

**THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF ARMED
BANDITRY IN BORDER COMMUNITIES OF ADAMAWA
STATE, NIGERIA.**

BY

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APRIL, 2013

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MSc/Soc. Sci./23956/00-01
MSc/Soc. Sci./03914/08-09**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF
POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO
UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A
MASTER DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY.**

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APRIL, 2013

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis entitled, “The Nature and Consequences of Armed Banditry in Border Communities of Adamawa State, Nigeria” has been carried out by me in the Department of Sociology. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other Institution.

Moses Wahira SHALANGWA

Signature

Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled“ THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF ARMED BANDITRY IN BORDER COMMUNITIES OF ADAMAWA STATE, NIGERIA” by Moses Wahira SHALANGWA, meets the regulations governing the award of the Degree of Master of Science, of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contributions to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Late wife MRS NAOMI MOSES SHALANGWA of blessed memory for her dedication to the work of God and to humanity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my immense appreciation to my supervisors - Dr. E. J. Gyong and Dr. S. Maliki - for their guidance, support and encouragement, and for sparing their time to read and provide valuable comments, without which this work would not have seen the light of the day. In fact, words cannot express my gratitude and I pray that the Lord reward you abundantly. To the supervisory committee, Lecturers and staff of Sociology Department, especially Dr. F. Okeshola, I say thank you and may the Almighty God continue to guide and protect you.

I will not forget the immeasurable contributions of Professor O. Odekunle, Professor M. O. Awogbade, Professor S. Nkom and Dr. J. Hellandendu for tutoring me and broadening my horizon of thinking during my course work. My appreciation also goes to Mr. John Obemata of Data Processing Department of IAR, ABU Zaria for his assistance in the data analysis.

To Professor M. P. Noku, Col. D.A.D.Usman (rtd), Commissioner of Police Aklahyel U. Gwary, Hon. Musa Maina Dumburi, Mrs. M. R. Otubu, Alh. Ishiaku Ibrahim, Mr. M. G.G. Zoakas, and Mr. Ahmed Abdulrahaman, who in one way or the other contributed to the completion of this work, I say am grateful. I am also greatly indebted to my dear wife, Mrs. Stella Moses Shalangwa, without whose support and encouragement, I would not have completed this work. My gratitude also goes to all my children, especially Hyelni Shalangwa for her unflinching support during my period of trials. To you all I say may the Almighty God bless you abundantly according to his riches in Glory.

ABSTRACT

The study dwells on the current form of banditry in the northeastern part of Nigeria with specific reference to the border communities of Adamawa State. Armed banditry involves attacking people on the highways and even the raiding of villages. These acts of banditry result in injury, loss of human lives, loss of property and a sustained fear of victimization among the border communities. The study set out to find the nature, pattern and consequences of armed banditry in the border communities. Data were collected using a survey while in-depth interviews were conducted with selected border community leaders, Police Officers and some victims of armed banditry. The quantitative data were analysed descriptively using frequencies while the qualitative data were transcribed and used to support the quantitative data. The findings indicated that, armed banditry can be attributed to a number of factors among which are the influx of ex-combatants from Nigeria's neighbouring war torn countries, especially Chad, Niger and Cameroon, unemployment among youths and easy availability of arms. The findings on the nature, pattern and consequences of armed banditry indicated that the armed bandits attack people on the highways with military type weapons, and violently dispossess victims of their money/valuables and escape into the hills and forests. The armed bandits are generally known as "Kwanta-Kwanta". They operate in groups of between 10 and 25 persons who are usually between the ages of 28 and 45 years. They speak Hausa or Fulfulde language. Armed banditry was found to have had impact on the socio-economic lives of the people such as disruption of commercial activities, disruption of social activities like festivals and school attendance, negative impact on the supply and delivery of basic amenities and the psychological trauma suffered by residents, victims and

relatives of victims of armed banditry. There is a failure on the part of law enforcement agencies towards controlling and preventing incidents of armed banditry. The challenges the law enforcement agencies face in this regard include inadequate funding, inadequate training and equipment, political interference, poor welfare package, poor quality of human and personnel resources, and the absence of a comprehensive crime prevention/control policy. It is therefore recommended that control and prevention of acts of armed banditry requires a holistic approach involving all stakeholders adopting long and short term measures which includes Inter-Country cooperation towards the prevention and control of armed banditry, effective institutional coordination among specialized agencies in view of the multi-dimensional nature of state interest in border security, government recognition of vigilante groups, and adequate funding, training and equipping of law enforcement agents.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Title page	i
Declarationii	
Certificationiii	
Dedication iv	
Acknowledgementv	
Abstractvi	
Table of Contentviii	
List of Tablesxi	
List of Appendices	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION PAGE	
1.1 Background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of the research problem	5
1.3 Aim and objectives the research	10
1.4 Significance of the study	10
1.5 Scope and limitation of the study	11
1.6 Definition of concepts.	12
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL REVIEW	
2.1 Causes, nature, and pattern armed banditry in border communities.	16
2.2 Socio-demographic attributes of suspected perpetrators and victims of armed banditry.	25
2.3 Impact of armed banditry on direct and indirect victims of armed banditry	28
2.4 Preventive measures by individuals, and government law enforcement agencies.	30
2.5 Theoretical review	34

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Location and period of study.	43
3.2 Types and sources of data.	46
3.3 Samples and sampling procedures.	46
3.4 Techniques of data collection.	49
3.5 Method of data analysis.	50
3.6 Problems encountered in the field.	50

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.1 Socio-demographic attributes of respondents.	51
4.2 Causes of armed banditry.	52
4.3 Other contributory factors to armed banditry	60
4.4 Nature of armed banditry.	61
4.5 Pattern of armed banditry.	63
4.6 Socio-demographic attributes of the armed bandits.	68
4.7 Socio-demographic attributes of identified victims of armed banditry.	72
4.8 Impact of armed banditry.	73
4.9 Preventive measures by victims and community members against armed banditry.	79
4.10 Preventive measures by government law enforcement agencies against armed banditry.	81

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary of major findings.	85
5.2 Discussion.	86
5.3 Conclusion.	96
5.4 Recommendation.	97

REFERENCES100

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES	PAGE
4.2.1 Respondent's perception on the causes of armed banditry	53
4.3.1 Respondent's perception on other contributory factors to armed banditry	60
4.8.1 Respondent's perception on the impact of armed banditry	74
4.9.1 Respondent's preventive measures against armed banditry	79
4.9.2 Respondent's perception on the effectiveness of the preventive measures	80
4.10.1 Respondent's perception on the effectiveness of law enforcement measures	83

APPENDICES.

Appendix A: Questionnaire for residents of border communities.	105
Appendix B: In-depth Interview guide for Police personnel.	112
Appendix C: In-depth Interview guide for community/opinion leaders.	114
Appendix D: In-depth Interview guide for known victims of armed banditry.	116

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In Africa, high crime levels have been said to be common to countries in transition from authoritarian to democratic rule, and this is reflected in the persistently high level of crime in countries like South Africa. Official Police statistics for 1997 reveal a frightening high number of violent crimes where 25,000 people were murdered in 1996. This reflects a rate ten times the international average. Reported house breaking in private houses stood at 250,000, while on the average a car was stolen at gunpoint, every five seconds (Maltzan, 1998). Crime therefore reflects not only the values of the criminals but also those of the society as a whole. Crime rates and types are also unevenly spread across cities and regions and between countries. Some cities, regions or countries may experience rapid increase in crime particularly crime of violence while others do not.

It could be argued that, most data on crime reflect only those recorded by the police, and that the extent to which the police record crime is difficult to measure. The level and types of crime are also the result of a range of local, national, and regional factors including cultural beliefs, political and economic instability, the quality of policing, and the availability of guns or other weapons. In Africa, a violent crime that has been of interest to scholars has been the incidents of contemporary armed banditry which has been observed to be prevalent in the horn of Africa (Mburu, 1999).

Nigeria, like any other African country has been experiencing various forms of violent crimes such as ethnic conflicts, rape, armed robbery, assault, murder and kidnapping. At the end of civil wars there is usually mass abandonment of the fighting zones which results in various types of weapons finding their way into the hands of people who may ultimately use them for criminal activities, as have been the case when the Nigerian civil war ended on January 15, 1970. During this period, it was generally expected that armed robbery which was the phenomenon of concern as at then, would be confined to the Eastern states of Nigeria, but this was not so because cases of armed robbery were reported from all parts of Nigeria. It was further observed that though armed robbery has existed in Nigeria for centuries, the civil war accelerated its incidence (Nkpa, 1976).

A specie of armed robbery that has been of national concern in Nigeria is armed banditry. Nigeria's North- East borders have been bedeviled by frequent incidents of armed banditry popularly referred to as "*Kwanta-Kwanta*" (meaning lie down, lie down) and illegal incursion from conflict torn neighbors such as Chad, Niger and Cameroon. Cattle are being stolen by armed bandits locally referred to as '*Udawa*'. According to a report by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (1999)

There is growing concern in parts of Northern Nigeria over insecurity caused by bandits suspected to have come from neighbouring countries. Scores of people have been killed and many robbed of valuables in the past years by bands of heavily armed gunmen identified as remnants of rebel forces from years of civil war in Chad and by militant herdsmen known locally as '*Udawa*', and said to come from Niger.

While Nigeria tries to cope with tensions generated by diversity of its population, struggle for economic independence, defense of its territorial integrity and against organized armed banditry, it is faced with problems of various instabilities within neighbouring countries forcing their people and members of their armed forces to troop into

Nigeria from various points across the porous borders. Most of these people have been alleged to be the brains behind the numerous armed banditry incidents in the Northeastern region of Nigeria (Gubio, 1977). What then are those factors that encourage these foreign bandits to operate in Nigeria? While it may be attributed to the relative ease with which foreign rebels move in and out of Nigerian territory (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2000:269), it could also be the thickly forested strip along the borders with neighboring Franco-phone countries (Onah, 2010). Proximity to conflict zones as well as easy availability of weapons constitute another factor (United Nation's Small Arms Survey 2004:194; Bobbo 1999:19) while other factors could be rising poverty, high unemployment and the breakdown of traditional social control structures (Defending Human Rights report, 2005:2). The implication here is that, a combination of factors can be said to encourage the bandits to operate within Nigerian territory.

Going by media reports on the general crime situation and the public concern in Northeastern Nigeria, armed banditry constitutes one of the greatest problems in terms of violation of criminal law. Besides being one of the most frequent and dreadful crimes in contemporary Nigeria, armed banditry have continued to cause distress among residents, individuals and communities of this region.

A news item in the Vanguard Newspaper of August 7, 2007:5 reported that,

Armed bandits numbering about 40, weekend held hostage the residents of Namtari town in Yola – South Local Government Area of Adamawa State. The head of the vigilante group in the town, one Mallam Bappaji and his entire family were murdered by the rampaging bandits. According to the spokesman of the Adamawa State Police Command, Bilyamu Bello (ASP), the gunmen held the entire town hostage for over three hours. He said the robbers raided the village undisturbed for hours after blocking all roads into and out of the town.

A gang of bandits taking cover in the forest around the border with Cameroon have also been terrorizing the people of Sorau and Belel in Maiha Local Government Area. The bandits rob travelers, raid villages and kidnap people. They also demand huge sums of money particularly from Fulani herdsmen after kidnapping their relations (Daily Trust Newspaper of October 17, 2008:7). It is to be noted however that, even though these mass media reports may be sensational, episodic and exaggerated in nature, they nevertheless show that there is a problem of armed banditry, which this study intends to unravel.

Notwithstanding the severity and seriousness of such attacks, Nigerian border law enforcement agents are usually ill-equipped to effectively police the numerous illegal entry points through which these criminals who are very familiar with the terrain pass easily through undetected. Furthermore, the Nigerian law enforcement agents are also outnumbered by these armed bandits whenever the bandits choose to operate (Bobbo, 1999). A major source of concern is also that, the police appear to be getting overwhelmed by the phenomenon of armed banditry and that the criminals appear to be ahead of the police such that the police largely now only react usually after the offenders might have left the scene (Olujinmi, 2005:9).

The mode of operation of the bandits could constitute an obstacle to preventive measures that could have been put in place by the law enforcement agents. This is because these bandits engage in one-time raids and follow a 'nomadic' (or slash and burn) form of appropriation. Once the territory covered by the bandits expands so that they incur high travel costs, they find it economically advantageous to form a rebel government where looting is converted to taxation. Instead of the anxiety of random looting, people suffer the certainty of steady taxation (Muggar and Brauer (2004:26).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The nature and pattern of armed banditry in contemporary Nigeria has become so pervasive that only a few Nigerians that travel or live within border communities can claim not to have suffered its impact. The phenomenon could take various forms in various places which may include waylaying victims on the highways and on transit points; storming and sacking of whole villages; stealing hundreds of cattle; settling in villages and collecting taxes; and extortion on village routes. Losses could range from monetary, material, valuables livestock and above all, human resources.

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

As a result of the activities of suspected foreign bandits, most routes within the Northeast sub-region are said to be insecure especially those ones leading to the borders with Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Usually the bandits operate in gangs who might have been supplied necessary information by their Nigerian collaborators. Such information could be given to the bandits for two reasons: information may be given for a price; information may be supplied to be in the good records of the bandits.

The problem of armed banditry in Nigeria's Northeast is similarly known to have occasioned a special resolution of the Senate, sponsored by Senators from the affected constituencies, calling on the presidency to mount diplomatic pressures on Cameroon, Chad

and Niger, identical to measures taken in respect of the Republic of Benin, to deal with the unbearable problem of armed bandits operating from bases widely believed to be located in the adjacent border areas of the neighboring countries (Asiwaju, 2005:49).

The incidence of armed banditry in Nigeria has developed new tendencies from the traditional to the modern. It is the understanding of these new tendencies and their relative importance that should be the point of focus. These different tendencies operate differently from one locality to the other in terms of degree and impact, although to a large extent all have contributed to the state of violence and lawlessness in North-Eastern Nigeria.

As a result of the fear engendered by the use of arms in bandit operations and the breakdown of informal norms of trust and cooperation, armed banditry must be seen to have an impact on decisions relating to personal mobility, social cohesion, and disrupts political participation, child schooling, employment and personal protection. These indirect effects are often unnoticed because they are hidden. For example, armed banditry can lead to a decline in food production, while the ensuing deprivation can result in domestic violence that is itself reproduced over time.

Some negative implications that may result from incessant incidents of armed banditry relate to a society's social capital in terms of family and communal cohesion, gender relations, and customary institutions that condition social control and may undermine the prospects for human development. Incidents of armed banditry have in some instances been accompanied by sexual violence against women and young girls, the consequences of which cannot be overlooked.

The terror generated by armed banditry is a critical factor that can induce displacement and delay later return and resettlement. Such displacement may be internal or cross-border. Forced displacement has been observed to destroy families and communities,

disrupt normal economic activities and undermine human development. It is notable also that contrary to traditional norms, women and children are not spared in contemporary bandit operations. They seem to even bear most of the brunt in form of rape, torture and murder. The acute fear and suspicion present in border communities compounded by the relentless media reports on these violent crimes, foster a general sense of insecurity and helplessness (Muggah and Batchelor, 2002:26).

During incidents of armed violence such as armed banditry, the direct consequences for women victims of sexual violence are manifold: psychological trauma, pregnancy, and the spread of HIV. In addition, however, sexual violence has specific poverty implications. Stigmatization as prostitutes, loss of spouses and prohibition of future marriage, and rejection by family and community members is common in all the case studies. Such treatment, in turn, limits women's access to livelihood assets such as land and labor and cuts them off from sharing in social capital (Centre for International Cooperation and Security (2005:21).

The fear of crime undermines the capacity of a community to deal with such problems as physical deterioration, social disorder and group conflict over the "control" of the neighborhood. People withdraw into their own immediate homes, no longer being involved in the wider community life. The result is a deterioration of local business condition, further disorder and crime- a vicious cycle which feed on itself (Feldman (1993:242).

Various efforts have been put in place to address the incessant incidence of armed banditry in the border communities. However, as a result of the various efforts put in place towards checking the menace of armed banditry and the ruthless way in which the military anti-banditry force deals with the bandits, incidents of armed banditry assumed a

more brutal and violent dimension. In the trail of the bandits' regular but vicious attacks they leave behind deaths, losses and anguish for their hapless victims.

Whenever the security forces fail in their operations against bandits they often vent their anger on the civilian population whom they accuse of colluding with the bandits. As a punishment, the security forces often rape local women and confiscate livestock. On the other hand, the bandits may also punish heavily the local populace who may be suspected of working as government informers. The local people therefore find themselves in a 'double jeopardy' - unsure of which option to take - hence, the tendency to run away and escape from the reach of both (Osamba, 1998:29). The local people therefore suffer at the hands of both bandits and the security forces.

In considering the various costs related to crime such as armed banditry, it carries costs that are less tangible, but ultimately as destructive for society as the more direct damage to the economy and property. For individual victims, the psychological effect is devastating. But once crime reaches endemic levels, it inflicts severe strains on the social fabric and ultimately leads to moral decline and disintegration of society (Maltzan (1998:14).

The implication of Maltzan's observation is that, placing a monetary figure on the physical and psychological harm to the victim is almost impossible and the initial loss of say ₦50,000:00 in a robbery might be quite a small amount when compared with all other costs associated with the crime. When people go out, they do so only during the daylight hours or may travel only in groups. They may even avoid certain neighborhoods, which in turn become even more deserted and dangerous.

Notwithstanding these observations, very little has been done to systematically address the problem of armed banditry and its attendant effects on the victims in spite of attempts by the media and official agencies to highlight these problems through Newspapers, Television, seminars and lectures. The lack of seriousness in addressing this menace by government may have resulted from the fact that most pieces of information are sensational, episodic and inadequate. They do not give comprehensive details on the nature and pattern of armed banditry or the socio-economic effects it has on its victims. As a result, border communities may have suffered neglect in efforts being made to address the current upsurge of armed banditry.

