

Kidnapping and National Security in Nigeria

Okoli, Al Chukwuma & Agada, Fakumo T.

Department of Political Science, Federal University Lafia, PMB 146, Lafia, Nigeria

*Email of the corresponding author: okochu007@yahoo.com

Abstract

This paper examines the phenomenon of kidnapping in Nigeria with a view to underscore its implications for national security. This is against the backdrop of the rising incidence and prevalence of the crime in contemporary Nigeria. By way of qualitative analysis, predicated on secondary sources, the paper posits that kidnapping has been motivated and sustained by criminal quest for material accumulation. The paper adds that the situation has been compounded by the growing trend of criminal impunity in Nigeria wherefore the government's capacity to sanction and deter crime is abysmal. The paper observes that kidnapping portends dangerously for Nigeria's national security in view of its untoward impacts and implications. The paper submits that crimes like kidnapping would continue to prevail in Nigeria until pragmatic measures are taken to deter their occurrence as well as penalize their commission.

Keywords: Kidnapping; organized crime; queer ladder theory; national security; criminal impunity; kidnapping ransom value (KRV).

1. Introduction

One of the most fundamental challenges facing contemporary states is how to ensure national sustainability in the face of manifold and ever burgeoning security threats. Prominent among these threats is the issue of organized crime (Okoli & Orinya, 2013). Organized crimes are high profile crimes which are often perpetrated through transnational syndication and racketeering. Cases in point include terrorism, piracy, human trafficking, drug trafficking, money laundry and kidnapping. Globally, indications are rife to the effect that organized crimes are not only getting prevalent; indeed they are also getting sophisticated and consolidated. In effect, they are becoming rather entrenched both locally and globally.

In Africa, but also in a number of the developing nations elsewhere, the rising incidence of organized crime has been associated with the phenomenon of 'failed or failing state' syndrome (IKV Pax Christi, 2008; Adibe, n.d). In effect, it has been hinted that the prevalence of organized crime in Africa demonstrates the dwindling capabilities of her states to ensure sustainable development and national security (Okoli, 2013). This paper takes the case of a prevalent organized crime in Nigeria - kidnapping – to establish how such a menace implies for national security. The paper argues that kidnapping is a veritable threat to national security in Nigeria in view of its negative effects and implications vis-à-vis the country's corporate wellbeing and sustainability.

2. Theoretical Framework: The Queer Ladder Theory

This paper adopts the Queer Ladder Theory (QLT) as its analytical framework. The queer ladder theory was influenced by an American sociologist, Daniel Bell (1919-2011), who coined the idea of 'queer ladder' in an attempt to explain the instrumental essence of organized crime as a desperate means of economic empowerment and social climbing. This theoretical perspective has since fertilized into a popular theoretical framework widely used in contemporary crime studies. The basic assumptions of QLT can be highlighted thus:

- i. Organized crime is an instrumental behavior; it is a means to an end.
- ii. It is an instrument of social climbing and/or socio-economic advancement
- iii. It is a means to accumulate wealth and build power (Mallory, 2007; Okoli & Orinya, 2013).

Often ascribed to this theory is the notion that organized crime thrives in contexts where the government's capacity to dictate, sanction and deter crime is poor; where public corruption is endemic; and where prospects for legitimate livelihood opportunities are slim (Nwoye, 2000; Lyman, 2007; Okoli & Orinya, 2013). Under these circumstances, the incentive to indulge in crime is high, while deterrence from criminal living is low. In other words, the benefits of committing a crime surpass the costs and/or risks. This creates ample pretext and motivation for criminal impunity and franchise (Okoli & Orinya, 2013).

Applied to the analysis of this paper, QLT would enable one to come to terms with the prevalence of organized crime and sundry acts of criminality in Nigeria. In this regard, it is to be observed that the phenomenon of kidnapping in Nigeria has been driven by criminal quest for economic accumulation in an environment that more or less condones and conduces crimes. This has been worsened by the prevailing socio-economic malaise and concomitant livelihood crisis in the country. The apparent lethargy of relevant government agencies to ensure efficient punishment of crime in Nigeria has all the more complicated and accentuated the problem. Necessary fallout of this is prevalence of criminal impunity (Okoli & Orinya, 2013).

