

From Boko Haram Insurgency To Banditry: Exploring The Changing Nature Of Insecurity And Underdevelopment In Nigeria

Roberts Anya Nkata

Department of Political Science, Veritas University, Bwari,
Abuja

Okpan Samuel Okpanocha

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Evangel University, Akaeze, Ebonyi State

Abstract: Background: *Insecurity has become a reoccurring decimal in Nigeria, the protracted nature of insecurity has stretched both the Nigerian military and the citizens beyond bounds. This paper examined insecurity in the spectrum of insurgency to emerging forms of banditry and its attendant consequences on the socio-economic development of Nigeria.*

Methods: *The paper adopted the qualitative review of secondary data on insurgency, banditry and its effect on economic development. As such, a random empirical search was done on papers related to insurgency, banditry, and socio-economic development; the inclusion criteria were both studies in Nigeria and those done outside Nigeria. The theoretical anchoring was that adumbrated by Daniel Bell – Queer leader theory and Fererabend & Feirauben – Frustration Aggression, which all explained the emergence and persistence of bandits.*

Findings: *It was found that while the Boko Haram are more of socio-political or even culturally oriented, bandits are more or less socioeconomic oriented criminal groups justifying the Queer leader and frustration-aggression assumptions. The bandit insecurity is orchestrated by unemployment, poverty, and lack are some of amongst the youths you indulge in kidnapping for ransom. The study further revealed that the activities of both groups have largely affected business and Nigerian economic sustainability as farmers, traders, and even students can longer operate safely.*

Recommendation: *The Nigerian government needs to equip the military to fight – of radicalized Boko Haram members thereby upholding the Nigerian constitution, the Imams in Northern Nigeria should inculcate appropriate values to the youths before they are radicalized. The government should priority youth employment with evidence commitment through the creation of agencies for rehabilitation and empowering repentant bandits.*

Keywords: *Insurgency, Bandits, Insecurity, Boko-Haram, Poverty*

I. INTRODUCTION

Historically, human society has been embedded with one form of conflict or order. Insecurity has been a recurring decimal as man struggles to continue its existence. Insecurity from wild animals forced men to fabricate stone weapons, bows and arrow spares, etc. Again, came the adverse climatic conditions leading the man to build shelters as home from environmental insecurity. For the lack of space, we would not devote much time to the Peloponnesian War which occurred after Athens and Sparta had joined forces to defeat Persia, see (Nye and Welch, 2011). However, the above-mentioned war instrumentally points to the fact that despite signing a truce for

peace, when state and personal interests clash, war and insecurity becomes inevitable. This is why Ikezue and Ezeah (2017) affirmed that more often than not, persistent conflict and insecurity are caused by competition for scarce resources. Besides several insecurity challenges that have crippled the sustained development of Nigeria before and after independence, was as pervasive as the Boko Haram lead insurgency. The insurgent group Boko Haram brought an international dimension to insecurity in Nigeria. For instance, it was the insurgent group that first introduced suicide bombing in Nigeria, an incident carried out by Mohammed Manga who attacked the Nigerian Police Force headquarters in Abuja on June 16, 2011, by bombing himself in a car killing

about five people, including a police officer and many cars destroyed in the attack (Salkida, 2011).

A suicide bomber knows he/she will die in the exercise. This form of criminality is entirely different from the conventional crimes where the criminals are afraid of death or being caught. In the case of Boko Haram insurgency, members of the sect are willing to die owing largely to religious indoctrination that they will be taken to paradise if they die while fighting the jihadist war (Ikezue and Ezeah, 2017). It is this religious indoctrination that makes the sect very hard to deal with. Military personnel deployed to fight the insurgents are afraid of dying or sustaining injuries while the people they are fighting are not only willing to fight but also ready to die for the cause they believe in. The sect declared a "holy war" on the Nigerian nation and has threatened to do more mayhem except their conditions are met. Farouk (2015) stressed that Boko Haram was not only interested in education; rather its political goal was to create an Islamic state, and the school became a recruiting ground for jihadists. This particular goal of the sect is not tenable in the contemporary Nigerian society which is multi-ethnic, multi religious and a secular state. This is also against the background that religious intolerance has since become an aberration in the modern world.

In most recent times, what has also fueled insecurity is the recent growth in informal mining activity in the mineral-rich northwest, particularly in Zamfara State, which has attracted criminal gangs from far and wide. In a region that is experiencing increasing rates of poverty and unemployment, coupled with weak governance and inequality, banditry has become a very attractive business for some youths (Obaji, 2021). Unfortunately, the activities of these bandits have created large humanitarian consequences. In the last decade, close to 200,000 people have been displaced from their homes as a result of criminal violence and about 77,000 Nigerians have fled to neighboring countries. In the first half of 2020 alone, at least 1,126 people were killed by bandits in northern Nigeria, according to Amnesty International. Given the increased reports of attacks and killings by these bandits in the region, that number may well have doubled by now (Obaji, 2021).