It is in view of the above scenario regarding the phenomenon in the border communities of Adamawa State that this study seeks to examine the causes, nature, and pattern of occurrence of armed banditry in those border communities. It also examines the socio-demographic attributes of suspected perpetrators and the identified victims of such acts of armed banditry with a view to proffering useful recommendations. Thus the study sought to find answers to the following research questions:

- 1) What are the causes, nature and pattern of armed banditry in the border communities of Adamawa State?
- 2) Who are these bandits and who are their victims?
- 3) How regularly does armed banditry occur in the border communities?
- 4) To what extent does the incidence of armed banditry constitute a problem to individual victims, communities and government?
- 5) What are the socio-economic factors that enhance or inhibit incidence of armed banditry?

- 6) What are the roles played by individuals, communities and government law enforcement agencies in addressing the menace of armed banditry.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The study aims at understanding contemporary armed banditry and armed bandits in Adamawa State, its dynamics, dimensions and impact on the affected communities in particular. The specific objectives of the study are:

- (i) To find out the causes, nature and pattern of armed banditry in border communities of Adamawa State – Nigeria.
- (ii) To determine the socio-demographic attribute of identified perpetrators and victims of armed banditry in border communities of Adamawa State.
- (iii) To determine the impact of armed banditry on the individual victims and the affected communities.
- (iv) To identify and assess the efforts put in place by individuals, communities and governments law-enforcement agencies towards addressing the menace of armed banditry in the areas affected.
- (v) To make recommendations towards effective prevention and control of the problem.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Armed banditry, being a recurring decimal in the fight against insecurity in Adamawa State, has been of great concern to government, residents, investors and security agents. This is because it does not only victimize the individual, but could also destroy

communities, ruin business, discourage investment, drive away foreign aid and also empty the State coffers. These costs are unsustainable in a developing economy.

The persistently high level of crime is also damaging Nigeria's image abroad, and more importantly undermining the nation's efforts at achieving growth and development. The significance of this study therefore lies in the fact that it will:

- (i) Contribute to knowledge by complementing the scanty literature available on the subject of armed banditry in border communities of Adamawa State, Nigeria.
- (ii) Highlight the effects of this menace with specific reference to Adamawa State and Nigeria in general.
- (iii) Suggest policies on ways and means of effectively addressing the problem of cross-border armed banditry.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study is limited to the border local governments of Adamawa State that share international boundary with the Republic of Cameroon namely, Mubi- North, Mubi-South, Maiha, Fufore, Toungo, Madagali and Michika. Although Hong, Gombi, Song, and some adjacent local government areas are victims of armed banditry, the findings may not necessarily be applicable to all the other local government areas, but could shed some light as to the possible consequences to be suffered by such communities should they also experience incidents of armed banditry.

1.6 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Concepts are alterable constructs that shapes the researcher's mind along a specific objective (Otu, 2003:27). The need to define and operationalize key concepts, words or phrases of a particular study in focus cannot therefore be overemphasized. It refers to the process of linking concepts to their empirical referents. That is, things that happen and can be measured. It therefore means that such operationalization must be based on available literature and the researcher's personal definition. The major concepts that require operationalization so as to avoid ambiguities in this study are "armed banditry", "impact" and "border communities".

ARMED BANDITRY

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

Robbery is a proto-type of the kind of crime most feared by the public. It usually involves theft with violence or threat of violence by a person with whom the victim has had no previous contact, and it is usually unprovoked and unpredictable (Conklin, 1992:103).It is therefore the crime of taking or attempting to take something of value by force or by putting fear in the victim.

The lives and actions of the bandits on the other hand are often shrouded in mystery and legend and usually involves violent acts, by common criminals who may be termed 'ignoble robbers' for whom theft is simply an expedient means to an end (Slatta, 1987: 22). Banditry according to Slatta, is the taking away of property by force or the threat of force,

often by a group, usually of men. Of necessity, bandits usually operate in the shadows, often on the fringes of society, in geographically isolated areas.

Armed banditry has been observed to be carried out in homes, workplaces, schools, banks, highways and neighborhoods; it seems to be concentrated in towns, cities, urban centres and major highways. The robbers are also mostly residents of these towns and cities. Bandits on the other hand are observed to operate from among hills and bushes, along major highways and bush paths, and between villages. They have no fixed abode while during their operations, villages are razed, cattle stolen and persons displaced.

Since it is not easy to arrive at a conception of armed banditry that will command general acceptance by all scholars, a worthwhile conception must therefore be faithful to the empirical world that it purports to represent. This means, ideally, that the conception should be developed through a careful examination of a set of representative instances of armed banditry with the aim of identifying its essential features. We can therefore start from the premise that armed banditry is a distinctive type of armed robbery. Conceptually therefore, armed banditry and armed robbery are complimentary and can indeed supplement each other. Both derive from a complex of inter-related socio-economic factors, but are primarily related to the actor's search for greater well being.

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

IMPACT

In his study of the impact of insecurity on the livelihood and social service provision in Kotido district of Uganda, (Nangiro, 2005) argues that, the impact of raiding by bandits and conflict in Karamoja is difficult to quantify and that raiding has become a major cause of poverty, removing a household's assets at a stroke. People fear to till their farms for fear of being attacked by bandits and this has led to the abandonment of farmlands especially those that are far from settlements. Impact could therefore be seen as the effect, consequence or impression made by something. That is, a phenomenon that follows and is caused by some previous phenomenon, and such impact might be negative or positive.

The principle of causation assumes that every impact has a cause, and that all phenomena are interrelated and interdependent, therefore explanation must also state the relations between cause and effects. Consequently, armed banditry and its socio-economic impact could therefore be considered in this light because, the concept of 'impact' connotes something that is produced by an agent or cause. It signifies something that follows immediately from an antecedent or resultant condition.

BORDER COMMUNITIES

In the African context, territorial borders are not only sensitive, but also one which has informed the foreign policy and diplomatic relations of African states. Territorial borders demarcate the physical delimitations of the state, and are one of the defining characteristics of the state in modern international law (Mwagiru, 2000:1). Mwagiru further observed that, "these borders are often complex and contested. But while they may appear hard and rigid on the maps, they are, in reality often extremely porous". Border areas therefore denote an extent of space, especially on a surface, that can be differentiated from

others by particular qualities or characteristics. Such areas are usually located near or on a frontier usually having an indeterminate limit, especially in the case of Nigeria and its neighbors where cross-cultural affinity abound.

Border communities can be considered as those communities that exist within the vicinity of an international boundary demarcating the legal, political, and administrative limits of two or more nation states (Hinjari, 1993:152). Border communities as perceived by the researcher are an interacting population of various kinds of individuals, organized into a unit, sharing common economic and social beliefs, and occupying a territory at or near the edge of a country or international divide.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

This chapter reviews the phenomenon of armed banditry, its perpetrators and the socio-economic effects on the victims. The aims of this review are: to find out the causes, nature, pattern, and trend of armed banditry; determine the socio-demographic attributes of identified perpetrators and known victims of armed banditry in these border communities; determine the socio-economic impact of armed banditry on the individual victims and the affected communities; and to identify and assess the various efforts put in place by individuals, communities and government law enforcement agencies towards addressing the menace of armed banditry in the affected areas.

The researcher also attempted a critical review of relevant theories that have the potential of explaining the research problem in a bid to identifying suitable model(s) that could satisfactorily address the problem of armed banditry and its attendant consequences on border communities of Adamawa State.

2.1 CAUSES, NATURE AND PATTERN OF ARMED BANDITRY IN BORDER COMMUNITIES.

There has been growing concern in parts of Northern Nigeria over insecurity caused by rebels and bandits suspected to come from neighboring countries. The frequency of armed banditry in the rural and urban areas has been attributed to the ease with which these foreign rebel groups move in and out of Nigerian territory. The situation was said to have so deteriorated in 1998 when a Chadian rebel faction set up a camp in the local government area of Abadam in Borno state and started living off the rural inhabitants of these

communities. These bandits rob in the relatively affluent but porous Nigeria to finance political causes in their countries (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2000:269).

. The Chairman of Maiha Local Government Area of Adamawa state observed that, trans-border banditry locally called 'kwanta-kwanta' is a security problem along Mubi and Maiha areas bordering Cameroon because of the international cattle market located in Mubi. The suspected bandits normally attack their Nigerian victims from their base located in the thickly forested strip, along the borders with the neighboring Franco-phone country (Onah, 2010).

Activities in and around border communities seem to have given rise to security threats of worrisome dimensions in spite of the cultural, religious and even language similarities of the border communities. These culturally linked groups across the borders attend same markets, funerals, naming/marriage ceremonies as well as cultivating same farms on either side of the borders. These notwithstanding, the internecine wars experienced by some of Nigeria's neighboring countries seem to have exacerbated incidents of armed banditry in the border communities.

Although the issue of armed banditry in the border communities of Nigeria has been of great national concern, this problem cannot be said to be peculiar to Nigeria alone. Most African states, including those that share international borders with Nigeria, also face challenges in responding to cross-border criminal activities due to lapses in national security apparatuses, uncoordinated state security agencies, weak collaborative efforts and legal regulatory framework.

One typical characteristic of border management is the absolute neglect of the border communities in socio-economic developments. Often, the erection of infrastructural facilities is so negligible that security personnel at the borders find it difficult to perform their duties. Border communities are so marginalized that they appear as ‘no man’s land’ (Sanusi (1993:27).

Chung *et al* (2011) noted that,

With a relatively large size and spread, border communities in Nigeria still dwell in conditions that can best be described as indecent. These communities from both the South and Northern parts of the country span 21 states and 96 local government areas. In spite of their strategic location and importance, their standard of living and general economy is worse than that of the average Nigerian living in cities and semi urban areas.

The report further stated that,

Investigation by our reporters indicate that due to the disadvantaged position residents of border communities find themselves, and their continuous neglect by the Nigerian state, a good number of them prefer to identify with some neighboring countries where they tend to benefit some social services and some infrastructure as well. For the youths, they have resorted to criminal activities like smuggling and piracy amongst others.

Arising from the strategic neglect of border communities in terms of socio-economic development, border communities have been turned into areas of bad roads, absence of health facilities, educational institutions and even industrial development. Subsequently, these areas have also provided sites for the establishment of poorly managed forest reserves that now provide cover and hideouts for cross-border bandits (Asiwaju, 2004:52).

It may therefore be argued that, economic underdevelopment due to the lack of roads, communication, basic facilities and industries that can generate employment, and modern infrastructure that can bolster trade, could become a precondition for alarming cases of banditry.

Proximity to zones of armed conflict, as well as issues of governance and institutional capacity to take proactive or reactive measures seem to affect the prevalence of armed violence especially armed banditry. Weapons earlier used in conflict are often found in the possession of these criminals. These characteristics may apply to Nigeria.

The direct root cause of armed incursion into Nigeria could be found in the political insurgency which erupted in Chad (and later in Niger) in the previous decade. During this period, rebels converted the island on the Lake Chad to their base from where they launched guerilla attack against Chadian Government troops. Similarly, these rebels occasionally entered Nigeria to attack the border communities and to steal property such as cattle and money in order to prosecute their insurrection against their national government (Bobbo, 1999:19).

Dambazau (1999:78) however argues that, “there is no isolated single cause of crime or criminal behavior. Explanation of crime will largely depend on multiple causes. It is also mostly the case that the environment plays a major role in addition to other factors that may be peculiar or unique to the individual criminal”.

Various governments have generally accepted and implemented through various policies and actions, the definition of their international boundaries as a mark indicating the end of their legal, political or administrative powers. However, Hinjari (1993:152) noted that, “the exclusive nature of nation state boundary is contradicted by the necessity of daily life”. Consequently, the social, political and economic relations of border communities have tended to remain intact in spite of official government attitude towards these international boundaries. With recent world events, championed by the concept of globalization, interdependence and integration of world politics, economic, social and cultural values

seem to suggest that the world is becoming borderless. Thus territorial borders of states are gradually losing their meaning.

The Presidential Committee on the Security Challenges in the North – East Zone of Nigeria observed that the porosity of Nigeria’s borders is closely tied to the proliferation of small arms, smuggling and drug trafficking amongst other crimes. Lack of clear delineation of boundaries coupled with the inability to effectively man Nigeria’s borders had resulted into situations whereby weapons are imported into Nigeria through both existing legal and illegal routes using trucks loaded with goods to conceal such weapons. Such routes identified by the Committee include Tetewa from Cameroon through Bosso and Tudun Mota into Baga. From there the weapons find their way to various parts of the country (Enyiocha, 2012).

Reports in various media and speculations by security agencies suggest that the incidents of armed banditry may be with the collaboration of Nigerian citizens. Armed bandits have been observed to mingle easily among the border communities by taking advantage of the similarities in language, culture and religion. This cultural affinity serves as great advantage as they (the armed bandits) sometimes receive assistance from some Nigerians who collude with them to rob their fellow countrymen (Bobbo, 1999:19). It is noteworthy however that, although cultural or social phenomena changes over time, there still remains continuity in many respects.

Defending Human Rights Report (2002:2) observed that, “rising poverty, unemployment and the breakdown of traditional social structures have led to an upsurge of violent crime in recent years which the Nigerian Police have been ill-equipped to address”. The report further stated that, crime rates and proliferation of crime have been exacerbated by the high proliferation of small arms throughout the country”. Agbotan-Johnson *et*

al(2004:31)also noted that, “small and light weapons proliferation is particularly significant with regard to banditry, theft of cattle, poaching and robbery along main roads. Firearms are also widely used in conflicts between farmers and cattle breeders”.

Armed violence - whether organized or random- is a global phenomenon. It requires at least two people interacting in an environment with a set of predisposing conditions. It is experienced over time and across geographical space in form of cross-national, national, sub-national as well as personal experience. This temporal, spatial and personal variation implies that actual behavior that leads to armed violence may be modifiable or preventable. Armed banditry can therefore be assumed to be a culmination of a wider phenomenon where there is symmetrical connection between poverty, unemployment, political stability and infectious lawlessness. Studies of the relationship between unemployment and crime have however yielded conflicting results. Some studies indicated a negative relationship between unemployment and crime, that is, when unemployment decreases, crime increases or vice versa. Other studies indicate a positive relationship (when one increases, so does the other), and others find no relationship (Lynch, 2008).

Acts of armed banditry has been perceived by different societies in different ways. In his study of the Horn of Africa, Mburu (1999:100) observed that banditry had transmuted from what he called ‘innocuous tribal sport’ into terrorism unleashed by hardened former guerilla fighters that were used to killing and having little respect for the laws of the land, or any symbol of formal authority. These new forms of banditry even involve both inter and intra-ethnic and cross-border raids for livestock.

In the Russian State, banditry is seen as one of the most honorable ways of life. The bandit is seen as the people’s hero, defender, saviour. Such bandits are the implacable enemies of the state and the whole social order who is ready to die fighting against the

entire civilization of the aristocratic Chinokniks and government priesthood (Mikhail (1978:65). It could however be argued that instead of championing the cause of the poor, men are more likely to turn to banditry out of desperation and hard economic realities than for vague notions of righting wrongs or championing the poor. On the contrary also, peasants usually actively assist authorities in arresting bandits.

In Africa, the incidence of armed banditry and cattle rustling seem to be more pronounced along the Kenyan/Ethiopian borders located on the Horn of Africa and tend to explain why much of the literature available on these phenomena comes from scholars within and around these regions. According to Mburu (1999:90),

The available literature on the Horn of Africa focus mostly on social banditry in the 19th century whose motive as noted by Crummey (1986:133-144), was protest against centralism of authority. Furthermore, traditional banditry has been explored as a vocation where individuals waged war against greedy village chiefs or the political unit on behalf of the community while living in the forest as hermits until justice was exacted.

Crummey (1999) however argued that, banditry was indeed a significant African phenomenon embedded in rural societies, and that bandits are recognized as such by rural dwellers. Local languages have specific terms for bandits and if the ‘criminals’ in question are not locally recognized as bandits and labeled as such African Languages, then they are not bandits. He views Ethiopia as an African example rife with banditry, an institution embedded in an agrarian, hierarchical, class-divided society, and that Ethiopia has vernacular term by which bandits are known – *Shefta*.

Along the Southern Ethiopian/Kenyan border, banditry and incidents involving ethnic conflicts are common while in the west, the Gambella region is subjected to inter-ethnic conflict and political violence originating from Sudan. Mburu (1999:100) observed

that, “with the total destruction of the economy, the only employment left for young men is banditry as a fleeting opportunity or under the ambit of the militia of one fiefdom or the other”. He further noted that similar experience in Somalia has also shown how banditry can be exported to another country through refugees that include former regular soldiers who hide sophisticated firearms in the bush for use to rob or execute rivals.

From a means of obtaining a few animals and improving one’s fighting prowess, Osamba (1998:18) noted that, raiding had evolved into military operations using conventional war tactics and involving thousands of livestock. Not only young men were killed, but women and children were brutally murdered as well. Huts, stores and harvests were set on fire and shops looted. The government’s reaction was usually to send military helicopters to bombard the suspected bandits’ hideouts, though without much success.

Armed bandits in Morocco operated in mountainous areas attacking travelers, raiding livestock, enslaving children and raping women. In Morocco bandits are known as “*iqatta’ em n-ibriden*, “cutters of the road” (Hart, 1987) Hart further observed that banditry in Morocco was localized in two mountainous regions, the Jbala in the north, and the Atlas, in the centre and south. The Jbala gave rise to one Ali I Bu Frahi. Ali was a physical man and found himself a number of followers, eventually emerging as a highwayman leading a gang which waylaid caravans on the main road between Tangier and Tetuan. He never molested the poor and enjoyed the support of the local villagers who fed him and invited him for their weddings. Banditry should therefore be considered by identifying its essential features within specified historical contexts.

