

Curbing Armed Banditry in Nigeria: A Panacea for Good Governance

By

Tahir Adam Tahir

Department of Political Science

Peace College of Education, Ankpa, Kogi State

E- mail: tahiradam390@gmail.com

Phone No: 08039481423

&

Usman Ojo Bernard

Department of Business Administration

Federal University of Agriculture, Makurdi, Benue State

E- mail: benveemercy2013@gmail.com

Phone No: 08069616197

Abstract

This paper focuses on armed banditry which has posed a great challenge to Nigeria's development over the past few years. Armed banditry has greatly distorted Nigeria's growth in the area of economic, political, social as well as her educational development. Armed banditry if totally eradicated or tamed would enhance Nigeria's development hence the need to curb the menace. Thus, the study adopts descriptive survey of qualitative research methodology by assembling data from the field; the findings clearly indicate that the amelioration of armed banditry should as a matter of collective responsibility be eradicated if Nigeria must develop. The paper recommends that the government should create jobs for the youth to nip armed banditry in the bud and create a conducive ambience for the attainment of good governance.

Key words: Armed banditry; Amelioration, Eradication; Governance.

Introduction

Nigeria as a country is facing intense conflicts characterized by violent extremism and insurgency arising from the sense of helplessness, hopelessness, injustice and inequity that pervasive corruption and bad governance promote. The recent wave of political assassination, murders, armed banditry; kidnapping and general eruption of insecurity in Nigeria has put both the government and the populace on the edge. There is hardly a day that passes without sorry tales of premeditated killings, armed robbery and other crimes and attacks nationwide. In the past, kidnappings were mostly perpetuated in the oil-rich Niger Delta region, where militants struggling for a greater share of oil revenue regularly blew up pipelines and kidnapped foreign oilworkers. But in recent past, the scourge has taken a toll in all the six geo-political zones of the country with each characterized by a unique form of crime ranging from terrorism, suicide bombings, hostage taking, kidnapping, murder, cultism to ritual killing, etc, all of which have negatively affected the development of all the regions.

Rural banditry by all accounts is undermining security, peace, and development in Nigeria. Amidst the deteriorating security situation in the country, Nigeria is also confronted with daunting developmental challenges which pose serious threat to her socio-economic development. These developmental challenges include endemic rural and urban poverty, high rate of unemployment, debilitating youth unemployment, low industrial output, unstable and deteriorating exchange rate, high inflation rate, inadequate physical and social infrastructure, very large domestic debt, and rising stock of external debt (Ewetan, 2013).

There is a strong interface, nexus and interconnectedness between the key concepts we are looking at in this paper. To achieve any meaningful development, peace and security in the

nation's ecosystem, the government has to provide the template for good governance to thrive. This will in turn enhance peace and security in the society. However, the bulk of these issues rest on governance. In essence, good governance has remained a crucial element of the socio-political system of developed countries of the world. A major challenge to Nigeria's quest for greatness is good governance. Governance no doubt has become the central concept at the confluence of democracy, development and security with core elements that include: accountability, effectiveness, efficiency, transparency, inclusiveness, equity and rule of law. The quality of governance obviously determines the quality of state affairs and the development of a state can be hindered by insecurity (Bryden & Chappuis, 2015). Leaders and governing elites shun good governance in their pursuit of self-serving interests and in the process, all the ingredients of good governance are jettisoned and the result is pervasive insecurity everywhere. It is against this backdrop that this paper interrogates the rising increase of rural banditry in Nigeria and its implications on regional security. The escalation of rural banditry in the country could affect the development of Nigeria as a whole. Hence, the study seeks to digest and probe the current security challenges in Nigeria and to proffer recommendations that would assist in containing the recent scourge of banditry and other forms of security challenges bedeviling good governance in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Banditry

Banditry means occurrence or prevalence of armed robbery or violent crime. It involves the use of force, or threat to that effect, to intimidate a person with the intent to rob rape or kill. More importantly, it thrives within the 'social ecology' of the rural sector characterized by gross governance deficits (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016). Banditry leads to disruption of life as we know it. The desire to avoid strife and its attendant consequences leads to displacement and loss of lives and properties. Armed banditry also leads to the existence of constant fear of attacks, which take away human dignity and people's ability to organize, seek and engage in livelihoods (ThisDay, 2014).

