(REVIEW ARTICLE)

A nation under siege: The anatomy of kidnapping in Nigeria

Blessing Chiamaka Olejeme [1], Maureen Adenike Okoye [2], Scholastica Okoronkwo [1, *] and Sabastine Ediba [4]

[1] Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
[2] Department of Law and Policy, Teesside University, Middlesbrough, UK.
[4] Department of Political Science, Nigerian Army University, Biu, Borno State.

Abstract

Kidnapping has become a serious challenge in Nigeria, as there has been an escalation of kidnapping incidences in recent years. This article conducts a comprehensive review on the issue of kidnapping in Nigeria, with a focus on highlighting the underlying causes of the menace, such as; poverty and unemployment. It examines the effects of kidnapping on individuals and communities in Nigeria as well as the governmental responses, including the response of security agencies. The article also examines the involvement of organized criminal groups, in the kidnapping activities, as well as the associated international connections. Drawing on research about kidnapping, the article compares the situation in Nigeria with trends worldwide. It does argue that while the reasons for kidnapping may differ across continents or even countries, there are still shared causes like economic struggles, and also social unrest. The article does suggest that the Nigerian government should take urgent, and also proactive steps towards mitigating the kidnapping problem, especially with regards to investing in technology, and also surveillance systems. This investment will help track, and also monitor criminal activities, particularly in remote areas like the forests, where many of the kidnapped victims are usually held.

Keywords: Kidnapping; Security; Criminal Bandits; Boko-Haram; Ransom payments; Nigeria

1. Introduction

Kidnapping, the act of forcefully taking someone away from safety, against their will, has become a widespread and serious issue in Nigeria, in recent years [1]. This crime has affected communities across the country, and has also impacted both individuals and the society as a whole. The increase in kidnapping incidents, has created fear and also anxiety amongst the population. It has also caused significant social and economic problems, including disruptions to peace, security, and and even business activities [2]. In Nigeria, kidnappers typically choose their victims based on perceived wealth, or social status. They do this just to demand large ransom payments for the safe return of their captives [3].

Kidnapping in Nigeria has a complex history, which goes back to the early independence period. At first, kidnappings were often politically motivated. For instance, militant groups in the Niger Delta region used abductions to gain government attention, and also leverage, in their struggles against the government [4]. Over time, kidnapping moved beyond political reasons, and then spread across the country. It has now become a criminal enterprise driven by economic incentives.

Several key factors have contributed to the alarming rise of kidnapping in Nigeria. One major factor is the widespread poverty, and also high unemployment rates in the country [5]. With limited economic opportunities, especially in rural areas, many people, particularly young individuals, have turned to kidnapping for financial survival. The lure of quick

---

* Corresponding author: Scholastica Okoronkwo

money from ransom payments has drawn many into this illegal activity. Weak governance, and also ineffective law enforcement, has also played a significant role in the increase of kidnapping incidents in Nigeria [6]. Corruption within security agencies, a lack of proper training and resources, and a culture of impunity, have allowed kidnapping groups to operate fairly easily. The absence of swift and strong action against criminals has also encouraged their behavior, thereby resulting in a cycle of crime and impunity. Additionally, the spread of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria, has also supported the activities of kidnappers [7]. Their easy access to weapons has enabled criminal groups to carry out abductions and has increased the violence associated with kidnapping cases. The use of firearms, and other sophisticated weapons during kidnappings, has raised risks for both victims and security forces, making the situation harder to manage.

Given the seriousness and urgency of the kidnapping crisis in Nigeria, this article does offer a thorough overview of the issue of kidnapping in the country. Its arguments are anchored on the premise that examining the root causes of kidnapping in Nigeria, the modes of operation, as well as the impact of kidnapping at both the individual and society levels, will help to shed more light on the complex dimensions of this criminal activity, and provide scholarly insights on how to address it.

2. Statistics on kidnapping rate in Nigeria

In recent years, Nigeria has seen a big rise, when it comes to kidnapping incidents. According to data which was compiled by the Nigerian Security Tracker, there were over 2,860 reported cases of kidnapping, in the year 2020 alone [8]. This marked a sharp increase compared to previous years. The rise in kidnappings is linked to several factors, which do include economic hardship, political instability, and the growth of organized criminal groups. The table below shows statistics on the recent number of kidnapping incidents in Nigeria.

