

Understanding the Nature of Cattle Rustlers and Factors Responsible for Cattle Rustling in Fulani communities of Jigawa State, Nigeria

Aminu Abdullahi

Department of Sociology,
Federal University Dutse,
Jigawa State
aminu.abdullahi@fud.edu.ng

&

Junaidu Abdulkadir

Department of Sociology,
Umaru Musa YarAdua University, Katsina

Abstract

This paper examined the nature of cattle rustlers in terms of their sex, tribe, age, education and employment status and factors responsible for their involvement in cattle rustling. Using Crime Pattern theory, the problem under study was analysed. The study population are the Fulani and their traditional leaders. Cluster, availability and purposive sampling techniques were used and 1,048 selected as the sample. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection were used for this study; a survey questionnaire was administered to the Fulani population and In-depth interview conducted with the Fulani traditional leaders. The quantitative data generated from the survey were analysed using percentages, frequency distributions and the qualitative data transcribed and used in complementing the quantitative data. Findings revealed that those involved in cattle rustling are Fulani youth who are mostly unemployed with less formal education. Among other factors associated with cattle rustling, , lack of education, poverty and unemployment among the Fulani youth was identified. The study recommended that Government should directs its focus towards mass education campaigns among the Fulani and ensure that their children are enrolled in schools and also to create more employment opportunities by providing different skills through acquisition training as alternative means of livelihood for Fulani population in the State.

Key words: Cattle Rustlers, Factors responsible, Nature, Understanding

Introduction

With the complexities of human societies, deviance and crime are also on the increase worldwide (Hagan, 2000). Among the criminal activities that are on the increase are those associated with Fulani people in Nigeria, such as rural banditry, kidnapping or abduction for ransom, herders/farmers conflict and cattle rustling (Osamba 2000, Okoli&Atelhe 2014, Abdullahi 2019, Bashir, Yusof &Azlizan 2018). Even though these criminal activities are worrying and interconnected, one that is of greater worry to Fulani people is cattle rustling. This is because cattle rearing is the major source of their livelihood .

Today, cattle rustling has manifested into different forms and networks in various scales and implications across regions in the continent of Africa. As reported by Olaniyan & Yahaya (2016), it has recently become a major security issue of concern in Nigeria, with the northern part forming the epicenter of the problem. In Kaduna State alone, approximately 7000 cattle were rustled from commercial livestock farms between October 2013 and March 2014, while about 30,000 cattle were recovered from the rustlers in a few months in Katsina State (Today, 24, January, 2016). It was reported by the Leadership newspaper (2019) that the coalition of Fulani associations in Nigeria has alleged that no fewer than 3.7 million of their cows have so far been stolen in the last four years. Also, in Jigawa State, it was reported by the Sun News (2017) that five cattle rustlers were arrested with 200 cattle by the State Command of the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC).

Although Fulani youth were mostly suspected to be involved in cattle rustling, there are various factors that might underlie the incidence of such criminal activities in Fulani communities of Jigawa State. These may include the proliferation of fire arms, worsening material conditions of some Fulani youths and cultural practice of testing one's bravery (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016) Other factors are the drive for wealth accumulation and lack of education, poverty and unemployment, etc. it is against this background therefore, this paper attempted to find out the nature of cattle rustlers in terms of their sex, tribe, educational and employment status as well as the factors responsible for their involvement in cattle rustling.

Review of related literature

Cattle Rustling and its Prevalence in Northern Nigeria

Cattle rustling has been examined and consistently mentioned in the Western and Asian criminological literature (Anyango, Muhingi, Okuku, Mutavi & Mwalw 2017, Chrisman 2012, Salih, 2012, Via jar 2013, Perry 2009). Similarly, the phenomenon has also been widely examined and explained by scholars in Africa. According to Greiner (2013), the term 'cattle rustling' is applied to designate the act of stealing cattle from a grazing herd. Historically, Shehu & Victor (2017) explained that cattle rustling are an ancient practice that is associated with societies suffering from social and economic upheavals and where the structures and functioning of leadership and governance have collapsed or are significantly weakened. Egwu (2015) is also of the opinion that cattle rustling are a primitive form of the accumulation of cowherds in the context of subsistence and commercial pastoralism, which has impacted negatively on national security and livestock production, thereby altering the balance in state-security relations.

