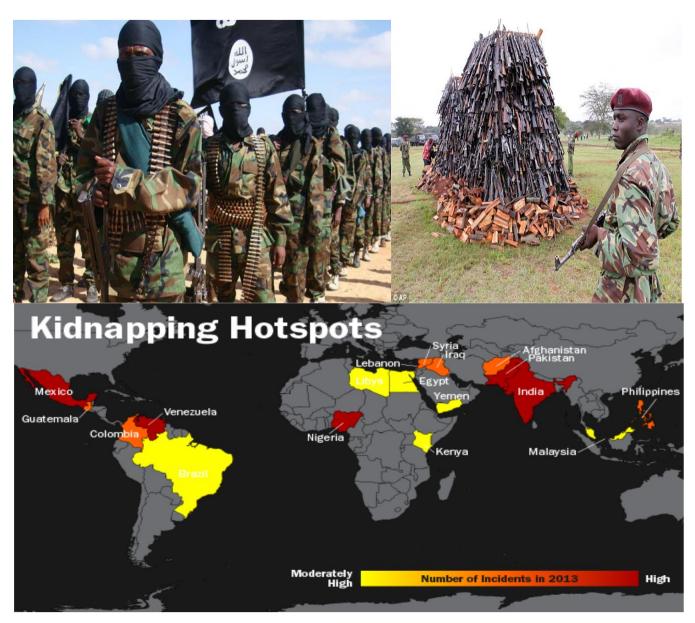
NATIONAL CRIME RESEARCH CENTRE





EMERGING CRIMES: THE CASE OF KIDNAPPINGS IN KENYA



NATIONAL CRIME RESEARCH CENTRE



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FOREWORD

Crime and crime prevention is at the core of a nation's security with immediate far reaching implications for the public. More so, serious and organized crimes can have devastating effects on families, communities and society as a whole. Hence, provision and maintenance of public safety and security is one of the leading functions of a public service and successful performance in this role requires a concerted strategic approach. This resolve is in line with H.E. the President's statement on 20th October, 2013 where he said "Security is a shared mandate of all persons living in Kenya. The first test of security is vigilance ..." Security in this perspective is defined in Sec.238 (1) of the Constitution as the "the protection against internal and external threats to a nations' territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity".

The crime of kidnapping is characterized by traumatic experiences of victims, family and community. As one of the emerging crimes in Kenya, its victims are subjected to horrifying experiences such as being snatched at knife point, gun point, bound, gagged, blindfolded, bundled into a car, tied down, roughfully driven around, held prisoner for days in appalling circumstances and outrageous ransom demands that makes it a horrific crime. Surviving victims are traumatized by the horrendous ordeal that they endure at the hands of kidnappers, families are similarly in shock during and after the nightmare, the state deploys massive resources to conduct rescue operations and the entire society lives scared of the possibility of kidnapping. There are many others who are not lucky to overcome these odds to survive.

As a country, kidnapping is becoming pervasive and its many negative effects on Kenya's social and economic fabric can be felt at different tiers of public life. The ripple effects of kidnappings is undermining peaceful co-existence of communities, scaring investment opportunities by both Kenyans and foreign investors leading to Kenya's classification by international institutions in the category of countries with high threats of kidnappings. Therefore, understanding and defining this crime as a national threat is urgent so as to ensure that agencies in administration of criminal justice prioritize means and ways of tackling it.

In addressing this theme, the study limited itself to the: prevalence of the crime of kidnapping by type; main motives and factors encouraging kidnappings; main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings; modes used in executing kidnappings; effects of the crime of kidnapping; role of the community in kidnappings; existing interventions and their effectiveness; and the challenges encountered in prevention and combat of kidnappings and their possible solutions. In this study, useful information was obtained from sampled members of public in 20 counties in Kenya and key informants drawn from security and non-security state and non-state actors, victims and convicted kidnappers.

I acknowledge that a lot of work has been done in crime prevention and many measures put in place to enhance public safety and security through policing, law enforcement and administration of criminal justice. However, the scope and depth of the appreciation of this crime of kidnapping among key players in general and citizens in particular is still no match to the problem at hand. I therefore call upon all relevant government agencies and development partners with the dimension of crime and security in their mandates to join efforts in addressing the problem of kidnappings in Kenya.

Lastly, I wish to thank: all state and non-state agencies that supported the study; NCRC Governing Council members and management who guided the finalization of the report.

PROF. GITHU MUIGAI, EGH, SC. ATTORNEY GENERAL/CHAIRMAN **GOVERNING COUNCIL**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The global criminal phenomenon of kidnapping is a threat to peace and security. In Kenya, kidnapping has evolved from constituting a means of punishment used by warring gangsters, tribes, families in feuds or other groups to forming an actual professional end in itself. The kidnappers now target civilians chosen on account of their perceived wealth. Therefore, this study addresses the current trends, root causes, effects, and solutions to the kidnapping problem.

The success of this study is attributed to the generous support received from a number of individuals and organizations. The agencies include the government for allocating funds for research and various duty bearer agencies for participating in interviews.

The Centre would like to acknowledge members of the Governing Council and the Research and Development Committee for their strategic leadership and professional guidance in the implementation of the study on kidnapping as a critical theme in formulating sound policies and intervention programmes in crime control and management.

The Centre also appreciates members of the public (including victims of kidnappings and convicted kidnappers) for their co-operation and participation in interviews which enabled the researchers to collect the required information on the subject.

Last, but not least, NCRC is grateful to Prof. Peter M. Lewa and Dr. Douglas Lucas Kivoi who peer-reviewed the report as well as various stakeholders for their inputs. Their professional comments helped to enrich the final report.

GERARD E. WANDERA DIRECTOR/CEO

NATIONAL CRIME RESEARCH CENTRE

EXPLANATORY NOTES TO TERMS USED IN THE STUDY

Challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings

These were the hindrances/obstacles in the effort to address the crime of kidnapping in the country.

Effects of the crime of kidnapping

These were the negative consequences or repercussions of kidnappings such as fear among victims and other community members, disruption of social peace, post traumatic stress and depression, loss of funds through ransom and reduction of economic investment.

Intervention strategies in addressing kidnappings

These referred to the systematic plans of action consciously adapted by different stakeholders with the aim of preventing and/or addressing kidnappings in the country. The interventions included tracing and rescue of victims, arrest of suspected kidnappers, charging suspected kidnappers in court, prosecution of suspected kidnappers, trial and sentencing of kidnappers and detection and investigation of kidnapping cases.

Kidnappers

These are persons who engage in the criminal activity of kidnapping.

Kidnapping and Abduction

The terms 'kidnapping' and 'abduction' have sometimes been used interchangeably by different people. In this study, kidnapping means the crime of unlawfully seizing and carrying away a person by force or fraud, or seizing and detaining a person against his or her will with intent to carry that person away at a later time.

According to Kenya's Penal Code, any person who conveys any person beyond the limits of Kenya without the consent of that person, or of some person legally authorized to consent on behalf of that person is said to kidnap that person from Kenya. Further, any person who takes or entices any minor under fourteen years of age if a male, or under sixteen years of age if a female, or any person of unsound mind, out of the keeping of a lawful guardian of the minor or person of unsound mind, without the consent of the guardian, is said to kidnap the minor or person from lawful guardianship (Kenya Law Reform Commission (KLRC), 2009).

According to Kenya's Penal Code, any person who by force compels, or by any deceitful means induces, any person to go from any place is said to abduct that person (KLRC, 2009).

Motives and factors encouraging kidnappings

The motives referred to the purpose for kidnapping while the factors referred to any deficiency, behavior or omission on the part of individuals or institutions that was partly responsible for the occurrence of kidnappings.

Prevalence of the crime of kidnapping

It is the proportion of occurrences of kidnappings. It is obtained by comparing the number of sample respondents who reported the occurrence of kidnappings with the total number of sample respondents and expressed as a percentage of the total sample respondents.

Role of the Government and community in kidnappings

This referred to the positive or negative function played by government agencies and the community in the problem of kidnappings in the country.

Treatment, conditions and coping mechanisms of victims of kidnappings

Treatment and conditions referred to the experiences of victims in the hands of kidnappers. Coping mechanisms were the ways the victims were able to manage, adapt to or act upon the external or internal stress occasioned by the experience of the kidnapping ordeal. These included physical abuse, sexual abuse, being killed, mental/psychological abuse, confinement and isolation, poor feeding and being drugged.

Types of kidnappings

These refer to the various forms of kidnappings executed such as:

i. Acquaintance kidnapping

In this type of kidnapping, a person is kidnapped by another person acquainted to him/her.

ii. Express kidnapping

This is when a passenger in a taxi cab is kidnapped by the driver of that cab. It also occurs when the victims are taken, usually at gunpoint, to withdraw as much money as possible from Automated Teller Machines (US Department of State, 2010). The kidnap is also known as millionaire tour kidnapping.

iii. Extraordinary rendition

This is also called government sponsored abduction. It involves extrajudicial transfer of a person from one country to another. In a narrower sense, it could mean transfer of a person from one location to another (Murray, 2011).

iv. Fake Kidnapping

This involves the purported victim staging his/her kidnap. There have been a few cases in Kenya involving family members (Mukubwa, 2013; Robles, 2016).

v. Family kidnapping

This is kidnapping committed by a family member for reasons such as forcing a spouse to return home following separation arising from a marriage dispute (Finkelhor, Hammer and Sedlak, 2002).

vi. Forced disappearance

This happens when a person is secretly abducted or imprisoned by a State or political organization. It also involves non-disclosure of the person's whereabouts (Amnesty International, 2016).

vii. Groom/Bride kidnapping

This is also called romantic kidnapping. It occurs when some male kidnappers kidnap and/or abduct their romantic partners for love and sexual gratification. Other people kidnap and/or abduct in order to marry their victims as is the case in some pastoralist communities and those which practice early and forced marriages. Here eligible bachelors or brides are abducted to be forced into marriage. This is common in Pakistan and India but also in Kenya among the Turkana, Pokot and Masai (Yusufzai, 2010; Essien and Ben, 2013; The Kenyan Daily Post, 2013).

viii. Inside kidnapping

It occurs when a domestic employee is paid money in order to give out keys and/or information of his/her employer to help kidnappers take his/her employer's children for ransom (US Department of State, 2010).

ix. Political kidnapping

This is done to obtain political concessions from security forces or government (Alani, 2004).

x. Stereotypical kidnappings

This is used to refer to abductions perpetrated by a stranger or slight acquaintance and may involve a child who is transported more than 50 miles and detained overnight, held for ransom or with the intent to keep the child permanently, or killed (Finkelhor, Hammer and Sedlak, 2002).

xi. Stranger kidnapping

This is kidnapping committed by a person completely not known to the victim.

xii. Tiger kidnapping

A person is abducted and the captors demand that a crime be committed on their behalf otherwise, if not they will hurt or kill the abducted person. It is also known as Tiger robbery (Campbell, 2008).

xiii. Virtual kidnapping

This occurs when a kidnapper gets contact and personal information on minors and then he/she calls the parents for ransoms without the child actually being taken (Dudley, 2011).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The rising incidents of the crime of kidnapping in Kenya have raised serious security concerns among citizens in general and security agents in particular. This gave impetus to the National Crime Research Centre to study the different aspects of this crime. Specific emphasis was put on the: prevalence of the crime of kidnap by type; main motives and factors encouraging kidnappings; main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings; modes used in executing kidnappings; effects of the crime of kidnap; role of the community in kidnappings; existing interventions and their effectiveness in addressing kidnappings; and the challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings and their possible solutions.

The study was anchored on the Differential Opportunity, Social Control and Rational Choice theories which explain the crime of kidnapping in the context of socio-economic and political dynamics in the country.

This study was descriptive in nature and was carried out in 20 randomly selected counties namely; Nairobi, Nyeri, Murang'a, Kirinyaga, Mandera, Wajir, Bungoma, Kisii, Siaya, Machakos, Embu, Meru, Nakuru, Migori, Laikipia, Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana, Kwale and Lamu. These counties were an arbitrary 50% of the counties in Nairobi, Central, Coast, North Eastern, Western, Nyanza, Eastern and Rift Valley regions of Kenya that had experienced incidents of kidnappings. Specific sites for the study were selected purposively after visits to respective County Commissioners who assisted in identifying areas that had experienced incidents of kidnappings in their jurisdictions. Sample respondents were members of public and were selected on the basis of their availability and willingness to respond. Key Informants were selected purposively. Availability sampling of victims and kidnappers was undertaken. Snow ball sampling was also used to draw and identify victims and kidnappers.

The study utilized: an interview schedule with both open and closed ended questions administered in a face-to-face interaction to collect quantitative information on general knowledge, perceptions, opinions and experiences from sample respondents; a key informant interview guide to collect qualitative information from select individuals of particular organizations believed to hold pertinent and technical information about kidnappings in Kenya; and a case study interview guide to collect qualitative information on personal experiences from victims and kidnappers and institutional experiences from some of the organizations addressing kidnappings.

Sample respondents numbered 1326 members of public who were 54.8% males and 45.2% females. Qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis were utilized. Quantitative data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences and the information was presented in frequency and percentage tables and figures. Qualitative data was analyzed by way of interpretation of responses obtained from key informants, victims, kidnappers and reporters from the institutions addressing kidnappings. All information from the analyzed data was presented thematically based on study objectives.

Key Findings

Prevalence of the crime of kidnapping by type

The crime of kidnapping is a major security problem in Kenya and in all the counties. The most prevalent types of kidnappings were: kidnapping committed by a stranger; kidnapping committed by an acquaintance; being kidnapped and forced to withdraw money from an Automated Teller Machine; inside kidnapping and kidnapping committed by a family member. Kidnapping committed by a stranger was more prevalent in Murang'a County followed by Kirinyaga and Migori. Kidnapping committed by an acquaintance was more prevalent in Kirinyaga followed by Murang'a and Nyeri. Being kidnapped and forced to withdraw money from an ATM was more prevalent in Nyeri County followed by Nairobi and Murang'a. Nairobi County was leading in inside kidnapping followed by Nyeri and Nakuru. Kidnapping committed by a family member was more prevalent in Nyeri, Kirinyaga and Nairobi. Virtual kidnapping was more prevalent in Nairobi, Nyeri and Kirinyaga.

Motives and factors encouraging kidnappings

Revenge was the major socio-cultural motive for kidnappings, ransom payment was the major economic motive while overcoming and/or reducing political rivalry was the major political motive for kidnapping. The factors encouraging kidnappings in Kenya included unemployment especially among the youth, high incidence of poverty, existence of gangs and militia, retrogressive cultural practices, instability and conflicts in some regions, inefficiency and/or corruption among some members of the security system, political competition and rivalry, marginalization of some areas, proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons and competition for control of resources.

Main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings

Victims of kidnappings are majorly: Kenyan nationals; children and juveniles aged below 18 years; females; members of wealthy families; business persons; government officers; and tourists.

Kidnappers are mainly: Kenyan nationals; youth aged 18-35 years; males; not averagely stable economically; strangers; friends and acquaintances; criminal gangs and militia; romantic partners; and family members and relatives.

Modes of executing kidnappings

Kidnappings are mainly executed: by groups of kidnappers; using illegal arms and weapons against victims to a large extent; by use of force to get their victims; and by enticing and luring the victims. Victims are mostly kidnapped when going home, when on duty or in their business premises and when closing their businesses.

Effects of the crime of kidnapping

Victims of kidnappings during kidnapping episodes encounter varied negative treatments and conditions such as physical abuse, sexual abuse, being killed, mental/psychological abuse, confinement and isolation, poor feeding and being drugged.

Effects of the crime of kidnapping include: cause of fear among victims and other community members, disruption of social peace, post traumatic stress and depression, loss of funds through ransom payment, reduction of economic investment, closure of businesses, reduction of business profits, commission of other crimes, disruption of educational programs and unnecessary increased cost of providing security.

Role of the community in kidnappings

The community has participated in the increasing cases of kidnappings in Kenya in many ways. These include: inadequate collaboration with security organs, lack of community cohesion and don't care attitude, poor upbringing/socialization of children, engaging in retrogressive cultural practices, apathy of community members towards crime and inadequate sensitization of children on kidnappings. The best way the community could participate in addressing kidnappings would be by: fully embracing and increasing participation in Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives, increased sensitization and awareness creation on kidnapping issues, increased community collaboration with security agencies and establishment of a hotline for reporting kidnapping cases.

Existing interventions and their effectiveness in addressing kidnappings

The main organizations that are attempting to address kidnappings in Kenya are the: National Police Service, Judiciary, Kenya Prisons Service, Children Department, Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Coordination of National Government, NGOs, Faith based Organization, Probation and Aftercare Service, Immigration Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mobile Service Providers.

There are existing interventions to address kidnappings in Kenya. These include: tracing and rescue of victims, arrest of suspected kidnappers, charging suspected kidnappers in court, prosecution of suspected kidnappers, trial and sentencing of kidnappers, detection and investigation of kidnapping cases, punishment of kidnappers and repatriation of victims of kidnapping to their families. However, most respondents expressed that these interventions were not effective in addressing kidnappings in Kenya and that the government was not doing enough to address the crime in the country.

Challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings and possible solutions

A number of challenges hinder the efforts in preventing and combating kidnappings. These include: inadequate resources within the security agencies involved in fighting the crime, corruption in the society, community reluctance to volunteer information, inadequate awareness and sensitization on kidnappings, inadequate cooperation among stakeholders, high levels of youth unemployment, use of modern technology by kidnappers and poor transport infrastructure and communication in some parts of the country. The suggested possible solutions to these challenges are: provision of adequate resources to public security agencies, enhanced sensitization and awareness creation, eradication of corruption, creation of employment opportunities, enhanced collaboration among stakeholders, instituting stiff penalties to kidnappers and embracing Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives.

Key Recommendations

The study makes the following key policy recommendations:

- i. The National and County Governments and their non-state collaborators need to increase opportunities for job creation and other meaningful economic activities for youths' engagement in particular and the general public good.
- ii. The National Intelligence Service and the National Police Service should improve their intelligence gathering and sharing, detection and investigative capacities with regard to the crime of kidnapping.
- iii. The National Government should map criminal gangs and militia-prone rural, urban and trans-border areas and consider recruitment and deployment of adequate security personnel to these areas.
- iv. There is need for strengthening of the Child Protection Unit within the National Police Service to focus on detection and prevention of crime against vulnerable children. The Tourist and Diplomatic Police Units should also be adequately facilitated for effective protection of vulnerable tourists and diplomats.
- v. Motivation of security officers through improved terms and conditions of employment should be prioritized by the Government.
- vi. The national government needs to ensure continuous training of all public security agents (irrespective of areas of deployment) on crime intelligence and the modus operandi of modern organized criminal gangs.
- vii. All public security agencies should be properly equipped with modern equipment and technology such as modern firearms, armored vehicles, use of Geographical Positioning System (GPS) and forensic laboratories in crime management, explosives detectors and closed circuit television (CCTV).
- viii. Vetting of public security officers by relevant agencies such as the Public Service Commission, Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, National Intelligence Service and the National Police Service Commission to remove from the security agencies of the corrupt officers is recommended.
 - ix. There is an ardent need to create a database of ex-public and private security officers and to undertake monitoring of their activities by the National Intelligence Service, Directorate of Criminal Investigations and Kenya Private Security Association in case some may be tempted to get into crime after exiting service.
 - x. Relevant agencies in the administration of criminal justice in partnership with nonstate actors need to undertake serious community awareness creation and sensitization through public forums and media platforms such as the radio, television and newspapers on the various aspects of the crime of kidnapping and the possible prevention mechanisms. Targeted awareness creation and sensitization specifically, among the vulnerable groups such as children, women, members of wealthy families, businesspersons, government officers and tourists on security precautions is necessary.
 - xi. Individual and institutional employers should subject their respective workers to compulsory vetting, verification of identification documents and clearance by the National Intelligence Service and National Police Service.

- xii. The Communication Authority of Kenya together with all mobile phone service providers should work closely and ensure 100% compliance on registration of all mobile phone SIM cards so as to facilitate easy detection, apprehension and prosecution of kidnappers and their accomplices.
- xiii. Appropriate interventions need to be initiated by the criminal justice system agencies and the Kenya Private Sector Alliance to boost the confidence of members of the community (the public) in the security agents in order foster close working relationship in the fight against kidnappings. The Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing initiatives need to be fully embraced as a means of fostering the close working relationship between the parties.
- xiv. The Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions should ensure water-tight prosecution of kidnapping cases. The Judiciary on its part needs to mete out stiff penalties to kidnapping perpetrators to discourage them and other potential ones from participating in the crime.
- xv. It is incumbent upon the national and county governments to improve the transport and communication infrastructure in all parts of the country and especially in the areas with poor access. This will greatly facilitate movement and security operations in such areas in the combat and prevention of the crime of kidnapping.
- xvi. Witnesses, informants and whistle blowers involved in cases of kidnappings should be protected under the Witness Protection Agency's protection frameworks. This will encourage people who are privy to the activities to kidnappers with vital information to come forth and provide intelligence leads.
- xvii. The fight against corruption should be heightened by relevant agencies under the leadership of top government leadership and guidance of the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission.
- xviii. The proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons (SALWs) needs to be curtailed by relevant stakeholders under the leadership of the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons as a step towards addressing kidnappings and other serious crimes in the country which involve the use of illegal arms and weapons.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFP Associated Free Press

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

CAP Chapter

FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation
HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus
KLRC Kenya Law Reform Commission

IRIN Integrated Regional Information Networks

MRC Mombasa Republican Council
MSF Médecins Sans Frontières

NCRC National Crime Research Centre
NGOs Non-Governmental Organizations
ONLF Ogaden National Liberation Front
SALWs Small Arms and Light Weapons

SIM Subscriber Identity Module

UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

U.S United States

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION 1.1 Background of the Study

1.1.1General context of kidnappings

The dynamic world of our society today is increasingly witnessing an emergence of new crime types, very sophisticated crimes commission and trends. The cumulative effects of these emerging crimes and their trends no longer allow the concentration of law and order enforcement agencies on the 'traditional' types of crimes such as general stealing, assault, theft by servant and handling of stolen property. The agencies now have to deal with new and sophisticated crimes such as terrorism, money laundering, counterfeiting, tax evasion, drug trafficking, human trafficking, maritime piracy, cybercrime, carjacking and kidnapping which are now becoming prevalent in our society with highly urbanized centres bearing the highest toll.

The crime of kidnapping has been identified as one of the most dangerous emerging crimes fastly establishing itself around the world today. In the past few decades, it has become a major concern in both the developed and developing countries (see Figure 1 below). Kidnapping is also of great interest to most states because of the nature of its execution which many a times involves use of excessive violence and weapons and resulting in the deaths of the victims (Alexander and Klein (2009).

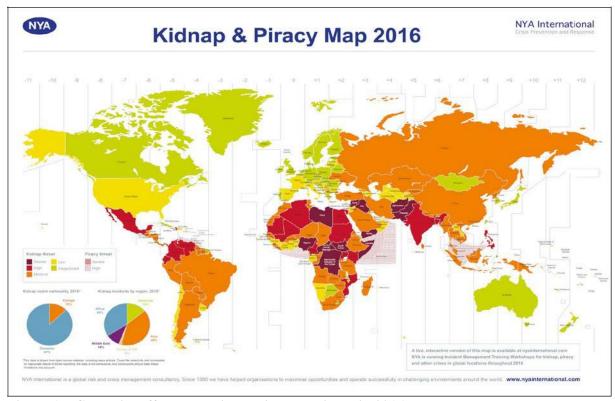


Figure 1 – Countries affected by kidnapping and piracy in 2016

In the 1960s and 1970s, political kidnappings of senior diplomats were common. With the rise of the Asychromatic Transfer Mode of Technology, kidnappings in major urban areas where there are Automatic Teller Machines (ATMs) have been witnessed. This crime also tends to increase depending on economic status. When economies are performing poorly and there is economic downturn, the crime of kidnapping increases in urban areas (Roberts, 2017).

Kidnappings in many parts of the world have been classified into two main types: *family abductions* and *non-family abductions*. Family abduction involves the taking or keeping of a child by a family member in violation of a custody order, decree, or other legitimate custodial rights, where the taking or keeping involves some element of concealment, flight, or intent to deprive a lawful custodian indefinitely of custodial privileges (Hammer, Finkelhor and Sedlak, 2002).

The statutes of the American Criminal Justice System recognize different types and levels of kidnapping. New York State bases its definition of first-degree kidnapping on the purpose and length of the abduction. First-degree kidnapping occurs when a person abducts another person to obtain ransom. It also occurs when the abduction lasts for more than twelve hours and the abductor intends to injure the victim; to accomplish or advance the commission of a felony; to terrorize the victim or a third person; or to interfere with a governmental or political function. An abduction that results in death is also a first-degree kidnapping. A person is guilty of a second-degree kidnapping if he or she abducts another person (Kaplan and Weisberg, 1991). The American Criminal Justice system identifies three main types of kidnappers: family kidnappers, acquaintance kidnappers and stranger kidnappers. Family kidnappings are the highest, followed by acquaintance kidnappings and finally, stranger kidnappings (Finkelhor, Hammer and Sedlak, 2002; Hammer, Finkelhor and Sedlak, 2002).

Kidnappings have been orchestrated by diverse parties. Kidnappers have been strangers, acquaintances, romantic partners and, in the recent years, parents who are involved in acrimonious child custody disputes (Essien and Ben, 2013).

Kidnapping is a socio-economic issue in society. Victims of kidnapping are drawn from different segments of the population. Studies have shown that children and juveniles are the main victims of kidnappings in many countries (Hammer, Finkelhor and Sedlak, 2002). However, business persons, politicians, public workers (such as policemen and provincial administrators), private sector workers and civil society officials (Non-governmental Organizations; workers and Faith-based Organizations' officials such as religious leaders), ordinary citizens, foreign diplomatic personnel and expatriates and tourists have also fallen victim to kidnappers (Brittingham, 2001; Child, 2002; Lee, 2004; Bornemann, 2007; Kurzman, 2007; Correa, 2010; Karanja, 2013; Pflanz, 2013).

Factors encouraging kidnappings are diverse. Essien and Ben (2013) argue that, over centuries, the causal factors of kidnapping have developed from economic to social, political, religious and psychological. These factors include high incidence of poverty, absence of

infrastructures and deprivations of the locals. Okengwu (2011) argues that the factors encouraging kidnapping include failure of the government to provide basic amenities, unemployment, the use of cults, gangs and militants by politicians in the electoral process and inefficient and corrupt security system.

There are 'expressive' (that is, an effort to voice and/or publicize a grievance or express a frustrated emotion) and 'instrumental' (that is, to obtain a particular outcome such as ransom) motives which fuel the crime of kidnapping. A kidnapping may have more than one motive particularly when the event is terrorist-inspired. Material motives (such as ransom) may be conveniently masked by alleged religious, political and moral ones. Ransoms may also be used to fund political and religious activities. Also, some insurgency groups sell hostages to other groups for their own purposes (Alexander and Klein, 2009). In other instances, kidnapping is a means of revenge either to the victims themselves, the victims' relatives or to institutions deemed unfair to the kidnappers (Tharoor, 2013). Other factors contributing to kidnappings include instability and conflicts and political rivalry (AFP, 2013; Essien and Ben, 2013; Australian Government, February 11, 2014; U.S Department of State, 2014).

The crime of kidnapping affects society in a number of ways. Kidnapping is a major kind of violent crime and can have destabilizing effects on the socio-economic and political existence of the society. This type of crime can cause disruption of social peace. For instance, kidnapping victims, their families and other locals in kidnapping-prone areas such as Central and North Eastern Kenya live under fear because some individual kidnappers and kidnap gangs use excessive violence on their victims to achieve their aims. A victim once reported that his kidnapping was "a really nasty experience". He added that everybody in the kidnap group had a firearm and that they were pointing a gun at his head and back (Hutchinson, 2009; Karanja, 2013). According to Carey (2009), about two-thirds of children who are kidnapped or abused suffer lingering mental problems such as post-traumatic stress and depression. A kidnap victim will many a times have passive aggressive behaviours, narcissistic compulsive behaviours, a lack of trust and security and difficulties with interpersonal relationships (Madigan, 2003). Misery and stress in families increases when one of their own is killed in kidnapping ordeals or when demanded ransoms cannot be raised (Hutchinson, 2009).

A number of kidnappings have led to commission of other crimes. One of the main motives for kidnapping is payment of ransom. Some victims and their families have been extorted money by the kidnappers as ransom payment. Williams (2001) argues that the kidnapping and ransom demand from victims such as wealthy businessmen and tourists have dramatically increased in the recent years throughout the world. The increasing incidents of killings of victims by kidnappers equally continue to worry many governments (Australian Government, February 11, 2014). Other crimes resulting from kidnapping include: illegal possession of firearms and weapons, human trafficking and drug smuggling (Rotella, 1993; Hutchinson, 2009; Williams, 2009).

Kidnappings can substantially affect the economy of a country. Firms that face a high risk of kidnappings of their staff reduce investment in the kidnap-prone areas or countries or altogether relocate their businesses. Some investors may incur unwarranted high costs of providing security for themselves and that of their businesses which in turn negatively affects business profits. When entrepreneurs are kidnapped and eventually killed, it can lead to closure of their businesses, dis-engaging of workers leading to reduced employment opportunities among the youth. High unemployment easily promotes violent crimes (Pshisva and Suarez, 2006).

The crime of kidnapping poses a huge threat to the sustainability of democratic governance in a country. For instance, when the crime rate becomes no longer bearable, the Government could declare curfews (IRIN, 2010), thereby putting the democratic governance in the affected areas in jeopardy.

Governments around the world have put in place various strategies and systems to address the crime of kidnapping. These include deploying security personnel and equipment (such as high tech communication gadgets and military artillery) to gather intelligence, patrol border points and crack down on individual and organized kidnappers' networks (Mukinda, 2014; Nation Team, 2014). In some instances, authorities have used the techniques of negotiation and conflict resolution in recognition of the risks that an armed response creates for hostages. From a psychological point of view, negotiation 'buys time' to enable hostages, perpetrators and the authorities to 'cool down'; the authorities to clarify the motives of the perpetrator(s); the authorities to gather intelligence; and the authorities to formulate a rescue strategy should negotiation fail (Alexander and Klein, 2009).

There are a number of challenges facing the fight against the crime of kidnapping. Instability and conflicts in some countries has made it difficult for government security agencies to pursue especially cross-border kidnappers. Corruption among the ranks of security agencies, some who collude with kidnappers and/or even commit the crime themselves complicates the war on kidnapping (Gettleman, 2013; Rono, 2014).

1.1.2 Global trends in kidnappings

Kidnapping is a global phenomenon (see Figure 2). In the 1990s and part of 2000, tourists and business people especially in Latin America and the Pacific countries bore the brunt of kidnappings. By this time, dissident groups had become more active and more established and so they began to use kidnappings of tourists and business people to support and fund their activities through ransom payments. In Mexico, Venezuela, Peru and Brazil, urban kidnappings became common place during that time (Bornemann, 2007; Bottomley, 2014; Roberts, 2017).

Kidnappings increased during the 1990s leading to some cities and countries being branded as the "Kidnapping Capital of the World". Colombia became the country with the highest absolute number of kidnappings and the highest kidnapping rate in the world and it was 'crowned' with the title of "Kidnapping Capital of the World" in 2001. The title belonged to Mexico in 2004 and to Iraq in 2007 which had an estimated 1,500 foreigners kidnapped. As 4

of 2003, Colombia had roughly 4,000 kidnappings per year, Mexico had 3,000 kidnappings per year and Argentina had 2,000 per year. In 2013, Mexico's National Institute of Statistics reported 1,695 kidnappings, a 20 percent increase over 2012. But experts estimate more than 90 percent of kidnappings in Mexico go unreported.

In USA, the problem of kidnapping has been in the form of family and non-family abductions. Non-family abduction is subdivided into "stereotypical kidnappings" which fit the public stereotype of the crime, and legal definition abductions, which are generally short-term forced movement or detention of children to facilitate another crime such as robbery or sexual assault. In the U.S, in 1999, there were an estimated 115 "stereotypical kidnappings" defined as abductions perpetrated by a stranger or slight acquaintance and involving a child who was transported more than 50 miles and detained overnight, held for ransom or with the intent to keep the child permanently, or killed (Finkelhor, Hammer and Sedlak, 2002).