Table 1 Number of Kidnapping Cases in Nigeria, 2015-2025

Year	Number of Victims
2015	927
2016	347
2017	532
2018	1,014
2019	1,421
2020	2,879
2021	5287
2022	4,680
2023	1,384
2024	3277

Source: Compiled by Authors. Information extracted from the International Centre for Investigative Reporting, ICIR (2023) [9] and SB Mintel (2024) [10]

One of the most worrying trends which is related to the kidnapping incidents in Nigeria, is the targeting of school children. In recent years, several high-profile cases have involved the mass abduction of students, from there schools, especially in Northern Nigeria. Armed groups like Boko Haram and bandits do often carry out these kidnapping attacks. The kidnapping of school children in Nigeria, have attracted international attention, and have also raised concerns about the safety of children in Nigeria as a whole. The table below provides data on the abduction cases involving school children in Nigeria.

Table 2 Recent Data on the Number of School Children Kidnapped from Schools in Nigeria
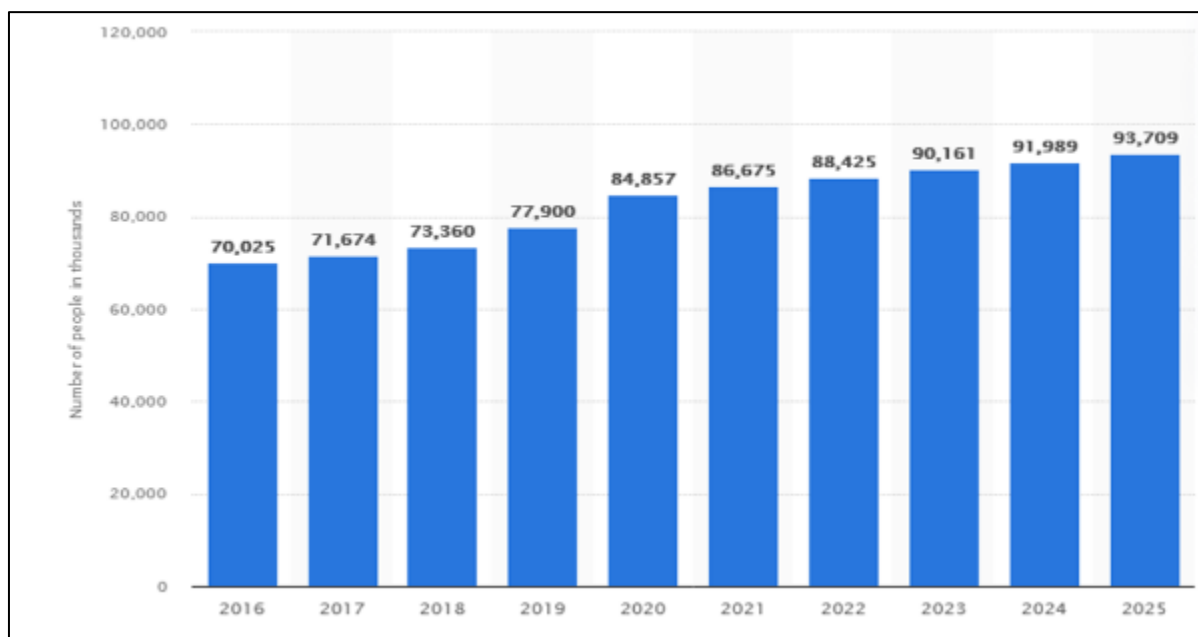
Year	School Name	State	Number of Children Abducted
2024	LEA Primary School and the Government Secondary School Kuriga in the Chikun Local Government Area	Kaduna State	137
2024	Tsangaya School, Gada Local Government	Sokoto State	17
2023	Federal University of Gusau	Zamfara State	24
2021	Government Girls Secondary School, Jengebe	Zamfara	317
2021	Bethel Baptist School, Chikun Local Government Area	Kaduna State	100
2021	Federal College of Forestry Mechanization, Afaka	Kaduna State	39
2021	Private Greenfield University	Kaduna State	20
2021	**Federal Government College (FGC) Birnin-Yauri, Kebbi state**	Kebbi State	60
2020	Government Boys Secondary School, Kankara	Katsina	344

Source: Compiled by Authors. Data gotten from BBC (2021) [11]; Adebayo (2024) [12]; Asadu (2021) [13]; ChapiOdekina (2024) [14]; Maishanu (2024) [15]; Oluwafemi (2023) [16].

