

Armed Herdsmen Group Cohesion and Invasion of the Southern Kaduna Region of Nigeria: A Reflection of the Social Thoughts of Ibn Khaldun on Social Change (1332 – 1339 C.E)

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ABSTRACT: *The research is on armed herdsmen group cohesion, and the invasion of southern Kaduna, Nigeria: A reflection of the social thoughts of Ibn Khaldun. A sample of 90 respondents drawn from the three local government areas affected by the activities of armed herdsmen was used for the study. The questionnaire was used as a major instrument for the collection of primary data from respondents; in-depth interviews were conducted to stimulate further information from respondents. Secondary data was sourced from books, journals, newspapers, and online peer-reviewed documents. The routine activity theory was adopted to explain armed herdsmen activities in the Southern Kaduna region of Kaduna State. Findings suggest that the invasion of Southern Kaduna in groups of over a hundred armed herdsmen was successfully done due to their high-level sense of group cohesion and social solidarity, while their activities have been reported to be on the increase, the invasion and attacks are on weekly and daily basis. Their methods of attacks include killings, shootings, and burning of farmlands and houses amongst others, with dangerous weapons including guns, machetes and arrows, while their major mode of entry into the communities is through the use of motorcycles. The study recommends that government should be more proactive in tackling this menace and become more committed through the provision of superior firearms and ammunition to security agencies and increase the number of security forces deployed in the affected communities to combat the phenomenon successfully.*

KEYWORDS: group cohesion, armed-herdsmen, invasion, social change, social thoughts, southern Kaduna.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria today can be best described as a country under distress; the country's pathetic situation is more worrisome considering the spate of continuous armed violence and criminalities of all sorts taking place in the country. Consequently, the state in this direction is assisted by a government as a body. There has been the tendency right from independence to view National Security in Nigeria as an exclusive domain of the coercive agencies of the government, therefore, in the assessment of security arrangements, greater focus has always been on internal security which has become the main thrust of security in Nigeria.

This approach to national security is premised on the fact that insecurity is always seen not from its causes but its effects. Hence insecurity has always come to be viewed from the criminality of the people and not what turns them into criminals. Okoli (2017) and Zenn (2018) submitted that Northern Nigeria and particularly the North-East is still under the pillage of Boko Haram, amidst the precarious counter-insurgency endeavours of the government, while the North-Central has been afflicted by herdsmen brigandage which has ravaged the region with the serious humanitarian and economic crisis, the North-West region has only recently been engaged in the rapid upsurge of armed-marauders along its borderlines and forested interior communities.

The inability to use the appropriate tools in analyzing Nigeria's national security problems right from the colonial period to date is the reason for the difficulties faced by the present security organizations in the country. Nigeria has in the last two decades been turned into what Merton (1955) may wish to refer to as a state of 'Anomie', for Merton, it is a state of normlessness. Hardly had the country recovered from the civil war, military dictatorship, and some ethnic uprisings and reprisal attacks that other new forms of normless behaviours started showing their capacities for criminalities.

Bagu and Smith (2017) noted that though organized research on armed herdsmen brigandage activities is still at its nascent stage, however, there have been some scholarly works on the subject matter, (Kunn and Jibrin (2016), CDD,(2015), all contended that the activities of armed herdsmen have become reasonably most prevalent in some parts of the North-western and North-central regions, with states like Kaduna, Niger, Nasarawa, Plateau and Benue becoming more affected by the phenomenon. What then is criminal armed marauding? How frequent are these attacks? What are their methods of attacks? Weapons of attacks and consequences of attacks in the five most affected local government areas of Southern Kaduna in Kaduna State? And what measures have the operatives of the various security agencies put in place to check the excesses of these armed herdsmen scavengers of human blood and destruction agents?

Okpaleke (2014), maintains that armed herdsmen's activities have to do with armed violence perpetrated by criminal opportunists and syndicates along the country's borderlines and rural interiors. He was of the view that acts of criminality by these armed herdsmen are targeted at human lives or property; armed robbery, kidnapping, cattle rustling, and allied violence. But

McGregor (2014), believes that the criminality of armed nomad aggressors has always been motivated wholly by criminal intentions.

In any case, the researchers of this study see the phenomenon as alarming and very worrisome, as its penchant for destruction has continued daily in various Nigerian communities, highways, and even major local government headquarters without corresponding onslaught by the various security agencies.