The idea of 'ladder' in QLT denotes untoward pattern of social mobility. In effect, those who take to organized crime, such as kidnapping, do so as a desperate means of social climbing (mobility). The adoption of the theory for the purpose of this discourse is informed by its analytical utility in providing insights into the socio-political foundations of organized crime, prominent among which is kidnapping, in developing nations.

3. Meaning, Nature and Typology of Kidnapping

Kidnapping means the taking away of a person against his will with the intent to holding him in illegal confinement in order to elicit a ransom, or in furtherance of another crime (adapted from Wikipedia 2013). In the light of this definition, three elements are needed to establish the act of kidnapping. These elements are:

- (i) taking a person away without his consent;
- (ii) holding a person in false imprisonment or illegal detention/confinement;
- (iii) extortion of the victim (the kidnappee) through ransoming or forced acquiescence

Over the years, the concept of kidnapping has been associated with a number of cognate terms; hence the need to disambiguate the concept. Table 1 hereunder addresses this concern.

Table 1: Cognate concepts of kidnapping

S/n	Concept	Meaning
1.	Abduction	To take (snatch) somebody away by force or deception
2.	Hostage taking	Holding somebody captive to gain advantage
3.	Captivity	Holding somebody against his/her will
4.	Ransom	Keeping someone in false imprisonment in order to elicit ransom (either in cash or in kind).

Source: Authors

The afore-stated concepts are standard synonyms of the concept of kidnapping. In effect, each of these terms emphasizes the various applications of the kidnapping concept in different contexts and nuances. For instance, the term ‘abduction’ is used to denote a form of kidnapping wherein the victim is a child or a minor; hence the phrase child abduction. The notion of ‘hostage-taking’ is a pattern of kidnapping that is fashionable among the militias and/or militants in the context of civil conflict. It is employed as a strategy to generate funds as well as elicit strategic trade-offs in prosecution of group cause. Furthermore, the idea of ‘captivity’ applies to kidnapping in the context of warfare, whereby hostages may be taken from any sides in an attempt to gain combatant advantage. Lastly, the term ‘ransom’ is used in a specialized sense to describe the practice of holding a prisoner or item with the intent to extort money or other valuables to secure his/her release. However it is conceived, kidnapping an organized crime that has its essence in the unlawful, intentional deprivation of a person’s freedom of movement in an attempt to exploit the situation to extort money or other advantages (Zannoni, n.d; Eze & Ezeibe, 2012).

Various types of kidnapping have been identified by analysts. Prominent among these are highlighted in Table 2 showing hereunder.

Table 2: Typology of kidnapping

S/n	Type	Description
1.	Bride Kidnapping	Taking a bride/bridegroom against the will (consent) of his/her parent to unknown destination in order to marry
2.	Express kidnapping	Opportunistic kidnappings motivated by pecuniary interests, whereby victims are held with the intent to elicit express ransom
3.	Tiger kidnapping	Kidnapping done in an attempt to perpetrate another crime; e.g. holding a bank manager hostage to get him instruct his staffers to effect an illegal transfer.

Source: Authors’ adaptation from Eze & Ezeibe (2012).

More broadly, kidnapping has been classified as criminal, political, or pathological/emotional. These classes of kidnapping can be illustrated as indicated in Table 3 hereunder.

Table 3: Broad categories of kidnapping

S/n	Category	Instance/description
1.	Criminal	Kidnapping motivated by the quest to obtain ransom from the victims family, business or associates
2.	Political	Kidnapping motivated by the need to advance a political cause (e.g. militant/militia, terrorist movement).
3.	Emotional/Pathological	Kidnapping committed by people who are emotionally or psychologically disturbed e.g. for rape, child abduction by estranged parents, etc.

Source: Adapted by authors from Zannoni (n:d).