Some scholars like Triche (2014) associated cattle theft with pastoralists' cultural traditions or with the effects of ecology on pastoralism. At that time, according to him, cattle rustling were relatively localised, seasonal and pursued with mostly traditional weapons and there was a low level of violence

associated with it. Although raiding appeared lawless, it was governed by some sort of acceptable customary rules of engagement among the pastoralist groups involved.

Furthermore, Osamba (2000) argued that cattle rustling are common cultural practice in Africa's societies which is regarded as a kind of sport in many communities among the pastoralists, though under control and appropriate sanctions without guns by elders. However, the shrinking resource base among the pastoralists provoked desperate struggles for survival and the use of sophisticated weapons. In a related view, Cheserek, Omondi & Odenyo (2012) reported that traditionally both pastoralist communities in Kenya practiced cattle raids with neighbouring communities, using crude weapons, such as sticks, spears, bows and arrows. These raids are practiced as a means of reciprocity for poor families to acquire livestock and restock, particularly after droughts or epidemics.

However, in later days, this traditional practice transformed itself and is now referred to as 'cattle rustling'. As posited by Mulugeta & Hagmann (2017), cattle rustling are a violent activity by pastoral communities stealing livestock from each other. The main resource of livestock ownership depends on one's strength to protect what one has and increase the number by constantly invading other communities using all available means to own the animals.

In Nigeria, it was argued by Alemika (2013) that over the years cattle rustling has evolved into a pattern of organized crime with immense criminal sophistication and efficiency. Hence, contemporary cattle rustlers operate with modern weaponry and their operations are marked by trans-locational and trans-national syndication. Cattle's rustling has, therefore, become a major crime, with the northern region being the most vulnerable. Recently, the activities of cattle rustlers have resulted in the theft of a huge number of cows, the deaths of people and the destruction of property. Similarly, this was reported by Yusuf (2014) that virtually all the states in the northern region of Nigeria are affected by cattle rustling. Furthermore, Akowe & Kayode (2014) argued that several villages in the areas lying between the four northern states of Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara and Niger have been under siege by cattle rustlers, who freely unleash terror on helpless herders and cow farmers.

Although cattle rustling have been in existence long ago, the tactics have changed and the number of stolen cows has always increased. Its prevalence and impact resulted in the depletion of household income and communal resource of the herding community due to the loss of a large number of cows not only in Jigawa State but in the entire region.

The Nature of Cattle Rustlers

Fulani people have been suspected for cattle rustling over a long period of time as their cultural pattern of showing prowess and restocking depleted stock

(Osamba 2000). Conventionally, as opined by Okoli and Atelhe (2014), cattle rustling are more or less associated with nomads. This observation is predicated on two principal assumptions as follows: it takes a nomad to effectively 'drive' a stolen cow or a cow-herd from the graze. It also takes a nomad to efficiently navigate 'forest routes', escaping with the stolen cow. They further argued that without any prejudice to possible exceptions, it would take an active involvement, or at least the connivance, of a nomad to plan and prosecute a 'good' cattle rustling deal. Inconnection to this, it has been alleged that the bulk of the cases of cattle rustling in northern Nigeria has been perpetrated by the transnational syndicate of renegade Fulani-nomads, who know the forest well. It was also contended 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 settled farmers.

In a similar opinion, Abdullahi (2019) posited that Fulani herders are largely suspected for cattle rustling for the following reasons: it is almost impossible for one not familiar with cattle to move them successfully from the ranch or one grazing area to another location. The route to be followed with stolen cattle is not likely to be known by someone not adequately familiar with the terrain. Rustlers are speculatively herders that lost their cattle for reasons like conflict, cattle rustling and disease. In a study conducted by Bashir, Yusof and Azlizan (2018), they found that cattle rustlers are a bunch of criminals, who are mostly Fulani youths. However, contrary to this opinion, Abubakar, Rohana & Talib (2018) argued that cattle rustling is organised by people from different ethnic groups, debunking the belief that it was only herdsmen who are involved in the heinous act.