The data on kidnapping in Nigeria paints a troubling picture of a nation, which is under siege. The widespread occurrence of kidnapping incidents in the different areas of the country, especially over the last five years, along with the various motivations behind them, do highlight the complexity of the issue, and also the urgent need for effective solutions.

3. The underlying instigators of kidnapping in Nigeria

The causes of kidnapping in Nigeria are complex and varied. They arise from a mix of socio-economic, political, and socio-cultural challenges. One major socio-economic factor that drives kidnapping in Nigeria is poverty [17]. The country has a very high poverty rate, as a significant percentage of the population lives below the poverty line [18]. *Figure 1* below provides information on the number of people in Nigeria, who live in extreme poverty.

Source: Statista (2025) [19]

Figure 1 Number of People who Live in Extreme Poverty in Nigeria, 2016-2025

Figure 1 above shows that about 91,989 million Nigerians lived in extreme poverty as at 2024. It was projected that by this year 2025, there will be about 93,709 millions of Nigerians living in extreme poverty. The economic deprivation that comes with the high poverty rates, creates a fertile ground for the escalation of criminal activities such as kidnapping, as the desperate individuals suffering poverty, turn to crime as a means of survival. The lack of viable economic opportunities as well as the existence of systemic inequality, contributes to further exacerbating the problem, pushing many individuals into a life of crime.

Unemployment is another significant socio-economic factor that contributes to exacerbating the prevalence of kidnapping in Nigeria [20]. Note that Nigeria has a large youth population, many of whom are currently unemployed and lack access to education as well as training opportunities [21]. According to Trading Economics (2025) [22], the average for youth unemployment Rate in Nigeria, between 2014 and 2024, was about 21.40 %. This lack of having meaningful employment opportunities, pushes some individuals to engage in criminal activities, including kidnapping, as a way of surviving the harsh economic situation in the country.

Political factors have also played a role, when it comes to fueling the occurrence of kidnapping incidents in Nigeria [23]. The country has a history of political instability, corruption, as well as weak governance, which together, creates an environment that is conducive for the occurrence of criminal activities [24]. The lack of accountability and transparency in governance, contributes to allowing criminal syndicates to operate, with relative impunity, which further facilitates the growth of kidnapping networks.

Other existing security challenges, also pose as major factors, when it comes to the rise and escalation of kidnapping in Nigeria. Currently, Nigeria is confronted by many security challenges. These challenges include widespread violence, frequent terrorism incidents, and also the various armed conflicts, which are happening across the different regions of the country. In the North, banditry is common, while the Southern part of the country does experiences many conflicts also, of which some are inspired by secessionist movements and agitations for resource control [25]. The weak security infrastructure, and also the failure of law enforcement agencies to effectively combat crime, does allow kidnappers to operate freely [26]. Most importantly, the lack of proper coordination, and also intelligence sharing amongst security agencies, does make it harder to tackle the kidnapping crisis [27].

4. Negative impacts of kidnapping on individuals and communities

As noted by Okwuwada (2023) [23], one of the cardinal effects, which the rise in kidnapping incidents in Nigeria has caused, is the trauma it causes to the victims, and also their families. For the victims, being taken from their homes or workplaces, often at gunpoint, and held for ransom, does have lasting psychological impacts on them. The uncertainty of their release, only does add to the distress, which is felt by both the victims and their loved ones. Families often do experience anxiety, and also fear, because they do not know if their relative will return safely, or if they have to face the heartbreaking consequences which come with a kidnapping gone wrong.

Communities also do suffer from the effects of kidnapping in Nigeria. As highlighted by Okolie-Osemene (2021) [28], the increase in kidnappings, has led to a serious breakdown of trust, and also social bonds, within communities across the country. People are scared to go about their daily lives, and also, businesses are sometimes forced to shut down or relocate. This creates challenges for social interactions, as relationships then become strained. Individuals have become wary of each other, because of suspicions that the other party could be potentially involved in the conduct of kidnapping activities [17]. This kind of situation, does usually create a sense of isolation, and also disrupts the social fabric of communities, thereby leading to a breakdown in community relations, and also the loss of trust in the law enforcement agencies and government authorities in general.