In 1999, there were an estimated 203,900 child victims of family abductions in USA, of which 43% were not considered missing by their caretaker because they knew their child's whereabouts or were not concerned by the circumstances. During the same period, there were an estimated 58,200 child victims of non-family abductions defined more broadly to include all non-family perpetrators (including friends and acquaintances, strangers and criminal gangs involving lesser amounts of forced movement or detention including the more serious crimes of stereotypical kidnapping. In 2009, USA's Phoenix and Arizona states were reported to be America's kidnapping capitals after hundreds of ransom kidnappings occurred. Other major U.S cities that have been described as hotbeds for kidnappings are Chicago, New Orleans, Houston, Atlanta and Detroit (Castillo, 2014; Williams, 2009). According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and The U.S Department of Justice, about 400,000 kids are reported missing annually due to family kidnappings (Hammer, Finkelhor and Sedlak, 2002).

In Europe and Asia, a number of countries are equally grappling with the problem of kidnapping. These include: Venezuela, Bangladesh, Peru, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Lebanon, Afghanistan, India, Iraq (U.S Department of State, 2010), Taiwan (Yang, 2007), Malaysia, Syria, Pakistan, Yemen and the Indian Ocean especially near the Somali coast (Yusufzai, 2010) and North Korea (Yamamoto, 2011). In Venezuela, three different types of kidnappings have been experienced. One type of kidnapping is the "express kidnapping" that can occur at the airport. In this type, victims are taken, usually at gunpoint, to withdraw as much money as possible from Automated Teller Machines (ATMs). There is also the "virtual kidnapping" where scam surveys are used to get contact and personal information on minors. The "kidnapper" then calls the parents for ransoms without the child actually being taken. A third type of kidnapping is the "inside kidnapping", where domestic employees are paid large amounts of money for keys and information to help the kidnappers take children for ransom (US Department of State, 2010).

Perpetrators of kidnappings are diverse. In Mexico, it is feared the police is involved in the crime (Bornemann, 2007; Ochoa Hernandez, 2011). In Colombia, rival guerrilla and

paramilitary groups have consistently abducted civilians, including businessmen (Williams, 2001). Organized criminal and street gangs such as motivated militias and drug and human trafficking mafia have committed kidnappings in countries such as Iraq and Russia (Brittingham, 2001; Williams, 2009; Forest, 2012).

The conflict in Syria has resulted in the kidnapping of a significant number of foreign nationals, including media, humanitarian workers and other foreigners remaining in the country (Australian Government, February 11, 2014). In the U.S, the largest percentage (close to 80%) of kidnappings is sexually motivated (Finkelhor and Ormrod, 2000).

Countries such as Mexico have launched nationwide efforts to fight kidnapping by establishing national anti-kidnapping units and/or committees charged with establishing strategies such as raising awareness among citizens about how to react when faced with incidents of kidnappings. The units also establish strategies of dealing effectively and efficiently with the humanitarian emergency that the kidnapping crime entails (Castillo, 2014). However, challenges facing anti-kidnapping efforts in Mexico include poor training, sloppy procedures and excessive turnover of investigators (Castillo, 2014).

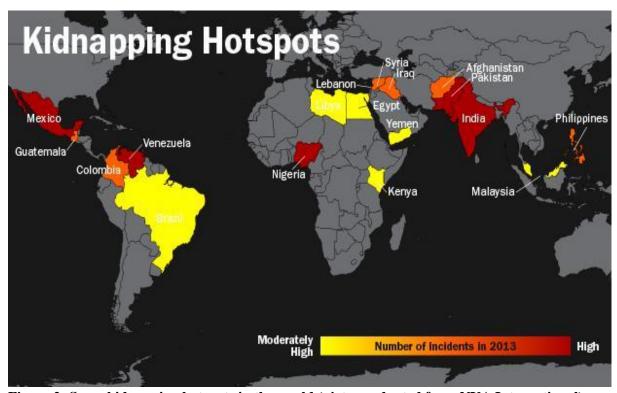


Figure 2- Some kidnapping hotspots in the world (picture adapted from NYA International)

1.1.3 Regional trends in kidnappings

African countries have also experienced the crime of kidnapping. According to Essien and Ben (2013), kidnapping is not new in human society but it is relatively a new entrant into the African Continent. They argue that it has emerged as the most lucrative form of violent crime in the oil rich states (such as the Akwa Ibom State) of Nigeria's Niger Delta region. For instance, kidnapping has been a threat to democratic governance in Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria for some time. Other African countries such as Sudan, Southern Sudan, South Africa,

Horn of Africa countries such as Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Ethiopia, Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Tunisia and Uganda have experienced incidents of kidnappings and abductions (Thamm, 2001; Weber, 2003; Onuoha, 2010; Australian Government, 2014).

According to Essien and Ben (2013), various forms of crime, including kidnapping have emerged as a consequence of high incidence of poverty, absence of infrastructures and deprivations of the locals and oil communities in Nigeria. In Nigeria, kidnappings are the most lucrative form of violent crime among youths in the oil rich states (such as the Akwa Ibom State) of Nigeria's Niger Delta region (Okengwu, 2011).

A number of factors appear to facilitate kidnappings in Africa. Reports indicate that the instability that led to the international intervention in Mali has increased the risk of kidnapping throughout North and West Africa. Malian-based militants and others located in Nigeria and Niger have carried out a number of kidnappings including in neighbouring countries such as Cameroon. Further kidnappings resulting from conflicts have been experienced in the North and West Africa region (Australian Government, February 11, 2014).

Political rivalry has also contributed to the kidnapping of politicians in some countries. For example, Libyan Prime Minister Ali Zeidan once accused a "political party" of organizing his brief abduction by gunmen (AFP, 2013). In Nigeria, kidnapping has been used as an instrument for political vendetta and settling of political scores. The operation is organized and targeted mainly at incumbent political leaders and or contractors working for government. This kind of kidnapping is usually aimed at soliciting heavy ransom payment with intent to advance political goals, self-settling of aggrieved groups or a way of financially crippling an aspiring politician (Essien and Ben, 2013).

1.1.4 Kidnappings in Kenya

The crime of kidnapping and its threat is both high and real in Kenya (see Figure 3). According to Mugwang'a (2013), the country has experienced an unprecedented wave of kidnappings and that kidnappers are on the prowl in virtually all parts of Kenya. Hutchinson (2009) estimated that there had been more than 200 kidnappings in Kenya between January and August, 2009. A number of cases of kidnappings in at least 36 counties have been highlighted in the major newspapers in the country. In emerging economies such as Kenya, urban kidnappings are expected to increase.

Kidnappings in Kenya have been orchestrated by a number of perpetrators. Security Officers for example some Kenyan Police Officers were recently accused of kidnapping Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) rebels (Rono, 2014). The Mungiki (an organized criminal gang) has been associated with kidnappings in Nairobi and Central Kenya (Hutchinson (2009). Terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab have kidnapped people in the North Eastern and Coastal regions of Kenya as an act of revenge attacks against the Kenyan government for her military campaign inside Somalia (U.S Department of State, 2014; Tharoor, 2013). The Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) and Somali pirates have carried out kidnappings in the

Coastal region (Gettleman, 2013). Students (especially university students) have also been accused of perpetrating kidnappings (Kipsang, 2014). A self-confessed serial killer Phillip Onyancha was accused of kidnapping and murdering a seven-year old child (Agoya, 2014).

Children have fallen victim to kidnappers in Kenya (Makana, 2013). For instance, the kidnappers of twin girls in Kenya demanded a Sh86 million (\$1M) ransom from the children's wealthy parents (Makana, 2013). An Australian member of a religious cult appeared in a Nairobi court on 27^{th} June, 2005 to answer the charge of abducting a young single mother of Kugeria Estate, Kiambu, on 17^{th} June, 2005 and who had visited his cult for a trial stay (Kadida, 2005; The Age, 2005). Other victims have been humanitarian workers and tourists who have been kidnapped by militants and held captive in Somalia (Australian Government, February 11, 2014).

Kidnapping has had far reaching consequences in the country. In the North Eastern region, a number of health programmes have been adversely affected due to the kidnapping incidents. Such programmes include: child immunization, propagation of the use of condoms for family planning, HIV/AIDS awareness and campaign against Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting. A Programme Manager with the Sisters for Maternity Health Organization Community Health Programme once reported that their budget had considerably increased (with that of security being enormous) due to kidnapping incidents forcing them to evaluate some of their projects in areas along the Kenya-Somali border. Some traders in Mandera County in Kenya claimed that a ban on public screenings of films and football matches, allegedly imposed by clerics with links to Al-Shabaab militants who had been committing kidnappings in the area, had cut off their business income (IRIN, 2010).

Kenya has put in place measures to address the crime of kidnapping. The National Police Service has formed a special unit to respond to incidents of kidnapping (Mugwang'a, 2013). Collaboration with international communities and security agencies has also been resourceful. For example in the Kenyan case of twin girls' kidnap, sources revealed that the help of Special Forces from Britain had been sought because the victims were thought to be British citizens (Michira and Gisesa, 2013). Deployment of the Kenya Army where need be has been instrumental in addressing kidnappings. For example, the Army rescued two Kenyans who had been taken hostage by the Al-Shabaab for three years (Karanja, 2014). Some counties such as Migori County have set up an assembly for children, the Migori Children Group meeting which brings together school children and gives them the opportunity to discuss, with their leaders, issues affecting them. According to the County Coordinator of Children Services, this forum highlights issues such as kidnapping, sodomy, defilement and bad peer pressure among others and how to deal with them (Odeny, 2013).

Enactment of relevant laws to deal with the crime of kidnapping is one of the strategies employed by the Government. In Kenya, kidnapping is mainly addressed through the Penal Code CAP 63 Laws of Kenya from Section 254 to 262. The law provides that any person who kidnaps any person from Kenya or from lawful guardianship is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for seven years (KLRC, 2009). A number of arrests and sentencing of

kidnappers have been successfully executed in Kenya. For example, Ali Babitu Kololo was convicted of the capital offence of armed robbery and the lesser charge of kidnap and sentenced to death after the killing of British tourist David Tebbutt and kidnapping of his wife Mrs. Judith Tebbutt in Lamu Island (Makana, 2013; Pflanz, 2013).

Negotiation and conflict resolution has been used to address kidnappings in the country. This strategy has been used by community elders, some Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and officials of the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government especially the Chiefs, in securing the release of kidnap victims from Somalia. For instance, a French NGO, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) successfully negotiated the release of two of its workers captured in the Ifo2 refugee camp of Dadaab, Kenya on the 13th of October 2011 by a group of armed rebels and held captive for 21 months (Catalan News Agency, 2013). The Government of Kenya has used curfews in some instances in certain areas such as Garissa and Mandera as one way of controlling the kidnap activities of Al-Shabaab militants (IRIN, 2010).

Controlling the crime of kidnapping in Kenya though has not been without challenges. For instance, it has been observed that the morale of security officers manning the North Eastern region is usually low and this affects their performance. The problems of effectively controlling the border are compounded by its vast length, rough terrain and lack of necessary crime management equipment and infrastructure (IRIN, 2010; Odero, 2013).

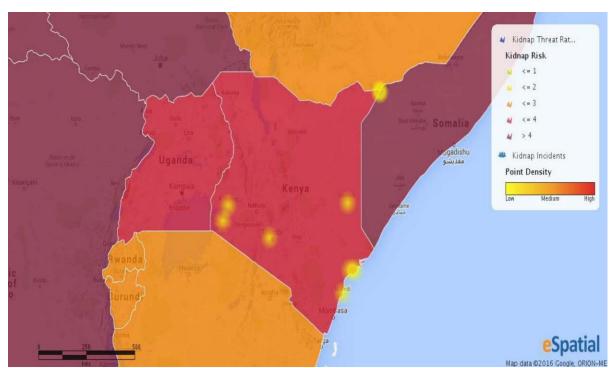


Figure 3 - Kidnapping threat risk in Kenya (picture adapted from NYA International)

1.2 Problem Statement

Hutchinson (2009) estimated that there had been more than 200 kidnappings incidences in Kenya between January and August, 2009. UNODC (2014) indicates that there were 1249 reported cases of kidnapping in Kenya between 2004 and 2014. The mass media has highlighted cases of kidnappings in more than three quarters of the counties in Kenya. These increasing cases and rate of crime of kidnap in Kenya are raising serious concerns among the citizens and security agencies in particular.

In Kenya, the prevalence of the different types of kidnappings has not been properly catalogued. However, there have been clear incidents of faked kidnappings in Kenya reported in some areas such as Karatina in Nyeri County and Gatundu in Kiambu County (Mukubwa, 2013; Munuhe, 2013; Njenga, 2013), but their extent is not known. In an economy such as Kenya which suffers, from among others, high levels of poverty in society, intense political competitions and surrounded by unstable neighbouring countries such as Somalia and South Sudan, incidents of kidnapping may continue to be with us and on the rise if proper mechanisms are not put in place.

Children (some as young as below 5 years), business persons, investors, tourists, humanitarian workers and government officials in Kenya have fallen victims to the crime of kidnapping. Many families have suffered greatly due to this heinous crime of kidnapping following the injury and/or loss of their loved ones and loss of family income as a result of paid out ransoms to the kidnappers. Although many could have fallen victims to kidnapping, the extent to which the different segments of the population are affected in Kenya is still not very clear.

The entry and increased sophisticated activities of Al-Shabaab terrorist group in North Eastern and Coastal region and Somalia pirates along the coastline borders of Kenya into the crime has further complicated the situation for Kenya. In fact, tourism industry has greatly suffered due to such kidnappings with a serious negative effect on the Kenyan economy and her national security.

Effective control of the crime of kidnapping therefore becomes a priority for the country and intelligent methods beyond the ordinary conventional means of crime deterrence must be urgently devised. It was against this background that the National Crime Research Centre set out to conduct an in-depth study of the different aspects of kidnapping occurrence in Kenya with a view to informing relevant and most effective interventions.

The study was therefore guided by the following specific questions:

- i. What is the prevalence of the crime of kidnapping in Kenya by type?
- ii. What are the main motives and factors encouraging kidnappings in Kenya?
- iii. Who are the main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings in Kenya?
- iv. What are the modes used in executing kidnappings?
- v. What are the effects of the crime of kidnapping in Kenya?

- vi. What is the role of the community in kidnappings?
- vii. Are there intervention strategies that have been used to address kidnappings in Kenya and how effective are they?
- viii. What are the major challenges faced in dealing with the crime of kidnapping in Kenya and how can the challenges be addressed?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of this study was to examine the dynamics of kidnappings as an emerging crime in Kenya with a view to informing prevention policy and strategies within the criminal justice system.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

- 1. To establish the prevalence of the crime of kidnapping by type.
- 2. To ascertain the motives and factors encouraging kidnappings.
- 3. To identify the main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings.
- 4. To establish the modes used in executing kidnappings.
- 5. To appraise the effects of the crime of kidnapping.
- 6. To assess the role of the community in kidnappings.
- 7. To identify existing interventions and their effectiveness in addressing kidnappings.
- 8. To identify the challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings and recommend possible solutions.

1.4 Justification of the study

This study sought to examine the crime of kidnapping in Kenya. Kidnapping is a serious and many a times a violent crime described as the vilest and foulest crime known to criminal law in many countries. The crime is known to have negative social, political, economic and developmental implications on the wellbeing and even the very peaceful existence of a society. Since Kenya has been witnessing increasing incidents of kidnappings in recent past, it calls for a more effective way to address this crime, hence the justification for the study.

The study on kidnappings is beneficial to agencies in the administration of criminal justice and other relevant stakeholders as far as policy planning and formulation and control strategies against the crime are concerned. This is also within the mandate of the National Crime Research Centre (NCRC) which is to carry out research into the causes of crime and its prevention in the country.

As an emerging crime phenomenon in Kenya which also has scanty literature, the study will add valuable information to available literature on the theme of kidnapping and also serve as a reference material to future researchers in fields such as criminal justice, sociology, criminology, political science and governance.

1.5 Assumptions of the Study

This study made the following assumptions.

- i. Respondents would be able share information and experiences on the subject of kidnappings despite the crime of kidnapping being traumatic and dreaded.
- ii. The crime of kidnapping in Kenya manifested itself in various types of kidnappings and occurred within and across national borders.
- iii. Institutional and individual, social, economic and political factors operated to encourage the crime of kidnapping and to hinder efforts aimed at preventing and combating it.
- iv. Kidnappers have different motives for carrying out the crime.
- v. There were strategies employed to address the crime of kidnapping in Kenya.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study was primarily concerned with the examination of the socio- economic, political and criminological perspective of the threat posed by kidnappings as an emerging crime in Kenya. Therefore, the core of this research was the subject of kidnappings in Kenya. Specifically, the study was confined to: the prevalence of the crime of kidnapping by type; the main motives and factors encouraging kidnappings; who the main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings are; the modes used in executing kidnappings; the effects of the crime of kidnapping; the role of the community in kidnappings; the interventions that have been used to address kidnappings in Kenya and their effectiveness; and the major challenges faced in dealing with the crime of kidnapping and how the challenges could be addressed..

Field data collection in this study was undertaken in 20 counties in Kenya. These counties were Nairobi, Nyeri, Murang'a, Kirinyaga, Lamu, Kwale, Mandera, Wajir, Bungoma, Migori, Kisii, Siaya, Machakos, Embu, Meru, Nakuru, Laikipia, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana. The counties were selected using simple random sampling of at least 50 percent of all the 36 counties that had experienced incidents of kidnappings in each of the Nairobi, Central, Coast, North Eastern, Western, Nyanza, Eastern and Rift Valley regions of Kenya (formerly, the eight provinces in Kenya). The justification for the selection of these counties was that there had been reports of occurrence of kidnappings in them. It was therefore largely assumed that respondents in these sites would have useful information on the crime of kidnapping.

1.7 Theoretical Framework of the Study

This study explained kidnappings in Kenya using the Differential Opportunity, Social Control and Rational Choice theories.

1.7.1 Differential Opportunity Theory

The Differential Opportunity Theory postulated by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin (1961) states that the structural positions of individuals must be viewed not only in terms of the strain of blocked legitimate opportunities but also in terms of illegitimate opportunities available to individuals in specific social settings. In other words, there is "differential opportunity" to reach cultural goals by legitimate means and there is also "differential"

opportunity" to use illegitimate means to reach those goals. According to the theory, the discrepancies between aspirations and legitimate chances of achievement are very high in lower class structure. The lack of access to legitimate means to reach cultural goals produces intense frustration among the lower class people. This frustration drives them to search for illegitimate means to reach their cultural desires or goals (Conklin, 1995).

The Differential Opportunity theory suggests that there are two kinds of opportunities which are differentially distributed. First, there are differences in access to "learning structures" which are the appropriate environments for the acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of a particular role. The process by which these values and skills are learned through the interaction with others is the focus of differential association theory. Second, there exists differences in access to what Cloward and Ohlin called "performance structures", that is the opportunity to join with others who share a similar problem of adjustment and the opportunity to gain peer approval for one's behaviour. This means that delinquents have two essentials: That is, learning certain values and skills and also support for the performance of delinquent behaviour once they have learned those values and skills. According to Cloward and Ohlin (1961), the social structure of a community determines the access that lower-class youth would have to both learning and performance structures. The type of crime committed depends on the specific criminal group one joins. For example, criminal sub-culture gangs are organized systematic operations with professional criminals. Conflict sub-culture gangs are oriented towards street violence and are often found in disorganized transient areas; retreatist sub-culture gangs are heavily involved in drug use (Adler, Muller and Laufer, 1991).

Differential Opportunity theory has an important contribution to the study of crime in Kenya in general and to kidnappings in particular. This is especially in the efforts to increase the understanding of the vice and enhancing the availability of legitimate opportunities to members of the lower classes in society such as the unemployed youths who sometimes are behind violent crimes such as kidnappings. To this end, enterprises and initiatives by the national government such as the Youth Enterprise Fund and the Uwezo Fund in Kenya are some of the ways of increasing available economic opportunities for the lower class people and unemployed youth who could be tempted to engage in kidnappings for ransom. Some kidnappings are conducted by ex-prisoners or inmates in prisons. Equipping youthful offenders with professional skills during their rehabilitation could assist them to earn a living with ease hence reduce the risks of the feeling of frustration and an attempt to go back into violent crime.

1.7.2 Social Control Theory

The Social Control theory of crime and delinquency was developed by Travis Hirschi in the 1950s. The theory focuses on techniques and strategies that regulate human behaviour and lead to conformity, or obedience to society's rules-the influences of family and school, religious beliefs, moral values, friends, and even beliefs about government. The more involved and committed a person is to conventional activities and values and the greater the

attachment to parents, loved ones, and friends, the less likely that person is to violate society's rules (Adler et al., 1991).

The Social Control theory has two popular perspectives: the macro sociological views of control and the micro sociological views of control. Macro sociological studies explore formal systems for the control of groups. These formal systems include the legal system, laws, and particularly law enforcement; powerful groups in society such as political parties; and social and economic directives of government or private groups. These types of control can be either positive - that is, inhibiting rule breaking behaviour by a type of social guidance or negative, that is, fostering oppressive, restrictive or corrupt practices by those in power (Conklin, 1995).

The micro sociological perspective focuses on informal control systems. According to Travis Hirschi (1969), there are four social bonds that promote socialization and conformity and operate to restrain an individual's impulse to break the law. Attachment is the first bond and includes attachment to parents, to school teachers and to peers. Youths who have formed a significant attachment to a parent refrain from delinquency because the consequences of such an act would likely be detrimental to their relationship. The bond of affection between a parent and child thus becomes a primary deterrent to criminal activities. Hirschi argued that there was a link between the inability to function well in school and delinquency. For example, academic incompetence leads to poor school performance which in turn results in a dislike of school which results to rejection of the teachers and administrators as authorities. The outcome is delinquent acts. Thus attachment to school depended on one's appreciation for the institution, one's perception of how teachers and peers received him or her and how well one did in class (Adler et al., 1991).

Commitment is the second social bond which involves motivation to perform socially approved activities. Travis Hirschi (1969) identified a number of stakes in conformity or commitments: vocational aspirations, educational expectations, and educational aspirations. The greater the aspiration and expectation, the more unlikely delinquency became (Conklin, 1995).

The third bond is involvement, or preoccupation with activities that promote the interests of the society. The bond is derived from involvement in school activities (such as homework and school games) rather than in working-class adult activities (such as smoking and drinking). Therefore, a person who is busy doing conventional things has little time for involvement in deviant activities (Adler et al., 1991).

Belief, which is the fourth social bond, consists of assent to the society's value systems. Essentially, the value system of any society entails respect for its laws and for the people and institutions that enforce them. The results of Hirschi's survey (**op cit**) led to the conclusion that if young people or adults no longer believed that the laws are fair, their bond to society weakened, and the probability that they would commit delinquent acts increased. Retrogressive cultural beliefs and practices such as the belief by Al-Shabaab militants that

they are fighting for their god by kidnapping people who do not proclaim the Al-Shabaab religious faith is a constraint in addressing kidnappings in Kenya (Conklin, 1995).

With regard to the control of kidnappings, the Criminal Justice System in Kenya has its own mechanisms of social control which are intended to help in reducing crime and delinquency in general. For example, there is the judiciary which is an arm of the national government and which consists of courts. The courts are supposed to enforce laws by imposing penalties to offenders such as kidnappers. There is also the National Police Service which is part of the national executive arm of government. The police are supposed to be at the forefront in enforcing law and order. However, social control theory appears to have little relevance in dealing with the problem of kidnappings. The police have been accused of being unable to effectively investigate and successfully secure the conviction of many kidnappers. Moreover, some police officers have themselves been accused of kidnappings and colluding with kidnappers. The courts, which heavily rely on the evidence by prosecution witnesses to prove whether a suspected offender is guilty or not, at times have to let the offender off the hook due to the weak evidences or faulty charge sheets by prosecution or corruption among some officers of the courts.

1.7.3 Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice theories postulate that criminals are rational beings who make decisions to commit crime based on the costs and benefits involved in the process of crime perpetration. Deterministic in nature, criminal decision making process is based on free will, which necessitates observation of opportunities, circumstances and situations that could affect the successful perpetration of the planned crime (Lanier and Henry, 2004). It is pointed out by Brown, Esbensen and Geis, (2007) that rational decision making pertaining to crime also involves the choice of the victims determined by the type of crime, modus operandi, where and when to commit it and what to do afterwards. That implies the criminals may first observe the accessibility to potential victims, location, the time at which they are at most vulnerable, the appropriate method that could provide entry with ease and how to safeguard their criminal activities from criminal justice authorities and other capable guardians. However, some rational theorists have argued that criminals differ in the choices they make based on their perceptions, motives, skills and abilities to read opportunities as situations guide their decisions making processes (Lanier and Henry, 2004). For the purpose of this study, rational decision making, free will, price tag and benefits are three variables that will help to build an integrated framework to explain kidnappings. The manner in which kidnappers select their victims (for example, wealthy people as opposed to poor people) is based on the gains they could get from the crime and vulnerability of potential victims.

CHAPTER TWO: STUDY METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with research design, methods and tools of data collection, data collection and management, methods of data analysis and ethical considerations.

2.2 Research Design

This study employed the descriptive research study design. The design was considered efficient as it would help to obtain crucial information on the various aspects of the crime of kidnapping which included: prevalence of the crime of kidnapping by type; the main motives and factors encouraging kidnappings; who the main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings are; the modes used in executing kidnappings; the effects of the crime of kidnapping; the role of the community in kidnappings; the interventions that have been used to address kidnappings and their effectiveness; and the major challenges faced in the fight against the crime of kidnapping and how the challenges could be addressed.

The population for the study consisted of adult male and female members of the public who were staying in the selected counties at the time of the study. Such adults were assumed to be knowledgeable on kidnapping issues. The study also involved key informants, victims of kidnappings, kidnappers and institutions involved in addressing kidnappings in Kenya. Victims of kidnappings, kidnappers and the institutions formed case studies. The counties experiencing incidents of kidnapping in Kenya could be largely known (thus warranting probability sampling of the counties). However, the crime of kidnapping is complex and drawing a representative sample of respondents was not practical. There were also no complete lists of known victims of kidnappings, general members of public and other individuals and organizations with information on kidnappings in the study sites. This study therefore utilized both probability and non-probability sampling techniques.

The study counties were selected using simple random sampling and purposive sampling. At least 36 counties in Kenya had been reported to have experienced incidents of kidnappings. Twenty (20) counties were selected using simple random sampling. An arbitrary 50% of the counties in Nairobi, Central, Coast, North Eastern, Western, Nyanza, Eastern and Rift Valley regions of Kenya (formerly, the eight provinces in Kenya) that had experienced incidents of kidnappings were selected. Specific sites for the study were selected purposively after visits to County Commissioners whose counties had been sampled to assist in identifying the areas where incidents of kidnappings had taken place in their jurisdiction. Purposive sampling was appropriate because many of these areas were already known to experience or had experienced incidents of kidnappings. Purposive sampling technique is preferred when a researcher requires a maximum degree of insight into the problem with comprehensive information from particular areas and people deemed to be rich with the required information.

Table 2.1 Sampling of counties

Region		Sample size (50% of (B) rounded to whole figure)	Selected counties
A	В	C	D
Nairobi	1	1	Nairobi
Central	5	3	Nyeri, Murang'a,
			Kirinyaga
Coast	4	2	Lamu, Kwale
North Eastern	3	2	Mandera, Wajir
Western	2	1	Bungoma
Nyanza	6	3	Migori, Kisii, Siaya
Eastern	6	3	Machakos, Embu,
			Meru
Rift Valley	9	5	Nakuru, Laikipia,
			Baringo, West Pokot
			and Turkana
Total	36	20	

Sample respondents (herein referred as respondents) were members of public. The sample was drawn following the principle of convenient sampling. The strength of this method was that the result was objective since respondents made themselves available out of their own volition. Snow ball sampling was also used to reach other members of public who were holding relevant information on the subject of study.

Key informants (who included officers from the Judiciary, National Police Service, Office of Public Prosecution, Probation Service, Prisons Service, Children Services Department, civil society organizations interacting with issues of kidnappings (for example the Albinism Society of Kenya) and Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government) were purposively selected because they were knowledgeable people in the subject of the study. Therefore, it was presupposed that they provide detailed and authentic information on the dynamics of the crime of kidnapping in Kenya.

Victims and kidnappers for case studies were not easy to trace. They were a rare category and constructing a complete list of them for purposes of probability sampling was not easy either. Hence availability sampling of victims and kidnappers was undertaken. Snow ball sampling was also used to reach them. The identified and interviewed respondents were further asked to direct the interviewer to any other persons with important information on kidnappings who could be reached for more interviews.

Due to the nature of the crime of kidnap, it was difficult to anticipate in advance the number of respondents with needed information on kidnappings who could be traced and interviewed. However, this study targeted to trace and interview 90 sample respondents (divided equally among males and females) in each of the selected counties to make a total sample of 1800 but managed to cover a total of 1326 as shown in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2 Study locations and sampling of respondents

County	Male	Female	Total Frequency and
			Percentage of the total Sample
Nairobi	54 (60.0%)	36 (40.0%)	90 (6.8%)
Nyeri	38 (56.7%)	29 (43.3%)	67 (5.1%)
Murang'a	36 (60.0%)	24 (40.0%)	60 (4.5%)
Kirinyaga	42 (55.3%)	34 (44.7%)	76 (5.7%)
Mandera	44 (52.4%)	40 (47.6%)	84 (6.3%)
Wajir	41 (51.3%)	39 (48.8%)	80 (6.0%)
Bungoma	32 (59.3%)	22 (40.7%)	54 (4.1%)
Kisii	33 (55.9%)	26 (44.1%)	59 (4.4%)
Siaya	33 (60.0%)	22 (40.0%)	55 (4.1%)
Machakos	41 (51.3%)	39 (48.8%)	80 (6.0%)
Embu	32 (59.3%)	22 (40.7%)	54 (4.1%)
Meru	27 (47.4%)	30 (52.6%)	57 (4.3%)
Nakuru	27 (45.8%)	32 (54.2%)	59 (4.4%)
Migori	32 (60.4%)	21 (39.6%)	53 (4.0%)
Laikipia	31 (52.5%)	28 (47.5%)	59 (4.4%)
Baringo	32 (60.4%)	21 (39.6%)	53 (4.0%)
West Pokot	35 (48.6%)	37 (51.4%)	72 (5.4%)
Turkana	43 (50.6%)	42 (49.4%)	85 (6.4%)
Kwale	41 (55.4%)	33 (44.6%)	74 (5.6%)
Lamu	33 (60.0%)	22 (40.0%)	55 (4.1%)
Total	727 (54.8%)	599 (45.2%)	1326 (100.0%)

2.3 Methods and Tools for Data Collection

2.3.1 Data collection methods

This study employed a number of data collection methods. The study gathered data mainly from primary sources using the interview method. This method was intended to address the problem of limited data in Kenya on the subject of study. Primary data was collected from all categories of respondents who were identified. All categories of respondents were interviewed in places of their comfort on individual, face-to-face interviews. This approach was intended to create rapport with the respondents and ensure confidentiality so as to achieve validity of the data. Secondary data was collected by way of mining, analyzing, collating and recording data, photographs and pictures on kidnappings contained in secondary sources of data.

2.3.2 Data collection tools

The study utilized an interview schedule with both open and closed ended questions for collecting information from sample respondents. A key informant guide for collecting information from select individuals of particular organizations believed to hold pertinent

information about kidnappings in Kenya and case study guides for victims, kidnappers and institutions addressing kidnappings were also utilized.

2.4 Data Collection and Management

The National Crime Research Centre (NCRC) worked closely with a number of relevant institutions in order to achieve the objective of the study. This included obtaining authority for the study and consent of key institutions and their staff to participate in the study.

Draft interview schedule, a key informant guide and case study guides based on the objectives of the study were prepared. The researchers at NCRC conducted a pre test of the draft tools in parts of Nairobi County which did not form part of the study sites for the actual data collection. The purpose was to identify any bias and ambiguities in the collection tools. Respondents in the pre test were requested to highlight any ambiguous or biased questions and to point out if the questions would be able to measure the key issues of the study's objectives. This aided in the preparation of the final instruments prior to administration to the actual respondents.

Qualified research assistants were identified and trained. They were then allocated study sites and facilitated with required resources for the exercise (that is, funds, data collection tools and authority letters). Supervision of the research assistants and quality control of the exercise was done by the researchers at NCRC.

After the time for collection of data from the fieldwork elapsed, interviews were stopped and data organization and analysis commenced. All the collected data from the field was then organized and analyzed at the NCRC offices. A draft report of the study was compiled for review by NCRC's Research and Development Committee of the Governing Council, the full Governing Council and later for stakeholder validation before the final dissemination to the relevant agencies and the public.

2.5 Methods of Data Analysis

This study utilized both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods. The filled interview schedules were first coded and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics and the information presented in distribution frequency and percentage tables and figures (bar graphs and pie charts) in order to give a clear picture of the findings at a glance. The qualitative data was analyzed by interpretation of responses provided by the key informants, victims, kidnappers and institutions dealing with the crime of kidnapping. All information from the analyzed data was presented in themes guided by the research objectives.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

The study on kidnappings in Kenya did not lose sight of the following ethical considerations.

i. Authority to collect data was sought from the relevant institutions before commencement of interviews.