Factors responsible for Cattle Rustling

Throughout the history of cattle rustling, the drivers of cattle rustling can be found in cultural and socio-economic roots, but more recently the practice has become a large-scale criminal activity, with strong security implications and with direct and indirect effects on the groups involved. The rustlers have different rationales of engagement in the activity, with some relating to economic survival in times of hardship, whilst others are connected to conflict entrepreneurship, entailing living off raids through heavily armed activities (Jonah, 2009). It was argued by Blench (2004) that cattle rustling have been driven by the criminal intent to expropriate cows for meat or for sale. Pertinently, it must have served as a means of primitive accumulation of cowherds in the contexts of subsistence and commercial pastoralism. Furthermore, Gueye (2013) asserted that the basic understanding regarding the reasons behind contemporary cattle rustling is that it is a form of livelihood crime motivated by both 'subsistence' and 'commercial' imperatives. In his study, Bashir (2017) identified poverty, political interference, climate change occasioned by droughts and reduced access to water sources, competition over access and control of scarce natural resources, limited natural resources, pastoralist culture (Fulani herders) and traditions passed over the years that have

promoted animosity in the area and the commercialization of cattle rustling as its attributing factors. Similarly, it was argued by Usman (2017) that banditry, cattle rustling and related crimes in north-western Nigeria is a complex issue with multiple root causes, including poverty, unemployment, lack of educational and economic opportunities and ineffective governance and security institutions.

Theoretical framework

Crime Pattern Theory was adopted to provide theoretical frame of reference for this paper. Founded by Brantingham and Brantingham (1981), the theory assumes that most offenders seek their crime targets within areas or locations that are familiar to them. Offenders like cattle rustlers engage in criminal activities in their daily lives, as they perform their routine activities, they come to recognize desirable targets within locations familiar to them. It is in these identified locations that crime, such as cattle rustling, frequently occur.

In the crime pattern theory, these key locations that an individual frequents are referred to as nodes and the regular routes that connect them as paths. Individuals such as herders become particularly familiar with areas around nodes and pathways that they visit frequently as a consequence of their daily routines. These locations according to Brantingham and Brantingham (1981), are referred to as individual's "awareness spaces". According to the theory, crime occurs in predictable locations defined by the intersection of an offender's awareness space and crime opportunities. The central aspect in the logic of the crime pattern theory is that of "Awareness Space", which means locations and areas that a person is aware of and possesses a minimum level of knowledge about. Offenders' (cattle rustlers) awareness space forms part of their mental map and is constructed primarily.

An awareness space is composed of various activity sites and the connecting network of travel and commuting routes. Well-known locations (grazing sites and Fulani settlements) may also become part of the cattle rustlers' awareness space. According to the theory, therefore, offenders like cattle rustlers prefer to commit crime within their awareness spaces, since it is in these areas that they are likely to possess superior knowledge about available crime targets and possible risks. At the same time, some nodes, such as grazing lands and the like, where both potential offenders and victims congregate, offer abundant opportunities for crime, such as cattle rustling to occur.

The theory, an insight for understanding crime patterns like cattle rustling and the nature of those involved in cattle rustling. The nodes in the context of this work are mostly the grazing lands and the grazing routes that mostly connect the victims of cattle rustling, who are mostly herdsman, and cattle rustlers, who are likely familiar with the bush terrain. Consequently, the familiarity of the nodes and the routes by the cattle rustlers as their "awareness space" in the bush provides an opportunity for them to move away the cattle easily.

Methodology

The study used mix methods (quantitative and qualitative) mode of data collection. For the quantitative, a survey was conducted while In-depth interviews were used to generate qualitative data. The population used for this study included the Fulani population in Jigawa State and also the Fulani traditional (community) leaders. In accordance with the Krejcie & Morgan (1970) guideline and sample size determination formula, a sample size of one thousand and fourty eight thousand (1,048) was arrived at. From this, one thousand and thirty (1,030) represent the Fulani population who were the respondents for quantitative data (survey) where one thousand and eighteen questionnaires (1,018) were returned, while eighteen samples represent Fulani leaders who were respondents for qualitative data. With regards to sampling techniques, this study used cluster, availability and purposive sampling techniques as follows: First stage, (1). cluster sampling was used to identify three senatorial districts of the State at the first stage, then two Local Governments areas were selected from each of the three senatorial districts, namely: Birnin Kudu and Gwaram Local Governments Areas from Jigawa Central District, Guri and Kirikasamma Local Governments Areas from Jigawa North east District, Maigatari and Babura Local Governments Areas from Jigawa North West Disrict. (2). availability sampling technique was used to select members of the Fulani population in the selected Local Government areas. Second stage: purposive sampling was used to reach specific key populations in each of the above-mentioned Local Governments areas who provide relevant information. These populations are Fulani traditional leaders. The quantitative data collected was analysed using frequency table distributions, percentages. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used in processing the data. While the qualitative data were generated, transcribed and interpreted to complement the quantitative data appropriately.