Banditry can be classified based on the underlying 'intent' or 'motive'. In this regard, one can talk of 'social banditry' that is generally motivated by the intent to protest social inequality and to redistribute wealth within a locality. Likewise, one could talk of other forms of banditry that are principally motivated by 'political' or 'economic' reasons. When 'location' of occurrence is the underlying index, one can speak in terms of 'rural vs. urban banditry' or 'frontier vs. countryside banditry', as the case may be. Similarly, banditry can be 'mercenary' or 'autonomous' depending on how the actor of 'agency' is played out. Mercenary banditry is perpetuated by auxiliaries or mercenaries working for a principal in a sort of principal-agent relationship, while autonomous bandits are self-motivated and personally commissioned. 'Organized banditry' thrives on a network of actors that are syndicated and coordinated while petty banditry is perpetrated by individual or group actors that are not so organized. 'Roving bandits' are more or less mobile or itinerant while stationary bandits are settled or sedentary. Lastly, 'maritime banditry' refers to offshore robbery (piracy) as compared to those that occur on the coast or mainland.

Good Governance

Governance is a concept that is germane and relevant to corporate organizations, regional organizations, international organisations and institutions, and organisations across the globe. Etymologically speaking, the term "governance" is believed to have originated from the ancient Greek. Semantically, it is being used as a verb *kybernein* (infinitive) or *kybernao* (first person) which literally means 'steering', 'guiding', or 'manoeuvring a ship or a land-based vehicle'. Accordingly, the concept of governance in relation with "government"

or “governs” has for long been around in political and academic discourse, depicting the tasks of carrying on governmental activities or assignment (cited in <http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/governance-understand.html>).

According to IMF (2016), governance is seen as ‘all aspects of the way a country is governed, its economic policies and regulatory framework’. It can be inferred from the definition that governance has to do with the totality of governmental actions and activities that are geared or directed toward making and realising effective economic policies. The definition lays emphasis on ‘economic policies’ which is regarded as the backbone of the nation’s stability and development. Suffice to say, a well-planned economic policy is a precondition for the survival, stability and development of a nation.

Good Governance, on the other hand, has been variously defined often to suit different purposes. The concept of ‘good governance’ came to prominence after the end of the Cold War around 90s in donor discourse. ‘Good’ in ‘governance’ is an appendage to the word ‘governance’ and it is seen as the process and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised (World Bank, 2004). According to Ogundiya (2010), Good Governance has much to do with the ethical grounding of governance and must be evaluated with reference to specific norms and objectives as may be laid down. It looks at the functioning of the given segment of the society from the point of view of its acknowledged stakeholders, beneficiaries and customers. Therefore, to describe governance as good or bad, this explanation requires the understanding of the essence of the state which is not only embedded in the constitution but also a function of religious ideals and the nature of the current problems confronting the state. Furthermore, looking at various literatures on Good Governance concept, we could identify three strands of arguments:

1. Proponents of the Good Governance agenda see it as a worthy goal and a means through which to impact economic growth and development. Their argument is aptly captured in this quotation:

In poorly governed countries, it is argued, corrupt bureaucrats and politicians badly hindered development efforts by stealing aid contributions or misdirecting them into unproductive activities. Less obvious but equally pernicious, governments that are not accountable to their citizens and with inefficient bureaucracies and weak institutions are unwilling or unable to formulate and implement pro-growth and pro-poor policies (Gisseltquirt, 2012).

On the other hand, the opponents who raised strong challenges argue the following points:

- a) Use of Good Governance criteria in the allocation of foreign aids effectively introduces political conditionalities and imposes Western liberal models of democracy (NEPAD, 2007).
- b) Good Governance agenda is a poor guide for development policy. It is unrealistically long and not attuned to issues of sequencing and historical developments (Booths, 2011).
- c) Good Governance ignores institutional variations across well governed states (Andrews, 2008).

Despite the contentions surrounding the concept, Good Governance has assumed an entrenched position as an indicator for measuring the development progress of any nation as well as a central factor for development.

From all these definitions, it can be inferred that Good Governance as a concept is applicable to all sections of society such as the government, legislature, judiciary, media, private sector, corporate sector, trade unions and lastly, non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The implication is that it is only when all these and other various sections of society conduct their affairs in a socially responsible manner that the objective of achieving larger good of the largest number of people in society can be achieved.