Long before now, the phenomenon of armed banditry existed in the Northeast region of Nigeria and that, just as security encouraged commercial activity along the shores of Lake Chad and elsewhere in the Northeast region, insecurity could have the opposite

effect. Recent cases of armed robbery as well as sporadic forays by armed bandits from the Chad Republic have produced serious negative impact on the level of fish marketing in the Baga area, though very difficult to quantify (Muktar and Gazali, 2000). Murder, slave-dealing, highway robbery and all kinds of lawlessness were rife in the Nigeria-Cameroon boundary during the colonial rule such that a permanent military detachment had to be posted at Bama (Barkindo, 1984: 44).

In his study of armed banditry in Borgu, Akinwumi (1994:7) noted that, in pre-colonial Borgu in Kwara state, Nigeria, '*Bakin Jaki*', one of the notorious raiders in the nineteenth century, had a gang made up of about 400 robbers on foot and 60 horsemen. When they attacked, they did so to loot the traders of their goods. They even captured the traders who they later sold into slavery. The weapons of attack are the horses, spears, bows and poisoned arrows. This affected the main source of Borgu's economy, the caravan trade, and consequently led to the fall of many of the Borgu pre-colonial states.

Akinwumi (1994:7) further cites Perham (1963:220) as observing that,

The attack was always sudden and usually where the forest was so thick and visibility was impeded, or at a river crossing. Lugard, who had encounters with some of the bandits, described their method thus: "1000 men could sit within 20yards (or 20feet) of the path, and the first half of the caravan could pass without knowledge of it. At the first gap caused by a tired or lame man, they could step across the path and kill the first unarmed porter who appeared and the rest would flee in panic and throw their loads.

Claims of criminality in the context of colonial Africa should attract some reservations, and where it might reasonably be held to exist, it is necessary to explore its social content and meaning. As to whether it served some larger social or political end, we must first establish its prior existence. Post-colonial criticisms and anti-colonial attacks may lead one to dismiss the observations of the colonial masters. While there is a general

academic drought on the subject of armed banditry, some of the existing literature romanticizes the bandits and fails to establish a firm anchor of the phenomenon with geopolitical, socio-economic issues that wrap together poverty, political instability and inexorable lawlessness (Mburu, 1999:89).

2.2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF IDENTIFIED PERPETRATORS AND VICTIMS OF ARMED BANDITRY

In terms of profile, the typical ‘criminal’ is a non or semi-literate male, in his twenties or early thirties, who is usually single or only nominally married. Occupationally unskilled or semi-skilled, he is usually marginally ‘self-employed’ or ‘daily-paid’ in the lowest ‘occupation’ (Odekunle, 1986:82). This could not be said to be the case today since there has been reports of violent criminal activities by very literate individuals who are well-employed and are pensionable such as Policemen and Soldiers.

A report by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IIDEA 2000:196) stated that,

In Cameroon, a security report issued in 2000 listed 84 members of the police, gendarmerie, and army involved in cases of armed banditry that were subsequently prosecuted. Some policemen in Ghana collaborate with robbers by lending them their weapons and clothing, enabling what are often referred to as ‘pobbers’ (police –robbers). Several Nigerian soldiers and police officers have been sentenced to death for armed robbery, but more shocking is the role of politicians in arms proliferation armed crime.

Availability of relatively cheaper firearm in an environment that offers few alternatives to earn an honest living becomes an attractive option for aspiring bandits who use implements to carry out their actions. From the point of view of the bandit, it may also be the safest and best means of defense in a situation whereby the bandit is resisted. In the

absence of effective regulation of behavior, banditry then becomes a plausible and profitable occupation for the bandit. Odekunle (1986:82) further noted that, criminals engage mostly in property or property-related crimes, perpetrating assaults against persons and infringing on the liberty, freedom and morality of people. Their dominant crime-type, is, 'for money and/or property'.

The socio-demographic attributes of identified perpetrators of armed banditry has not been very clear. According to Nkpa (1994:270)

There is no uniform distribution of crime by age groups for all times and places. The peak of maximum crime for any age group or any single age seems to vary for different countries and for different sets of crime statistics within any country. In general, the age of maximum criminality is reached in youth or young adulthood, and from this point there is a progressive decline in the amount of crime with advancing age. Young persons between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five are much more involved in crime that requires physical energy to commit.

The youth population in Nigeria estimated by the United Nations to be 25 million which is economically, socially and politically deprived are among the main perpetrators of armed criminality and 'gangsterism' (Centre for International Cooperation and Security, 2005:14). The youth seem to play a critical role in any community and once they are impoverished and marginalized by economic and social realities, they become available and ready to be mobilized. They can therefore offer their services to the highest bidder, and can be easily manipulated. A large number of destitute youths involved in armed banditry seem to be as a result of the breakdown of social and economic order in Northeastern Nigeria.

Nkpa (1994:271) further noted that, sex is a determining factor in crime affecting not only the violation of law but also the nature of crime. Females in most cases are more involved in crimes that do not require physical energy such as shoplifting, passing information to male criminals and theft. In line with this observation, the United Nations

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (1999) observed that, survivors from acts of armed banditry in Nigeria described the perpetrators as poorly clad, heavily armed men who spoke Hausa, the local language, with a strange accent and operated with uncommon violence. Otu (2003) also notes that, with such violent crimes as armed banditry, “the perpetrators are usually mainly males, predominantly of the ages of the active members of the working population, mainly those from the lower class income”. Furthermore, “the offence and offenders are also violent in nature”.

Females have however been found to be actively involved in rebellious combat in a number of countries such as within the ranks of the Tamil Tigers. A significant body of literature has recently emerged which challenges the relegation of women to the role of passive victims of violence by charting women as agents of violence. Although there is no hard data, in many of the case studies, anecdotal evidence suggests that increasing numbers of women are taking part in armed violence as either combatants or gang members, with its concomitant risks (Centre for International Cooperation and Security, 2005:21).

According to Cook (1976:135) the disproportionate nature of crimes against persons and observes that between 35 and 65 years, victimization is greater than at 65 years or older. It seems then that, there is lower rate of victimization of the elderly across types of crimes, across race and is not limited to comparisons of the most aged and the youngest adults. Dambazau (1999:126) however observes that, “crime victims can be categorized in terms of age, gender, economic and social status. Specific crimes may be related to particular categories, as for example, victims of rape are mostly females while victims of neglect are children”. He further notes that, “victimization of people may be as a result of what they possess or the activities they do or what they are”. It can therefore be said that victims of armed banditry are most likely to be travelers on the highways.

Nkpa (1976:167-168) sees victims of armed banditry as being 'neutral victims' who despite having taken every reasonable precaution, fall victim to armed robbers. This class of victims he said includes poor defenseless farmers who are frequently molested and sometimes shot by the robbers. He further notes that, some victims take risks, perhaps being aware of the dangers and these include traders who usually travel to transact their businesses in various markets and get back home. These traders according to him carry money to pay for their merchandise and have always been victimized by robbers. He however summed it up that, "almost any weakness (and even virtue) on the part of an individual or individuals can be a cause of victimization depending on the circumstances".

Dambazau (1999:126) notes that, "a person is regarded as a victim of crime regardless of whether the perpetrator is identified, apprehended, prosecuted or convicted, and regardless of the familial relationship between the perpetrator and the victim". In order to qualify as a victim, he further states that, "an individual must have suffered loss or injury in emotional, economic and social terms".

2.3IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY ON INDIVIDUALS AND AFFECTED COMMUNITIES AS VICTIMS

The impact of attacks by armed bandits can be seen to be devastating especially for crimes such as armed banditry which takes a toll on their victims, both in material and other losses, as well as in social and psychological terms. These could be translated into material losses, physical injury or death, social intimidation, restrictions on freedom of movement, and even the psychological fear of potential victimization (Odekunle (1986:94).

According to Muggah and Batchelor (2002:32),

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

The menace of armed banditry will therefore not only lead to the boycotting of markets or businesses within and around these border communities, but also lead to the diversion of routes elsewhere, thereby losing major revenue and affecting the economy of these areas.

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

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

Agboton – Johnson *et al* (2004:23) noted that,

While violence has affected all segments of society, the impact on the poor is the most severe. The wealthier segments of society have turned their homes into fortresses and resorted to services of private security companies. Research indicated that around 20 private security companies operate in the Northern city of Kaduna. From 1997 to 2001, the number of clients increased by 114% and the number of guards they employ by 188%. Among the poorer segment of society however, there has been a proliferation of vigilante groups, similar to community guards, and usually comprising of young men from the respective communities who form patrol units, provide security for the community and mete out justice as they deem fit.

Ginifer and Ismail (2005:60) also noted that, “the threat and actual use of violence by armed groups, vigilantes and robbers has led to communities retreating into themselves and often has stimulated the growth of private security services (for those who can afford them) and vigilante ‘protection’ for the poor”.

Addo (2006:1) notes how cross-border criminal activities undermine good governance and security with negative impact on the rule of law, economic activities and growth, human rights and general societal and cultural advancement within the West African Sub-region. He noted such cross-border crimes as illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons/ammunition, human trafficking, peddling in narcotics, armed banditry, and smuggling of goods among others, stating that, these cross-border crimes are “mostly symptomatic rather than as causes of instability in the Sub-region”. These cross-border crimes are now being committed with increasing sophistication and by all kinds of actors across political, economic and social divide. The loosely structured and complex modes of operation easily evade detection and enforcement measures.

2.4 PREVENTIVE MEASURES PUT IN PLACE BY INDIVIDUALS, COMMUNITY, AND GOVERNMENT LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

Effort put in place to prevent incidents of armed banditry seem not to be adequate. In his study of the horn of Africa, Mwagiru (2000) noted that the problem of armed banditry and cattle rustling affects and crosses the borders of all states in the region. Apart from these cross-territorial border experiences, banditry also affects internal borders. This

he said has very severe security implications, especially given the fact that the bandits in question are not only heavily, but also well- armed. The response of governments has been to send in security and police forces, which sometimes seem to have been overwhelmed by the firepower of the bandits.

Hinjari (1993:164) notes that, even when para-military forces are sent to the border posts, they lack everything necessary for them to effectively carry out their duties. This problem arises from the fact that successive governments do not bother to undertake a more comprehensive security policy that would integrate all aspects dealing with Nigeria's relations with its neighbors, and the nature and character of the country's borders.

The United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network(IRIN1999:1) observed that,

Security officials had been aware in the past few years that many rebel bands left over from insurgencies in impoverished Niger and Chad were crossing into Nigeria with automatic arms. However, efforts to check the bands were at best half-hearted although, on a few occasions, crack units were sent after them in search-and-destroy missions.

Worried by the cases of armed banditry and ethnic clashes in Nigeria, the erstwhile President, Olusegun Obasanjo approved a three-day Presidential retreat on national security in August 2001. Oloja(2001) reported that, "cases of armed banditry in the border communities are giving governors of the North some concern. Illegal aliens are suspected to be the perpetrators of such dastardly acts in parts of Taraba, Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states." Similarly, a news item in the Daily Trust of November 12, 2002 also reported that, "governor Bukar Ibrahim of Yobe has appealed to the people to offer special prayers during the Ramadan for God to expose the bandits terrorizing the state."

AllAfrica.Com (2009) reported that, to check the menace of armed banditry in the crime-prone areas of the Nigeria/Cameroon border, the erstwhile Inspector – General of Police Mike Okiro set up a crack police squad stationed in the border towns of Mubi and Ganye. The crack squad has had various encounters with armed bandits that have been terrorizing the people of those areas.

Onah (2010) reported the Chairman of Maiha Local Government Council as stating that,

Security of lives and property in this area is our major problem here because of the incessant raids on our people by these bandits. A large proportion of the resources of the council is expended on maintaining the operations of the internal security outfit of the state, ‘Operation Tsaro’ to check the incursions of the bandits which is quite regular.

He further reported that the council chairman revealed that, as an interim measure to check the growing security problem around the border town, over 600 armed vigilante vanguards as well as the joint armed forces/police ‘operation Tsaro’ team are on daily patrol along the routes leading to Cameroon.

As an effort towards tackling cross-border crimes, ECOWAS member states adopted a declaration of the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons in Abuja, Nigeria, on 31 October, 1998 to control the flow, illicit trafficking, and the circulation/use of small arms. Addo (2006:12) however notes that, “all these efforts have not worked as expected due to the porous borders in the Sub-region, poorly trained and equipped border patrol officers, and lack of political will and commitment of member states to address the problem”.

Notwithstanding the fact that Nigerians of the lower socio-economic stratum are the more exposed and vulnerable to the incessant victimization by armed bandits, and the spillover effect of brutalization by security agents, it is those in the upper socio-economic

stratum that usually receive the greater amount and high quality protection from the state. That is to say, very little is being done by the state to prevent, control or ameliorate the impact of victimization suffered in the hands of the armed bandits by victims of incidents of armed banditry.

The explanation for the failure of crime-prevention and control measures by law enforcement agencies and other efforts, according to Odekunle (1986:85), are to be found in “inadequate and/or inappropriate measures, mechanisms/techniques, and material and human-resources (i.e. technology and personnel)”.

As a result of the inability of law enforcement agencies to provide adequate protection, the general population, citizen groups and individuals are found organizing their own self-defense forces or vigilantes or contracting some of these functions to privately paid security agencies or guards. In most cases, the state military, security and police agencies are unable to provide much needed security against marauders, robbers and bandits.

Odekunle (1986:95) further argued that,

All the major components of crime prevention and control in Nigeria, namely: reform of laws; training of personnel; provision of funds for material wherewithal; appropriate sanctions for different categories of offenders; and socio-economic development that will reduce crime-causing poverty, unemployment, inflation, etc. can be described as hypocritical attempts at managing the contradictions of the capitalist system. An effective resolution of the crime-problem cannot be effected without an overhauling of the criminogenic social order itself.

Are there then prospects of a significant reduction in violent crimes such as armed banditry in the foreseeable future? Are these prospects foreseeable at the Federal level with uniformity and great deal of money, or at the community levels where the crime of armed banditry most actively affects the citizens?

2.5 THEORETICAL REVIEW

Applying a generalized theory on armed banditry will have attendant difficulties due to the conspicuous literary barrenness on the subject, particularly the paucity of academic analysis of its nature and regional implication. This problem may however be explained in part by the limitation of empirical investigation due to the insecurity experienced by field researchers which arises as a result of the hostility that will be experienced in a bandit's environment, where it is physically dangerous to be a stranger.

In contemporary Nigeria, violent crimes such as armed banditry, its growth and advancement over time, is yet to be given appreciable academic attention. Therefore, in trying to understand the crime of armed banditry, we must appreciate that we are living in a fluid and dynamic society consisting of individuals with a sharply different structure of sentiments and collective feelings (Otu, 2003:4).

Crime is a problem largely because of the accompanying negative consequences that the victim experience, and that one of the major preoccupations of criminology over the years has been, to conceptually and empirically establish the forces that dictate the interaction between the victim and the victimizer (Gyong, 1994). Gyong further stated that the theoretical model that accounts for the nature and character of crime should also suffice for the nature and character of the consequences of victimization. Maguire (1997) also observed that what could be regarded as a crime specific study should take a particular type of crime, the circumstances under which it is committed, the motives and behavior of those committing it, and the experiences and impact of such victimization on its victims.

A number of theorists have tried to explain criminal behavior that appears to be heavily concentrated in the lower class social groups, and several theorists have based their explanation on the concept of anomie originally described by Emile Durkheim in the

19th century. Following on the work of Emile Durkheim, strain theory have been advanced by Robert K. Merton 1957; Albert K. Cohen 1955; Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin 1960; and Robert Agnew 1992.

Robert K. Merton, an American sociologist, adopted the broad concept of anomie and used it as a means of new theorizing. Jones (1998:141) however notes that in trying to understand the concept of anomie, it is important to appreciate the different settings in which Durkheim and Merton were writing. That, although both lived in the midst of considerable social inequality, Durkheim lived in a Europe still under the influence of the aristocracy and the privileged, while Merton on the other hand, lived in the midst of “The American Dream” where it was believed that hard work could bring countless rewards, and where it is possible to aspire to become President.

For Durkheim, a situation of anomie arose only when weak social regulation was unable to restrain people’s aspirations during economic turmoil, while for Merton, it resulted from the lack of a structured and legitimate means for most people in the society to attain what is indiscriminately held out to all as the ultimate goal – material wealth. However, not everyone will be able to attain such wealth but, everyone is expected to try, or risk being called lazy or unambitious.

Merton developed the structural strain theory as an extension of the functionalist perspective on deviance. According to Jones (1998:136)

The essence of functionalism is that there is a consensus of core values within a society which corresponds to the needs of its members, and it is the task of institutions such as the family and school to socialize individuals to conform to those values. And it becomes the concern of sociologists to explain why some people violate these commonly held values.

Jones (1998:137) further argues that, each type of society would be characterized by a particular form of collective consciousness. That is, the set of beliefs which is common to the whole society and acts as a powerful force in shaping the way it behaves. In a mechanical society, this will take the form of strict conformity and uniformity of culture. On the other hand, in an organic society, the members are associated through structural interdependence rather than shared life experience. Jones further notes that, Durkheim considered that all societies are at a stage between being mechanical or organic; no society is entirely one or the other.

Just as matter reacts to external stimuli, so man reacts to forces external to his being. Social and natural behavior is therefore determined and can be explained in terms of cause and effect relationship. Members of society are therefore directed by collective beliefs, values and laws, and by social facts. Collective ways of acting or thinking have a reality outside the individual and social facts such as armed banditry therefore constrains the individual to behave in a particular way.