Studies in kidnapping have identified more specific categories of kidnapping based on empirical

evidence from case studies. In his study, Emst Kahlar (cited by *Word-Press*, 2013: para 5) identified fifteen (15) categories of kidnapping as follows:

- (i) Hostage situation
- (ii) Domestic relation kidnapping
- (iii) Plot or abortive ransom kidnapping
- (iv) Developmental ransom kidnapping
- (v) Miscellaneous kidnapping
- (vi) Kidnapping for robbery
- (vii) Kidnapping for murder (or other non-sexual assault)
- (viii) White slavery
- (ix) Child stealing
- (x) Ransom skyjacking
- (xi) Romantic kidnapping
- (xii) Ransom kidnapping hoax
- (xiii) Ransom threat for extortion
- (xiv) Classic ransom
- (xv) Kidnapping for rape or sexual assault.

The above list is apparently plausible and exhaustive. Suffice it to note that the kidnapping situation in Nigeria has more or less been reflective of the afore-stated typologies. Yet there seems to be some categories of kidnapping that have not been mentioned in the foregoing classifications. One of this is ‘kidnapping for hate’ whereby a member of a ‘target family’ is kidnapped with a view to cause anguish and terror to the family. Another one is ‘kidnapping for ritual’ in which the victim is used for ritual purposes, dead or alive.

4. Historical Origins and Contemporary Trends of Kidnapping

Etymologically, the concept of kidnapping derived from two English root words, namely ‘*kid*’ (meaning infant) and ‘*napping*’ (meaning to be caught sleeping). The practice dates back to 17th century Britain, whence infants (kids) of rich families would be ‘napped’ (caught in the sleep) for ransom (Tzanelli, 2009:931). This primitive pattern of kidnapping has been adverted to in *Encyclopedia Americana*, which makes reference to the notorious kidnapping in 1874 of a four-year-old boy in Pennsylvania (Clutterbuck, 1978 in Tzanelli, 2009:931).

In its earliest manifestation, the phenomenon of kidnapping took the form of child abduction for ransom (Ezeibe & Eze, 2012). Over the years, however, kidnapping has metamorphosed into a sophisticated organized crime, with immense political and economic underpinnings. Recent developments point to the fact that the crime has evolved into a sort of franchise, with appreciable trappings of business-like exchange (Tzanelli, 2009).

Kidnapping is not a new or emerging crime as some observers may be wont to hold (Caplan, 2011). It has been around as an important criminal pathology of the contemporary society (Gallagher, 1985; Schiller, 1985; Warren, 1985; Tzanelli, 2009). Extant scholarly thinking on the subject matter is, nonetheless, still evolving. In this regard, the reality of kidnapping has been variously conceived from the standpoint of the following:

- (i) Criminal motivation
- (ii) Primitive accumulation; and
- (iii) Perverse capitalist exchange and/or exploitation (Tzanelli, 2009; Hobsbawn, 2000; Detotto, McCannon & Vannini, 2012).

In what passes for a political economy interpretation, Tzanelli (2009) views kidnapping as an exchange. According to him, kidnapping is “a form of transaction rooted in contemporary socio-economic and political structures of society” (2009:931). He further observes that “...kidnapping is the illegitimate counterpart of a legitimate exploitation system that has been around for centuries: that of capitalist exchange” (Tzanelli 2009:933).

The idea of exchange as implied in the foregoing is fundamental to any kidnapping situation. Exchange in kidnapping, however, does not follow the logic of open market transaction, whereof the terms are open and freely negotiable. Instead, exchange in kidnapping is forced and dictated by the illegitimate whims of the kidnapper(s). The exchange can take various forms, namely material, political, or symbolic. These forms of exchange are illustrated in Table 4 showing hereunder.

Table 4: Forms of exchange in kidnapping situation

S/n	Type	Instance
1.	Material	Payment of money or any other valuables
2.	Political	Granting policy/political concessions; strategic trade-offs
3.	Symbolic	Making traded public or media pronouncements

Source: Authors

The kidnapping ‘deal’ is not consummated without a sort of exchange. The substance of this exchange

is ransoming (payment of a ransom), which is the essence of the contemporary kidnapping endeavour. It is the exchange dimension of the kidnapping act that vests it with a political economy characterization and substantiation. In this regard, Tzanelli (2009:936) succinctly avers that "...at the root of all kidnapping there is exchange, the political economy of taking, demanding and giving".

