

CULTURAL VIOLENCE AND BABY BUYING IN NIGERIA: STRUCTURAL INSECURITY OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN*

Abstract

Cultural violence against women and the girl child has become a common phenomenon in Africa and in Nigeria in particular. Women seem to be at the receiving end of structural violence in the society. They almost unilaterally bear the brunt of childlessness in marriage, disposing them to baby buying with its attendant legal consequences. The media are replete with reports on women nabbed for baby buying and selling. This research interrogates the nexus between cultural violence against women and the rising spate of baby buying in Nigeria as well as the role of other socio-economic factors in fueling the inferno. This study adopted a qualitative research design where secondary sources were used for data collection. The study found that the cultural architecture of society which threatens the position of a childless woman or a woman with no male child in her matrimonial home has created a thriving market for baby factory proprietors in Nigeria. Next to this are the stigma associated with teenage pregnancy and the abysmal economic condition of the citizenry. The paper concludes that if these predisposing factors are addressed it will go a long way in stemming the ugly tide. The study thus recommends that the government should protect childless women from marital insecurity and cultural violence through enabling laws. The government should invest more in positive peace-building and economic empowerment strategies; promote researches in gynecology and obstetrics to curtail infertility, and make quality health care affordable to the common man.

Keywords: cultural violence, structural insecurity, baby factories, baby buying

1. Introduction

The concept of cultural violence was propounded by Galtung¹. He conceives of cultural violence as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimise violence in its direct or structural form. This concept explains the manifestation of baby factories and sales in Nigeria, which is currently trending and being reported daily in the media. In this study, emphasis is given to baby buying in the African context particularly in the Southern part of Nigeria. In this part of the world, a premium is placed on having a male child to carry the family name. As such any childless woman or a woman with no male child, regardless of the number of female children she has, faces the threat being maltreated, divorced, or the husband taking another wife, which the tradition allows. Culture can be built overtime which is slightly different from tradition. Culture is a way of life but it can change in one form or the other. Tradition on the other hand can be static. It can be abandoned, but cannot be changed most times. The insecurity associated with childlessness or lack of male children is induced by the culture and tradition of a people. Childless couples in the south east irrespective of their social status are stigmatized, with the female partner bearing the larger weight of the stigma. Since the tradition licenses polygamy, the society does not frown when such a man takes another wife or even impregnates another woman outside wedlock. The end justifies the means! Couples who cherish their union or are bound by the religious dictum of 'One man, one wife ... till death do us part' have the option of adopting children at all cost, legally or illegally. It is against this backdrop that the phenomena of baby buying and baby selling became a thriving business in South East Nigeria. Baby buying under whatever guise is antithetical to the society. Baby buying is the act of illegal purchase of a baby. In Nigeria, there are two reasons for baby buying: First, it is perpetrated by couples without children. The choice ranges from a day-old child, a week old or more depending on the circumstances of both the buyer and the seller. The second motive for baby buying has to do with people using children or human beings generally for the purpose of rituals. These set of people usually indulge in the dastardly act of baby buying. However, this study dwells more on the aspect of couples buying baby to fill the cultural gap of having their own children and not being tagged 'barren' in the society. This study examines the reasons behind baby buying. Who are the buyers? Who are the sellers? Who are the intermediaries between the mother of the child/children and the buyer of the child/children? Why do the buyers not usually want to meet with the parents of the baby(ies) but rather prefer an intermediary? These and many more are addressed in this paper.

2. Methodology

This study employs qualitative research method. In qualitative research, the researcher is concerned with the process, context, interpretation, meaning or understanding of the phenomenon of interest through inductive

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¹ Galtung, J., Cultural Violence, *Journal of Peace and Research*, Vol. (27)3, 1990, pp.291-305

reasoning². The method of data collection is divided into both primary and secondary sources. The primary method relies on newspaper reports and observation. Since baby buying is covert in nature, the actors are not known in the public sphere because their identity is usually hidden, thus the reliance on media reports and police data. On the other hand, the secondary data are derived from books, journals, articles and internet sources.