Katkin *et al* (1976) argued that, in tradition-bound societies everyone knows what is expected of him, and people tend to suffer hardship without protest. However, in modern industrial societies, progress tends to destroy tradition, and the rules of acceptable behavior change from generation to generation. Individuals feel that their horizon is limitless, and with limitless ambition, the prospects for dissatisfaction, disillusionment, and frustration becomes greater. The implication of the breakdown of the moral fabric of society therefore may be that, there would be a loss or inadequate means of social control, and the rules of acceptable behavior also changes. Though everyone knows what is expected of him, people tend to protest and consequently, the level of dissatisfaction, disillusionment, and frustration increases.

Merton's Strain theory traces the origins of deviance to the tensions caused by the gap between cultural goals and the means people have available to achieve those goals. Feldman (1993:219) cites Box (1971:105) as noting that Merton (1957) conceives of anomie as:

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

The implication here is that in a well-integrated society, people use accepted and appropriate means to achieve the goals that society establishes. In this case, the goals and the means of the society are in balance. This imbalance between cultural goals and structurally available means can actually lead an individual into deviant behavior. In other words, if legitimate desires cannot be achieved or satisfied by socially accepted behavior, this forces the lower class persons into delinquency.

In the United States, economic success is a goal that everybody strives for. The legitimate means to economic success are seen to be education and jobs. Since the legitimate means for achieving material success are not uniformly distributed, which implies that, those from wealthier backgrounds usually have considerably more access to legitimate means than do those who are economically disadvantaged, the consequence is strain, which generates and produces certain 'modes of adaptation'. Simply put, it produces coping strategies, which the disadvantaged use to deal with pressures that are brought to bear on them.

Strain theory states that strain may either be:

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

Crime and delinquency have been explained as reactions or modes of adaptation to strain or frustration caused by a dislocation between the culturally prescribed goals and institutionalized means for the realization of such goals. According to Merton (1957) in Wolfgang *et al*, (1970) some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconformist rather than conformist conduct. One such pressure is that, the social structure determines the nature of aspiration of its citizens. The society prescribed goals that its citizens should aspire to.

Alemika and Chukwuma (2001:17) noted that, the institutionalized means for realizing these goals and aspirations are restricted by distribution of talents and opportunities, and by structural inhibitions. Furthermore, cultural goals are emphasized without corresponding opportunities on the means of attaining ends. Deviance therefore results from the disparity of society placing undue emphasis on realization of material aspirations and at the same time not adequately providing approved means for the achievement of these goals.

This anomaly cannot however be said to directly lead to deviant behavior, rather, it creates avenues for individuals to evolve alternative modes to pursue those goals. According to Merton (1957) in Wolfgang *et al*(1970) the pressure experienced by those who are excluded from the institutionalized means for realizing cultural goals can lead those individuals to adapt five modes of adaptations. These according to Merton are: Conformity ++, Innovation + -, Ritualism - +, Retreatism - -, and Rebellion ++. Merton further notes that, it is the innovation, retreatism and rebellion modes of adaptation that represents deviant ways that may involve crime and delinquency.

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

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

Strain theory therefore assumes that:

1. The poor often feel the effects of crime more severely than others, as they lack the resources – both financial and otherwise – to deal with their losses or harm.

2. Most crime is committed by the lower class, as they are subject to the greatest strain.
3. When job opportunities dry up, the resultant strain may lead to crime and the use of violence is seen as a measure of last resort.
4. The fundamental cause of crime is the feeling of relative deprivation and that the residents of deprived areas face a different reality every day, with their lives blighted by violent crimes.

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

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

It is noteworthy that, relative deprivation in itself is not, by itself, a sufficient explanation of why people turn to crime as not everyone who can be seen to be relatively deprived turns to crime. Secondly, relative deprivation may be a significant factor in explaining various forms of economic crimes (such as theft, robbery, armed banditry, etc.), but wholly inadequate in explaining why people murder each other or commit acts of sexual crimes among others.

The implication of the strain theory is that, crime can be prevented or reduced if there is a concordance between cultural goals and institutionalized means for their attainment, and that crime and delinquency will increase whenever there is a dislocation between the means and goals.

The theory has been criticized on the basis that:

1. Although it could explain crimes such as fraud and theft on the basis of innovation, it is unable to explain youth crimes that are often engaged in for social status rather than material acquisition.
2. It assumes that there is a consensus in society and that everyone is pursuing the ultimate goal of material wealth.
3. Strain theory fails to adequately address issues such as race and gender.
4. Strain theory is unable to explain the phenomena of white-collar crime.

This study adopted the Strain theory propounded by Robert Merton (1957) to explain the problem of armed banditry in border communities of Adamawa state because the Nigerian state is experiencing overwhelming emphasis on monetary and material wealth and those who fail to meet these aspirations and goals experience tremendous pressure and subsequently evolve other means of attaining their aspirations. The incidents of armed banditry in the border communities of Adamawa state could therefore be explained by the disconnect between culturally prescribed goals and institutionally accepted means for attaining those goals.

Secondly, the border communities have for long been deprived of socio-economic development leading to lack of social and economic privileges. These communities lack good roads, electricity, good schools and there are also very few employment opportunities for their teeming youths. Armed bandits from the neighbouring countries may exploit the

inability of youths of the border communities to achieve their aspirations through the institutionalized means to commit acts of armed banditry by collaborating with such youths who know the terrain very well. A high correlation therefore exists between unemployment and crime, and the structural strain theory helps to explain this relationship.

The activities of armed bandits who are suspected to be remnants of rebel soldiers from Chad, Niger or Cameroon may be explained by Merton's Strain theory since it is believed that when job opportunities dry up, the resultant strain may lead to crime, especially in a post war era. The armed bandits suspected to be from neighboring countries who were engaged in the various internecine wars that have come to an end have no option than to use their training and weapons to earn a living, thus engaging in acts of armed banditry. While it is true that not everyone who is unable to utilise legitimate means to attain legitimate ends will engage in acts of armed banditry, it is also true that most people will, given the availability of arms at their disposal coupled with poverty and mass unemployment, particularly among the youths.

The theoretical conclusion therefore is that, the incidence of armed banditry in the border communities of Adamawa State are driven by the general lack of socio-economic and political opportunities. Consequently, armed banditry will continue to thrive, and bandits who have acquired arms to prosecute their acts would never stop as long as that sense of alienation, injustice, deprivation and oppression continues.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methods and techniques used in the collection and analysis of data relating to the phenomenon of armed banditry. It considers the levels, pattern, trends and perceptions, with a view to ascertaining the attendant consequences experienced by the broad spectrum of victims.

This chapter also describes the location and period of study of the selected border communities of Adamawa State, the types and sources of data collected, the population of study, sampling and sampling procedures, techniques of data collection, the dependent and independent variables, and finally, the method of data analysis.

3.1 LOCATION AND PERIOD OF STUDY

The research locations for this study are the border local Government Areas of Adamawa State which comprise of Mubi North, Mubi South, Michika, Madagali, Maiha, Fufore and Toungo which are situated along a chain of hills extending from the Mandara hills, running in a southerly direction from Madagali in the Northernmost part to Malabu in Fufore Local Government Area of the same state.

Mubi North and Mubi South Local Government Areas with headquarters located in Mubi and Gella respectively, are some of the urban centers in Adamawa state. Mubi is located between longitudes 12-14°N and latitudes 10-12°E, and shares an international boundary with the Republic of Cameroon.

The WeekTrust (2012) notes that, Mubi has a concentration of tourists, traders and smugglers, and has played a historical role in the socio-economic development of Adamawa state in view of the volume of business activities being transacted across the borders. The National Population Census (2006) indicates that the population of Mubi North as 151,515 while Mubi South had 129,956 as at 2006.

Michika is also geographically located between longitudes 12-14°N and latitudes 10-12°E. It is situated along the Mubi – Maiduguri highway and also shares an international boundary with the Republic of Cameroon. Its location along a chain of hills and a major highway attracts people from the Cameroon, Chad, and Niger Republics, who cross the borders using the numerous footpaths available, and other groups from various parts of Nigeria who pass through, do business or settle in Michika. The National Population Commission Census (2006) indicates the total population of this local government as 155,238.

Madagali is located between longitude 12-14 N and latitude 10-12 E and shares an international border with Republic of Cameroon along the Mandara hills. It is also located along the Mubi – Maiduguri highway. The National Population Commission Census (2006) places its population at 135,142. The hilly nature of this area seems to provide sanctuary and easy passage for persons both on the Nigerian and Cameroonian sides especially with the cross-cultural affinity between them.

Maiha is located between longitude 12-14 N and latitudes 10-12 E, has a population of 110,175 as at 2006 and also shares a border with the Republic of Cameroon. The major economic activities of the residents of this area are farming, cattle rearing and trading.

Fufore is located between longitudes 12-14 N and latitudes 8-10 E, has a population of 209,460 as at 2006 and shares a border with Cameroon. Residents of this area are predominantly farmers, cattle rearers, smugglers and civil servants who are mostly teachers, custom officers, policemen, immigration officers among others.

Toungo also shares a border with Cameroon, has a population of 52,179 as at 2006 and is located between longitudes 12-14 N and latitudes 8-10 E. This area is littered with numerous footpaths used by both indigenes and people from neighbouring Cameroon especially during market days. Similarly, the major economic activities are cattle rearing, farming and smuggling. The 2006 population figures had to be used in view of the fact that it is the most current population census conducted and released by the National Population Commission. Fallingrain.com (2008) and Greatestcities.com (2008) reveals that, Garoua is situated on latitude 5°N and longitude 14°E. It is 645 kilometers northwest of the Cameroonian capital, Yaounde and has an estimated population of 160,000 (1992 estimate). The Mandara Mountains and the northernmost section of the Adamawa plateau begin just north of the town. Garoua is dominated by Muslim nomadic herders, particularly the Fulani and has modern buildings, banks, markets, factories and an international airport.

Travelpost.com (2008) revealed that, Maroua is situated on latitude 10°N and longitude 14°E along the Mandara Mountains. It is barely 118 miles from Maiduguri and has a population of 304,100 (1992 estimate). It is also dominated by nomadic herders who are mostly Fulani. The World Index on Africa – Cameroon (2008) reported that acts of banditry “have occurred most frequently along roads close to Cameroon’s eastern border with Central African Republic (CAR) and Chad, in Douala, Yaounde, Kribi and Maroua as well as on the Edea – Kribi road”.

According to Nona.net (2008) Kontcha is situated on latitude 7°N and longitude 12°E along the Alantika Mountains. It is barely 144 kilometers to Yola the capital of Adamawa State in Nigeria and has a population of 65,000 (1992 estimate). Kontcha is predominantly inhabited by Fulani herdsmen.

The location of these border communities, the concentration and movement of traders and tourists, the influx of illegal aliens and the incessant incidents of armed banditry which has been observed to have been carried out within the research sites and the surrounding areas made them good locations for the collection of data for this study. The researcher is also very familiar with the research location.

The selection of border communities located in varying environments are meant to give an insight into the incidents and effects of armed banditry in varying environmental locations within the border areas. The study covers the period between January and December 2011. The justification for the choice of this period is because it is recent and the events can be easily recalled by the respondents. Furthermore, from my knowledge of the area, this period has witnessed increased incidents of armed banditry.

3.2 TYPES AND SOURCES OF DATA

Personal interviews were conducted using structured interview schedules in form of questions (quantitative method). Demographic information such as age, sex, religion, and educational status was also collected so as to have an insight into the socio – economic and demographic characteristics of both the respondents and the armed bandits. Secondary data on the incidents of armed banditry and the characteristics of the armed bandits was collected from Police records.

3.3 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The population of this study was divided into three categories. The first category consisted of selected adult residents of the selected border communities of Mubi North,

Mubi South, Michika, Madadgali, Fufore, Maiha and Toungo, while the second category consisted of community, vigilante and opinion leaders who have lived in the research location for at least 25 years or have had direct links to the issue of armed banditry in the border communities either as security agents or prominent indigenes of the area. The third category consists of persons who have been victims of incidents of armed banditry. Data from the first category was collected through survey questionnaires while data from the second and third categories were obtained via in-depth interviews.

Sampling procedures regarding the selection of the respondents of this study varied according to the requirement of the particular data collection technique for which the sample is being drawn. For the purpose of selecting respondents for the survey, since it was not possible to compile an exhaustive list of elements comprising the target population, multi-stage cluster sampling techniques were used. Purposive sampling technique was used for selecting key informants from identified victims of armed banditry, Police officers and prominent indigenes of the area. Hence, for the purpose of getting data as to the incidence of armed banditry in such border communities for the years gone by, ten (10) community leaders, leaders of vigilante groups and opinion leaders who have lived in such areas for a minimum of 25 years were purposively selected while Four known victims of armed banditry were identified for in-depth interview.

Out of the Ten (10) key informants, Two (2) each were selected from the urban border communities of Mubi North, Mubi South and Michika making a total of Six (6) key informants. Out of the Six (6) key informants, One (1) Ward head and one Vigilante leader were selected from each of these urban border communities.

From the Four (4) rural border communities, One (1) key informant each was selected. Two (2) officials of the National Union of Road Transport Workers from Maiha and Madagali were selected so as to get the experiences of the drivers that ply the network of highways in the border communities, while an opinion leader and a leader of the Vigilante were selected from Fufore and Toungo respectively.

A total of Eleven(11) persons who were direct victims of armed banditry were identified from police records and reports to Ward heads. Ten (10) persons were identified from police records while one of the victims was identified from report to a Ward head. Out of the Eleven (11) victims, One (1) each was selected from Mubi North/Mubi South, Michika/Madagali, Maiha/Fufore and Toungo respectively for in-depth interview.

Six (6) Senior Police Officers who were in charge of the various Police formations in the selected study areas were purposively selected for in-depth interview so as to gain more insight into the problem under study because they were directly involved with issues relating to armed banditry. Consequently, a total of 20 key informants were purposively selected from the residents, direct known victims of armed banditry and the Police.

Since the sample population cannot be easily listed for sampling purposes, the various wards and streets were grouped into clusters, followed by the selection of elements within each of the selected clusters. A total of 250 respondents were selected from the various elements using simple random sampling technique. Fifty (50) questionnaires were administered in each of the three urban border areas while Twenty-five (25) questionnaires were administered in each of the four rural border areas. The questionnaires were researcher administered.

Five (5) wards were selected from each of the urban border areas after which Ten (10) households were again selected using simple random sampling technique. Ten (10) questionnaires were researcher administered in each of the five selected wards adding up to One hundred and Fifty (150) questionnaires for the urban border areas. From each of the selected households, the head of the household was the respondent.

From each of the rural border areas, Five (5) wards were also selected from each of the rural border areas and Five (5) households were again selected using simple random sampling technique. Five (5) questionnaires were researcher administered on each of the selected households, adding up to One hundred questionnaires in the rural border areas. From each of the selected households, the head of the household was the respondent.

3.4 TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

Since human reality is better comprehended by a number of viewpoints, the researcher employed a combination of research techniques to allow for an exhaustive and detailed investigation. These research techniques were: use of survey questionnaires, in-depth interview and extraction from records.

Researcher administered questionnaires were utilized as the primary instrument for the collection of data. This method allowed for personal contact with the respondents and also for the acquisition of first hand information.

The in-depth interview was also used as a primary technique to support the collection of data and was aimed at encouraging the respondents to talk freely on their experiences, beliefs, and attitudes as they relate to the research problem. This was achieved by asking further questions from the answers given by the informants. The interview was semi- structured using an interview guide.

3.5 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The quantitative method of data analysis was used simultaneously and in complement with the qualitative method in order to gain access into the inner recess of the community life, motivation for behavior, and also lead to the discovery of other unexpected cross-border crimes such as drug and arms trafficking. The mass of data collected through questionnaires and interviews were analyzed using computer statistical package for the social sciences.

Qualitative data which was generated mainly from in-depth interview and has direct impact on the findings were presented and analyzed in “context” by grouping and sorting out the comments and responses. In other words, it was analyzed by discourse analysis both from transcribed information and write-ups. These included reading field tapes/notes, creating emerging patterns of inferences, comparison of alternative inferences, adoption of inferences and drawing overall conclusions. The research utilized univariate analysis using frequencies and percentages.

3.6 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD

The research may not have been able to reach the population it attempted to investigate. This is because of time constraint and the limited resources available for the study. Most of the households are located in wards that had no street names and house numbers. Some selected wards are located in mountainous and unmotorable terrain forcing the researcher to travel by other means of transportation such as motor-cycle. It was also difficult task to gain the confidence of the respondents especially those that were not literate such that the researcher had to rely on the support of the various Ward Heads, Opinion leaders and other prominent indigenes of the area.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

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

Data generated from the survey were sorted out, coded, analyzed and presented descriptively using frequencies and percentages. The results from the survey were complemented by the qualitative data from the in-depth interview.

4.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE RESPONDENTS

Data on the socio-demographic attributes of the respondents indicate that, 50% of the respondents were above 50 years of age while 4% were between the ages of 19 and 30 years. As regards the sex of the respondents, 96.6% were males while 4.4% were females. This disparity may be explained by the fact that in the study area, most of the household heads are men that are advanced in age and most youths lived with their parents, wives and children within the family compound. Very few women were household heads in the area of study. The data also showed that, 30.8% had attended tertiary institutions while 10% did not attend any kind of school. The high level of literacy could be explained by the early influence of missionary activities within the area of study. Data on the marital status of the respondents showed that 93.6% are married while 6.4% are divorced. The percentage of

respondents from extended families indicated 73.6% while 26.4% are from nuclear families. Data on the occupation of the respondents shows that 35.2% of the respondents are civil servants with 9.6% having no definite occupation. The implication of these findings is that, the respondents are matured literate persons who are household heads. Since household heads are representatives of their family, to establish a rapport with them was easy and they were in a position to reasonably respond to the designed question.