Background to the Study

Beyond the conflicting and contending definitions, dimensions, and perspectives of armed herdsmen and brigands in Nigeria, it has been noted that the phenomenon is not a new one in Nigeria. Ja'afar (2018) opines that there is a scholarly discourse that contends that the activities of these armed marauders in Nigeria predate the country's emergence as a politically sovereign nation. In this direction, Ja'afar (2018) is of the view that there were records of instances of armed herdsmen brigandage in colonial Nigeria, as far back as the 1930s. According to him, in those days, wayfarers and merchants travelling on the local shallow feeder roads were sometimes faced with an ambush by criminal herdsmen who were targeting goods carried on donkeys, camels, and ox carts. Such armed herdsmen at that time forcefully took away goods and disappeared into the bush, or at some other times, the bandits raided villages and carted away valuable properties and produce.

The Humanitarian (2018), also reported that the first case of armed herdsmen was documented around 1901, and the incidence was said to have occurred somewhere between Western Hausa land and the border of the Republic of Niger. But the disturbing development is captured by Egwu (2016), who reported that armed herdsmen activities moved from its rudimentary phase to a more complex and complicated pattern of criminality.

Kaduna State with 46,053 square kilometres of overstretched forest hinterland mass in the country is viewed by this researcher as one of the states that are open to the activities of armed herdsmen challenges. Adeniyi (2018) explained further that, even though Lagos State is known to be super populous, its landmass is only 4,000 square kilometres compared to states like Kaduna and Zamfara with 46,053 and 39,762 square kilometres respectively, all the above states according to Adeniyi (2018), have the same type of ecological foundation adorned by hills, extended wet forests, mountains and caves which unfortunately have become new bandit recruitment bases and potential hideouts after attacks.

Statement of Research Problem

Certain socio-existential conditions have been opined to be sufficient reasons why rural armed herdsmen activities have successfully strived in Nigeria. Some of these characteristic conditions have been identified to be both in the interior communities of the hinterlands and neighbouring borderline geological challenges. Gaye (2018) maintained that prominent among these conditions is the scarcely governed hinterlands and forestlands. According to him the North West and North Central regions of the Nigerian hinterlands are marked by extremely dispersed normal settlements,

which have been separated by rangelands and farmlands with extreme gaps susceptible for illegal occupations by predator-armed brigands.

Okoh and Ugwu (2019), were of the view that these forestlands are vast, rugged, and hazardous, and are highly under-policed to the point that it makes them conducive to all forms of jungle criminality. The FATF-GIABA-GABAC (2016) report, maintained that most attacks in the remote interior villages have become successful because of their closeness to the forest regions with little or no security presence. Armed herdsmen activities, therefore, have become profitable to the criminally minded who find it very easy to always terrorize the local population and deprive them of their food and livelihoods.

Unfortunately, the government's position on this heinous crime of armed herdsmen has left citizens wondering whether government exists for the protection of lives and properties. (Okoli and Achim,(2016; Azad, Crawford, and Kaila,(2018) were of the view that the near-non-action of the state's functionality concerning security and territorial governance has grossly demonstrated a pathological ground for its incapacity to govern its citizens. This is so because governments at all levels, according to the above writers have exhibited a woeful lethargy in dealing with national security emergencies. Accordingly, the government has persistently failed to muster the requisite political will and commitment to tackle the situation. They concluded.

Jaafar (2019) puts it better when he submitted that "what we are seeing today is not historically unprecedented. Okoli (2017) however pointed out that, sometimes "the lethality of the attacks is merely reprisals, designed to showdown communities, which have hitherto challenged or resisted the armed herdsmen' onslaught through vigilantism". Therefore, armed marauders operate by cruising into the closest villages and towns typically flaunting their arms and shooting in a commando-style, riding freely on a three-up-in a motorbike, unchecked, unhindered and become ruthless, plundering and overcoming communities, carting away valuables, animals, raping women and kidnapping persons without confrontation of any kind.

The closeness of the extended thick forest region which spans from the Birnin-Gwari axis of Kaduna State linking through its borders with Kebbi and Zangaria is believed to have contributed to guaranteeing criminal marauders the desired hiding places in the forest regions. Little wonder Amnesty International, (2018:22) maintained that the Birnin-Gwari Local Government Area of Kaduna State has continued to face security challenges similar to those of Zamfara State.

