

Cattle Rustling: An Evolving Threat to Human Security in Nigeria

Femi-Adedayo Osinimu,
Rebecca Aroriode, PhD,
Research Fellow, Department of Governance and Public Policy,
Centre for Strategic Research and Studies,
National Defence College Abuja.
&
Tony Johnson Ekpo,
Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna.

Abstract

This study critically engaged in the analysis of Cattle Rustling: An Evolving Threat to Human Security in Nigeria. The central theme of the argument in the study is that cattle rustling possess a great threat to human security in Nigeria. That is to say, by cattle rustling diaries and beef consumption certainly becomes altered by act of rustling by herders, insurgents, terrorist, kidnapper and bandits etc. Thus, in line with mainstream submissions in extant literature, findings in the study indicated that cattle rustling is a threat to human security in Nigeria. To address this security issues, the study gave likely submissions that the government should come out with a new dimension to national security, make our national borders more save and secured through documentation and forensic data capture of people, and commercial trade activities, and also seek a sub-regional response by cooperation of ECOWAS Member States.

Keywords: Cattle Rustling, Human Security, Insurgency, Farmer, Herder.

Introduction

Forceful dispossession of individuals or groups of their valuables or property by organised gangs is a long standing criminal trend in Nigerian maritime and land territory. In the maritime domain, sea robbery and piracy pose a major threat to seafarers, merchant ships and passengers using Nigeria's vast waterways for legitimate livelihood. On land, kidnappers, cultists and armed robbers have leverage easy availability of small arms and light weapons to intimidate and extort money and

other valuables to their victims or relatives. While dispossession carried out by kidnapers, cultist and armed robbers has remained a subject of scholarly inquiry, the outbreak and intensification of cattle rustling has added a new dimension to the threat of dispossession that targets a particular livelihood system.

Cattle's rustling over time is a phenomenon that has manifested in various scales and dimensions across nations particularly in areas where animal agriculture is a full occupation as seen in the case of Eastern African countries such as Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.⁴ However in recent times, it has become a global trend that holds threats to the destruction of human and property survival. In Nigeria, the frequency and spread of cattle rustling across the country is a source of concern. This activity has not only resulted to the stealing of herds of cattles but also in the high deaths toll of herders and sometimes local residents. Several reports of bandits with sophisticated automatic weapons ravaging farms and herders settlement with the intention of carting away cattles and staging cattles proliferation has filled the air waves of the nations' media.

This evolving criminal activity has manifested nearly in every part of Nigeria with daily occurrences, but it is more predominant in the Middle Belt and other parts of northern zones of Nigeria. Though, it appears to be tied to the incessant conflict between Fulani herdsman and crop farmers. The conflict may be connected to the wider context of identity politics and intergroup relations, including the relationships between pastoralist groups on the one hand and the Nigerian state system on the other.⁵ These activities were brought to the knowledge of the government and citizens due to the horror perpetrated by the rustlers. Several reports of deaths, burning of houses and other properties serves as evidence in their activities and operations.

For instance, in 2014, Plateau State recorded cattle-rustling activities as being prevalent in eight (Mangu, Bokkos, Barkin Ladi, Shendam, Jos South, Riyom, Langtang North, and Langtang South) out of the 17 local government areas.⁶ Several villages in the areas lying between the four northern states of Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara, and Niger and Benue state found in the middle belt have been under siege from cattle rustlers who unleash terror on helpless herders and cow farmers. The 2016 Nigeria Watch Project: Sixth Report on Violence records that the main drivers for deaths in the country were crime and conflicts among

herdsmen (4,127), a shift which is believed to have probably arisen from the containment of the Boko Haram insurgency.⁷ This is of no surprise as cattle's rustling has evolved into a pattern of organized crime with immense criminal sophistication and efficiency with high level of collaboration that records high level of death tolls as evidence of its existence in Nigeria.