5. Understanding Kidnap Ransom Value (KRV)

Kidnap Ransom Value (KRV) is the strategic worth of a kidnappee, which, in essence, makes him/her a worthwhile kidnap target. The underlying logic of the kidnapping business is that the victim is worth a good *ransom value* and that he/she has the capacity to pay, whether by self or proxy. This value is determined by a number of factors, including the following:

Table 5: Factors determining Kidnap Ransom Value (KRV)

S/n	Factor	Illustration
1.	Personal affluence of victim	This has to do with the material standing of the target victim
2.	Family premium on victim	The fact that the victim is an only child, or the only male/female child raises his/her KRV
3.	Corporate premium on victim	Business executives and strategic stakeholders of firms are accorded much value
4.	Public stake/relevance	Political office-holders, paramount rulers, etc. are seen as possessing high ransom value
5.	Social connections/networks	Members of eminent social friendship networks are also seen as high targets
6.	Type of kidnapppers involved	Petty kidnapppers are likely to accept cheap ransom
7.	The negotiation process	The quality and terms of the negotiation process is likely to help in determining the KRV

Source: Authors

By and large, the KRV of a potential kidnappee is determined by his social-economic status on the one hand and the kidnapppers' perception/ reckoning of his/her KRV on the other hand. In any case, the aforementioned factors (see Table 5), either individually or collectively, are pivotal to determining the KRV of a potential kidnappee.

6. Incidence and Prevalence of Kidnapping in Nigeria

Prior to the Niger Delta crisis (1999-2009), kidnapping as an organized crime or a franchise was seldom prominent in Nigeria. The sudden surge in the crime over the years has been attributed to the Niger Delta crisis; where people are agitating for a better socio-economic and infrastructural development of the oil-rich region. Media accounts showed that militant youths of the region started kidnapping as a way of getting the international community to develop interest in the agitation (Raheem, 2008: para 1).

As the Niger Delta militancy degenerated, kidnapping became rather entrenched as one of the untoward legacies of the struggle. Expatriate oil workers were then targeted and kidnapped for ransom. Overtime, things came to a head, as succinctly observed by Raheem:

But the huge ransom paid to secure the release of the expatriates soon became bait. It became an energizer to the militants to go for more. Soon, it became a huge racket and money-making venture for both the abductors, and the negotiators (2008; para 4).

In the events that followed in the subsequent years, the kidnapping crime got viral and also became a tool of political vendetta. Hence, "close relations of political opponents became targets, just to unsettle the opponents and make some money out of the process" (Raheem, 2008; para 5).

The de-escalation of the Niger Delta crisis by the dawn of the 2000s (Okoli, 2013) led to a significant attenuation of kidnapping in the region. However, the crime was already becoming a booming franchise in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria, with Abia and Anambra States as critical flash-points. Available statistics reveal that kidnapping has been on the rise in Nigeria over the recent years. In 2006, for instance, a total of 189 cases of kidnapping were officially recorded in the country (Alemika, 2012: 48). However, since the year 2009, the figures have significantly multiplied as Table 6 indicates.

Table 6: Incidence of kidnapping in Nigeria (2009-2012)

Year	No. of cases	Remark(s)
2009	690	Annual record
2010	579	Annual record
2011	441	Annual record
2012	285	January 01- June 30 only
Total	2, 184	

Source: Police Reports as cited in Alemika (2012: 48).

The information in the Appendix 1 ahead further gives insights into the prevalence of kidnapping in the southern part of Nigeria from 2007 to 2011. One significant feature of kidnapping in Nigeria is that the crime is largely class sensitive. To be sure, apart from isolated cases of opportunistic kidnapping apparently by armatures, organized kidnap syndicates in Nigeria have often targeted the rich, the powerful and the influential. Information on *Appendix 1* indicate that the bulk of the kidnap victims have come from the political notables, the social VIPs, and the business big-wits.

The pervasive trend of kidnapping in Nigeria over the years has since caught global cognizance. This is evident in the following records.