History of Banditry in Nigeria

Historically, banditry has existed and operated in different parts of the world since the 19th century when bandits riding mostly on horse backs move from their hideouts to attack villages and then retreated back to their hideouts. In Europe, bandits have existed in mainly mountainous areas of Italy, Spain, Greece and Turkey. In Asia, bandits have existed in several countries such as Iran, Philippines and India. In India, bandits are called *Daku* in Hindi Language which the British colonialists coined it as dacoity during the colonial period. Thus, dacoity has become a term for banditry in the Indian subcontinent where bandits have operated for many years in north and north central India. One of the notable dacoits was Gabbar Singh who inspired the famous 1975 Bollywood film *Sholay* (Flames) based on his life. Therefore, banditry has a rich and lucrative history throughout South Asia and despite continued anti banditry efforts, the problem of banditry persists in India presently (Dmella, 2018).

Banditry is another security challenge in Africa where bandits have continued to ravage the Horn of Africa, East and Central Africa and the trans-Saharan trade routes from Niger Republic all the way to Libya (Aregbesola, 2020). Banditry has existed in parts of Chad and around Lake Chad and they also have significant presence in parts of Southern Africa (Aregbesola, 2020). In West Africa, the prevalence and severity of banditry has contributed to the rising increase in regional insecurity with a potential threat to regional integration of the sub-regions (Abdullahi, 2019). Reports have shown that some of the bandits from some countries of the West African sub-regions such as Niger Republic and Mali were invited to carry out large scale attacks in some countries of the sub-regions. They moved through the porous West African borders with their arms to assist their fellow bandits in carrying out large scale of reprisal attacks.

In Nigeria, banditry came as a result of nearly four decades of unresolved conflicts between settled cultivators and nomadic herding communities that wander on the high plains of northern Nigeria particularly the North West geo-political zone of Nigeria. Since banditry involves acts of robbery and violence on the people particularly rural dwellers who mainly engaged in farming, cattle rearing and other food production activities, it is bound to have impacts on governance.

Causes of Banditry in Nigeria

Extensive volumes of literature have been written on insecurity resulting from armed robbery, kidnapping, and assassination to armed banditry among others in Nigeria. Okeshola (2011) is of the view that violence breeds insecurity and that lack of security of lives and property of the citizenry is a severe hindrance to meaningful development. However, the followings are viewed as major causes of the existing insecurity bred by armed banditry in Nigeria today as postulated by Kalu, Ajuzie and Chukwu (2018); Gaberial and Joseph (2016) and Achumba, Ighomereho, & Akpor-Robaro (2013) to include:

Unemployment/Poverty: According to Adagba, Ugwu, & Eme (2012) unemployment/poverty among Nigerians, especially the youths is a major cause of insecurity and violent crimes in Nigeria. In particular, youth's unemployment has contributed to the rising cases of violent conflicts in Nigeria. Also, one of the major causes of insecurity in the country

is the failure of successive administrations to address challenges of poverty, unemployment, and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities.

Weak Security System: This is a major contributory factor to the level of insecurity in Nigeria, and this can be attributed to a number of factors which include inadequate funding of the police and other security agencies, lack of modern equipment both in weaponry and training, poor welfare of security personnel, and inadequate personnel (Achumba et al. 2013). According to Olonisakin (2008) the police-population ratio in Nigeria is 1:450 which falls below the standard set by the United Nations. The implication of this is that Nigeria is grossly under policed and this partly explains the inability of the Nigerian Police Force to effectively combat crimes and criminality in the country.

Porous Borders: Achumba et al. (2013) observe that the porous frontiers of the country, where individual movements are largely untracked have contributed to the level of insecurity in Nigeria. As a result of the porous borders, there is an unchecked inflow of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country which has aided militancy and criminality in Nigeria (Hazen & Horner, 2007). Also, the porosity of the Nigerian borders has aided the uncontrollable influx of migrants, mainly young men, from neighboring countries such as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin responsible for some of the criminal acts (Adeola & Oluyemi, 2012).

Systemic and Political Corruption: This is a twin evil and hydra-headed monster that has held the Nigerian state captive. This has contributed to government failure and breakdown of institutional infrastructures. The state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure, traceable to systemic and political corruption. It has added another dimension of violent conflicts which has eroded national values. Corruption is bad not because money and benefits change hands, and not because of the motives of participants, but because it privatizes valuable aspects of public life, bypassing processes of representation, debate, and choice. It has been described as a cancer militating against Nigeria's development, because corruption deeply threatens the fabric of the Nigeria society (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013).