Findings

The Nature of Cattle Rustlers

The data presents the views of the respondents about the nature of those who are involved in cattle rustling (cattle rustlers) in terms of their sex, age, tribe, educational backgrounds and employment status, also the factors responsible for their involvement in cattle rustling.

Table 1. Views of the Respondents on the Sex of Cattle Rustlers.

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	927	91.1
Female	91	8.9
Total	1018	100.0

The above table presents the respondents' views about the sex of those involved in cattle rustling, where an overwhelming majorities (91.1%) are of the view that males are mostly involved. While a few (8.9%) believed that females are also involved. Similarly, an interview with a traditional/community leader revealed that:

males were mostly involved in cattle rustling; it is very rare or uncommon to see female involving herself in the activities of cattle rustling. Even the few ones that are involved, they are used to connive either to provide information or aid to hide the stolen cattle in their houses (IDI, community leader, 2023).

Table 2. Views of the Respondents about the Age of Cattle Rustlers

Age	Frequency	Percentage
20 years and below	99	9.7
21-25 years	203	19.9
26-30 years	267	26.2
31-35 years	152	14.9
36-40 years	160	15.7
41 – above	137	13.5
Total	1018	100.0

Table 2, presents views of the respondents about the age distribution of those who are involved in cattle rustling. According to the data, most of them are within their youthful age. They fall between the ages of 26-30 (26.2%), 20-25 (19.9%) and 31-35 (14.9%), which represent 61.7%. The remaining respondents opine that other age categories above youth are also involved. This finding was further elaborated and explained from the interview with the community leader, who says:

Most of those involved in cattle rustling are our youths, although, according to some of our tradition youths demonstrate their bravery through this act but the one of this time is different, it is disturbing. Not only cattle rustling, all other forms of crime committed by Fulani like other ethnic populations are committed by youths (IDI, Community leader 2023).

Most of those involved in cattle rustling, as presented by the data are youths. Despite a minority opinion that few adults are also among the cattle rustlers, further revelation from community leaders reveals that some of these adults support young cattle rustlers with spiritual charms and guides.

Table 3. Views of the Respondents on the Tribe of Cattle Rustlers

Tribe	Frequency	Percentage
Hausa	215	21.1
Fulani	637	62.6
Kanuri	92	9.0
Others (Igbo/Yoruba)	74	7.3
Total	1018	100.0

Table 3, reveals the views of the respondents about the tribe of the cattle rustlers. According to the data, 62.6% are of the opinion that the majority are Fulani. While others (21.1%, 9.0% and 7.3%) respectively are of the views that tribes such as the Hausa and the Kanuri and some of the minority tribes like the

Igbo and the Yoruba residing in the state are also involved. In line with this, it was revealed by the Fulani community leader:

Most of those involved in cattle rustling are our children, who stay with us, some time they started from petty stealing within their homes and neighborhoods for example they steal chickens, goats etc. Because their parents refused to caution them and some time, they even protect them from getting apprehended or ensure that they free them even when apprehended, these are among other reasons resulted in the escalation of the criminal activities and cattle rustling in particular among our youths (IDI, Community Leader, 2023).

A significant number of the qualitative and quantitative respondents opined that Fulani people are the ones suspected of cattle rustling. This is also attributed to the fact that they are more familiar with cattle and the full control of them than any other tribe. It was further revealed that other tribes, such as the Hausa, the Kanuri and some minorities like the Igbo and the Yoruba residing in the study area also aided the cattle rustling through their involvement either as an agents buying or selling cows or as drivers that convey the cows to long distant locations.

Table 4: Views of the Respondents on the Educational Status of Cattle Rustlers.

Educational Status	Frequency	Percentage
Educated	174	17.1
Not educated	844	82.9
Total	1018	100.0

According to the respondents' views on the educational status of the cattle rustlers, as shown by Table 4, majority (82.9%) reported that the cattle rustlers did not attain any level of education. While 17.2% believed that some attained a certain level of either formal or informal education. This position was further elaborated by the respondents that most of their youths refuse to attend schools due to the negligence of their parents and most of them are more interested in herding activities. A Fulani community leader asserts:

...Majority of our youths are not educated in both the religious and western education. That is why if you observe carefully, most of those arrested for one form of crime or the other are not educated at all and the same applied to suspected cattle rustlers, majority of them are not educated (IDI, Community leader, 2023).

From the above data, the respondents are of the view that majority of cattle rustlers are not adequately educated in both formal and informal education. Even the few among them who started attending some institutions of learning dropped out at different level.