- ii. Consent of the respondents was sought before commencement of interviews.
- iii. The language of the interviews was respectful to the respondents. Only the language of communication the respondents understood well was used.
- iv. Confidentially of respondents' identity and information was safeguarded.

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is organized into sections, that is: demographic characteristics of respondents; prevalence and types of kidnappings; factors encouraging kidnappings; socio-economic characteristics of victims of kidnappings; victims' coping mechanisms; socio-economic characteristics of kidnappers; effects of the crime of kidnapping; intervention strategies to address kidnappings and their effectiveness; and major challenges faced in dealing with the crime of kidnapping.

3.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of Respondents

A total of 1326 sample respondents were interviewed of whom 54.8% (n = 727) were males and 45.2% (n=599) were females.

The study found that the majority (65.7%) of the respondents were aged between 18-49 years, with most (27.3%) of the respondents being aged between 34-41 years. These findings therefore point to a productive and reproductive segment of the population in Kenya.

The majority (66.7%) of the respondents were married implying that most respondents were family members with familial responsibilities such as providing basic needs of especially the young dependants. Incidents of kidnapping of family persons contribute to stress and misery in the affected families.

The findings of the study showed that majority of the respondents were literate. Most (35.3%) of them had attained Form 1-4 Secondary education, 23.6% had attained Middle level college education (with majority of them having attained post secondary certificate and diploma qualifications in diverse areas of learning) and 14.9% had attained university education. This was an indication that literacy levels were averagely high in the counties and that most of the respondents were knowledgeable on issues of kidnappings in the country. Other level of education mainly referred to Islamic Education (especially the *Madrassa*).

The majority (82.0%) of the respondents were Christians. Respondents whose religion was categorized as 'other' prescribed to Jainism, Atheism and Judaism.

The majority (99.5%) of the respondents were Kenyans while the rest were non-Kenyans of Tanzanian, South Sudanese and Ethiopian nationalities.

Most (36.0%) of the respondents were business people while those in permanent employment in the public sector accounted for 20.4% of the sample. Respondents in the category of 'other occupation' were those who were students and housewives. Those who had no occupation were those who reported that they were retirees and/or were unemployed. Table 3.1 below shows the distribution of sample respondents across the various categories of the sociodemographic variables.

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 Table 3.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of Sample Respondents

Variable	Category	Males	Females	Total
Age	18-25	1 (0.1%)	4(0.7%)	5 (0.4%)
_	26-33	112 (15.4%)	121 (20.2%)	233(17.6%)
	34-41	193 (26.5%)	169 (28.2%)	362(27.3%)
	42-49	153 (21.0%)	117 (19.5%)	270(20.4%)
	50-57	119 (16.4%)	112 (18.7%)	231(17.4%)
	58-65	109 (15.0%)	58 (9.7%)	167(12.6%)
	66 and above	40 (5.5%)	18 (3.0%)	58(4.4%)
	Total	727 (100.0%)	599 (100.0%)	1326 (100.0%)
Marital	Single	186 (25.6%)	187 (31.2%)	373 (28.1%)
Status	Married	514 (70.7%)	371 (61.9%)	885 (66.7%)
	Divorced	8 (1.1%)	13 (2.2%)	21(1.6%)
	Separated	12 (1.7%)	7(1.2%)	19(1.4%)
	Widowed	7 (1.0%)	21 (3.5%)	28(2.1%)
	Total	727 (100.0%)	599 (100.0%)	1326 (100.0%)
Highest Level	None	26 (3.6%)	46 (7.7%)	72(5.4%)
of Education	Pre-primary	6 (0.8%)	5 (0.8%)	11(0.8%)
	Primary	127 (17.5%)	74(12.4%)	201 (15.2%)
	Secondary 1-4	239 (32.9%)	229 (38.2%)	468 (35.3%)
	Secondary 5-6	35 (4.8%)	11 (1.8%)	46(3.5%)
	Middle Level College	157 (21.6%)	156 (26.0%)	313(23.6%)
	University	128 (17.6%)	70(11.7%)	198(14.9%)
	Adult Literacy	3 (0.4%)	1 (0.2%)	4 (0.3%)
	Other	6 (0.8%)	7(1.2%)	13(1.0%)
	Total	727 (100.0%)	599 (100.0%)	1326 (100.0%)
Religion	Traditional	11 (1.5%)	10 (1.7%)	21(1.6%)
C	Christian	593 (81.6%)	494 (82.5%)	1087 (82.0%)
	Islam	122 (16.8%)	93 (15.5%)	215 (16.2%)
	Other	1 (0.1%)	2(0.3%)	3 (0.2%)
	Total	727 (100.0%)	599 (100.0%)	1326 (100.0%)
Nationality	Kenyan	724 (99.6%)	596 (99.5%)	1320 (99.5%)
•	Non-Kenyan	3 (0.4%)	3(0.5%)	6 (0.5%)
	Total	727 (100.0%)	599 (100.0%)	1326 (100.0%)
	Permanent employment	70 (9.6%)	58 (9.7%)	128 (9.7%)
	in Private Sector			
Occupation	Permanent employment	178 (24.5%)	02 (15 50()	271 (20, 40/)
		1 1/8 (/4 7%)	93 (15.5%)	271 (20.4%)
	in Public Sector	170 (21.570)	, ,	
	in Public Sector Casual/temporary	170 (21.570)	, ,	
		110 (15.1%)	95 (15.9%)	205 (15.5%)
	Casual/temporary			205 (15.5%)
	Casual/temporary employment in Public or			205 (15.5%) 478 (36.0%)
	Casual/temporary employment in Public or Private Sector	110 (15.1%)	95 (15.9%)	
	Casual/temporary employment in Public or Private Sector Business person	110 (15.1%) 248 (34.1%)	95 (15.9%) 230 (38.4%)	478(36.0%)

3.3 Prevalence and Typology of Kidnappings

3.3.1 Perceptions of kidnapping as a major security problem

A majority (88.2%) of the respondents indicated that kidnapping was a major security problem in Kenya, 10.8% of the respondents said it was not while the rest said they did not know. Further, the majority (60.7%) of the respondents pointed out that kidnapping was a major security problem in their respective counties, 37.2% said it was not while the rest said they did not know. Table 3.2 below contains these responses.

Table 3.2 Cross-tab of county and kidnapping as a major security problem

County	Percentage responses						
·	Kidnapping is	a major securit		Kidnapping is a major security problem			
	in Kenya			in this county			
	Yes	No	I don't	Yes	No	I don't	
			know			know	
Nairobi	83 (92.2%)	7(7.8%)	0 (0.0%)	78 (86.7%)	11 (12.2%)	1 (1.1%)	
Nyeri	56 (83.6%)	10(14.9%)	1 (1.5%)	53 (79.1%)	13 (19.4%)	1 (1.5%)	
Murang'a	56 (93.3%)	4(6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	56 (93.3%)	4 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	
Kirinyaga	61 (80.3%)	13(17.1%)	2 (2.6%)	69 (90.8%)	7 (9.2%)	0 (0.0%)	
Mandera	83 (98.8%)	1(1.2%)	0 (0.0%)	80 (95.2%)	3 (3.6%)	1 (1.2%)	
Wajir	62 (77.5%)	16(20.0%)	2 (2.5%)	41 (51.3%)	36 (45.0%)	3 (3.8%)	
Bungoma	49 (90.7%)	5(9.3%)	0 (0.0%)	11 (20.4%)	42 (77.8%)	1 (1.9%)	
Kisii	48 (81.4%)	9 (15.3%)	2 (3.4%)	38 (64.4%)	20 (33.9%)	1 (1.7%)	
Siaya	49 (89.1%)	5(9.1%)	1 (1.8%)	17 (30.9%)	37 (67.3%)	1 (1.8%)	
Machakos	75 (93.8%)	5(6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	46 (57.5%)	32 (40.0%)	2 (2.5%)	
Embu	53 (98.1%)	0(0.0%)	1 (1.9%)	33 (61.1%)	17 (31.5%)	4 (7.4%)	
Meru	51 (89.5%)	5(8.8%)	1 (1.8%)	28 (49.1%)	28 (49.1%)	1 (1.8%)	
Nakuru	45 (76.3%)	14(23.7%)	0 (0.0%)	39 (66.1%)	17 (28.8%)	3 (5.1%)	
Migori	44 (83.0%)	8 (15.1%)	1 (1.9%)	28 (52.8%)	25 (47.2%)	0 (0.0%)	
Laikipia	54 (91.5%)	5(8.5%)	0 (0.0%)	18 (30.5%)	41 (69.5%)	0 (0.0%)	
Baringo	47 (88.7%)	6 (11.3%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (15.1%)	43 (81.1%)	2 (3.8%)	
West Pokot	64 (88.9%)	8 (11.1%)	0 (0.0%)	47 (65.3%)	24 (33.3%)	1 (1.4%)	
Turkana	79 (92.9%)	4(4.7%)	2 (2.4%)	65 (76.5%)	15 (17.6%)	5 (5.9%)	
Kwale	67 (90.5%)	6(8.1%)	1 (1.4%)	22 (29.7%)	51 (68.9%)	1 (1.4%)	
Lamu	43 (78.2%)	12(21.8%)	0 (0.0%)	28 (50.9%)	27 (49.1%)	0 (0.0%)	
Total	1169 (88.2%)	143 (10.8%)	14 (1.1%)	805 (60.7%)	493 (37.2%)	28 (2.1%)	

The results in Table 3.2 show that kidnapping is a major security problem in Kenya in general and in majority of the counties that were studied. However, a majority of the respondents in Bungoma, Siaya, Laikipia, Baringo and Kwale reported that it was not a major security problem in their counties. Most of the key informants drawn from all the counties also hinted that kidnappings were a major security problem both in their counties and in Kenya in general. The interpretation of these findings is that a county security problem translated to a national security problem. The findings also revealed there was adequate understanding among respondents about kidnapping as a security concern in the country.

3.3.2 Occurrence of the crime of kidnapping

3.3.2.1 Primary data

The study established that the crime of kidnapping was a common occurrence in Kenya. This was reported by the majority (98.9%) of the respondents who said that they had heard of persons who had been kidnapped in other areas of Kenya and the majority (76.8%) of the respondents who said that they had heard of persons who had been kidnapped in their counties. Table 3.3 below shows these findings.

Table 3.3 Cross-tab of county and occurrence of kidnappings

County	Responses				
	Ever heard of persons kidnapped in		Ever heard of persons kidnapped in		
	other areas of Keny	ya	this county		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Nairobi	89 (98.9%)	1 (1.1%)	86 (95.6%)	4 (4.4%)	
Nyeri	67 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	58 (86.6%)	9 (13.4%)	
Murang'a	60 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	60 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Kirinyaga	76 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	76 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Mandera	82 (97. %)	2 (2.4%)	72 (85.7%)	12 (14.3%)	
Wajir	78 (97.5%)	2 (2.5%)	51 (63.8%)	29 (36.3%)	
Bungoma	54 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	22 (40.7%)	32 (59.3%)	
Kisii	57 (96.6%)	2 (3.4%)	41 (69.5%)	18 (30.5%)	
Siaya	54 (98.2%)	1 (1.8%)	34 (61.8%)	21 (38.2%)	
Machakos	80 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	69 (86.3%)	11 (13.8%)	
Embu	54 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	38 (70.4%)	16 (29.6%)	
Meru	57 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	36 (63.2%)	21 (36.8%)	
Nakuru	59 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	50 (84.7%)	9 (15.3%)	
Migori	53 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	48 (90.6%)	5 (9.4%)	
Laikipia	59 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	32 (54.2%)	27 (45.8%)	
Baringo	53 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	21 (39.6%)	32 (60.4%)	
West Pokot	71 (98.6%)	1 (1.4%)	58 (80.6%)	14 (19.4%)	
Turkana	82 (96.5%)	3 (3.5%)	78 (91.8%)	7 (8.2%)	
Kwale	74 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	39 (52.7%)	35 (47.3%)	
Lamu	53 (96.4%)	2 (3.6%)	49 (89.1%)	6 (10.9%)	
Total	1312 (98.9%)	14 (1.1%)	1018 (76.8%)	308 (23.2%)	

From the findings above, a minority of the respondents in Bungoma (40.7%) and Baringo (39.6%) counties had heard of persons who had been kidnapped in their counties. This finding linked to the earlier one on kidnapping as a major security problem in the counties. A majority of the respondents in Bungoma and Baringo Counties had indicated that kidnapping was not a major security problem in these two counties. On the basis that the crime of kidnap were rare occurrences in the two counties this could have influenced the respondents to perceive the crime as a minor security problem.

Although the majority of the respondents in Siaya (61.8%), Laikipia (54.2%) and Kwale (52.7%) had reported that they had heard of persons who had been kidnapped in their respective counties, the majority (67.3% in Siaya, 69.5% in Laikipia and 68.9% in Kwale) of the respondents did not perceive kidnapping to be a major security problem in these counties.

This could imply that there were other crimes which were perceived to be of major security concerns or the kidnapping incidents were few isolated cases in the public knowledge of many residents of these counties.

Some key informants in this study confirmed to having heard of persons kidnapped within their counties and Kenya in general. For instance, a high ranking male police officer in the age bracket of 50-57 years and working in one of the sub-counties of Kirinyaga County had this to say:

"There were approximately seven people who were kidnapped in year 2013 in this county. I am aware of kidnapping committed by family members, acquaintances, strangers and instances where the victim was kidnapped and forced to withdraw money from an ATM (19/5/2014)"

3.3.2.2 Secondary data

Data mining of occurrence of incidents of kidnapping was conducted. Table 3.4 below captures the number of incidents recorded by UNODC between 2004 and 2014.

Table 3.4 Kidnapping at the national level between 2004 and 2014

Date	Value	Change, %
2014	33	-44.07 %
2013	59	-21.33 %
2012	75	36.36 %
2011	55	-30.38 %
2010	79	-16.84 %
2009	95	30.14 %
2008	73	-57.80 %
2007	173	-21.36 %
2006	220	44.74 %
2005	152	-35.32 %
2004	235	
Total	1249	

Source: UNODC Assaults, Kidnapping, Robbery, Sexual Offences, Sexual Rape, Total Sexual Violence, 2014

Further mining of mass media reports on kidnappings showed that most regions of the country had experienced the problem of kidnapping. Nairobi County has witnessed a number of kidnapping incidents. One such recent incident is that of kidnapping of 14-year-old Asian twin girls on October 3, 2013, at Brookside Groove in Westlands area of Nairobi (see Figure 4 below). The twins were later rescued on during a security operation by officers from Flying Squad, Special Crimes Prevention Unit and Criminal Intelligence Unit who raided a house in Upper Matasia, Ngong (Makana, 2013).



Figure 4 - Nine alleged kidnappers of 14-year-old Asian twin girls at the Milimani Law Courts in Nairobi on 16/10/2013

Central Kenya region appears to be the hardest hit region going by the wave of kidnappings reported. Some of the reported incidents are highlighted below.

- i. A seven-year-old girl (see Figure 5 below) was kidnapped on October 30, 2013 on her way home from school becoming the 18th person to fall in the hands of kidnappers in Murang'a County since February, 2013 (Karanja, 2013);
- ii. The kidnapping of an Assistant Chief from her home in Naro Moru in Nyeri County and was later dumped at Maragua Ridge village in Murang'a by her two abductors on a motor bike (Karanja, 2013);
- iii. 23-year old man kidnapped his 20-year old former lover at Ngangarithi Estate in Nyeri county (The Kenyan Daily Post, 13th March, 2014).
- iv. A businessman abducted on August 13, 2013 from Kaha-ini village in Kandara, while closing his shop and his body later found in a swamp at Kihiu Mwiri village in Gatanga (Karanja, 2013);
- v. A fruit and vegetable vendor from Kongo-ini village in Mukuyu kidnapped on August 13, 2013, and later his body found dumped in River Mathioya with the hands tied and knife wounds in the neck (Karanja, 2013);
- vi. A businessman abducted from his petrol station in Kagio market in neighbouring Kirinyaga County by three men posing as police officers (Karanja, 2013);
- vii. A businesswoman released by gangsters after a ransom of more than Sh100,000 was paid (Karanja, 2013);
- viii. A male victim who was picked up by two men from his home in Kambirwa village of Kiharu and his body found hours later at a quarry near Murang'a town with gunshot wounds (Karanja, 2013).
 - ix. A prominent businessman kidnapped in Nyahururu, Nyandarua County, later rescued by police after nine hours of hostage (Kenya Citizen TV, 2014).



Figure 5 - A girl child victim (on the right) who was kidnapped on 30/10/2013 at Ng'araria in Murang'a County

Kidnappings have been reported in parts of Eastern Kenya as highlighted in the following cases.

- i. A Machakos councillor's wife kidnapped after him being robbed at his home in Thinu market Kathiani District Machakos county (Kavila, 2012);
- ii. An outcry among Boda boda operators due to increase in theft and kidnapping of the riders in Machakos County (Kenya News Agency, 2014);
- iii. Three people kidnapped in Isiolo County in a span of one week in October, 2011 and one of them his body found dumped in a thicket on 31 st October, 2011 as the conflict among rival communities rages on (The Star, November 1, 2011);
- iv. A man kidnapped and physically tortured for over a week in a forest by a gang linked to a local politician in Isiolo County (Wanuna, 2013);
- v. A 3-year old boy kidnapped while playing with his friends around the neighbourhood at Chaaria Location in Meru County. The suspects transported the minor to Nairobi before demanding a ransom of Ksh. 150,000 (Murithi, 2013; The Kenyan Daily Post, March 28, 2013).
- vi. A 7-year old albino boy rescued by residents of Mugui village in Embu North District after being kidnapped by a gang led by his uncle that wanted to sell his private parts for witchcraft (Githinji, 2013);
- vii. A trader kidnapped in Embu and robbed of Ksh. 370,000 before being dumped in Manyatta area of Embu County (Kenya News Agency, April 23, 2014).
- viii. Two males are allegedly kidnapped in Meru County and killed before their bodies were dumped and later found at Nithi Bridge possibly to distort investigations (Kenya Daily Post, August 14, 2014; The Star, 2014).
- ix. A seven-year-old boy (a pupil at Uvaita Primary School in Mbondoni, Mwingi Central District) believed to have been abducted from his parents in Nairobi was rescued from his abusive foster mother in Kitui County (Nzengu, 2014).

There are incidents of kidnappings and reported in the Coastal region of Kenya. Some of them include:

- i. A British social worker Mrs. Judith Tebbutt and her husband Mr. David Tebbutt (see Figure 6) were kidnapped in Lamu on September, 2011. The latter was killed in the incidence (Pflanz, 2013);
- ii. A 40-year old carpenter kidnapped in Msambweni area of Kwale County on 20th February, 2014 (Chanji, 2014);
- iii. Three Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) officials were reportedly kidnapped at Chumani Polling Station in Kilifi in the early morning of 4th March, 2013 beaten up and cut with pangas, but later released and treated in hospital for injuries (Kenya Red Cross, 2013);
- iv. A 9-year-old Standard Three pupil kidnapped in Mombasa and later found by the police in Malaba, Busia County in 2013 (The Star, 2013).



Figure 6 - A tourist (on the left) who was kidnapped and later murdered by Somali pirates in Lamu County in 2011

The North Eastern part of Kenya has not been spared by kidnappings. According to the U.S Department of State 2014, multiple kidnappings of foreign nationals have occurred in the region. Examples of kidnappings in the region include:

- i. A District Officer (see Figure 7) and a Registration Clerk with the Registrar of Persons were kidnapped in Wajir South Sub-County by members of the Al-Shabaab extremist group in January, 2012 (Berhane, 2012; Koross, 2012).
- ii. Four international aid workers (from Canada, Pakistan, Norway, and the Philippines) were kidnapped in the Dadaab refugee camp in northeastern Kenya on June 29, 2012. All of them were rescued on July 1, 2012 (U.S Department of State, 2014).
- iii. Two Spanish nationals working for a non-governmental organization (NGO) were also kidnapped in Dadaab in October 2011. They were later released on July 18, 2013 (U.S Department of State, 2014).



Figure 7 - A District Officer (DO) who alongside a Clerk with the Registrar of Persons had been kidnapped by Al shabaab in Wajir South

Incidents of the crime of kidnapping experienced in Rift Valley region are alleged to have been orchestrated by criminals from both the local communities and neighbouring countries. These kidnapping incidents include:

- i. A businessman kidnapped in Nakuru by four men (Gakio, 2014);
- ii. An eleventh-month old baby kidnapped by a househelp in Nakuru (Jelimo, 2014);
- iii. a France-based athlete was kidnapped by an unknown group of assailants in Kapsabet town, Nandi County but later rescued by police officers (Jelimo, 2014);
- iv. A 7-year old boy kidnapped and reported killed by suspected Turkana raiders in October, 2013 (Jaola, 2013);
- v. Merille militia from Ethiopia reportedly kidnapped and killed about 11 Turkana men in less than two weeks in August, 2013 (Bett, 2013);
- vi. A schoolgirl kidnapped which led to the death of two civilians and a police officer from Ntulele Police Station in Narok North District in their attempt to rescue the girl (Kirui, 2013).
- vii. Two boys kidnapped by bandits from Lokis in East Pokot District of Baringo County but later found tied and abandoned in a bush (Kiplagat, 2013).
- viii. A man in Laikipia confessed to the police that he planned the kidnapping of his 55-year-old brother in order to raise money to do business (Kabotia, 2013).
- ix. A two-year old boy suspected to have been kidnapped by househelp in Kitengela, Kajiado County (Githaiga, 2013).
- x. Attempt to kidnap a magistrate's three-year old daughter by a university student using toy pistol is thwarted by the public in an estate in Eldoret, Uasin Gishu County (Kipsang, 2014);

xi. A university student is charged (between 13th and 15th October, 2014) in court at Eldoret with kidnapping of a nine-year old daughter of a businessman (Kipsang, 2014).

A number of kidnappings have been witnessed in the Nyanza and Western regions of Kenya. These include:

- i. Police officers killed two suspected kidnappers in Kisumu on 25th July, 2013 (The Kenyan Daily Post, 26th July, 2013);
- ii. A woman suspected of kidnapping a two-weeks old baby at Kondele in Kisumu East District arrested by police officers in Kakamega County (Kenya News Agency, April 22, 2014);
- iii. A 16-year old boy kidnapped from their home in Awendo, Migori on 20th December, 2012 (The Kenyan Daily Post, December 21, 2012);
- iv. Nine school boys aged between 7-14 years were kidnapped on separate days at Sio village in Kanduyi Constituency, Bungoma County and repeatedly defiled by a middle aged man in a nearby bush (The Kenyan Daily Post, August 20, 2013);
- v. A spate of taxi drivers' kidnappings rocked Kisii County (Nyagesiba, 2012);
- vi. Police in Siaya County rescues a man kidnapped by a gang which was demanding Kshs. 3.5 Million ransom from his family. The suspected abductors managed to disappear to Uganda as the police narrowed in their hide-out house in Busia (Omollo, 2014);
- vii. Four suspects arrested after kidnapping a 5-year-old boy in Rongo town, Homa Bay County (Omoro, 2012);
- viii. A female student at the University of Nairobi, Kisumu campus is said to have been kidnapped in Kisumu town on November 27, 2015 (Chepkoech, 2015).



Figure 8- A female student at the University of Nairobi, Kisumu campus (on the left) who is said to have been kidnapped in Kisumu town on November 27, 2015. On the right is her father

From the findings drawn from both primary and secondary sources of data, it is becoming clearer that kidnapping is a pertinent security problem in Kenya. These findings point to the need to seriously put a lot of effort to contain this type of crime in all the counties.

Respondents who had heard of persons being kidnapped in other areas of Kenya were asked to indicate the medium through which they had received the information. Their responses were as illustrated in Figure 9 below. Majority (75.9%) of the respondents received the information through the radio, followed by television (68.6%). Social media (with regard to face book, email and twitter) was the least reported medium implying that most Kenyans were not on social media then.

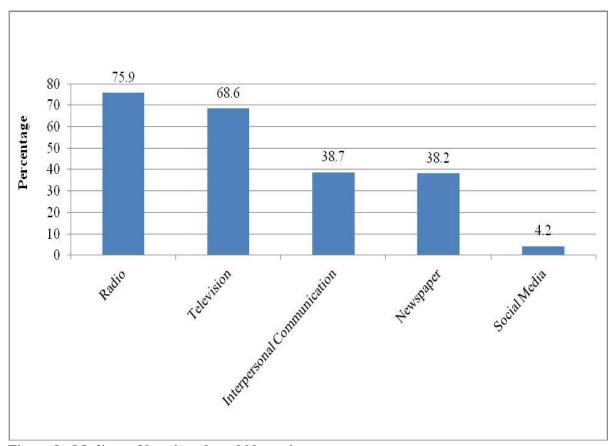


Figure 9 - Medium of hearing about kidnapping

A number of findings from the respondents were corroborated by those of some key informants. For example, a key informant who was a male Prisons Officer aged 50-57 years and who was working in one of the prisons in Migori County said:

"I have heard through newspapers, television and talks with my friends and colleagues of persons kidnapped in this County and in Kenya. I in particular know of five kidnapping cases from Kehancha in Kuria West which happened in 2013. Most kidnappers are strangers and acquaintances of the victims and domestic workers (19/5/2014)"

From the indications shown in Figure 9, radio is the most accessible communication medium to receive information about kidnapping cases in Kenya. Television is another popular medium that could be used by security agencies and other stakeholders in communicating to the public about kidnapping cases. The findings point to a low uptake of communication through the social media.

3.3.3 Types of kidnappings

This study looked into the crime of kidnapping by types. It established that there existed various types of kidnappings in Kenya. Kidnapping committed by a stranger was the most prevalent (as shown in Figure 10 below) as was pointed out by the majority (68.9%) of the respondents.

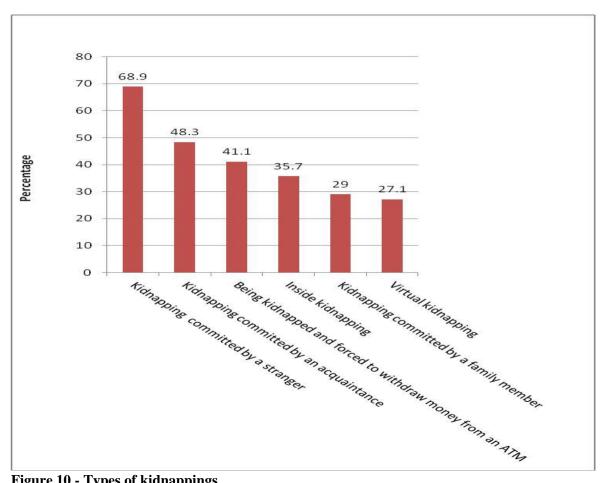


Figure 10 - Types of kidnappings

The least prevalent type of kidnapping was virtual kidnapping as indicated by 27.1% of the respondents. Other types of kidnappings were: kidnapping committed by an acquaintance (48.3%); kidnapped and being forced to withdraw money from an Automated Teller Machine (ATM) were by 41.1% of the respondents; inside kidnapping (35.7%); and kidnapping committed by a family member (29.0%).

The study further examined kidnappings by types to establish their prevalence in each of the 20 counties. The results were as presented in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Types of kidnappings as per sampled county

County	Responses on types of kidnappings					
			Being			
	Kidnapping	Kidnapping	kidnapped		Kidnapping	
	committed	committed	and forced to	Inside	committed	Virtual
	by a	by an	withdraw	kidnapping	by a family	kidnapping
	stranger	acquaintance	money from		member	
			an ATM			
Nairobi	75 (83.3%)	70 (77.8%)	80 (88.9%)	78 (86.7%)	53 (58.9%)	65 (72.2%)
Nyeri	59 (88.1%)	55 (82.1%)	62 (92.5%)	54 (80.6%)	44 (65.7%)	46 (68.7%)
Murang'a	58 (96.7%)	53 (88.3%)	47 (78.3%)	35 (58.3%)	17 (28.3%)	31 (51.7%)
Kirinyaga	70 (92.1%)	68 (89.5%)	62 (81.6%)	53 (69.7%)	47 (61.8%)	43 (56.6%)
Mandera	68 (81.0%)	40 (47.6%)	23 (27.4%)	30 (35.7%)	24 (28.6%)	33 (39.3%)
Wajir	42 (52.5%)	12 (15.0%)	10(12.5%)	5 (6.3%)	5 (6.3%)	7 (8.8%)
Bungoma	20 (37.0%)	16 (29.6%)	13 (24.1%)	10 (18.5%)	3 (5.6%)	11 (20.4%)
Kisii	38 (64.4%)	28 (47.5%)	11(18.6%)	10 (16.9%)	10 (16.9%)	7 (11.9%)
Siaya	27 (49.1%)	18 (32.7%)	17 (30.9%)	12 (21.8%)	8 (14.5%)	11 (20.0%)
Machakos	62 (77.5%)	56 (70.0%)	59 (73.8%)	45 (56.3%)	29 (36.3%)	29 (36.3%)
Embu	30 (55.6%)	20 (37.0%)	27 (50.0%)	15 (27.8%)	9 (16.7%)	17 (31.5%)
Meru	27 (47.4%)	23 (40.4%)	26 (45.6%)	16 (28.1%)	11 (19.3%)	18 (31.6%)
Nakuru	44 (74.6%)	35 (59.3%)	42 (71.2%)	44 (74.6%)	26 (44.1%)	9 (15.3%)
Migori	47 (88.7%)	19 (35.8%)	1(1.9%)	2 (3.8%)	9 (17.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Laikipia	28 (47.5%)	18 (30.5%)	22 (37.3%)	15 (25.4%)	14 (23.7%)	2(3.4%)
Baringo	18 (34.0%)	10 (18.9%)	7 (13.2%)	15 (28.3%)	6 (11.3%)	0 (0.0%)
West Pokot	48 (66.7%)	17 (23.6%)	9 (12.5%)	4(5.6%)	18 (25.0%)	4(5.6%)
Turkana	73 (85.9%)	51 (60.0%)	15 (17.6%)	21 (24.7%)	35 (41.2%)	16 (18.8%)
Kwale	32 (43.2%)	13 (17.6%)	6(8.1%)	3 (4.1%)	6(8.1%)	3 (4.1%)
Lamu	48 (87.3%)	19 (34.5%)	6 (10.9%)	7 (12.7%)	10 (18.2%)	7 (12.7%)
Total	914 (68.9%)	641 (48.3%)	545 (41.1%)	474 (35.7%)	384 (29.0%)	359 (27.1%)

The above findings indicate that different counties experienced the various types of kidnappings in varying prevalence rates. From the results of the study, kidnapping committed by a stranger was more prevalent in Murang'a County (96.7%) followed by Kirinyaga (92.1%) and Migori (88.7%). Kidnapping by stranger was least prevalent in Baringo County (34.0%). Kidnapping committed by an acquaintance was found to be more prevalent in Kirinyaga (89.5%) followed by Murang'a (88.3%) and Nyeri (82.1%) but least prevalent in Wajir County (15.0%). Being kidnapped and forced to withdraw money from an ATM was more prevalent in Nyeri County (92.5%) followed by Nairobi (88.9%) and Murang'a (78.3%) but least prevalent in Migori County (1.9%). Nairobi County was leading in inside kidnapping (86.7%) followed by Nyeri (80.6%) and Nakuru (74.6%). Migori County

recorded the least prevalence rate in inside kidnapping (3.8%). Kidnapping committed by a family member was more prevalent in Nyeri (65.7%), Kirinyaga (61.8%) and Nairobi (58.9%) but it was least prevalent in Bungoma County (5.6%). Virtual kidnapping was more prevalent in Nairobi (72.2%), Nyeri (68.7%) and Kirinyaga (56.6%). Migori and Baringo did not experience this type of kidnapping while in Laikipia County, it was least reported (3.4%).

Key informants also indicated occurrence of kidnapping by types in most of the counties. A male senior police officer aged between 42-49 years and who had worked in Lamu County for about 5 years as at the time of the study confirmed kidnappings of foreigners in the County and said:

"I know of two cases of kidnappings which occurred in this County in 2011. The victims, who were foreigners residing in Lamu and foreigner tourists, were kidnapped by people who were strangers to them (13/5/2014)"

A Magistrate in one of the Law Courts in Murang'a County and who had stayed in the County for about one year observed:

"In 2013, I can remember there were between 6 and 10 cases of kidnappings which were reported in this locality. The perpetrators were mainly family members, strangers, domestic employees and kidnappers who forced victims to withdraw money from ATMs after holding them hostage (16/5/2014)"

The statements by key informants affirm occurrence of different types of kidnappings in the counties. In general, the findings are an indication that there are various types of kidnappings and kidnappers in Kenya.