Illiteracy: High illiteracy is both a product and driver of poverty. Thus, the greater the level of poverty, the more the youths are recruited into the Boko Haram sect and armed banditry. When a young man is poor, illiterate and unemployed, he becomes a clean slate for any kind of brainwashing. The brain washing given to them provides a quasi equivalent of employment and thus feel engaged in acting out what they have been brainwashed about. This is the kind of situation we find with the phenomenon in the North (Olufemi, 2015).

Quick-Money Syndrome According to Dodo (2010), one of the causes of kidnapping in Nigeria is the rich-quick syndrome. Most Nigerians are not willing to strive. At the same time, survival of the fittest is the norm in contemporary Nigeria. Thus, you cannot harvest what you did not plant. Most Nigerian youths are people with big dreams; through rich-quick syndrome without working, they decide to achieve those dreams upon kidnapping for ransom.

Origin and Growth of Good Governance

The Third World countries especially Nigeria gave currency to this phenomenon as they are credited to coining the concept of good governance and it found its place into the lexicon of Public Administration since 1990s. This concept is tied to developmental aid to Third World countries by the western countries after the cold war era between USA and USSR. Expressing the importance of this concept "good governance", the World Bank (2018) had identified four dimensions to include:

- a) Public sector management
- b) Accountability
- c) Legal framework for development and
- d) Information and transparency

The World Bank equally opined that good governance is central to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters strong and equitable development and it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. In a paper titled "Governance and Development" World Bank (2015) enumerated three aspects of governance as:

- i. The form of polity and the way authority is exercised in society (parliamentary or presidential, military or civilian and authoritarian or democratic).
- ii. The process by which authority is exercised on the country's economic, political and social spheres and extent to which the citizens are involved and given responsibility.
- iii. The capacity of governments to conceive, formulate and execute policies and in general, to discharge governmental functions as effectively, adequately and efficiently as possible.

Elements of Good Governance

Good governance is a dynamic administration construct that embraces fast changing political, social and economic arrangements. It tries to transform the political, economic and social life of the citizens within the framework of parliamentary democracy. Sharma; Sadana & Kaur (2013) present the elements to include:

(a) **Participation:** They see participation as key to good governance. Citizens participate in the organs of government - executive, legislature, judiciary and regularly exercise their rights to franchise. Participation could be either direct or through the representatives.

(b) **Accountability:** The test of a vibrant democracy is the degree of success in ensuring accountability of those who rule, to those from whom they derive their authority.

(c) **Transparency:** A major premise of good governance is the citizens 'access to information, and a good government must ensure free flow of information to citizens. In a parliamentary democracy, transparency in government becomes a necessity and this becomes possible by the basic doctrine of separation of power, and checks and balances among the executive, legislature, and judicial branches. Transparency requires that the decisions are taken and their enforcement is done in a manner that is in conformity with the rules and regulations.

(d) **Rule of Law:** This is a framework that is enforced in an impartial manner for protecting human rights, securing social justice and checking abuse of power; it is a prerequisite for good governance.

(e) **Consensus Oriented:** Good governance should aim at reaching broad consensus after mediating different interests in the society for the best interest of the community. It aims at sustainable human development and also to achieve the goals of such development.

(f) **Effectiveness and Efficiency:** Good governance also rests upon the fact that the process and institutions should produce results to meet the needs of the society. It also entails proper utilization of resources at their disposal as well as in the government.

(g) **Responsiveness:** Good governance would be possible only when the institutions and processes are responsive and serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time-frame.

(h) **Inclusiveness and Equity:** Good governance advocates that people should not be excluded from the mainstream of the society and the marginalized are able to avail opportunities. Having highlighted the above elements, Nigerian leaders, present and in future, should ensure that these elements are domesticated. Democratic system of governance with more modifications may help to cure the problems of good governance.

Factors Necessitating Good Governance

Needless to say that the crisis of the Nigerian state is far from being managerial has always been structural and it has its roots in the relations of exploitations, unjust domestic class structures, external dependency and distortions of the neo-colonial social formations (Ake, 2001). It is all these that produced the contagious effects of the militarization of contemporary

Nigerian society in the past and the negative tendencies this translates into our development. Consequently, to carry through a successful project of democratization and sustainable democratic transition in the interest of good governance in Nigeria, we need to go beyond the prevalent myths about immediate and remote causes of poor governance to project solutions to arrest prospective socio-economic and political decays in Nigeria.