Table 5: Views of the Respondents on Employment Status of Cattle Rustlers

Employment status	Frequency	Percentage
Employed	395	38.8
Not employed	623	61.2
Total	1018	100.0

From the above Table (5), the views of the respondents on the employment status of cattle rustlers were reported by the majority (61.2%) that those involved in cattle rustling are not employed, meaning they do not have any legitimate job. While some (38.8%) opined that there are some of them who have jobs. Similar to this finding, a community leader reported:

The people that are involved in cattle rustling are not employed, although few of them were found to have some menial jobs and even the menial jobs, they may likely do it to divert the attention of people against suspecting them for criminal acts like cattle rustling but apart from that majority of them have nothing doing in terms of jobs and I think that is why most of them are involved in this criminal act (IDI, Community leader 2023)

As mentioned by the majority of the respondents, most cattle rustlers are not employed and do not have any job to earn a living apart from cattle rustling. Even though a few of them have some menial jobs, they are suspected by community members of using the menial jobs as a disguise and diversionary tactic for their criminal activities. This is one of the key issues associated with the majority of the Fulani population. Despite the fact that they were popularly known as herders, majority of them lost their cattle due to one reason or another.

Factors responsible for Cattle Rustling

This section presents the views of the respondents on the reasons why people were involved in cattle rustling:

Table 6: Views of the Respondents on Reasons for Cattle Rustling

Reasons for Cattle Rustling	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Joblessness	691 (67.9)	327(32.1)	1018 (100)
Poverty	732 (71.9)	286 (28.1)	1018 (100)
Lack of education	844 (82.9)	174 (17.1)	1018 (100)
Availability of arms	629 (61.8)	389 (38.2)	1018 (100)
For vengeance	592 (58.2)	426 (41.8)	1018 (100)
Demonstration of bravery	811 (79.7)	207 (20.3)	1018 (100)
To replace depleted stock of the cattle	233 (22.9)	785 (77.1)	1018 (100)

Table 6, presents the reasons why people engage in cattle rustling. Majority of the respondents (82.9%) reported lack of education and others reported the

demonstration of one's bravery. Poverty and joblessness are always related. Where there is no job, there is the likelihood of poverty. Both are also said by the respondents among the major reasons for cattle rustling. Those with these opinions constituted 71.9% and 67.9%, respectively. While others (61.8% and 58.2%) are of the views that because of the available arms in the society, the cattle rustlers have the opportunity to use them and others believed that some of the cattle rustlers were seeking for vengeance because of their stolen cows. In an interview, a community leader, he revealed that:

There are many factors responsible for cattle rustling among our people, these reasons might be attributed to lack of education, unemployment. Because when you observe our people particularly the young ones, you will see that majority lack awareness to even do something tangible that will earn them a living. The problem associated with lack of education has a devastating impact on us. That is why Fulani are always suspected for crime related activities (IDI, Community leader, 2023).

Although there are varying reasons as factors responsible for cattle rustling, most of the respondents opine that those reasons should not be a justification. It is very clear that those reasons are the factors associated with cattle rustling in Fulani communities and range from lack of education, joblessness and poverty, among others, that were mentioned by the respondents, depending on the circumstances.

Discussion of major findings

The nature of those involved in cattle rustling in Jigawa State, in terms of their sex, age, tribe, educational backgrounds and employment status was presented. As for the sex of those involved in cattle rustling, the study found that majority of the respondents are of the views that males are mostly involved and are between the ages of 26-30. This clearly shows that they are within their youthful age.

The tribe of those involved in cattle rustling was reported by the majority of those participated in the study (62.6%). Most of those suspected for being involved cattle rustling are Fulani. This is in harmony with the view of Osamba (2000), who said that Fulani have been suspected for cattle raiding over a long period of time as their cultural pattern of showing prowess and restocking depleted stock. Similarly, it was also opined by Okoli and Atelhe (2014) that cattle rustling is more or less associated with nomads. In this connection, it has been alleged that the bulk of the cases of cattle rustling in northern Nigeria has been perpetrated by a transnational syndicate of renegade Fulani-nomads, who know the forest well. This opinion was corroborated by Abdullahi (2019), who also asserted that Fulani herders are largely suspected of cattle rustling for the following reasons: 1. it is almost impossible for one not familiar with cattle to move them successfully from the ranch or grazing area to another location. 2. the route to be followed with stolen cattle is not likely to be known by someone not adequately familiar with the terrain. This assertion was further supported by

the work of the Brantinghams & Brantinghams (1981) in their theory (the crime pattern theory), which provides much of the theoretical bases for understanding suspected cattle rustlers like Fulani people. The nodes presented by the theory in this context are the grazing lands and the grazing routes, which connect the victims of cattle rustling, who are mostly herdsmen, and offenders, who are familiar with the bush terrain (suspected to be Fulani). Consequently, the familiarity of the nodes and the routes by cattle rustlers as their “awareness space” in the bush provides some opportunities for the cattle rustlers to move away the cattle easily and freely.

