

Governance and the Rise of Banditry in Northwestern Nigeria: Implications for National Development

By

Achuku Ovey Gilla Ph.D.

Department of Political Science, Federal University of Lafia

achukuovey@gmail.com

+2347053285039

Martin Luter Orjime M.Sc.

Department of Political Science, Federal University of Lafia

+2347032727183

martinorjime@gmail.com

Abstract

Flaws in governance have increasingly been connected to the growth of banditry in Northwestern Nigeria, where weak institutions, corruption, and inadequate services have diminished state power. This study looks into how governance problems such as insufficient security, poverty, lack of jobs, and poor infrastructure have sparked violent criminal actions in the area. Using a qualitative content analysis of secondary sources, including research papers, government reports, and news articles, the study uncovers the social, political, and economic reasons that allow banditry to flourish. The findings show that weak governance, poor law enforcement, and corruption have formed an environment where neglected communities can be taken advantage of by armed groups. Additionally, the government's failure to tackle underlying issues like land conflicts, poverty, and unemployment has worsened insecurity. Based on these insights, the study concludes that thorough institutional reform, better governance, and focused socio-economic growth are essential to lessen banditry and foster stability. This research adds to the bigger picture of governance and security problems in Nigeria, highlighting the need for accountable and responsive governance to maintain peace and development.

Key words: Governance deficits, Banditry, Northwestern Nigeria, Insecurity and state failure

Introduction

Governance deficiencies have long been acknowledged as a significant factor in insecurity, particularly in regions with systemic challenges. In Northwestern Nigeria, these shortcomings have been central to the emergence of banditry, a form of organized crime that has intensified in recent years. States like Zafara, Katsina, and Kaduna have seen a troubling increase in violent activities, including kidnappings, cattle rustling, and rural raids, destabilizing local communities and creating an environment of fear and uncertainty. The roots of this banditry crisis can be linked to governance failures, evident in insufficient infrastructure, inadequate security measures, and limited access to education and healthcare. These failures have made large segments of the population susceptible to criminal groups, as weak state authority and a lack of rule of law in many rural areas have created a power vacuum that bandits exploit. This situation has serious implications for national development in Northwestern Nigeria, undermining social cohesion and economic activities, especially agriculture, which sustains the region.

Banditry also strains national security resources, diverting attention and resources from other essential development areas. The Nigerian government has had to allocate substantial military

and police resources to combat banditry, with varying degrees of success, exposing the deeper governance challenges at the core of the crisis. This study aims to delve into the intricate connection between governance deficits and banditry in Northwestern Nigeria, exploring how addressing these governance shortcomings could foster sustainable national development.

Conceptual clarification

The Concept of Governance Deficits

Kaufmann & Kraay (2020), characterize governance deficits as deficiencies and vulnerabilities in the institution and processes of governance that hinder the proper operation of a political system. They claim that these deficits are seen in weak rule of law, corruption, and inadequate public administration. Rotberg (2004), underscores governance deficits as the inability of governments to provide essential public goods such as security, education, and healthcare. This deficiency, according to Rotberg impedes economic growth and development. Hyden (2006), defines governance deficits as the incapacity of a political system to establish and sustain institutions that effectively manage public resources and ensure accountability. This, in turn, results in stagnation in economic and social development. Pierre & Peters (2010), portray governance deficits as the lack of coordination and cooperation among governmental entities, leading to inefficiencies in policy formulation and implementation. Grindle (2017), outlines governance deficits as the institutional weaknesses that impede the provision of public services and the enforcement of laws. She argues that these deficits create obstacles to socioeconomic progress and the advancement of democratic governance.

The Concept of National Development

Todaro & Smith (2015), define national development as a multi-faceted process involving the restructuring and reorientation of economic and social systems to enhance the quality of life for all citizens. It encompasses enhancements in income distribution, poverty reduction, and infrastructure development. Rodney (1972), portrays national development as the enhancement of living standards for a nation's population through economic growth, technological advancements, and social progress. He stresses the significance of equitable resource distribution in this process. Sen (1999), views national development as the expansion of human freedoms and capacities, stating that development must surpass mere economic growth to include social and political freedoms that enrich the quality of life. Acemoglu & Robinson (2012), define national development as the outcome of robust institutions that enforce laws, deliver public services, and promote economic activities. They contend that inclusive political and economic institutions are imperative for sustained development. Streeten (1981), emphasizes that national development encompasses economic growth, social development, and political transformation aimed at enhancing the well-being of citizens. He argues that development is not solely about economic expansion but also about addressing social inequalities.