Jega (2002) wrote that to ensure sustainable good governance in the Fourth Republic, the three arms of government namely: the Legislature, Judiciary and the Executive must be restructured to make them amenable to proposed political and socio-economic restructuring. The Judiciary, the Legislature and above all, the Executive arm of government will be required to change their character. This is ordinarily translated into the radical transformation of the character of Nigerian state. There cannot be good government without a viable state just as good governance cannot be attained in the midst of violence such as armed banditry, robbery, kidnapping among others.

Consequently, there is need for the restructuring of the nation. This is necessarily required to give everybody a sense of belonging as a positive motivation to participate in the process of nation building. One would like to suggest a process of restructuring which integrates the right to self-determination on the basis of corporate existence of the Nigerian polity.

Social justice is required to recreate our social system, the one devoid of gender servitude, ethnic oppression and marginalization and above all, religious bigotry. All these are challenges to the Buhari's Fourth Republic, which if properly addressed could place the present government in a better position to consciously pilot the affairs of Nigerian state.

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, the researchers shall make use of the Routine Activity Theory of crime and the structural functionalist theory in discussing the concept of good governance in Nigeria.

Routine Activity Theory

The Routine Activities Theory (RAT) was pioneered by Cohen and Felson (1979) in an attempt "to understand patterns and upward trends of predatory criminal events in the historical context of changing economy" (Hsieh and Wang 2018). The theory holds that crime is likely to occur when there is a spatial-temporal convergence of three essential elements of crime, namely a motivated offender, an attractive target, and the absence of capable guardianship. According to exponents of the theory (Cohen and Felson 1979; Maxfield 1987; Samonas 2013), motivated offenders are individuals who are capable and willing to commit a crime while suitable targets can be a person or object that are considered by offenders as vulnerable or attractive. On the other hand, guardianship can be a person or an object that is effective in deterring offense to occur. Mere physical presence of guardianship in space and time can deter crime committal. The Routine Activity Theory is based on some basic assumptions (Cohen and Felson 1979; Maxfield 1987; Felson and Cohen 1980):

- Crime is likely to occur when there is a spatial-temporal convergence of three essential elements of crime, namely a motivated offender, an attractive target, and the absence of capable guardianship;
- The factors that render a particular target attractive are situational and crime-specific;
- Crime can be perpetrated by anyone who has the opportunity in terms of capability and availability of vulnerable target;
- Victims have choices on whether to be victims mainly by possibly avoiding situations where a crime can be committed against them.

Applied to the purpose of the study, it is to be observed that armed banditry is a crime that has been precipitated and sustained by the prevailing socio-existential environment in the rural and urban societies characterized by a high proclivity to criminal indulgence like banditry. This is typically the situation in Nigeria but worse in northwest Nigeria where marauders and brigands are having a sustained field day in a criminal escapade that is threatening to overrun the entire region.

Structural Functionalist Theory

To understand functionalist theory, one must look into the biological implications of a living organism as it pertains the evolutionary theory. In this simple organism all the necessary functions of life were performed by the same part, the single cell. Therefore, the development of a single cell gave rise to differentiation of cells into parts enhancing specialization, adaptation and integration of the organism to its environment. Thus, the greater the degree of adaptation, the fitter the organism was to survive. This is the Darwinian doctrine of survival of the fittest.

In applying this to the doctrine of democracy and good governance in Nigerian Fourth Republic, requires a mutual coordinated links between the rulers and the ruled to ensure effective governance. Thus, differentiation and specialization may occur in any of the parts of society. And this requires that they be integrated with other parts of the civil society so that the entire polity can adapt to its environment. This tendency can be said to be a panacea towards safe-guarding societal dysfunction. Consequently, the parts of Nigerian society and its political and democratic institutions namely, the National Assembly, the court system, the police, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), to mention but a few. Thus, the Nigerian Fourth Republic requires the coordinate working and harmonization of these democratic institutions to ensure good governance in Nigeria. The malfunctioning of one of the above institutions means the corresponding dysfunction of the entire political landscape of Nigeria. This can impede growth and sustainable development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic and lead to bad governance.