The economic consequences of kidnapping in Nigeria have been devastating. The ransom payment demanded by kidnappers usually drains resources from families and has had detrimental effect on businesses as well, especially small and medium-sized enterprises [29]. In some instances, business owners are forced to pay exorbitant amounts, just to secure the release of their employees, with the option of facing the prospect of losing valuable members of their workforce, if they don't pay up. This not only results to financial losses, but also has negative impacts on the productivity as well as growth of businesses, thereby leading to job losses and a decline in economic activity within the affected areas. Currently, the view of Nigeria as a high-risk country because of kidnapping incidents has limited foreign investment and impacted the tourism sector [30]. This situation does hinder the country's economic growth, and also development. The negative effects on the economy also influence the lives of ordinary Nigerians, worsening poverty and inequality in the country.

5. Role of organized criminal groups

As highlighted by Peace (2020) [31], militant groups, such as Boko Haram group in the North, the Niger Delta militants in the South, as well as the current resurgent of banditry groups, have been found to collude with kidnappers, to perpetrate kidnappings in Nigeria. The different groups often use abductions as a means to fund their operations, garner media attention, and also instill fear amongst the populace. Boko Haram has been found to be responsible for abducting hundreds of school girls, in the past. They used these girls as bargaining chips to negotiate with the government, or to spread their extremist beliefs [32]. The Niger Delta militants have also kidnapped oil workers, in order to demand ransom or to protest against the government's exploitation of their region's resources [33].

The influence of organized criminal groups, on Nigeria's kidnapping problem, is complicated by weak law enforcement, as shown by the government's failure to effectively tackle these groups [34]. Aliyu (2022) [35], does point out that Nigerian authorities face criticism because of their slow response, when it comes to following up on abduction cases, their failure to prosecute offenders, and also, their inability to prevent future incidents. This has led to a sense of impunity, amongst the criminals, and has also encouraged them to carry out more kidnappings, without any fear of the consequences.

To address the role of criminal groups in kidnapping in Nigeria, the government, law enforcement agencies, and also, other stakeholders, do need start working together. This will require that they start using the right resources, to improve their intelligence gathering, boost border security, and also strengthen collaboration with neighboring countries, in order to track and catch offenders. Additionally, it is important to tackle the root causes of kidnapping, such as poverty, unemployment, and also the problem of social inequality. These issues do make individuals to be vulnerable to recruitment by these criminal groups.

6. International connections

The increase in kidnapping within the country is sometimes associated with organized criminal groups that work worldwide. These networks use advanced communication technology, have access to resources, and do have a network of collaborators across borders, with whom they conduct their illegal activities. Available evidence does show that Boko Haram has received support from international terrorist organizations, and also criminal networks, including Al-Qaeda [25]. This cross-border cooperation has allowed Boko Haram to engage in kidnapping activities in Nigeria, and move victims across national borders.

Additionally, organized criminal groups like the Fulani Militia, have also added to the kidnapping crisis in Nigeria [25]. This group often engages in cross-border crimes, including arms smuggling, human trafficking, and even extortion. They have also been implicated on many occasions, in cases of kidnapping. Nigeria's porous borders also do enable the movement of both kidnapping victims, and the perpetrators across international boundaries. This makes it hard for law enforcement agencies to track them down, and catch them

7. The response of relevant authorities

In response to the kidnapping crisis, the Nigerian government has launched several initiatives, which are targeted at tackling the problem of kidnapping. However, these efforts face many challenges, which have contributed to reducing their effectiveness.

7.1. Policy and legislative responses

The Nigerian government has taken many actions, in order to tackle the problem of kidnapping in the country. One of the cardinal initiatives introduced, is the establishment of specialized anti-kidnapping unit within the major law enforcement agency - the Police [36]. This unit investigates kidnapping cases, rescues victims, and also does catch the perpetrators. The government also introduced a legislation, which was aimed at strengthening the legal framework, for fighting kidnapping. This is called the Anti-Kidnapping Act [37]. The Act did impose severe penalties on all convicted kidnappers.

7.2 Law enforcement efforts

Law enforcement agencies in Nigeria have been actively working, in a bid to fight kidnapping cases. They conduct intelligence-led operations, and also do raid suspected kidnappers hideouts. They also do collaborate with local communities. Specialized units like the Police Anti-Kidnapping Squad, and also the Department of State Services (DSS),

do lead efforts which are aimed at rescuing kidnapped victims, and bringing the kidnappers to justice [1].These efforts have led to the successful rescue of numerous hostages, and also, the arrest of kidnappers across the country.

