TOWARD QUERYING THE NATIONAL PERIL OF KIDNAPPING IN NIGERIA

Funmilayo Idowu Agbaje

Department of Peace, Security and Humanitarian Studies, Faculty of Multidisciplinary Studies, University of Ibadan,
No 9 Parry Road, Nigeria

E-mail: funmibolajiagbaje@gmail.com

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Abstract. In Nigeria, the dynamics of kidnapping is framed in complexities. There are different types of kidnapping going on within the country ranging from resource-based kidnapping to political kidnapping and terrorist-based kidnapping (Agbaje, 2020; Onduku, 2011). While some are based on agitations for political and economic recognition, others are based on the need for compulsory recruitment by insurgents and terrorists. Existing gaps in the literature are demanding urgent attention from researchers and policymakers. This paper focuses on the need to look into the recent sporadic kidnappings in contemporary Nigeria to project sustainable solutions for them. This paper relies solely on secondary sources of data for its analysis. The paper concludes that a viable solution to the kidnapping problem in Nigeria depends mainly on full recognition of all forms of kidnapping in the country while strategically addressing them.

Keywords: kidnapping; peace; security; Nigeria


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Introduction

Kidnapping is a vice that is perpetuated worldwide. It is described as a global phenomenon that permits the abduction and captivity of a person to obtain a ransom (Uzochuckwu, 2013). It is a wicked act committed by criminals against human beings for personal gains. It can also be described as an act of terror against humanity because it creates perpetual fear and a sense of insecurity in people's minds (Guerette and Headley, 2019). Scholars have identified different types of kidnappings thus; child/parent kidnapping, corporate kidnapping, terrorist-based kidnapping, love kidnapping, economic-based kidnapping, and political kidnapping, among several other typological and identification of kidnappings (Auерbach, 1998; Johnson, Doug and Greg, 2003). Specifically, Okoli and Agada (2014) categorized the different concepts driving kidnappings in Nigeria into four thus; abduction, hostage-taking, captivity and ransom. Even though works of literature abound on the types of kidnapping, the factors fueling the act, the responses by government, media and individuals, the diverse challenges of kidnapping on human security as well as ways of addressing the scourge in the society, there is still a gap in the areas of an empirical study into the patterns and trends of kidnapping in Nigeria as a major step in proffering a long-lasting solution to the problem (Essien and Ema, 2013; Briggs, 2009).
In Nigeria, the dynamics of kidnapping is framed in complexities. There are different types of kidnapping going on within the country ranging from resource-based kidnapping to political kidnapping and terrorist-based kidnapping (Agbaje, 2020; Onduku, 2011). While some are based on agitations for political and economic recognition, others are based on the need for compulsory recruitment by insurgents and terrorists. In essence, there has always been a struggle behind kidnappings in the past. Also, the people connected directly or indirectly with the demands or grievances of the kidnappers are usually the victims. For example, the Niger-Delta youths would instead kidnap the officials of oil companies such as Shells and Chevron or target their anger on the community chiefs who are suspected of perfidy or avarice to the detriment of the community (Osumarh and Ekenyong, 2006) However, contemporary Nigeria is grappling with a composite form of kidnappings webbed in heavy mystery. This is a difficult situation whereby kidnappings are based on several reasons (economic, political, ritual, terrorism) with no particular susceptible class of the populace targeted. The vulnerabilities cut across ages, gender, class and race making it difficult for concrete analysis to be made by experts and security analysts. This random but sporadic form of kidnapping ravaging the country demands urgent attention from the government, scholars and policymakers, hence the reason for this paper that delves into the complexities of kidnapping insecurity in Nigeria while making recommendations for addressing it.

Statement of the Problem

Since the beginning of the 21st century, kidnapping has been a significant organized crime in Nigeria (Ibaba, 2008). In 2000, the Niger Delta agitated youths kidnapped several oil companies and top government officials to register their grievances while demanding a huge ransom. Likewise, in 2009, the Boko Haram insurgents started their kidnapping spree by abducting young men and women while conscripting them into becoming members of the sect (Abdulbasit and Ankpa, 2018). Kidnapping by bandits and suspected herders gained recognition in 2019. Subsequently, the act of kidnappings for ransom became an almost daily occurrence in all states in the country. The situation escalates in northern Nigeria, where bandit abounds with hundreds of primary, secondary and tertiary school students being sporadically removed with ransoms put on them (Okoli and Agada, 2014).

