



---

**ARMED BANDITRY AND THE CHALLENGES OF FOOD SECURITY IN NORTH WEST NIGERIA**

**MUBARAK AHMED MASHI; & BALA ABDULLAHI HUSAINI**

Department of Political Science, Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Katsina.

[mubarakmashi@gmail.com](mailto:mubarakmashi@gmail.com)

---

**Abstract**

What started as social conflict between herders and farmers over land resource control has recently metastasised to armed banditry. The consequence of this misadventure is the loss of lives and property; loss of means of livelihood; internal displacement of people; kidnapping for ransom, sexual assault against women and children; raid on towns and villages; cattle rustling and above all food insecurity. This is attributed to the failure of successive and present administration to address the issues of poverty, unemployment, population explosion and desertification exacerbated by climate change. Nearly all the States in the northern region of Nigeria that heavily relied on subsistence and commercial agricultural production are facing the threat of armed banditry. States such as Benue, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau, Sokoto and Zamfara, have been affected by towering levels of cattle rustling and armed banditry, with the rural populace and farming communities as casualties and victims. It is against this backdrop this paper sought to examine the effect of armed banditry on food security in Northwest Nigeria. The methodology adopted is purely qualitative; data was sourced from both primary and secondary sources. The paper argues that improving the socio-economic condition of the Nigerian people will go a long way in minimizing security threats in the country.

**Keywords:** Armed banditry, Security, Food security, Conflict, Northwest.

---

**Introduction**

Armed banditry which started as a conflict between sedentary farmers and mobile pastoralists, who are majorly *Fulbe*, has created adverse human security challenges in Nigeria, especially in Northwest and North central geo-political zones of Nigeria. This is as a result of the effect of climate change, population expansion, the triple trajectory of poverty, joblessness and illiteracy.

The conflict between the two socio-cultural groups, who were before living in peace with each other started all over scarce land resources for livestock grazing for the *Fulbe* and land for agricultural production for sedentary farmers. As Shettima and Tar (2008) rightly observed, these two occupational groups were in the past intermeshed and complement each other in sharing land, water and other resources and the occupational identities of pastoralists and farmers are overlapped. However, desertification induced by climate change, led to competition over scarce resources and other environmental challenges between the two groups, which distorted the cooperation and reciprocal relationship that existed between the *Fulbe* pastoralist and farming groups (Shettima & Tar, 2008, p.174).

The farming groups accuses the *Fulbe* pastoralists as the one and only perpetrators of their crop damage and attacks on their communities (Ibrahim & Dabugat, 2015, p.260). While the *Fulbe* pastoralist accuses farming group of encroaching into their grazing routes and rustling of their cattle. Whenever there is damage on farmlands, the farming communities in a tit for tat manner attack any available *Fulbe* man on their sight, while the *Fulbe* pastoralist in retaliation attack farming communities where their member (s) have been attacked. It is this situation of that forces the *Fulbe* pastoralist restored to banditry. This has placed the *Fulbe* herdsmen against the farmers and vice versa. It is this conflict that escalated to the dreadful "armed banditry" today in Nigeria. Hame Saidu, a Pastoralist was quoted to have said:

Our animals are our life, because to every nomad life is worthless without his cattle. What do you expect from us when our source of survival is threatened? The encroachment of grazing fields and routes by farmers is a call to war (IRIN, 2009 cited in Abbas, 2012).

From the above submissions, armed banditry in Northern Nigeria is basically seen as a term for social conflict, which is manifested in cattle rustling, armed robbery, kidnapping for ransom, sexual violence against women and children, abduction of school children, raid on towns and villages and illegal collection of tax from the farmers.