Multiple efforts are being made by the government to curb these insecurity challenges in Nigerian society (Luechinger, 2013); from adopting the counter insurgency strategy to imposition of sanctions are some of the measures put in place to reduce the menace of banditry in the country. Notwithstanding, the level of insecurity in the country is still high, leading to Nigeria consistently ranking low in the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012), which signifies an abysmal state of insecurity in the country. Ajibola (2015), Uhumwuangho & Aluforo (2011) are of the view that the efforts of the government have not yielded enough positive results. The Nigeria economic rating with a major focus on growth has witnessed an increase in spending on military hardware as well as equipping personnel security systems and training to make them efficient to cope with insurgent phenomenon and ensuring the sustainability of economic growth (Ruys, 2004). As a result of insurgency, foreign direct investment (FDI) has declined; It has dropped by 21.3% in 2012 from \$8.9 billion in 2011 to \$7 billion in 2012 (World Investment Report, 2013). It was recognized that this high dependency ratio is a centre of

weakness for Nigeria's economy. Over a few years, banditry has created widespread insecurity across regions in Nigeria, increased tensions between various ethnic communities, interrupted development activities, frightened off investors, inflamed religious tensions and upset the nation's social cohesion (Eme and Ibiatan, 2012) and this has generated concern among the Nigerian citizens.

Nigeria is not an exception of unconventional insurgency with the attendant political instability, crisis of sustainable socio-economic development and legitimacy crisis. Since the 1960 independence, Nigeria has experienced an attack by terrorist groups such as the maitasine of 1980 and 1982 (Ogundiya & Amzat, 2008); the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) that occurred between the years 2000 and 2010 and the Boko Haram Terrorist crisis which is still ravaging the country since 2009 till date. Evidently, much has been written about the origin, objectives, and dimensions of Boko Haram insurgency. Most worrisome is that the Boko Haram insurgency started in the wake of the nation's efforts to resuscitate the socio-economic problems created by the Niger Delta militants. This indeed has remained topical and constitutes a serious cause of concern to the government and the private sector economy of Nigeria although not much especially empirical work could be said to have been done on bandits.

To the government in particular, the question of insurgency has recently become a crucial issue in Nigeria's struggle for good governance, sustainable democracy, and sustainable socio-economic development. The predominant threat and security challenges are emanating from unabated attacks on Nigerian citizens, individuals, public and government installations, kidnapping, and destruction of property. The activities of bandits are seriously affecting the Nigeria state, as such threatening its national security and socio-economic activities. This has posed great challenges to the ground strategy for national security, of which the primary aim is to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria to advance her interests and objectives to curtail instability, control crime, ensure good quality life for every citizen, improve the fare and eliminate corruption (Adekanye, 2007).

II. REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE / THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

The concept of insurgency would be best understood by defining the concept of security, which has been defined by Achumba & Ighomenho (2013) in Akin (2008) as the situation that exists as a result of the establishment of measures for the protection of persons, information and property against hostile persons, influence and actions. Ogunleye et al. (2013) see it as a measure designed to protect and safe guard the citizen, the resources of individuals, groups, businesses, and the nature against sabotage or violent occurrence of insurgency. On the other hand, as assessed by O'Neal (1990) insurgency is organized movement aimed at the throw of a constituted government through the use of supervision and armed conflict. The term insurgency is often used to cover a wider scope of low intent conflict and is often linked inextricably to terrorism

as terrorism is a tool that many insurgent groups use to further their agendas. Bernard (2005), maintains that insurgency is a state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection. It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger.

According to Chalk, Byran et al. (2001), certain conditions can transform a dissatisfied future of the population into an insurgency, people revolt because of the government inability to meet the legitimate needs of the population. Insurgencies often use the media to present the image of an unresponsive or unprepared government. Corrupt and inefficient governments cannot provide basic services, create jobs, encourage growth or improve the lives of the general population, this is why terrorism has become such a popular tool for insurgents; the government's inability to protect its citizens and destroy the insurgents is placed across the pages of the international press and becomes a daily reminder of the lack of government control.