Concept of Banditry

Banditry is a type of organised violent crime where armed people or groups utilize force, threats, and illegal actions to rob, kidnap, attack, or instills fear in communities, often taking advantage of weak leadership, insecurity, and socio-economic weaknesses for their own benefit. This definition highlights the complex nature of banditry as both a security issue and a socio-economic problem in modern societies, especially in areas with inadequate governance.

Ogar, Hamisu, & Sa'ad, (2024). Assert that banditry is a type of organized crime carried out by outlaws, involving intimidation, violence, theft, murder, sexual assault, cattle stealing, and

extortion against communities. Sunday & Adewuyi, (2022). Posits banditry means armed robbery or violent crime that employs force or threats to intimidate people, with the aim to rob, kidnap, sexually assault, or kill. To Babamgida, (2021). Banditry is organised crime where criminals use weapons against defenseless individuals, committing violent acts such as kidnapping, armed robbery, theft, and other assaults. Mohammed & Abdullahi, (2024). Described banditry is identified as armed theft, sexual assault, raids, and illegal imprisonment for ransom, usually driven by economic or political motives, frequently including killings and destruction. In the word of Shawulu, Sadiq, & Ahmed, (2025). Banditry involves the creation of armed groups that attack government or societal institutions and individuals, intimidating local communities and travelers to take valuable belongings and livestock.

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative method, depending solely on secondary data sources. Choosing a qualitative approach suits the study's aim to grasp the intricate and connected governance, security, and socio-economic elements behind banditry in Northwestern Nigeria. Instead of quantifying variables, the study aims to interpret trends, meanings, and institutional behaviors related to governance failures and insecurity. Data were collected from scholarly journal articles, academic texts, government documents, security analyses, policy summaries, and reliable media outlets pertinent to governance, banditry, and national growth in Nigeria. These sources were picked for their relevance, reliability, and ability to clarify the causes and effects of banditry in the research area. The research utilized thematic and content analysis to carefully explore the chosen materials. This process included identifying common themes such as poor governance, poverty, joblessness, weapon spread, weak law enforcement, and environmental challenges. These themes were then linked to the emergence of banditry and its effects on national development. The analysis was shaped by state failure theory and social contract theory, which offered the conceptual and analytical basis for understanding the results. By using this methodological strategy, the study ensures a comprehensive analysis, theoretical consistency, and contextual insight into governance shortcomings and banditry in Northwestern Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

This analysis utilizes the theoretical frameworks of state failure and social contract theory to clarify the connection between governance deficiencies and the increase of banditry, highlighting its implications for national development. State failure, as described by Rotberg (2004), occurs when governments lose the ability to provide essential services and security to their citizens. In Northwestern Nigeria, ongoing issues like corruption, inadequate law enforcement, and lack of basic infrastructure have led to a perception of governmental ineffectiveness (Rotberg, 2004; International Crisis Group, 2020; World Bank, 2021). For example, the Nigerian police force is often seen as under-resourced and overwhelmed, failing to control criminal activities (Suleiman, 2020). Consequently, citizens may turn to self-help methods, giving the rise to banditry as a way to assert control over their communities.

Furthermore, social contract theory suggests that citizens agree to give up certain freedoms in exchange for protection and public goods provided by the state (Hobbes, 1651). In Northwestern Nigeria, this contract has been breached due to governance deficiencies, resulting in widespread disillusionment with the state. Many communities have sought protection and social order from bandit groups, filling the gap left by the government's failure to deliver security and social services (Alubo, 2020). This shift signifies a breakdown of trust in state institutions and the reshaping of social dynamics, where non-state actors gain legitimacy.

The consequences of this banditry for national development are severe. Banditry disrupts economic activities, worsens poverty, and increase instability. As pointed out by Onuoha (2020), violence hinders agricultural production, displaces communities, and undermines local economies. The resulting insecurity deters both domestic and foreign investments, stifling economic growth and impeding the overall development of the nation.