Table 7: Top 10 kidnapping countries (1999)

Country	Global ranking
Columbia	1 st
Mexico	2 nd
Brazil	3 rd
The Philippines	4 th
Venezuela	5 th
Ecuador	6 th
Former Soviet Union	7 th
Nigeria	8th
India	9 th
South Africa	10 th

Source: *IKV Pax Christi (2008:5)*

In Table 6, Nigeria was ranked the 8th of the 10 top kidnapping countries. By virtue of this record, Nigeria was the leading country in terms of kidnapping prevalence in Africa (see Zannoni, n.d: para 16). Similarly, in 2006 Nigeria was also ranked the 11th of the top13 kidnapping countries of the world (IKV Pax Christi, 2008). Based on this ranking, Nigeria came second in Africa, following the lead of South Africa (see Table 7 hereunder).

Table 8: 12 Top kidnapping countries (2006)

Country	Global ranking
Mexico	1 st
Iraq	2 nd
India	3 rd
South Africa	4 th
Brazil	5 th
Pakistan	6 th
Ecuador	7 th
Venezuela	8 th
Colombia	9 th
Bangladesh	10 th
Nigeria	11th
Haiti	12 th

Source: *IKV Pax Christi (2008:5)*

More recent indicators point to the fact that Nigeria is still very notorious for kidnapping both in Africa and the wider world. The terror-style kidnapping perpetrated by the members of the Boko Haram sect in some parts of the Northern Nigeria has added to Nigeria's kidnapping profile and infamy. Besides, there appears to be a recrudescence of criminal kidnapping in the Southern part of the country, notably Edo, Delta, Lagos, Anambra,

Imo, Abia, Rivers, Imo and Enugu States, with Edo appearing to be taking the lead in terms of high profile kidnapping. In these states, there seems to be a dwindling trend in armed robbery apparently because the bulk of the perpetrators have taken to kidnapping in view of the latter's comparative payoff advantage.

It is to be pointed out that most kidnapping cases in Nigeria have not been reported and documented. As such, there exist no comprehensive records to track the incidence of kidnapping in absolute numbers. Isolated records, however, indicate that well over 300 foreigners have been kidnapped in Nigeria over the years (see for instance Raheem, 2008). On the whole, the number of Nigerians that have been kidnapped over the years remains a matter of 'guesstimate'; but common sense suggests that the number must have been quite alarming.

7. Kidnapping and Nigeria's National Security: Impacts and Implications

To say that kidnapping is detrimental to Nigeria's national security is to state the obvious. To situate this assertion, it may be germane to state our conception of national security to wit: national security implies development and vice versa (McNamara, 1968; Okoli, 2013). Hence, anything that poses a threat to sustainable development of Nigeria must constitute a threat to her national security.

Kidnapping constitutes a veritable threat to Nigeria's sustainable development in the light of the following:

- (i) it leads to loss of life, a threat to public safety
- (ii) it sabotages economic growth and development by way of capital and investment flight
- (iii) It results in negative perception of Nigeria on international scene, with its negative consequences on trade, tourism and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)
- (iv) it creates an atmosphere of public insecurity, thereby endangering the prospects of societal progress
- (v) it has often led to loss of investment capital, closure of businesses, and unemployment etc.

In effect, the rising trend of kidnapping in Nigeria has, more than anything else, created security and economic climate that impede sustainable national development. In the words of Raheeb:

In the midst of all these, the Nigerian economy is the ultimate victim. The country bears the greatest brunt of the whole saga. This include poor and negative image at international scene, increase in unemployment rate, risk of a possible slide to a pariah state, huge loss of sources of resources from taxes, tourism, etc (2008: para 8).

But the greater risk is the continued spread and degeneration of kidnapping activities across Nigeria. The adoption of kidnapping an instrument for terrorism and political vendetta has since complicated the awry scenario. This trend poses the question as to whether Nigeria is relapsing into the 'failed state' syndrome (Adibe, n.d). Worse still, public security agencies in Nigeria have so far seemed critically ill-equipped to combat the crime. Consequently, in its apparent dynamics of degeneration, kidnapping is fast becoming one of the most dreadful organized crime in contemporary Nigeria. It has so far taken a great toll on the high and low of society and, indeed, it is becoming rather endemic and intractable by the day.

8. Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

Crime thrives in Nigeria simply because the environment is amenable to it. There seems to be a high incentive to crime and criminality in Nigeria in view of the following conditions:

- (i) high level of poverty and socio-economic malaise
- (ii) growing social inequality and marginalization
- (iii) criminal impunity among the high and low
- (iv) lax and inefficient criminal code that tends to pamper criminal behaviour
- (v) weak law enforcement procedures and capabilities
- (vi) ineffective criminal justice system, etc.

From the point of view of cost-benefit analysis of crime prevention (Maicibi & Yahaya, 2013), it is to be noted that the benefits of committing a crime in Nigeria far surpass its costs. In order words, the existing legal frameworks of criminal justice in the country are not yet efficient enough to sanction crime, and ensure deterrence in that regard. The implication of this is that many people in Nigeria would rationalize that it is far more beneficial than risky to indulge in crime. This probably explains the apparent criminal impunity that pervades the country.

As we have seen in the case of kidnapping, the crime has been driven by the criminal quest for material accumulation, which thrives in an environment that condones crime, but also lacks the capacity to efficiently sanction same. The way forward in this regard is to reposition the relevant legal frameworks so as to ensure greater efficiency in the administration of penalties and deterrence. Indeed, "the kidnapping problem is not hard to solve. Kidnappers kidnap because the benefits exceed costs. The obvious solution is to raise the costs by imposing harsher, surer punishments" (Caplan, 2010: para 2). One way of bringing this about is to entrench death penalty as punishment for kidnapping. So far, States like Anambra, Bayelsa and Edo have taken a step in this direction, amidst outcries from antagonists. In spite of the pros and cons of death penalty as a punishment for

kidnapping, this paper believes that such a drastic measure would be effective in sanctioning the crime in such a manner that makes for penal efficiency and deterrence.

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Appendix 1: Diary of notable incidents of kidnapping in Nigeria, 2007-11

S/n	Date	Place/State	Victim(s)
1	Jan. 27, 2007	Nsugbe Anambra State	Ego Cordelia Uzuezie, the then Anambra State Commissioner for Women Affairs alongside her son Kenechukwu, on her way from Nwafor Orizu College of Education Nsugbe where she had been a lecturer, were kidnapped. The kidnappers demanded N50 million ransom.
2	Jan. 27, 2007	Nnewi, Anambra State	Pius Ogbuawa, a businessman at Nnewi, Anambra State, was kidnapped and N20million was demanded as ransom.
3	April 26, 2007	Njikoka L.G.A Anambra State	Patrick Mbamalu Okeke, a 73 years old traditional ruler of Abagana, was kidnapped.
4	April 30, 2007	Ubima, Rivers State	Cecilia Omehai, 70 year old mother of Celestine Omehia, ex-governor of Rivers State, was kidnapped.
5	May 1, 2007	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Six expatriate staff of Chevron Nigeria Limited in Port Harcourt Rivers State was kidnapped.
6	May 19, 2007	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Two Indians based in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, were kidnapped.