Cattle Rustlers have operated with reckless abandon with no form of security measure taken against them and as such, victims prepare and evacuate their belonging from cattle farms to resist their operations. Though little or no success has been recorded with these tactics, rather, there has been an increased resistance by the rustlers who come with the do or die intention to achieve the purpose of their operations. Hence, contemporary cattle rustlers operate with modern weaponry and their operations are marked by trans-local and trans-national syndication⁸. Their level of destruction of lives and properties, rape incidences and the abduction of women and children has become a serious source of concern for human security in the nation.

Its volatile interaction with several other important themes such as the political economy, human and national security as well as state-society relations has made its activities noteworthy to both individual and government for secured security architecture of Nigeria. Though, of topmost importance and concern aside the human aspect is its influence of livestock production being a significant aspect of agriculture in Nigeria's quest to diversify its economy. It is considered a serious threat to the alleviation of the country's economy and crucial to the overall wellbeing of pastoralist communities, particularly the nomadic Fulani herders.⁹ Thus, it is against this backdrop that this article examines the phenomenon of cattle rustling in Nigeria with a view to underscoring its threat implications for human security in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Cattle Rustling: The term 'cattle rustling' over the years has evolved into a uniform acceptable meaning. Hence, the concept is almost universally applied to designate the act of stealing cattle from a grazing herd notwithstanding the motivation or contextual specifics¹⁰. However, in the protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa, signed in 2008 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

cattle rustling has been defined to mean not only the actual stealing but also the planning, organising, attempting, aiding or abetting the stealing of livestock by any person from one country or community to another, where the theft is accompanied by dangerous weapons and or violence¹¹.

Human Security: Human Security definitions more often than not are situated around the situation and circumstances surrounding a particular cause. Several attempts have been made by both individuals and government of nations to give it the best definition that suits their experiences. However, human security can be viewed to have two main aspects. First, is the safety from chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression; second, is the protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities of which such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development¹². Thus simply put, human security puts into considerations the quality of life by which the people of a society or polity exist. Therefore, anything which threatens this quality of life such as change in demographic, conflicts, pollutions, limited access to stock or resources, and so on is a security threat. In other words, it entails an integrated, sustainable, comprehensive security from fear, protection from violence whether inflicted by man or by nature, protection of lives and property, poverty, social and cultural deprivation, and hunger¹³.

Review of Literature

The incidence of cattle rustling in its present violent state and form is a fairly new concept and has recently become a major internal security concern in Nigeria. Though several literatures on cattle rustling are in existence, it has been dominated largely by scholars from East Africa. The growing level of literature on the phenomenon indicates a growing problem across Africa, with devastating consequences outside of its locality that has become a major source of concern, not only to its implications on the size of the herd and the suffering it generates, but also to the threat it poses to the very survival of state institutions in the places where it occurs.¹⁴

However, the literature on cattle rustling and its recent violent nature linked to it has consistently been growing in other parts of Africa.

Overview of Cattle Rustling in Nigeria

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a trend of democratisation sweep across the African continent that brought about various ideas, concepts and crimes were not left out. Cattle rustling is an age-old and deeply-entrenched feature of pastoralist livelihoods, which fostered competition between groups that found themselves in harsh, delicate environments which also served as a means of primitive accumulation of a cowherd in the context of subsistence and commercial pastoralism.¹⁵ The practice dates back to ancient history; the first recorded cattle raids are said to have been conducted over seven thousand years ago though the problem is still seen today and developed countries are not left out of it. For instance, the San Francisco Chronicle (2007) reported that cattle rustling was on the rise in California, involving an estimated 16,000 herds of cattle, with the calves reportedly missing and stolen from California farms and ranches valued at more than \$9 million.

In Nigeria, there is nothing new about cattle rustling; the practice is perceived to be driven by different needs, which may include need for cash, some ethnic groups' need for meat, or as a means of revenge for damaged crops. This, however, does not imply that rustling is condoned. It is a criminal act by the penal code of Northern Nigeria. Over the past decade, however, cattle rustling has been transformed into a vicious criminal activity, far beyond a quasi-cultural practice that had important livelihood enhancing functions, and far beyond the low-intensity conflict that had previously defined the relationship between farmers and grazers. New criminal gangs, armed with sophisticated weapons, have reportedly carted away cattle in commando-like operations that have resulted in the killings of herders.