Across the thirty-six states in Nigeria, kidnapping is carried out. This has posed a huge national challenge and threat to the country's security. It has led to national economic and developmental sabotage. It has created fear in the people's minds, increased poverty, unemployment and health-related issues among the citizens. A lot of lives have been lost in the process. It has adversely affected Nigeria's reputation in the international community while hampering tourism and foreign investment. The situation is worsened because the security officers are not adequately equipped to tackle the menace (Human Rights Watch, 2022).

The perpetrators are usually equipped with much more sophisticated weapons and are vast in the act of surfing the complex geographical terrain of the forests and several porous borders in the country. It has also been postulated (Alemika, 2012) that corruption among government officials, especially the security officers, is also a significant setback in the fight against kidnapping in Nigeria.

A critical problem to be addressed in this study is breaking down the 'epidemic' of kidnapping in Nigeria, which is a difficult task. Due to its diverse complex dynamics, understanding the riddle of kidnapping in Nigeria is an uphill adventure. Noteworthy is the fact that scholars (Raheed, 2008) have elucidated two significant factors behind the kidnapping in Nigeria political vendetta and economics. It has also been mentioned that officials of international oil companies, top politicians, and their close relatives are kidnapping targets (Detotto, McCannon and Vannini, 2012). In addition, scholars have also identified the diverse reasons insurgents would abduct beyond political and economic reasons to be forceful recruitment, reproduction and objectification (Agbaje, 2020; Unam, Arua and Out, 2018; Ezeibe and Eze, 2012). However, observing the current kidnapping trends in Nigeria has revealed the inconsistency in the modus-operandi of the kidnappers.
Different types of kidnappings go on concurrently with diverse interests and targets. It is more worrisome that people are being kidnapped not because of their wealth, gender, class, age or status. Instead, the present kidnappers just abduct their victims based on the fact that they are human beings. Therefore, it is not uncommon for people to be taken away from churches, hospitals, schools, public vehicles, and homes; in fact, newborns have been carted away from hospitals (Sunday Trust, 2021). This is contrary to Okoli and Aguda's (2014) notion that the crime of kidnapping in Nigeria is primarily class sensitive. They posit that organized kidnap syndicates in Nigeria have often targeted the rich, the powerful and the influential. The current situation's root cause has been poverty, avarice, revenge and terrorism. Adebajo (2021) reveals that the figure for kidnapped persons in Nigeria has risen from 110 in 2015 to 437 in 2020. A significant figure of 315 has been recorded for the first half of 2021, projecting the likelihood that the highest number of kidnappings will have occurred since 2015. Although the Nigerian government is working relentlessly to end kidnapping, its efforts have not yielded much success. Perhaps, the reason for limited success may not be far-fetched from the fact that the root causes of kidnapping have not been appropriately identified and addressed. This study focuses on the emerging trends in kidnapping in Nigeria to proffer methods of ending it.

**Kidnapping in Nigeria**

Kidnapping, according to Guerette and Headley (2019), is the abduction of an individual against his or her will, usually followed by some duration of captivity. Akwash (2016) describes kidnapping as one of the most psychologically damaging crimes against humanity. He further describes kidnapping as a global pandemic with no real solution. He mentions how kidnappers may abduct for sexual, revenge or financial reasons and the gory fact that the kidnapped may not be released alive by the kidnappers for several reasons. He highlights the negative impacts of kidnapping on the societal psyche. The shift in focus has been tremendous, from the kidnapping of expatriate oil workers to relatives of politicians to relatives of those in the Diaspora and now anybody on sight. Kidnapping takes place anytime and anywhere, in churches, streets, hospitals, and even at home (Ugabi, 2014).

