. For instance, some of the vigilante members use the vigilante platform to prey on their personal enemies, (Mohammed 2021).

The problem of banditry and other Illicit criminal networks have continue to persist due to the economic and financial bounties associated with it due to the kidnapping venture it has taken.The Nigerian state and it's

system of criminalization of the system hadmade illegal means of survival the order of the day.it has become a norm that security personnels collaborate with criminal syndicates,just as it is ongoing in the Niger Delta as regards illegal oil bunkery,(Nkang,Bassey and Udoh 2022).The case of illegal oil bunkery it's another issue of concern in the Nigerian political-economy as also documented in their study on "mirroring the developmental challenges of oil-rich nigeria within the context of resource curse/dutch disease and paradox of plenty,Okorie,Bassey , Udoh and Eme being to bear the manner and extent which Nigerian oil has become a curse instead of a blessing for the development and transformation of the Nigerian state.The issue of border porosity is not without some form of criminality and compromise as pointed out by Ebaye and Basey in their study on "porous borders and weapon proliferation:a threat to Nigeria's security" .Also idiege ,Bassey and Abigail reiterated that, kidnapping by bandits and terrorists in Nigeria have been one of the means of sustaining the venture as huge amount of gains is associated with such unlawful acts.This was demonstrated in their study on "illicit economy and the sustenance of terrorism in the Lake Chad Region: kidnapping for ransom and Boko Haram's.Most cases of running any illegal or parallel economy of a criminal kind by citizens of most states it's as a result of the failure on the part of the government to ensure that their citizens enjoys the proceeds and bounties of good governance as enshrined in the social contract theory.At a point where the government have failed in their responsibility,the bewildered and frustrated masses delves into criminality to survive.this has been echoed in Bassey,Okorie,Nsagha and Bright in their work titled,"caught between the whirlpool of the failed state sf somalia and Piracy:the security challenge facing the horn of Africa"

Banditry and human security in Nigeria (food,loss to farm produce,hunger, malnutrition)

The bandits onslaught, which ravages the Northern part of Nigeria, remains a terrible human security catastrophe. there is no gainsaying that fact that, the Northern parts of Nigeria remains a huge reservoir for the Nation's food consumption and stability. The activities of bandits have really affected human security in the North-West mostly in the area of food and livestock production. This is so as farmers are attacked, flee from their farmlands while some livestocks are stolen, herders killed, etc. According to Sasu, (2019),facts from the results of a survey conducted in 2019, agricultural activities in Nigeria were more widespread in the North than in South. Especially in the North-East of the country declared to practice crop farming. Similarly, 68.6 percent of households in the Northern region of Nigeria owned or rares livestock On the other hand, the south west of Nigeria recorded the lowest percentage of households participating in agricultural activities. In total, crop farming was practiced by about 10 percent Nigerian households. Jannamike (2021),opined that ,the attacks from bandits have intensified the risk associated with food crises in Nigeria as stakeholders from the civil society and the media have said.

The Daily Trust, of Wednesday 6 January, 2021, informed that, the bandits in Northern Nigeria have led to slaughtering of farmers, cattle rustling, crops stolen or wasted, compounding the vices of Nigerian peasants whose efforts produce the bulk of the food consumed by Nigerians. The Global Food Security Index (GFSI) 2019, ranked Nigeria 94th among 113 countries with 48.4 percent score. Although, this shows some progress compared to the 38.0 percent score in 2018 (GFSI), more efforts is required to improve such as: assurance of adequate protection to farmers from being killed; The bandits would not go unpunished, etc. as farmers insecurity automatically means food insufficiency, hunger and starvation. There can be no nutritional sustainability without farmers survival. As farmers becoming prey at the hands of bandits, the lives of majority of Nigerians are at risk too. Oyedegi (2021) bandits attacks in Northern Nigeria has lingered for long. It has led to a decline in agricultural production, displacing a large number of people and putting considerable pressure on food resources. Since 2018, armed banditry, especially in the North-West where terror groups rage villages and kidnap for ransom, has increased across Nigeria. The climate of fear does not spare farmers in the region who have had to abandon their farms in their droves for safety. An estimated 1.6 million people are believed to be food insecure due to large part to intense insecurity in the region.Five percent of the total insecure population is lives in Displaced persons (IDP's) camps where children are more likely to suffer from malnutrition. A 2019 Study conducted by the World Food Programme alongside Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics revealed that IDP's in Sokoto, Zamfara and Katsina States faced server food shortages. According to