However, a few of the study samples opined that other tribes, such as the Hausa and the Kanuri, are also involved as either collaborators or those who aid in committing the act. This view was supported by Abubakar, Rohana & Talib (2018), who argued that cattle rustling are organized by people from different ethnic groups, debunking the belief that it was only herdsmen who are involved in the heinous act.

According to the data on the educational status of cattle rustlers, it was reported by the majority of respondents (82.9%) that cattle rustlers did not attain certain levels of education. This was further revealed by Fulani leaders that majority of Fulani youths who are involved in cattle rustling and other criminal activities are not educated in both religious and western education.

With regards to the employment status of those involved in cattle rustling, majority of the respondents believed that cattle rustlers are not employed, as such they do not have any legitimate job. This is one of the key problems that affect the lives of young Fulani people. It was further revealed that traditionally, animal rearing is their main job as a result of the loss of cattle where most of the Fulani do not have cows nowadays. The youth among them do not have other means of livelihood and that is why some among them resorted to cattle rustling and other forms of crime.

The Factors Responsible (Reasons) for Cattle Rustling

The data of the study revealed that majority of the respondents (82.9%) reported lack of both formal and informal education as the reason why people got involved in cattle rustling. Others reported the demonstration of or testing one’s bravery as part of the reasons. Demonstration or testing one’s bravery is one of the Fulani traditional beliefs that stealing at younger age is considered testing bravery. Although some respondents argued that this tradition no longer existed, they believed that it may likely influence criminal activities like cattle rustling among some of the Fulani youth.

Poverty and joblessness were also considered by the respondents among the major reasons for cattle rustling. They were reported saying that poverty, which resulted from lack of jobs are factors that fueled criminal activities, such as cattle rustling in Fulani communities. The finding is in tandem with Usman (2017), who argued that poverty, unemployment and lack of education are the

key features of bandits, cattle rustlers and those involved in related crimes. Similar to this assertion, Jonah (2009) observed that cattle rustlers have different reasons for engaging in the activity, with some relating to economic survival in times of hardship and others connecting conflict entrepreneurship, entailing living off raids through heavily armed activities. Available fire-arms in the society was also mentioned by some of the study respondents as an attributing factor to cattle rustling because, according to them, cattle rustlers have the opportunity to use the available fire-arms for committing crimes.

Although there are varying reasons and some supersede others, the respondents were of the opinion that those reasons should not be a justification for committing crime like cattle rustling. But it is very clear that those reasons are the factors associated with cattle rustling in Fulani communities and range from lack of education, unemployment and poverty, among others, that were mentioned by the respondents, depending on the circumstances. Similarly, it was argued by Usman (2017) that banditry, cattle rustling and related crimes in North Western Nigeria are a complex issue with multiple root causes, including poverty, unemployment, lack of educational and economic opportunities and ineffective governance and security institutions.

Conclusion

For a long period of time, Fulani communities were bedeviled with the menace of cattle rustling. Understanding the nature of those involved in it and factors responsible (reasons) for it will go a long way in curbing the criminal act. Based on the findings of this study, it has concluded that those involved in cattle rustling were male Fulani youths, most of whom are unemployed and not educated, always moving around the bush looking for the opportunity to execute their criminal act (cattle rustling). The main reasons attributed to cattle rustling are illiteracy (lack of education), unemployment and poverty among the Fulani youths.

Recommendations

1. Jigawa State Government should direct its focus towards mass education campaigns among the Fulani and ensure that their children are enrolled in schools. This will go a long way in reducing high level of illiteracy among them and assist in finding solutions for the challenges of unemployment, which were mentioned among the factors responsible for cattle rustling.
2. Government should also create more employment opportunities by providing different skills through acquisition training as alternative means of livelihood for Fulani population in the State. this will assist in reducing high rate of joblessness and poverty among them.

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