This random abduction makes kidnap anxiety-inducing to the general populace because anyone could be a victim (Uzochukwu, 2015). Kidnapped persons are treated according to the motives of the kidnappers (Alexander, 2009). In the past year, kidnapping has become commonplace in Nigeria, with bandits and insurgents raiding and killing for ransom. Specifically, between January and August 2021, one hundred and one (111) kidnapping incidents occurred, particularly in schools and children as victims (Ojiego, 2021). The total figure is derived from confirmed cases reported by the police and the media. It has been noted that an average of 13 persons were abducted daily in Nigeria. This further underscores the rampant criminal activity in the country. Kidnapping, therefore, is a fast-growing industry and has become so virulent and largely uncontrolled.

Scholars have highlighted some reasons behind increased kidnapping in Africa (Ndegwa, 2021) as a deadly mix of money and power. Moreover, some of the physical and psychological effects of kidnapping on victims have also been identified to be withdrawal from society, hyper-vigilance, feelings of fear and hopelessness, depression, irritability and even suicide (Symonds, Eichelman, Soskis and Reid, 1983; Alexander, Brown and Campbell, 2021). In Nigeria, it has instilled tremendous fear into the people's minds that people are now afraid of travelling, going to school and worship centres. Abdulkabir (2017) stressed the increase in kidnapping rates in Nigeria by mentioning that between the years 2014 to 2017, over 2000 people, including young Chibok girls, government officials, politicians and kings, were kidnapped. Furthermore, Ezemenaka (2018) posits that kidnapping is not a mere capital security issue but also a part of the terrorist attack, which attributes to threats on individuals and the state. It, therefore, should not be dealt with frivolously. He further explains that Kidnapping in Nigeria goes beyond the conventional typology of kidnapping in terms of global trends. In this regard, this paper focuses on examining the extant body of literature on the various forms of kidnapping ongoing in Nigeria to identify the factors responsible for the consequences for present and future security while suggesting the way forward.
Economic Kidnapping

The economic motivation behind the kidnapping was mentioned by Ngwama (2014). He notes that kidnapping in Nigeria became prominent when it was used as a weapon to fight for economic and environmental justice in the Niger Delta. According to him, the financial motivation was intermittently used to fund and sustain the fight. This was a collective mission by the agitated minority. Similarly, Townsend (2008) refers to the beginning of kidnapping in Nigeria as natural resources nationalism. According to him, this is a situation where an ethnic nationality seeks fair shares of the returns from natural resources, primarily when it is sourced from their locality. Such was the case in the Niger Delta (Essien and Ema, 2013). A related form of kidnapping is carried out due to poverty caused by unemployment that has pervaded the country (Nseabasi, 2008, Umoh, 2010). The perpetrators of this form of kidnapping often engage in the act as a matter of survival. It is thus common for them to target the wealthy and prominent individuals in society. In addition, they can also target persons with prospects of high and lucrative ransom, including teenagers, children and adults alike (Ngwama, 2014). The demand for ransom by kidnappers has made the crime to be categorized as "a big and sophisticated business" (Ryssdal, Hollenhorst and Palacios, 2019).

Scholars have examined the diverse phenomenon of kidnapping in Nigeria with its attendant socio-economic implications (Benjamin, Ajah, Nwokeoma and Okpan, 2018). One major challenge is the ubiquitous nature of kidnapping that has resulted in a considerable security challenge and hence a reversed economy of the nation. Inyang and Ubong (2013) also note that Nigeria loses a lot of revenue when expatriates working in multinational oil companies are kidnapped. Therefore, one major factor responsible for kidnapping in Nigeria has been established to be motivated and sustained by the criminal quest for material accumulation. This is a national problem that has become a cankerworm eating deep into the nation's fabric and thus, requires the attention of scholars, individuals, corporate organizations and policymakers for a sustainable solution. Furthermore, Afun, Ogboye and Eze (2021) note a report by SB Morgen Intelligence, that at least, Eighteen Million and Thirty-Four Thousand United States Dollars (US$18,034,000) had been paid as ransom to kidnappers in Nigeria between June 2011 and March 2020 (Afun, Ogboye and Eze, 2021).