The exigencies of banditry have distorted farmlands designed for agricultural production into militarised zones and hideouts for armed bandits (WARN, 2020). As a result, farmers can no longer go to their farms during the planting and harvesting season, some farmers have to pay certain amounts of money to bandits or seek clearance from the bandits before planting or harvesting on their farmlands sometimes some rich farmers hire the bandits to guard them against other bandits' attacks. More so, the communities attacked by bandits face killings, looting and destruction of food crops and storages, rustling of animals including traction bulls (*Shanun Huda*) used for farming purpose and sexual violence against women. These have obnoxious effects on food and human security (Mashi, 2020). In view of the above, Rufa'i (2021) revealed that, bandits

have so far killed more than 12,000 people; rustled almost 250,000 animals; destroyed 120 villages and led to the displacement 50,000 people from 2011 to 2021.

Today, Nigeria is the larger-than-life midpoint of armed banditry in West African Sub region, with North West and North Central as the centre stage of attacks. In all of these Katsina and Zamfara states are the worst hit of these attacks and these are States that are known for agricultural production in commercial quantities. To the extent that, bandits serve as 'judges' and 'regulators' of food price control in some communities that were taken over by them in the two States.

It is against this backdrop this paper sought to examine the effect of armed banditry on food security in the North-west geo-political zone of Nigeria.

## **Conceptual Review**

### ***Armed Banditry***

According to Wartyo (2011), banditry is the act of crime committed by the inhabitants of a rural community or people in the low economic and social stratum in order to fulfill their essential needs and desires. As a result of structural pressure that kept increasing, which deprives the citizens access to the natural resources that support their lives (Wartyo, 2011, p.47).

Bandits are immorally inclined insurgents and conventional terrorists. Because they use the instruments of threats and coercion to create panic and intimidation as instrument of terror going by the increasing number of internally displaced persons in Zamfara and Kaduna States, most of escapees left their communities for the fear of the unknown (Sullivan, 2012 cited in Bala & Husaini, 2020, p. 252). Mohammed & Alimba, (2015), featured armed banditry with cattle rustling, armed robbery, kidnapping for ransom, and illegal collection of tax at rural community markets, which have become recurring description of several communities in Northern states of Nigeria (Mohammed & Alimba, 2015, p.168). The Bandits lived in ungoverned forest reserves and hilly areas, as hideouts from where they unleash horror on their victims. Some of the bandits are extremely audacious to the point of operating from their own villages (Rufa'i, 2021).

In Northern Nigeria, armed banditry is principally regarded as a term for social conflict. This conflict often occur in secluded rural areas and may operate along several identity-based magnitudes, including ethnic, religious or communal identities, between the *Fulbe* Pastoralists and sedentary crop farmers (Ibrahim & Dabugat, 2015, p. 258). This is because, the *Fulbe* pastoralist are mostly Muslim, and are seen as the perpetrators of banditry. On the other hand, sedentary crop growing communities, consisting of several other ethnic groups that are commonly non-Muslim, portrayed as the victims of banditry. Therefore, armed banditry is a major feature of crisis associated with divergent forms of social conflicts in Nigeria. It is often associated with villainous activities of raid on villages, disfigurement, arms smuggling, cattle rustling, wanton destruction of properties, gang rape, murder, kidnapping and looting.

Similar to the above point of views, Osasona (2021) posits that, banditry can be traced to farmer-herder conflict, which metastasized to arms smuggling, protection rackets, kidnapping for ransom and gender-based violence. He further posits that, bandits are an assortment of criminal gangs involved in large-scale cattle rustling, sexual abuses, kidnapping, pillage and attacks on gold miners and traders particularly in Northwest Nigeria.

The above submissions are in line with the current Nigerian security situation. Most of the people find themselves in the criminal act as a result of deprivation over access to grazing land and neglect by the government. It is this situation of no option, which forces such a group of people to restored to banditry, as a means of meeting their demands.

### ***Food Security***

According to Food and Agriculture Organisation, food security is a situation when all people, at all period, have financial, social and physical access to satisfactory, protected and healthy food that meets their nutritional needs and food preferences for an energetic, hale and hearty life style (FAO, 1996). There are three indicators of food security: availability of food, accessibility of food and utilization of food (World Bank, 2001). These indicators show that if a nation is unable to meet the three conditions has a false sense of food security and vice versa.