The insurgent environment of the Nigeria economy refers to the variables that affect the achievement of growth but then which the economy has little indirect control upon. In Nigeria the variables range from, theft to Armed Robbery, Kidnapping, Assassination, Unemployment, high cost of living etc. Economically, corruption and insurgence encourage capital flight as many foreign investors are reluctant to invest in Nigeria for fear of losing their money to swindlers and fraudsters. In many parts of the country, properties worth billions of naira have been destroyed and many businesses have come to a standstill (Adebanjoko & Okorie, 2014).

When able youths of today are killing themselves through fighting, it then extends to killing of state security officials, kidnapping, and ransom seeking (Rotimi et al., 2013, Lkelegbe, 2001). As a result of the uprising of insurgency and banditry, the future workforce may shrink and gradually die out, thereby creating a vacuum in the economic fortune of a nation, which at the same time poses threats to the growing concern of the economic activity of a nation. This in the long run may lead to child slavery as those to take up future economic challenges may have gradually been reduced and may not be able to champion the economic demands (Rotimi et al., 2013). The activities of bandits impede growth and erode the already established economic value systems in Nigeria. This devastating effect of continuous insurgence in Nigeria has gone so bad and it is worrisome as several but unsuccessful measures have been put in place to halt the menace (Oditia & Akan, 2014). It is therefore not an understatement that Achebe (1988) concludes that insurgence has permeated the African society and anyone who can say that insurgence in Africa has not yet become alarming, is either a fool or a crook or does not live in this continent.

III. EMERGING SECURITY THREATS: FROM INSURGENCY TO THE DAWN OF BANDITRY IN NIGERIA

The current rising wave of insurgency, kidnapping, and banditry, among others in Nigeria has affected, among others, Nigeria's image and socio-economic development (Makinde, 2019). Apart from the scorching effect of Boko Haram

insurgency on the people and economy of the North-East of Nigeria, communities in Katsina, Zamfara, Sokoto, and Kaduna states have become targets of bandits, kidnappers, and other vices.

IV. BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA

It is pertinent to explain further the meaning of Boko Haram. Boko Haram (usually translated as "Western education is a sin"), is a militant Islamist organization based in northeastern Nigeria. The sect was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 and seeks to establish Islamic state in Nigeria (Farouk, 2015). Ikezue and Ezeah (2015) argued that the Boko Haram is a terrorist organization. This is in view of the fact that they unleash terror anywhere they go. Terrorism has been defined severally and differently by scholars all over the world. According to Eze (2013) cited in Okoli and Iortyer (2014:40), the United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as "unlawful use of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce and intimidate the government to accept political, religious or ideological objectives". This definition rightly captures the manner in which the Boko Haram insurgents carry out their operations in Nigeria.

Zumve, Ingyoroko and Akuva (2013) examined the interconnections between endemic poverty created by official corruption, state, neglect of the needs of the masses, and terrorism in contemporary Nigeria and concluded that economic deprivation, frustration and desperation are the underlying causes of terrorism in Nigeria. If terrorism is actually caused by poverty as a result of corruption and state neglect, why have other sections of the country not taken to terrorist acts? It is in the opinion of this paper that Boko Haram insurgency has religious, ethnic, political, and others factors responsible for its formation. The first suicide bomber, Mohammed Manga was fairly well to do. According to Salkida (2011), Manga was involved in the importation of goods from Dubai and was a financier of the sect. It was alleged that he willed four million naira to his family before embarking on the suicide bombing mission. Even Abdulmutallab, the young Nigerian who would have bombed an American bound flight, could not be classified as coming from a poor parental background. Abdulmutallab is the son of a multi billionaire in Nigeria. It is necessary to state at this juncture that poverty per se is just a necessary condition for the emergence of a terrorist groups but not a sufficient condition. Poverty existed in the military era and people did not take on suicide bombing. Why was suicide bombing never noticed in Nigeria until June 16, 2011, after the April 2011 general elections? Book Haram insurgents became more daring after the 2011 general election. It is imperative to clarify that the first bomb blast in Nigeria under President Jonathan's regime was carried out by the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) on October 1, 2010 at Eagle Square in Abuja.

Several factors were responsible for the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. For instance, Samuel (2006), Kegley (2003), and Wardlaw (1982) cited in Boye (2013) argued that terrorism was motivated by religious

extremism, perceived oppression, ethnic considerations, absence of central authority, poverty, ignorance, state-sponsored terrorism and ideological orientation. Furthermore, Mu'azu (2011) argued that terrorism emerged in Nigeria because of the failure of governance a complacent security regime and the absence of a strong culture that enables citizens to make effective demands from their rulers. He maintained that the environment in which Nigerians live and their experiences of governance are likely contributory factors to the emergence of terrorism.