7	June 2, 2007	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Four expatriate staff of Schlumberger in Rivers State, kidnapped.
8	June 26, 2007	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Michael Stewart, son of female member of the Rivers State House of Assembly, was kidnapped.
9	July 5, 2007	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Margret Hill, three-year-old British girl in Rivers State, was kidnapped.
10	July 2007	Iriebe, Rivers State	Samuel Amadi, son of Chief Francis Amadi, an Iriebe Community Leader, Rivers State, was kidnapped
11	August 25, 2007	Yenagoa, Bayelsa State	Hansel Seiborugu, 70 year old mother of Werinipre Seibaragu, ex-speaker of Bayelsa State House of Assembly, was kidnapped.
12	Sept. 8, 2007	Ese-Ode, Ondo State	About 11 members of PDP in Ese-Odo, Ondo State was kidnapped.
13	Sept. 2007	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	David Ward, a Briton and worker with Hydro-Dive 9, 2007 Limited of Rivers State, was kidnapped.
14	Oct. 9, 2007	Yenagoa, Bayelsa State	Jiffy Kolomonbo, 82, Blind and father of Ebioudu Kolomonibo, a member of the Bayelsa State House of Assembly, was kidnapped.
15	Oct. 29, 2007	Calabar, Cross Rivers State	Joseph Edem, ten-year old boy at his school in Calabar, Cross Rivers State, was kidnapped.
16	Jan. 8, 2008	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	15 years old son of Ogochukwu Onyiri, Secretary, PDP Rivers State chapter, was kidnapped.
17	Feb. 7, 2008	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Seinye Briggs, wife of Lulu Briggs, the Executive Vice-Achirman, Moni Pulo, was kidnapped.
18	Mar. 23, 2008	Okirika, Rivers State	Stevenson Odemwingie, Lucky Martins and two Staff of Mamatan Oil Company, Okirika, Rivers State, were kidnapped.
19	Mar. 29, 2008	Awoye, Ondo State	Five staff of Express Oil, Awoye, Ondo State, was kidnapped.
20	April 2008	Umuahia, Abia State	Sarah Nawachukwu, a 75 year old woman from Umuahia, Abia State, was kidnapped.
21	April 2008	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Patricia Asiota, wife of a member of House of Representatives from Rivers State and Chidi Nzerim, 11, a student of Brookstone, International School, Ikwerre, Rivers State, were kidnapped at different locations.
22	April, 26, 2008	Oweri, Imo State	Ngozi Nneji, wife of Frank Nneji, ABC Transport boss in Imo State, kidnapped.
23	April 26, 2008	Abagana, Anambra State	Patrick Mbamalu Okeke, 73-year-old traditional ruler, Abagana Njikoka council, Anambra State, kidnapped.
24	May, 2008	Abagana, Anambra State	Patrick Mbamalu Okeke, 73-year-old traditional ruler, Abagana Njikoka council, Anambra State, kidnapped.
25	May, 2008	Owerri, Imo State	Celestine Ngobiwu, Member of Imo State House of Assembly, representing Obowo Constituency, Imo State, kidnapped.
26	May, 2008	Owerri, Imo State	Simon Iwunze, a membe of Imo State House of Assembly, representing Mbanu constituency in Imo State, was kidnapped.
27	June 8, 2008	Benin, Edo State	Bob Izua, Managing Director of Bod Izua, Benin City, Edo State, was kidnapped. He was released after a N5 million ransom was paid.
28	June 14, 2008	Yenagoa, Bayelsa State	Two Germans and four Nigerians at Dodo Creeks, were kidnapped.
29	June 19m 2008	Owerri, Imo State	Ginikachi Udeagu, daughter of Ebere Udeagu, former Deputy Governor of Imo State, was kidnapped.