However, with the dawn of the Boko Haram in the last decade, a little percentage of rustling was introduced to take care of their food needs and to ensure the safety of the cattle stolen from villages, they created several settlements inside the savannah where they had every convenience such as their own cattle markets like the case of the Sambisa.¹⁶ Though there were evidences that before the Boko Haram became hydra headed and were chased into the savannah, sheep or goat stealing was done mostly by common criminals during the end of Ramadan as is the case in most communities along the north east.¹⁷ However, this was further complicated with the infiltration of the Lake

Chad by bandits from the Republics of Chad, Niger and Mali but in as much as it became an occasional issue across several communities across the borders, cattle stealing was restricted to the foreign bandits some of who went as far as Gombe, Borgu and Kontagora in their banditry.¹⁸

Causes of Cattle Rustling in Nigeria

Without doubt, cattle's rustling has developed from ordinary survival crime into an organized crime with connections to politics, power and organized violence. Several scholars have tried to determine the causes of cattle rustling and have come up with ideas and ideologies that support their claims. In Nigeria, the activities of cattle rustling witnessed in the northern part of the country in the recent years has sometimes been traced to the activities of the Boko Haram Islamic sect and can be argued that rebel or terrorist groups resort to cattle rustling as a means of raising fund in support of their group agenda¹⁹. However, it becomes pertinent to note that these activities are not in total ignorance of the transnational syndicate of Fulani nomads who have an in-depth knowledge, ways and how of the forest. This is discussed with the idea that the successful activities of cattle rustling involves not only good information of herdship but also a wide knowledge of transit routes and movement. This is further explained by Okoli who suggests that most of the culprits of cattle rustling are nomads themselves who must have lost their cattle as a result of the incessant 'resource-conflict' with the settled farmers²⁰; or disgruntled Fulanis who have lost cattle.

On the other hand, another factor aiding the prevalence of cattle rustling in contemporary Nigeria is the dwindling living conditions of the herdsmen which stem from the outcome of the climate change and the attendant resource conflicts which precipitate criminal dispositions among the herdsmen which is aided by the easy access to arms and ammunition which facilitate the proliferation of criminal operations among unscrupulous elements in the country.²¹ The criminal impunity of the people, arising from the level of poverty in the nation due to government and private organizations inability to provide employment and create avenues for wealth creation is also a factor to the rise of cattle rustling in Nigeria. The unemployed factions have resulted into other means of generating wealth to help sustain themselves and their families. The level of economy wealth lost at this point is not only

degrading the potentials of cattle business but also has an advert effect on the true nature of how much cattle business generates for the nation. Also speculations have it that, must herders get more respect and prestige with notable influence with the amount of cattle they have in possession. Invariably, the more cattle they have, the more affluence they derive. Thus herdsman tend to take to cattle rustling as a means of increasing their number of cattle to gain power, respect and affluence. This is juxtaposed with Okoli's statement that says that majority of cattle rustling incidence are carried out by herdsman.

An epitome of the impact of small arms and light weapons in inflaming communities animosities is that of cattle rustling. Its association with the Proliferation of arms and ammunition has become a common threat in northern/ middle belt regions of Nigeria. The acts of violence witnessed in cattle rustling activities are usually instigated by the increased use of weapons. Majority of the rustlers arm themselves with these weapons that aid them to intimidate and threaten the herdsman from whom they steal the livestock. Moreover, the study was informed that these weapons have led to an increase in killings in the area and guns are therefore seen as an economic investment. Traditionally, the pastoralist practiced cattle rustling using spears and bows, now, the weapon of choice is the AK-47.²² Pastoral communities seem to be arming themselves for defensive and offensive reasons with the need to protect themselves and their cattle from being plundered by hostile groups as well as using arms to forcefully steal stock from other pastoral communities.²³ Finally, as a result of the accessibility and volume of foreign supplies, major internal markets have emerged where rebels, criminals, and terrorists can access weapons, ammunition, and explosives. This has led to a catastrophic rise in violent deaths in local communal conflicts over land and water, or the traditional practice of cattle rustling.²⁴