It has to be stated, however, that some of the factors listed above have nothing to do with the formation of Boko Haram terrorist groups in Nigeria. For instance, the repressive killing of members of the group in 2009 is not responsible for the emergence of Boko Haram because the group had existed before then. Even the killing of its leader is also not responsible for its emergence in Nigeria. Furthermore, unresolved conflicts between the Arabs and Israel should never be seen as being responsible for the formation of the sect. Granted that many of the factors listed above could be responsible in one way or the other for the emergence of the groups, some of the factors are nowhere related to the emergence of the group in Nigeria. Mu'azu (2011:20) also contended that, "The conspicuous consumption of the ruling elite, the culture of impunity that reigns across the land and the unconscionable recruitment of youth into violent gangs serving as political thugs, with the active backing of those in power, contribute to the security challenges Nigeria is going through."

Root causes of terrorism as enumerated by Bloom (2007) cited in Chinwokwu (2013:269) include "lack of rule of law, failed or weak states that provide havens for terrorists, corrupt governments, depression, discrimination and social injustice". Chinwokwu (2013:269) on his part argued that terrorism was caused by "unemployment, absolute poverty, underemployment, rise of indigenous neo elites, executive lawlessness, marginalization, relative deprivation, oppression, neo-imperialist class, do-or-die politics and government insincerity and insensitivity". This is consistent with Asemah (2013) who identified several factors as being responsible for terrorism in Nigeria. According to him, terrorism in Nigeria was influenced by poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, religious intolerance, and many others. In a study conducted by Taspinar (2013) cited in Asemah (2013:156), it was found that "breeding grounds for radicalism and terrorist recruitment emerge not necessarily under conditions of abject poverty and deprivation, but rather when negative religious, social, economic and political trends converge". The authors further maintained that terrorism was not necessarily caused by socioeconomic problems, but by the correlation between deprivation and radicalism. This paper is wanting to adopt the above argument that terrorism in Nigeria was not entirely economically motivated. It could be argued that so many factors were responsible for the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria. It is possible that a conglomeration of these factors has actually made the insurgency in Nigeria more prominent.

Boko Haram insurgency is concentrated in the northeastern part of the country. One is then forced to ask why Boko Haram has persisted in the region more than in any other region of the country. Many factors could be attributed to why

the insurgency is more widespread in the northeastern region than in any other part of the country. According to the Statistician General of the Federation in a Press Conference in Abuja, the Northwest and Northeast geo-political zones recorded the highest poverty rate in Nigeria with 77.7% and 76.3% respectively (Nigerian Tribune, Tuesday 14th February, 2012, pp1-2) cited in Abimbola and Adesote (2012). It appears that poverty could account for the prominence of insurgency in the region than in others. This is not absolutely correct. This is against the background that the Northwest geo-political zone has a higher poverty rate and still has minimal or fewer cases of insurgency in the region. This implies that poverty as a factor is not sufficient to account for the incessant cases of terrorist acts in the region. Another factor which may be adduced to why insurgency is common in the northeastern region of the country could be the multiplicity of borders in the region.

The region has borders with Chad, Cameroun, and Niger. It is likely that the porous borders enabled the poverty-stricken individuals in the region to take on arms, which could easily be brought in through the numerous borders. Sani (2011) cited in Mu'azu (2011) argued that the proliferation of arms in the north east, Chadian civil war and illegal immigration are part of the reasons for the emergence of Boko Haram. A series of political unrests have been recorded in Chad and Niger for some time. It is possible that arms were smuggled into the northeastern regions easily as a result of the crises in these countries. This could explain to some extent why the insurgency is more pronounced in the northeastern region than in any other region in the country. It therefore follows that the northeast geo-political zone, which is the only zone in the country which has boundaries with three other countries, is seriously threatened by illegal immigration and proliferation of arms from these countries. This may however account for why the region is noted for insurgency more than in any other region in the country.

V. THE DAWN OF BANDITRY IN NIGERIA

The notion of banditry has been changing overtime, space and situation. For instance, a bandit in the 19th century Europe and Americas was a freedom fighter whose aim was partly to ensure the emancipation of the downtrodden from the upper class or colonized over the colonizer (Warto, 1991:128) cited in (Tanimu and Mahmoud, 2021). Therefore, in some preindustrial society's peasants see bandits differently from the state not as outlaws, hoodlums, and miscreants but as avengers and "bread winners". However, a bandit in the traditional African settings is entirely opposite to that of Americas and Europe, the former specialized in armed robbery and other related crimes (Curott & Fink, 2008:46).