The precarious security situation in the Southern Kaduna region has reached an alarming rate. One Simon Akhaine, a journalist with the Guardian Newspapers reported on August 1st, 2020 that "life is beginning to be meaningless, and cruel for residents of Gidan-masara village of Zango-kataf, the journalist quoted one Mrs Naomi Boka who had this to say: "I never knew I would wake up someday to be chased away from my ancestral home by Fulani whom we have lived with for decades. According to the same Guardian Newspaper, one Mallam Musa of Kaura village also had this to say: "the attackers invaded our village and started shooting and burning down our houses at exactly 11:20 pm, unknown to me, my wife, my brother's wife, my stepmother and three siblings

were burnt by the attackers who also burnt down my cousin's house and slaughtered my cousin's wife and her baby".

One of the leaders where herdsmen attacks have been frequent, Hon. Jonathan Asake was quoted to have told the Guardian correspondent in an interview he granted on Saturday, August 1st (2020) that persistent attacks and killings have been going on amidst a 24-hour curfew imposed by the State Government, he lamented that the State Government's tactics lack credibility. The Chairman of the vigilante group in Kasuwan masara who was interviewed confirmed that the gunmen invaded the community on no fewer than 52 motorcycles, carrying sophisticated weapons killing, kidnapping, and burning down houses.

From all the above developments, the researcher of this study arrived at the following objectives of the study: (i) To find out the level of group cohesion that exist amongst the herdsmen during the invasion of the Southern Kaduna region of Kaduna State, (ii) To find out the frequency of attacks by the armed herdsmen, (iii) To verify the methods of attacks (iv) to investigate the mode of entry of herdsmen into the affected communities of Southern Kaduna for attacks. (v) To examine the weapons used for the attacks.

Consequently, the following research questions served as the guide for the study: (i) How many herdsmen are normally involved during attacks of the affected communities of Southern Kaduna? (ii) How frequent are the attacks by armed herdsmen in Southern Kaduna communities? (iii) What are the methods used during attacks by armed herdsmen in Southern Kaduna communities? (iv) What is the mode of entry into the communities by the armed herdsmen? (v) What are the weapons used by the attacking herdsmen in the course of the invasion of Southern Kaduna communities?

LITERATURE REVIEW

National security has been viewed by Ogbonnaya and Ehigiamusoe (2013) to cut across many disciplines covering military protection, surveillance, and protection of human rights. While Romm (1993), in providing an implicit explanation further holds the view that National Security is the ability of a nation to preserve its internal values from external threats. Hence, this implies the appropriation and deployment of state apparatus of coercive forces.

Smith and Bagu (2017) seem to be more concerned with the new developments in armed brigandage, they, therefore, defined armed herdsmen brigandage as gangs of criminals, often youth from farming and herding communities who have left their domains and have internalized new values and habits of robbing people, these robberies now take place at the highways, they are also involved in cattle rustling and all of these are for personal gains. The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD, 2015) has also asserted that armed herdsmen killers have increased their penchants for criminality by laying siege on local markets and killing unarmed innocent Nigerians.

Akhakpe (2012) on the other hand says that security could mean different things at different times to different people. As a follow-up to the above, Gaye (2018) tries to locate reasons why criminal armed herdsmen activities thrives, in his view, the northern region, particularly the North Western and North Central hinterlands are very porous, therefore he concluded that the porosity of the borderlines which are already, ill-delineated and ungoverned has become a very conducive environment for the facilitation of illicit activities such as smuggling of both human and substance (including drugs) and all manners of trafficking unhindered.

The Humanitarian (2018) on the other hand reported that some armed groups have gone to the extent of kidnapping foreign miners and demand payments of appropriate ransoms before their releases. To this effect Olaniyan and Yahaya (2016), Okoli and Lenshie (2018) pointed out that the Federal Government of Nigeria in a bid to curtail illegal mining and banditry suspended illegal activities in the forest regions. In all these very disturbing developments, the researchers of this study wonder why the security agencies which possess the major responsibility of curbing the menace of rural armed marauders are yet to do so.

A document from, the West Africa Network of Peace Building (WANEP, 2019) reported that 1,000 civilian deaths were recorded from January to December, (2019), all from the North West region through the activities of armed criminals in the region. With this alarming development, the same source maintained that a committee was set up, headed by Mohammed Abubakar, a former Inspector General of Police to negotiate with armed militias in Zamfara State between June 2011 and May 2012. The committee discovered that 4,983 women were widowed; 25,000 children were orphaned, and more than 190,000 people were displaced as a result of armed marauding activities in the State.