This shows that the majority of kidnaps were economically motivated. Consequently, the Nigerian Senate is working on the Terrorism Prevention Amendment Bill. This seeks to be an amendment to the Terrorism Prevention Act of 2011. The bill says:

Anyone who transfers funds makes payment or colludes with an abductor, kidnapper or terrorist to receive any ransom for the release of any person who has been wrongfully confined, imprisoned or kidnapped is guilty of a felony and is liable on conviction to a term of imprisonment of not less than 15 years.

(Afun, Ogboye and Eze, 2021)

From the above, it is evident that the Nigerian government is taking steps to address the increased insecurity in the country. However, there seems to be a problem with the bill. First, the punishment slated for a ransom payer does not correspond with the crime's gravity. This is because a kidnapped victim stands the risk of being molested and/or killed; hence the family members are always agitated and often would want to source funds to set the victim free. As much as the Nigerian Senate is working to curb kidnapping in the society, there is a need for a strategic approach that will not further aggravate the insecurity of the citizens.

Ritual Kidnapping

One prominent form of unconventional kidnapping in Nigeria is what is known as ritual kidnapping (Oyewole, 2016). There is a lack of data on this theme. The insufficient data may not be far-fetched because, in most cases, scientific evidence to back up claims may not be precise enough. Notwithstanding, the crime is being committed
regularly, with countless casualties attributed to it over the years (Nwolise, 2013; Ebohon and Ifeadi, 2012). This phenomenon has been linked with the high level of religiosity among Nigerians. It is a common practice for many Nigerians to believe in one or two supernatural beings. There is also a constant quest for supernatural power to acquire wealth, position, control, and protection, among other reasons (Adefila and Opeola, 1998; Hund, 2000). Many Nigerians dread kidnapping for rituals because it is believed that victims of rituals are misfortune and can never live an everyday life again. According to Gbinije (2014), victims can run mad, die, be poor, deformed or afflicted by ailments and diseases. Jordan (2001) situates ritual killings within the quests for wealth and power.

In Nigeria, the use of human beings for ritual has existed since the pre-colonial era (Ayegbonyin, 2009; Oyewole, 2016). However, there has never been a consensus on the subject. In the words of La Fontaine, "human sacrifice is a blood sacrifice that involves the killing of a living creature as a ritual offering to a god or spirit, usually in expectation of a return in the form of good fortune, whether generalized or as the granting of a particular prayer" (La Fontaine 2011:4). Susceptible persons are identified as slaves, hunchbacks, dwarfs, pregnant women, female virgins and albinos (Igwe, 2004; Badiora, 2015). The scourge of ritual kidnapping is increasing at an alarming rate in contemporary Nigeria. This criminal act is being perpetrated by different classes of people (religious leaders, politicians, fraudsters) for various purposes, some of which have already been highlighted in this paper. Nevertheless, kidnapping for ritual constitutes a considerable threat to the nation's peace and security, and its socio-religious and traditional underpinnings have not received enough action from the government.

**Kidnapping for Trafficking Purposes**

Kidnapping for human and organ trafficking is a phenomenon submerged under modern-day slavery (Adesina, 2014). It is very common to report human trafficking from the perspective of victims' knowledge and consent rather than from a conscripted or abductive point of view (Makinde, 2015; Adepoju, 2005). Often, studies on human trafficking are carried out with a focus on the economic and security implications (Ofuoku, 2010; Kazeem, 2009). More so, extant studies abound on how victims are cajoled into trafficking for financial reasons, with little attention paid to how many are kidnapped for slavery or body parts harvesting (Adio-Moses, Agbaje and Eselebor, 2019; Okojie, 2005). Similarly, much scholarly attention has been given to women and children as victims of human trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation (Benn, 2007; Mbakogu, 2004). There is a need for a conscious awakening to the possibility of kidnapped victims being trafficked in person or body parts. Noteworthy is the fact that the medical field is fast becoming advanced with technology, and organ transplants are being carried out on patients more than ever before. This has resulted in increased requests for human body parts. Even though the quest for human body parts has increased, there is a meagre supply in the market. Consequently, it is a commonplace for desperate indisposed persons to seek alternatives from the black market (Rennie, 2018).