There are different dimensions of banditry in Africa such as maiming, killing, and malicious destruction of property and hence, it has a direct relationship with deleterious social economic development (Rufa'I, 2017:8). Since most herdsmen could do anything possible to prevent the rustling of their herds, then the bandits can also apply force with the aid of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) to ensure effective stealing of livestock (Addo, 2006:7). Hence, the application of

force during livestock theft is what is herein considered banditry and dynamic operating pattern of crime. Overtime banditry has become a global occurrence with Nigeria not exempted. Rotberg (2007:33), affirmed the prevalence of banditry in Nigeria stating thus “crime against persons, including murder, rape, and robbery has grown in scale and viciousness in Nigeria since 1999. This has been demonstrated by the pervasive trend of armed robbery in the country, which in effect mirrors the Africa-wide experience.

Similarly, Okoli and Abubakar (2021) further noted that armed banditry is prevalent in Nigeria, to the extent that banditry is now competing with insurgency for the soul of Nigeria’s national security. Banditry is considered the occurrence or prevalence of armed robbery or violent crime, which involves utilizing force or a threat to that effect, to intimidate a person with the intent to robe, rape, or kill with an arm (Tanimu and Mahmoud, 2021). The phenomenon has become a common genre of crime, as well as a cause of violence in the contemporary Nigerian social space (Nigeria Watch, 2011). The activities of bandits in Nigeria are concentrated in the northwest within six states, namely, Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kaduna, Niger, and Kebi (Rosenje and Adeniyi, 2021) although spreading to other parts of the north. Multiple factors have been identified as driving the occurrence of banditry, especially in the northwest region of Nigeria, some of these factors including but not limited to the scarcely governed spaces – the hinterlands, forestlands and borderlines of the region. The northwestern hinterlands are marked by extremely dispersed rural settlements, separated by rangelands and farmlands that are susceptible to violent contestations (Gaye, 2018). Another major factor which cannot be ignored in discussing crime and criminality in Nigeria is the high rate of unemployment which stands at 23.1%, of which youth unemployment is 55.4% (National Bureau of Statistics, NBS, 2019), coupled with mass poverty which stands at 77.7% (NBS, 2019; Rosenje and Moliki, 2016), and sadly these figures have sowed yearly due to Nigerian institutions graduating batches of youths without matching increase in jobs and opportunities for these graduates (Adegoke, 2019). In support of these assertion, Suleiman (2017) and Mustapha (2019) identified anxiety leading to frustration and aggression on the government as what has disposed most of the unemployed youths to becoming bandits attacking the government, schools, churches and other private establishments posing a severe security threats in the country. Again, economic deprivation and the quest to increase access to wealth has also been fingered as fueling the rampaging menace of bandits as Onyinloye (2020) asserted that the problem of banditry borders on existing crises between peoples who are competing over common economic interests,

The presence of bandits within this region has in no small measure affected their social and economic livelihood. This is mostly as a result of the fact that large-scale farming and animal husbandry have been acknowledged to be the main economic activities in the region (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020), with trading as an alternative source of income. Most farmers cultivate yams (in Niger state), legumes, beans, millet, tomatoes, and rice (in Zamfara, Katsina, and Sokoto) (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020).

Targeted attacks on farmers throughout the year have made cultivation and harvest impossible. Bandits at some instance have warned farmers to stay away from their farms, and about 26 farmers who ignored this order were killed in Batsari LGA of Katsina state (Orjinmo, 2020). Farmers have been kidnapped for ransom, while bandits in Shiroro LGA have demanded payments of up to \$1,100 before farmers can access their farmlands (Muhammed, 2020). From all indications it’s obvious banditry by all accounts is undermining security, peace, and development in Nigeria’s northwest region. While the unfolding crisis could be linked to a set of factors, the threat to security in the region, already reeling from the effects of a decade-long Boko Haram insurgency in the northwest, cannot be overstated.

VI. THEORETICAL ANCHORING

This paper adopted Queer Ladder Theory (QLT) and Frustration Aggression Theory as its analytical framework. The origin of Queer Ladder Theory (QLT) is associated with an American sociologist, Daniel Bell (1919-2011), who coined the idea of “queer ladder” in an attempt to explain the instrumental essence of organized crime as a desperate means of socio-economic empowerment and social climbing. This theoretical perspective has since fertilized into a popular theoretical framework widely used in contemporary crime studies. The basic assumptions of QLT are; organized crime is an instrumental behaviour, it is a means to an end; it is an instrument of social climbing and/or socio-economic advancement; and it is a measure to accumulate wealth and build power (Mallory, 2007; Okoli & Orinya, 2013). Often ascribed to Queer Ladder Theory is the notion that organized crime thrives in contexts where the government’s capacity to dictate, sanction and deter crime is poor; where public corruption is endemic; and where prospects for legitimate livelihood opportunities are slim (Nwoye, 2000; Lyman, 2007). Under these circumstances, the incentive to indulge in crime is high, while deterrence from criminal living is low.