However, John Campbell in his blog recorded in a broadcast on July 23rd, 2020, in the programme “Africa in Transition and Nigeria on the brink”, suggested that though the army introduced several military operations in the country to quash armed criminal activities, operations like the “Operation Puff Adder”, “DiranMikya”, SharanDaji”, “HadarinDaji”, “Thunder Strike”, “Exercise Harbin Kunama III”, they have only created mixed feelings for the people, the operations only succeeded in pushing back the criminals and destroyed some of their hideouts while some were killed, however according to Campbell, attacks have continued without any sign of stoppage. And accordingly, the agreements did not last.

This is because only recently, on the 24th of August, 2020, the Nigerian Tribune Newspaper published a document written by LanreAdewole, a journalist, suggesting that 1,126 persons were killed, 380 were abducted in the seven northern states as declared by Amnesty International through its Country Director in Nigeria, Mr OsaiOjigho. Again on August 16, 2020, another journalist Adebayo Oladeji reported in Thisday Newspapers that the umbrella Christian body of Nigeria, The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) observed that crime and armed militia activities were becoming worrisome and have subsequently directed its members to resort to self-help as the precarious situation in the country was becoming dangerous.

Theoretical Framework

Routine Activity Theory: This theory which is rather a recent approach to the explanation of crime falls within the social-structural perspective. The main exponents of the theory are Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979), the theory arose in an attempt to explain predatory criminal activities. Its three main postulations are (i) crime is likely to occur where there is a motivated potential offender, (ii) which, where there are suitable or attractive targets, and (iii) where there is the absence of capable guards or persons who can prevent crime from taking place.

Therefore, the theory is more concerned with how normal routine activity takes place which in effect adds to the probability of commission of a crime. Crime therefore can be perpetrated in terms of capability and availability of suitable and unprotected targets without the necessary physical guards. Adopting this theory to armed herdsmen activities in the Southern Kaduna region of Kaduna State implies that the presence and prevalence of large, stretched forestlands, borderlands, and unregulated hinterlands which are mostly under-policed or protected by the various social control agencies provide sufficient opportunity for armed herdsmen activities to thrive since criminally-minded and motivated armed herdsmen often on routine basis conducting movements in these unguarded village environments where they effectively have unfettered access to their suitable targets. Furthermore, the presence of very viably rich rural communities provides suitable targets in cattle, cash, treasures, and other community valuables to the armed herdsmen since communities are left helpless with virtually non-existing governmental security agencies to monitor and enforce obedience to the law.

METHODOLOGY

The research design for the study is a descriptive survey method that was adopted to determine armed herdsmen activities in the Southern Kaduna region of Kaduna State, Nigeria. Their level of group cohesion, frequency, methods used during the invasion, mode of entry into the communities and weapons used. A triangulation, which combined the use of quantitative and qualitative techniques, using the questionnaire for quantitative data and the in-depth interviews and secondary sources were used for qualitative data. The open and closed-ended questionnaires were used as instruments for the collection of primary data from respondents, while secondary data was sourced from journals, books, newspapers, and online-peer reviewed documents.

A sample size of 90 respondents was drawn from the affected local governments. 30 questionnaires were administered in each local government area, the justification for the above was the accessibility of respondents who have either had direct contacts with the armed herdsmen as victims or relations who participated in the negotiations for payment of ransom or others whose relations were killed and their life savings, properties, businesses and houses destroyed by the ravaging killer armed herdsmen.

In-depth interviews were also conducted by the researcher to elicit deeper information that the questionnaires couldn't explore in detail. The SPSS package was used to analyze the collated data accordingly.

Presentation of Data and Analysis

Descriptive Statistics

Discussing the level of cohesion, frequency of attacks, methods, mode of entry into the communities and weapons of attacks and invasion, the respondents' views are here presented in tables, frequencies and percentages below

Table 1: Group cohesion figure for attacks

Numbers		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	12	13.5	14.0	14.0
	20	13	14.6	15.1	29.1
	30	23	25.8	26.7	55.8
	50	22	24.7	25.6	81.4
	100	15	16.9	17.4	98.8
	100 & Above	1	1.1	1.2	100.0
	Total	86	96.6	100.0	
Total	89	100.0			

Source: Field Survey, 2021.