A nation is food secured when food is available at all times, all persons have means of access, there is adequate food in terms of quantity, quality and variety, and is satisfactory within a given culture (Clover, 2003:7 cited in Ojo and Adebayo, 2012).

Food insecurity is basically characterised by a huge decline in people sources of food; the predominance of underfeeding continue to increase for most time of the year and cannot be accounted for by whichever health or care factors; large proportion of the people are using unsuitable strategies and people restored to using coping strategies that are detrimental to their livelihoods in the longer term or acquire some other undesirable cost, such as acting unlawfully or dishonestly (World Food Summit plan of Action, 1996 cited in Attah, 2012). Supporting the above claim, Maxwell (in Nana- Sinkam 1995:111) assert that a state and its citizens are food secured when their food coordination operates in such a way as to eliminate the fear that there will not be sufficient to eat. He stressed further that food security requires a situation where the poor and weak people have secure access to the food they desire (Attah, 2012).

Food insecurity within the context of the North-west and North-central geo-political zones of Nigeria is characterised by decline on commercial farmers' income, reduction in the quantity and quality of foods for subsistence and commercial purposes, increase in the prices of food crops, looting and destruction food storages. Attributed to the forceful displacement of farmers; conversion of large size of agricultural land to criminal gangs' hideout; and imposition illicit taxes on farmlands. These have made the accessibility,

availability and utilization of food impossible, which translates to food insecurity in the region.

### **Nexus between Armed Banditry and Food Insecurity in Nigeria**

*Banditry has produced severe and adverse effects on food security because farmers are prevented from accessing their farms by bandits* (President Muhammadu Buhari, 2021). The activities of armed bandits, whether directly or indirectly, have posed debilitating effects on food security in the North-west geo-political zone of Nigeria, particularly in Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara States, which are the agricultural hub of the region. Millions and thousands of farming communities have been displaced and dispossessed of their properties by armed bandits, with thousands of farmers kidnapped and killed.

Farming is the source of livelihood for millions of Nigerians and these farmers are the source of food and raw materials for other sectors of the Nigerian economy. But due to the activities of armed bandits, farmers can no longer go to their farms because of the fear of attacks or kidnapping for ransom. More so, the bandits have turned vast farm lands as their hideouts and turned them to 'no go areas' for the farmers. Therefore, the farmers have no option than to depart their farms uncultivated, as most of the farmers cannot mortgage their lives to agricultural production. In some areas farmers have to pay tax to the bandits controlling the area before they could have access to their farmlands. It was revealed that, farmers in the Northwest pay bandits ₦ 1.7m annually as tax and harvest fees before they can have access to their farms and to be free from being kidnapped (*Sahara reporters*, 2020).

All Farmers' Association of Nigeria (AFAN) secretary, Kaduna State chapter also disclosed that, bandits send messages of attacks or tax the farmers huge sums of money before they could have access to their farms. He also revealed that, bandits are now the ones to decide whether farmers should go to their farms or not, some of our farmers that produced thousand bags of grains before, now cannot produce even a quarter of it. Also, the AFAN Chairman, Katsina State Chapter disclosed that, they have lost 28 farmers to banditry (Odebode et'al, 2019).

The fear of attack has made vast majority of the farmers to abandon their farms uncultivated. For instance, WARN (2020) reported that in 2018 over 5000 hectares of farmlands were left uncultivated in Zamfara State, 30% of agricultural land in Kaduna State was abandoned while in Katsina and Zamfara farming activities were restricted to few areas due to the fear of being kidnapped or killed by bandits (WARN, 2020). Over 5,884 farmlands covering 58,330 hectares were neglected in Katsina State due banditry in 2020 (Mafara, 2021). In Kebbi State over 350 local rice farmers were forced to desert their farmlands as a result of banditry (Odebode, et'al 2019).