Another trigger of the rustling business is the presence of large swathes of forest reserves that are generally out of the reach of the Nigerian security operatives. Most of the rustling activities take place in state-owned reserves such as the Kamuku, Kiyanbana, and Fagore forests in Northern Nigeria.²⁵ Most of the arms and ammunitions that the criminals were using to carry out their dastardly acts were being ferried into the country through the usage of animals that crossed the forest.²⁶ This aids as a perfect location for criminal hide out from security

forces as it is extremely difficult to control all border areas between countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The reluctance of the Nigerian security operatives to enter these forest areas seems to be largely due to inefficiency, collaboration, and corruption.²⁷ First, one major consequence of the lack of equipment and poor motivation of the Nigerian security forces is gross inefficiency as they are ill equipped and ill motivated in contrast to the criminals who are well armed and motivated.²⁸ Second, security forces and rustlers are often in cahoots which seems obvious given the open manner of rustling and the reluctance of the security operatives to act, even when provided with intelligence by local residents.²⁹ The third issue being corruption is highly explained by Y. Z. Ya'u, executive director of the Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD), a non-governmental body funded by the MacArthur Foundation that is developing workable technological innovations against cattle rustling in Nigeria, stated:

People steal hundreds of cattle, move them around for days and they don't get apprehended, which means there is a problem with our security system. Secondly, if they can take them to our markets here in Nigeria and sell them off, it means there is not only a problem with our intelligence gathering system but also a form of collaboration with the dealers because the major cattle dealers in the markets ought to know if the cows are stolen. It illustrates that there is a wave of collaborations at various levels of cattle rustling and there is an obvious inability of the police and other security outfits to deal with the problem because firstly they are insufficiently equipped to be able to handle the challenge. Second, there is a form of collaboration between criminal elements and security agents and thirdly there is outright corruption.³⁰

The porous nature of inter-state border-lines in Africa makes trans-border cattle rustling conducive and thriving. Border security has come to assume heightened importance in the world today and it has become easy for transitional crimes to be conducted such as the moving of money, people and goods across the world because of advancement in telecommunications, transportation and technology in general. These borders promote the movement of illicit trade, goods and services of which cattles rustled have become major commodities being passed and crossed along the Nigeria border lines. These borders

are identified with the use of dried tree, oil drums as well as rims of tyres to demarcate the national borders, this makes the border to be disorganized, poorly managed and in secured.³¹ This promotes the unrepressed entry of illegal migrants and cross border activities. However, there are indefinable corridors or regions that served as a route to these illegal migrants, thereby posing a serious threat to the country and the national borders. For instance, it has been discovered that Nigeria has 1497 irregular and 84 regular routes as movements were done through the illegal routes.³²

Cattle Rustling and Human Security Nexus in Nigeria

The growing phenomenon of cattle rustling is one of transformation from the hitherto Fulani cultural practice of testing a person's personal bravery and prowess at bloody warfare involving various groups and actors. This transformation has seen the emergence of well-coordinated and well-funded banditry in virtually every state in the northern area, with the Fulani ethnic group often considered at the epicenter of the scenario because of its deep involvement in pastoralism. However, herding livestock is not an exclusive preserve of Fulani; in Nigeria alone, 14 other ethnic groups, including the Shuwa, Kanuri, Kanembu, Arabs, and Tuareg, are in some way involved in it.³³

In Nigeria, the prevalence and dimensions of cattle rustling has been widespread, particularly in the middle belt and northern zones of the country where cattle rearing and cultivation of land is a dominant agricultural practice and defines their course of livelihood. However, this problem has been complicated with the rising incidence of farmer/herder conflicts that stems from encroachment of farmlands, struggle over grazing space, cattle rustling and other forms of violence to include the Boko Haram insurgency.