From table 1 above, majority of the respondents indicate that the herdsmen attack their victims in the Southern Kaduna communities in groups of 100 & Above, with a cumulative percentage of 98.8%. This implies the herdsmen high level of group cohesion.

Table 2: Frequency of attacks

Responses	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Daily	38	42.7	42.7	44.9
Weekly	35	39.3	39.3	84.3
Monthly	14	15.7	15.7	100.0
Quarterly	2	2.2	2.2	2.2

Total	89	100.0	100.0	
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Source: Field Survey, 2021.

Table 2 above implies that the majority of the respondents reported that the frequency of armed herdsmen attacks is on monthly basis with a cumulative frequency of 100%. The above percentage represent a very high figures of occurrence.

Table 3: Methods of Attacks

Methods	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Killings	29	32.6	32.6	32.6
Shootings	5	5.6	5.6	38.2
Burning of Houses	8	9.0	9.0	47.2
Burning of Farm Produces	8	9.0	9.0	56.2
All of the Above	21	23.6	23.6	79.8
None of the Above	18	20.2	20.2	100.0
Total	89	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2021.

Table 3 above indicates that majority of the respondents submitted that the method of attacks are outright killings, shooting, burning of farm products and burning of houses, implying that all the above methods are put in use during. This is supported with a cumulative frequency of 79.9%.

Table 4: Mode of Entry into the Communities

Methods	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Use of motorcycles	77	86.5	87.5	87.5
Uses of Horses/donkeys	1	1.1	1.1	88.6
Use of Cows while grazing	3	3.4	3.4	92.0
On foot	7	7.8	7.9	98.9
Total	88	98.9	100.0	
Total	89	100.0		

Source: Field Survey, 2021.

Results from Table 4 above shows that majority of the respondents reported that the principal mode of entry into the communities by the armed herdsmen is through the use of motorcycles. This is supported by 86.5%.

Table 5: Types of weapons used for attacks

Types of Guns	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Machine guns	49	55.1	55.1	55.1
AK 47	30	33.7	33.7	88.8
All of the above	10	11.2	11.2	100.0
Total	89	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2021.

On the types of weapons used by attacking herdsmen, results from table 5 above indicates that Machine guns and AK 47 Rifles are the major weapons with 55.1 and 33.7 per cents respectively.

Analysis of in-depth interviews on activities of armed herdsmen in Southern Kaduna Region of Kaduna State

In order to stimulate further reactions to support areas not properly covered by the questionnaire, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with some respondents. The following were recorded, transcribed and documented.

Asked to further expatiate on the general feelings of the people in his local government area, Respondents I had this say,

“I think you are really underestimating these rascal herdsmen killers, they have developed serious sophistication and have more modern weapons than the police. Do you know that when I was captured and taken to the camp, they kept me for twenty-four hours without food? On the second day, after burning our family houses and farmlands I was sitting down on the ground with my hands tied together, only to see the surprise of my life” .Do you know that these killers left and returned with bags of foodstuff, some guns hidden in Ghana-must-go bags and ammunition? They opened all in our presence and shared amongst themselves. That was when I concluded that somebody very powerful is sponsoring these people, what? We are finished in this country, who is supplying them all these foodstuff and ammunitions?”

Respondent 2 in his response, had this to say?

“My brother, let me tell you something, do you know my brother was among the vigilante’s arrested in our village by the police for being in possession of rifles and den guns for hunting? Look, when these armed herdsmen were seen far off on their way coming into our village, my brother and other vigilante’s ran to the police to inform them, the police officers disappeared from the station one after the other, my brother and other vigilantes then went all out to defend us with their locally made guns and rifles, the rascals eventually retreated, after killing some vigilante’s and burning houses and collected money. The police, the next day went from house to house to arrest all those who were found in possession guns because they were not authorized to carry guns? After he had handed over the guns to the police we were called to bail him with money. Look we are finished; there is no longer any security in Nigeria. They have compromised”.

As if all these were not enough, respondents 3 had this to say;

“Look nobody talks about these killer herdsmen again, we are only left to be praying daily because they don’t even have regards for our chiefs, they abduct them and even kill all our leaders without anybody worrying about it. So many of our people have since fled to the cities to do labourer jobs to enable them feed their families, schools have been closed down in our areas, we cannot socialize nor participate in congregational prayers in the mosques or churches. It is this bad”.