Crisis Group Africa (2020) also reported that, in 2019 over 13,000 hectares of farmland have been destroyed or rendered inaccessible in Zamfara State and 21,316 hectares of

farmland across the five LGA of Sokoto State remained uncultivated, because 80,000 farmers were harassed and intimidated to stay away from their farms (ICG, 2020). Similarly, Abdullahi, a Katsina based farmer posits that, “only miracle can make farming possible this year. Presently, 15 villages have been battered as bandits prey on people like eagles prey on chicks”, this farmers have no alternative than to leave their homes and farmlands uncultivated. This is because the farmers have been rendered ‘homeless and farm-less’ and consequently turned to ‘beggars’ in their fatherland as they have to buy food or depend on free-care givers, which is inimical to their contribution to agricultural production as poverty will ultimately take a large portion of their daily lives. Alh. Isah, for instance, is a large-scale farmer with over 80 hectares of farm land revealed that: “I have shut down the entire farm because of the fear of bandits’ attacks; farming has become risky as ‘young guys’ now move around with AK47 rifles looking for whom to kidnap or kill. He said he had more than 300 cows, sheep but all now is history” (*Dailytrust*, 2019). This shows that over 97,646 hectares of farmland were left uncultivated in the North-west geo-political zone of Nigeria, a region that 80% of its population depends on agricultural production for survival. This consequently led to dilemma in agricultural production with adverse effect on food security, which results to the decline in food production and galloping inflation on food crops prices for the reason that only a small number of farmers can produce food crops to feed the teeming population. The consequence of all these misadventures is starvation, famine and malnutrition.

Eligible young men, within the age of the productive population (those who do the farming) who are the major targets of attacks, were killed or kidnapped by bandits. The killing of these young men who do the job implies that, there will be shortage in food supply, because vacuum has been created with no body to fill for years. For instance, on 6th July 2020, 15 young farmers working on their farmlands were killed and several others injured at Yargamji village of Batsari LGA of Katsina State (*Daily trust*, 2020). 12 farmers were killed and 9 injured on their farmlands in Magami and Mayaba communities in Gusau LGA on 9<sup>th</sup> September 2021 and additional 8 were also killed by the bandits in Damaga village in Maradun LGA of Zamfara State on the 4<sup>th</sup> June 2021 (*Channelstv*, 2021). On 4th October 2020, 22 farmers working on their farmlands were kidnapped at Mallamawa village of Jibia LGA of Katsina State (Ibrahim, 2020 cited in Ladan & Matawalli, 2020). This means that, the more farmers being killed or kidnapped in the region the higher the decline in food production and the higher food insecurity in the region.

Furthermore, the activities of the rural bandits have led to the displacement of farmers from their communities. According to the International Organisation on Migration rapid Assessment, there are 38,113 internally displaced in Zamfara State alone, while Katsina State has 16,257 IDPs, (IOM, 2019). A joint assessment by United Nation High Commission for Refugees and the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons, reported 210,354 persons displaced from 141 towns and

villages in the Northwest and about 60,000 of the displaced have fled to Niger Republic as refugees (ICG, 2020). Majority of the displaced persons are from farming communities, who are victims of armed banditry and cattle rustling. The secretary of the AFAN, Zamfara State Chapter, Alh. Saidu Garkuwa also revealed that, 10,000 household mostly peasant farmers, had been displaced in Zamfara State alone. Because the horror of being killed or kidnap forced the farmers to abandon agricultural production and if serious measures are not taken, there is the likelihood of a severe food shortages in the coming years (Yahaya *et'al*, 2019). From the above statistics there are about 258,467 IDPs in the North-west, majority are from farming communities who largely depend on agricultural production. The displacement of these people means that a large portion of farmland will be left uncultivated.

In the process of displacement these farming communities faced serious humanitarian challenges. ICG, (2020) reported that, the situation of the displaced in Katsina and Zamfara States are appalling, characterised by inadequate food, crude shelter, poor health and sanitation service. Within this context therefore, these displaced persons are forced to disposed their farmlands at 'give away price' to buy or to rent home in towns or urban centres where there is relative peace or to buy/pay for some of their peculiar and basic needs that are necessary for their survival such as food, medication and clothing. More to the above narrative is the sales of farmlands to pay ransom for relatives and family members. Families of those abducted have no option than to sale their farmlands, which is their only means of livelihood to pay ransom for their loved ones. This has rendered a large chunk of individuals and families farm-less for life and turned to 'agricultural labourers' in their fatherland.