4.2 CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY

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

TABLE 4.2.1: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY

S/N	CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY	Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1.	Displacement due to civil wars in our neighbouring countries	184	73.6	41	16.4	7	2.8	18	7.2	250	100.0
2.	Displacement due to natural disasters e.g drought, floods etc	17	6.8	76	30.4	24	9.6	133	53.2	250	100.0
3.	Lack of basic amenities in the border communities	59	23.6	151	60.4	11	4.4	29	11.6	250	100.0
4.	Growing unemployment among the youths	226	90.4	15	6.0	6	2.4	3	1.2	250	100.0
5.	Moral decadence	192	76.8	48	19.2	-	-	10	4.0	250	100.0
6.	Farmers/Fulani herdsmen clashes	10	4.0	28	11.2	19	7.6	193	77.2	250	100.0
7.	Harsh economic environment	207	82.0	18	7.2	5	2.0	7	2.8	250	100.0
8.	Ready availability of small and light weapons	220	88.0	18	7.2	5	2.0	7	2.8	250	100.0

The aforementioned factors largely account for the state of armed banditry in the study area. The percentages refer to percentages of respondents who think that the factors in question contribute to people's involvement in armed banditry.

Table 4.2.1 above shows that, 73.6% of the respondents strongly agree that one of the causes of armed banditry is displacement due to civil wars in our neighbouring countries, while 2.8% strongly disagree. Findings from the In-depth interview with selected respondents also supported this finding. A Ward head stated that, "the bandits are not Nigerians. I was in the Police station one day when one of them confessed that the war drove them from Niger Republic and they are in Nigeria to look for food and shelter." A Police Officer also said that most of the bandits are not Nigerians, stating that, "the suspected armed bandits that have been variously arrested turned out to be non-Nigerians

who speak French, Hausa and Fulfulde and have had some form of military training”. The leader of a vigilante group spoke in the same vein saying that, “they are mostly from Chad and Niger. Some of them even have military uniforms though not complete”. These seem to confirm the speculation that acts of armed banditry are being committed by persons who have been displaced as a result of the wars and internal strife in Nigeria’s neighbouring countries such as Niger, Chad and in some cases, the political tension between Northern and Southern Cameroon. Though the researcher saw some displaced persons from the neighboring countries and inquired why they come to Nigeria, these displaced persons only indicated that they are in Nigeria in search of food. This suggests that effort towards controlling the influx of people through Nigeria’s numerous border routes have not been very effective.

Table 4.2.1 shows that 53.2% of the respondents disagree that displacement due to natural disasters such as drought could lead to incidents of armed banditry while 6.8% strongly agreed. The In-depth interview also indicated that most of the respondents strongly disagreed. According to a Ward Head, “when there was drought and flood in Nigeria and in some of our neighbouring countries, the major problem we had was that of frequent clashes between Fulani herdsmen and farmers”. When asked of the reason, he stated that, “the Fulani herdsmen usually drive their cattle into people’s farms, and this result into clashes.” A Police Officer on his part retorted, saying, “what is the relationship between natural disasters such as drought and floods, with somebody carrying a gun, attacking people and collecting their money?” He went on to explain that, “it was simply the issue of someone who is no more fighting a battle in his own country, cannot be absorbed into any other job because he is a rebel, he has a gun and has to survive”. A Ward head however sees it differently as he said that such persons that have been displaced, “collaborate with

their brothers who have been displaced due to civil wars and have weapons such as guns, to do armed banditry because they know the terrain very well and also know when to attack people. So we can say they are also a cause of armed banditry.” This goes to suggest that we cannot totally disregard the contribution of natural disasters such as drought and floods to the growing incidents of armed banditry in the border communities of Adamawa State.

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

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

An official of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) had this to say,

You too know it is true. What do you expect when most youths today have no jobs, no capital and in their areas, no light, no water, no schools, no good roads, and only the politicians are busy sharing local government money which is people’s money? You expect them to just stay aside, watch and keep quiet? Government should better do something.”

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

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

The researcher noted that the border communities of Adamawa State, especially Toungo, Maiha and Fufore lack basic amenities like portable water, electricity, good roads, schools and hospitals. Government presence is very negligible, except for the presence of unmotivated and ill-equipped law enforcement agents. Electric power is erratic, while the schools are in a state of neglect. Chung *et al* (2011) asked the condition of electricity and water from three of the residents of Kogin Baba, one of the border communities in Adamawa state and this elicited laughter and mirth of surprise. One of the residents was reported to have said, ‘who dash monkey banana? If we want to see electricity or electric poles, we often go to our neighboring communities, Ganye or neighboring Cameroon to do so’. It is to be noted also that, while lack of basic amenities in the rural border communities may be one of the causes of armed banditry especially in the rural border communities, it may not constitute a cause of armed banditry in the urban border communities.

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

that unemployment may not be a direct cause of armed banditry because an unemployed youth may not have the means to acquire a sophisticated weapon like an AK 47 with which to carry out acts of armed banditry. This therefore suggests that these youths are either recruited, sponsored and provided with the weapons, or they act as the informants of the armed bandits considering the desire by the youths to make fast and easy money. In the course of the study, the researcher observed that there is virtually no employment generating facility in the border communities. Even where the youths choose to be self-employed, lack of electricity is a major setback. One of such youth stated that, "I have an OND Certificate but no job, so I decided to become a barber. But as you can see, I have to use this generator because we have no light and the cost of fuel here is high."

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

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

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

Is this what these youths should be doing? In those days, can they try this? After smoking, they can do terrible things including even the armed banditry you are talking about because as you see them now, they have no sense and cannot even listen to their own father. Do you know that even some policemen are their friends and they smoke this thing together? So you can see for yourself.

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

Table 4.2.1 shows that, 77.2% of the respondents disagreed that Farmers and Fulani herdsmen clashes is a cause of armed banditry in these border communities while 4% strongly agreed. The in-depth interview also indicated that Farmers and Fulani herdsmen clashes are not a cause of armed banditry in the border communities. When asked if Farmers and Fulani herdsmen clashes could lead to acts of armed banditry in the region, an opinion leader simply said, “no, it is not true.” When further asked, he said that “Farmers/Fulani herdsmen clashes are usually when the herdsmen drive their cattle into farms.” A Ward head said that, “clashes between Farmers and Fulani herdsmen have drastically reduced. We have not experienced such for over five years now.” A Police Officer in Toungo also stated that, “though we occasionally have such clashes, it cannot be said to be a cause of armed banditry as experienced here.” The suggestion here is that, Farmers/Fulani herdsmen clashes should be seen as a phenomenon of its own with its causes and effects and, may not necessarily lead to attacking people on the highways and collecting their money and valuables.

Table 4.2.1 shows that, 82.8% strongly agree that the harsh economic environment is a major cause of armed banditry in these border communities while 2.8% strongly disagree. The in-depth interview also supported this opinion. This is evident from

the response of A Police Officer who said, “of course, the harsh economic environment, coupled with unemployment and rising inflation all come together to encourage criminal acts such as armed banditry.” The leader of a vigilante group, in emphasizing the harsh economic situation said, “I don’t know if you are aware of the high cost of living? It can definitely lead to acts of armed banditry” while a Ward Head said, “the harsh economic environment is really bad.” He went on to explain that he had to do odd jobs to be able to cater for his family. This seems to suggest that, with adequate poverty reduction initiatives and a change in the rising cost of living, incidents of armed banditry are likely to be reduced to a manageable level, if not totally eliminated.

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

4.3 OTHER CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS TO ARMED BANDITRY

Apart from the suggested causes of armed banditry by the researcher in the survey questionnaire, other contributory factors such as the hill and forests, the bad roads that make it difficult to patrol the borders, poor immigration control and sheer wickedness are other causes of armed banditry.

Table 4.3.1 indicates what other factors the respondents thought could have contributed to the growing incidents of armed banditry in the border communities.

TABLE 4.3.1: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF OTHER CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS

Other causes	Frequency	Percent
The hills and forests	125	50.0
Bad roads that make it difficult to patrol the borders	29	11.6
Poor control of immigrants from neighbouring countries	90	36.0
Wickedness	6	2.4
Total	250	100.0

Table 4.3.1 shows that 50% of the respondents attributed other causes of armed banditry to the forests and hills that serve as hideout for the bandits while, 2.4% attributed it to sheer wickedness by the armed bandits. This was also supported by the responses from the in-depth interview. An informant and opinion leader had this to say, "because of the type of hills and forests, security agents cannot patrol the borders." He went on to explain that sometimes they come across the bandits after they have attacked people and are escaping into the bush but cannot do anything. A Police Officer on his part said, "the hills and forests greatly contribute to the incidents of armed banditry." He further explained that such terrain gives cover to the armed bandits while slowing down Police operation to trace and arrest them. An official of the National Union of Road Transport Workers was

emphatic saying, “honestly speaking, the hills and forest are a great problem to us.” He explained further that the armed bandits usually attack his members (drivers) at locations where there are sharp bends, hills, forests and where visibility is poor. This goes to suggest that controlling acts of banditry within such a terrain will require quite a lot of resources in terms of vegetation control, increase in security manpower, and use of equipment necessary for successful operations such as aerial surveillance of the border communities. The researcher also observed during the research that the terrain is full of undulating hills and forests that could serve as hideout for the bandits. Apart from the numerous routes used mostly by pedestrians and motorcyclist, it would be very difficult for a stranger to navigate through those hills and forests. Security patrols along these routes were negligible. The researcher had to make use of motorcyclists to reach some of the communities such as Kogin Baba, Batal and Kiri as very few vehicles ply these routes.

4.4 THE NATURE OF ARMED BANDITRY

In considering the nature of armed banditry in the border communities, the researcher focused on the bandits’ mode of operation in terms of the use of weapons, whether the bandits are usually violent and if the bandits usually kill their victims.

Police records indicated that the armed bandits use sophisticated weapons. This was also corroborated by the in-depth interviewees. The leader of a Vigilante group said, “they use sophisticated weapons. Some don’t have such but carry cutlasses. But others carry such guns used by the security agents. The type used by the army.” A teacher and victim of armed banditry said that, “they must have been trained from how they carried and held their guns, how they were ordering us, the boots they were wearing. Some were even wearing military uniforms and they were not wearing masks.” A Police Officer said that, “from the

various operations carried out, arrests made, and the weapons recovered, the weapons were assorted and made up of sophisticated guns as AK47, Barreta pistols, local pistols, dane guns, bows and arrows, cutlasses and clubs. The sophisticated weapons were mostly traced to our neighbouring countries.” The Police Officer suggested that the possession and use of sophisticated weapons such as being used by security agents seem to confirm that the bandits must have received some form of training in the operation of these weapons. Such weapons he observed are used by the armed bandits to intimidate victims and also for defense in case of being challenged by security agents. The researcher was allowed to see some of the recovered weapons but was not told the quantity of the weapons which according to the police officer, was due to security reasons. The weapons however included military type weapons, local and modern pistols, knives, bows and arrows, charms and amulets. The consequences of such uncontrolled use of sophisticated weapons are that, it could lead to increased militarization of the society and possible rise in violent crimes.

The in-depth interview indicated that the armed bandits are usually violent. A victim of armed banditry simply said, “they were violent.” When asked to explain further, he said that the armed bandits even went to the extent of smashing vehicle glasses, kicking and hitting people with the butt of their guns. Another victim of armed banditry who is a teacher said, “the bandits were violent.” He further explained that even the countenance of the armed bandits will tell you that they are very serious with their threats. They were always screaming on us. They never smiled in anyway”. An opinion leader also said that, “the armed bandits are usually very violent especially when they think that their victims are wasting their time.” A trader also said that, “the armed bandits were very violent and were just shouting on everybody.” There seems to be a general agreement that the armed bandits

are usually violent and goes to suggest that the armed bandits use this as tactics to instill fear, overwhelm and subdue their victims.

On whether the armed bandits usually kill their victims, the in-depth interview revealed that they don't usually kill their victims except where the victims do not cooperate with them. A trader and victim of armed banditry said, "they did not kill anybody. They only injured some people who were not obeying them quickly. But the way I saw them, they can kill if you don't do what they say" while a teacher and victim of armed banditry in said, "they screamed on us, they really screamed and shouted on us, but they did not kill anyone." He went further to explain that a vehicle arrived, had to suddenly apply his breaks, ran into the bush and had a number of passengers injured but no deaths. When interviewed, an opinion leader responded saying, "they attack their victims always not with the aim of killing but to get money." The Chairman of a Local Government Area also said that within one week, ten lives were lost as a result of criminal activities by armed bandits who were suspected to have sneaked into Nigeria, and into Miah town from neighbouring Cameroon Republic (Onah, 2010). The implication here is that the armed bandits sometimes kill their victims. It is also suggested that, once a victim surrenders all his money and valuables to the armed bandits, the possibility of being killed is low. It is refusal to obey and carry out the instructions of the bandits that lead to injury or even death.

4.5 THE PATTERN OF ARMED BANDITRY

The pattern of armed banditry in the border communities was presented in terms of when the armed bandits carry out their attacks, where such attacks are carried out, what the armed bandits take away from their victims, how the armed bandits escape after the attacks and where the armed bandits escape to after such attacks. The presentation

and interpretation are based on the information provided by identified victims of armed banditry, key informants and prominent indigenes of the area.

Most of the informants indicated that the bandits usually attack haphazardly. A victim of armed banditry said that, “our attack was as early as 6am as I took off to Kaduna and was attacked between Garkida and Biu.” When further asked, he said that the bandits do not only attack in the morning but also in the afternoon, evening and even late in the night. An opinion leader said that, “they attack their victims on the highways during the evenings.” Another victim of armed banditry said, “they attack at random.” A Ward head on his part stated that, “they attack and collect people’s money mostly on market days. There is therefore, no general agreement as to when the armed bandits usually operate. This goes to suggest that the armed bandits do not have specific days of the week, period or time of the day in which they operate. The armed bandits could be said to use what may be termed as the “element of surprise.” That is, they do not operate when they are aware that people would expect them to attack. It could therefore be safe to say the armed bandits operate haphazardly and may have understudied and known when they could attack and get their target. Such information could also have been given to them by collaborators who may be living among or around the community. The Chairman of a Local Government stated that intelligence report at the Council’s disposal indicated that the armed bandits had informants living within the community (Onah, 2010).

The in-depth interview also indicated that the bandits usually attack people on the highways. Asked where he was attacked, a teacher and victim of armed banditry said, “it was on the highway.” Another victim of armed banditry also said that it was, “on the highway.” A Police Officer had this to say, “most of the report we received were those of the armed bandits attacking travelers on the highways that link the various parts of

Adamawa State. There are however isolated cases of attacks on villages.”There is a general agreement that the armed bandits attack people on the highways, while only a negligible number said the bandits attack homes, carry out livestock raids and also attack business premises. This finding suggests that the bandits prefer to operate and attack people on the highways after considering the possibilities of getting their targets and also the possibility of escaping without being traced, caught or arrested by members of the community or by security agents. However, it is also possible that the bandits will attack people in their homes so as to survive when opportunities for attacks on the highways are not feasible.

To find out what the victims are usually dispossessed of, how the armed bandits usually escape and where they escape to, the researcher relied on the response of the victims and police reports. A victim of armed banditry said that, “they collected my money, about ₦30,000.00 and materials. They broke my wife’s box and went away with her bag. My child’s dresses were also taken away.” Another victim of armed banditry said, “they collected our money and collected handsets from those that have handsets. They even collected bread from travellers that bought bread and intended to take them to their families.”A Police Officer said, “from the reports we received, the victims were dispossessed mainly of money and in some cases valuable materials.Of the ten (10) identified victims of armed banditry that reported to the police, four (4) of the victims stated that the armed bandits made away with their money while the other six (6) reported that they made away with their money, handsets and handbags containing necklaces, and other valuables. This goes to suggest that, the likely victims of armed banditry are people who travel with much money and valuable materials that could easily be disposed for money or used by the bandits since the major target of the armed bandits is money.

On how the bandits usually escape, the in-depth interview revealed that the armed bandits usually escape on foot. A Ward head said that, “the bandits don’t like using the highway to escape because they can easily be traced. They escape on foot into the thick forest and hide in the mountains. As you can see, this area is full of hills and mountains.” A Vigilante leader said that, “they escape on foot into the bush and the police cannot follow them because they don’t know the roads into the hills and forest, but we know. So sometimes we pursue them into the hills.” A victim of armed banditry stated that, “they escaped on foot.” A Police Officer on his part said that, “the armed bandits hardly use motorised vehicles, because if they do, it would have been easy to trace and locate them.” These seem to suggest that since the bandits usually roam from one place to the other and live in the bushes, forests and hills, the easiest way is to escape on foot to avoid detection by law enforcement agents.

Regarding where the armed bandits usually escape to, the in-depth interview revealed that the bandits escape into the surrounding forests and hills. A Vigilante leader while trying to emphasize the effect of the hills and forests, said, “I told you that they escape into the bushes and hills you see around us.” A Police Officer said that, “they escape into the forests and mountains. They know the terrain so well that it is usually difficult to track them down. You can only succeed fully if you use helicopters to trail them. We are having serious challenges trying to curb this problem especially due to lack of operational equipment.” An official of the National Union of Road Transport Workers also said, “the bandits operate in areas with poor visibility. Immediately they are through with their operation, they escape into the hills and forests. And that is why it is difficult to stop this issue of armed banditry.” The findings seem to suggest that since the armed bandits use the

hills and forest as their hide outs while attacking people on the highways, the only place to escape to, is back into the hills and forests.