From the above in-depth interviews, it has become obvious that there is a huge lack of security presence in the border forests and hinterlands of the local government areas under review and to some extent a lack of consistency by security agencies to tackle the menace of these ravaging armed herdsmen attackers.

The Social Thoughts of Ibn Khaldun

Four hundred years before Auguste Comte’s “invention” of Sociology, Ibn Khaldun was said to unveil his “Science of Culture”. His major idea was the emphasis on Sociological factors governing all Social events. Khaldun lived between (1332-1395 C.E), Khaldun was an Arab scholar who conceived the theory of Social conflict where he discussed the illusion of sedentary life versus nomadic life as well as social change. He maintained that the inevitable loss of power occurs when desert nomadic warriors conquer any city.

In his popular work, the Maqaddimah, he considered the concept of “asabiyyah”, translated as “Social Cohesion” or “Group Solidarity”, and argued that any Society which has a certain degree of township civilization may also later become weak and the dominant culture may decay over time, such societies can therefore be taken over by another cohesive group, the nomadic barbarians, who’s when they solidify their control over the decayed and conquered society become attracted to its more refined aspects, such as its literacy and arts, the new cohesive barbarian groups then assimilate or appropriates such refined aspects to their cultural practices, the trend continues like that until a new set of barbarians with more cohesiveness conquers the former and adopts the same principles, who will repeat the process. Ogunbameru (2018) submitted that IbnKhaldun saw the processes of Social change as constant and cyclic due to the interaction between two groups, nomads and townspeople.

Khaldun was of the view that nomad's ability to enforce change is primarily due to their strong sense of “group cohesion” or Social Solidarity which enhances their military potential, they are also known to be rough, savage, and uncultured and their presence is also inimical to civilization, they are also hardy, frugal, uncorrupt in morals and self-reliant and so make excellent fighters, but the townspeople, by contrast, are seats of crafts, the sciences, arts, and cultures, yet corrupted by luxury which in effect makes them completely relaxed and become a liability to the State, they do not possess the necessary group solidarity due to their diversities and are not able to protect women and children. Therefore, they lack cohesiveness and strong will come together for purposes of defending themselves against attacking enemies.

Khaldun concluded his work on Social change when he stated that as soon as the nomads conquer territories and their leaders establish their new dynasties, they at first retain their tribal virtues and

solidarity but soon seek to concentrate all authority in their own hands. Consequently, to survive, they thereafter begin to rule through a bureaucracy of clients who are often foreigners because their former support bases have lost their military virtues, then there is an increase in the use of mercenaries, soldiers, therefore, become more recognized than civilians. Even though Khaldun adopted the method of Muslim Jurist according to critics, he, however, contributed to social thoughts in his discourse on Social cohesion, solidarity, and political power change.

DISCUSSION ON FINDINGS

Findings from this study have suggested that the attacking armed herdsmen have a very strong sense of group cohesion and social solidarity as postulated by Ibn Khaldun, to this end, they gather together and move in groups with the same ideology to conquer communities in Southern Kaduna in numbers of one hundred and above. This alone is an indication of their high sense of solidarity with one another in the pursuit of the goals of effecting a change of leadership in the communities they conquer and instituting their primitive and undemocratic style of leadership that is repressive and lacks the spirit of modern governance. No wonder the respondents affirmed this development with a very high percentage of 98.8 cumulative percentage of their level of group cohesion.

As to the frequency of attacks by the herdsmen, respondents submitted that the attacks were very frequent and on monthly basis, with a one hundred per cent affirmation. It can be viewed, therefore, going by the postulations of Ibn Khaldun, armed herdsmen's ability to effect constant attacks on the communities may be through their strong commitments to mutual goals and ideology and military potentials through training together in groups. Discussing their methods of attacks majority of the respondents were of the view that such methods include burning of houses and farmlands, killings and shootings amongst many others. This has been revealed by 78.9 per cent of respondents. With regards to the mode of entry into the communities by armed herdsmen, 87.5 per cent of respondents submitted that the killer herdsmen enter into the communities majorly on motorcycles. This situation is not only alarming to the researcher but has become very worrisome. How can these attacking herdsmen enter into villages on motorcycles, without being detected by the security agencies? All the above findings on the level of group cohesion, frequency of attacks, methods of attacks and mode of entry have been sufficiently answered all the objectives of this research.

The findings of this research are also in tandem with the theory adopted for this study, the Routine Activity Theory, implying that the routine activities of armed herdsmen in the vast but separated and unguarded communities with suitable targets have made it easier for criminal activities of armed men to strive unchecked by security agencies.