Rustling of animals by bandits have seriously reduced number of animals used for traction, which decreased the quantity of manure and took away means of livelihood for many rural dwellers. Farming communities in various States like in Kaduna, Katsina and Zamfara have lost large parts of their crop yields to cattle rustlings that were triggered by banditry. Pastoralist and farmers in most of the communities were forced to sale the whole of their cattle; including traction bulls (bull used for farm labour such as harrowing, ridging and ploughing on farmland), against their desires, because of the fear of being rustle by the bandits. According to Ahmadu Suleiman, Chairman Kaduna State chapter of the *Miyetti Allah* Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, between October 2013 and March 2014 approximately 7,000 cattle were rustled from commercial livestock farms and traditional herders in Northern Nigeria (Olaniyan & Yahaya 2016 cited in Bashir 2014).

ICG (2020) also reported that, about 141,360 cattle were rustled in Zamfara State including milking and traction bulls from 2011-2020. This has implications on farming activities in the areas, because loss in animal labour also reduces the quantity of food crops available to the farmers and households, because the animals labour has to be replaced by human labour, which results to 'hunger in the midst of plenty'.

Bandits have destroyed and looted food storages and farmlands of the communities they attacked, which has created food shortages in the communities affected. In Zamfara State alone more than 500 farming communities were burnt and destroyed by bandits (Osasona, 2021). ICG, (2020) also reported that, 10,000 houses, shops and food storages (silos) were destroyed by bandits.

Collaborating the above assertions, Yusuf Danladi, a native of Sabon-birni area of Kaduna State opined that:

*“The bandit came in their hundreds on motorbikes around 6:00pm and starts shooting indiscriminately and sets all the foods storages on fire and none of us escape with a single bag of grain”.*

The bandits also burgled local shops that sales foodstuffs and wrap all the food items in the shops, which translates to the scarcity of foodstuff even in local shops in villages attacked. Case in point here is the attack on Dankar and Tsauwa villages of Batsari LGA on 14th February 2020 and the attack on Unguwar Gizo in Faskari LGA on 29th May 2020 (Ladan & Matawalli, 2020:443). On 2 September 2021, bandits also destroyed shops and carted away all the food items and money in Bassa LGA of Niger State (a state that shares borders with Kaduna, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara States) (Abdullahi, 2021).

Another debilitating effect of armed banditry on food security in the Northwest is the closure of some major grain markets in the region. For some times, Zamfara State governor has ordered the closure of some strategic markets in the State namely: Magami, Wake and Dauran markets, as part of counter strategy, to avoid bandits' attacks on markets and to also cut the bandits' supply chain. Some communities including local markets have been deserted and turned to 'ghost towns' as a result of bandits attacks or the anticipation of their attacks, which refrain traders from frequenting the markets where exchanges in grains and other foodstuffs take place. Add to this is the blocking of local trading routes that are found along roads connecting rural markets where buyers and sellers of foodstuffs pass through especially on market days. The bandits blocked such trading routes to kidnap traders and confiscate all the monies meant for transactions and all the food items intended for sale at the markets (Ladan & Matawalli, 2020:443). These have pauperised rural traders and cut-off access to food supply in the region, which have bastardised rural economy in the Northwest.