In other words, the benefits of committing a crime surpass the costs and/or risks involved. This creates a pretext for criminal impunity and franchise (Okoli & Orinya, 2013). Applied to the context of this paper, QLT enables one to come to terms with the prevalence of organized crime in Northwest region of Nigeria. In this regard, it is observed that the phenomenon of banditry in Northwest Nigeria has been driven by the criminal quest for economic accumulation in the environment. This assumption is supported by the literature on Nigerian banditry as Onyinloye (2020) identified economic quest as causing insecurity in Nigeria. Furthermore, this situation has been made worse by the prevailing socio-economic discontent and attendant livelihood crisis in the state, in addition to the seeming indolence of relevant government agencies towards arresting the ugly situation. The idea of “Ladder” in QLT suggests an untoward pattern of social mobility. Hence, those who take on organized crime, such as banditry, do so as a desperate means of economic accumulation and socio-economic empowerment (Mustapha, 2019). Therefore, a necessary consequence of this trend is the prevalence in crime rates and a state of insecurity (Okoli &

Orinya,2013). The second theoretical strand german in this paper is the frustration-aggression theory that was propounded by Fererabend & Feirauben (1972), which was captured by five scholars from Yale Institute of Human Relations in 1939. The major assumption of the model is that aggression is always a consequence of frustration, and that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939; Fererabend & Feirauben, 1972). They also defined frustration as an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence (Dollard et al., 1939). The interrogations and disputations that the perspective generated led one of the proponents to intervene with some modifications of the central thesis.

Thus, Miller (1941) noted that it was too general to assume that frustration must always lead to aggression or that aggression is always propelled by frustration. His intervention led to the second lap of the hypothesis which reflected a more acceptable reality that frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of response, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression. However, some years later, a significant modification came from Berkowitz (1989) who argued that aggression can be driven by inherent personal benefits to the aggressor and not necessarily by past wrongdoings and that people are more akin to attack when they discover that they are willfully sabotaged or denied what its legitimately theirs than when the interference is an accidental occurrence. He surmised that frustrations are aversive events and generate aggressive inclinations only to the extent that they produce a negative effect (Berkowitz, 1989). Thus, the increasing attacks of bandits across the country, most especially in the northwest region, are largely driven by frustrations and struggles to generate economic assets. The alarming acts of banditry such as cattle rustling, kidnapping, physical attacks, and encroachments on farms are bred by frustration (Uche & Iwuamadi, 2018). Furthermore, Fererabend & Feirauben (1972) stipulates that aggression is as a result of frustration which results from an individual's inability to attain their goals. Accordingly, banditry is the product of aggressive behaviour which results from issues such as poverty and unemployment, among others (Maureen & Blessing, 2018; Adegoke, 2019). In its application to this paper, its argued that economic deprivation in the forms of unemployment and lack of capital for enterprise has frustrated several youths, with the resulting aggressive effect being the emergence of bandits in the country as caused by the need of the disgruntled frustrated elements of the society to get out of poverty and climb up the ladder in socio-economic considerations. That is why the phenomenon of ransom taking is prevalent in banditry operations. However, where the ransom is not forthcoming, bandits become more tensed and frustrated and resort to killing their victims. This is why the two theories become mutually reinforcing and complementary in explaining the crisis at hand (Rosenje and Adeniyi, 2021). Again, the frustration aggression theory is substantiated by Zumve, Ingyoroko and Akuva (2013) who argued that lack of governance occasioned by endemic poverty, negligence of the masses has disposed the youths into aggressive behavior in

this case banditry which has become a new vocation to make ends meet.

VII. METHODS

The outcomes of interest in this systematic review are dimensions of insecurity, challenges arising from insurgency, and banditry in the context of underdevelopment. We define development as unhindered cooperative values in human interactions, the aspiration for improvement, which encompasses well-being and self-improvement centers on access to goods and services through the marketplace (McMicheal, 2017). A reversal of such desire implies underdevelopment. We did a random empirical online search for studies related to security and underdevelopment. The inclusion criteria are not limited to studies carried out in Nigeria but studies on the subject matter of insecurity causing underdevelopment. The paper searched and reviewed (33) empirical papers comprising of (44) qualitative and (33) quantitative studies. The selection criteria were based on security related and implications on development