Governance Deficits and the Rise of Banditry in Northwestern Nigeria

Governance is a complex idea that includes more than just having a government; it involves effective leadership, strong institutions and the rule of law, the delivery of services, security measures, and engaging citizens in decision-making. In this study, governance deficits are seen as shortcomings in security governance, economic governance, institutional governance, and territorial governance, all of which have contributed to the emergence and continuation of banditry in Northwestern Nigeria. First, shortcomings in security governance are a key connection between governance failure and banditry. Security governance is about the state's capacity to safeguard lives and properties through effective policing, intelligence gathering, and law enforcement. In Northwestern Nigeria, poor coordination between security agencies, insufficient personnel, weak logistics, and limited intelligence assets have notably diminished the state's ability to prevent criminal activities. Consequently, large rural areas have turned into lawless regions where bandits act with little opposition. Akindola (2021) points out that in the absence of state-enforced security, violent non-state actors rise to fill the gap, often imposing their own rules through force and intimidation. This security gap has empowered bandits to conduct attacks, kidnappings, and cattle rustling with minimal fear of capture or punishment.

Second, failures in economic governance especially the government's inability to tackle poverty, unemployment, and inequality have fostered conditions that aid recruitment into banditry. Economic governance involves creating and implementing policies that encourage inclusive growth and job opportunities. In Northwestern Nigeria, ongoing neglect of rural economies, limited investment in agriculture and skills training and weak social safety nets have left many young people economically sidelined. These failures render banditry a viable alternative for income and survival. As governance fails to provide lawful economic opportunities, criminal activities flourish, fueling the cycle of insecurity.

Third, weaknesses in institutional governance, particularly corruption and a lack of accountability, have damaged public trust in the state and bolstered bandit networks. Institutional governance refers to the effectiveness, transparency, and integrity of public institutions. In Northwestern Nigeria, corruption in security agencies and local government has weakened counter-banditry initiatives. Cases of collusion between some security personnel and criminal organizations, slow judicial processes, and the lack of effective punishment for offenders have reduced deterrence. Ibrahim and Shehu (2022) claim that ineffective and compromised institutions allow bandits to operate freely, thereby normalizing crime and eroding the rule of law. This institutional breakdown forces communities to bargain with bandits or turn to vigilante groups, further diminishing state authority.

Fourth, shortcomings in territorial and border management have greatly contributed to the rise of banditry. Territorial governance pertains to the government's ability to manage and secure its physical territory, including borders and isolated regions. The weak borders of Northwestern Nigeria with the Niger Republic have facilitated the unrestricted movement of weapons, fighters, and criminal organizations across the border. Yusuf (2023) points out that the government's failure to effectively guard these frontiers has turned the area into a center for international crime. This governance deficit not only fuels banditry but also makes the security crisis a global issue, rendering local efforts inadequate. In addition to security dilemmas,

governance weaknesses have also been evident in inadequate service provision, especially in education, healthcare, and infrastructure. These deficiencies exacerbate social exclusion and heighten feelings of neglect among rural communities. The lack of essential services alienates citizens from their government, leading to frustration and distrust.

In such scenarios, bandit factions take advantage of this discontentment by providing monetary rewards, protection, or a sense of community, thereby garnering local backing or tacit acceptance. Thus, governance shortcomings do not simply coincide with banditry; they actively forge the social and institutional realities that nurture it

The Rise of Banditry and Its Causes

The emergence of banditry in Northwestern Nigeria is thus not coincidental but a result of intertwined governance failures. Banditry in the region includes violent assaults, kidnappings, cattle theft, and property destruction, resulting in widespread displacement and economic turmoil. These actions stem from various interconnected factors rooted in governance shortcomings.

Poverty and Unemployment

Poverty and unemployment continue to be main factors behind banditry in states like Zamfara, Katsina, and Sokoto. The National Bureau of Statistics (2021) reveals that more than 70% of the population in these regions lives below the poverty threshold. Youth unemployment is especially severe due to limited opportunities for education, skills training, and formal jobs. Abdulrahman (2020) argues that severe economic hardship raises the chances of criminal involvement, particularly where government presence is lacking. In this environment, banditry is seen as a logical means of survival rather than just a criminal option. This situation corresponds with Merton's (1938) strain theory, which suggests that people are more inclined to turn to crime when acceptable ways to reach socially valued goals are obstructed. Consequently, the failure of governance systems to ensure economic inclusion has driven many young individuals towards banditry as an alternate source of income.