It has altered the pattern of trade interactions in agricultural commodities that existed for centuries between the people from the Southern and Northern parts of the country, particularly the North-western part. Before the rising tension of banditry people from the far south and neighbouring countries came to the Northwest to buy food crops such as maize, g/corn, millet, g/nut beans, cash crops and animals, but the fear of the unknown has scared away most of these traders from coming to buy these food and non-food items. The closure of the Nigerian land borders by the federal government to curtail the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, which seen as the 'primary force' used



by bandits, has also prevented people from the neighbouring to come for exchange in food commodities and animals. These have also contributed to food scarcity and increase in the prices of food commodities, due to the distraction in the supply chain. World Bank (2021) reported that, as of July 16, 2021, there was approximately 30% increase in the price of agricultural commodities than in January 2020. Maize, wheat and rice prices were about 43%, 12% and 10% above their price in January 2020 attributed to insecurity in the country (Chukwu, 2021).

From the above submissions, we can see that, rural banditry has posed a serious threat to food security. This is evident in the declined in food production and sky rocketed increase in the prices of agricultural commodities in the country and if the Nigerian government failed to address this security situation, there is the probability of food importation from our neighbouring countries years to come.

### **Findings**

1. Findings from this research shows that, the activities of armed bandits left over 97,646 hectares of agricultural lands uncultivated in the Northwest geo-political zone of the country.
2. There are about 258,467 internally displaced persons mostly from farming communities of Sokoto, Kaduna, Kebbi, Katsina and Zamfara State, due to bandits' attacks.
3. A large chunk of farmers mostly youths, who are within the production age have been killed by armed bandits.
4. Substantial parts of agricultural lands were sold against the wishes of some helpless farmers, who are victims of banditry to make ends meet or to pay ransom for the release of their loved ones.
5. Food storages, shops, houses and farmlands were looted and destroyed by bandits.
6. Only few farmers can produce food crops to feed the teeming population. Because, both subsistent and commercial farmers were forced to abandon their farms uncultivated.
7. The security challenges exacerbated by banditry have altered the pattern of trade interactions in agriculture commodities between traders from the southern part (mostly buyers of the food commodities) and Northern part (Mostly producers and sellers of the food commodities). This has consequently reduced supply of these agricultural products to other parts of the country.

### **Panacea to the menace of food security in the region**

1. Government at all level should intensify its efforts towards clearing the remnants of armed bandits in the region, to give way for the resettlement of internally

- displaced persons back to their original places of residence to continue with their economic activities.
2. Government should also compensate victims of cattle rustling; destruction of farm produce and looting of food storage to enable them bounce back to their socio-economic life.
  3. Government should make provision for grazing routes/reserves for herders. Evidence from this research shows that, encroachment on grazing routes is one of the triggers of armed banditry in the Northwest.
  4. Security agencies like the Police, Army, Department of State Security etc. their condition of service should be improved and properly equip in line with global best practices.
  5. Government should also give the kiss of life to nomadic education and provide all the essential services that are necessary for good life in the rural areas.
  6. Provision should be made for psycho - social support, for the victims of cattle rustling and those who have lost substantial parts of their wealth to banditry.
  7. Good Surveillance system should also be put in place and improved to meet the needs, yearnings and aspirations of the current reality.

### Conclusion

Armed banditry has posed serious threat to food security in the Northwest geo-political zone of Nigeria. This is obvious given how the criminal groups engaged in attacking farming communities and their markets; looting and destruction of lives and property and food storages; displacement of farmers and rustling of cattle, which have already shattered both 'rural and urban economy' in the region. It is as a result of the effects of climate change, population expulsion, poverty, unemployment, jungle justice and insufficient courts. The paper concludes that, improving the socio-political cum economic conditions of the people in rural and urban areas in the region will go a long way in mitigating crimes in the region. This includes providing employment opportunities for the jobless youths, poverty eradication programmes for families, free medical services and subsidy on food and non-food items for the victims of conflict; dialogue between sedentary farmers and pastoralist and finally government should compensate victims of bandits' attacks and cattle rustling to divert their attention from joining lucrative crimes as ultimate resort.