This trend has reinforced a dangerous and criminal act of forceful organ harvesting from kidnapped victims. In 2017, The National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) commenced an investigation into Nigeria's illegal human organ harvesting. The Agency further linked human organ trafficking with some of the country's supposedly kidnappings and ritual killings (Ayodele, Punch Newspaper, 2017). The outcome of this investigation has not transformed into any policy implementation so far. There is a need to torchlight the numerous kidnappings in Nigeria to the possibilities of being done for human and body organs' trafficking purposes.

**Terrorism Kidnapping**

Hostage-taking as a terrorists' tactic has been a long-term discourse in the literature (Jenkins, 1974). Terrorism has been defined as a campaign and acts of violence waged by a small group of people to create fear and also attract broad media coverage (Jenkins, 1974). The motives for kidnapping continue to emerge as terrorists evolve in their tactics (Cook, 2011; Agbaje, 2020). In essence, kidnapping by terrorist groups is deadly and increasing globally (Ragazzi, 2017). While kidnapping for terrorism is not new, it is usually categorized and exhibited within
domestic contexts. For instance, while terrorist groups elsewhere in the world would kidnap expatriates and aid workers above all other victims, in the case of Nigeria, the attacks are difficult to categorize. However, frequent attacks are meted out on schools and local populations.

Scholars (Nwokedi, 2010; Adelakun, 2010) captured Nigeria's entire drama kidnapping trade and linked it to terrorism. It has been noted that the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria have abducted several people intending to instrument them for various terrorist activities such as militants, intelligence gate-keeping, suicide bombing, and reproduction, among several other reasons (Agbaje, 2020; Markovic, 2019; Comolli, 2015). This is not to rule out that they also kidnap for financial gains in occasional instances (Perri, Lichtenwald and MacKenzie, 2009). Kidnapping by terrorists in Nigeria is rampant and hence is one of the organized crimes within the country. It can happen anywhere and anytime. People have been kidnapped on the highway, churches, homes, schools, markets and offices. Even though the Nigerian government has taken several measures to tackle the crime of kidnapping, the measures have yielded little to no success due to high poverty rates, religious bigotry, sabotage and grave socio-political factors. Another reason kidnapping thrives is the willingness of the government to negotiate with kidnappers and the lack of effective deterrence mechanisms against perpetrators. This paper thus advocates a need for urgent anti-kidnapping mechanisms and techniques by the Nigerian government to create a more effective system of combating crime.

**Consequences of Kidnapping in Nigeria**

There are significant implications of kidnapping on the victims, relatives and the entire country. Some of the identified consequences are highlighted thus:

**Fear and Insecurity**

Insecurity and fear are one major challenge Nigerians face due to the increase in kidnapping cases across the nation. An average Nigerian is now afraid of being kidnapped. The types of brutality reported by victims have caused excessive fear, significant distress and heightened anxiety in the minds of the citizens as they worry that the same plight might befall them (Ngwama, 2014). This fear is not limited to Nigerians living in the country alone but also affects Nigerians in the diaspora and foreigners have been discouraged from visiting the country either for business or leisure.

**Economic Loss**

Kidnapping has resulted in a massive loss of money, manpower and investments in Nigeria. The actual estimated value of money lost to the kidnappers is yet unknown. However, there was evidence of ransoms paid in different parts of the country concurrently by government officials (though mostly denied), friends and families of kidnapped persons and religious sect members (Campbell, 2021). Kidnapping in Nigeria and across the Sahel has been described as an extraordinarily lucrative enterprise by the insurgents and some unruly citizens who engage in the crime for financial gains. The consequence of this is the lack of trust by potential investors, loss of money by investors and outright loss of reputation and goodwill as a result of increased kidnapping in the country.