The study also found out that the local name for armed banditry in the study area is “*Kwanta-Kwanta*” meaning Lie down, Lie down in Hausa language. Most informants during the in-depth interview also said they refer to the armed bandits as “*Kwanta-Kwanta*.” A Ward head noted that, “there are various local names for armed bandits according to our various ethnic groups, but they are generally referred to as, ‘*Kwanta-Kwanta*’.” A prominent indigene said that, “the local name is, ‘*Kwanta-Kwanta*’.” A Ward head simply said, “we refer to them as, ‘*Kwanta-Kwanta*’.” From the findings, it is generally agreed that the local name of the armed bandits is “*Kwanta-Kwanta*” with some respondents saying they are known as “*Udawa*” which refers to Fulani herdsmen from Niger Republic who have been accused of occasionally engaging in acts of armed banditry in Borno State. This goes to suggest that, although the general local name used to refer to the armed bandits is “*Kwanta-Kwanta*”, the various ethnic groups within the border communities have their own local names with which they refer to the armed bandits. The implication is that the armed bandits have established their presence in the border communities.

Armed banditry also changed from attacking people on bush paths to attacking people on the highways with sophisticated weapons and increasing violence. In-depth interviews also confirmed this, as evident from the statement of a leader of a Vigilante group who said that,

We are just experiencing this kind of banditry now. Years ago, bandits attack people on bush paths but today they attack on the highways, sometimes they even attack our homes and the authorities are just watching. It is we, the vigilante that have been trying to control this problem.

A prominent indigene stated that,

they usually attack people, before along bush paths with clubs or bows and arrows but the weapons are more sophisticated today. Armed banditry is more rampant now than 25 years ago. The sophisticated weapons they use today are from soldiers that fought civil wars in Chad and Niger.

A Vigilante leader said,

In those days it was fair, but today it is terrible. Attacks used to be on bush paths or stealing of cattle. In those days when the bandits see people, they themselves are afraid, but today, they are not afraid. It is only when they see us (vigilante) that they are afraid. The armed bandits now attack in broad day light even on the highways.

This goes to suggest that there is growing sophistication in the crime of armed banditry from cattle rustling and attacking people on bush paths with clubs, bows and arrows, to attacking people on public highways even in broad daylight, with sophisticated weapons.

4.6 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTE OF THE IDENTIFIED BANDITS

The socio-demographic attributes of interest to this study include age, sex, estimated number of bandits that operate in a group and the languages that the bandits speak. These were obtained through in-depth interview because responses from the survey were mostly hearsay.

The in-depth interview indicated that the ages of the bandits range between 25 and 45 years. According to a victim of armed banditry, “they are all over 20 years, but there is one old man of about 60 years wearing a turban, sitting on a rock and was busy reciting some verses with the aim of ensuring that no charm works during the attack.” A victim of armed banditry said, “they are youths of over 26 years.” However, a Police Officer stated that, “the armed bandits are usually between the ages of 25 and 45 years” noting that, “they

are mostly former combatants from neighbouring Chad or Niger who infiltrate this country through our porous borders.”Generally, it was indicated that the armed bandits were above 20 years and below 50 years. This finding seems to suggest that, at that age, the armed bandits are agile, adventurous and fit to engage in activities that require a lot of energy, tact and agility.

On the sex of the armed bandits, the in-depth interview indicated that the bandits are usually all males. A victim of armed banditry observed that the armed bandits “are purely males, no females.” Another victim of armed banditry also stated that, “all are males, no females.” A prominent indigene, in the same vein said that the armed bandits are, “always young men.” A Vigilante leader also stated that, “they are all males.” A Police Officer however revealed that, “the bandits are usually all males with isolated involvement of females who are mostly Nigerians that collaborate with the bandits to carry out these cross-border raids. Such collaborators were in most cases informants.” This suggests that females are usually not involved directly in robbing victims. It must be noted however that, females are now fully engaged in combats where wars are fought and are also likely to be fully involved in acts of armed banditry using sophisticated weapons.

As regards the estimated number of bandits that operate in a group, respondents during the in-depth interview revealed that they may number between 10 and 25 bandits. A victim of armed banditry stated that, “they are many. They will be up to 20 or more.” A Vigilante leader on the other hand said that, “they are usually in large numbers. Mostly, they are between 10 and above.” According to a trader who was attacked on his way to Michika from Maiduguri, “I couldn’t count the number of bandits due to fear, but they were more than 10 of them”. A Police Officer observed that the bandits are not an organized group so we cannot be definite as to their number stating that, “from our reports we do not have a

definite number. However, on the average, they operate in groups of between 10 and 25 bandits.” The finding suggests that there was no general consensus as to the number of bandits that usually operate and that the victims may not have been able to count the number of armed bandits due to the fact that they were always asked to lie face down and also due to fear. The bandits may also operate in large numbers so as to overwhelm their victims and resist any attempt to deter them by both security agents and the vigilante.

Considering the languages spoken by the armed bandits, the in-depth interview revealed that the bandits usually speak Nigerian languages such as Hausa and Fulfulde. A trader said that, “among themselves, they were speaking Fulfulde, that is, Fulani language so that we may not know what they are saying to themselves.” According to a victim of armed banditry, “they look like Fulani. They were speaking to us in Hausa and discussing among themselves in Fulani.” An opinion leader said that, “mostly, they speak French or Fulfulde which suggest that they are from Cameroon or Chad.” A victim of armed banditry on his part said that, “when we were attacked, the bandits spoke Fulfulde language. And you can have Fulfulde speaking people from our neighbouring countries and also Nigeria.” Fulfulde, Hausa and French are spoken by some residents of the border communities on both sides of the divide giving room for speculations that most of the armed bandits must have been former fighters from our then war torn neighbouring countries with Nigerian collaborators. While Fulfulde and Hausa could be seen as other Nigerian languages, French is a foreign language.

Police records indicated that, of the thirty-two (32) suspected armed bandits, two (2) were between the ages of 18 and 25 while twelve (12) were between the ages of 26 and 35 years, seventeen (17) were between the ages of 36 and 45 years, while one (1) was between 45 and 55 years. Twenty-nine (29) of the suspected bandits were males while three (3) were

females. Twenty-seven (27) of the suspected armed bandits were foreign nationals while five (5) were Nigerians, one (1) of which was a female. One of the female suspected armed bandits was a mistress to one of the armed bandits while the other two (2) female suspects were collaborators, mostly engaged in either cooking food for the male bandits or collecting and providing information from the surrounding communities for them. The female mistress was 31 years old while the other two (2) female foreigners were 22 and 24 years respectively. The female suspected armed bandit, a Nigerian was 22 years old. The arrested Nigerians belonged to the same band with the foreigners. Several efforts to get access and interview the arrested detained suspects in Yola and Mubi prisons were unsuccessful due to what the authorities said were “for security reason”.

The researcher tried to find out from the relevant authorities why the number of arrested armed bandits was low and was informed that it was because most armed bandits escaped into the hills and forests, some were killed during exchange of fire with the police or by joint patrol teams, and that only the injured are usually apprehended. The erstwhile Adamawa State Police commissioner stated that in one of such encounters with armed bandits that were terrorizing people along Gombi/Garkida road, four of such armed bandits were killed in an exchange of fire between the armed bandits and members of a special squad raised to check the menace of armed banditry (AllAfrica.Com, 2009).

The socio-demographic profile of the armed bandits as presented by the identified victims of armed banditry indicated that the armed bandits were between the ages of 20 and 45 years, operated in groups of between 10 and 25 males and speak the Fulfulde and Hausa languages with non-Nigerian accents.

4.7 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF IDENTIFIED VICTIMS OF ARMED BANDITRY

Police records on the socio-demographic attributes of ten (10) identified victims of armed banditry indicated nine (9) are males and one (1) female. Of the nine males, two (2) were between the ages of 25 and 30 years, three (3) were between the ages of 35 and 45 years, three (3) were between the ages of 45 and 50 years of age, while two (2) were above 50 years. Eight(8) of the males are married while the other is single.

One (1) of the identified victims is a pensioner, three (3) are traders while Six (6) are civil servants. The female victim is a Nurse, single, 32years old. She reported to the police because the armed bandits took away her bag which included her license to practice, and her international passport. The Nurse was travelling home to bid farewell to her parents before travelling abroad when she was attacked between Madagali and Michika. The female victim could have been interviewed but she had left the country to take up a job abroad.

According to a police officer,

You need to see how that woman was crying. We pitied her but there was nothing we could do. We gave her a police report and asked her to go to the court and get a court affidavit, and submit another request for passport to the immigration. Let me tell you, the bandits are becoming something else.

The known victim of armed banditry gotten from a report to a Ward Head is a male of above 50 years of age, a widower and a pensioner who said that he has no time to waste reporting anything to the police when they will not do anything about it.

During the in-depth interview, the victims said that the armed bandits usually blocked the highways with large stones and logs of wood to stop on-coming vehicles which they immediately surround, order the occupants out and conduct a thorough search for

money and valuables. When a victim resists or disobeys their instructions, the victim is mercilessly beaten or even shot dead. They further said that the armed bandits are usually fierce looking, violent and operated with sophisticated guns. According to the victims, they suffered psychological trauma and lost money and valuables. Even women were kicked and beaten while the little children kept crying. No law enforcement agent came to their rescue until the armed bandits finally escaped into the bushes.

In view of the various accounts of the operation of the armed bandits, it is suggested that the best thing to do in the event of falling a victim of armed banditry is to surrender any money or material such as handsets, bangles, necklaces, ear-rings or other items that may be of interest to the armed bandits. This is because, in the bandits' frustration, they could turn very violent as to even kill.

4.8 IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY

The impact of armed banditry on residents, victims and relatives of victims are numerous and are both physical and psychological. Some of the impact that are being considered are, disruption of farming activities, disruption of commercial activities, psychological trauma suffered by residents, victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry, negative impact on the delivery of basic amenities and the disruption of social activities. The presentation and interpretation of the generated data generated from the survey were complemented by the response from key informants, prominent indigenes of the area and identified victims of armed banditry.

Armed banditry has varying impact on victims, relatives of victims and residents of border communities of Adamawa State. Table 4.8.1 presents the perception of respondents on the impact of armed banditry on farming and commercial activities, delivery and supply

of basic amenities, social activities and the psychological effects on victims and relatives of victims among others.

TABLE 4.8.1: RESPONDENTS’ PERCEPTION OF THE IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY

S/N	IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY	Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1.	Disruption of farming activities	9	3.6	27	10.8	62	24.8	152	60.8	250	100.0
2.	Disruption of commercial activities	198	79.2	44	17.6	-	-	8	3.2	250	100.0
3.	Psychological trauma suffered by residents, victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry.	212	84.8	25	10.0	9	3.6	4	1.6	250	100.0
4.	Negative impact on supply/delivery of basic amenities	74	29.6	129	51.6	13	5.2	34	13.6	250	100.0
5.	Disruption of social activities eg festivals, school attendance etc	159	63.6	38	15.2	10	4.0	43	17.2	250	100.0

Table 4.8.1 shows that, 60.8% of the respondents disagree that armed banditry disrupts farming activities while 3.6% strongly agree. This was also confirmed during the in-depth interview. A Ward head said,

To an extent, incidents of armed banditry affect us farmers because we are afraid to stay long on the farms. Sometimes, the bandits even attack and rape our women, as such very few are allowed to farm far away from the villages.

A Police Officer said that,

Armed banditry does not have a significant negative impact on farming activities especially as it affects subsistence farmers. We can say it has an impact on commercial farmers who will be afraid of selling their produce, getting large amounts of money, and being targeted by the bandits.”

When asked about reports of armed bandits raping women on their farms, he stated that, “from investigations it was not armed bandits but Fulani herdsmen.” An opinion leader

simply said that, “people go about their farm work. The armed bandits need money and valuables that can easily fetch them money not food crops.”The Presidential Committee on the Security Challenges in the North-East Zone of Nigeria notes that the incessant incursion into Nigeria, by armed bandits from Nigeria’s neighbouring countries, have serious implications on the security of the country. The Committee explained that the development accounts for the increasing menace of armed banditry in the states of the North-East geopolitical zone, leading to reduced farming, commercial and social activities, as well as wanton killing of Nigerians by the marauders (Enyiocha, 2012). This goes to suggest that while acts of armed banditry may have an impact on commercial cropping activities that attracts much money in which the armed bandits are more interested, such impact may not necessarily be applicable to the farmers in the border communities who are mostly subsistence farmers.

Table 4.8.1 shows that, 79.2% of the respondents strongly agreed that armed banditry disrupt commercial activities while 3.2% disagreed. The in-depth interview also supported this finding with most respondents agreeing that incidents of armed banditry disrupt economic activities. An opinion leader stated that armed banditry disrupts economic activities because residents and businessmen “cannot move freely with what they have. Even going to the market to buy and sell, or when you sell your property or provision, coming back to your house with money, you are afraid of armed bandits, or going with money to buy something, you are afraid of armed bandits.” A Vigilante leader said, “when you have money, you are afraid to travel. That is why even commercial, business and market activities have reduced because if you have some money to conduct your business and it is taken away and you have no other capital, then that is the end of your business. A victim of armed banditry said that armed banditry disrupts economic activities because,

“whenever I travel, am afraid to carry valuables which can be taken away from me, the way they took away my money during the attack.” This suggests that there is disruption and fall in economic activities due to fear of insecurity by travelers and service providers who do business in the border communities. Such fears could be that of injury, death or loss of valuables and money. Besides the security problems plaguing the communities of Kogin Baba, Kiri and Batal communities in Toungo Local Government Area, people dare not count money in the open for fear of being waylaid on the way home (Chung *et al*, 2011).

Table 4.8.1 shows that, 84.8% of the respondents strongly agreed that residents, victims and relative of victims suffer psychological trauma as a result of such incidents of armed banditry. Most in-depth interviewees also confirmed this finding. A victim of armed banditry expressed how his relatives and those of other victims felt when they were attacked and said, “they were really afraid.” He further stated that,

One of the victims tried to bring out his charms to throw away but was told by the bandits to put it back because it will not work in this situation, but might be useful to him later. The victim was told to look at the old man sitting with a turban on his head and was busy reciting verses with a rosary in his hands, and that no charms will work in that period if you have any charms.

A civil servant and victim of armed banditry, stated that,

Any time I have to travel, my three year old son starts weeping and telling me that those people will attack me again, and that I must not go. You can imagine how such a little boy feels about such ugly incidents.

An official of the National Union of Road Transport Workers on his part said,

Our drivers are always afraid whenever they take off with passengers. You sometimes see the driver praying for safe trip before driving off. You also see the passengers praying both Christian and Moslem prayers. My brother, it has reached that.

This implies that the impact of armed banditry in terms of psychological trauma is not experienced by victims, relatives of victims and residents of border communities alone, but by travellers and drivers that ply the various routes that link up other part of the state and the border communities. From the way in which the victims narrated their experiences in the hands of the armed bandits, it was observed that the victims were visibly shaken by their experiences and expressed disgust with the way the government is handling issues of security in the border communities.

Table 4.8.1 shows that, 51.6% of the respondents agree that there is negative impact on supply and delivery of basic amenities due to the incidents of armed banditry while 5.2% strongly disagree. Most respondents during the in-depth interview agreed that there is negative impact on supply and delivery of basic amenities due to incidents of armed banditry. A Police Officer observed that,

The bad road coupled with the increasing incidents of armed banditry in this area discourages any investment or provision of basic amenities. The fear of being attacked and possible injury or even death can scare contractors and their staff from accepting to work in such a terrain.

A Ward headon his part disagreed saying,

What is it that government cannot do? If they travel to this area with security all over them, they can also provide security to escort anything they want to put or make here. I am telling you, except they don't want to do so. What are you talking about?"

An opinion leader said,

How will you expect strangers coming here to work, to risk their lives. If government is serious towards providing basic amenities, they must first provide security otherwise, even when people come to work and they are attacked, they will all leave."

One of the residents of a border community stated that after grading the roads and putting their signboards, contractors usually abandon work midway such that the roads are in shambles and pregnant women and the sick commute several kilometers to seek medical attention. The residents were said to have stressed that if it were in their powers, they would prefer to belong in Cameroon (Chung *et al*, 2011). Although the action of the contractors may be due to other reasons such as finance, politics or other factors, armed banditry may have possibly been a contributory factor. The finding suggests that the feeling of insecurity hinders business transactions.

Table 4.8.1 shows that, 63.6% strongly agree that armed banditry disrupt social activities such as festivals and school attendance. The in-depth interview is also in tandem with the finding. According to a Ward head,

In the past social activities were organized long into the night and people leave for their homes any time they wish and reach safely but today, you hardly find such social activities lasting as late as 7pm. Most people would have left. I'm telling you, most of our traditional festivals have been reorganized to last during the day. You hardly have social activities going into the night.

A Ward head replied saying,

Just as you see people leaving markets early, it is the same way you see people attending social events and leaving early. There is no security as it was in our days when we can go to neighbouring villages and return when we like. Times have changed. People have reduced the number of times they travel now. It is only when it is absolutely necessary.

An opinion leader stated that,

Most social activities are restricted to the various villages, not like it used to be. When you have to visit relations or attend activities in other villages, you go early and come back in time. Do you know that even some teachers that are posted to some villages don't go to such schools? When you pass such schools you only see the school children playing in the sand.

This goes to suggest that, the negative effect of armed banditry on the social life of the people could lead to the disappearance of a number of social and cultural institutions which might have a socializing effect on the community members.

4.9 PREVENTIVE MEASURES BY COMMUNITY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENTS AGAINST ARMED BANDITRY.

Various preventive measures may be adopted by respondents and informants against incidents of armed banditry either based on their experiences or the fear of being a victim. Such measures include the setting up of vigilante groups and control of movements among others. Table 4.9.1 presents the levels to which some of the preventive measures were adopted by respondents against armed banditry.