Arms Proliferation

The spread of weapons highlights how governance breakdown fuels banditry. Lax border security, inadequate monitoring, and weak regional cooperation have allowed illegal arms to pour into Northwestern Nigeria. The fall of state authority in Libya after 2011, along with ongoing conflicts in the Sahel, has flooded West Africa with a surge of weaponry (Okeke & Eme, 2019). Nigeria's failure to manage its borders and control arms movement has empowered bandits to obtain advanced weapons; increasing both the frequency and deadliness of their attacks.

Weak Governance and Ineffective Law Enforcement

At the heart of the banditry issue are weak governance and poor law enforcement. In regions where state institutions do not exist or are compromised, bandits create their own systems of power. Corruption, sluggish judicial processes, and uneven law enforcement weaken deterrents and embolden criminal organizations. As a result, communities lose faith in the government's ability to safeguard them, perpetuating a cycle of insecurity and crime dominance.

Environmental Degradation

Environmental degradation, particularly desertification and deforestation, intensifies competition over scarce natural resources, leading to conflicts that bandits exploit for their own gains. The scarcity of arable land has driven herders into confrontations with settled farming communities, pushing them to resort to violent activities like banditry. These resource-based conflicts create instability that provides fertile ground for bandits to thrive. Additionally, tensions between different groups make it easier for bandits to operate, diverting attention away from their activities and complicating efforts to address the issue.

Environmental decline, such as desertification and deforestation, has heightened competition for scarce natural resources. This has led to increased farmer–herder clashes, which bandits exploit to expand their activities. Consequently, failures in environmental management and conflict resolution have indirectly fueled banditry by allowing local disputes to spiral into widespread violence.

Governance Neglect and Rise of Banditry in Northwestern Nigeria

Before delving into how banditry affects development, it's important to clearly show how specific failures in governance have directly led to its rise and continuation in Northwestern Nigeria. Here, governance neglect refers to the inability of state and local governments to meet essential responsibilities, especially in areas like security, economic inclusion, infrastructure development, and justice. One significant aspect of governance neglect is the continual failure to protect rural communities. Vast areas of Northwestern Nigeria remain inadequately policed, with too few security personnel deployed and poor intelligence gathering. This lack of security has allowed bandits to gain control over territories, operate freely, and assert unofficial authority over locals (Ibrahim & Shehu, 2022). The government's failure to monopolize force has empowered criminal groups and undermined the state's credibility.

Additionally, economic neglect, seen in persistent poverty, high unemployment, and scarce livelihood opportunities, has been crucial. Rural communities, especially young people, have been sidelined from meaningful economic activities due to weak agricultural assistance, a lack of rural industries, and limited educational access. This neglect has turned banditry into a tempting option for survival and economic advancement (Abdulrahman, 2020). Another governance shortcoming is the poor handling of justice and corruption in law enforcement. Slow trials, weak judicial enforcement, and claims of collusion between security forces and criminals have allowed impunity to thrive. When criminals face few consequences, banditry flourishes as a low-risk, high-reward pursuit (Akinlola, 2021). Moreover, inadequate border governance has led to the spread of small arms and light weapons. Weakly monitored borders with Niger Republic allow for arms trafficking and cross-border criminal networks, bolstering bandit groups and increasing violence (Okeke & Eme, 2019). Furthermore, the lack of effective service delivery, especially in education, healthcare, and infrastructure, has intensified citizens' disconnect from the state. This disengagement undermines trust in the government and makes communities more open to the influence and protection from non-state armed groups. Altogether, these governance failures have established the conditions that sustain banditry in Northwestern Nigeria.

Implications of Governance Deficits and the Rise of Banditry on National Development

The implications of banditry for national development in Nigeria are significant and varied, affecting different sectors of the economy and society. Banditry, characterized by armed attacks, kidnappings, and violent clashes, has increased greatly in recent years, especially in

Northwestern Nigeria. The consequences of these violent actions have greatly disrupted the socio-economic structure of the impacted regions and the entire nation.