the study, two of every IDP household did not have sufficient food supply, inhibiting many families from getting adequate food intake and often severe acute malnutrition. An expert on Nutri-genomics and lecturer at Usmanu Danfodio University, Sokoto, Imam Umar Mustapha said "children bore the brunt of the growing insecurity in the country Northern part as their parents are killed or displaced. Such food crisis not only depletes the supply chain across the deepening child malnutrition in the region. Children are seriously dependent on adults for food. Considering the intensifiication of bandits onslaught in the North-West which has forced tens of thousands of people from their primary base and source of livelihood, parents are under so much pressure that providing food for their children may not even be of paramount concern because they do not even have food for themselves. In May, the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) cautioned that at least 9.2 million Nigerians faced crisis or worse levels of food insecurity in 2021 due to conflicts.

The adverse effects of banditry, have impacted on the North-Eastern Nigeria as follows: killing farmers. (The July 6th 2020 killing of farmers in Yargamji village of Batsari), where over 200 bandits shot sporadically killing 15 farmers and injuring several others; on September 10th 2020, three farmers were also killed by bandits in Dandume local government; kidnapping of farmers-farmers are kidnapped in their Farmlands, and only released when large ransom is paid. The payment ends up taking the Farmers money saved for long that was to cater for their family needs. This further increase poverty, chasing out of their farms; seizing their farmlands, cattle rustling, halting of crop harvesting, as a result of bandit burning farmers land after chasing them out; blocking of local trade routes. The bandits snatch food stuffs intended for sale at the markets, money meant for the purchase of food stuffs or even kidnap the traders. The blocking of section of Jibia to Batsari road to kidnap 38 traders from Jibia weekly market on Sunday 5th January 2020, the mounting of road block along Runka to Marina road in Safana Local Government on 21st, 22nd and 23rd February 2020 to rob travellers of their money and cell phones. On the 17th October 2020, the bandits attacked Gurbi weekly market in Jibia Local government killing two traders, injuring one woman and kidnapping some people who went to the market on that day,(Oyedegi,2021).

Banditry and the Challenge of internally displacement in northern Nigeria

The human security dimension, of the impacts of banditry on Northern Nigeria does not only relates to food security and the lives of the populace. The issue of internally displacement remains a burgeoning and disturbing trend. This is so as those displaced as a result of bandits attack, face terrible human security problem ranging from lack of shelter, food, hygiene environment, health care etc. The women are mostly abused and raped.

According to the Acaps publication of (2020), a new form of humanitarian crisis has visited Nigeria Northwestern states with the ongoing activities of armed grouped referred locally as 'bandits' in six states, namely: Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kaduna, niger and Kebbi. Their modus operandi of conducting the Mayhem includes: shooting and killing, cattle rustling, kidnapping, rape, torching of entire villages and looting of valuables, which have continuously led to increase in number of casualties and displaced people while more than 1,100 people were killed in 2018 in the six States, over 2,200 were killed in 2019 and more than 1,600 fatalities were recorded between January – June 2020. By September 2019, such attacks had internally displaced over 160,000 people and produced more than 4,100 refugees. Displacement now stands at over 247,000 IDPs and some 60,000 refugees. More than 309,000 people have been displaced by the North west banditry mayhem as of 30th June. Zamfara state accommodates about 69,000 IDPs, Kaduna 71,000, Katsina 61,000, Sokoto 45,000 and Niger 3,000. While Katsina and Niger states have formal IDP camps (Faskari, Dandle, Dandume and Batsari for Katsina and Givada and central camp for Niger), most IDPs informally organize themselves by seeking shelter in football fields and primary and secondary school buildings. Some of the IDP locations thus remain unknown or not recognized as such by local authorities. The public buildings

used by IDPs temporary shelters are insufficiently equipped, often lacking basic services and items such as safe water sources, toilets, sleeping tents, beddings, blankets and cooking and washing utensils. Both formal and informal IDP camps need safe water sources, sanitary items. About 65% of IDPs in Katsina and 53% of IDPs in Sokoto do not have access to save drinking water. Over-crowded latrine use, non-availability of toilet infrastructure and open defecation are also prevalent in the IDP camps as most were created for fewer number of people (Acaps publication, 2020).