However, the Nigerian experience of functionalism sees the ideology as suited for the dominant class in the society whose whims and caprices predominate such democratic institutions. The agenda of governance becomes skewed to one side; hence, Nigeria experiences high level of what can be referred to as elitist hedonism.

Methodology

This study utilized data and information from multiple policy documents from national and state institutions. The idea was to enable an assessment of what was on ground, what should be and what could be, under what terms, relating to banditry and good governance. Primary data were sourced from Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant (KI) to generate direct experiences of banditry in Zamfara State representing northwest states of Nigeria as a focal point. This state was selected because banditry has been basically functional for decades and therefore provides case studies of the operation of the concept of banditry and good governance. At any rate, the limitation of time and, especially funds, could not allow a wider or nation-wide study.

Results and Discussion

The Affected Areas

The research found out that banditry was most prevalent in Zamfara, Sokoto, Kastina, Kaduna among others but the most affected LGAs in Zamfara State were Zurmi, Maru, Birnin Magaji and Kauran Namoda. In Kaduna State, they were Birnin Gwari and Chikun LGAs, with lower level of incidences in Kachia, Kagarko, Kajuru and Zangon Kataf LGAs widely reported.

Banditry was also found to be common in Katsina, Niger, Kebbi, Sokoto and Bauchi States. In Katsina State, the most affected areas are those sharing borders with Kaduna State (Mairua, Dandume and Faskari LGAs). In Niger State, areas sharing borders with Kaduna State were mostly affected (Muya, Rafi, Shiroro and Mariga LGAs). In Kebbi, LGAs sharing borders with Zamfara and Niger States were most affected including Sakaba and Damko/Wasagu LGAs. Bauchi State LGAs sharing borders with Plateau State mostly affected includes Tafawa Balewa, Bogoro and Alkaleri LGAs. These states of insecurity have adverse effect on good governance.

Conclusion

Good governance entails balanced governance with conducive and uninterrupted relationship between the government and the civil society as active player. The challenges of good governance require government activities to be reinvented, bureaucracy to be repositioned, civil society activities to be re-energized with a social motive and ensure absolute security of lives and properties of all citizens devoid of banditry, rape, robbery, rustling among others. Re-invented governance should be visionary, egalitarian and energized in a manner with less machine-like and less hierarchical structure and procedure.

Recommendations

Insecurity in Nigeria poses a threat to life and property and hampers good governance; hence the need to make the following recommendations:

- a. The government should improve its infrastructure, education system, power and communication sectors and create more employment to the teeming unemployed youth to nip armed banditry in the bud for the attainment of good governance.
- b. There is need to enhance effectiveness of security operatives through training and retraining of officers.
- c. The three arms of government should be allowed to efficiently perform their functions without influences.
- d. Governments need to be proactive in resolving security issues and threats by modern methods of intelligence gathering and sharing intelligence, preparation, logistics, encouragement, and the implementation of advanced technology to address security challenges.
- e. Administrators (political appointees and bureaucrats) should be trained and equipped with administrative tools to realize efficiency.

References

- Abdullahi A (2019). Rural Banditry, Regional Security and Integration in West Africa. *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 2 (3): 654-664.
- Achumba, I.C, Ighomereho, O.S, and Akpor-Robaro M.O.M (2013). Security Challenges in Nigeria and Implications for Business Activities and Sustainable Development, *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4 (2).
- Adagba, O., Ugwu, S. C., & Eme, O. I. (2012). Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question in Nigeria. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 1(9), 77-99.
- Adeola, G.L. and Oluyemi, F. (2012). The Political and Security Implications of Cross Border Migration between Nigeria and her Francophone Neighbours. *International Journal of Social Science Tomorrow*, 1(3):1-9
- Ake, C. (2001). *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Andrews, M. (2008). The Good Governance Agenda: Beyond Indicators without Theory. *Oxford Development Studies*, 36(4): 379-407.