Disruption of Agricultural Activities and Food Security

The disturbance of farming activities caused by bandit attacks has greatly impacted food security in the region. Northwestern Nigeria, typically known for its agricultural production, has seen a decrease in farming due to ongoing attacks on rural areas. Farmers targeted by bandits, face threats of violence and economic instability, resulting in lower crop yields. These attacks have led to increased hunger and higher food prices nationwide, according to Ahmed (2021) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Food insecurity is a major obstacle to national development, affecting workforce health and productivity. The drop in agricultural productivity has extensive effects on national development as agriculture is vital to Nigeria's economy, employing over 30% of the population. Reduced food output has pushed many rural households into poverty, increasing dependence on food imports and creating trade imbalances. Consequently, destabilizing the agricultural sector poses a significant challenge to achieving food security and economic stability in Nigeria.

Strain on National Security Resources

Moreover, banditry has strained national security resources, prompting the government to deploy military forces to Northwestern Nigeria to quell the violence. This militarized response incurs a significant financial cost, with security budget allocations rising substantially. This diverts crucial resources from sectors like education, healthcare and infrastructure. Relying heavily on military solutions fails to tackle the root causes of banditry such as poverty, unemployment, and governance issues. Furthermore, the large financial investments in military operations have led to a neglect of essential social services vital for national development. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) stresses the need for a balanced approach that involves investing in social infrastructure for sustainable development. Ignoring underlying issues like poverty and governance deficits only perpetuates violence, leaving marginalized communities susceptible to criminal group recruitment. Consequently, the failure to promote a secure and stable environment stifles economic growth and disrupts long-term development efforts.

Internal Displacement and Humanitarian Crises

The increase in banditry has worsened internal displacement and migration, leading to major humanitarian crises. Many people have been compelled to leave their homes, seeking safety in urban areas or neighbouring nations. This displacement puts a strain on social services in host communities, as they struggle to handle the influx of displaced persons. Providing adequate shelter, healthcare, and education to displaced populations poses additional challenges and strains already limited resources, leading to heightened tensions and potential conflicts between host communities and migrants. The long-term repercussions of this displacement on national development are significant, disrupting human capital development and perpetuating poverty in affected regions. Displaced individuals often encounter limited job and educational opportunities, perpetuating a cycle of poverty and impeding efforts to cultivate a productive workforce. Additionally, such as trauma and loss of livelihood, further hinder social cohesion and community rebuilding efforts.

Major Findings

Drawing from a thorough examination of secondary data from academic sources, government reports, and policy papers, the study unveils these vital findings:

1. Governance deficits are a primary driver of banditry. The study reveals that weak institutions, poor leadership, corruption, and ineffective service provision have greatly fueled the rise of banditry in Northwestern Nigeria. Regions with minimal government presence see higher rates of violent crime.
2. Security failure has enabled non-state actors to flourish. Inadequate policing, poor intelligence collaboration, and weak security infrastructure have generated areas that bandits can exploit. The state's inability to safeguard lives and property has caused communities to pursue alternative security solutions.
3. Poverty and unemployment significantly fuel recruitment into banditry. High levels of poverty and youth unemployment has heightened susceptibility to criminal recruitment. Banditry has become a means of economic survival in the absence of legitimate job opportunities.
4. The spread of weapons has boosted the power and danger of banditry. The easy access to illegal arms has enhanced the abilities of bandit groups, leading to better-planned assaults, large-scale kidnappings, and ongoing instability.
5. Banditry has greatly hindered national growth efforts. The results indicate that banditry disturbs farming, heightens food scarcity, increases internal displacement, shifts public funds to military needs, and deters investment, thus hampering national progress.
6. Military-focused solutions are not enough. The research reveals that relying too heavily on military actions without tackling governance and social and economic issues has produced limited results in fighting banditry.

Recommendations

Firstly, government should strengthen state capacity by ensuring effectively combat banditry in northwestern Nigeria, there is a need to enhance the capacity of law enforcement and judicial systems. This should involve improved training, better resource allocation, and fostering collaboration with local communities to create a robust and comprehensive security framework.

Secondly, government should ensure accountability. Transparency governance practices must be prioritized promoting the rule of law and holding official accountable for corruption and inefficiency. This will foster integrity within government institutions, reinforce state legitimacy, and encourage citizen participation in governance processes.