In recent developments, the wave of violence in the phenomenon of herdsmen and farmers conflicts through cattle rustling has escalated in a new dimension of violence that pose serious challenge to human security. This new phenomenon drives criminal activities with reckless abandon with the use of sophisticated weaponry that threatens the lives of herdsmen themselves, communities, states and by extension the nation at large. This is worsened livelihood conditions of the herders arising from the effects of climate change and the frequent resource conflict which tends to coerce criminal tendencies among the herders

themselves. The consequences of such a threat are loss of livelihood, population displacement, loss of lives and property, and decline in rural productivity and agricultural output.

In the last decade, the death toll recorded by cattle rustlers has been on the increase in Nigeria. In plateau State alone, between 2013 and 2015, 28,000 cattle have been rustled and 264 herdsmen have been killed by rustlers³⁴. This scenario has accounted for the significance of cattle rustling as a fundamental national security that affects human security with far reaching implications for Nigeria. While it is difficult to say the actual number of cattle stolen by these unidentified rustlers, sources revealed that thousands of cattle have been brazenly stolen by persons who often attack villages at night to carry out the nefarious act.

Year in View	No of Casualties	No of Cattle Rustled
2013	322	60, 000
2014	281	58, 801
2015	2991	64,820
Total	3, 594	183, 621

Source: Authors

	Orientation	Motivation	Origination	Destination	Culprits Petty/Local
Petty/Localized rustling	Not Syndicated; not armed.	Criminal quest for household protein or dairy (meat and milk)	Neighborhood paddocks or grazing fields.	Local Household	Local Farmers and Nomads
Inland rustling	Loosely Syndicated and fairly armed	Quest for capital accumulation	Grazing fields of herding communities	Local cattle markets and abattoirs.	Nomads and their local cronies.
Trans-border rustling	Robustly syndicated, organized and armed	Quest for capital accumulation; funding of political cause e.g. armed rebellion and terrorism	Grazing fields, commercial farms; cattle markets; herding communes	Across national boundary to Niger, Chad, Cameroon.	Nomads and a cartel of agents, merchants, and foreign accomplices.

Source: Okoli & Okpaleke (2014), Cattle Rustling and Dialectics of Security in Northern Nigeria, International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science, Vol. 2 No. 3.

Implications

Cattle's rustling has been a veritable threat to both national and human security in Nigeria and has manifested its effects in diverse dimensions. It has led to loss of lives, human injury, population displacements, as well as loss of cattle in their numbers. This situation goes with diverse repercussions that would affect the collective security of the herding communities and the nation at large. The repercussion goes beyond insecurity but also as it affects the capacity of productivity and an eventual depletion of household and national income. This could ultimately lead to a drop in the cumulative supply of organic protein/dairy in Nigeria and by extension to other products that survive on it. However of more critical implication is the twirl violence in some parts

of northern Nigeria. The Persistent attacks by cattle rustlers on herding communities have put them at cross battles with their ecological neighbours; the settled native farmers. This ill- feeling aggravates the already conflictive herder/farmer inter-group relation, which leads to ultimately to a ferocious circle of violence. An extension to this dimension is the perceptible collapse into various terror-brands that commit mass raids where massive killings, destructions and raping are perpetuated of which women and children are victimized and often face the worse hit of these raids. Thus, with its extreme dynamics, cattle rustling can be categorized to have traits of terrorism in terms of its destructive import of instilling fear, destruction of human live and property.

Closely related to this, is the concern that cattle rustling is being resorted to by the insurgents as a fund-raising strategy of terror financing³⁵. Some of the sources of funding for terrorists groups in Northern Nigeria have been linked to cattle rustling. This is supported by Governor Shetima of Borno State claim that a direct link between cattle rustling and Boko Haram insurgency has been established through intelligence reports.