8. Kidnapping as a global issue

Kidnapping is a global issue, which transcends national borders. Though Nigeria is currently experiencing a surge in kidnapping cases, the problem is not peculiar to the country. According to existing research reports, countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, Afghanistan and Pakistan, are also dealing with high rates of kidnapping incidents [38,39,40, 41]. One common factor amongst these countries, when it comes to kidnapping, is that they all have the same underlying causative factors, such as poverty, unemployment, as well as ineffective law enforcement. In Nigeria, for instance, the high levels of poverty as well as unemployment, have created a fertile ground for criminal elements and activities to thrive, of which the perpetuation of kidnapping activities, is just one example. In Mexico and Venezuela, the recent socio-political crises, have led to an increase in kidnappings, as criminal organizations take advantage of the instability, to carry out their nefarious activities [42, 43]. Another similarity between Nigeria and most of the other countries where kidnapping is prevalent, is the role which non-state criminal terrorist, or militant organizations play, when it comes to exacerbating the kidnapping problem. In Nigeria, for example, militant groups like the Boko Haram, and the Niger Delta Avengers, have been involved in many cases of the high-profile kidnappings. Similarly, in Mexico, drug cartels have been known to kidnap for ransom, in order to fund their illegal activities [44].

There are differences, when it comes to the pattern of kidnapping in different countries. For example, in Afghanistan and Pakistan, kidnappings are often politically motivated, being that insurgents target government officials, and also foreign aid workers [45,46]. In Nigeria, however, kidnappings often have economic motivations. Despite these differences, the impact of kidnapping on individual victims, and also their communities is consistent across all affected countries. Kidnapping does lead to emotional trauma, and also financial loss for victims and their families. It also does create a sense of fear and insecurity.

9. Conclusion

The problem of kidnapping in Nigeria is complex, being that it is linked to issues like poverty, weak law enforcement, and also organized crime. The increase in abductions has had devastating effects on individuals, and also communities, thereby, making it feel like the entire country is under siege. Kidnapping has become widespread, with people from all backgrounds falling victim to this terrible crime. To effectively fight this issue, we need a strategy that does tackle both the immediate and also underlying causes that allow it to thrive. This article offers the recommendations below, for addressing the kidnapping problem in Nigeria:

1. To tackle kidnapping, proactive measures which do focus on prevention, and also early intervention, must be taken. The Nigerian government should urgently invest in acquiring advanced technology, like sophisticated surveillance systems, in order to help track and monitor criminal activities, especially in the forested areas, where victims are often held. This investment would facilitate the interception of kidnapping attempts even before they happen.

2. The Nigerian government must also work harder, to address the existing limitations in law enforcement. They should prioritize equipping law enforcement agencies with the resources which are needed, in order to perform their duties effectively. It is also essential, to improve the training methods for the law enforcement officers, since the existing ones have not adequately prepared officers to deal with the current nature of kidnapping.

3. Again, to deal with the kidnapping crisis, Nigeria must first focus on the socio-economic problems which have helped create it. This includes fighting poverty, reducing unemployment, and also addressing the systemic challenges, which do cause inequality. More investments needs to be directed towards funding programmes which will create jobs, improve education at all levels, including skills training, and also strengthen social welfare programmes. That will help to mitigate the effects of the country's economic challenges.

Compliance with ethical standards

Disclosure of conflict of interest

All authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

References

[1] Onuoha FC, Okolie-Osemene J. The evolving threat of kidnapping for ransom in Nigeria. Internal security management in Nigeria: Perspectives, challenges and lessons. 2019; 233-258.

[2] Emmanuel AO, Chukwu NG, Harriet A. Impact of Kidnapping and Political Instability on Investment in the Nigerian Economy. Asian Journal of Economics, Business and Accounting. 2024; 24(3): 54-67.

[3] Okoye UP, Nwaka-Nwandu O. Effect of Banditry and Kidnapping on The Development of Selected Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria. International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science. 2023; 7(5): 774-796.

[4] Chinwokwu EC, Michael CE. Militancy and violence as a catalyst to kidnapping in Nigeria. International Journal of Police Science & Management. 2019; 21(1): 17-35.

[5] Fadipe RA, Uwadia JC, Kayode OC. Causes and the Remedies for Curbing the Menace of Kidnapping in Nigeria. International Journal of Multidisciplinary and Current research. 2021; (9): 25-34.