**Physical and Psychological Trauma**

Victims of Kidnap tend to experience stress reactions including shock, anger, sadness, anxiety, guilt, insomnia and depression. It is usual to experience one or more of the mentioned psychological setbacks in captivity and upon release (Speckhard, Tabrina, Krasnov, and Mufel, 2005). Retaining to the real world after being held hostage can be just as difficult as abruptly leaving it (Wessely, 2005). More so, victims are not uncommon to be subjected to physical and psychological brutality resulting in long-term trauma. Beatings, rape, drugging and locking up are some of the vices committed by kidnappers to intimidate the captive into conforming to their demands.
Consequently, are health hazards associated with these actions, such as sexually transmitted infections, viral infections, drug overdose, injury, high blood pressure, insomnia, memory loss, disorientation and unwanted pregnancy (Akwash, 2018). While some of these health issues are treatable within a period, others can have lifetime effects on the victim. For example, the mothers and children of unwanted pregnancies from kidnappers can suffer a long-lasting stigma from society (Moore, 2014). Another physiological and psychological effect of kidnapping is what McKenzie (1987) refers to as Stockholm Syndrome. This, according to him, is the body's response to anxiety and stress. He relates this psychological issue with a kind of positive bonding that hostages often develop with their captors. This bonding may arise due to their inability to deal with the shock caused by being taken captive. It is a very dangerous feeling that may have lifelong effects on victims.

Loss of Lives
Deaths have occurred during kidnaps, be it due to victims' resistance or health-related issues experienced in captivity. On July 15, 2021, a man was killed in the Bauch-Jos highway from sporadic shootings from kidnappers in the area (Davies Ngere, 2021). Similarly, on 30 June 2021, over 100 students of an Islamic school were kidnapped, and a life was lost during the raid (Ahmad Ibrahim and Stephanie Busari, CNN, June 2021). Also, on 21 April 2021, three persons were killed out of the twenty six people kidnapped in Greenfield University, Kaduna. These are few examples compared to the high number of killings of kidnappers in Nigeria. The height of it all was the attack on the Nigerian Defence Academy, where two officers were killed and one carted away by bandits on 24 August 2021. One major reason for quick ransom payment by relatives of the kidnapped is the fear of being killed by the assailants. It is not uncommon for kidnappers to intentionally desecrate human lives through brutal killings (Nimi Princewill, 2021). Kidnappers will kill anyone who resists them, and they would kill to create fear and thus, facilitate quick ransom payment.

Conclusion and Recommendations
This paper has examined the plague of kidnapping ravaging Nigeria while identifying some of the factors responsible for kidnapping and the consequences of increased kidnapping on human security in Nigeria. It has also been established that efforts by the Nigerian government and citizens have not yielded many positive results. The reason for the low-rated success may not be farfetched from the complex and random nature of kidnapping in Nigeria. To combat kidnappings in Nigeria, this paper will recommend the following.

There is a potential for kidnapping cases to decrease if the Nigerian government can carry out sincere poverty alleviation programmes (Government Corruption - The Borgen Project)

Many random kidnappings have been traced to family members, workers and friends of the kidnapped who want to extort money from them. Also, corrupt security officers should be exposed and removed from the system. There is a need for synergy among the citizens and government officials to expose the hideouts of the kidnappers in society. There is a need for collective security measures across all boards, including devised technologies designed to combat the menace of kidnapping in Nigeria. These measures include counter-insurgency and strong anti-criminal security units across the nation.

In addition, victims of kidnapping should be adequately counselled alongside their family members and associates. This will prepare them for all physical and emotional reactions. Similarly, efforts should be made to enrol victims in trauma healing programmes that translate to long-term physical and psychological stability. This paper further recommends a form of hybrid security measures to encompass all forms of kidnaps going on in Nigeria. For instance, ritual kidnapping and killing have not been fully explored. However, there is no denying that it is a frequent occurrence in Nigeria. Therefore, stakeholders in the forms of religious leaders, traditional leaders, security operatives and community leaders need to be oriented toward reducing or outright eradicating kidnapping in Nigeria.
References


162


Funmilayo Idowu AGBAJE, Ph.D.
ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4665-366X