TABLE 4.9.1: BORDER COMMUNITIES’ PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST ARMED BANDITRY

Control measures	Frequency	Percent
Control of movement	121	48.4
Setting Vigilante	40	16.0
Carry of charms	15	6.0
Travel with less money or valuables	65	26.0
Leave everything to God	9	3.6
Total	250	100.0

Table 4.9.1 shows that, 48% of the respondents controlled their movements in a bid to reduce the risk of being victims of armed banditry while 3.6% left everything to God. The in-depth interview is in accord with this finding. A victim of armed banditry stated that, “we had to curtail our movements.” A victim of armed banditry stated that, “I decided to stop travelling in the early morning hours. That is the measure I took. I don’t travel in the very early mornings as I used to do before.” A trader said, “I try as much as possible to

travel only when it is necessary. I travel only when I need to stock my shop, and I now only use my ATM card to travel.”There seems to be no general consensus as to the measures put in place by individuals and communities. Most individuals decide to curtail their travels while some prefer to travel with less money or valuables. During the trips to Toungo and Maiha for instance, the researcher noticed that only few vehicles plied these roads. One could drive for as long as 10 and 20 minutes before coming across a vehicle, especially between Ganye and Toungo. Vigilante groups armed with dane guns, bows and arrows were also sighted at various points as measures towards controlling acts of armed banditry.

The perception of the effectiveness of preventive measures adopted by respondents against armed banditry is relative. Table 4.9.2 presents how the respondents perceive the effectiveness of controlling one’s movement as a preventive measure against armed banditry.

TABLE 4.9.2: RESPONDENTS PERCEPTION ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PREVENTIVE MEASURES

Effectiveness of control measures	Frequency	Percent
Very effective	88	35.2
Fairly effective	110	44.0
Not effective	52	20.8
Total	250	100.0

Table 4.9.2 shows that, 44% of the respondents said that the measures they adopted were fairly effective while 20.8% said the measures were not effective. During the in-depth interview most of the informants agreed that the measures they adopted were fairly effective. A victim of armed banditry who decided to control his trips said, “yes, very effective, because I have not met them again. God has been protecting me from

them.”Another victim of armed banditry who stopped travelling with much money as a measure and safeguard against the armed bandits said, “it was very effective but it also has negative impact.”A trader also stated, “the measures were effective.”An opinion leader stated that, “the vigilantes are very effective and they should be encouraged in terms of payment. Their number should also be increased because we have too few policemen.”It was therefore generally agreed that the measures put in place by individuals and the communities towards controlling acts of armed banditry were effective.However, a few of the respondents disagreed that the measures were effective. It is to be noted that, the measures put in place by individuals and members of the community depends on the nature and experiences which the individual or members of the community had during such attacks. For instance, the experience of the victim who had charms on him and yet the charms could not save him from attacks by the armed bandits. Such a victim may have to reassess and put in place new measures.

4.10 PREVENTIVE MEASURES BY GOVERNMENT LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AGAINST ARMED BANDITRY.

Police officers, leaders of the vigilante groups and officials of the National Union of Road Transport Workers were interviewed on the type of measure that were put in place by government law enforcement agencies which turned out to include among others setting up of check points, carrying out of joint patrols of the highways, establishing intelligence gathering apparatus and carrying out border patrols.

A Police Officer stated that,

The Law enforcement agencies after a critical assessment of the situation came up with strategies aimed at controlling the problem of armed banditry in the region. Some measures are the setting up of road check

point and joint military and police patrols. Occasionally too, we make use of the local vigilante groups in our operations.

The leader of a Vigilante group stated that,

We have told the security men so many times that the bandits are usually in the forest and mountains so they should come along with us to face the bandits but they are always afraid. They prefer to set up check points and collect money from innocent drivers.

An official of the National Union of Road Transport Workers stated that,

Instead of the government to purchase helicopters to patrol the highways in the border communities, they prefer to waste money on the setting up of joint patrol and check points which they use to harass our members and extort money from the law abiding drivers.

It was generally agreed that the major effort by government law enforcement agencies were those of setting up of road check points and the establishment of joint military/police patrol of the highways. Less was done in the areas of intelligence gathering and patrolling of our borders. During the course of the study, the researcher noticed that the patrol teams were stationed at strategic spots where armed banditry has been taking place, with some men checking motorists and asking for vehicle particulars, while the others are seated beside their tents. This implies that the measures put in place by government law enforcement agent were not holistic in nature. The measures mostly took the form of a military operation, against armed bandits operating a guerilla style of, attacking and disappearing into the bushes and occasionally changing their points of attacks.

The perception of respondents on the effectiveness of preventive measures adopted by government law enforcement agents and the perception of the law enforcement agents are not expected to be the same since the law enforcement agents would not condemn

themselves. Table 4.10.1 presents the perception of respondents on how effective the preventive measures have been.

TABLE 4.10.1: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT PREVENTIVE MEASURES

How effective	Frequency	Percent
Very effective	43	17.2
Fairly effective	80	32.0
Not effective	127	50.8
Total	250	100.0

Table 4.8.4 shows that, 50.8% of the respondents said that the measures were not effective while, 17.2% said the measures were effective. An opinion leader stated that, “the measures put in place by the government security were not effective because these bandits do not use our major roads. They use the bush and mountain areas. Even when they attack, they escape on foot into the mountains and bush that you can see around us. So who will they arrest on the major roads? They should find a way of patrolling the mountains and bush.” A Police Officer said that, “the measures that we have put in place were very effective. In fact, it has drastically reduced incidents of armed banditry around the border communities of the state.” A civil servant and victim of armed banditry said, “the check points assisted in reducing the incidents of armed banditry, but there is need to intensify such patrols and check points. I must tell you that the vigilantes are more effective because they have means and charms with which they engage the armed bandits better than the police.” While most of the respondents said the measure put in place by government law enforcement agencies were not effective, a significant percentage of the respondents (49%) said the measures were effective. It is suggested here that, while the government law

enforcement agents and some respondents believed that the measures put in place were effective, most people believed that the vigilantes were more effective because they pursue the armed bandits into the hills and bushes and also use their local charms to engage the armed bandits while the government law enforcement agents only operate along the public highways. According to the head of a vigilante group,

The check points are not the answer. This people attack and run into the bush and sometimes climb into the hills. We pursue them and engage them with our Dane guns. You see, even when the Police follow us on patrol and we come across the armed bandits, they usually tell us to go first while they follow us from behind. They have better weapons but they are afraid. They tell us that we have charms and they don't have, so we should lead the fight. Can you imagine? And yet they collect so much money as salary. Sometimes ₦40,000:00, sometimes ₦50,000:00 while we are only paid ₦2,000:00 by the local government. Yet they want us to put in our best. What is ₦2,000:00? We are just doing this job for the sake of God.

Judging from the way the various patrol teams operate and the nature of the terrain, it is difficult to prevent and control acts of armed banditry in those border communities. To effectively control and prevent acts of banditry, it is necessary to involve aerial patrol to be able to monitor the movements of these bandits before, during and after their attacks.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

The causes of armed banditry in the border communities of Adamawa State were found to be linked to such factors as moral decadence, growing unemployment among youths, availability of small and light weapons, displacement due to civil wars in Nigeria's neighboring countries, and the hills and forests on the Nigeria-Cameroun border which serve as hideout to the bandits among others.

On the nature, and pattern and of armed banditry, it was found that, the armed bandits attack people on the highways, haphazardly, dispossessing people of their money, then escaping on foot into the hills and forests that are along the Nigeria-Cameroon border. The armed bandits usually attack with Military-type weapons that are more sophisticated than that of the Nigeria Police such as sub-machine guns, AK-47, and general purpose machine guns. They are usually very violent and even kill their victims if the victims do not cooperate or tries to escape. In most cases they injure their victims. It was found that armed banditry had a number of local names prominent among which is "*Kwanta-Kwanta*" which means "Lie-down, "Lie-down" in Hausa language. The name "*Kwanta-Kwanta*" is still currently used to refer to the armed bandits. Armed banditry in the region was initially in the form of attacking people on bush paths but today, the bandits attack people publicly on the highways.

The socio-demographic attributes of the bandits reveal that they are mostly males, between the ages of 18 and 35 years. There is no general consensus as to the number of members in a band, but it was estimated that the bandits operate in bands of between 10 and 25 persons, and speak some Nigerian languages such as Hausa and Fulfulde (Fulani) which are also spoken in Chad, Niger and Cameroon republics.

On the impact of armed banditry on socio-economic life of the individual victims and the community in general, it was found out that the impact were diverse and include: disruption of commercial activities, negative impact on the supply and delivery of basic amenities, psychological trauma suffered by victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry and disruption of social activities such as festivals, school attendance, and teachers avoiding schools..

On the control measures adopted by individuals and the communities, it was found out that a number of measures existed among which were the setting up of vigilante groups, travelling with less money or valuables and carrying of charms. Most people however prefer to curtail their movement which they felt was a fairly effective measure to reduce the risk of being victims of armed banditry. Most respondents indicated that the government security agencies only concentrated on setting up of check points which they felt were not effective.

5.2DISCUSSION

Displacement due to civil wars in some of Nigeria's neighbouring countries was found to be a cause of armed banditry and this agrees with Bobbo (1999:19) who noted that "the direct root of armed incursion into Nigeria could be found in the political insurgency which erupted in Chad (and later in Niger) in the previous decade and that these rebels

occasionally entered Nigeria to attack border communities to steal cattle and money in order to prosecute their insurrection against their national government.”The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (1999) also noted the growing concern in parts of Nigeria over insecurity caused by heavily armed gunmen identified as remnants of rebels from years of civil wars in Chad and by militant herdsmen said to come from Niger.

The influx of ex-combatants from Nigeria’s neighbouring war torn countries led to easy availability of small and light weapons as observed by the United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) Background Report on Banditry (1999) which notes that, “security officials had been aware in the past few years that many rebel bands from left from insurgencies in impoverished Niger and Chad were crossing into Nigeria with automatic arms.” This supports the finding that easy availability of weapons contributes greatly as a cause of armed banditry in the border communities. Mburu (1999:100) also notes that, “similar experience in Somalia has shown how banditry can be exported to another country through refugees that include regular soldiers who hide sophisticated firearms in the bush for use to rob or execute rivals.” Defending Human Rights (2005:2), notes that, “crime rates and proliferation of crime have been exacerbated by the high proliferation of small arms throughout the country. The availability of small and light arms usually results in growing violence and the militarization of the society with the active population being easily wooed into engaging in criminal acts especially where most of the active population is unemployed.” Armed banditry is therefore sustained by weapons that are steadily percolating into the area. Although economic deprivation is an essential motive to armed banditry, this requires the means of modern means of waging violence to subdue their victims.

Lack of basic amenities within border communities was considered to be a cause of armed banditry, and this agrees with Sanusi (1993:27) who said that, “there is absolute neglect of border communities in terms of socio-economic development, and that erection of infrastructural facilities is so negligible that security personnel at the borders find it difficult to carry out their duties.” He described border communities as, “so peripheralised (sic) and marginalized that they appear as ‘no man’s land’.” Hinjari (1993:164) also noted that, “the security forces deployed to the border post lack everything necessary to effectively carry out their duties, and that, successive governments have not undertaken a more comprehensive security policy to integrate those aspects that deal with our relations with our neighbors and the nature and character of the country’s borders.” Mburu (1999:100) observed that “with the total destruction of the economy, the only employment left for young men is banditry as a fleeting opportunity or under the ambit of the militia of one fiefdom or the other.” The Centre for International Cooperation and Security (2005:14) also notes that, “the youth population in Nigeria, estimated by the UN to be 25 million, which is economically, socially, and politically deprived are among the main perpetrators of armed criminality and ‘gangsterism’.”

Bobbo (1999:18) notes that,

The atrocities being committed by armed bandits against helpless Nigerian border communities could be attributed to the growing internationalization of crime, economic hardship and the wave of political instability sweeping across the African Continent. This development could create political insecurity in the sense that people recruited outside our neighbouring countries can easily use the social and cultural affinity to infiltrate and create instability within the country. This is even significant because the country is developing and nursing its democracy.

Being the most marginalised zones in the county, border communities have the characteristics of having the least levels of economic, transport and social connectivity with other parts of the country. This creates unequal development between the border and the interior. It may however be argued that, heavy financial cost of combating armed banditry means that the share of government expenditure going to the security sector will rise and public provision of social services will fall, creating a situation whereby there may be a continued neglect of the border communities. It could also be argued that, the prevalence of unemployment as a risk factor in crime and in particular armed banditry lies mainly in the fact that under normal circumstances, unemployment has a disruptive influence on the individual's personality. Armed banditry could therefore be said to be a consequence of deep feeling of anger and resentment associated with perceptions of inequality, marginalization and deprivation resulting to deterioration in the quality of life and in the incapacity to provide material well-being.

Moral decadence was found to be another cause of armed banditry and is in line with *Defending Human Rights* (2005:2) which observed that, "rising poverty, high unemployment and the breakdown of traditional social structures have led to an upsurge of violent crime in recent years which the Nigerian Police have been ill-equipped to address". Nkpa (1976:159) cites Von Hentig (1947:329) as noting that, "war has its effects of weakening norms of behavior; consequently, many people participate in criminal activities which they never would have engaged in during peace time". Today, very few parents can actually account for where their children are, or what occupation they are engaged in, even when they notice a change in their life style. Children are no more as accountable to their parents as it was some years back. Consequently, there is a growing army of criminal-minded youths. Although, faith in local solutions and approaches to

conflict resolutions within the social system has declined, some indigenous systems have evolved local responses. Communities may identify the criminal offenders and collectively determine the level of compensation for the victims.

The existence of forest and a range of hills and mountains have also been said to contribute to incidents of armed banditry. A geographical exploration of the border communities is therefore needed to understand armed banditry, which is facilitated partly by the physical environment, and the human conditions of the border region. Attacks by the armed bandits were, sudden and usually where the forest was so thick and visibility was impaired, or at a river crossing (Akinwumi, 2001:13). The Chairman of a Local Government Council noted that, the suspected bandits normally attack their Nigerian victims from their base located in the thickly forested strip, along the borders with the neighbouring Franco-phone country (Onah, 2010). Asiwaju (2004:52) also noted that, arising from the neglect of border communities in terms of socio-economic development, the border communities also provided sites for the establishment of poorly managed forest reserves which provided cover and hideouts for cross-border bandits to operate.

The nature, pattern and trend of armed banditry in the border communities indicated that the bandits operated with sophisticated weapons and are usually violent. Bobbo (1990:19) also notes that,

To make matter worst the bandits usually mingled easily among the border communities by taking advantage of the similarities in language, culture and religion. This cultural affinity serves as great advantage as they (the bandits) sometimes receive assistance from some Nigerians who collude with them to rob their fellow countrymen.

IDEA (2000:269) also noted that,

The frequency of armed banditry in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria is attributable to the ease with which foreign rebel groups suspected to come from neighbouring countries move in and out of Nigerian territory.

The armed bandits carry out their attacks haphazardly, with no specific time while dispossessing victims of their money and valuables after which the bandits escape on foot into the hills and forests. While Muggar and Brauer (2004:24) noted that, “bandits engage in one-time raids and follow a nomadic form of appropriation.” The pattern of the operation of the armed bandits in the border communities could therefore be said to be fluid and has metamorphosed to become more violent, vicious and deadly. It could be argued that the civil wars in Nigeria’s neighbouring countries must have accelerated and exacerbated the incidents and sophistication of these acts of armed banditry.

Armed banditry in the border communities in the past was in the form of attacking people on bush paths but this has taken a different dimension. It now takes the form of attacking people on highways with lethal weapons and with violence. Armed banditry has transformed from what he termed ‘the innocuous tribal sport’ into terrorism unleashed by hardened former fighters that have been used to killing and having little respect for their elders, or any form of authority (Mburu, 1999:100). Armed banditry in border communities can be said to have developed new tendencies from the traditional to the modern. This trend cannot be said to be restricted to border communities alone and so are the consequences.

Police records indicated that, the ages of most of the arrested bandits range between 26 and 45 years, mostly males who operate in bands of between 10 to 25 persons and speak Nigerian languages such as Fulfulde and Hausa. Age and sex plays an important role in crimes that requires physical energy and that, females are more involved in crimes such as

shoplifting, passing information to male criminals or theft (Nkpa, 1994:271 in Otite 1994). Otite also noted that with such crimes as armed banditry, “the perpetrators are usually mainly males, predominantly of the age of active members of the working population, mainly those from lower class income” and that, “the offence and offender, are also violent in nature” (Otu, 2003)

It is however imperative to note that we cannot entirely preclude female from crimes that require physical energy especially when women have been recently involved in armed combat as guerilla fighters and even armed robbery. A significant body of literature has recently emerged which challenges the relegation of women to the role of passive victims of violence by charting women as agents of violence. Although there is no hard data, in many of the case studies, anecdotal evidence suggests that increasing numbers of women are taking part in armed violence as either combatants or gang members, with its concomitant risks (Centre for International Cooperation and Security, 2005:21). In the Adamawa border communities however, involved women are more likely to play subterranean roles such as being informants, or shields to male armed bandits and assisting in securing their release or getting them out of trouble with the law enforcement agents.

Nkpa (1994:270) also noted that there is no uniform distribution of crime by age groups for all times and places, and that the peak of maximum crime for any age group or any single age seem to vary for different countries and for different sets of crime statistics within any country. He stated that, “in general, the age of maximum criminality is reached in youth or young adulthood, and from this point there is progressive decline in the amount of crime with advancing age. Young persons between the ages of 19 and 25 are much more involved in crimes that require physical energy to commit.” He further observed that, “as a person gets older, he is likely to quit crimes that require physical energy and engage in the

ones in which he will only use his wits. He may decide to stay at home and plan for the young ones to go and execute.”

Three (3) of the four (4) identified victims of armed banditry that were interviewed fell within the ages of 35 and 45 years, males, literate, married and are civil servants who were travelling with their family to visit their relations. One of the victims was a trader, 29 years old and single, who travels to carry out business transactions. Armed banditry which is a specie of armed robbery could be viewed from the perception of Conklin (1992:103) who notes that, “armed robbery is a proto-type of the kind of crime most feared by the public. It usually involves theft with violence or threat of violence by a person with whom the victim has had no previous contact, and it is usually unprovoked and unpredictable.”