3.4 Profiles of Victims and Kidnappers

This study sought to establish who the victims (targets of kidnappings) and kidnappers were in Kenya and their socio-economic characteristics.

3.4.1 Profiles of victims of kidnappings

3.4.1.1 Socio-economic characteristics of victims

Majority (78.1%) of the respondents reported that most victims of kidnappings were children and juveniles aged below 18 years (see Figure 11 below). This category of victims is considered an easy target by kidnappers. They are vulnerable because they have limited physical and mental capacity to resist threats of use of force, actual use of force and luring techniques sometimes employed by the adult kidnappers. This finding is very critical and inform of the need to ensure children safety and protection against incidents of kidnappings.



Figure 11 - Police hand over boy to his parents after he was rescued from his kidnappers at Kasarani, Nairobi in January, 2017

The results by 70.0% of the respondents also showed that victims of kidnappings were youth aged 18 to 35 years implying that the productive and reproductive segment of the population in Kenya was hardest hit by the crime of kidnapping. The other victims were persons aged above 35 years reported at 59.5% by the respondents. Overall, efforts are required to protect persons of all ages against crime of kidnapping.

From the findings (see Table 3.6), it revealed that victims of kidnappings were of both gender (male and female). Females were the majority (55.1%) and the rest were males (44.9%). It could be assumed that females are easy prey to kidnappers because they are considered weak and give in easily to threats of and actual force used by especially male kidnappers. Men are the least victims of kidnappers because they are not the main targets by female kidnappers and sometimes they are ready to confront male kidnappers. The findings emphasize the need to empower females (for instance, through self defense skills such as Karate and Taekwondo) to enhance their protection against kidnappers.

Kenyan nationalities and non-Kenyans have been victims of kidnappings (see Table 3.6 below). However, from the respondents the majority (86.0%) indicated that Kenyans were the main victims of kidnappings. This could be explained by the fact that the largest proportion of the country's population is that of Kenyans. Minority groups all over the world normally have feelings of insecurity and often very cautious and conscious of possible threats compelling to take sufficient security measures to protect themselves.

On the economic status of victims, majority (82.6%) of the respondents argued that most victims and/or their families were that of averagely stable economically (see Table 3.6 below). The finding concurs with past research findings around the world which showed that

most victims were mainly members of wealthy families and business persons (see Figure 12) who could afford to pay some ransom demanded by most kidnappers (Williams, 2001; Bornemann, 2007; Makana, 2013).



Figure 12- A crowd gathered at Redhill area along Limuru-Nairobi road where the body of a businessman who had been kidnapped at gun point was found on July 5, 2016

The distribution of the victims of kidnappings across the socio-economic characteristics discussed above is shown in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6 Socio-economic characteristics of victims

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Age	Children and juveniles aged below 18 years	1035	78.1
	Youth of 18-35 years	928	70.0
	Persons aged above 35 years	789	59.5
Gender	Female	730	55.1
	Male	596	44.9
Nationality	Kenyans	1140	86.0
	Non-Kenyans	186	14.0
Economic Stability	Majority of victims and/or their families are averagely stable economically	1095	82.6
	Majority of victims and/or their families are not averagely stable economically	199	15.0
	I don't know	32	2.4

Case study interviews concurred with the sample respondents on the subject of the socioeconomic characteristics of victims, the gender and nationalities of the victims. For example, a Kenyan male victim from Nyeri Central Sub-county in Nyeri County was identified and interviewed. He was aged 30 years and single. He had attained university education and was working with Kenya Revenue Authority and earning a monthly income of Ksh. 70,000.00. Another victim was from Nakuru County, a female aged 37 years and married. She had attained Secondary education and was a business lady earning an average monthly income of Kshs. 30,000.00 - 40,000.00.

Key informants were also asked to comment about the socio-economic characteristics of victims. One of the female key informants aged between 42-49 years and who was an Inspector with the Kenya Prisons Service in Kwale County observed:

"Victims of kidnappings are mainly youth and children of Kenyan nationality who are kidnapped from their homes or on their way to or from school. Upon being kidnapped, they are treated with a lot of cruelty or even beaten seriously (20/5/2014)"

The findings from the key informants agreed with the other sources of data that victims were drawn from various socio-economic backgrounds with the majority being females, children (see Figure 13 below) and Kenyans who were themselves or their families are averagely stable economically.



Figure 13 - A senior Police Officer in Kisii looks at a 4-year-old who had been kidnapped from Embakasi, Nairobi by a househelp in September, 2014 and later found in Kisii town

3.4.1.2 Categories of victims of kidnappings

From the findings of the study it was established that victims of kidnappings belonged to different categories. The majority (95.0%) of the respondents indicated that the victims of

kidnappings were mainly members of wealthy families, business persons by 48.0% the respondents, government officers (19.6%) and tourists (17.2%). The unlikely victims of kidnappings were farmers (0.3%) as shown in Figure 14 below.

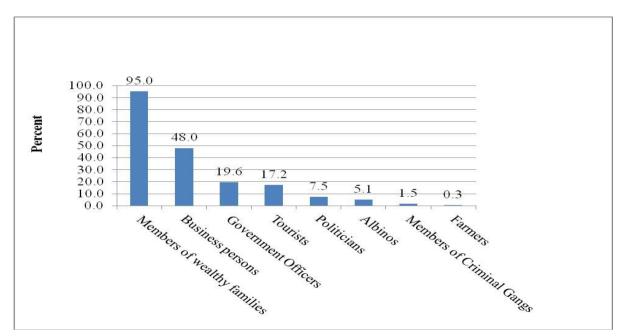


Figure 14 - Victims of kidnappings

The findings from key informants complimented those of the sample respondents in regard to categories of victims of kidnappings that members of wealthy families and business persons were more vulnerable to kidnappings than other categories of persons. A male Deputy County Commissioner in one of the sub-counties in Nairobi County said:

"Victims of kidnappings are women, children of the rich and businessmen majority of whom are or their families are economically stable and can afford to part with some money demanded by their captors (12/5/2014)"

In general, one of the main reasons for kidnapping is to benefit economically through payment of ransom. This explains why members of wealthy families, business persons, and foreigner tourists deemed to have a lot of money are the main victims of the crime of kidnap.

Government officers (such as security officers, Chiefs, District Officers (now renamed Assistant County Commissioners) and clerks of the National Registration Bureau) in areas bordering unstable Somalia (North Eastern region of Kenya) and criminal gangs-infested areas of Coastal Kenya such as Lamu have been victims of kidnappers on a revenge mission against the Government of Kenya. Incidences of politicians being kidnapped by their opponents as a way of revenge and dealing with political competition during elections have also been reported. Persons with albinism have become victims of kidnapping because of the demand for their body parts for witchcraft and occult practices. Cases of members of criminal gangs being kidnapped by rival gangs have occurred. Media and Human rights

bodies have attributed the kidnapping, disappearance and extra-judicial killings of some members of criminal gangs to security agencies. Farmers are the least victims possibly because most Kenyan farmers are perceived to be low income earners. However, cases of some farmers being kidnapped and robbed after receiving cash from sale of crops and livestock were reported.

3.4.2 Profiles of kidnappers

3.4.2.1 Socio-economic characteristics of kidnappers

The majority (87.0%) of the respondents reported that kidnappers were mainly youth aged 18-35 years. The findings showed that most kidnappers were males (71.0%), of Kenyan origin (80.9%). Majority of kidnappers were established as not averagely stable economically (53.8%). These results are presented in Table 3.7 below.

Table 3.7 Socio-economic characteristics of kidnappers

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Age	Youth (that is, 18-35 years)	1154	87.0
	Persons aged above 35 years	856	64.6
	Children and juveniles aged below 18 years	157	11.8
Gender	Male	941	71.0
	Female	385	29.0
Nationality	Kenyans	1073	80.9
	Non-Kenyans	253	19.1
Economic Stability	Majority of kidnappers are not averagely stable economically	713	53.8
	Majority of kidnappers are averagely stable economically	556	41.9
	I don't know	57	4.3

The findings from case study interviews with some kidnappers who were traced into prisons confirmed the socio-economic characteristics of kidnappers reported by the respondents. For instance, a kidnapper who was a Kenyan female aged 32 years and single drawn from Nyeri Sub-county of Nyeri County was covered by the study. She had attained primary school education only and was a christian of the Seventh Day Adventist denomination. This kidnapper was a business lady earning an average monthly income of Kshs. 10,000.00 which she was using to support her household of three people. Another kidnapper was drawn from Machakos County. He was a Kenyan Christian male aged 27 years and single. He had attained university education and had a monthly income of about Kshs. 35,000.00 from his undeclared economic activities.

The findings that majority of kidnappers are youth aged 18-35 years (see Figure 15 below) and are not economically stable points out the need to put up economic empowerment interventions to mitigate the problem among the youths. Children and juveniles have also engaged in kidnappings but they were the least under category of kidnappers. However, this finding raises serious concern because a sizeable proportion of young offenders have been

known to graduate later in their lives to become hardcore criminals/ adult offenders. Hence a lot of efforts should be put in place to rehabilitate and deter them from such juvenile and delinquent activities in their early lives.



Figure 15 - Four youthful male suspects arrested by Flying Squad officers for allegedly Kidnapping a two-year-old child at Mombasa's Mshimoroni estate in Kisauni

The entry of females in serious crimes such as kidnapping and emerging trends in female criminality in the country which hitherto was unknown (see Figure 16 below) should raise concern in the criminal justice system in general and security agencies in particular. Appropriate interventions to address this new trend of female criminality are urgently needed.



Figure 16 - Suspects of a December, 2015 kidnap of a Microfinance Managing Director in Nairobi

The fact that most kidnappers are Kenyans implies that the Government and its stakeholders must design ways of dealing with local criminality which has the potential of scaring away foreign visitors touring the country and investors. However, sound strategies must also be put in place to deal with crimes committed by non-Kenyans such as the Somali Al-Shabaab militants and other criminals from other neighbouring countries.

3.4.2.2 Categories of kidnappers

Kidnappers were established to fall in various categories. The categories largely followed the pattern of kidnappings by types identified. Figure 17 below illustrates kidnappers by categories. Majority (89.0%) of the respondents indicated that the main category of kidnappers was that of strangers to the victims followed by that of acquaintances of victims (79.9%). The category of security agents was the least (38.8%).

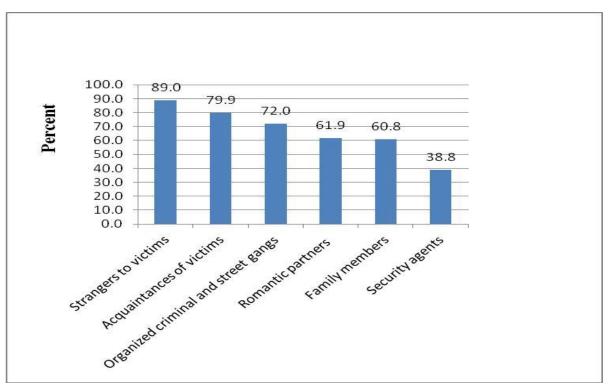


Figure 17 - Categories of kidnappers

Information from the respondents on categories of kidnappers was confirmed by that of some key informants. A male District Children Officer aged between 42-49 years working in Meru County stated that:

"Kidnappers include family members (who engineer the process of kidnapping), romantic partners, acquaintances, strangers, organized criminal gangs and security agents. They are mostly economically not well-to-do youthful Kenyan males. Other perpetrators in Kenya are rapists, Boda boda riders and Sea pirates (12/5/2014)"

The above statement illuminates the various categories of kidnappers in the country and reinforces other findings that most kidnappers are unemployed youths who engage in criminal activities as a means of livelihood.

The finding that the category of strangers was the main category of kidnappers (see Figure 18) agrees with earlier findings which showed that kidnapping by strangers was the main type of kidnapping. Kidnapping by acquaintance was the second main type of kidnapping reported. Some of the acquaintances are domestic workers such as house helps who kidnap the young ones left under their care, gardeners and herds boys who kidnap their masters for extortion, ransom and revenge when employment-related conflict arises.



Figure 18 - Police in Nairobi arrest a Sudanese national accused of masterminding kidnappings targeting foreigners

Organized criminal and street gangs also kidnap their victims for various reasons. Some kidnap victims for purposes of: extorting money from the victims; receiving ransom from relatives and friends of the victims; and for revenge against their rivals and government anticrime operations. Others are hired by business and political persons to kidnap as a way of instilling fear on the rivals and dealing with business and political competition. The reported organized criminal and street gangs that have been involved in kidnappings included: Mungiki, Al Shabaab, Sungu Sungu, Jeshi La Mzee, Ngoroko, Chinkororo, Amachuma, Angola Musumbiji, Kayabombo, Mombasa Republican Council (see Figure 19), 42 Brothers, Dandora Criminals Gangs, Bagdad Boys, Sabaot Land Defense Forces (SLDF), Taliban, Litongo (or Rhitongo), Siafu, American Marines, Bosnia and Super Power.



Figure 19 - Members of Mombasa Republican Council

Studies have shown that some male kidnappers kidnap and/or abduct their romantic partners for love and sexual gratification (Finkelhor and Ormrod, 2000). Others kidnap and/or abduct in order to marry their victims (that is, groom/bride kidnapping) as is the case with some pastoralist communities which still practice early and forced marriages.

Findings reported by 60.8% of the respondents showed occurrences of kidnapping by family members. Some parents involved in perennial domestic conflicts which are likely to precipitate in a divorce or separation may kidnap their children for custodial purposes. Others kidnap their children as a way of forcing a spouse to return home following separation arising from a marriage dispute.

Security agents were established to be involved in kidnappings. It was the least category of kidnappers probably because they were supposed to prevent the crime and not be the perpetrators. Nevertheless, the percentage of that reporting at 38.8% on such a serious crime should raise concern among security agencies and public in general. This study further probed the involvement of security agents in kidnappings. The findings revealed that rogue serving police officers (reported by 21.1% of the respondents) were the major perpetrators, followed by rogue serving private security officers (reported by 4.4% of the respondents) and some former public and private security officers (reported by 3.3% of the respondents). From these findings, there is the need by relevant oversight authorities to act and weed off the public and private security sectors of rogue serving security officers and provide surveillance mechanisms for former security agents to ensure they do not misuse their expertise to engage in crime generally and kidnapping in particular. They could also be constructively engaged as volunteer security personnel and advisors.

3.4.2.3 Perpetrators of kidnappings

The study sought to establish the perpetrators of kidnappings. As indicated in Figure 20 below, strangers topped the list (89.0%), followed by friends and acquaintances (79.9%), criminal gangs and militia (72.0%), romantic partners (61.9%) and family members and relatives (60.8%). The unlikely perpetrators of kidnappings were drinking pub workers (0.7%), students (0.5%) and motorbike (Boda boda) transporters/operators.

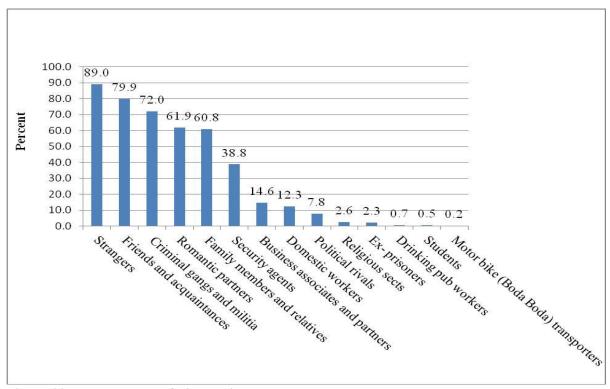


Figure 20 - Perpetrators of kidnappings

Key informants validated the findings on perpetrators of kidnappings by respondents. A Children Officer based in Imenti North Sub-county of Meru County said that:

"Some security officers are also under pressure to maintain security. Part of kidnappings is to eliminate those who are a threat to security. At times, they kidnap when they think a victim has useful information. They also collude with kidnappers (12/5/2014)"

An Inspector of Police aged between 50-57 years and working with the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) in Nyeri County for about five years observed:

"It is unfortunate that some security officers collude with kidnappers to perpetrate the crime of kidnapping. Some kidnappers execute the crime as single criminals or kidnappers in a group such as Mungiki which has been behind some kidnappings in this region (14/5/2014)"

The above statements by key informants affirm the involvement of some security officers in perpetration of the crime of kidnapping as well as that of organized criminal gangs in Kenya.

The findings presented in the Figure 20 agree with the other findings. Strangers, acquaintances, organized criminal and street gangs, romantic partners, family members and security agents (see Figure 21) were found to be the key categories of kidnappers in Kenya.



Figure 21 - Three male suspect Police Officers in a Kericho Court on 10/8/2015 for charges of abduction and extortion

Members of some religious sects involved in occult practices such as witchcraft and human sacrifices have reportedly been kidnapping their victims for such purposes. Persons with albinism have also been a target of some kidnappers in an effort to sell them for extraction of their body parts used in witchcraft across some East African countries.

Some ex-prisoners have been linked to incidents of kidnappings in the country. These former inmates probably may not been properly rehabilitated or were hardened by the prison experience. A number of them have been involved in kidnappings and even consequent killings of their victims. Their motive could be failure to receive ransom money or revenge for fixing them in the cases which led to their imprisonment.

The contribution of workers in drinking pubs (alcoholic beverages drinking outlets/beer bars) was found to be minimal probably because they would not be willing to be directly involved in kidnappings, their full time engagement with the patrons and reluctance to harm their patrons who are giving them business and are the only nearer potential targets. However, rogue pub workers may betray their patrons to kidnappers after ascertaining that the patrons have large amounts of money which they can be robbed of (Hammer and Sedlak, 2002).

Some university students have been reported to engage in kidnappings (see Figure 22 below). Some of these students have kidnapped their fellow college mates (Kipsang, 2014). Although many students fall within the youthful age which is associated with kidnappings, students least engage in this crime probably because their basic needs are taken care of by their parents and guardians as opposed to unemployed youth who have to fend for themselves.



Figure 22- University students arrested for kidnapping 12-year-old relative in Nairobi

Motor bike (Boda boda) operators were found to be the least likely perpetrators of kidnappings. Kidnapping involves an element of use of force and/or capture of a victim. A single Motor bike rider might find it difficult to capture a victim who will also have to be seated behind the rider and have a good opportunity to harm the rider. In fact, Motor bike riders have been victims of kidnappings undertaken by kidnappers posing as customers (Kenya News Agency, 2014).

3.5 Modes of Executing Kidnappings

This study was also interested in establishing the modes of executing kidnappings in the country.

3.5.1 Single and group execution of kidnappings

The findings of this study established that kidnappings were executed by kidnappers as single kidnappers and group kidnappers. The majority (95.0%) of the respondents (who responded

with a 'Yes' to denote execution of kidnappings in a group), indicated most kidnappings were by kidnappers in groups compared to single kidnappers (44.2%). These findings demonstrated similar pattern in kidnapping execution in all counties as shown in Table 3.8 below.

Table 3.8 Group execution of kidnappings per county

County	Yes	No	I don't know	Total
Nairobi	89 (98.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.1%)	90 (100.0%)
Nyeri	67 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	67 (100.0%)
Murang'a	60 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	60 (100.0%)
Kirinyaga	75 (98.7%)	1 (1.3%)	0 (0.0%)	76 (100.0%)
Mandera	76 (90.5%)	3 (3.6%)	5 (6.0%)	84 (100.0%)
Wajir	73 (91.3%)	4 (5.0%)	3 (3.8%)	80 (100.0%)
Bungoma	52 (96.3%)	1 (1.9%)	1 (1.9%)	54 (100.0%)
Kisii	52 (88.1%)	5 (8.5%)	2 (3.4%)	59 (100.0%)
Siaya	54 (98.2%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.8%)	55 (100.0%)
Machakos	75 (93.8%)	2 (2.5%)	3 (3.8%)	80 (100.0%)
Embu	48 (88.9%)	1 (1.9%)	5 (9.3%)	54 (100.0%)
Meru	52 (91.2%)	2 (3.5%)	3 (5.3%)	57 (100.0%)
Nakuru	56 (94.9%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (5.1%)	59 (100.0%)
Migori	51 (96.2%)	1 (1.9%)	1 (1.9%)	53 (100.0%)
Laikipia	58 (98.3%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.7%)	59 (100.0%)
Baringo	48 (90.6%)	4 (7.5%)	1 (1.9%)	53 (100.0%)
West Pokot	70 (97.2%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.4%)	72 (100.0%)
Turkana	83 (97.6%)	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.2%)	85 (100.0%)
Kwale	71 (95.9%)	2 (2.7%)	1 (1.4%)	74 (100.0%)
Lamu	50 (90.9%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (9.1%)	55 (100.0%)
Total	1260 (95.0%)	28 (2.1%)	38 (2.9%)	1326 (100.0%)

The interpretation of the above findings is that kidnapping is an organized criminal gang activity (see Figure 23 below). Relevant security stakeholders therefore must employ suitable approaches used in dealing with organized criminals because of their complex characteristics as opposed to individual criminals.



Figure 23 - A group of suspects at the Milimani Law Courts charged with kidnapping 14-year-old twins in Westlands, Nairobi on 3/10/2013

3.5.2 Use of illegal arms and weapons in kidnappings

The majority (90.6%) of the respondents argued that there was use of illegal arms and weapons against the victims by kidnappers as shown in Figure 24 below.

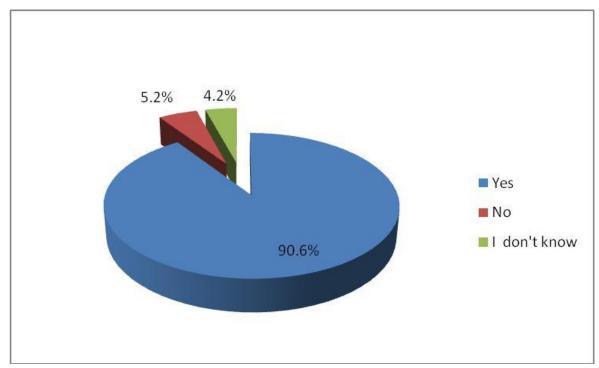


Figure 24 - Use of illegal arms and weapons in kidnappings

The findings of the respondents were confirmed by statements of some case study victims and key informants. For instance, a 42 years old male victim working as a watchman in Msambweni Sub-county in Kwale reported:

"The people who kidnapped me were strangers to me. One was armed with a panga and the other with a gun. They took me to a forest far away from my working place. They threatened me with the weapons and thus cooperated with them by giving them the information they wanted (17/5/2014)"

A key informant who was a State Counsel in the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions in one of the sub-counties of Baringo County said:

"Many a times, kidnappers use illegal arms and weapons against their victims. Most of the kidnapping activities are carried out using the arms as a means for threatening and intimidating the victims (20/5/2014)"

From the findings, kidnappers are deemed dangerous criminals by their being in possession of illegal arms and weapons (see Figure 25 below).



Figure 25 - Armed kidnapper shot dead in Nairobi by Police Officers in August, 2016 after taking a woman hostage and withdrawing cash from her Bank Account through an automated teller machine

Respondents who stated that there was use of illegal arms and weapons against victims by kidnappers were further asked to indicate the extent to which the illegal arms and weapons were used against the victims. From the findings presented in Figure 26 below, the illegal arms and weapons were used to a large extent (63.5%).

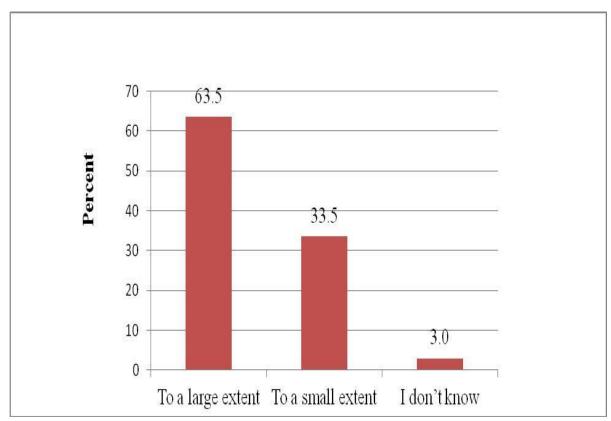


Figure 26 - Extent of use of illegal arms and weapons

The findings indicated that there were illegal arms and weapons in the country (see Figure 27). Government officials estimate there are about 700,000 guns floating around the country, most of them smuggled in from Somalia, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Sudan (Kuo, 2016). The proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons (SALWs) needs to be addressed by the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons and other stakeholders. This will greatly boost the fight against kidnappings and other violent crimes where the use of illegal arms and weapons is involved.



Figure 27 - Kenya destroyed over 5,200 illegal firearms in November, 2016

3.5.3 Ways used to kidnap victims

The study sought to establish how victims were kidnapped in Kenya. The findings revealed that there were a number of ways victims were kidnapped. Most (43.7%) of the respondents reported that kidnappers used force to get their victims while 0.4% of the respondents reported self kidnapping as shown in Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9 Ways used to kidnap victims

Ways used to kidnap victims	Frequency	Percentage
Through use of force	580	43.7
Through enticing and luring	355	26.8
Trailed and monitored before being kidnapped	101	7.6
Through drugging of victims	82	6.2
Through carjacking	58	4.4
Through Domestic workers	52	3.9
Self kidnapping (victims hide themselves)	5	0.4

The statements of a victim confirmed the findings from the sample respondents. A Kenyan male victim from Nakuru Sub-county in Nakuru County who was a student reported:

"My kidnapper was a person I never knew and he had a pistol. I was lured and forced into a car where I was handled roughly, tied up and injected with something that made me unconscious. I was later locked up in a dark room with no sanitation. This scared me so much and was traumatized (20/5/2014)"

This statement also illustrates how kidnappers capture and treat their victims and the bad experiences most victims undergo in the hands of the kidnappers.

According to 43.7% of the respondents, kidnappers use actual force and/or violence or threaten to use force against the victims to ensure that the victims comply with their demands. Possession of illegal small arms and weapons by the kidnappers facilitates them in using force to secure compliance of the victims (see Figure 28 below).



Figure 28- Armed Somali pirate aboard a vessel

According to 26.8% of the respondents (see Table 3.9), unsuspecting children victims were sometimes enticed by kidnappers with goodies such as sweets and toys before they are kidnapped and taken to hiding places before ransom is demanded. Other adult victims such as business persons, for example Boda boda operators, taxi operators and traders could be lured by persons (kidnappers) posing as customers (Finkelhor, Hammer and Sedlak, 2002).

A small proportion of respondents (7.6%) indicated that some kidnappers trail and monitor the movements, schedules, activities and/or operations of their target individuals and capture them when a good opportunity presents itself. This could be for the case of children and business persons (The Star, 2013).

Some potential victims could be drugged for instance in drinking dens or while travelling in public vehicles as indicated by 6.2% of the respondents (see Table 3.9). As soon as the targets become unconscious they are kidnapped. Carjacking, though rare, sometimes provided opportunity for kidnappings as reported by 4.4% of the respondents. Target persons travelling in public and private vehicles have at times been carjacked and then forcefully removed from the vehicles, and transported to unknown distant hideouts by kidnappers.

Victims have sometimes been kidnapped by or through collusion with domestic workers employed by the victims themselves or their families (see Figure 29). The domestic workers either undertake the kidnappings or facilitate kidnappings after being paid some money by the actual kidnappers. This finding relates with other findings which indicated that the country had experienced inside kidnapping reported by 35.7% of the respondents.



Figure 29 – A house help arrested in kidnap of a baby in Kabete constituency, Kiambu County

There have occurred incidents of self kidnapping where 'victims' hide themselves and purport to have been kidnapped. However, their occurrences are very rare as indicated by 0.4% of the respondents. Self kidnapping has mainly been done by family members and spouses who seek to extort money from their rich parents or spouses respectively. It may also be done by the 'victim' as a way of punishing and/or tormenting psychologically a relative who has refused to give in to the victim's demands.

Key informants provided information which substantiated the findings from the respondents. A senior education officer in Embu County had this to say on ways used to kidnap victims:

"A Kidnapper may waylay the victim. He/she may also lure the victim to their places of interest. Other kidnappers offer victims lifts on their (kidnappers) motor vehicles and later kidnap them (19/5/2014)"

A Deputy County Commissioner in Siaya County observed:

"These kidnappers normally use force to capture their victims. However, for the children victims, they mostly kidnap through deception and enticing (13/5/2014)"

These statements confirm that kidnappers use a number of methods to capture their victims. Effective interventions therefore must aim at neutralizing these methods used by the kidnappers to get their victims.

3.5.4 Periods when kidnappings take place

Respondents were asked to indicate the periods when victims were kidnapped. The findings revealed that kidnapping of victims occurred in three main periods; when going home, when on duty or business premises and when closing business. Majority (92.1%) of the respondents indicated victims were mostly kidnapped when going home. Other victims were kidnapped when on duty or in their business premises (24.7%) and when closing their businesses (5.9%).

The findings have implications on how such categories of victims should be protected. Teachers, parents and guardians must ensure that young children leaving schools for homes are collected and accompanied by trusted adults in the evening hours. Business persons need to ensure that they use safe routes and means of transport when getting to work or going home in the evenings. They also need to conduct their business transactions in open and/or secured places and be vigilant of suspect activities and/or persons around them.

Government officers in kidnapping risky zones such as in North Eastern Kenya must also take security precautions while going about their work. Kidnappers interested with getting money may target business persons during closing of business when there is a likelihood of getting money from the day's sales. Therefore, security needs to be beefed up around business premises during closing hours of businesses.

3.6 Motives and Factors Encouraging Kidnappings

3.6.1 Motives for kidnappings in Kenya

The study found that there were socio-cultural (including religious and moral), economic and political motives for kidnappings in Kenya. Table 3.10 shows the findings on motives for kidnappings. Revenge was indicated to be the major socio-cultural motive for kidnappings (67.5%). The least socio-cultural motive was cultural purposes (12.1%). Ransom payment was the major economic motive for kidnappings in Kenya as reported by the majority

(87.6%) of the respondents. The least economic motive was competition for resources (3.7%). The major political motive for kidnapping was overcoming and/or reducing political rivalry (63.3%) while the least was protest against political policies and programs deemed oppressive (14.6%).

Table 3.10 Motives for kidnappings

Motives	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Socio-cultural	Revenge	895	67.5
	Sexual gratification	654	49.3
	Punishment	529	39.9
	Child custody issues	304	22.9
	Cultural purposes (religious/cultic)	161	12.1
Economic	Ransom payment	1162	87.6
	Extortion	681	51.4
	Overcoming and/or reducing business rivalry	391	29.5
	Protest against economic policies and programs deemed oppressive	56	4.2
	Competition for resources	49	3.7
Political	Overcoming and/or reducing political rivalry	840	63.3
	Protest against political policies and programs deemed oppressive	194	14.6

The motive of some kidnappers in committing kidnappings could be to punish and/or revenge against victims and/or their relatives and friends. As established in earlier findings, some ex-prisoners could decide to kidnap and punish as a way of revenge against the victims who caused their imprisonment.

Sexual gratification was indicated as another motive for kidnappings. There are cases of sexually starved male criminals who kidnap female victims, confine them in some undisclosed locations, rape them and release them afterwards. Others are male individuals kidnapping women and girls for purposes of taking them in as their wives in communities still practicing early and forced marriages. This finding is linked to other findings which indicate that romantic partners engage in kidnappings for sexual gratification (Finkelhor and Ormrod, 2000).

Some separated or divorced spouses who are bent on taking forceful custody of their children could kidnap the children in question, in what has been categorized as family kidnapping. There is need for measures to promote consent and good understanding between the spouses on who takes custody of children in the best interest of the children to help stem this type of kidnapping in the society.

The demand for human body parts for cultic practices among some religious cults, retrogressive cultural practices such as witchcraft and sorceries still present in some East

African communities encourages kidnapping of victims (for example albinos are preferred in some communities).

Socio-cultural motives of kidnappings were captured in the findings by some key informants. A female Probation Officer aged between 50-57 years working in Baringo County observed:

"Some kidnappers are out to revenge on victims. Others kidnap children to seek the children's custody by all means including criminal, in a sour marriage relationship (12/5/2014)"

These statements reinforce the findings of sample respondents that the need for revenge and pursuit of child custody in an unstable marriage could motivate kidnappings. The findings bring to fore the need to address socio-cultural problems encouraging kidnappings in the country.

Kidnapping is overtly an economically motivated crime aimed at obtaining ransom payment specifically (see Figure 30 below). Findings in this study showed that most perpetrators of kidnappings were unemployed and poor youths who were averagely not stable economically. From these findings, it is clear that for any measures to deal with crimes and more so the crime of kidnapping to be effective, the government and all stakeholders must include programmes that address poverty in the population and youth empowerment in particular.