30	July 21, 2008	Asaba, Delta State	Author Okowa, 76, father of Ifeanyi Okowa, the then secretary to the Delta State government, was kidnapped.
31	Aug. 1, 2008	Rumolumeni Rivers State	Ndubueze, a traditional ruler of Rumolumeni, Rivers State, was kidnapped.
32	Aug. 2, 2008	Uli, Anambra State	Two-year-old son of the bursar of Anambra State University of Science and Technology, were kidnapped.
33		Port Harcourt Rivers State	Azubike Emeregini, Chairman of Port Harcourt City Local Government, was kidnapped.
34	Aug. 13, 2008	Abeokuta, Ogun State	Wife of Wole Adekoya, the permanent secretary in the ministry of water resources in Ogun State, was kidnapped.
35	Aug. 15, 2008	Port Harcourt Rivers State	Barineme Fackae, a Professor and Vice Chancellor of Rivers State University of Science and Technology, was kidnapped.
36	Sept. 9, 2008	Warri, Delta State	Two expatriates, a Briton and an Irish National working with Pan Oceanic Oil Corporation in Warri, Delta State, were kidnapped.
37	Nov. 15, 2008	Awka, Anambra State	Joseph Dimobi, a member of Anambra State House of Assembly, representing Aniocha 11 Constituency, was kidnapped.
38	Nov. 21, 2008	Amaise, Abia State	Eze Eberechi Dick, Traditional Ruler of Mgboko Agwa Amaise Autonomous community in Abia State, kidnapped.
39	Jan. 6, 2009	Uyo, Akwa Ibom State	Effion Nelson, former Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly Speaker, Uyo, kidnapped.
40	Feb. 1, 2009	Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Abule Adiele, former Attorney-General of Rivers State, kidnapped.
41	Aug. 16, 2009	Onitsha, Anambra State	Pete Edochie, A Movie Star, was kidnapped in Onitsha Anambra State.
42	Aug. 20, 2009	Nsukka, Enugu State	Grace Mamah, wife of James Mamah, a multi millionaire transport mogul, kidnapped at National College of Education, Nsukka, Enugu State.
43	Aug. 23, 2009	Enugu, Enugu State	Nkem Owoh, popular Actor and Comedian, popularly known as Osuofia, was kidnapped along Enugu-Port Harcourt Expressway.
44	Aug. 23, 2009	Onitsha, Anambra State	Godwin Okeke Chairman, GUO Motors, Kidnapped at all Saints Anglican Church, Onitsha Anambra State.
45	Sept. 2009	Kaduna, Kaduna State	Waje Yayok, the Secretary to the Kaduna State Government, kidnapped from his residence in Kaduna.
46	Oct. 28, 2009	Isuofia, Anambra State	Simon Soludo, 78, father of Chukwuma Soludo, the then Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria, was kidnapped.
47	Jan. 2010	Orodo, Imo State	Eze Samuel Ohiri, Traditional Ruler of Orodo in Mbaitoli Local Government, Imo State, and Cousin, Joseph Ohiri, were murdered by kidnappers.
48	Mar. 2, 2010	Owerri, Imo State	Justice ABC Egu, President of Customary Court of Appeal, Ugoeze Pauline Njemanze, wife of Eze Emmanuel Njemanze, the Ozururigbo of Owerri, Professor Sam Omenyi, Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academics), Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Professor Egwuatu, Director of Academics, the Dean of Studies of the Same University, an three journalists working for a South-African-based sports television outfit, were kidnapped along the Sam Mbakwe Airport Road, Owerri, Imo State.
49	Mar. 15, 2010	Ubirilelem, Imo State	Stella Odimegu, Wife of Chief Festus Odimegwu, Former Chief Executive Officer, Nigerian Breweries, kidnapped in Assah Ubirilelem, Orsu LG, Imo State.
50	May 21, 2010	Osina, Imo State	Polycarp Ndubueze, Medical Director, Chika Medical Centre, Osina Ideato South Local Government, Imo State, Kidnapped.
51	May 26, 2010	Benin, Edo State	Osaro Osifo, a Dentist at the Central Hospital Benin City, Edo State, kidnapped.
52	June 13, 2010	Umebulu, Rivers State	Sundya Njoku, the Traditional Ruler of Umebulu Community in Rivers State was kidnapped in a Church.
53	July 11, 2010	Obingwa LG, Abia State	Wahab Oba, Chairman, Nigerian Union of Journalists, and three other members of the Union and their driver, kidnapped at Obingwa Local Government, Abia State.
54	June 21, 2011	Eket Awka Ibom State	Utieabasi Ikwoiwak, Daughter to Anedi Ikwoiwak, Rivers State Independent Electoral Commission, was kidnapped.
55	June 29, 2011	Enugu State	Professor Ben Mba, Provost Ehaamufu College of Education was kidnapped in School Premises in Isiuzo L.G.A Enugu State.

Source: *Newswatch Nigeria* July 25, 2010, pp 18-19; *Tell* February 21, 2011, pp 40-4; and *Ezeibe & Eze* (2012).

Authors' Profile

1. **Okoli, Al Chukwuma** is a tenure instructor at the Department of Political Science, Federal University Lafia, Nigeria; as well as an instructional facilitator at the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). His academic qualifications are: ND (Mass Communication, FEDPOKO); B.Sc. (Political Science, UNIZIK); M.Sc. (Political Science, ABU); Research scholar (Doctorate: Defence and Strategic Studies, NDA). His teaching experience include: Kwara (Formerly Jubilee) University Wukari (2011); Taraba State University, Jalingo (2012); Federal University Lafia (2013-date). His research interest revolves around public governance and policy, development and strategic studies. He has been widely published.

2. **Agada, Fakumo A.** is a Graduate Assistant in the Department of Political Science, Federal University Lafia. He Holds B.Sc. (Political Science) from University of Ibadan. He is currently pursuing his Post-graduate studies.