3. Conceptualizing

In this section, the key terms such as cultural violence, baby factories, baby buying, and culture are conceptualised. According to Galtung³, 'Cultural violence' means those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) – that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.' From the above definition, cultural violence may not have direct violence on the victim and the society either physically or immediately but with time, the impact of the violence comes real in the society. For instance, it may not involve the use of arms and weapons as directly impacting the people but its effect can be more damning than the physical violence. Cultural violence according to Galtung⁴ is a man-made violence. The cultures are formed and framed by people in the society. It is this culture that encourages baby factory and baby buying in the society. Both terms are strange to norms and tradition of African irrespective of their location globally. Baby factories according to Peter⁵ are establishments to which young girls are lured or even recruited, held captive, made pregnant and their babies sold to prearranged prospective buyers on delivery. In a similar dimension, Madike⁶ baby factories as are usually disguised as maternity homes, orphanages, social welfare homes, clinics and informal water bottling factories; and are operated by well-organised criminal syndicates. In this definition, there is an attraction or a bait that attract people to such factories either as maternity homes, clinics or welfare homes. Many of the victims did not go there with the intention of selling their babies after delivery but when they get there, the syndicate lured the victims into selling off their children after delivery. These factories are called differently by different scholars, for instance Huntley⁷ calls it 'baby harvesting'; while Link and Phelan⁸ call it 'baby dumping'. However, there is a consensus among the scholars as baby factories are described variously as 'illegal homes.'⁹ Therefore, violence is defined by Galtung¹⁰ as 'avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or, to put it in more general terms, the impairment of human life, which lowers the actual degree to which someone is able to meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible.' The first aspect of this definition to note is the inclusion of the word, 'avoidable'. According to Galtung¹¹, 'When the potential is higher than the actual, [it] is by definition *avoidable* and when it is avoidable, then violence is present.' As a follow up to this, Galtung¹² offers an example: if a person died from tuberculosis in the eighteenth century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable, but if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, then violence is present according to our definition.¹³ From the above statement, Nigeria is currently suffering from several inherent violence because the above ailment is still killing people in Nigeria. On the other hand, researchers in sociology and criminology tend to prefer definitions that narrowly define violence, definitions that can be operationalised. For example, Gelles and Straus¹⁴ define violence as 'any act carried out with the intention of, or perceived intention of causing physical pain or injury to another person'. From this definition, every violence perpetrated in a social, economic, or psychological form, etc. has physical violence repercussion on the victim. Every violence can be felt in the physical sense of it. Also, the Committee on Family violence of the National Institute of Mental Health (1992) sees violence as 'acts that are physically and emotionally harmful or that carry

² Yilmaz, K., Comparison of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Traditions: epistemological, theoretical, and methodological differences, *European Journal of Education* Vol. 48(2), 2013, pp. 311-325

³ Galtung, J., Violence, Peace, Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (3), 1969, 167.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Peter, S. A., Linking women to new crime in Nigeria: The emerging 'Baby Factories and Sales'. *Abuja Journal of Gender Studies and Youth Advancement*, 1 (1&2), 2018, 268-263.

⁶ In Eseadi, C., Achagh, W., Ikechukwu-Ilomuanya, A.B., Ogbuabor, S.E., prevalence of baby factory in Nigeria: An emergent form of child abuse, trafficking and molestation of women, *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research Methods* Vol 2(1), 2015, pp. 1-12.

⁷ Huntley, S.S. The phenomenon of baby factories in Nigeria as a new trend in human trafficking. *International Crimes Database (ICD)*, 2013 *Brief* 3.

⁸ Link, B.G., & Phelan, J.C. (2001) conceptualizing Stigma. *Annual review of Sociology*, 27(1): 2001,366-385.

⁹ (Peter, 2018; Eseadi, et al 2015; Onuoha, 2014; Huntley 2013, Madike, 2013).

¹⁰ Galtung, J., KulturelleGewalt (1993) 43 *Der Burger imStaat* 106.

¹¹ Op Cit

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Straus, M. A. & Gelles R. J.. Societal change and change in family violence from 1975 to 1985 as revealed by two national surveys. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48, 1986, 465-478.

the potential to cause physical harm... (and) may also include sexual coercion assaults, physical intimidation, threats to kill or to harm, restraint of normal activities or freedom, and denial of access to resources'. Structural violence according to Farmer et al.¹⁵ is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way. The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organisation of our social world; they are violent because they cause injury to people. This may not manifest immediately but with time the implication will begin to be seen. Traditions and norms have put women and girls at a disadvantage position when it comes to inability to give birth or having a male child. This has caused both bodily and emotional harm on the women folk.

Trafficking as a concept has existed as an age-old phenomenon but was generally used synonymously with trading. However, by the late sixteenth century, it graduated from a mere trading term to refer to the sale of illicit or contraband goods, usually, the sale of drugs and weapons across borders in order to make profit. In the nineteenth century, it became associated with illicit trade in human beings (trafficking in persons) and their displacement across or within borders. However, the increase in the phenomenon in the twentieth century, especially trafficking children within the 8–17 age brackets, caused alarm around the world, especially in Nigeria. It became obvious that children are trafficked within and outside their countries for the commercial benefit of traffickers who sell them to end-users. The traffickers in turn use the children for domestic services, sexual gratification, agricultural work, trading and prostitution, such as the case of the 'italo' girls scandal. 'Italo' is the local slang for Nigerian girls who do commercial sex work abroad. Since this period, various international treaties have emerged to combat the trend in trafficking, especially of children and women within and across borders, but the definition of trafficking has been burdened with different contestations. The international concern has become imperative owing to the intensity and changes in the pattern of trafficking, which makes it a criminal offence, violating the rights of the child as established in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