Figure 30 - Maragua residents demonstrate against insecurity on 15/8/2013 on the Kenol-Murang'a Road after Maragua businesswoman is kidnapped and ransom demanded

Overcoming and/or reducing business rivalry was reported by 29.5% of the respondents to be one of the economic motives of kidnappings. Stiff and/or unfair business competition may result in some businesses closing shop or become unprofitable. This could eventually breed business rivalry and push some business persons into using illegal means such as kidnapping of their business rivals as a survival technique.

According to 4.2% of the respondents, protesting against economic policies and programs deemed oppressive is one of the motives for kidnappings. For example, some few years back, the Mungiki sect (see Figure 31 below) used to collect huge fees for an individual to operate transport business or carry out construction in some estates in Nairobi and some counties in Central Kenya. When the Government outlawed and scuttled the activities of the sect, some members of the sect resorted to kidnapping and killing of security officers, non-compliant transport operators and construction workers (Hutchinson (2009).



Figure 31 - Members of Mungiki Sect have been involved in criminal activities in Kenya

Competition for resources indicated by 3.7% of the respondents was another economic motive for kidnappings in the country. For instance, the competition for control of water resources and pasture has fuelled kidnappings between members of some pastoralist and crop cultivating communities in some parts of the country. Competition for control of family and inheritance property has also been a cause for kidnappings perpetrated by family members and relatives. Equitable and fair distribution of resources may help in the reduction of kidnapping incidents.

Findings from sample respondents on economic motives of kidnappings (see Table 3.10) were reinforced by findings from key informants. A Chief in a Sub-county of Kisii County observed:

"A motor bike operator in this locality who had very many credit arrears of his friends stage managed a kidnap and asked for Kshs. 400,000.00 as ransom so as to pay back the money because he knew the community could contribute the money. Motor bike operators are also kidnapped, robbed of the bikes and the engines removed to make motor boats (14/5/2014)"

A senior Prisons Officer with the Kenya Prisons Service in Laikipia County said this of kidnappings:

"Kidnappers are young men who want to get rich quickly through ransom and extortion. The community glorifies lifestyles of the rich which fuels the motivation to kidnap for money to get rich (22/5/2014)"

These statements point to the economic motives of kidnappings which must be tackled from a social and moral value-based system.

One of the major political motives for kidnappings is overcoming and/or reducing political rivalry. The words of a key informant who was a Police Officer based at the Machakos Law Courts in Machakos County confirmed the political motives of kidnappings when he said:

"Some kidnappings are planned or executed by politicians who are interested with political dominance by being the only contesting individuals in the electoral region (21/5/2014)"

The above findings relate with the findings which showed that politicians were victims of kidnappings and political rivals were the perpetrators of such kidnappings.

Protesting against political policies and programs deemed oppressive could be a motive for some kidnappings. Somali Government has remained unstable for over two decades with different groupings fighting over political leadership and supremacy. Some of the groupings have resorted to the use of terrorism and militancy (such as that of the Al-Shabaab) to capture political power. Kenya's entry into Somalia has been misconstrued by some of the fighting Somali groups as interference with political affairs of the country. Hence the kidnapping of Kenyans by the Somali's Al-Shabaab in Garissa, Mandera and Wajir Counties a way of protest to Kenya's international relations policies and programs in Somalia (U.S Department of State, 2014).

3.6.2 Factors encouraging kidnappings in Kenya

The findings of this study showed that a number of factors were encouraging the crime of kidnapping as shown in Table 3.11 below. The majority (81.1%) of the respondents reported that unemployment (especially among the youths) was one such main factor encouraging kidnappings in the country. Other factors included: high incidence of poverty (72.1%), existence of gangs and militia (38.5%), retrogressive cultural practices (29.7%), instability and conflicts in some regions (29.1%), inefficiency and/or corruption among some members of the security agencies (28.7%), political competition and rivalry (28.4%), marginalization of some areas (26.6%), proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons (25.4%) and competition for control of resources (20.1%). Terrorism was reported as the least factor contributing to kidnappings.

Table 3.11 Factors encouraging kidnappings

Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployment	1076	81.1
High incidence of poverty	956	72.1
Existence of criminal gangs and militia	511	38.5
Retrogressive cultural practices	394	29.7
Instability and conflicts in some regions	386	29.1
Inefficiency and/or corruption among some 380		28.7
members of the security system	360	
Political competition and rivalry	376	28.4
Marginalization of some areas	353	26.6
Proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons	337	25.4
Competition for control of resources	266	20.1
Monetary gain from kidnapping	112	8.4
Repressive/oppressive institutions	81	6.1
Drug abuse	68	5.1
Business rivalry	56	4.2
Family rivalry	26	2.0
Public ignorance on anti-kidnapping measures	22	1.7
Terrorism	10	0.8

The above findings were corroborated by findings from a number of key informants. A Prison Officer based at the Industrial Area GK Prison in Nairobi County had this to say:

"The major factors influencing the crime of kidnapping in Kenya are poverty and lack of food, wanting to be rich quickly, family disputes and property ownership wrangles, degenerating marital relationships, disclosures to friends of the huge riches in the family and aping of kidnappings from Nigerian movies (23/5/2014)"

One of the senior Police Officers in Mandera County listed the factors behind kidnappings and said:

"Drug abuse, pedophilia behaviour and the monetary gain associated with kidnappings are main factors behind the crime. However, the Al-Shabaab militia in this region commits kidnappings as a protest to what they term Kenya's oppressive counter-terrorism activities in Somalia (13/5/2014)"

These statements of the key informants shed light on some of the critical factors influencing crime of kidnapping in the country.

Most of the respondents (81.1%) indicated many kidnappings in Kenya are committed by unemployed youth. Large parts of the country also experience high levels of poverty.

Findings of this study on socio-economic characteristics of kidnappers indicated that most kidnappers were youth aged 18-35 years. Poverty provides the impetus for commission of crimes. Since most incidents of kidnapping have potentials for huge monetary gains in terms of ransom payment, unemployed and frustrated youths would be easily enticed into the crime.

The existence of criminal gangs and militia (see Figure 32 below) was cited by 38.5% of the respondents to encourage kidnappings. As already established by the other findings in this study, organized criminal gangs were some of the perpetrators of kidnappings in Kenya.



Figure 32- Somalia's Al-Shabaab have perpetrated kidnappings in areas around Kenya- Somalis border

Retrogressive cultural practices (reported by 29.7% of the respondents) were found to be among the factors encouraging kidnappings in the country. This finding together with the other findings demonstrates that some kidnappings are driven by cultural motives such as human sacrifice and witchcraft.

Instability and conflicts in some regions was reported by 29.1% of the respondents to encourage kidnappings in Kenya. Warring communities may engage in kidnappings as a way of subduing their enemies or as a revenge effort. Incidents of kidnappings have been reported among rival clans and cattle rustling pastoral communities in Turkana, West Pokot, Moyale, Isiolo, Samburu, Baringo, Wajir, Garissa, Mandera and Tana River counties. Kidnappings are also common among communities practicing banditry. These findings emphasize the

need for concerted efforts to eliminate inter-clan rivalry, ethnic tension and competition, cattle-rustling and banditry activities.

According to 28.7% of the respondents, kidnappers may be encouraged to continue committing crimes if security agencies do not respond to incidents of kidnappings efficiently and effectively. Kidnapping incidents may escalate if corrupt security officers continue to collude with the kidnappers or get compromised.

The need to out-do political opponents and/or overcome political competition (reported by 28.4% of the respondents) could encourage kidnappings (see Figure 33 below). This finding relates with the other findings which indicated that overcoming political competition and/or rivalry was a motive for kidnappings in Kenya.



Figure 33 - Chaos erupt in Kisumu West on 30/9/2016 as area Member of County Assembly is reportedly kidnapped

Findings from 25.4% of the respondents showed that kidnappings involved the use of illegal arms and weapons to a large extent. The proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons is therefore an important factor encouraging kidnappings.

The competition for the control of resources as reported by 20.1% of the respondents was established as a factor encouraging kidnappings in the country. This finding concurred with other findings which indicated that the competition for control of resources was an economic motive for some kidnappings.

Marginalization of some areas was reported by 26.6% of the respondents as a factor encouraging kidnappings in some parts of Kenya such as North and North Eastern Kenya which do not have adequate basic social amenities and/or infrastructure such as security, hospitals, clean water and good road.

Repressive/oppressive institutions were reported by 6.1% of the respondents to contribute to kidnappings. Some security agencies accused of impunity and being oppressive have been linked to kidnappings and extra-judicial killings in the country. This finding concurred with the other findings which showed that security agents were among the perpetrators of kidnappings in Kenya.

According to 5.1% of the respondents, drug abuse encourages serious crimes including kidnappings. Some criminals intoxicate themselves with hard drugs so that they do not get feelings of sympathy when they brutally handle their victims. Addressing the problem of drug abuse especially among the youths would greatly boost the fight against kidnappings in Kenya.

Findings reported by 4.2% of the respondents showed that business rivalry was a factor that encourages kidnappings. As indicated in the other findings, business persons were both victims and perpetrators of kidnappings. Regulating business competition and operations is therefore key to addressing kidnappings in the country.

Conflicts within families (reported by 2.0% of the respondents) could encourage family kidnappings. This confirms other findings which indicated that child custody disputes between spouses and rivalry between siblings over division of family property have been responsible for family kidnappings.

A few sample respondents (1.7%) argued that public ignorance on anti-kidnapping measures was a factor encouraging kidnappings in the country. A public that does not know how best to respond towards countering kidnappings (for instance, how to raise alarm, report to the police or preserve evidence) motivates the kidnapper to continue perpetrating the vice.

According to 0.8% of the respondents, terrorists activities are a factor that encourages kidnappings especially targeting certain groups such as security officers and government officers. Terrorist groups such as the Al-Shabaab have in some instances kidnapped Kenyan Government officers and other international humanitarian agency workers in the border towns and points between Kenya and Somalia (see Figure 34 below). Addressing terrorism will significantly contribute to taming the kidnapping menace in the country.

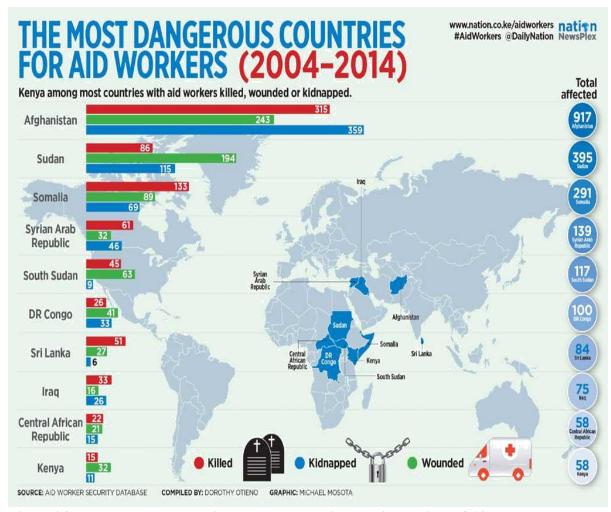


Figure 34 - Kenya among countries that have experienced kidnappings of Aid Workers (Picture adapted from Nation NewsPlex)

3.7 Treatment, Conditions and Coping Mechanisms of Victims

The study sought to establish the kinds of treatment and conditions victims of kidnappings were subjected to by kidnappers and how they coped with the kidnapping ordeals.

3.7.1 Treatment and conditions victims encounter

The majority (82.8%) of the respondents said that they knew the kinds of treatment and conditions victims went through in the hands of kidnappers. The rest of the respondents said they didn't know.

The study established that victims went through different kinds of treatment and conditions in the hands of kidnappers. The majority (55.4%) of the respondents mentioned physical abuse while the least number (3.5%) of the respondents said that victims were drugged by their kidnappers. The results are shown in Figure 35 below.

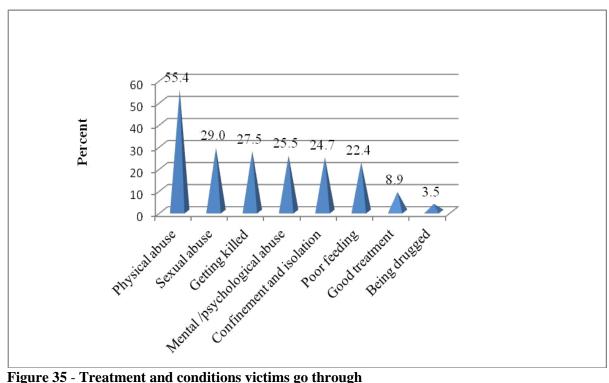


Figure 35 - Treatment and conditions victims go through

The above findings were highlighted in the statement of one of the victims identified and interviewed in this study. The victim, who was a female aged 41 years and married and from Kieni East in Nyeri County said:

> "The kidnappers were hostile to me. After capturing me, they blindfolded me and tied my hands and legs for six days. They gave me one meal a day. They also gave me a bucket to use as toilet and provided me with water whenever I asked them for it. The experience traumatized me (22/5/2014)"

The above statement highlights some of the unpleasant experiences victims go through in the hands of kidnappers.

According to 55.4% of the respondents, victims may be physically abused by kidnappers by way of torture and beatings with the aim of securing their compliance and/or cooperation. Other findings indicated that kidnappings involved the use of force on victims (Wanuna, 2013).

Results from 29.0% of the respondents showed that victims may be raped (and sometimes, gang-raped) by kidnappers bent on sexual gratification and revenge. The finding relates to the one which indicated that there were cases of kidnappings orchestrated by romantic partners in the country (Finkelhor and Ormrod, 2000).

Killing and/or death of victims which was reported by 27.5% of the respondents is the worst treatment during kidnapping ordeals. Some victims get killed in the process of the kidnapper

using force when the victim fails to cooperate (with the kidnapper) or when the motive of the kidnapper is to kill the victim (see Figure 36 below). Other victims are denied some basic needs such as food, water and medicine and end up dying of hunger, thirst and poor health conditions during the confinement period when negotiations for ransom are going on. Others die during rescue operations through shootings between the police and the kidnappers (Pflanz, 2013).



Figure 36 - Three brothers from Nakuru who were kidnapped and later found dead at Kamei Forest in Thika in January, 2017

According to 25.5% of the respondents, most victims go through mental/psychological abuse in the hands of kidnappers. Some kidnappers threaten victims that they will eventually kill them if they or their relatives do not meet the demands given to them and this leads to mental disturbances. Other victims are killed by the kidnappers as others watch which disturbs the victims psychologically (Carey, 2009).

Reports from 24.7% of the respondents indicated that most incidents of kidnapping involve confinement and isolation of victims in secluded places (hideouts) to enable the kidnappers fulfill their missions without being noticed and/or detected easily. These hideouts are sometimes filthy and poorly lit and/or air-conditioned. Confinement and isolation of a person without his/her consent or justifiable reason infringes on the basic human right of freedom of movement and association with persons of one's choice (Makana, 2013).

Poor feeding was reported by 22.4% of the respondents to be one of the major bad treatment and conditions victims of kidnappings went through. Victims may be denied food and water completely or be supplied with the same in inadequate quality and quantity. This has forced some victims to feed on their human waste leading to deteriorated health and even deaths.

Other victims have been forced to feed on their human waste or other items not edible as a mechanism to force them to cooperate with the kidnappers.

The study found from 3.5% of the respondents that some victims were drugged by their kidnappers. Victims may be drugged so that they lose their senses or become unconscious so that the kidnappers are able to handle them with ease. This may be the case for kidnappers interested with sexual gratification. This finding agreed with the other finding that one way used to kidnap victims was by drugging the victims.

Overall, the findings indicated that victims went through negative treatments and conditions in the hands of kidnappers. This therefore called for measures to assist victims heal from kidnapping ordeals.

3.7.2 Victims' coping mechanisms

Respondents were asked to indicate how victims coped during and after kidnapping episodes. The results revealed a number of coping mechanisms (See Table 3.12 below). The main one reported by most (48.0%) of the respondents was cooperating with the kidnappers. Other major coping mechanisms were developing anxiety and fear (40.0%) and seeking medical care and counseling (31.4%). Becoming dependent on the family (4.4%) and changing residence or business location (4.1%) were the least reported coping mechanisms.

Table 3.12 Victims' coping mechanisms

Coping mechanism	Frequency	Percentage
Cooperating with kidnappers	637	48.0
Developing anxiety and fear	530	40.0
Seeking medical care and counseling	417	31.4
Avoiding risky places, strangers and strange telephone numbers	110	8.3
Reporting to police	100	7.5
Pleading for one's life	81	6.1
Becoming dependent on family	58	4.4
Changing residence or business location	54	4.1

Security experts warn that most criminals are easily provoked by resistance and non-cooperation by the victims and may easily harm or kill such victims. This finding (reported by 48.0% of the respondents) therefore emphasizes the need for sensitization of people to cooperate with criminals in the event they find themselves in kidnapping ordeals.

According to 40.0% of the respondents, encounters with unusual experiences from criminals may cause on the victims anxiety and fear leading to body trembling. This state of body and mind may be helpful especially when the kidnapper interprets it to mean that they have subdued the victim thus avoid harming the victim.

Kidnapping may lead to physical and mental health problems arising from torture, threats of force or being killed, unhygienic living conditions and denial of basic necessities such as food, water and good air. It is therefore advisable that victims seek medical care and psychological counseling to help them cope with the negative experiences of kidnappings after the ordeal as was reported by 31.4% of the respondents.

Avoiding risky places, strangers and strange telephone numbers was reported by 8.3% of the respondents as some post-kidnapping period coping mechanism used by some victims. While this may be helpful to victims to some extent, it is not always practical to avoid the perceived risky places because criminals keep on changing their operation bases to avoid law enforcers. Again, it is not practical to avoid all strangers and strange telephone numbers because not many of them have the potential to be risky.

The findings, as indicated by 7.5% of the respondents, showed that some victims reported their kidnapping ordeals to the police as a coping mechanism. However, this finding pointed to a low involvement of the police in investigating and helping in the kidnapping incidents. The public and police need to work closely with clear understanding on how best to assist victims of kidnapping cope well and fully recover from such incidents.

The results from 6.1% of the respondents indicated that some victims tried to plead with kidnappers to spare their lives. Since offenders can change their misbehavior or even drop their original intentions for wanting to commit a crime, people who find themselves in kidnapping ordeals could tactfully try to persuade their kidnappers not to harm them.

According to 4.4% of the respondents, most victims in the hands of kidnappers become dependent on their families for their rescue and survival. For instance, some pleaded with their family members to meet the ransom demands of their kidnappers as a way of ensuring they would be released without much harm. Families of such victims should be encouraged and sensitized to continue giving moral and any other support required by the victims during and after kidnapping ordeals.

Findings from 4.1% of the respondents indicated that some victims of kidnapping and their families may change their place of residence or location of their businesses as a coping mechanism. This is mainly for the fear of possible repeat of such incidents or retaliation by apprehended kidnappers or their accomplices. This coping mechanism was not popular probably because it is not easy to abandon permanent homes just because of one isolated case of kidnapping.

3.8 Effects of the Crime of Kidnapping

This study sought to establish the effects of the crime of kidnapping in Kenya. From the findings shown in Figure 37 below, majority (97.9%) of the respondents indicated kidnappings had socio-economic and political effects in Kenya. However, 1.0% of the

respondents said it did not have socio-economic and political effects while the rest did not know whether or not it had any effects.

The 1298 respondents who said that the crime of kidnap had socio-economic and political effects were further asked to rate the effects in terms of positive and negative. The majority (98.5%) of these respondents said that the effects were negative, 0.4% said the effects were positive, 1.0% were not able to rate the effects and 0.1% did not have any comment. Generally, these findings implied that the crime of kidnapping had detrimental socioeconomic and political effects in society.

The results of this study showed that the major effect of kidnappings is that it creates fear in victims and other community members. This was reported by the majority (75.5%) of the respondents. Other major effects of the crime were: disruption of social peace (66.9%), posttraumatic stress and depression (63.6%), loss of funds through ransom payment (56.0%), reduction of economic investment (42.1%), closure of businesses (35.7%), reduction of business profits (35.4%), leads to other crimes (26.5%), disruption of educational programs (23.7%) and unwarranted increased cost of providing security (22.2%). The least common effect of kidnappings was forced relocation of families and victims.

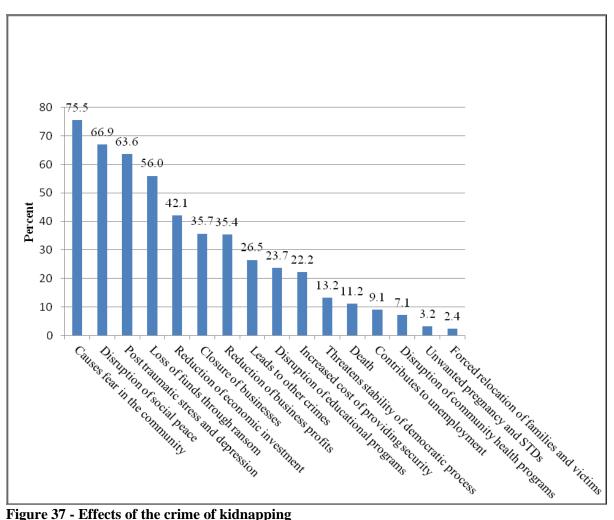


Figure 37 - Effects of the crime of kidnapping

The above findings were confirmed by information provided by key informants. For instance, an Assistant County Commissioner working in Bungoma County argued that:

"Kidnappings have negative socio-economic and political effects. Payment of ransom is a loss of funds to victims or their relatives and friends. There are job losses when businesses close down due to the crime. Kidnappings associated with kidnappers from a particular religious affiliation help to fuel religious animosity (19/5/2014)"

Another key informant, a senior Police Officer in Mwea East Sub-county in Kirinyaga County reported that:

"A lot of resources including time are wasted in trying to locate and rescue victims of kidnappings. It is also very traumatizing to the victims. Kidnapping poses a serious security challenge to security personnel in addressing other crimes associated with it (22/5/2014)"

Kidnappings cause fear and disrupt social peace among victims and other community members. When this happens, affected persons are not able to go about their usual activities normally for some time resulting to reduced productivity. Misery increases in families and the society in general when the victims are killed by the kidnappers or when they die from starvation and diseases in the hands of kidnappers.

Victims of kidnappings and their families may suffer post-traumatic stress and depression arising from the ugly encounters with the kidnappers. This finding agrees with earlier findings which showed that most victims of kidnapping were subjected to negative treatments and conditions. The implication of this finding is that efforts must be put in place to assist rescued victims to heal from mental stress/disorders that could arise from kidnapping ordeals.

The crime of kidnapping affects the economy in many profound ways. Families and victims lose funds to kidnappers (through payment of ransom), which funds could have been spent in more meaningful and productive undertakings in economic development of the individuals and the nation. Potential investors may shy from investing in areas and/or countries with high prevalence of kidnapping incidences. Existing businesses could relocate thus affecting the economic development of such areas. Business persons who lose their finances to kidnappers could also close shop aggravating the problem of high unemployment rate in the country.

Reduction of business profits is another serious effect of the crime of kidnapping. Business persons may be forced to be closing earlier than expected hours to avoid happenings of kidnappings if taking place in the evenings. Customers may also avoid kidnapping-prone business areas implying that businesses in such areas would suffer reduced profits. It also increases the cost of doing business if businesses are forced to hire extra security services.

The crime of kidnapping creates the potential for commission of other crimes. Findings showed that kidnappings involved use of illegal arms and weapons. Possession of illegal arms and weapons is a criminal offence in Kenya's Penal Code. Some kidnappers have often assaulted, tortured, murdered and raped their victims, all of which constitute criminal offences.

Educational sector programs have not been spared by the crime of kidnapping. Kidnapped school going children and teachers cannot participate in school activities during the confinement period. Most school going children may be forced to absent themselves from school during such periods if their parents are in the custody of kidnappers.

Organizations operating in kidnapping-prone areas have been forced to increase their budgetary allocation for security services at the expense of other core activities. The Government is also often forced to deploy more security officers in kidnapping-prone areas for the protection of life and property thus implying that the crime of kidnapping leads to unwarranted increased cost of providing security to the public instead of investing the funds in other development activities.

The crime of kidnapping threatens the stability of democratic processes. Like any other crime, the crime of kidnapping threatens the stability of an elected government when the lives of citizens and visitors in the country are at risk. For instance, the kidnapping of Government officers affects the local operations of any government and dents its image in the international scene. When tourists are kidnapped, foreign exchange is lost and the elected government of the day is affected negatively in its economic programmes (Hutchinson (2009).

Kidnappings affect community health programmes. Some health workers would shy away from working in kidnapping-prone areas. Emergency health services can also not be sought or provided during some hours of the day due to threats of kidnapping. For instance, the withdrawal of humanitarian aid and health workers from North Eastern regions of Kenya due to the rampant kidnapping of International Aid personnel is a blow to the country's health programmes.

Some victims of kidnapping have been raped (and sometimes gang-raped) by their kidnappers thus infecting them with Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs). Other female victims have conceived following sexual assaults of kidnappers. Unwanted pregnancies coupled with damage of the reproductive system due to rape may end up posing health and social challenges to the victims.

Forced relocation of families and victims out of fear for repeat kidnapping compel some victims to change residence against their wish. This could affect their lifestyles and incur unwarranted costs of relocation.

3.9 The Role of the Community in Kidnappings

This study attempted to establish the role of the community in the problem of kidnappings in Kenya.

3.9.1 Community participation in increased cases of kidnappings

Most (48.3%) of the respondents argued that the community had participated in increasing the cases of kidnappings in Kenya while 40.9% of the respondents indicated it had not. These findings (See Figure 38 below) revealed that the community is a major stakeholder in the problem of kidnappings in Kenya.

Respondents who reported that the community had participated in facilitating increased cases of kidnappings were further asked to indicate how it had done so. The majority (90.3%) of these respondents indicated that the community does so by its inadequate collaboration with security organs. Lack of cohesion and don't care attitude among community members (87.7%) and poor upbringing/socialization of children were among the other ways the community had participated in the increased cases of kidnappings. Condoning corruption (13.8%) was considered the least way in which the community participated in the increased kidnappings.

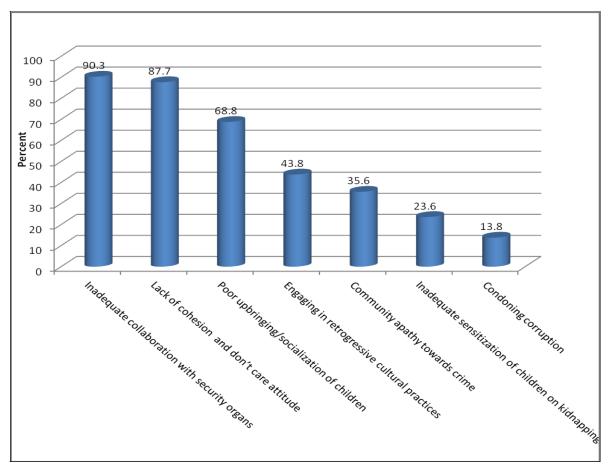


Figure 38- Community's participation in increased kidnappings

The above findings were reinforced by information from key informants interviewed. A Flying Squad Officer in the Directorate of Criminal Investigations in Machakos County had this to sav:

"The community has failed to make full disclosures to the security organs of the identity of kidnappers. This is mainly due to fear for their lives from possible attacks from the criminals. Some community members benefit from kidnappings, so they collude with the criminals (20/5/2014)"

A Police Prosecutor based in Suna East Sub-County of Migori County made the following remarks:

"There is no unity among community members thus leading to envy which escalates to kidnapping missions. Parents have weakened ties with their children thus the children are vulnerable to becoming criminals (21/5/2014)"

The statements of the key informants are a clear pointer to the role the community has played in the increased cases of kidnappings in the society.

Crime flourishes where the community and security organs operate as strange bed fellows. Inadequate or lack of collaboration gives the kidnappers upper edge in their activities. Failure to embrace and/or inadequate community support to the community policing concept (that is, community and police partnership in promoting security) and Nyumba Kumi Initiative (that is, an initiative where members of ten households in a locality are able to know one another in person and interact freely towards securing themselves against unknown strangers) are disastrous (GoK, 2013). Concealing family members engaged in kidnapping activities and failure by the community to report crime to authorities (sometimes due to fear of the criminals) and even unwillingness to provide witness evidence in court against kidnappers motivates them (kidnappers) to continue in the crime.

Lack of cohesion and don't care attitude among community members was reported as to contribute to increased cases of kidnappings. It is not strange especially in some parts of urban areas to see a person being harassed by criminals while other people are passing by, watching and not offering any assistance to the victim. This self-centredness and don't care attitude gives criminals the morale to intimidate their victims and continue in the crime. Ethnic animosity also contributes to abetting of crime when people would overlook or even assist a criminal from their tribe to escape arrest or prosecution if the victim of the crime is from a rival ethnic group.

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¹ Nyumba Kumi Initiative is a strategy of anchoring community policing at the household level or any other generic cluster. These households can be in a residential court, in an estate, a block of houses, a manyatta, a street, a market centre, a gated community, a village or a bulla. The concept is aimed at bringing Kenyans together in clusters defined by physical locations, felt needs and pursuit of common ideals: a safe sustainable and prosperous neighbourhood.

Poor upbringing and socialization of children and youths plays an important role in increased kidnappings in the country. Some parents have abdicated their responsibility of instilling discipline in their children and teaching them acceptable societal moral values and ethics such as loving and helping other people, not offending others and protecting others from harm. Some parents, they themselves, are engaged in criminal activities and do not even provide for the basic needs of their dependants. Some parents encourage their children to engage in crime when they condone/tolerate proceeds of crime brought into the family by their youthful children. Without good parental guidance, care and role model living, some of these children and youth are socialized into crime by their criminal peers, approve the bad behaviours of the adults and look for any possible ways of satisfying their basic needs by venturing and continuing into crime such as kidnappings.

Members of communities that practice retrogressive cultural practices such as human sacrifice and witchcraft abet the crime of kidnapping. Sensitizing the community against these illegal, outdated harmful cultural practices would reduce incidents of kidnappings which are culturally motivated.

Community apathy towards crime contributes to increased kidnappings in society. The feelings of helplessness and hopelessness among community members enables the crime of kidnapping to increase because these members shy away from taking meaningful measures to address the crime. The result has been increased cases of kidnappings.

Knowledge is said to be power. Failure by parents and the community to sensitize children and its members on kidnapping issues, for example how to handle strangers (and especially the suspicious ones), identifying potential kidnappers and taking appropriate action when confronted by kidnappers (for example raising alarm) has made children more susceptible to kidnappings.

Corruption has been blamed for increased cases of crime in society. Some community members may be compromised by criminals to hide them from law enforcers while others may be compromised not to give witness evidence against the kidnappers in court. Such collusion with criminals promotes the crime of kidnapping.

3.9.2 Community participation in addressing kidnappings

The majority (58.7%) of the respondents argued that the community had played a role in addressing kidnappings in the country. These findings were a pointer to some positive actions taken by the community towards dealing with the crime. But 29.6% of the respondents indicated that the community had not participated, the rest did not know whether or not the community had participated in addressing kidnappings. Those who reported that the community had not participated in addressing kidnappings cited a number of reasons and indicated that: some community members feared collusion between police and kidnappers; most community members were ignorant about kidnapping issues; there was apathy among community members making them not to report kidnapping cases to relevant authorities; community members felt that the crime of kidnapping should only be handled by law

enforcers; some community members protected the culprits; poor upbringing of children 73

created the opportunities for the crime of kidnapping to occur; and that kidnapping cases were rare.

The findings of the study (see Figure 39 below) established that community collaboration with security organs on cases of kidnappings was the major way the community had participated in addressing kidnappings (reported by majority of respondents at 73.8%). Sensitization and awareness creation on kidnapping was another of community participation (at 21.6% of the respondents). Fighting alcoholism and drug abuse was the least way (0.3%) the community had participated in addressing kidnappings.