[6] Bello BF. Community policing as a correlate of effective security in Oyo State, Nigeria [Ph.D dissertation]. Ibadan: University of Ibadan; 2019

[7] Sambo U, Sule B, Deribe AU, Ahmed A. The Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in the Proliferation of Armed Group Conflicts in Northeastern Nigeria: Interrogating the Boko Haram Phenomenon. Arts and Social Sciences. 2020; 6(4): 151-161.

[8] Adebajo K. Data: More Nigerians Kidnapped In First 6 Months of 2021 Than All Of 2020 [Internet]. Nigeria: Humanglemedia; [2021]; [Cited 2025 Oct 25]. Available from https://humanglemedia.com/data-more-nigerians-kidnapped-in-first-6-months-of-2021-than-all-of-2020/

[9] ICIR. The cost of getting kidnapped in Nigeria [Internet]. Nigeria: ICIR Nigeria; [2023]; [Cited 2025 Oct 20]. Available from https://www.icirnigeria.org/the-cost-of-getting-kidnapped-in-nigeria/

[10] Mintel. Grim Reaping: Economics of Nigeria's Kidnap Industry–A 2024 Update [Internet]. SBMintel; [2024]; [Cited 2025 Oct 24]. Available from https://www.sbmintel.com/2024/08/grim-reaping-economics-of-nigerias-kidnap-industry-a-2024-update/

[11] BBC. Nigeria kidnap: Gunmen seize 140 schoolchildren in Kaduna state [Internet]. BBC; [2021]; [Cited 2025 October 26]. Available from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-57636851

[12] Adebayo TA decade since the Chibok abduction, more than 1,400 Nigerian students have been kidnapped [Internet]. Apnews; [2024]. [Cited 2025 October 23]. Available from https://apnews.com/article/nigeria-abduction-gunmen-e7d9ba127485e893d80eae1218b702fd

[13] Asadu C. Many students' kidnapped as gunmen attack Kaduna school [Internet]. The Cable Nigeria; [2021]. [Cited 2025 October 24]. Available from https://www.thecable.ng/breaking-dozens-of-girls-abducted-as-gunmen-attack-kaduna-school/

[14] ChapiOdekina G. Reps decry kidnapping in schools, worsening insecurity across Nigeria [Internet]. Vanguard Nigeria; [2024]. [Cited 2025 October 25] Available from https://www.vanguardngr.com/2024/05/reps-decry-kidnapping-in-schools-worsening-insecurity-across-nigeria/

[15] Maishanu AA. Two weeks after abduction, Sokoto school children freed [Internet]. The Premium Times Nigeria; [2024]. [Cited 2025 October 20] Available from https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/680053-two-weeks-after-abduction-sokoto-school-children-freed.html

[16] Oluwafemi A. Two abducted Kebbi college students regain freedom — after 23 months in captivity [Internet]. The Cable Nigeria [2023]. [Cited 2025 October 21] Available from https://www.thecable.ng/two-abducted-kebbi-college-students-regain-freedom-after-23-months-in-captivity/

[17] Mbam NM., Jacob UH, Amiara AS. Kidnapping and banditry: a critique of the Nigerian security, 1999-2022. South East Political Science Review. 2024; 9(1): 73-86

[18] Dauda RS. Poverty and economic growth in Nigeria: Issues and policies. Journal of Poverty. 2017; 21(1): 61-79.

[19] Statista. Number of people living in extreme poverty in Nigeria from 2016 to 2025 (in 1,000s) [Internet]. Statista [2025]. [Cited 2025 October 23] Available from https://www.statista.com/statistics/1287795/number-of-people-living-in-extreme-poverty-in-nigeria/

[20] Ifeanyichukwu O, Hussaini HA & Otigbuo Patience AA. The Socio-Economic Dimensions of Youth Unemployment: Implications for Kidnapping Activities and Security in Umuahia Urban, Abia State. EAS Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies. 2025; 7(1): 8-19

[21] Odunuga AD. Trickling down youth unemployment in Nigeria by leveraging on entrepreneurial education. In Third Annual International Conference on Sustainable Development (ICSD). 2015. August.

[22] Trading Economics. Nigeria Youth Unemployment Rate [Internet]. Trading Economics [2025]. [Cited 2025 October 23] Available from: https://tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/youth-unemployment-rate

[23] Okwuwada N. The modern day consequences, causes, and nature of kidnapping, terrorism, banditry, and violent crime in Nigeria: A comprehensive analysis. MPRA Paper No. 117671. 2023. Munich Personal RePEc Archive

[24] Otusanya OJ, Lauwo SG. Corruption and socio-political economic structures: a case of Nigeria. Journal of Financial Crime. 2019; 26(1): 330-371.