Our security agencies have reasonably established that most of the cattle being traded at the markets [in Borno State] were the direct proceeds of cattle-rustling perpetrated by insurgents [and] were sold at prohibitive costs to unsuspecting customers through some unscrupulous middlemen who use underhand ploy[s] to deliberately disguise the transactions as legitimate. The money realised from such transaction[s] would then be channelled to fund their deadly activities.³⁶

The implication of this is that insurgency has the capacity of raising the instrumental value and utility of cattle rustling to a level where its solution would be as problematic as terrorism itself. This means therefore that if cattle rustling earnestly become an instrumentality for terrorist design, it will surely thrive so long as terrorism prevails.

In addition, it has also been used as mechanism for Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation (SALW). Arms' Trafficking along Nigerians' porous borders particularly in the heat of insurgency has also become a trend. Weapons are loaded on these cattle's and are used as transportation services across the borders. The vast ungoverned space stretching between Southern Niger, Southern Chad, North East

Nigeria and North West Cameroon, further enhances cattle rustling since these cattles' are not passed through structured road routes but through bush paths and other grazing trans-border routes. This porous nature of inter-state border-lines in Africa generally makes trans-border cattle rustling conducive and thriving.

Conclusion

Cattle rustling is a new phenomenon in view of its dire impacts and implication in contemporary Nigeria. It is accepted that cattle rustling seems to be largely a local problem but also has growing trans-border crime implications, particularly when international criminal organizations become involved. It does not only pose a serious threat to human but by extension threatens national security. Its critical dimensions and sophistication has grown with tremendous recognition both locally and internationally. Its latest manifestations in blood shedding, rape and raids in some parts of the middle belt and northern zones of Nigeria that brings about destruction of property has become a serious source of concern that should be given immediate attention particularly with its purported association with the Boko Haram insurgency. This points the government of the nation to a new dimension to the national security challenge of the nation. It is one criminal enterprise in which is not yet too late to organise and implement an international cooperate response. Therefore, it rest on the Government of Nigeria to come up with measures to counter and mitigate this new trend of national emergency.

Footnotes

1. Ryan Triche (Pastoral conflict in Kenya: Transforming mimetic violence to mimetic blessings between Turkana and Pokot communities, (Accessed 01 June 2017).
2. Samuel Egwu, "The Political Economy of Rural Banditry in Contemporary Nigeria", In Mohammed J. Kuna & Jibrin Ibrahim (ed) " In Rural Banditry and Conflicts in Northern Nigeria", Centre for Democracy and Development; Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme, 2015, p15.
3. Abimaje, Achor (2014), 260 Killed, 2,501 Cattle Rustled in Jos Attacks - JTF, in: Leadership, 25 April, <<http://leadership.ng/news/368441/260-killed-2501-cattle-rustled-jos-attacks-jtf>> (20 November 2016).
4. Timothy Adeola Adams, Vitus Nwankwo Ukoji, Abiola Victoria Ayodokun and Victor Chinedu Eze, Nigeria Watch Project: Sixth Report on Violence (2016), Nigeria Stabilization and Reconciliation Programme, 2016, p8 . (Accessed April, 2017).