Thirdly, rebuilding trust between citizens and the state. Initiatives that focus on community engagement, dialogue, and reconciliation are essential for bridging the gap between the government and local populations. Involving citizens in decision-making and addressing their grievances will strengthen the social contact and promote collective responsibility for security and development.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the cycle of violence and underdevelopment in northwestern Nigeria is likely to persist without addressing governance deficits. Prioritizing state capacity, accountability, and trust building measures can curb banditry and pave the way for sustainable national development and peace in the region. A comprehensive approach to governance is crucial for creating a safer and more prosperous future for all Nigerians.

References

- Abdulrahman, M. (2020). Poverty and crime: The nexus in Northwestern Nigeria. *Journal of Crime and Society*, 15(2), 45-58.

- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. Crown Publishers.
- Ahmed, M. (2021). Banditry and food security in Northwestern Nigeria. *Journal of Rural Studies*.
- Akinila, O. (2021). Governance and the rise of banditry in northwestern Nigeria. *Nigeria Journal of Political Science*, 14(2), 45-60.
- Alubo, O. (2020). The dynamics of banditry in Nigeria: A socio-political perspective. *African Security Review*, 29(1), 16-28.
- Babamgida, A. (2021). Banditry and implications for sustainable development in Nigeria. *Ifè Social Sciences Review*, 30(2), 111–123. Retrieved on 16th December 2025 from <https://issr.oauife.edu.ng/index.php/issr/article/download/195/115/242>
- FAO. (2021). *The state of food security and nutrition in the world 2021*. Food and Agriculture Organisation.
- Grindle, M.S. (2017). *Politics and policy implementation in the Third World*. Princeton University Press.
- Hobbes, T. (1651). *Leviathan*. Andrew Crooke.
- Ibrahim, M., & Shehu, A. (2022). Rural neglect and banditry in northwest Nigeria: An analysis. *Journal of African Security Studies*, 7(1), 12-29.
- International Crisis Group (2020). *Violence in Nigeria's North West: Rolling Back the Mayhem*. ICG Africa Report.
- Kaufmann, D., & Kraay, A. (2002). growth without governance. *Economia*, 3(1), 169-229.
- Merton, R.K. (1938). Social structure and anomie. *American Sociological Review*, 3(5), 672-682
- Mohammed, A., & Abdullahi, B. (2024). *Cross -border migration, banditry and the challenges of development in Nigeria*. *Discover Global Society*. Retrieved on 16th December 2025 from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s44282-024-00114-z>
- National Bureau of Statistics. (2021). *Poverty and unemployment in Nigeria: Annual Report 2021*
- Onuoha, F. (2020). Banditry and National Security in Nigeria: Implications for Development *Nigeria Journal of Political Science*, 16(2), 55-73.
- Okeke, J. & Eme, O. (2019). The proliferation of arms and security challenges in northern Nigeria. *African Security Review*, 28(3), 230-245.
- Ogar, W. O., Hamisu, B., & Sa'ad, K. A. (2024). Banditry as an impediment to socio-economic development of rural communities in Nigeria: A study of Maradun Local Government Area of Zamfara State. *Zamfara Journal of Politics and Development*, 1-15. Retrieved on 16th December 2025 from <https://zjpd.com.ng/index.php/zjpd/article/view/223>
- Pierre, J., & Peters, B.G. (2010). *Governance, politics, and the state*. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Bogle-L Overture Publications
- Rotberg, R.I. (2004). *When state fail: Causes and consequences*. Princeton University Press.
- Rotberg, R. I. (2004). *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton University Press.

- Shawulu, P. D., Sadiq, A., & Ahmed, A. I. (2025). *Effects of banditry on food production in Borno South Senatorial District*. Jurnal Restorasi: Hukum dan Politik. Retrieved on 16th December 2025 from <https://seaninstitute.or.id/bersinar/index.php/restorasi/article/view/186>
- Sen, A (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- Suleiman, A.. (2023). Cross-border criminality and insecurity in northwestern Nigeria. *Journal of Peace Studies*, 10(3), 77-95.
- Sunday, F., & Adewuyi, A. (2022). Conceptual issues in banditry and violent crime in Nigeria. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 6(3), 329–338. Retrieved on 16th December 2025 from <https://rsisinternational.org/journals/ijriss/Digital-Library/volume-6-issue-3/329-338.pdf>
- World Bank (2021). *Nigeria Development Update: Rising to the Challenge*. World Bank Publications.