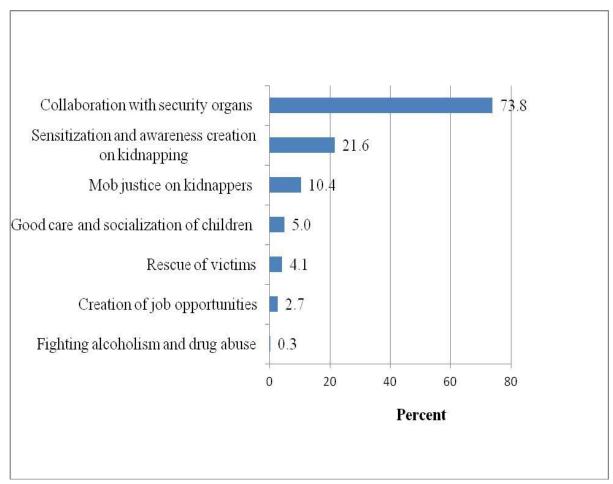


Figure 39 - Community participation in addressing kidnappings

The findings from sample respondents were supported by statements of a magistrate based in West Pokot County who said:

"Some community members in this County are now participating in sensitizing fellow community members on the need for discarding retrogressive cultural practices which encourage kidnapping and abduction of their own girls and of herders from other communities during cattle rustling (20/5/2014)"

A male police officer aged between 42-49 years and based in Imenti North Sub-county of Meru County said this about community participation in addressing kidnappings:

"Community members in this locality are condemning acts of kidnappings. They are also helping the police with vital information which will assist in curbing the crime in the area (15/5/2014)"

These findings are a clear indication that the community has had a positive role in the fight against the crime of kidnapping in the country.

Kidnapping is a crime by some wayward community members against other members in the community. As the study established, community collaboration was largely by providing information on kidnapping to security agencies, participation in community policing and Nyumba Kumi Initiative and arresting and handing over kidnapping offenders to security officers (see Figure 40 below). Collaboration between the community members and security organs in addressing kidnappings is instrumental in controlling the vice since the community knows its problems and how best they can be solved.



Figure 40 - Matatu operators demonstrate in Nakuru town after two businessmen were kidnapped in January, 2016

Sensitization and awareness creation by some members of the community about the crime of kidnapping was established to be another way the community participated in addressing kidnappings. This enables community members (including the affected members such as victims and their families) to understand the dynamics of kidnapping, coping mechanisms and know how to respond to it. This finding authenticates the other findings which showed that 38.7% of the respondents had heard about kidnappings through interpersonal communication.

Mob justice on kidnappers as argued by some respondents (10.4%) was a community effort in addressing kidnappings in society. Incidents of beating, stoning and/or lynching of suspected kidnappers by angry community members have been witnessed. This approach of dealing with crime suspects is not allowed by the criminal justice system in Kenya. The finding points to the misgiving and mistrust between community members and the criminal justice administration system. Community members have a feeling that sometime justice is not meted to the offenders. Therefore, necessary measures must be put in place by relevant agencies to discourage mob justice. The agencies must also endeavor to build trust among them and the community members by ensuring a fair criminal justice system that administers justice to all.

Victim rescue is another key aspect in the redress of the crime of kidnapping. From the earlier findings, victims experience negative treatments and poor conditions in the hands of kidnappers. Therefore, there is need for them to be rescued at the earliest time possible upon being kidnapped. Rescuing the victims greatly facilitates the administration of criminal justice since it is them, who have survived, that become the first prosecution witnesses in court in the cases involving kidnappers.

High unemployment (especially among the youth) and poverty incidences have been cited as some of the major contributors to kidnappings in society. Enterprises and increased employment opportunities in the community would greatly contribute in reducing kidnappings through meaningful engagement of the youths and other adults who would otherwise be lured into crime. There is need therefore to create more economic opportunities in the community.

Alcohol and drug abuse among many youths has been associated with their involvement in crime. Some youths who use hard drugs often are tempted to commit crimes as a way to get money to buy the drugs. Some use the drugs to intoxicate their victims during kidnapping ordeals. There are a number of Community Based Organizations (such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Asumbi Drug Rehabilitation Centre) actively involved in the campaigns against alcohol and drug abuse as well as rehabilitation and treatment of drug addicts. Groups of women in some parts of the country have been reported to storm alcohol selling dens and destroying the alcohol and its preparation equipment as a way of dealing with the problem in society.

Overall, the results of the findings indicated that the aspects of community participation in increasing kidnappings outweigh efforts by the community participation in addressing kidnappings. Effective and full participation of the community in addressing kidnappings in the country should be sought.

3.9.3 Best ways of community participation in addressing kidnappings

Respondents were asked to indicate how best the community could participate in preventing and combating kidnappings in the country. Most (45.1%) of the respondents reported that embracing fully and increased participation in Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives are the leading best ways of community participation in prevention and fight 76

against kidnappings (see Table 3.13 below). Sensitization and awareness creation on kidnapping issues (32.1%) followed next. Other ways included: increased community collaboration with security agencies (30.8%) and establishment of a hotline for reporting kidnapping cases (23.3%). Reintegration of former convicts into the society was the least way (0.7%).

Table 3.13 Best ways of community participation

Best ways of participation	Frequency	Percentage
Fully embracing and increased participation in Nyumba		
Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives	598	45.1
Increased sensitization and awareness creation on		
kidnapping issues	425	32.1
Increased community collaboration with security agencies	408	30.8
Establishment of a hotline for reporting kidnapping cases	309	23.3
Good mentorship of the youth	102	7.7
Fighting/discouraging alcohol and drug abuse	17	1.3
Fighting corruption	14	1.1
Reintegration of former convicts into the society	9	0.7

The Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives (see Figure 41) have a component of security maintenance and were highlighted as some of the best approaches to crime management with great potential to expose criminals and deter them from their activities. This therefore emphasizes the need to popularize the initiatives towards addressing the problem of kidnappings in the country.



Figure 41 - Community Policing Initiatives aim to address insecurity and crime in Kenya

Increased sensitization and awareness creation on kidnapping issues was reported to be one of the best ways of community participation in the prevention and combat of kidnappings in

the country. The importance of this approach was highlighted in other findings which showed that the failure of parents to sensitize children on kidnapping had contributed in increased cases of kidnappings. However, some community members were reported to be engaged in sensitization and awareness creation of kidnappings and hence the reason why some respondents thought it was part of community participation in addressing the problem.

The maintenance of security and management of crime such as kidnapping cannot be left to security agencies alone. Increased collaboration between the community and security agencies in the Community Policing Initiative with regard to reporting crime and criminals and maintaining security vigilance by all community members has the potential to minimize incidents of crime. This is because crime and criminals will be detected and tackled by the Criminal Justice System at the earliest moment and more effectively for example by providing the right witness evidence in court.

There already exist police hotlines for reporting general crime in Kenya. However, the establishment by community based organizations of a swift hotline for reporting kidnapping cases (designed in the format of the Child line number 116 for child abuse cases) could be a step towards engaging the community more in addressing kidnappings.

The community has the responsibility of raising a responsible youth who uphold the moral values and ethics of the society if they (youth) have to live a crime-free life. In this regard, responsible community members have to accord the youth good mentorship and good role modeling. Guidance and socialization of the youth into the community's conscience/norms is necessary for them to avoid the crime of kidnapping which hurts the community itself and become a case of self cannibalization. This is more so because other results in this study found the youth to be the main perpetrators of kidnappings in the country.

Drug abuse was reported by 5.1% of the respondents as one of the factors encouraging kidnappings in Kenya. Unfortunately, fighting alcohol and drug abuse was the least reported way of community participation in addressing kidnappings reported by a paltry 0.3% of the respondents. Therefore, the community needs to up its participation in preventing and combating kidnappings by fighting/discouraging alcohol and drug abuse in the community.

Inefficiency and/or corruption within the security system were cited by 28.7% of the respondents as a factor encouraging kidnappings. Again, 13.8% of the respondents reported that the community participated in corruption and this was one of the reasons for increased cases of kidnappings. The community must therefore come out strongly to participate in the fight against corruption as one of the best ways of preventing and combating kidnappings.

Ex-offenders/ex-prisoners were reported by 2.3% of the respondents as some of the perpetrators of kidnappings in the country. These ex-prisoner kidnappers are members of the community who commit the crime of kidnapping against the same community due to challenges of unstable reintegration and resettlement after the prison sentence. The

community must therefore effectively participate in the rehabilitation, reintegration and resettlement of former convicts into the community.

3.10 Existing Interventions to Address Kidnappings

This study sought to establish the interventions put in place to address kidnappings in the country. It was carried out by identifying the organizations that existed to deal with kidnappings; existing intervention programs and their effectiveness; the role of Government in prevention of kidnappings and effectiveness of its efforts; and how best such efforts could be improved as well as determine the best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings.

3.10.1 Organizations attempting to address kidnappings

The findings of this study showed that majority (83.3%) of the respondents knew of some organizations that were attempting to address kidnappings in Kenya. The rest of the respondents indicated that they did not know.

The results of the study showed that majority (75.4%) of the respondents knew the National Police Service as one such organization attempting to address kidnappings. Other key organizations cited were: the Judiciary (30.2%), Kenya Prisons Service (28.1%) and Children Department (24.7%). The least known organizations were Mobile Service Providers (2.9%) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.7%). These findings are captured in Figure 42 below.

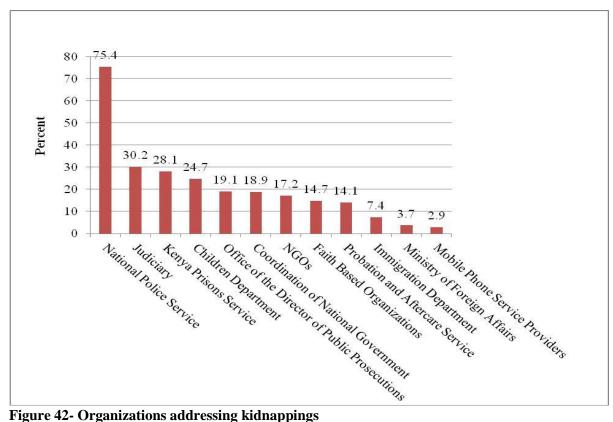


Figure 42- Organizations addressing kidnappings

These findings were also highlighted by the observations of a respondent from one of the organizations which participated in the study. A Programme Advisor in the security sector reforms section of the Kenya Human Rights Commission based in Dagoreti Sub-county in Nairobi County observed:

"Our organization advocates for comprehensive policy reforms on security and are involved in police legislative reforms and documentation. There is advanced anchorage of human rights practices in the police profession and we also undertake community facilitation in policing (23/5/2014)"

From the findings on organizations addressing kidnappings, it is evident that it is a collective responsibility and a concern for all stakeholders, that is, public institutions, private sector and civil society. It is important to point out that majority of the organizations indicated to be involved in addressing kidnappings were government institutions. This demonstrates the central role played by government in the fight against crime. This is so because crime management and maintenance of security is a basic function of any government.

The National Police Service is the first entry point into any effective criminal justice system. In regard to the crime of kidnapping, the National Police Service, among other things, is expected to detect, investigate, arrest and prosecute kidnapping suspects as well as rescue kidnapped victims (see Figure 43 below). They are also expected to prevent kidnapping cases where possible.



Figure 43 - Police in Nakuru at the scene where they shot dead 7 suspected kidnappers in a foiled mission at Moi flats estate in July, 2013

The Judiciary too plays an important role in addressing kidnappings. It is to administer justice to both the kidnappers and the victims by ensuring fair trial and sentencing.

The Kenya Prisons Service also has a huge responsibility in addressing kidnappings which it might not have done fully. Though it is to implement custodial sentences issued by law courts and ensure safe custody of the convicts and those awaiting sentencing, prisons are to serve foremost as rehabilitation centres. When ex-convicts come out of prison, there should be changed behavior and an attitude of remorsefulness for their actions.

The Government's Children Department concerns itself with the welfare, safety, protection from harm and abuse and discipline of all children in the country. The organization also runs and coordinates children rescue centres and the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents. The department must proactively engage all other stakeholders in the fight against the crime of kidnapping since children are the largest vulnerable group.

The Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions prosecutes all criminal cases in court including kidnapping cases. In addressing kidnappings in the country, the prosecution should do its work diligently, to present water-tight evidence in court by parading the right witnesses, non-defective witness statements and proper exhibits to assist the court in its delivery of justice to both the victims and the kidnappers.

Officers in the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government such as the County Commissioners, the Deputy County Commissioners, Assistant County Commissioners, Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs are the chairpersons of security committees in their jurisdictions. Kidnappings being a security issue, the crime must be a serious concern for these officers (see Figure 44 below).



Figure 44 - Officers of Coordination of National Government are involved in security matters

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) too play an important role in the socio-economic development of the country. Some NGOs such as the Kenya Human Rights Commission are involved in protecting the rights of kidnapping victims by representing them in courts and ensuring that they are re-united with their families. Some organizations (for instance, Usalama Forum) are also involved in security programmes and spearheading reforms in the security sector.

Faith Based Organizations are other important players in the fight against the crime of kidnapping. They advocate for a crime-free society and incorporate related interventions in many of their religious programmes. Some are involved in the rescue and resettlement of victims of crime by offering psychological support (guidance and counseling of the victims), medical support and even financial assistance so as to help them cope with post traumatic stress.

The Probation and Aftercare Service Department is charged with the rehabilitation of offenders within the community. It is the implementer of non-custodial sentences issued by the courts. Officers in this organization protect the community by undertaking victim-offender reconciliation and supervision and rehabilitation of offenders. Offenders are also empowered with skills, information and resources to enable them not return to offending behavior.

The Immigration Department has its mandate in addressing kidnappings in the country. The organization regulates movement of people across the Kenyan borders. The department ensures that no persons are moved outside the country through the official border entry and exit points without proper documents or against their consents. Following the recent happenings where terrorists have crossed from neighbouring countries for kidnapping missions, the Immigration Department must ensure that effective strategies are put in place to control entry or exit from the country through lawful border points.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reported as also attempting to address kidnappings. Its role in the management of the crime in the country is very limited. The Ministry is only largely instrumental in the facilitation of repatriation of international crime suspects including kidnappers who have escaped to other countries or foreign kidnappers hiding in Kenya. This could be the reason why only a few respondents mentioned it.

Mobile phone service providers in Kenya (such as Safaricom, Airtel, Yu and Orange Kenya) were the least mentioned organizations involved in addressing kidnappings. This could be because the operations of these providers with regard to providing information on kidnappings are unknown to many Kenyans. It is important to know that these organizations have assisted security officers to track and locate kidnapping victims and the kidnappers through the telephony infrastructure system. The compulsory registration of mobile phone Subscriber Identity Module (*SIM*) Cards by these mobile phone service providers has greatly boosted the fight against the crime of kidnapping and other crimes in general.

From these findings, the following generalizations can be made. There is need to enhance the capacities of all the identified organizations and particularly the National Police Service to be able to effectively deal with the crime of kidnapping in the country. This is through adequate facilitation with enhanced and required financial, human and infrastructural resources.

3.10.2 Interventions and their effectiveness in addressing kidnappings

3.10.2.1 Interventions

The majority (80.7%) of respondents reported that they were aware of some existing interventions already in place while the rest said that they were not aware of any interventions.

This study probed further for the specific interventions that were known to be available to address kidnappings in the country. These interventions (shown in Table 3.14 below) included: tracing and rescue of victims (62.7%), arrest of suspected kidnappers (55.2%), charging suspected kidnappers in court (41.7%), prosecution of suspected kidnappers (30.9%), trial and sentencing of kidnappers (29.4%), detection and investigation of kidnapping cases (28.6%), punishment of kidnappers (21.9%) and repatriation of victims of kidnapping to their families (20.4%). Other interventions included: implementation of Nyumba Kumi Initiative (2.1%) and sensitization and awareness creation on kidnappings (2.5%).

Table 3.14 Interventions for addressing kidnappings

Interventions	Frequency	Percentage
Tracing and rescue of victims	831	62.7
Arrest of suspected kidnappers	732	55.2
Charging suspected kidnappers in court	553	41.7
Prosecution of suspected kidnappers	410	30.9
Trial and sentencing of kidnappers	390	29.4
Detection and investigation of kidnapping cases	379	28.6
Punishment of kidnappers	291	21.9
Repatriation of victims of kidnapping to their families	271	20.4
Collection of intelligence on kidnapping cases	257	19.4
Collaboration between relevant stakeholders	242	18.3
Facilitation of security agencies	181	13.7
Recovery of kidnapped victim's property	158	11.9
Enactment and implementation of relevant laws	147	11.1
Rehabilitation of kidnap offenders	143	10.8
Sensitization and awareness creation	33	2.5
Implementation of Nyumba Kumi Initiative	28	2.1

Key informants provided useful information that complimented the findings of sample respondents in regard to interventions in place to address kidnappings. An Intelligence

Officer working with the National Intelligence Service in Lamu County for 8 years said the following:

"There are existing intervention strategies that have been employed to address kidnappings in Kenya and they are generally effective. They include deployment of the Kenya Defence Forces and the Administration Police based at Ndau, Border Patrol Units and Marine Police Units armed with more specialized weapons and boats to fight piracy and terrorism (13/5/2014)"

A Senior Assistant Director in the Directorate of Criminal Investigations in Nairobi County observed:

"Security agents have targeted the vice and managed to contain it for example in Murang'a. Special units have been formed within the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) to handle different complex crimes such as kidnappings. We are also keeping trend of criminal data and tracking those released from prisons (16/5/2014)"

These statements indicated the security interventions that were in place to address kidnappings and other crimes in the country.

The results in Table 3.14 were complimentary to the other findings of this study. The interventions were associated with the functions of the organizations that were reported to be addressing kidnappings in the country. Many of these interventions point out the critical and leading role of the National Police Service in the fight against the crime of kidnapping in the country. However, the war against the crime requires everyone else's support and the proper facilitation with the required resources such as relevant personnel, training and modern working equipment.

The prosecution of suspected kidnappers was reported to be another important intervention in addressing kidnappings. This is a crucial function of the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions as a key institution involved in addressing kidnappings in the country.

Trial and sentencing of arrested kidnappers contributes greatly to addressing the crime of kidnapping. It aims to deter kidnappers, potential kidnappers and other criminals from such criminal activities. This is an intervention being executed by the Judiciary which was reported as another leading organization in the fight against kidnappings.

Punishment and rehabilitation of kidnappers is an important intervention in addressing kidnappings. It has the potential to reform a kidnapper to quit the vice and become a law abiding citizen. This intervention is largely carried out by the correctional organizations such as the Kenya Prisons Service and the Probation and Aftercare Service Department. It also

helps deter would-be kidnappers and the convicts from repeat of the offence during the period of confinement and supervision and rehabilitation.

Collaboration between relevant stakeholders (that is, individuals, community, institutions and government) and sensitization and awareness creation are key to the successful solution of many of the societal evils such as kidnapping. This finding thus reveals the need for the public, private and civil society organizations that were identified in the fight against kidnappings to forge partnerships and all contribute in awareness creation in the community about kidnappings. Collaboration between the community and the police through the Community Policing Initiative is one such approach which could see reduced incidents of kidnappings in the long run as a result of early detection and prevention of the crime.

The enactment and implementation of relevant laws on kidnapping (such as the Penal Code CAP 63 Laws of Kenya, Section 254 to 262) is an important intervention. However, the maximum sentence of seven years for one convicted of kidnapping may not be severe enough to act as deterrence.

The Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing initiatives (see Figure 45 below) were the least reported existing interventions for addressing kidnappings. This could possibly be attributed to the newness of these security concepts in the country. These initiatives need to popularized and facilitated towards addressing crime in the country.



Figure 45 – An illustration of Nyumba Kumi Initiative aimed at boosting security across the country

3.10.2.2 Effectiveness of interventions

Majority (54.5%) of the respondents indicated that the interventions they were aware of for addressing kidnappings were not effective. However, 45.5% of the respondents said that these interventions were effective (see Figure 46 below).

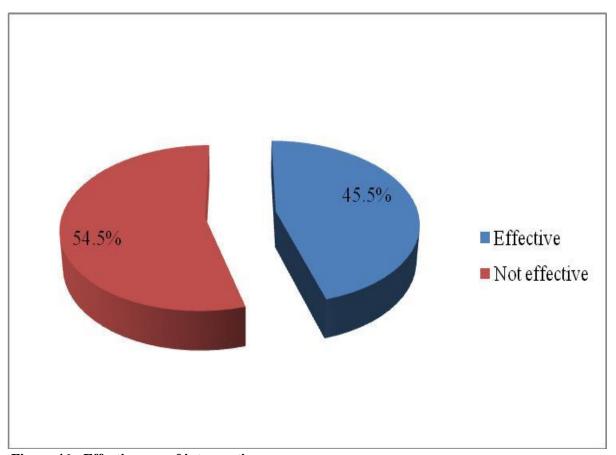


Figure 46 - Effectiveness of interventions

These findings of the study demonstrate the need to strengthen these interventions for better effectiveness in addressing kidnappings in Kenya. Much more efforts, however, should be put on the interventions that had a low reporting from the respondents.

3.10.3 Government's role in containing kidnappings

Respondents were asked if they thought the Government of Kenya was doing enough to address kidnappings in the country. Majority (53.9%) of the respondents indicated that the government was not doing enough, 41.6% of the respondents reported that it was doing enough and the rest did not know whether or not the government was doing enough to control kidnappings.

All the respondents except those who reported that they did not know whether or not the government was doing enough to contain kidnappings were further asked to explain their answers. The responses are captured in Table 3.15 below.

Table 3.15 Responses on Government's efforts in containing kidnappings

Variable	Reasons given	Frequency	Percentage
Government	There are increased cases of kidnapping	199	27.8
was not doing	There is slow response by security agents on		
enough to	kidnapping incidents	180	25.2
contain	Corruption in government agencies dealing		
kidnappings	with crime hinders efforts in addressing	100	
	kidnappings	100	14.0
	There is no adequate legislation to address		
	kidnappings	68	9.5
	There is lack of thorough investigation of	2.4	
	kidnappings	34	4.8
	Government security agents are inadequate	30	4.2
	Government has not created awareness on		
	kidnappings	30	4.2
	Law enforcers don't have sufficient equipment	29	4.1
	Not all security agents are well trained to fight		
	kidnapping	26	3.6
	There is inadequate government collaboration		
	with other stakeholders	23	3.2
	Security officers use outdated technology to		
	address crime	17	2.4
	Government has not created adequate		
	economic opportunities for the youth	12	1.7
	Security agents are not motivated to address	11	
	crime	11	1.5
Government	Government is mitigating kidnappings using		
_	its security agencies through: increased		
_	number of security agents who are well		
contain	trained; deployment of security personnel in		
kidnappings	border points; adoption of modern technology		
	to fight crime; formation of special units to		
	deal with different types of crime; swift		
	response in kidnapping incidents by security teams; and arresting and charging some	433	
			70.6
	kidnappers	50	78.6
	There is decrease in kidnapping cases Government has adopted Community Policing	52	9.4
		45	8.2
	and Nyumba Kumi Initiative Government is engaged in sensitization and		0.4
	awareness creation of the public on crime	43	7.8
	Government is collaborating with other		7.0
	stakeholders on crime management	24	1 1
	Government has created job opportunities for		4.4
	the youth	6	1.1
	me youm		1.1

From the findings in Table 3.15, issues to do with inadequacies within the security system could probably be the major reasons why the government is perceived as not doing enough to

curb kidnappings in the country. Therefore, it is important that the inadequacies and inefficiencies in the security sector are properly addressed.

These findings concurred with the earlier findings of the study which indicated that some of the factors encouraging the crime of kidnapping were inefficiency and/or corruption among some members of the security agencies, existence of criminal gangs and militia and proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons which relate to inadequacies in the security system. Also, the finding that the Government was not doing enough to contain kidnappings (53.9%) corresponds with the finding that most of the interventions for addressing kidnappings were not effective (54.5%) since many of these interventions were largely aligned to government institutions.

The findings in Table 3.15 could be interpreted that the Government in deed has made substantial efforts in the fight against the crime of kidnapping through the security measures (see Figure 47 below) it has put in place (hence the reporting of 41.6% respondents who said the government was doing enough). However, the government should double its efforts through adequate facilitation of the security agencies with regard to improved human resource management, financial and modern infrastructural resource mobilization.



Figure 47 - Arrest of Ali Babito Kololo (in green T-shirt) after kidnap of British tourist David Tebbutt and his wife Mrs. Judith Tebbutt

The study further investigated on how best the Government could improve its efforts to address kidnappings (see Table 3.16 below). Majority (70.1%) of the respondents believed

the government should create more employment opportunities for youth. Other important ways suggested for improvement were: adequate facilitation of security agencies to combat kidnappings (57.5%); instituting stiff penalties for kidnapping offenders (53.3%); undertaking more awareness campaigns about the crime of kidnapping (49.8%); opening up of more economic opportunities in the country (40.9%); elimination of corruption (34.5%); enactment and/or full implementation of anti-kidnapping laws (32.1%); and increased collaboration with relevant stakeholders (24.7%). The establishment of Rescue Centres for kidnapping victims was the least reported area of improvement.

Table 3.16 Improving Government's efforts in addressing kidnappings

Areas of improvement	Frequency	Percentage
Creation of more employment opportunities for youth	929	70.1
Adequate facilitation of security agencies	763	57.5
Instituting stiff penalties for kidnap offenders	707	53.3
Undertaking more awareness campaigns	661	49.8
Opening up of more economic opportunities in country	542	40.9
Elimination of corruption	457	34.5
Enactment and/or effective implementation of anti-		
kidnapping laws	426	32.1
Increased collaboration with relevant stakeholders	327	24.7
Fair and or equal distribution of resources and infrastructure	241	18.2
Promotion of Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing		
Initiatives	34	2.6
Establishment of Rescue Centres for kidnapping victims	4	0.3

For the need to improve Government's efforts in addressing kidnappings, these were the observations by some key informants. A Sub-County Probation Officer in Laikipia County stated:

"The Government should endeavor to create more employment opportunities, create awareness on the crime of kidnap and continue popularizing the Nyumba Kumi Initiative for the community to fully embrace it. The Government should also work with the religious organizations to preach to people to be God fearing and avoid crime (22/5/2014)"

This statement reiterates some of the key areas the Government's attention for improvement is needed in addressing kidnappings in the country.

The revelations of the study were that the main perpetrators of kidnappings are the unemployed youth and that youth unemployment was a major contributing factor encouraging kidnappings. The prevalence of poverty in society too was also blamed for kidnapping crime. The government was considered not having created adequate economic

opportunities for the youth. By creating more economic and employment opportunities for the youth and the general public in the country, the Government would be making great strides in the fight against kidnappings. Therefore, such government efforts in the recent times in establishment of the Youth Enterprise Fund, Women Enterprise Fund, Uwezo Fund (see Figure 48 below) and the 30% procurement opportunities set aside for the youth, women and special groups' economic empowerment is the right thing to do and to continuously improve upon.



Figure 48 - Uwezo Fund has a potential multiplier effect of reducing crime incidents

The security agencies were observed to be the leading organizations responsible for many important interventions in addressing kidnappings. It was also noted with concern that there were a number of inadequacies within the agencies. Therefore, the slow response, shoddy investigations and faulty charge sheets prepared by security personnel against kidnappers are areas which need to be improved on by the government. The Government should ensure: adequate provision of up to date technology, provision of proper infrastructure and modern equipment and recruitment and deployment of high trained security personnel. Motivation of the security personnel through improved terms of service is also essential.

² Uwezo Fund provides youth and women access to grants and interest-free loans, as well as mentorship opportunities to enable them take advantage of the 30% government procurement preference for youth, women and persons with disabilities through its Capacity Building Programme.

The Executive, in liaison with the Legislature Arm of Government, need to enact laws that provide severe penalties for kidnappers. This may act as a deterrent measure for repeat of such offences and discourage potential criminals. The Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions should undertake watertight prosecutions and request the courts to mete out heavy sentences against convicted kidnappers.

Public ignorance on anti-kidnapping measures was reported as a factor encouraging kidnappings and sensitization and awareness creation was suggested as an important intervention for addressing kidnappings. Therefore, the Government needs to incorporate awareness creation campaigns among its many other programs and strategies in tackling the crime of kidnapping.

Corruption was indicated in most of the findings of this study as a hindrance to the effective fight against kidnappings in the country. It permeates among the ranks of the security agencies, as well as the community members at large. Fighting corruption was identified as one of the best ways of community participation in addressing kidnappings. Therefore, elimination of corrupt practices in the general government agencies, public and private security agencies and the public as well would greatly improve the efforts and success in the fight against kidnappings in the country.

Collaboration among stakeholders was repeatedly established in a number of findings in this study as a key intervention strategy in addressing kidnappings in the country. It involves community collaboration with security organs and government collaboration with the private sector and civil society. Collaboration among various stakeholders was cited to be inadequate and therefore, the Government needs to increase its effort to invite and work with other players in the security sector for a successful secure nation.

Government effort in ensuring there is a fair and/or equal distribution of resources and good infrastructure in all parts of the country is very important for a successful redress of the kidnapping crime. Marginalization of some areas and competition for control of resources were found to be factors encouraging kidnappings.

Ultimate public security success lies in genuine and honest partnership between the state and the community. Two parties can be greatly interlinked and cooperate through two important initiatives; the Community Policing and Nyumba Kumi initiatives which so far have seen improving trust between community members and the police. Therefore, promotion and embracing of these two programs is believed would enhance the Government's efforts in addressing kidnappings. Other findings identified the two initiatives as one of the interventions for addressing kidnappings.

In spite of establishing of Rescue Centres for kidnapping victims being reported by the respondents as the least popular approaches the Government can use to improve its address of the kidnapping crime, its piloting should be welcomed (see Figure 49 below for an illustration of such a Centre).



Figure 49 - A model victim of crime response and rescue centre

3.10.4 Best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings

The study sought to find out from sample respondents what they thought were the best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya. The majority (78.7%) of the respondents reported sensitization and awareness creation as the leading best practice. Other best practices cited included: stiff penalties to kidnappers (57.7%), collaboration among all stakeholders (48.2%), strengthening Community Policing (45.2%), creation of employment opportunities for the youth (42.5%), recruitment and deployment of enough public security agents (38.9%), provision of modern gadgets and equipment to public security agents (31.7%) and curbing corruption in government agencies dealing with crime (21.5%). The practices that were considered as least helpful included: vetting of domestic workers before hiring them (2.3%), motivating security agents (2.7%), protection of informants and whistle blowers (4.3%), mopping up of illegal arms (4.3%) and profiling of kidnappers and previous convicts (4.8%). These findings are shown in Table 3.17 below.

Table 3.17 Best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings

Best practices	Frequency	Percentage
Sensitization and awareness creation of the public	1044	78.7
Strict penalties to kidnappers	765	57.7
Collaboration among all stakeholders	639	48.2
Strengthening Community Policing	600	45.2
Creation of employment opportunities for the youth	564	42.5
Recruitment and deployment of adequate public security		
agents	516	38.9
Provision of modern gadgets and equipment to security		
agents	420	31.7
Curbing corruption in government agencies dealing with		
crime	285	21.5
Training public security agents	255	19.2
Swift response by security agents	240	18.1
Creation of special security units to deal with specific		
crimes	222	16.7
Improvement of intelligence sharing and utilization	189	14.3
Allocation of adequate resources to security agencies	90	6.8
Conducting thorough investigations	84	6.3
Accompanying young children and leaving them with		
reliable people	69	5.2
Profiling of kidnappers and previous convicts	63	4.8
Mopping up of illegal arms	57	4.3
Protection of informants and whistle blowers	57	4.3
Motivating security agents	36	2.7
Vetting of domestic workers before hiring them	30	2.3

Key informants in this study opinionated a number of best practices they thought would be successful in prevention and control of kidnappings in Kenya. For instance, a security officer working with the Bank of Africa in Nairobi County said:

"Best practices should involve effective gathering of intelligence on kidnappings, curbing corruption in the public sector, employing persons of integrity in the public sector in general and security agencies in particular, the security fraternity to accurately report to the public on kidnapping incidents and research be done on what motivates kidnappings (13/5/2014)"

A male Magistrate who had been working in Nakuru for three years had this to say:

"Best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings have to involve awareness creation on the problem of kidnapping, creation of employment especially for the unemployed youth and society's emphasis on ethics and integrity (15/5/2014)"

These findings from the key informants support those of sample respondents that taunted sensitization and awareness creation, creating economic opportunities for the youth, proper facilitation of security organs and eradication of corruption as some of the best practices in addressing the crime of kidnapping.

Almost all the best practices indicated in Table 3.17 link with the other findings of this study which considered them either as interventions, Government's areas of improvement, areas of community participation and best ways of community participation in addressing kidnappings. Inefficiencies of these practices were also identified to be factors encouraging kidnappings and the Government considered as not doing enough to address kidnappings in the country.

Accompanying young children to school and putting them under custody of reliable and trusted persons would also be a best practice in addressing kidnappings. During school hours, school authorities must take responsibility for the safety of their learners.

Advanced economies have adopted modern methods of managing crime, some of which include creating and sharing of databases containing critical background and bio-data of profiled serious criminals/offenders. This enables the law enforcement agencies to easily track any new crime committed by previously processed criminals. Such consideration for establishment of a crime database for kidnappers and other serious crime convicts' profiling could help in addressing kidnappings.