Feldman (1993) notes that fear of crime results in deterioration of local business condition. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (1999) also noted that armed banditry have taken a huge toll in terms of lives and disrupted economic activities due to attacks on the network of highways that link various parts of Nigeria. Considering decline in business activities as an impact of armed banditry, the finding conforms with Muggar and Batchelor (2002:32) who observed that armed blockades and informal road blocks can erode the confidence of buyers and sellers in the reliability of transportation networks and markets. That, at the very least scarcity contributes to a destabilization of prices for a range of goods, and the meager trade that continues is entirely unpredictable. It is notable here that, not only does armed banditry prevent farmers from selling their produce in the open markets, it may also prevent them from obtaining vital inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and other farm implements.

As a result of rising incidents of armed banditry in the border communities, the finding showed that most businessmen changed their business hours with a view to reducing the risk of being victims of armed banditry. Although no part of this work showed that any earlier works by other scholar agreed or disagreed with this finding, it is only rational for traders and businessmen to assess the risks and costs of being a victim of armed banditry and react appropriately.

Considering the impact of armed banditry on the supply and delivery of basic amenities, planners, both government and non-governmental organizations avoid areas where there are rising levels of insecurity. As a result, they turn to regions where the return on their investment and performance justify continued aid (Muggar and Batchelor, 2002:35). Incidents of armed banditry were discovered to have negative impact on activities in the border communities. This is because traders and businessmen have been variously attacked by the armed bandits either while on their way to and from their different destinations to procure goods or transact other businesses. Negative impact on the viability of business could be seen in the hidden costs of armed banditry in terms of rising costs associated transportation, security logistics and information infrastructure. Additional costs relate to the barricading of walls and fencing around compounds and residences, armed convoys and escorts, and high planning costs among others (Muggar and Batchelor, 2002:36).

Victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry were found to have suffered psychological trauma as a result of their experiences and reported experiences with the armed bandits. Crime (such as armed banditry) becomes a problem largely because of the, accompanying negative consequences that the victim experiences (Gyong, 1994). Crime (such as armed banditry) carries with it costs that are less tangible but ultimately destructive

to society (Maltzan, 1998:14). Maltzan further noted that, for the individual victims, the psychological effect is usually devastating.

Disruption of social activities in the form of festivals, school attendance, teachers avoiding schools, naming and marriage ceremonies, funeral ceremonies, initiations into manhood or womanhood, school activities, and sensitization on health and other social issues. It has also been argued that the fear of crime makes people to withdraw into their immediate homes, no longer being involved in the wider community life (Feldman, 1993).

In most cases, the security and Police agencies are unable to provide the much needed security against marauders, robbers and bandits. The researcher noted that, communities, and individuals organise their own self-defence forces or vigilantes, or contract some of these functions to privately paid security agencies. The explanation for the failure of crime-prevention and control measures, agencies and efforts, are to be found in inadequate and/or inappropriate measures, mechanisms/techniques, and material and human-resources (i.e. technology and personnel) (Odekunle, 1986:85).

Failure on the part of government security agents to protect its citizens from incessant attacks by armed bandits could be seen as a failure on the part of government to fulfill its part of the social contract. This could lead to social unrests especially when such citizens are fed up and their efforts are no more effective in curtailing and preventing acts of armed banditry. The impact of armed banditry on victims, relatives of victims, travelers and residents cannot therefore be overemphasized. In the face of such victimization, little or nothing is done by government to reduce the impact, or control and prevent further occurrences even in the face of colossal expenditure on the existing control measures.

Strain theory attributes the fundamental causes of crime to relative deprivation, and that when job opportunities dry up, the resulting strain may lead to crime. Strain theory also assumes that though everyone could be a victim of crime, it is the poor that feel the impact more since they lack the resources to deal with their losses. The influx of ex-combatants and the characteristics of border communities, especially the border communities in Adamawa State in terms of lack of basic infrastructure, unemployment, social, health and other facilities are likely to encourage youths to collaborate and commit acts of armed banditry. This is because they face a different reality with those in the interior, and coupled with the fact that their lives have been overtaken by increasing violent crimes such as armed banditry.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The major causes of armed banditry in Adamawa State border communities are multi-faceted and include among others: breakdown in the social values, growing unemployment among youths, ready availability of small and light weapons, harsh economic conditions within Nigeria and also the neighboring countries. The armed bandits were found to be mostly male foreigners who were remnants of rebels from the neighboring countries and act in collaboration with some local youths. The local youths know the terrain and usually assist their collaborators who in most cases speak the languages spoken around the border areas such as Hausa, Fulfulde and French.

The outstanding socio-economic impact of armed banditry are: disruption of economic activities, fall in business activities due to fear of insecurity by travellers and service providers, and the psychological trauma suffered by residents, victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry.

Little effort has been put in place by individuals, community and government law enforcement agencies towards the control and prevention of armed banditry. Most efforts involved the setting up of vigilante groups and roadblocks, which were futile in view of the nature of the terrain and operation of the bandits who attack and escape into the hills/bushes for cover.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

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

5.4.1 SHORT-TERM MEASURES

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

2. Findings indicated that there is obvious failure on the part of government security agencies in efforts to prevent and control acts of armed banditry. As a result, it is recommended that, government should recognize vigilante groups while also resuscitating local community monitoring systems.
3. The study revealed that the respondents saw joint military and police patrol, and numerous road blocks set up by government security agencies as not being effective in the prevention and control of the crime of armed banditry. Consequently, it is recommended that there is need for a more effective institutional coordination among specialized institutions in view of the multi-dimensional nature of state interest in border security.
4. The findings revealed that, while the armed bandits are armed with very sophisticated weapons such as AK 47, the government security agencies are poorly equipped, under-funded and not well trained to control such acts as armed banditry. It is therefore recommended that the government should equip the security agencies with appropriate weapons that are superior to those of the armed bandits.

5.4.2 LONG-TERM MEASURES

1. Arising from the strategic neglect of border communities in terms of socio-economic development, the border communities also provided sites for the development of poorly managed forest reserves which provided cover and hideouts for the armed bandits. Therefore, government should address the issues of unemployment, poverty, neglect of the border communities and social injustice with a view to improving the socio-economic conditions of the residents and, also reducing the tendency to turn to crime as an alternative to survival.

2. The study found that the major perpetrators of armed banditry are foreign ex-combatants from Nigeria's neighbouring war-torn countries who come into Nigeria either in search of food, or money to carry out insurrection against their home governments. Efforts must therefore be made to curtail the influx of refugees and ex-combatants from these neighbouring war torn countries through collaborative efforts with its neighbouring law enforcement agencies.
3. The study found that there is easy availability of small and light weapons which are smuggled in through the numerous porous border routes or brought in by the ex-combatants who sell them or use them to carry out acts of armed banditry. Effort must therefore be made to control the flow, illegal trafficking, circulation and use of small and light weapons.
4. It was also found that there is a very close cultural affinity between communities on both sides of the border. The armed bandits easily attack and escape to the other side of the border through the hills and forest, and are protected from security agents by their kit and kin. It is therefore recommended that there should be Inter-governmental cooperation between Nigeria and neighbouring countries to combat armed banditry.
5. There is the need for close intergovernmental cooperation between Nigeria and its neighbouring countries towards combating acts of armed banditry since acts of armed banditry has also been found to be a problem along roads close to Cameroon's Eastern border with Central African Republic and Chad, in Doula, Yaounde, Kribi and Maroua, as well as on the Edea-Kribi Road which are also close to the Nigerian border..

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS OF BORDER COMMUNITIES ON THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF ARMED BANDITRY ON BORDER COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF BORDER COMMUNITIES IN ADAMAWA STATE, NIGERIA

Please indicate your answers by ticking the appropriate parenthesis. You are also to comment freely where necessary. I undertake to use your response purely for academic purpose and to treat them with absolute confidentiality. Thank you.

Interviewer.....

Date.....

A, SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

In this section, I will want to know a little about you so as to see how different people feel about the research problem.

1. Town/Village.....
2. Ward.....
3. Age of respondent.....
4. Sex: Male () Female ()
5. Marital status : Married () Divorced () Separated () Single ()
6. Highest level of education
None ()
Koranic ()
Primary ()
Secondary ()
Tertiary ()
7. Primary occupation.....
8. Secondary occupation.....
9. Income from Primary occupation.....
10. Income from Secondary occupation.....
11. What type of family is your household?
Nuclear family (parent and children only) ()
Extended family (parent, children and others) ()
Others (Please specify).....

B. CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY

The following are said to be the causes of armed banditry, please express your opinion on each.

S.No	Causes of armed banditry	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No comment
1.	Displacement due to civil wars in the neighbouring countries					
2.	Displacement due to natural disasters e.g. drought.					
3.	Lack of basic amenities in the border communities					
4.	Growing unemployment among youths					
5.	Moral decadence					
6.	Farmers/Fulani herdsmen clashes					
7.	Harsh economic environment					
8.	Ready availability of small and light weapons					

Other causes (please specify).....

.....

.....

C. NATURE OF ARMED BANDITRY

This section aims at getting the basic characteristics of armed banditry in border communities of Adamawa State.

1. How would you classify the ages of the armed bandits?
18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66-75
2. Are the armed bandits usually purely males? YES NO
3. What is their estimated number when they attack?
2-5 6-10 11-15 Above 16
4. What language(s) do the armed bandits usually speak?
Local language () Other Nigerian () Foreign language ()
5. Do the armed bandits use weapons? YES NO
6. If yes, what kind of weapons?.....
7. Are the armed bandits usually violent? YES NO
8. Do they usually kill their victims? YES NO
9. If yes, why do you think they kill their victims?.....

.....
.....

D. PATTERN OF ARMED BANDITRY

This section aims at understanding the traits and tendencies of armed banditry in border communities of Adamawa State. Please tick as may apply.

1. When do the armed bandits usually attack?
On market days () During harvest () On festival days () At random ()
2. What time of the day do the armed bandits usually attack?
6am-12noon () 12noon-6pm () 6pm-12midnight () At random ()
3. What form does their attack usually take?
Livestock raids () Attacking homes () Attacking people on the highways ()
Attacking business premises ()

4. What do they usually dispossess people of?
Money () Goods () Materials () Handsets () Jewelries () Vehicles ()

5. After such attacks, how do the armed bandits usually escape?.....
.....
.....

6. After such attacks where do the armed bandits escape to?
.....
.....

E. TREND OF ARMED BANDITRY IN BORDER COMMUNITIES OF ADAMAWA STATE

This section aims at understanding the general direction of armed banditry in the course of time and to see if there are detectable changes.

1. Does armed banditry in your area have a local name? YES NO

2. If yes, what is the name?

3. What does the name imply?

4. What is the present name used to describe armed bandits in your area?.....
.....

5. What form did armed banditry take in your area 25 years ago?
Cattle rustling () Raiding of farmlands () Raiding of markets ()

Raiding and burning of houses () Attacking people on highways ()

Attacking people on bush paths () Attacking people in their houses ()

F. IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY IN BORDER COMMUNITIES OF ADAMAWA STATE

The following are said to be the impact of armed banditry in border communities of Adamawa State, please rate them accordingly.

S/No	Impact of armed banditry	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No comment
1.	Disruption of cropping activities					
2.	Disruption of economic activities					
3.	Psychological trauma suffered by residents, victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry					
4.	Negative impact on supply/delivery of basic amenities					
5.	Disruption of social activities e.g. festivals, educational activities etc					

Others (Please specify)

.....

.....

G. PREVENTIVE MEASURES

1. What measures have you put in place to prevent or control future incidents of armed banditry?

.....
.....
.....
.....

2. How effective were those measures?

Very effective () Fairly effective () Not effective () No comment ()

3. What measures would you suggest towards prevention and control of acts of armed banditry? Please tick as appropriate.

INDIVIDUAL MEASURES

- () Curtailing your movement and other social activities
- () Reinforcing security arrangements in and around your residence
- () Travelling without carrying many valuables
- () Avoiding night journeys

COMMUNAL MEASURES

- () Establishment of local vigilante groups
- () Complimenting efforts of security agencies through civil society organisations.
- () Resuscitation of local community monitoring systems.
- () Effective coordination between the Local, State and Federal security agencies.
- () Provision of basic infrastructure and amenities at the rural level with a view to creating employment opportunities.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT MEASURES

- () Opening up the rural areas with a view to creating gainful employment
- () Provision of basic infrastructure and amenities in the border communities.
- () Development of adequate grazing area for herdsmen.
- () Assisting Federal security agencies with necessary equipment to curb the menace of armed banditry.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MEASURES

- () Curtailing influx of refugees and ex-combatants from our neighbouring countries.
- () Controlling the flow, circulation and use of small and light weapons.
- () Proper coordination between the state security agencies of member countries towards assisting each other to apprehend suspected armed bandits.
- () Enforcement of community policing and crime prevention measures.
- () Provision of basic infrastructure and amenities in the border communities.
- () Improving the frosty relationship between Nigeria and its neighbours.
- () Provision of necessary equipment and materials required for adequate crime control and prevention.
- () Provision of adequate welfare package for security personnel, especially at the borders.

Others (Please specify)

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you.

APPENDIX B

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICE PERSONNEL ON THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF ARMED BANDITRY ON BORDER COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF BORDER COMMUNITIES IN ADAMAWA STATE, NIGERIA.

A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Police formation.....
2. Local Government Area.....
3. State.....
4. Position of Respondent.....

B. CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. Have your command been involved in handling cases of armed banditry?
2. During interrogation, what did the bandits attribute the cause of armed banditry to?
3. In your opinion, what will you say are the causes of incidents of armed banditry?

C. NATURE OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. What would you say are the basic characteristics of the armed bandits in terms of age, sex, number in a group and nationality?
2. From your investigations, what are the sources of the bandits' weapons?
3. Do the bandits usually kill their victims? If yes, why do they kill their victims?

D. PATTERN OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. What time of the day do the armed bandits usually attack and at what location?
2. What items were usually lost to the armed bandits?
3. After the attacks, how do the armed bandits escape and to where do they escape?

E. TREND OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. What form did armed banditry take in the border communities 25 years ago?
2. How would you describe the level of sophistication of the operation of the bandits?
3. From your investigation, would you say the bandits had any form of training?

F. IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. What would you say are the impact of armed banditry on the socio-economic lives of residents, victims and relatives of victims of armed banditry in this area?
2. What would you say is the impact of armed banditry on the operations of the police in this area?

G. CONTROL MEASURES TO PREVENT AND CONTROL ARMED BANDITRY

1. What measures did your command put in place to prevent and control incidents of armed banditry in this area?
2. Would you say the measures were effective?
3. What suggestions would you make for effective prevention and control of armed banditry?

Thank you.

APPENDIX C

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY/OPINION LEADERS ON THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF ARMED BANDITRY ON BORDER COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF BORDER COMMUNITIES IN ADAMAWA STATE, NIGERIA.

A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. What is your name.....
2. How old are you?
3. Are you married?
4. What is your occupation?
5. Have you or any of your relatives/friends been victims of armed banditry?

B. CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. In your opinion, what are the likely causes of armed banditry in your area?
2. Does being a border community contribute to incidents of armed banditry? If yes, why do you say so?

C. NATURE OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. How would you describe the bandits in terms of age, sex and nationality?
2. How would you describe the operation of the bandits in terms of weapons used and the way they treat their victims?
3. Are they usually violent?

D. PATTERN OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. At what times, and where do they attack their victims?
2. What do they take away from their victims?
3. How do they escape?

E. TREND OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. How would you describe armed banditry in your area 25 years ago?
2. What is the current trend of armed banditry in your area?
3. Would you say there are changes? If so, what is the cause (s) of these changes?

F. IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. What will you say are the impact of armed banditry on residents, victims and relatives of victims living in this area?
2. What will you say is the impact of armed banditry on your socio-economic life?

G. CONTROL MEASURES TO PREVENT AND CONTROL ARMED BANDITRY

1. What effort (s) did your community put in place to prevent and control acts of armed banditry?
2. Were the measures effective?
3. How would you assess the measures put in place by the law enforcement agent?
4. What measures would you suggest to prevent and control acts of armed banditry?

Thank you.

APPENDIX D

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KNOWN VICTIMS OF ARMED BANDITRY ON, THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF ARMED BANDITRY ON BORDER COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF BORDER COMMUNITIES IN ADAMAWA STATE, NIGERIA.

A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

2. What is your name.....
2. How old are you?
3. Are you married?
4. What is your occupation?
5. Have you or any of your relatives/friends been victims of armed banditry?

B.CAUSES OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. What can you say are the causes of armed banditry in your community?
2. Are there any other reasons you can attribute armed banditry to?

C. NATURE OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. From your interaction with the armed bandits, where do you think they come from, and what languages did they speak
2. Were the armed bandits usually purely males, and what are their ages?
3. Were they violent?

D. PATTERN OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. At what time, and where were you attacked?
2. How were you attacked?
3. What did the armed bandits take away from you?
4. How did they escape?

E. TREND OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. How would you compare armed banditry today and armed banditry 25 years ago?
2. Do you think armed banditry will take another form in the future?

F. IMPACT OF ARMED BANDITRY

1. What can you say is the impact of armed banditry on your relatives?
2. What can you say is the impact of armed banditry on your socio-economic life?

G. CONTROL MEASURES TO PREVENT AND CONTROL ARMED BANDITRY

1. What measures did you put in place to prevent and control acts of armed banditry?
2. Were the measures effective?
3. Would you say the measures put in place by the law enforcement agents were effective?
4. What measures would you suggest to prevent and control acts of armed banditry?

Thank you.