VIII. FINDINGS

NATURE OF INSECURITY AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The study by Ahmed Mussawar & Cuil (2012), on the economic effects of insurgency on the hotel industry of Swat found that the number of small and medium enterprises were badly affected after terrorist activities. On the basis of the findings, loans on soft terms for small and medium enterprises, special packages for the affected industry employees, and propagation of local values, which entails hospitality for non-locals through media, with strong participation of local leaders were a major ingredient of economic activity in the study area. Similarly, in reviewing the long-term cost implication of insurgency to economic development by Rotimi et al. (2013) in Zaria metropolis, the study associated negative outcomes with socio-economic activities that thwarted progress following any uprising. Its pertinent to state that insecurity does not affect only economic development, this was identified by Dunn (2018) in his study titled the impact of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northeast Nigeria on childhood wasting: a double-difference study. Using two demographic and health surveys from before and after the Boko Haram insurgency started, a double-difference (difference-in-difference) was used to assess the impact of conflict on mean weight-for height z-scores and the likelihood of wasting. He found that children exposed to conflict had their mean weight – for -height z-score would be 0.49 standard deviations higher ($p < 0.001$) than it is, increasing from – 0.74 to - 0.25. Additionally, the likelihood of wasting would be 13 percentage points lower (mean z-statistic – 4.2), bringing the proportion down from 23% to 10%. In essence, conflict affects the height of children.

The challenge associated with insecurity in the 21st century has escalated beyond national boundaries, from all

indications it's safe to argue that modern conflict and insecurity have assumed a globalized dimension in operation and effect. The study by Levitt (2009) dissected the global nature of modern insecurity. It was revealed that foreign fighters had economic impact on Syria and al-Qaeda in Iraq. Their study showed that foreign fighters' use of third-party countries for training, fund raising, and transit is not merely an operational phenomenon, but it is an economic one as well. Thus, there are direct and indirect economic consequences which results in the existence and operation of foreign fighters' networks in a country like Syria. It may not be out of place to assume that the Boko Haram in Nigeria has foreign financiers. It was recommended that the government should develop realistic strategies to contend with foreign fighters' networks that operate in third party countries and develop a holistic understanding of this phenomenon including its economic impact. Further findings by scholars have associated insecurity with state instability, and this is notably expatiated by Oditia and Akan (2014) who explore the Boko Haram menace and their implications on Nigeria's stability. They sustained that the Nigerian government has wasted billions of naira coupled with soldiers who have paid the ultimate price in fighting insurgency and banditry in the country to the extent the government at some point seems helpless. This was further corroborated by Adegbam (2013) in his study *Insecurity: A Threat to Human Existence and Economic Development in Nigeria* found that the quest for a shift in power from northern hegemony to a minority geo – political zone of South-South is a top threat instigating groups and individuals against the interest of the State, secondly was the religious crisis which he noted has posed a major security challenge in Nigeria.

MEASURES TOWARDS ABATING INSECURITY

Although the insecurity dilemma in Nigeria has persistently appeared, insurmountable, evidence from the literature suggests that there are measures scholar have identified that could curb the unending social menace. For instance, Achumba, Igbomerho and Akpor Rabaro (2013) enunciated that going by all deleterious effects of insecurity, they are a need for the government to evolve a safe business environment that allows for an effective and sustainable development process. The security management models recommended to achieve this are aimed at combating the creators and perpetrators of the situation of insecurity and simultaneously addressing and removing the sources of dissatisfaction and discontentment which spur security breaches and the involvement of all stakeholders both in public and private capacity, government, business organizations, society, religious groups, communities and individuals to supply resources, expertise and information that are required to ensure a safe environment. In the same manner, Olabanji and Ese (2014) recommended that the government must be proactive in dealing with security issues and threats, through modern methods of intelligence gathering and information sharing among security personnel, training, logistics, motivation, and deploying advanced technology in managing security challenges. And lastly, Oditia and Akan (2014) with their findings, recommended that there's need for the government to improve on the state of security with all

machinery at her disposal that will help identify, unravel, forestall and prosecute Boko Haram insurgents.

IX. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The paper reviewed the span of insecurity in Nigeria from qualitative secondary empirical data focusing on the persistence of insurgency to the emergency of banditry. Evidence from literature supports the notion that banditry has taken a notorious dimension as Nigerians especially in Northern part of the country are increasingly finding it difficult if not impossible to visit their farms, business, go to school or any other activity for that matter (Rosenja and Adeniyi, 2021).