Most kidnappings in the country were reported to involve, to a large extent, the use of illegal arms and weapons. The Government must consider mopping up all illegal arms by any means possible. Where such efforts by the Government would not be successful, the Government should encourage the people to register the arms with relevant government agencies.

Strengthening laws to incorporate the crime of kidnapping under the Witness Protection Programme needs to be considered since kidnappers are dangerous criminals with high potential to harm (in revenge or to silence) people who are vocal against the crime or give out information to law enforcement agencies about their activities.

Findings of this study identified domestic workers as some of the perpetrators of kidnappings in Kenya. They are involved in inside kidnapping and acquaintance kidnapping. As a best practice in preventing and combating these kinds of kidnappings in the country, vetting of domestic workers before hiring them could prove useful.

3.11 Challenges Faced in Addressing Kidnappings

3.11.1 Challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings

The majority (92.8%) of the respondents reported that there were challenges faced in the prevention and combat of kidnappings in Kenya. However, 3.0% indicated that there were no challenges and 4.2% of the respondents did not know whether or not there were challenges.

The most serious challenge reported by the majority (65.6%) of the respondents was inadequate resources within the security agencies involved in the fight against the crime. Other major challenges included: corruption in the society (49.6%), community reluctance to volunteer information (29.9%), inadequate awareness and sensitization on kidnappings (25.8%), inadequate cooperation among stakeholders (24.1%) and high levels of youth unemployment (22.8%). The least considered challenges were: use of unregistered mobile phone SIM cards (0.8%), infrequent transfer of some security officers (1.1%) and willingness by victims and their families to pay ransom (1.1%). These findings are presented in Table 3.18 below.

Table 3.18 Challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings

Challenges	Frequency	Percentage
Inadequate resources within security agencies	870	65.6
Corruption	658	49.6
Community reluctance to volunteer information due to fear		
of attack	396	29.9
Inadequate awareness and sensitization on kidnappings	342	25.8
Inadequate cooperation among stakeholders	320	24.1
High levels of youth unemployment	302	22.8
Use of modern technology by kidnappers	190	14.3
Poor transport infrastructure and communication in some		
parts of the country	174	13.1
High level of insecurity in some parts of the country	136	10.3
Lack of stiff penalties for kidnappers	116	8.7
Existence of organized criminal gangs	114	8.6
Collusion between some police officers and kidnappers	72	5.4
Proliferation of illegal arms	56	4.2
Slow adoption of Nyumba Kumi Initiative	54	4.1
Willingness to pay ransom	14	1.1
Infrequent transfer of some security officers	14	1.1
Use of unregistered mobile phone SIM cards	10	0.8

The inadequacies in security budgetary provisions, security personnel, training and modern equipment and infrastructure pose a great challenge to the fight against kidnappings in the country. Poor remuneration and living conditions for most of security personnel lowers their morale occasioning poor response of the officers to incidents of the crime in the country.

Corruption in the society is a stumbling block in the prevention and combat of kidnappings in Kenya. Malpractices that are a threat in stamping out the crime of kidnapping include: community members who are compromised by the criminals so that they do not cooperate with public security agents and public prosecutors in the investigation and prosecution of the offenders, wayward security agents and prosecution officers who also collude with kidnappers to scuttle investigations and prosecution of kidnapping cases and judicial officers

who are bribed to dismiss kidnapping cases, acquit or hand over lenient sentences to the kidnappers.

The reluctance by community members to volunteer information about kidnappers because of apathy, mistrust between the community and law enforcers, the fear of possible reprisal/attack by the kidnappers or the need to protect the kidnappers who are close relatives and friends seriously jeopardizes efforts to address the problem. This makes it very difficult for law enforcers to detect and pre-empt attacks by kidnappers. This finding is reinforced with the other findings that indicated that the community had participated in increased cases of kidnappings by not collaborating fully with security organs and its apathy towards crime.

Inadequate sensitization and awareness creation among the vulnerable groups such as young children and kidnapping-ignorant adult members of the public is another challenge faced in preventing and combating kidnappings. The earlier findings showed that public ignorance on anti-kidnapping measures was a factor encouraging kidnappings while inadequate sensitization of children on kidnappings was one of the ways the community had participated in increased cases of kidnappings. Therefore, it is important that these very vulnerable groups are educated on the dangers and activities of the kidnapping crime such as the consequences of kidnapping, predisposing factors of kidnapping, vulnerable categories and the basic measures to protect themselves and linkages with the security agencies dealing with the crime. This will likely enable them support initiatives geared towards addressing the kidnapping problem.

Failure by stakeholders such as the community, Judiciary, National Police Service, Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Kenya Prisons Service, Probation and Aftercare Service, Children Department, other public, private and civil society stakeholders to fully cooperate with each other can greatly hamper the successful fight against the crime of kidnapping in society. These stakeholders must partner and mobilize required resources and ensure properly coordinated efforts to fully bring under control the kidnapping menace in the country. These findings are supported by key informants. For instance, a senior Probation Officer working in Nyeri County for 11 years observed:

"Preventing and combating kidnappings in the country faces lack of adequate resources in terms of finances and equipment such as vehicles for the security agencies, lack of capacity among some stakeholders to handle the crime and lack of adequate collaboration and partnership among stakeholders in crime prevention (14/5/2014)"

Unemployment especially among the youth has been associated with their engagement in criminal activities. In the circumstance of rampant unemployment and high level of poverty incidences, the youths could be motivated to obtain money by extortion and ransom payment in kidnappings activities. This finding is corroborated with the other findings that unemployed and economically unstable youths were the main perpetrators of kidnappings

and unemployment and poverty in society were some of the major contributing factors of the crime.

Increasing use of modern technology in committing crime and evading law enforcement poses a serious threat to the security agencies' effectiveness in the war against crime. The youths who were established as the main perpetrators of kidnappings are technology savvy and appear to be ahead of the police in the use of technology. Some kidnappers, even when in prison custody, use modern technology to lure their potential victims into their set traps by use of mobile phones. Some kidnappers are even able to tap or interfere with communication systems of law enforcers to avoid arrest. Although there is a requirement by law that all mobile phone Subscriber Identity Module (*SIM*) cards and lines must be registered, some people continue to use unregistered cards which often make it difficult for the security officers to track such criminals. Virtual kidnapping (where a kidnapper gets contact and personal information on minors and then he/she calls the parents for ransoms without the child actually being taken) is to a large extent facilitated by modern technology.

Some parts of the country have poor transport infrastructure and communication networks. For example, most parts of Garissa, Wajir and Mandera (see Figure 50 below), Moyale, Marsabit, Baringo, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana have very poor road networks couple with ragged terrains. The mobile telephony coverage of these areas is also very low. This means that law enforcers pursuing criminals such as kidnappers in these regions take longer to catch up with them or even do not catch up with them at all. This finding relates with the earlier findings which indicated that marginalization of some areas was a factor encouraging kidnappings.



Figure 50 - Part of the 800 Kilometre ragged Garissa- Mandera Road

High level of insecurity, existence of organized criminal gangs and proliferation of illegal arms in some parts of the country pose a serious challenge in the fight against kidnappings. The existence and the prevalent criminal activities of Mungiki, Mombasa Republican Council and Al-Shabaab in certain areas of the country have been reported to promote the kidnapping crime. These groups also target law enforcement officers putting the lives of the officers equally at risk. Certain communities in some parts of the country such as Athi River, Isiolo, Moyale, Wajir, Mandera, Baringo, Turkana and West Pokot are frequently engaged in inter-clan conflicts and inter-ethnic cattle rustling, often using illegally acquired small arms and weapons. This makes maintenance of law and order in these areas generally difficult. In other findings of this study, instability and conflicts in some regions, proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons, terrorism and the existence of criminal gangs and militia were reported to be factors encouraging kidnappings.

Lack of stiff penalties for kidnappers was cited as one of the challenges in preventing and combating kidnappings. The maximum penalty for the crime of kidnapping is a seven-year prison sentence (KLRC, 2009). This sentence may not be very severe to deter kidnappers from repeat of the offence and would-be kidnappers from committing the crime.

The recently introduced Nyumba Kumi Initiative by the Government was designed to help in early detection and prevention of crime in the country by identification and arrest of the potential offenders. The initiative has quickly found acceptance in rural settings but its uptake in urban areas where most residents are not interested with what happens to the neighbor in the next door is very slow. This slow adoption and embracing of the Nyumba Kumi Initiative in the large urban areas and cities would continue to pose a challenge in early detection and elimination of potential kidnappers in the community.

The great motivation for most kidnappings was established to be the interest in ransom payment by the victims or the victims' families. Due to the fear for the victim's life in a prolonged confinement in the hands of kidnappers some who could be merciless, friends and families sometimes immediately enter into negotiations and payment of ransom even without involving security agents. This ready willingness to pay ransom, though with all its good intentions of saving a life, highly promotes the crime because the kidnappers know too well that their mission would be accomplished in a matter of seconds. The sentiments of some key informants confirmed the findings on the challenge of willingness to pay ransom. For instance, a Children Officer working in Siaya Sub-county of Siaya County for the last 8 years had this to say:

"There is a challenge in that kidnappers contact the families of victims to pay ransom and the families are willing to pay while the police are still investigating the cases. This has the potential to encourage the crime (13/5/2014)"

Infrequent transfer of some security officers was reported to be one of the least challenges. This could be attributed to the fact that the Government has a work transfer policy for the

security officers of serving a maximum of three years ordinarily at a particular work station. This policy is majorly aimed at reducing incidents of the officers being complacent at work and colluding with criminals out of much familiarity.

The above findings on challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya were corroborated by information from some key informants. A male Principal Prosecution Counsel aged between 42-49 years in one of the Sub-Counties in Kirinyaga County observed that:

"Efforts to prevent and combat kidnappings in Kenya are met with underfunding of relevant security agencies, lack of public awareness on issues of kidnappings and lack of sensitization of the Judiciary on the sensitivity of the crime of kidnapping (20/5/2014)"

A female Probation Officer aged between 50-57 years and based in West Pokot County had this to say:

"Making reference to this County, the challenges in preventing and combating kidnappings happening between the Pokots and Turkanas are availability of illegal arms, lack of knowledge among the communities about the serious dangers of the crime, inadequate security personnel and the poor transport and communication network which makes it difficult to trace kidnappers, especially herders across the communities which are ever in conflict (19/5/2014)"

These findings reveal the need for addressing the challenges facing the fight against the crime of kidnapping if it is to be effectively tackled in Kenya.

3.11.2 Respondents' suggestions on possible solutions to challenges faced

Respondents reported a number of possible solutions to the challenges faced in the prevention and combat of kidnappings in Kenya. The majority (60.6%) of the respondents reiterated the need for provision of adequate resources to the security agencies. The other important possible solutions that were recommended were: enhanced sensitization and awareness creation on kidnappings (24.1%), eradication of corruption (20.4%), creation of employment opportunities (16.7%), enhanced collaboration among stakeholders (14.0%), instituting stiff penalties to kidnappers (12.0%) and embracing the Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives (11.7%). Discouraging payment of ransom (0.2%), eradication of drug abuse (0.5%) and registration of all mobile phone SIM cards (0.7%) were the least considered solutions. These findings are captured in Table 3.19 below.

Table 3.19 Respondents' suggestions on possible solutions to challenges faced

Possible solutions	Frequency	Percentage
Provision of adequate resources to security agencies	804	60.6
Enhanced sensitization and awareness creation	319	24.1
Eradication of corruption	271	20.4
Creation of employment opportunities	221	16.7
Enhanced collaboration among stakeholders	185	14.0
Instituting stiff penalties to kidnappers	159	12.0
Embracing Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives	155	11.7
Improvement of infrastructure and communication system	76	5.7
Protection of witnesses, informants and whistle blowers	53	4.0
Disarmament of militias and warring communities	26	2.0
Effecting regular transfers of security officers	18	1.4
Registration of all mobile phone SIM cards	9	0.7
Eradication of drug abuse	6	0.5
Discouraging payment of ransom	3	0.2

In the earlier findings, inadequacies in resource allocation to public security agencies were established to be a major challenge in the fight against kidnappings. Therefore, there is need for the government and other financial partners to mobilize adequate resources for the security officers and to fully equip them in every area of their operations to be able to diligently and effectively deliver the services required of them without any excuse. Figure 51 below is an example of such facilitation in terms of operational equipment.



Figure 51 - Kenyan security forces beef up security around the seafront of Manda Island in Lamu on 3/10/2011 after kidnapping of a French woman by Somali gunmen

The earlier findings in this study indicated that lack of awareness and inadequate sensitization on kidnappings was a major challenge in the prevention and combat of kidnappings. It was also reported that public ignorance on anti-kidnapping measures was a factor encouraging kidnappings. Therefore, enhanced sensitization and awareness creation among community members in preventing and combating kidnappings cannot be overemphasized. A well-informed public on matters of kidnappings and the dynamics of the crime is better placed to participate meaningfully in the efforts aimed at addressing the problem (see Figure 52 below). For instance, such a public would be able to know how to protect potential kidnapping victims, identifying kidnapping suspects and respond appropriately to incidents of kidnapping when they occur. Indeed, sensitization and awareness creation was fronted as a major best practice in addressing kidnappings.



Figure 52 - National Cohesion and Integration Commission officials and the Youth Peace and Security working group in a sensitization forum in Kilifi County in May, 2015

At every level of this study, corruption could be seen to pose substantial threat to the successful fight against the crime of kidnapping in the country. Its presence and prevalence among community members, within ranks of security agencies and other government organs dealing kidnapping is a cause for worry. For instance, other findings of the study established that corruption among some members of the security agencies is a factor encouraging kidnappings and condoning corruption by community members was a way of community participation in increased cases of the crime. Therefore, as suggested by a sizeable proportion (20.4 %) of the respondents, every effort must be made by all stakeholders to eradicate this social vice so that the prevention and combat of kidnappings is successfully achieved. All

persons involved at every level of the fight against kidnappings should not allow themselves to be compromised at all.

Creation of employment opportunities is seen as instrumental in the prevention and combat of kidnapping crime. High rate of youth unemployment, depressed economic empowerment and employment opportunities and high incidences of poverty in society in general were factors cited to be contributing to the crime of kidnapping. Therefore, employment and economic empowerment opportunities should be enhanced and achieved as this is highly believed will help in the significant reduction and even elimination of this social vice since most youths would be constructively engaged. The Government's relentless efforts to revamp the agricultural, manufacturing, mining, transport infrastructure and tourism sectors are a great move in the right direction. Figure 53 below illustrates an aspect of the Youth Empowerment Programme in the country in some of these sectors.



Figure 53 - Kenya Youth Empowerment Programme

The crime of kidnapping does not discriminate against persons and its aftermath can affect many more than just the victim and immediate family members. Therefore, the fight against kidnappings requires concerted efforts by all stakeholders for a sure win. Any rotten potato or disgruntled individuals in the system will antagonize the fight. Joint effort and collaboration by the public, private sector and civil society is required in the areas of sharing vital information, expertise in managing the crime and resources mobilization.

Necessary legal framework is needed to facilitate provision of severe sentences and/or stiff penalties commensurate with the harm caused by the crime. This reinforces the other findings

which indicated that to improve Government's efforts in addressing kidnappings, instituting stiff penalties for kidnapping offenders and enactment and implementation of relevant anti-kidnapping laws were useful interventions. Stiff penalties were also fronted as best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings because it is believed they would deter kidnappers, their accomplices and would-be kidnappers.

Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives are seen as important crime prevention approaches because of their potential and contribution in early detection, reporting and control of crime by way of mutual partnerships between the community and public security agencies in the country. One of the aims of the Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives is to strengthen relations between the community and law enforcers and get them to work together in addressing crime in society. The findings of this study also identified community policing as a best practice in addressing kidnappings (see Table 3.17).

The devolved system of government is meant to, among others, address regional inequalities in the country. Some parts of this country still have poor road infrastructure and communication network. This has been the case with most parts of Northern region of Kenya and some areas of Rift Valley such as Samburu County, West Pokot County, Baringo County and Turkana County. It is very difficult for security agents to pursue criminals operating and/or fleeing into these areas due to bad terrain coupled with poor roads and inefficient communication facilities. Improvement of infrastructure and communication system in all parts of the country would therefore contribute positively in addressing kidnappings in the country.

This study established that community members were at times reluctant to report those involved in kidnappings because of fear of reprisals by the kidnappers and or their accomplices if not convicted or upon release from prison. This apathy by community members towards crime positively contributes to increased kidnappings. Therefore, increased community reporting and advocacy against the 'culture of silence on crime' must be strengthened through awareness creation and trust building between the community and security agencies.

Disarmament of militias and warring communities is instrumental in addressing challenges faced in addressing kidnappings in the country. In other findings of this study, it was established that kidnappers use illegal small arms and weapons against most of their victims to a large extent and that proliferation of illegal arms and weapons was a factor encouraging kidnappings. Mopping up of illegal arms was indicated as one of the best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings. Therefore, disarming all militias, constantly warring clans and the cattle rustling communities would greatly help in reducing cases of kidnapping in the country.

Compulsory registration and verification of all mobile phone SIM cards and other communication gadgets by the Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK) would be an important step in curbing kidnappings in the country. This is consistent with other findings of

this study which indicated that the use of unregistered SIM cards and other communication gadgets has been posing a challenge in dealing with kidnappings cases.

Eradication of drug abuse in the country is suggested would contribute to decreased incidents of kidnappings in the country. Drug abuse was reported as a factor encouraging kidnappings besides closely associated with many other criminal activities in the country. It has been found out that most serious criminals use and abuse drugs, some criminals commit the crimes to get money to sustain their drug abuse behavior while others must intoxicate themselves with the drugs in order to be able to commit the crimes. For instance, in Mexico, the war on drugs leads to kidnappings and vigilante violence (Grillo, 2014).

The willingness of victims, their friends and relatives to pay ransom to kidnappers was found to be a challenge in prevention and combat of kidnappings. For instance, the U.S does not pay ransom for Americans kidnapped by terrorists. This is because the U.S Government believes that terrorists use ransom money to help fund the full range of their activities, including recruiting and indoctrinating new members, paying salaries, establishing training camps, acquiring weapons and communications gear, staging deadly attacks, and helping to support the next generation of violent extremist groups (Cohen, 2014). While discouraging payment of ransom to kidnappers could help discourage kidnappers doing it for economic reason, it might prove difficult to implement because to pay or not to pay is a decision based on situations of the victims and their friends and relatives. Friends and relatives of victims who are in serious threats of being killed would be more willing to pay ransom to save the lives than hesitate and lose the victims.

Interviews with key informants also reported a number of possible solutions to the challenges in preventing and combating kidnappings. A male Administration Officer aged between 50-57 years and working in the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government in one of the sub-counties of Turkana County had this to say:

"The solution to the challenges in preventing and combating kidnappings in this region lies in: empowerment of our security agents; empowering the community economically; community members willing to own guns be licensed for easy monitoring; and disarmament of those owning illegal arms (16/5/2014)"

A male Superintendent of Prisons in Lamu County aged between 50-57 years and who had worked in the region for more than 2 years reported that:

"The possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya include screening strangers thoroughly, adequate resourcing of security agencies, continuous surveillance of criminals, greater cooperation among security agencies (14/5/2014)"

A male Wajir County Assistant County Commissioner aged between 50-57 years and who had worked in the region for 7 years reported that:

"The possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya include: greater cooperation between the public and the Government's security agencies in unearthing the cartels involved in kidnappings; strengthening the Nyumba Kumi Initiative; and addressing unemployment among the youth (15/5/2014)"

From the findings of these statements by the key informants, measures that need to be considered in addressing the challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in the country include: empowerment of security agents, greater cooperation among security agencies and addressing unemployment among the youth.

In conclusion, from the findings of the study, the crime of kidnapping exists in the country. It has serious negative effects on society. Therefore, all possible efforts must be put in place by all relevant stakeholders to successfully tackle the challenges faced in preventing and combating the crime.

3.12 Findings from Case Studies

This study also utilized case studies of victims, kidnappers and institutions involved in addressing kidnappings in the country. Four of these are as indicated below.

Case Study 1-Victim

This victim was traced to his residence through information provided by local administrators. He was a Kenyan Christian male aged 30 years and single coming from Nyeri Central, Nyeri County. He had attained university education and was working as a Kenya Revenue Authority Officer earning an average monthly income of Ksh. 70,000.00. He came from a household of two people.

The victim believed kidnapping was a major security problem both in Kenya and Nyeri County. He was kidnapped by strangers who abducted him at a petrol station. As he was fueling his car at the petrol station, two men entered the car and ordered him to drive to the place they would instruct him. They showed him a gun and asked him to cooperate or else they would kill him. The kidnappers wanted money because they took him from one ATM to the other where he withdrew money for them and finally left him unharmed. Although he was not tortured because he decided to cooperate with them, he was shocked during and after the ordeal. He was numb and did whatever the kidnappers asked him to do. The experience traumatized him.

The victim reported that the kidnappers were youthful males of Kenyan nationality. He believed that majority of kidnappers were not stable economically and this was the reason that demand for payment of ransom was reported in most cases of kidnappings. According to

him, unemployment, idleness, organized gangs and lack of proper intelligence security systems were factors contributing to the crime.

The respondent believed that the interventions in place to address kidnappings were not effective because during the whole period of the ordeal, no security personnel intervened possibly due to lack of intelligence on the crime. The only organization he thought was trying to address kidnappings was the National Police Service. He however said that the Government was not doing enough to address kidnappings because there were many kidnapping cases in the towns and the Government was doing very little about it. The Government needed to improve on and use proper technology to prevent and track kidnappers and beef up security. There should be more intelligence-led security and people should be made aware of kidnapping cases. The Nyumba Kumi Initiative needed to be popularized and made more effective. He added that the community was involved in increased kidnappings because the kidnappers were part of the community and were known but community members were reluctant to give out information due to fear of revenge. The community could best participate in addressing kidnappings by reporting to authorities all suspicious individuals in the community.

The victim argued that there were challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings. He said that some police officers were bribed and colluded with the kidnappers and that the kidnappers did not receive stiff penalties. The respondent believed that the solutions to the challenges in addressing kidnappings included beefing up security in the country, punishing corrupt government officers and ensuring that kidnappers were jailed for life because their presence in the community was a big threat to the community's peace and security.

Case Study 2 - Victim

Researchers were directed to this victim by local administrators. This victim was a single Kenyan female aged 36 years and a resident of Diani in Msambweni Sub-county of Kwale County. She was a Christian and had attained 'O' level (Secondary School) education. She was working as a hair dresser (Saloonist) and earning about Kshs. 11,000.00 per month. Her household was of four people.

The respondent said that kidnapping was a major security problem both in Kenya and in Kwale County. She was kidnapped by a person she was little familiar with who was in the company of other strangers. They pretended to be looking for a Children's Home. The kidnappers were two women and one man. The man came alone first and the ladies joined him later. The man approached the victim pretending to be a pastor. A woman passed by and the man called her back and he started to say things about the woman's life. Then he also told the victim some things which were true in her life. A second lady joined them carrying a bag that she claimed had money to go buy a child from Tanzania because she was unable to conceive. The bag also contained a gun which was used to threaten the victim. She was forced to enter into a car the kidnappers had and they drove away. The kidnappers told the victim that there was somebody trying to kill her children and that she had to give them

money to persuade the person not to kill the children. She was filled with a lot of fear and gave them the money she had and a phone. The kidnappers abandoned her in some place and drove off. The victim felt embarrassed to realize that they had cheated and stolen her money, ATM card and a phone. She became afraid and reported the matter to the police.

The victim reported that kidnappers were both male and female Kenyans who were above youth age bracket. She attributed kidnappings to poverty, greed for money and lack of employment. She also indicated that some kidnappings were committed due to political rivalry and such political motives of kidnappings should be addressed.

The respondent argued that the community had participated in increased cases of kidnappings for failure to educate children which would enable the children to get jobs. Unemployment drives these people to social vices. She recommended that the community be involved in fighting kidnappings. She also reported that she was aware of interventions to address kidnappings such as recovering the victims' properties. The police enlightened her on what she should have done when the strangers approached her. According to the victim, the best practices in preventing and addressing kidnappings include creating employment for the youth, eradicating poverty and educating the community. The church was one of the organizations whose efforts were indirectly trying to address crime in society through preaching on the avoidance of wrong doing.

The victim argued that the Government had somehow tried to maintain security but it was still not effective in containing kidnappings in Kenya. To improve its efforts in stopping kidnappings, she was of the opinion that the government avails funds to women and youth organizations, job creation are undertaken in every part of the country and projects be started in the community to make everyone busy. Community members should take upon themselves to question a person who is found with a child crying excessively in a car. Only authorized persons or parents should be allowed to pick children from school.

The respondent reported that corruption was a major challenge because money given to start up projects for the youth and women is misappropriated by leaders for their own personal gain. Therefore, the Government should make sure that the money is prudently utilized.

Case Study 3 - Kidnapper

This kidnapper was traced to prison in Murang'a County where he was serving his sentence. He was 47 years old and married. The respondent was a Christian and had attained Primary School education. He was engaged in business and farming earning about Kshs. 12,000.00 per month. His household is of five people.

The kidnapper admitted that kidnapping was a major security problem in the country because it happened a lot in Kenya. He admitted to kidnapping a female victim who was also acquainted to him. He knew the victim well since they lived together in one locality. The victim was kidnapped from her shop and then taken to Kamahuha where she was kept for four days. The kidnapper argued that for kidnapping to happen, there had to be a gang, hence

they executed the crime while in a group of four people. He did the kidnapping because he needed quick money. They used a gun in the kidnapping and in fact, one of the victim's employees was shot during the incident. The kidnapper said he was motivated by money to engage in the crime. The kidnapper treated his victim well because she cooperated during the ordeal. He admitted that the crime was affecting him because his family was suffering while he was in jail since he had been the breadwinner. His wife was also not happy of what he did and he feared that she could run away and get married to someone else.

The respondent observed that most of the victims of kidnappings lived in fear. He also said that he was aware of measures that had been employed to deal with kidnappings in Kenya, saying that kidnappers had been arrested and prosecuted while others had been shot dead. He knew of the National Police Service and the Criminal Investigations Department in particular as the organization tackling kidnappings. He further indicated that some police officers facilitated the kidnappings. The kidnapper observed that even some of the guns used by kidnappers belonged to Police Officers. The kidnapper argued that he disliked the police because they had done proper investigations to link him with the crime. He further indicated that Kenyan laws on kidnapping were not stiff because some kidnappers were released on bond. With regard to his future plans, the kidnapper reported that he was never going to commit the crime again. After leaving jail, the kidnapper said he would go back home and continue with his business of selling fruits.

Case Study 4 - Institution addressing kidnappings

This was a case study of the Kenya Human Rights Commission. It is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) with its headquarters in Nairobi County. Interviews were conducted with the Program Advisor on security sector reforms at their Dagoreti office.

The NGO was founded in 1991. It has twenty five staff and present in 23 counties. It has operated in Dagoreti area for 19 years. Its mandate is to champion human rights in the country. The operations of the organization are structured along thematic functions namely; institutional rights, civil and political rights, economic and social rights and equality. All persons whose rights have been violated are clients of the organization. The Human Rights Monitoring docket is where they record kidnappings and the Legal Affairs docket received information from victims and their families. The aspects of kidnapping that the organization deals with include documentation, reporting, facilitating cases in the legal system and all aspects of insecurity measures in the country.

The success of the Kenya Human Rights Commission in addressing kidnappings in Kenya has been in advocacy for comprehensive policy reforms on security, police legislative reforms and documentation, advancing anchorage of human rights practices in the police profession and community facilitation in policing.

According to the organization (as reported by the Program Advisor), insecurity in the country has been an issue; police is not enabled to respond to the issue of kidnapping rapidly; lack of post kidnapping support systems for victims of kidnapping and lack of a central depository

on patterns and trends of kidnappings in the country are areas of concern. Therefore, these are the challenges and areas the organization needs to improve on in addressing kidnappings in Kenya. To address the challenges, Kenya Human Rights Commission has been able to participate in police awareness and engagement and provision of relevant reports and recommendations. What remains to be done to address the challenges is to: draw clear frameworks of engagement with state agencies in areas of kidnapping; experts to train security personnel on issues of terrorism and kidnapping; champion enactment of Public-Private Partnership Act; establishing post-kidnapping and related offences support centre; and stepping up efforts to stop kidnapping.

The organization has working relationships with other organizations in the public, private and civil society sectors with regard to kidnapping matters. It cooperates with the government on policy reviews on security and crime matters. It also cooperates with the community by identifying specific issues and funding long lasting solutions to the issues. Kenya Human Rights Commission believes that the best practices in preventing and combating the crime of kidnapping in Kenya are collaboration and partnership building, community engagement, capacity building of security personnel and deployment of modern equipment to fight kidnapping. Encouraging and promoting political goodwill in addressing crime is a useful ingredient in addressing kidnappings in the country.

Summary of the Case Studies

The above case studies demonstrated that the crime of kidnapping occurs in many parts of the country. That in deed there are different types of kidnappings; most kidnappers are males; and perpetrators of kidnappings include strangers, friends and acquaintances, criminal gangs and militia. There are different modes of executing kidnappings such as use of illegal arms and weapons and that kidnappers' main motives for committing the crime is obtaining money. Unemployment and poverty contribute greatly to the crime. The negative effects of kidnappings on individuals include psychological and emotional stress. Interventions to address kidnappings include the Nyumba Kumi Initiative and adequate facilitation of security agencies. Corruption and community reluctance to volunteer information due to fear of revenge by offenders are some of the challenges. These challenges could be solved by among others, through provision of adequate resources to security agencies, enhanced sensitization and awareness creation, eradication of corruption, creation of employment opportunities and enhanced collaboration among stakeholders.

CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION-AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This study purposed to: establish the prevalence of the crime of kidnapping by type; ascertain the motives and factors encouraging kidnappings; identify the main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings; establish the modes used in executing kidnappings; appraise the effects of the crime of kidnapping; assess the role of the community in kidnappings; identify existing interventions and their effectiveness in addressing kidnappings; and identify the challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings and recommend possible solutions.

4.2 Summary of Major Findings

4.2.1 Prevalence of the crime of kidnapping by type

The crime of kidnapping was a major security problem in Kenya (88.2%) and in all the counties (60.7%). The majority (98.9%) of the respondents had heard of persons who had been kidnapped in other areas of Kenya while the majority (76.8%) of the respondents had heard of persons who were kidnapped in their counties. The most prevalent types of kidnappings were: kidnapping committed by a stranger (68.9%); kidnapping committed by an acquaintance (48.3%); being kidnapped and forced to withdraw money from an Automated Teller Machine (41.1%); inside kidnapping (35.7%) and kidnapping committed by a family member (29.0%). Kidnapping committed by a stranger was more prevalent in Murang'a County (96.7%) followed by Kirinyaga (92.1%) and Migori (88.7%). Kidnapping committed by an acquaintance was more prevalent in Kirinyaga (89.5%) followed by Murang'a (88.3%) and Nyeri (82.1%). Being kidnapped and forced to withdraw money from an ATM was more prevalent in Nyeri County (92.5%) followed by Nairobi (88.9%) and Murang'a (78.3%). Nairobi County was leading in inside kidnapping (86.7%) followed by Nyeri (80.6%) and Nakuru (74.6%). Kidnapping committed by a family member was more prevalent in Nyeri (65.7%), Kirinyaga (61.8%) and Nairobi (58.9%). Virtual kidnapping was more prevalent in Nairobi (72.2%), Nyeri (68.7%) and Kirinyaga (56.6%).

4.2.2 Motives and factors encouraging kidnappings

Revenge was the major socio-cultural motive for kidnappings (67.5%), ransom payment was the major economic motive (87.6%) while overcoming and/or reducing political rivalry was the major political motive for kidnapping (63.3%). The factors encouraging kidnappings in Kenya included unemployment especially among the youth (81.1%), high incidence of poverty (72.1%), existence of gangs and militia (38.5%), retrogressive cultural practices (29.7%), instability and conflicts in some regions (29.1%), inefficiency and/or corruption among some members of the security system (28.7%), political competition and rivalry (28.4%), marginalization of some areas (26.6%), proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons (25.4%) and competition for control of resources (20.1%).

4.2.3 Main victims and perpetrators of kidnappings

Majority of victims of kidnappings were children and juveniles aged below 18 years (78.1%). Females accounted for 55.1% of the victims. Majority (86.0%) of the victims were found to be Kenyans. Victims were mainly members of wealthy families (95.0%), business persons (48.0%), government officers (19.6%) and tourists (17.2

Majority (87.0%) of kidnappers were mainly youth aged 18-35 years, of which 71.0% were males of Kenyan nationality (80.9%). Majority (53.8%) of the kidnappers were not averagely stable economically. The perpetrators of kidnappings were mainly strangers (89.0%), friends and acquaintances (79.9%), criminal gangs and militia (72.0%), romantic partners (61.9%) and family members and relatives (60.8%).