5. Alemika, E.E.O, (2013) "Organized Crime and Governance in West Africa: Overview in E.E.O Alemika (Ed.), *The Impact of Organized Crime on Governance in West Africa*" Abuja: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
6. Samuel Egwu, "The Political Economy of Rural Banditry..."
7. Greiner. C, "Guns, Land, and Votes: Cattle rustling and politics of boundary (re)making in Northern Kenya" *African Affairs*: Oxford; doi:10.109/afraf/ad+003,2013 (accessed 4 Dec, 2015).
8. Article 1, "Combating Cattle Rustling and Enhancing Human Security in Eastern Africa", Protocol on the Prevention , Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa, Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization(EAPCCO) EAPCCO Cattle Rustling Protocol August 2008
9. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Human Development Report 1994*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 23.
10. Hans Van Ginkel, and Edward Newman (2000)"In Quest of "Human Security." *Japan Review of International Affairs* 14.(1) p.79
11. Olaniyan, Azeez & Yahaya, Aliyu, "Cows, Bandits, and Violent Conflicts: Understanding Cattle Rustling in Northern Nigeria", *Africa Spectrum*, Vol 51, No 3, 2016, pp 93-105.
12. .Blench, Roger (2004) *Natural Resources Conflict in North Central Nigeria: A Handbook and Case Studies*. Mallam Dendo Ltd.
13. Tony Akowe and Bodunrin Kayode (2014), *A Northern Nightmare*, The Nation, March 30, <http://thenationonline.net/cattle-rustling-northern-nightmare/> (Accessed 01 June, 2017)
14. Ibid
15. Ibid
16. Okoli, A.C. and Ioryer, P (2014). *Terrorism and humanitarian crisis in Nigeria: Insights from Boko Haram insurgency*. *Global Journal of Human social sciences*. F: Political Science, 14 (1:1.0), pp.39-50.
17. Okoli, A.C and Atelhe, G.A (2014). *Nomads against Natives: A political ecology of herder/farmer conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria*. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, (2), pp.76-88.
18. Saheed Ahmad Rufai, "Of ungoverned space, cattle rustling and national security - Part 2" , 13 April 2017 (accessed 11 July 2017)
19. P. Eavis, "SALW in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region; Challenges and ways forward", *Spring Vol. IX, Issue No. 1 2002* p. 253. <http://www.sonistitute.org/bjwa/archive/911/smallarms/eavis.pdf> (accessed 26 July 2017)
20. Ibrahim Abdullahi, "The State of the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Sub-Saharan Africa: Regional, State and Local Causes" *International Journal of Business & Law Research* 4(3):22-36, July-Sept, Seahi Publications, 2016, pp 22-36.

21. Kennedy Agade Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area," *African Affairs* 106, no. 422 (2007), 47-70.
22. Olaniyan, Azeez and Yahaya, Aliyu, "Cows, Bandits, and Violent Conflicts: Understanding Cattle Rustling in Northern Nigeria", *Africa Spectrum*, 51, 3, 2016, pp 93-105.
23. Nan, "There is a link between Boko Haram, cattle rustlers, says Masari" 08 December 2015, (accessed 14 June 2017)
24. Olaniyan, Azeez and Yahaya, Aliyu, "Cows, Bandits, and...", p 98
25. Ibid...,
26. Ibid...,
27. National Express, "Cattle Rustling Could Be More Dangerous than Boko Haram", *National Express*, 4 February, www.national-express.com.ng/cattle-rustling-could-be-more-dangerous-than-bokoharam, (accessed 10 July 2017).
28. Omolara Akinyemi, "Globalization and Nigeria Border Security: Issues and Challenges" *International Affairs and Global*, Vol 11, 2013, p 4 <http://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/IAGS/article/viewFile/6226/6355> Vol.11, 2013 , p4 (accessed 17 July 2017)
29. Ibid...,
30. Blench, Roger (2003), *The Transformation of Conflict between Pastoralists and Cultivators in Nigeria*, (Accessed 4 March 2017).
31. Yusuf, Vincent, "Nigeria Deadly Persistence of Cattle-Rustling. Daily Trust, 16 May 2015, p. Available at: (Accessed 4 January 2016)
32. Okoli AC and Okpaleke F, *Cattle Rustling and Dialectics of Security in Northern Nigeria*, *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, Vol. 2 No. 3, 2014, pp 109-119.
33. Ogbeche, Danielle (2016), *Borno: Governor Shettima Claims Boko Haram Now Sell Stolen Cattle to Fund Terror Campaigns*, in: *Daily Post*, 5 March, <http://dailypost.ng/2016/03/05/orno-governorshettima-claims-boko-haram-now-sell-stolen-cattle-to-fund-terror-campaigns> (accessed 10 July 2017).