In its 2016 report, the National Communication Commission mentioned the slowing down of foreign direct investment in Nigeria and attributed this to the insecurity occasioned by Boko Haram insurgency and the emergence of bandits whose operations seemed to have overwhelmed the State capacity to curtail (Makinde, 2019). The activities and rationals for Boko Haram which started in 2009 are relatively known as they lay a claim to renouncing foreign education which they assert is sinful (Ikezue and Ezeah, 2015). However, the origin and rational for banditry is still quite unclear, requiring more detailed empirical elucidation. Marcus (2021) presented a report tracing the origin of bandits by Yusuf Odinkalu, whereas Yusuf suggested that bandits emerged as a result of the injustices that have been done to the Fulani's over the generations before now, as they suffered cattle rustling, injustices from local judges and local police officers. Significantly, the interaction between Fulani cattle herders and some kidnapping elements within the boundary of Edo and Kogi State exposed the cattle herders to the financial benefits of kidnapping as the Edo kidnapers handed over their abductors to the Fulani's till ransoms were paid and took back the kidnapped persons. Through this social contact, Fulani's Yusuf argued, realized how lucrative the banditry and kidnapping venture was, and adopted. Odinkalu (2021) although, disagreed with the account of Yusuf, and said there had been a proliferation of arms in the North before the 1987 Kafanchan crisis. Odinkalu (2021) sustained that the proliferation of arms in the North escalated the crisis in 1987. According to him, the weapons were imported from various West African countries, he rejected the notion of Fulani injustice as several ethnic groups in Nigeria had suffered injustice at some point. Besides the issues raised and rebuffed, the two scholars are on certain common causative factors as attributable to the emergency of banditry to include the inability of military actions to resolve banditry, and governance crisis. The paper was anchored on two theories, Queer Ladder Theory (QLT) and Frustration Aggression theory. In the QLT, the activities of bandits are mainly to increase their economic status as they mainly kidnap, maim, and commit all forms of insecurity to receive ransom from their victims. As such millions of naira had been paid to bandits, according to Channel report (2021), the bandits are innovating in the collection of ransom through digital crypto currency. It is reported that farmers are forced to pay up to \$1,100 before they could be allowed to access their farmlands

(Muhammed, 2020). This menace is reinforced by the assumption of the second theory, frustration Aggression perspective, which attributes banditry and insecurity to governance failure to provide employment, reducing poverty and creating an enabling environment for sustainable development has created frustrated aggressive youths whose only means of survival have become banditry. The study found empirical evidence from scholars such as Ahmed, Mussawar & Cuil (2012) on the effects of banditry on industrial development, Dunn (2018) observed its effect on childhood development, while Levitt (2009) warned that banditry and insurgency has become a global phenomenon requiring more than national focus. The activities of insurgency do not only affect socio-economic development, the study by Odita and Akan (2014) corroborated this assertion in their study, which found that the activities of bandits affect state stability and continuity, this was substantiated by Adegami (2013) who found that Nigeria is finding it difficult to address secessionist agitations questioning the leaps services paid by the activities of bandits. The activities of insurgence and bandits are not insurmountable as some scholars have articulated possible measures such as need for the government to evolve a safe business environment (Achumba, Igbomereho and Akpor, Rabaro, 2013), the need for the government to be proactive (Olabanji and Ese, 2014) and the government to improve on the state of security with modern machineries (Odita and Akan, 2014).

X. CONCLUSION

The paper explored the changing nature of insecurity in Nigeria examining the effect of insurgency and banditry on the sustainable development of the nation. The paper started with a general review on insecurity examining the Boko Haram Insurgency and then highlighted the emergence of bandits. Anchoring on the two theory this paper availed that the menace of banditry is becoming worrisome as a result of a plethora of factors such as unemployment, weak security system, poverty, porosity of Nigeria's borders, and arms proliferations. Consequently, the paper reveals that there have been adversely negative outcomes on socio-economic development, state stability and destruction of livelihood occasioned by the activities of insurgence and bandits who are attacking farm settlements, villages, and highways resulting in kidnapping and cattle rustling in the region with attendant security challenges. The paper thus concluded that Nigeria security has been quite tense and volatile in the northwest due to the alarming rate of banditry with the attendant massive plundering and carnage, which has plunged the region into a state of insecurity in all spheres of life.

To squarely deal with the menace of banditry in the northwest region and Nigeria at large, the following recommendations are made:

✓ Nigerian government strategies to create meaningful employment for the youths trapped in the phenomenon through the creation of programmes which aim at addressing the endemic poverty in the northwest in particular and the country in general.

- ✓ Nigeria government should sustain the military efforts in prosecuting the war against banditry as well as equip the security forces with both types of modern equipment and necessary incentives to enable them carry out their duties without hindrance.
- ✓ There should be reorientation to inculcate ethical values and reverence for life and human rights in people and the need to co-exist irrespective of religious or ethnic inclinations.
- ✓ Creation of alternative means of livelihood such as amnesty and other measures which will help to reduce banditry in Nigeria.

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