4.2.4 Modes of executing kidnappings

Majority (95.0%) of the kidnappings were executed by groups of kidnappers with majority (90.6%) of the respondents indicating that there was use of illegal arms and weapons against victims by kidnappers to a large extent (63.5%). Most (43.7%) of the respondents reported that kidnappers used force to get their victims while enticing and luring method was also used to get the victims (26.8%). Victims were mostly kidnapped when going home (92.1%). Others were kidnapped when on duty or in their business premises (24.7%) and when closing their businesses (5.9%).

4.2.5 Effects of the crime of kidnapping

Victims of kidnappings during kidnapping episodes encountered varied negative treatments and conditions such as physical abuse (55.4%), sexual abuse (29.0%), being killed (27.5%), mental/psychological abuse (25.5%), confinement and isolation (24.7%), poor feeding (22.4) and being drugged (3.5%).

Effects of the crime of kidnapping included: cause of fear among victims and other community members (75.5%), disruption of social peace (66.9%), post traumatic stress and depression (63.6%), loss of funds through ransom payment (56.0%), reduction of economic investment (42.1%), closure of businesses (35.7%), reduction of business profits (35.4%), commission of other crimes (26.5%), disruption of educational programs (23.7) and unnecessary increased cost of providing security (22.2%).

4.2.6 Role of the community in kidnappings

Most (48.3%) of the respondents argued that the community had participated in the increasing cases of kidnappings in Kenya in many ways. These included: inadequate collaboration with security organs (90.3%), lack of community cohesion and don't care attitude (87.7%), poor upbringing/socialization of children (68.8%), engaging in retrogressive cultural practices (43.8%), apathy of community members towards crime (35.6%) and inadequate sensitization of children on kidnappings (23.6%). The best way the community could participate in addressing kidnappings would be by: fully embracing and increasing participation in Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives (45.1%), increased sensitization and awareness creation on kidnapping issues (32.1%), increased

community collaboration with security agencies (30.8%) and establishment of a hotline for reporting kidnapping cases (23.3%).

4.2.7 Existing interventions and their effectiveness in addressing kidnappings

The organizations that were attempting to address kidnappings in Kenya were the: National Police Service (75.4%), Judiciary (30.2%), Kenya Prisons Service (28.1%), Children Department (24.7%), Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (19.1%), Coordination of National Government (18.9%), NGOs (17.2%), Faith based Organization (14.7%), Probation and Aftercare Service (14.1%), Immigration Department (7.4%), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.7%) and Mobile Service Providers (2.9%).

There were existing interventions to address kidnappings in Kenya. These included: tracing and rescue of victims (62.7%), arrest of suspected kidnappers (55.2%), charging suspected kidnappers in court (41.7%), prosecution of suspected kidnappers (30.9%), trial and sentencing of kidnappers (29.4%), detection and investigation of kidnapping cases (28.6%), punishment of kidnappers (21.9%) and repatriation of victims of kidnapping to their families (20.4%). However, majority (54.5%) of the respondents expressed that these interventions were not effective in addressing kidnappings in Kenya. The majority (53.9%) of the respondents also reported that the government was not doing enough to address kidnappings in the country.

4.2.8 Challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings and possible solutions

A number of challenges hindered the efforts in preventing and combating kidnappings. These included: inadequate resources within the security agencies involved in fighting the crime (65.6%), corruption in the society (49.6%), community reluctance to volunteer information (29.9%), inadequate awareness and sensitization on kidnappings (25.8%), inadequate cooperation among stakeholders (24.1%), high levels of youth unemployment (22.8%), use of modern technology by kidnappers (14.3%) and poor transport infrastructure and communication in some parts of the country (13.1%). The suggested possible solutions to these challenges were: provision of adequate resources to public security agencies (60.6%), enhanced sensitization and awareness creation (24.1%), eradication of corruption (20.4%), creation of employment opportunities (16.7%), enhanced collaboration among stakeholders (14.0%), instituting stiff penalties to kidnappers (12.0%) and embracing Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing Initiatives (11.7%).

4.3 Conclusions

Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that:

1. Cases of kidnappings are increasingly being witnessed in many parts of the country. The most common types of kidnappings are kidnapping committed by a stranger, kidnapping committed by an acquaintance, being kidnapped and forced to withdraw money from an Automated Teller Machine (ATM), inside kidnapping, kidnapping committed by a family member and virtual kidnapping.

- 2. There are socio-cultural (including religious and moral), economic and political motives for kidnapping. Revenge is the major socio-cultural motive for kidnappings, ransom payment is the major economic motive while overcoming and/or reducing political rivalry is the major political motive for kidnapping was. Similarly, there are factors encouraging kidnappings in Kenya. The most prominent ones include: unemployment especially among the youth, high incidence of poverty, existence of gangs and militia, retrogressive cultural practices, instability and conflicts in some regions, inefficiency and/or corruption among some members of the security system, political competition and rivalry, marginalization of some areas, proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons and competition for control of resources.
- 3. The crime of kidnapping exposes victims to serious negative treatments and conditions. These include: physical abuse, sexual abuse, being killed, mental/psychological abuse, confinement and isolation, poor feeding and being drugged. Similarly, the crime has serious socio-economic and political effects. The most prominent ones include: causing fear among victims and other community members, disruption of social peace, post traumatic stress and depression, loss of funds through ransom payment, reduction of economic investment, closure of businesses, reduction of business profits, commission of other crimes, disruption of educational programs and unnecessary increased cost of providing security.
- 4. The modes of executing kidnappings are varied. For instance, kidnappings are executed by groups of kidnappers mainly using illegal arms and weapons against their victims. Kidnappers also use force to get their victims and they entice and lure them. Victims are mostly kidnapped when going home, when on duty or in their business premises or when closing business.
- 5. The community has played both contributory role in increased cases of kidnapping and addressing kidnappings in Kenya. Ways in which the community has participated in the increased cases of kidnappings are: inadequate collaboration with security organs, lack of community cohesion and don't care attitude, poor upbringing/socialization of children, engaging in retrogressive cultural practices, apathy of community members towards crime and inadequate sensitization of children on kidnappings.
- 6. The existing interventions are largely ineffective in addressing kidnappings. These interventions included: tracing and rescue of victims, arrest of suspected kidnappers, charging suspected kidnappers in court, prosecution of suspected kidnappers, trial and sentencing of kidnappers, detection and investigation of kidnapping cases, punishment of kidnappers and repatriation of victims of kidnapping to their families.
- 7. There are best practices which could be adopted or enhanced for a successful war against kidnappings. These include: sensitization and awareness creation to the public, strict penalties to kidnappers, collaboration among all stakeholders, strengthening Community Policing, creation of employment opportunities for the youth, recruitment and deployment of adequate public security agents, provision of modern gadgets and equipment to public

security agents, curbing corruption in government agencies dealing with crime, specialized training of security agents on kidnapping crime, swift response by security agents, creation of special security units to deal with specific crimes and improvement of intelligence sharing and utilization.

8. There are challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya that need to be addressed. These include: inadequate resources within the security agencies involved in fighting the crime, corruption in the society, community reluctance to volunteer information, inadequate awareness and sensitization on kidnappings, inadequate cooperation among stakeholders, high levels of youth unemployment, use of modern technology by kidnappers and poor transport infrastructure and communication in some parts of the country.

4.4 Recommendations

Arising from the findings and conclusions of this study, the following policy recommendations and areas for further research are recommended.

4.4.1 Policy Recommendations

There are appreciable efforts by the Government of Kenya and other stakeholders to address the crime of kidnap in the country but these efforts need to be enhanced because they are inadequate. Therefore, this study recommends the following for policy formulation in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya.

- i. The National and County Governments and their non-state collaborators need to increase opportunities for job creation and other meaningful economic activities for youths' engagement in particular and the general public good.
- ii. The National Intelligence Service and the National Police Service should improve their intelligence gathering and sharing, detection and investigative capacities with regard to the crime of kidnapping.
- iii. The National Government should map criminal gangs and militia-prone rural, urban and trans-border areas and consider recruitment and deployment of adequate security personnel to these areas.
- iv. There is need for strengthening of the Child Protection Unit within the National Police Service to focus on detection and prevention of crime against vulnerable children. The Tourist and Diplomatic Police Units should also be adequately facilitated for effective protection of vulnerable tourists and diplomats.
- v. Motivation of security officers through improved terms and conditions of employment should be prioritized by the Government.
- vi. The national government needs to ensure continuous training of all public security agents (irrespective of areas of deployment) on crime intelligence and the modus operandi of modern organized criminal gangs.
- vii. All public security agencies should be properly equipped with modern equipment and technology such as modern firearms, armored vehicles, use of Geographical Positioning System (GPS) and forensic laboratories in crime management, explosives detectors and closed circuit television (CCTV).

- viii. Vetting of public security officers by relevant agencies such as the Public Service Commission, Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, National Intelligence Service and the National Police Service Commission to remove from the security agencies of the corrupt officers is recommended.
- ix. There is an ardent need to create a database of ex-public and private security officers and to undertake monitoring of their activities by the National Intelligence Service, Directorate of Criminal Investigations and Kenya Private Security Association in case some may be tempted to get into crime after exiting service.
- x. Relevant agencies in the administration of criminal justice in partnership with nonstate actors need to undertake serious community awareness creation and sensitization through public forums and media platforms such as the radio, television and newspapers on the various aspects of the crime of kidnapping and the possible prevention mechanisms. Targeted awareness creation and sensitization specifically, among the vulnerable groups such as children, women, members of wealthy families, businesspersons, government officers and tourists on security precautions is necessary.
- xi. Individual and institutional employers should subject their respective workers to compulsory vetting, verification of identification documents and clearance by the National Intelligence Service and National Police Service.
- xii. The Communication Authority of Kenya together with all mobile phone service providers should work closely and ensure 100% compliance on registration of all mobile phone SIM cards so as to facilitate easy detection, apprehension and prosecution of kidnappers and their accomplices.
- xiii. Appropriate interventions need to be initiated by the criminal justice system agencies and the Kenya Private Sector Alliance to boost the confidence of members of the community (the public) in the security agents in order foster close working relationship in the fight against kidnappings. The Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing initiatives need to be fully embraced as a means of fostering the close working relationship between the parties.
- xiv. The Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions should ensure water-tight prosecution of kidnapping cases. The Judiciary on its part needs to mete out stiff penalties to kidnapping perpetrators to discourage them and other potential ones from participating in the crime.
- xv. It is incumbent upon the national and county governments to improve the transport and communication infrastructure in all parts of the country and especially in the areas with poor access. This will greatly facilitate movement and security operations in such areas in the combat and prevention of the crime of kidnapping.
- xvi. Witnesses, informants and whistle blowers involved in cases of kidnappings should be protected under the Witness Protection Agency's protection frameworks. This will encourage people who are privy to the activities to kidnappers with vital information to come forth and provide intelligence leads.
- xvii. The fight against corruption should be heightened by relevant agencies under the leadership of top government leadership and guidance of the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission.

xviii. The proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons (SALWs) needs to be curtailed by relevant stakeholders under the leadership of the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons as a step towards addressing kidnappings and other serious crimes in the country which involve the use of illegal arms and weapons.

4.4.2 Recommendations for Further Research

This study recommends further research in areas such as: establishment of what really motivates kidnappers to engage in this type of crime using a bigger sample of convicted kidnappers; and the cost of kidnappings to the Kenyan economy to determine the overall economic impact of the crime in Kenya.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1- Interview Schedule for Sample Respondents

$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{c}$	unty:		
Na	me of	f Administrative Location	
Na	me of	f Interviewer	
Da	ite of l	Interview	
Tiı	me of	Interview: Start Time	End Time
R	espoi	ndent's Background Info	rmation
1.	Geno	der	
	1.	Male	
	2.	Female	
2.	Age	of Respondent in years.	
	1.	Below 18 years	
	2.	18-25	
	3.	26-33	
	4.	34-41	
	5.	42-49	
	6.	50-57	
	7.	58-65	
	8.	66 and above	
3.	Mari	ital Status:	
	1.	Single/Never Married	
	2.	Married	
	3.	Separated	
	4.	Divorced	
	5.	Widowed	
4.	Leve	el of Education:	
	1.	None	
	2.	Pre-primary	
	3.	Primary	
	4.	Secondary 1-4	
	5.	Secondary 5-6	
	6.	Middle level College (Specif	·y)
	7.	University	
	8.	Adult Literacy	
	9.	Other (Specify)	
5.	Relig	gion:	
	1.	Traditional	
	2.	Christian	
	3.	Islam	

- 4. Other (Specify)_____ 6. Nationality 1. Kenyan 2. Non-Kenyan (Specify) 7. Occupation 1. Permanent employment – Private Sector 2. Permanent employment – Public Sector 3. Casual/temporary employment(Specify whether in public or private)_____ 4. Business person 5. Other (specify-e.g pupil/student/housewife)_____ 6. None of the above (specify)_____ **Information on Kidnappings in Kenya** In all the questions that follow, **DO NOT READ THE ANSWER OPTIONS** but tick as the respondent mentions them. Tick all that applies and probe by asking "anything else...". 8. Do you think kidnapping is a major security problem: (a) In Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (b) In this county? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know 9. (a) Have you ever heard of persons who have been kidnapped in other areas of Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No (b) If yes, through which medium did you hear it? 1. Interpersonal communication 2. Radio 3. Television 4. Newspaper 5. Other (Specify)__ 10. Have you ever heard of kidnapping case in this county? 1. Yes 2. No 11. Have you ever heard of the following in this county? (a) Kidnapping committed by a family member (that is, family kidnapping)? 1. Yes 2. No (b) A person kidnapped by another person acquainted to him/her (that is, acquaintance kidnapping)? 1. Yes 2. No (c) Kidnapping committed by a stranger (that is, non-family kidnapping)? 1. Yes 2. No (d) A person kidnapped and then forced by the kidnappers to withdraw money
 - (e) A kidnapper gets contact and personal information on minors and then he/she calls the parents for ransoms without the child actually being taken (that is, virtual kidnapping)? 1. Yes 2. No

from Automated Teller Machines (that is, express kidnapping)? 1. Yes 2. No

	Who are the victims of kidnappings in Kenya?
	Based on your knowledge, what are the socio-economic profiles of victims of lnappings in Kenya in terms of the following?
1.	Their gender:
	1. Male
	2. Female
2.	Their nationality:
	1. Kenyans
2	2. Non-Kenyans
3.	Their age:
	1. Children and juveniles (that is, below 18 years)
	2. Youth (that is, 18-35 years)
4	3. Above youth age (that is, above 35 years)
4.	Their economic stability: 1. Majority of victims of kidnomings on their families are accommissily stable.
	1. Majority of victims of kidnappings or their families are economically stable. 2. Majority of victims of kidnappings or their families are not accommissly stable.
	2. Majority of victims of kidnappings or their families are not economically stable 3. I don't know
(0)	How are victims in Kenya kidnapped?
(C)	now are victims in Kenya kidnapped?
su	Do you know the kinds of treatment and conditions victims of kidnappings are ojected to? 1. Yes 2. No
(0,	If yes, please list them.
	How do victims of kidnappings in Kenya cope with the ordeal during and after lnapping episodes?

(f) A domestic employee is paid money in order to give out keys and/or information

14. (a) Are the following assumptions about kidnappers true in Kenya?

i. Some kidnappers are strangers to their victims

- 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
- ii. Some kidnappers are acquaintances of the victims
 - 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
- iii. Some people have been kidnapped by their romantic partners
 - 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
- iv. Some people have been kidnapped by family members
 - 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
- v. Security agents have committed some kidnappings
 - 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

vi. Organized criminal and street gangs commit kidnappings 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know If Yes, please give examples? vii. Some kidnappings are executed by single kidnappers. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know Who else are the likely perpetrators of kidnappings you have heard of or known?	If Yes, please give examples?	
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know If Yes, please give examples? vii. Some kidnappings are executed by single kidnappers. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know		
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know If Yes, please give examples? vii. Some kidnappings are executed by single kidnappers. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know	vi Organized ariminal and street gangs somm	it kidnannings
vii. Some kidnappings are executed by single kidnappers. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know		n kidnappings
vii. Some kidnappings are executed by single kidnappers. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know		
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group.	If Yes, please give examples?	
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know		
viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidnappers in a group. 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know	vii. Some kidnappings are executed by single	kidnappers.
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know	1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know	
10 1 00 20 1 00 1 mon 0 mme 0	viii. Some kidnappings are executed by kidna	ppers in a group.
Who else are the likely perpetrators of kidnappings you have heard of or known?	1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know	
	Who else are the likely perpetrators of kidnappi	ings you have heard of or known?

- (c) Based on your knowledge, what are the socio-economic profiles of kidnappers in Kenya in terms of the following?
- i. Their gender:

(b)

- 1. Male
- 2. Female
- ii. Their nationality:
 - 1. Kenyans
 - 2. Non-Kenyans
- iii. Their age:
 - 1. Children and juveniles (that is, below 18 years)
 - 2. Youth (that is, 18-35 years)
 - 3. Above youth age (that is, above 35 years)
- iii. Their economic stability:
 - 1. Majority of kidnappers are economically stable
 - 2. Majority of kidnappers are not economically stable
 - 3. I don't know

	ne main factors influencing the crime of kidnap in Kenya?
1. High incide	•
2. Unemploym	
	e government to provide basic amenities and/or infrastructure
4. Marginaliza	tion of the locals
5. The use of v	ictim body parts for cultic purposes
6. Existence of	gangs and militants
7. Inefficient a	nd corrupt security system
8. Political riva	lry
9. Instability a	nd conflicts in regions
10. Proliferation	n of illegal small arms and light weapons
11. Repressive	institutions
12. Competition	n for control of resources
13. Other (spec	ify)
1. Yes 2. N	nmunity participated in the increasing cases of kidnappings in Kenya? o. 3. I don't know ase indicate how it has contributed to the increased cases of kidnappings in
•	
16 What are the n	ain motives for kidnappings which fuel the crime of kidnap in
Kenya? i. Eco	11 0
 Ransom p Extortion 	lyments
	1/ 1i 1i
	ng and/or reducing business rivalry/competition
	inst economic policies and programmes deemed oppressive
5. Other (spe	cify)
ii. Political mo	
	ng and/or reducing political rivalry/competition
_	ainst political policies and programmes deemed oppressive scify)

	cio-cultural (including religious and moral) motives:
	Sexual gratification
	Child custody
	Revenge
4.	Punishment
5.	Other (specify)
iv. A	ny other motives (Specify)
of kid	there use of illegal arms and weapons against victims by kidnappers in some cases dnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
	Yes, to what extent are illegal arms and weapons used against victims in
	appings in Kenya?
	. To a large extent
	2. To a small extent
3	3. I don't know
P	lease explain
_	
8. (a) D	oes the crime of kidnap have any socio-economic and political effects in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
(b) If	yes, how would you rate the effects?
` '	. Positive
	. Negative
	. Not able to rate
	. No comment
	yes in Q 18 (a), what are the effects?
	Disruption of social peace
	. Causes fear to victims and other community members
	Leads to other crimes
	. Post-traumatic stress and depression
	-
	Loss of funds through ransom
6	. Reduction of economic investment

7. Unwarranted increased costs of providing security

9. Cl	osure of businesses
10. Co	ontributes to unemployment among the youth
11. Di	sruption of community health programmes
12. Di	sruption of educational programmes
13. Th	reatens sustainability of democratic governance
14. Ot	her (specify)
19 (a) Are v	you aware of any existing intervention strategies that have been employed
•	ss kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No
	s, please list them.
=	acing and rescuing victims of kidnap
	epatriating victims of kidnap with their families
	ecovering kidnap victims' property lost during kidnap ordeals
	ollecting intelligence on kidnap cases
	aking laws on kidnappings
	etecting and investigating cases of kidnappings
	resting suspected kidnappers
	narging suspects in court
	osecuting suspected kidnappers
	rial and sentencing of kidnappers
	Punishing of kidnap offenders
12. R	Rehabilitating kidnap offenders
13. E	Equipping security agencies with knowledge and infrastructure to deal with
kidnappi	ngs
14. C	Collaborating with relevant stakeholders (individuals, institutions and
governm	nents)
	Other (specify)
(c) Gene	erally speaking, how effective are most of the existing intervention strategies in
addressing k	idnappings in Kenya?
1.	Very effective
2.	Effective
3.	Not effective
4.	Not effective at all
Please explai	in your answer?
F ***	

8. Reduction of business profits

	(d) In your opinion, what are the best practices in preventing and combating appings in Kenya?
_	
). (a) Do you know of any organizations attempting to address kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No
(1	b) If yes, please list them.
	1. National Police Service
	2. Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions
	3. Judiciary
	4. Immigration Department
	5. Foreign Affairs Ministry
	6. Coordination of National Government (formerly, Provincial Administration)
	7. Children's Department
	8. Prisons Service
	9. Probation and Aftercare Service
	10. Faith-based organizations (give examples)
	11. Non-governmental organizations (give examples)
	12. Other (specify)
1. (a	a) Do you think government is doing enough currently to contain kidnappings in
tł	ne country?
	. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
P	lease explain your answer?
_	
	b) How can government improve in its efforts to stop kidnappings in the country?
	. Creating more employment opportunities for youths
	2. Opening up more economic opportunities in the country
	3. Fair and/or equal distribution of resources and infrastructure
	Enactment and effective implementation of anti-kidnapping laws
	5. Instituting stiff penalties for kidnap offenders
	6 L

7. Through increased awareness campaigns

(c) Has the community participated in addressing kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (d) If Yes, please indicate how it has participated. (e) If No, please provide the probable reasons. (f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings i fenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?	8. Eliminating corruption in government agencies	
(c) Has the community participated in addressing kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (d) If Yes, please indicate how it has participated	9. Increased collaboration with relevant internal and external stakeholders	
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (d) If Yes, please indicate how it has participated. (e) If No, please provide the probable reasons. (f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it enya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?	10. Other (specify)	
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (d) If Yes, please indicate how it has participated. (e) If No, please provide the probable reasons. (f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it enya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (d) If Yes, please indicate how it has participated. (e) If No, please provide the probable reasons. (f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it enya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (d) If Yes, please indicate how it has participated. (e) If No, please provide the probable reasons. (f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it enya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		-
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(e) If No, please provide the probable reasons. (f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings itenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
(e) If No, please provide the probable reasons. (f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings i genya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
(f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it tenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?	(a) if 1 es, prease material now it has participated.	
(f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it tenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
(f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it tenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
(f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it tenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
(f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it tenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
(f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings it tenya? 2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?	(e) If No, please provide the probable reasons.	
2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them	(f) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnapping	gs iı
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kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know (b) If yes, please list them. (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
(c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?	2. (a) In your opinion, are there challenges faced in preventing and combating	
(c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?	kidnappings in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No. 3. I don't know	
combating kidnappings in Kenya?	(b) If yes, please list them.	
combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
combating kidnappings in Kenya?		
	(c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and	
	combating kidnappings in Kenya?	
3. Please comment freely on any experiences with kidnapping not already addressed	3. Please comment freely on any experiences with kidnapping not already addressed	

Thank you so much for your co-operation and stay well

Appendix 2- Key Informant Guide

Count	y:	
	County:	
Name	of Administrative Location	
	of Interviewer	
	f Interview	
	of Interview: Start Time	
Key 1	Informant's Background Information	n
1. Ge	ender	
1	. Male	
2	2. Female	
2. Ag	ge of Respondent in years.	
1	1. 18-25	
2	2. 26-33	
3	3. 34-41	
۷	1. 42-49	
4	5. 50-57	
6	5. 58-65	
7	7. 66 and above	
3. Ma	arital Status:	
1	. Single/Never Married	
2	2. Married	
3	3. Separated	
4	4. Divorced	
4	5. Widowed	
4. Le	vel of Education:	
1	. None	
2	2. Pre-primary	
3	3. Primary	
۷	4. Secondary 1-4	
5	5. Secondary 5-6	
6	6. Middle level College (Specify)	
7	7. University	
8	3. Adult Literacy	
Ģ	O. Other (Specify)	
5. R	eligion:	
1	. Traditional	
2	2. Roman Catholic	
3	3. Protestant	
۷	4. Islam	
4	5. Other (Specify)	

6. Nationality

	1. Kenyan
	2. Non-Kenyan (Specify)
7.	Which organization/institution do you serve?
8.	What is your position/designation in the organization (e,g Police Officer, Program
	Officer, etc)?
9.	How long have you stayed in this locality?

Information on Kidnappings in Kenya

- 10. Do you think kidnapping is a major security problem in Kenya and in this county?
- 11. (a) Have you ever heard of persons who have been kidnapped in other areas of Kenya?
 - (b) If yes, through which medium did you hear it?
 - (b) (a) Have you ever heard of kidnapping case in this county?
 - (c) If Yes and you have the figures, please indicate the approximate number of people who were kidnapped in year 2013 in this county?
- 12. Please talk about the types of kidnappings that you know.
- 13. (a) Who are the victims of kidnappings in Kenya?
 - (b) Please talk about the following with regard to victims.
 - i. Their gender
 - ii. Their nationality
 - iii. Their age
 - iv. Their economic stability
 - (c) How are victims in Kenya kidnapped?
- 14. (a) Please highlight about the kinds of treatment and conditions victims of kidnappings are subjected to.
- (b) How do victims of kidnappings in Kenya cope with the ordeal during and after kidnapping episodes?
- 15. (b) Who are the likely perpetrators of kidnappings you have heard of or known?
 - (b) Please talk about the following with regard to kidnappers?
 - i. Their gender
 - ii. Their nationality
 - iii. Their age
 - iv. Their economic stability
- 16. (a) Please highlight about the main factors influencing the crime of kidnap in Kenya.
 - (b) What are the main motives for kidnappings in Kenya?
- 17. (a) How has the community participated in issues of kidnappings in Kenya?
 - (b) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?
- 18. Please highlight something about illegal arms and weapons in kidnappings.
- 19. Kindly talk about the effects of the crime of kidnap in Kenya.

- 20. (a) Please talk about existing intervention to address kidnappings in Kenya.
 - (b) Generally speaking, how effective are most of the existing intervention strategies in addressing kidnappings in Kenya?
- (c) In your opinion, what are the best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?
- 21. Please say something about organizations attempting to address kidnappings in Kenya.
- 22. (a) Do you think government is doing enough currently to contain kidnappings in the country?
 - (b) How can government improve in its efforts to stop kidnappings in the country?
- 23. (a) Please talk about challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya.
 - (b) Please shed some light on the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?
- 24. Please comment freely on any experiences with kidnapping not already addressed

Thank you so much for your co-operation and stay well

Appendix 3 – Case Study Interview Guide for victims of Kidnappings

Cot	ınty:
	o- County:
	ne of Administrative Location
Nar	me of Interviewer
Dat	e of Interview
Tim	ne of Interview: Start Time End Time
1.	spondent's Background Information Gender:
	When were you born?
	What is your marital status?
	What highest level of education did you attain?
5.	Which religious faith and/or denomination do you proclaim?
6.	Which is your nationality?
7.	What is your current occupation?
8.	What is your average monthly income in Kenya Shillings?
9.	What is the size of your household?

Information on Kidnappings in Kenya

- 10. Do you think kidnapping is a major security problem:
 - (a) In Kenya?
 - (b) In this county?
- 11. Please talk about your kidnapping.
- 12. Based on your experience, please talk about the types of kidnappers that apply to you.
- 13. Based on your knowledge, please shed some light about your kidnapper in terms of the following.
 - i. Their gender:
 - ii. Their nationality:
 - iii. Their age:
 - iv. Their economic stability:
- 14. Please describe how your kidnapping was executed.
- 15. Was there use of illegal arms and weapons against you by your kidnapper(s)?
- 16. How did kidnapping affect you?
- 17. (a) What kinds of treatment and conditions were you subjected to by your kidnappers?
 - (b) How did you cope with the ordeal during and after the kidnapping incident?
- 18. (a) What are the main factors influencing the crime of kidnap in Kenya?
 - (b) What motives did your kidnappers have when kidnapping you?
- 19. (a) How has the community participated in issues of kidnappings in Kenya?
 - (b) How best can the community participate in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?
- 20. (a) Please talk about existing intervention for addressing kidnappings in Kenya.

- (b) Generally speaking, how effective are the existing intervention strategies in addressing kidnappings in Kenya?
- (c) In your opinion, what are the best practices in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?
- 21. Based on your experience, talk about organizations attempting to address the crime of kidnap in Kenya.
- 22. (a) Do you think government is doing enough currently to contain kidnappings in the country? Please explain your answer.
 - (b) How can government improve in its efforts to stop kidnappings in the country?
- 23. (a) Please talk about challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?
 - (c) What are the possible solutions to the major challenges faced in preventing and combating kidnappings in Kenya?
- 24. Please comment freely on any experiences with kidnapping not already addressed.

Thank you so much for your co-operation and stay well.

Appendix 4 – Case Study Interview Guide for Kidnappers

Co	ounty:			
	Sub- County:			
Na	me of Administrative Location			
Na	me of Interviewer			
	te of Interview			
Tiı	me of Interview: Start Time End Time			
Re	espondent's Background Information			
1.	Gender:			
	When were you born?			
3.	What is your marital status?			
4.	What highest level of education did you attain?			
5.	Which religious faith and/or denomination do you proclaim?			
6.	What is your nationality?			
7.	What is your current occupation?			
8.	What is your average monthly income in Kenya Shillings from your human trafficking			
	business?			
9.	What is the size of your household?			

Information on Kidnappings in Kenya

- 10. Please comment generally on kidnappings in Kenya.
- 11. Please talk about the kidnapping you have ever executed.
- 12. (a) What are the main factors that influenced you to engage in kidnappings?
 - (b) What motives do you have when kidnapping your victims?
- 13. (a) What kinds of treatment and conditions did you subject your kidnap victims to?
 - (b) How did your victims cope with the kidnapping ordeal during and after the incident?
- 14. Please talk about your victims with regard to the following.
 - i. Their gender:
 - ii. Their nationality:
 - iii. Their age:
 - iv. Their economic stability:
- 15. (a) Briefly describe how you execute (or executed) kidnappings.
 - (b) Do you use illegal arms and weapons against your victim (s)?
- 16. (a) Please discuss about how kidnapping affects you.
 - (b) How does kidnapping affect your victims?
- 17. Please talk about measures that have been employed to deal with kidnappings in Kenya and whether they are effective.
- 18. Please talk about organizations attempting to deal with kidnappings in Kenya.
- 19. Who are your supporters in kidnappings (both local and external)?
- 20. Please comment on your relationship with security and law enforcement agencies.

- 21. Please comment on Kenya's laws in relation to kidnappings.
- 22. What are your future plans as far as your kidnapping is concerned?
- 23. Please comment freely on any experiences with kidnappings not already addressed.

Thank you so much for your co-operation and stay well.

Appendix 5 – Case Study Interview Guide for Institutions Addressing Kidnappings in Kenya

County:		
Sub- County:		
Name of Administrative Location		
Name of Interviewer		
Date of Interview		
Time of Interview: Start Time	End Time	

Organization's Background Information

- 1. What is your position/designation in this organization?
- 2. What is the registered name of this organization/institution?
- 3. State whether this organization is public, private, civil society.
- 4. For how long have you been in existence?
- 5. For how long have you operated in this area?
- 6. Please indicate the other areas (if any) in counties where this organization operates.
- 7. What is the mandate of this organization?
- 8. What are the objectives of this organization?
- 9. What is staff strength (that is, number of staff) in this organization?
- 10. How have you organized your operations in this area?
- 11. Who are the clients of this organization?

Information on Kidnappings in Kenya

- 12. Please describe this organization's interaction with issues of kidnappings.
- 13. What aspects of kidnapping does your organization deal with?
- 14. Please shed light on the success of this organization in addressing kidnappings in Kenya.
- 15. Please shed light on the areas your organization needs to improve on in addressing kidnappings in Kenya.
- 16. Please shed light on the challenges this organization faces in addressing kidnappings.
- 17. Please explain what you have been able to do to address the identified challenges.
- 18. What remains to be done to address the challenges this organization faces in dealing with kidnappings in Kenya?
- 19. Please explain this organization's relationship with other organizations in the public, private and civil society sector with regard to kidnapping issues.
- 20. What are the best practices in preventing and combating the crime of kidnap in Kenya?
- 21. Please give any other relevant comments you may have.

Thank you and stay well.









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