- Aregbesola, R. (2020). Keynote Address at Stakeholders Engagement on Internal Security and Conflict Resolution held at Government House Katsina, Katsina State.
- Booth, D. (2011). 'Aid, Institutions and Governance: What Have we learned'. *Development Policy Review*, 29(s1): s5-s26.
- Bryden, A and Chappuis, F (2015) (eds.) *Learning from West African Experiences in Security Sector Governance*, Pp. 97–116. London: Ubiquity Press. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/bau.f>. License: CC-BY 4.0.
- Cohen, L. E.; Felson, M. 1979. "Social change and crime rate trends: A Routine Activity Approach". *American Sociological Review*. 44 (4), pp. 588–608; doi: 10.2307/2094589. JSTOR 2094589.
- Dmella, J.R. (2018). *Dacoity in India: Investigating Thievery and Banditry in the British Raj's Jewel Asia Pacific Security Challenges*. Springer International Publishing.
- Dodo, W. A. (2010). The Causes and Remedies of Kidnapping in Nigeria. *The Nigerian Academic Forum*, 19(1): 1–4.
- Ewetan, O. O. (2013). *Insecurity and Socio-Economic Development: Perspectives on the Nigerian Experience*. A Lecture Delivered St. Timothy Anglican Church, Sango-Ota, Ogun State.
- Felson, M and Cohen, L. E. (1980). Human ecology and crime: A routine activity approach. *Human Ecology*. 8 (4):389–406.
- Gaberial, N, and Joseph, N. (2016). Bad Governance and Insecurity: The Challenges for Development in Nigeria, *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(3).
- Gisselquist, R.M. (2012). Good governance as a concept, and why this matters for development policy. UNU-WIDER Working paper No. 2012/30. Retrieved from <http://doc-08-94-docviewer.googleusercontent.com>.
- Hazen, J. M. & Horner, J. (2007). *Small Arms, Armed Violence, and Insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in Perspective*, Switzerland: Small Arms Survey.
- Hsieh, M. and Wang, S. K. (2018). Routine activities in a virtual space: A Taiwanese Case of an ATM Hacking Spree. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology*, 12(1):33352. <http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/governance-understand.html>
- International Monetary Fund (2016). *The IMF and Good Governance*. Washington, D.C.: Communications Department.
- Jega, M.A. (2002). Tackling Ethno-religious Conflicts in Nigeria, *The Nigerian Social Scientists* 5(2):35-39.
- Kalu, E.O, Ajuzie, H.D, and Chukwu, C.C. (2018). Insecurity Challenges in Nigeria: Human Security Option as a Panacea, *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 8(5).
- Maxfield, M. G. 1987. "Lifestyle and Routine Activity Theories of Crime: Empirical Studies of Victimization, Delinquency, and Offender Decision-making". *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. 3 (4):275–282.
- NEPAD (2007). 'Governance in Africa's Development: Progress, Prospects and Challenges'. Thematic paper prepared by the NEPAD Secretariat, in conjunction with the African Peer Review Secretariat and in consultation with the African Union Commission, for the 9th Africa Partnership Forum, Algiers, Algeria, 12-13 November.
- Nwanegbo, C.J and Odigbo, J. (2013). Security and National Development in Nigeria: The Threat of Boko Haram. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 3(4), pp. 285-291.
- Ogundiya, I.S. (2010). Democracy and Good Governance: Nigeria's Dilemma. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(6), 201-208.
- Okeshola, B.F. (2011). Violence and insecurity in Nigeria: The Bane of National Development, *European Scientific Journal*, 7 (26).

- Olaniyan, A. & Yahaya, A. 2016. Cows, Bandits and Violent Conflicts: Understanding Cattle Rustling in Northern Nigeria. *African Spectrum*, 3:93-105.
- Olonisakin, F. (2008). In the line of fire, BBC focus on Africa (April-June).pp 19-23
- Olufemi, J. (2015) Nigerian Spends ₦4.62 trillion on National Security in 5 Years, Yet Widespread Insecurity Remains. Premium Times. Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com>
- Samonas, S. 2013. “*Insider fraud and Routine Activity Theory: A Thought Experiment*”. Paper Originally Presented at 12th Annual Security Conference, 11 April 2013, Las Vegas, Nevada. Available at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/50344>.
- Sharma, M.P. Sadana, B.L. Kaur, H. (2013): *Public Administration, In Theory and Practice*. Marg Allahabad. Kitab Mahal.
- This Day (2014). “U.S. Blocks Nigeria’s Purchase of Chinook Helicopters from Israel.” September 23, 2014. <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/us-blocks-nigeria-spurchase-Of-chinook-helicopters-from-israel/189710/>.
- The World Bank (2018). “Conflicts and Violence in Nigeria: Results from the North-East, North-Central and SouthSouth Zones”.
- The World Bank (2015). *Nigeria: Overview*. Retrieved, October 03, 2015 from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/nigeria/overview> replace abov