Khaldun had mentioned earlier that the herdsmen have a very strong sense of social solidarity and group cohesion, they are also brutal and barbaric, rough, savaged, and uncultured which enhances their military potential. They have a very high spirit of an ideological base to fight their cause. Hence, the findings of this study have shown that group cohesion and solidarity of the armed herdsmen have been able to bring them together from different regions to forcefully occupy the

southern Kaduna region. On the other hand, the indigenes of southern Kaduna who Khaldun described as the town people have always been taken unaware because of their indulgences in lives of luxury and relaxed atmosphere.

Khaldun had this to say....

The townspeople (southern Kaduna) do not possess the necessary group solidarity due to their diversities and are not able to protect women and children. Therefore, they lack the cohesiveness and strong will to come together to defend themselves against attacking enemies.

Ibn Khaldun had earlier foretold in his postulations that the group cohesion, discipline, tough training and savage characteristics of the herdsmen gave them the advantage of a great source of strength of unity which has made the conquering of Southern Kaduna territories much easier.

Khaldun had also postulated that the herdsmen's sense of group solidarity is capable of making them have the support of allies who are invited as mercenaries from outside to fight their cause. This too can be said to be one of the characteristics of the invading armed herdsmen into Southern Kaduna, this is so because the quality of arms and ammunition used by the herdsmen operating in the Southern Kaduna region of Nigeria is more sophisticated, this must-have involved a lot of pieces of training for the armed herdsmen fighters who look different from the herdsmen Nigerian's are used to seeing in their communities.

Sociologists, other Nigerians and indeed the Federal Government must have to take very decisive steps to prevent these undemocratic, uncultured, barbaric armed militia herdsmen from taking over its territories by all means. This is to prevent the desired social change and occupation forces of the herdsmen from instituting ancient and undemocratic methods of governance in Nigeria. It is sad to note that already territories in Niger State have been taken over, States like Zamfara, Kaduna, Plateau, Taraba and Sokoto have all had their fair share of the killings and extermination of their peoples and sovereignties, Borno, Yobe and the Adamawa States are already battlegrounds of insurgencies and gang militias where underage children are undergoing radical indoctrinations and training as fighters. This researcher continues to wonder why armed herdsmen killers have succeeded severally in attacking communities without equivalent and sufficient engagement by Nigerian security agencies. Nigeria is regarded as the giant of Africa due to its population and military strength but the armed herdsmen seem to be having a better advantage of the precarious security situation of the country.

To make the social thoughts of Ibn Khaldun in the early 13th Century relevant in Nigeria's 21st Century, the researcher begins to have the feeling that the successes of the armed herdsmen seem to be taking the country to Ibn Khaldun's time of the 13th Century. ! A stitch in time saves nine!

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, the findings of this research have been able to explore certain parameters including the level of group cohesion amongst the attacking herdsmen, frequency, methods, mode of entry into the communities and weapons used, have become a worrisome phenomenon not only

in Kaduna State but in Nigeria as a whole. From the foregoing, therefore, and reflecting on Ibn Khaldun's social thoughts, one may safely want to conclude that his philosophy and thoughts as far back as 1332-1395 C.E. are now beginning to make more meaning to the average academic scholar. Therefore, Sociologists and government, in particular, must be mindful of this thoughtful reflection.

Recommendations

The level of armed herdsmen group cohesion is becoming alarming, the frequency at which attacks are carried on successfully by these armed herdsmen has reached a disturbing level, this researcher, therefore, recommends that government takes serious decisions to frustrate the unity of this armed herdsmen who come together as a fighting force against its citizens. This can be done by properly monitoring and protecting its territorial borders with neighbouring countries. It is therefore imperative and dutiful for the government to keep to its oath of allegiance to the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which it has sworn to uphold, the government must immediately devise new methods, strategies, and techniques to contain the phenomenon or eliminate armed herdsmen brigandage in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria.

It is further recommended that victims of this heinous criminality be adequately compensated to restore confidence in the government through the provision of more security basis at the boundary of each of the affected local government areas of the Southern Kaduna.

It is also recommended that since the Southern Kaduna region has become an area constantly being attacked by armed herdsmen, the government should see the region as a security flashpoint that must be protected at all costs and declared a security emergency to eliminate the presence of these armed herdsmen occupy forces.

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