Akewushola, (2021) affirmed that, on the night of September 28, 2021, group of bandits invaded the Cantawa village in Sabon Birno Local Government Area in Sokoto state, killing over 50 people and many displaced. This attack came a few days after the bandits had out-run a military formation in the areas and killed 16 officers. Mosadoriu, (2021), posit that following the continuous attack by bandits in communities in Shiroro local government area of Niger Delta state,over 1,600 internally displaced IDPs are still languishing in different camps. The Relief Web (2020), informed that, Nigeria is facing strenuous humanitarian challenges arising from these activities of bandits. Issues of internally displacement is caused by banditry which has made Nigeria's displaced population to increase astronomically. These displaced populations are vulnerable without means of livelihood, thus the burden of provision also falls on the government. According to News reports in 2020, about 7.9 million Nigerians require urgent humanitarian supports. Internally displaced camps are overburdened and devoid of adequate infrastructures for basic survival.

The number of people, in need of shelter, keeps increasing as security issues worsen. Therefore, as a matter of urgency, the Nigerian state must act fast on three important steps. First, provide for its internally displaced population, this includes improving the living conditions in IDP camps, building more camps and also ensuring the safety of its travellers from future attacks. Also government should restrategise its security architecture to be able to arrest old and new pattern of violence and conflict in the country. Without curbing security challenges, the problem of displacement cannot be sustainably handled and solved.A long term plan of returning internally displaced persons should be made. Internally displaced person camps are temporary soultions to the country's refugees crisis.

Bandits and the attack at military bases in northern Nigeria

The Nigerian military is made up of the Army, Navy and Air force, on the one hand, while the security and paramiltary comprises – Police, DSS, Civil Defence, Immigration, Customs etc who are all engaged in the security of lives and properties, defend the territorial integrity of the Nation via air, land and sea against external attack and violation of our sovereignty. They also support in the fight against bandits and other insurgencies that plagues the Nation for over 12 years. These men/women whom have chosen such patriotic valour to serve their country have become endangered species in the hands of ragtag, cladestine and poorly trained bandits, insurgents and unknown gun men. In a country blessed with enormous oil, gas and other resources, untapped human resources etc, one wonders whether it is a problem of poor weapon system, training or poor motivational incentives that renders the Nigeria military and security vulnerable to attack, that almost in all cases, they are being overwhelmed, defeated and killed by gun men.

The Aljazeera News of April 2, 2022, informed that, 10 soldiers were killed and an unconfirmed number wounded after an attack by armed groups locally known as bandits on a military facility in Birnin Gwari in the North western state of Kaduna. In the same vein Maishanu (2022) opined that, in a signal released on Monday 4th April 2022, gun men locally called bandits killed 11 soldiers and three members of a pro-government vigilante in Kaduna state the previous day Sunday 3rd April, 2022. The signal which was gotten by Sahara reporters, further revealed that the base came under attack from unconfirmed number of bandits at 4:45pm. The memo informed that the assailants used rocket – propelled grenades and other weapons in the attack. The Vanguard news of April 1 2022, also informed that, on Thursday 31st of March 2022, there was a signal

confirming a planned attack by bandits who were camped in the forest between Suleifa and Zuma along the Abuja-Kaduna express way. Upon hearing this, troops led by two officers, of 102 battalion were deployed to the scene. Reaching the scene, the bandits opened fired from various angles of the forest resulting in a counter offensive by the troops. This led to the death of the two officers who led the team and six other soldiers, while several of the bandits were reportedly neutralized by troops re-enforcement. The Sahara reporters, New york 2022 informed that, troops of the Nigerian Army have reportedly engaged bandits in a fierce gun battle in Kaduna state. The reinforcement on the part of the Nigerian Army was a respond to the bandits attack at Ungwar Musa, tudun Wada Kundansa in Mraban Rido in the Chikun local government area of Kaduna state.In the early hours of Tuesday 18th January 2022,three bandits were killed and two soldiers reportedly sustained gunshot injuries. The village head of the community, Joseph Sauri Garba, who confirmed the incident, said the gun duel between the bandits and the soldier lasted about three hours. The Sahara reporters of December 20, (20210 informed that the Nigerian Army military jet on Sunday 19th December 2021, raided the hideout of bandit kingpin, Bello Turji and his gang, killing scores of bandits in Zamfara and Sokoto forests. Though the actual number of bandits killed in airstrikes could be ascertained in the dawn operations, sources, however, said several terrorists were killed while others fleeing were mopped up by ground troops of the Nigerian Army in an ambush.