### References

- Abdullahi, M. (2021). Bandits attack Niger community, loot shops. *Thecable*.  
<http://thecable.ng/bandits-attack-niger-community/amp>.
- Attah, A. W. (2012). Food security in Nigeria: the role of peasant farmers in Nigeria. *An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia, Vol. 6 (4)*, 173-190.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/afrev.v6i4.12>

- Channelstv, (2021, September, 9). 12 farmers, 10 others killed as bandits attack Zamfara communities. <http://www.channelstv.com/2021/06/04/12-farmers,-10-other-killed-as-bandits-attack-Zamfara-communities>.
- Chukwu, I. (2021). Nutritionists blame increased cost of food stuff on Covid-19, insecurity. *Tribune*.<http://www.google.com/amp/s/tribuneonline.com/nutritionists-blame-increased-cost-of-food-stuff-on-Covid-19-insecurity/amp/>
- Daily trust (2020, July, 2). Bandits kills 15 farmers in Katsina. <http://dailytrust.com/bandits-kills-15-farmers-in-katsina>.
- Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), (1996). Rome declaration on world food security and world food summit plan of action. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/w3613e/w3613e00.pdf>
- Ibrahim, J. & Dabugat, K. (2015). Rural banditry and hate speech in northern Nigeria: fertile ground for the construction of dangerous narratives in the media. In Kuna, M and Ibrahim, J. (Ed.), *Rural banditry and conflicts in northern Nigeria* (pp. 157-166). Center for Democracy and Development.
- International Crisis Group (ICG). (2020). Violence in Nigeria's Northwest: rolling back the mayhem. <http://reliefweb.int-288-violence-in-nigeria-north-west.pdf>.
- International Organization on Migration (IOM). (2019). Flash report: displacement report in Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara States. <http://iom.org/flash-report-displacement-report-in-katsina-sokoto-and-zamfara-states>.
- Ladan, S.I & Matawalli, B. U. (2020). Impacts of banditry on food security in Katsina State, Nigeria. *Direct Research Journal of Agriculture and Food Science*. Vol. 8 (12), 439-447.
- Mafara, M.B (2021, September, 9). Banditry in Katsina (2): how gunmen scare farmers away from farms. [Premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/483861-banditry-in-katsina-\(2\)-how-gunmen-scare-farmers-away-from-farms.html](http://premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/483861-banditry-in-katsina-(2)-how-gunmen-scare-farmers-away-from-farms.html)
- Odebode, k et'al (2019). Bandits tax us before allowing us access to our farms- Northwest farmers. *Punch*. <http://punchng.com/bandits-tax-us-before-allowing-us-access-to-our-farms-Northwest-farmers>.
- Ojo, E.O & Adebayo, P.F. (2012). Food security in Nigeria: an overview. *European Journal of Sustainable Development*, Vol. 1, (2), 199-222.
- Olaniyan, A. & Yahaya, A. (2016). Cows, bandits, and violent conflicts: understanding cattle rustling in northern Nigeria, in: *Africa Spectrum*, 51, 3, 93-105. <http://nbn-resolving.org/urn/resolver.pl?urn:nbn:de:gbv:18-4-9894>
- Osasona, T. (2021, July, 5). New lords of Nigeria's Northwest. <http://republic.com.ng/june-july-2021/new-lords-nigeria-northwest/>.
- Rufa'i, M.A (2021). 'I am a bandit': A decade of research on armed banditry in Zamfara State. A seminar paper presented on the 15<sup>th</sup> University Seminar at University Auditorium, Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto Main Campus 9<sup>th</sup> September, 2021.
- Sahara Reporters (2020, November, 12). Farmers in Northern part of Nigeria now pay bandits N1.7m as tax, harvest fees to avoid attacks. <http://saharareporters.com/2020/11/12/>

farmers-in-northern-part-of-nigeria-now-pay-bandits-n1.7m-as-tax,-harvest-fees-to-avoid-attacks.

The World Bank (WB), (1991). Strategy for food and nutrition security. World Bank Report 1991.

Yahaya, H. et al (2019, April 8). Kidnapping poses threat to food security, and businesses. Daily trust. <http://dailytrust.com.ng/kidnapping-poses-threat-to-food-security-businesses.html>.