[25] Ojo, JS. Franchising Terrorism and Insurgencies: From Al-Qaeda, ISIS, to Boko Haram. In: Handbook of Terrorist and Insurgent Groups. Ist ed. CRC Press; 2024. p. 179-190.

[26] Adenipekun, LO. National Security Policies of Nigeria and Benin Republic as Strategies for Curbing Cross-border Crimes. African Journal of Stability & Development. 2022; 14(1&2): 37-72.

[27] Abiodun TF, Oladejo OA, Adetunberu O & Nwannenaya C. Security intelligence cooperation and the coordinated war on terror Among Nigeria's security agencies: Panacea to stable national security. Global Scientific Journal Publications: London. 2019; 7(7): 541-556

[28] Okolie-Osemene J. Trends, causes and consequences of kidnapping in Ovom Ama-Asaa, Abia State, Nigeria, 2010-2016 [Doctoral dissertation]. Ibadan: University of Ibadan; 2021.

[29] Ibrahim YK, Ahmad AA, Shehu S. Impact of incessant kidnappings on the external relations: A case study of Nigeria. Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ). 2021; 5(1): 212-227.

[30] Ogunnubi O, Idowu DL. Kidnapping for Ransom (K4R) and the Challenges of Nigeria's International Image. In The Political Economy of Kidnapping and Insecurity in Nigeria: Beyond News and Rumours. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland; 2024. p. 245-263.

[31] Peace PWS. Violence in Nigeria's North West: Rolling back the mayhem. Africa   Report. Brussels: Belgium; 2020.

[32] Rufa'i MA. I am a Bandit: A Decade of Research in Zamfara State. [University Seminar Series]. Sokoto: Usumanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto; 2021

[33] Alumuna S, Ofoegbu RC, Edet AS. Militancy and Kidnapping in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria; A Recap. Elixir Social Studies. 2017; 112; 49425-49434.

[34] Sheu HA, Ogunsola BO. Corruption, Governance Failure and the Proliferation of Kidnapping in Nigeria. Journal of Management and Social Sciences. 2024; 13(2); 126-140

[35] Aliyu MM. Challenges to investigation and prosecution of corruption cases in Nigeria. AFJCLJ. 2022; 7: 24.

[36] Olorunsuwa EO, Aleyomi MB. (2024). Non-State Responses to Kidnapping in Nigeria. In The Political Economy of Kidnapping and Insecurity in Nigeria: Beyond News and Rumours. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland; 2024. p. 285-298.

[37] Edobor J. Anti-Kidnapping Legislations in Nigeria: A Comparative Approach. Lesotho Law Journal. 2022; 27(1): 49-80.

[38] Yates C, Leutert, S. A gender perspective of migrant kidnapping in Mexico. Victims & Offenders. 2020; 15(3): 295-312.

[39] Pires S, Guerette R. Ransom Kidnapping. In: Mangai Natarajan, ed. International and Transnational Crime and Justice. Cambridge University Press; 2019. p. 92.

[40] Welsh B. Taking Civilians: Terrorist Kidnapping in Civil War. International Studies Quarterly. 2024; 68(2); sqae074.

[41] Malik AA, Azeem W, Asad M. The Child Kidnapping and Abuse by Gang-criminals and the Legitimate Custody of Minor to Parents After Rescue and use of Geofencing to Arrest the Absconding Criminals. International Journal for Electronic Crime Investigation. 2022; 6(3): 7-14.

[42] Monroy MLV. Gendered politics of living with forced disappearance in Mexico. University of Bath; 2023.\

[43] Haughton SA, Lewis CS. Colombia-Venezuela border: Securitisation of migration and Venezuela's political crisis. OASIS: Observatorio de Análisis de los Sistemas Internacionales. 2024; (40): 129-158.

[44] Beittel JS. Mexico: Organized crime and drug trafficking organizations. Congressional Research Service. 2015; 3.

[45] Natang N, Stanton JA. A strategic logic of attacking aid workers: Evidence from violence in Afghanistan. International Studies Quarterly. 2017; 61(1): 38-51.

[46] Weinbaum MG. Insurgency and violent extremism in Pakistan. In Countering Insurgencies and Violent Extremism in South and South East Asia. Routledge; 2019. p. 242-260.