The Daily Trust,of July 1,2022 reported that,reports that thousands of military personnel are involved in security operations in almost all the 36 states of the federation, exposing them to attacks by miscreants.Thousands of them have been killed since 2009 when the Boko Haram insurgency broke, while other criminal activities being called by different names have also taken a toll on the Nigerian troops.On Wednesday,29th of June,2022 At least 22 soldiers and seven police operatives were among the many people reportedly killed Wednesday during attacks by terrorists in Niger and Taraba States:15 soldiers were killed in Niger and seven in Taraba in an ambush while properties were also destroyed.Maishanu (2022), affirmed that,Gunmen, believed to be bandits, killed at least 43 people including 30 soldiers and seven mobile police personnel in an attack on a mining site in Shiroro Local Government Area of Niger State, local sources have said.The Niger State Government, while confirming the attack, however, said the number of casualties is yet to be ascertained.Residents said a search party found 37 bodies of soldiers and policemen in a bush near the mining site Thursday morning.Six other corpses of civilians were also recovered from the bush.The residents said many Chinese nationals and Nigerians were also abducted during the attack on the site on Wednesday.

Conclusion

The study was focused on examining the extent which banditry affect the security of Northern Nigeria. The area have been in whirlpool of series of attacks from bandits, terrorist and herdsmen. The northern Nigeria, has a many of the porous borders and illegal entry points which makes is easy for the penetration of all manner of transnational crimes and the flourishing of all insecurities. The high level of poverty and susceptibility of the youths to the manipulations and influence of rogue agents and crime syndicates makes the area a hotbed for the existence of crimes.
This has affected food security, school closure, market shut down, fleeing of farmers leading to low productivity in agricultural production, food insecurity and high cost of food, malnutrition, and shortage of meat. The area have become a crisis zone, where humans live in fear, lost hope in the Government of the Nigeria State. People now resort to self-help approach and local community policing - vigilante. As reported by Elumoye, Saduana, okoh, Emenyonu, Shiklam and Olaitan,(2022) affirmed that, Confronted with a seemingly helpless situation, Zamfara State Governor, Mohammed Matawalle, has resorted to self-help, directing residents of the state, particularly farmers, to acquire guns to defend themselves against marauding terrorists/bandits. Matawalle ordered the Commissioner of Police in the state to issue licences to residents willing and fit to bear arms, to protect themselves against the armed criminals. The governor approved the

immediate closure of all markets and some filling stations, and banned the use of motorcycles in Mada, Wonaka and Ruwan Bore districts as well as Yandoto emirate in Gusau and Tsafe local government areas of the state, respectively. He ordered security agents to shoot violators of the ban on sight.

The issue of bandit is biting all fabrics of the Nigerian State: the death toll it's beyond normal in a war situation. The Nigerian Defence. Seeing the attack and killing on daily basis, without any hope for redress, monies has been sunk into the security and defence sector to further the counter insurgency, yet to result has been seen. Frontline soldiers are killed on daily basis, their weapons unable to match the sophistication of Boko Haram weapons.

Recommendations
The need for effective border policing, with the provision of adequately resources like weaponry, patrol vans, logistics and other requirements to encourage and embolden the border policing.

Efficiency utilizing of security votes, in a manner that shows transparency and accountability. The soldiers and security personnels should feel the dividends of security votes. This is capable of improving their patriotism in border policing.

Closure of illegal entry points. This should be done by a tour of joint task force comprising the Army, Navy, Airforce, Police, DSS, Immigration, Customs, Civil Defence, etc. This goes alongside periodic patrols to display alertness and show of gallantry.

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