4. Legal Framework

There are legal frameworks available in Nigeria to curtail the frequent issues of trafficking and violence against persons. Trafficking in Person (Prohibition) (Enforcement and Administration Act, 2015 (Tipp Act) and Violence against Persons (Prohibition Act) VAPP 2015 frown against trafficking in person and violence against persons. Other laws include Immigration Act, 1963 (*Section 1, G-H*), 2015, Criminal Code (*Sections 223, 224, 365, 366, 369*), Penal Code (*Sections 275, 278-280*), and Immigration Regulation, 2017. Other conventions and treaties Nigeria is party to also include, United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1981 (*Article 6*), African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Enforcement) Act, 2004 among others. The above legal framework both municipal and international treaties where Nigeria was party to the treaties are available but the crime still continues to thrive. Edo state also has an Act regulating trafficking in persons called Edo State Trafficking in Persons Prohibition Act (2018). All these are meant to reduce the frequent and fast lucrative business of baby factories in Nigeria and violence against individual irrespective gender and these laws must be enforced in Nigeria.

5. Causal Factors for Baby Buying and Sales

A number of factors are responsible for the increase in the hideous crime of baby buying and selling in Nigeria. These include:

Infertility, barrenness and childlessness vis-à-vis cultural factors

The emerging baby buying even though legally equated with human trafficking has a peculiarity that is relatively new. Baby buying is the act of buying a baby either from its parent or through an intermediary between the seller and the buyer. The people buying the baby do so with the intention of having a child that they can call their own. This is mostly practiced by childless couples. As mentioned earlier, the stigma of 'childlessness' 'infertility' or 'barrenness' that couples are tagged with has made them to indulge in this act of baby buying. Hollos¹⁶ succinctly puts forward the following concerning women infertility: 'The problem with infertility is not only that you have nobody to help you but also that society does not respect you. For a woman, respect is only due if she is a mother of children. Even young people do not respect you when you are not mother of their mates'.¹⁷ Thus, the issue of infertility has made baby factories and sales a lucrative business in Nigeria. In a similar vein, Van Balen and

¹⁵ Farmer, P.E., Nizeye, B., Stulac, S. &Keshavjee, S., Structural violence and clinical medicine. *PLoS Medicine*3(10), 2006 e449 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.0030449>

¹⁶ Hollos, M. (2003). Profiles of infertility in Southern Nigeria, Women's voice from Amakiri. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*,7 (2).

¹⁷ Ibid

Gerrist¹⁸ (2001) explained the implication of infertility thus: ‘The negative consequences of infertility are much stronger in developing countries than in the Western societies and these are mainly characterized by personal suffering and social stigmatization’. In fact, infertility affects the personal well-being of women that are involved.¹⁹ In these areas, infertility has been an unbearable social problem for the woman, the couple, the extended family and the entire community. It is seen as an agent of genealogical termination and as such it is hated by all, but feared most by women. In particular, childless women suffer a lot because women are always blamed for childlessness while motherhood is often the only way for a woman to stabilize her position with her husband’s family and community. Baby factories according to Peter²⁰ are establishments to which young girls are lured or even recruited, held captive, made pregnant and their babies sold to prearranged prospective buyers on delivery. Other scholars such as Huntley²¹, Madike²², Onuoha²³, Eseadi²⁴ and Peter²⁵ (2018) have all alluded to the fact that both the people running the baby factories and the people patronizing them are all criminals. However, emphasis is laid on the buying aspect of babies in the present studies. The framers of the culture that couples must give birth have created structural violence that is manifesting in a negative dimension in the various strata of the societies in the African context today.

Human trafficking syndrome

Another aspect of baby buying other than infertility is the issue of human trafficking which is carried out by the cartel of people selling and buying babies. In a study of child trafficking in West and Central Africa, Bazzi-Veil²⁶ defines trafficking as:

a whole process and conditions whereby a child is withdrawn from parental protection and authority to be considered as market value at any moment in the process. Thus, it is made up of any act consisting of recruiting, transporting, harbouring or trading of persons involving deception, constraint or force, debt servitude or fraud resulting in a movement of a child within or outside a country.

The buyers sometimes want to train the child and then send out for the purpose of child labour. This they do by sending the young child to be hawking in the streets while other children are in their various schools. Sometimes, these children are sent out to be domestic help to other people who in turn pay the supposed mother. This can be the reason while child labour and molestation is high in the society. At other times, such a child can be falsely termed a witch in the house of their masters.

Ritual purposes

The third aspect of baby buying has to do with people who buy children for ritual or fetish purposes. Again, this can be cultural in nature. For instance, in Southern African states, HIV AIDs carriers believe that when they defile a virgin, it cures the ailment in them. This makes the issue of culture to critical to the survival of children in the various African societies.

Teenage pregnancy

This is another major risk factor fueling baby sales in Nigeria. There is usually a stigma attached to pregnancy outside wedlock in African societies. This is usually worse for strict parents who as a result of religion or other factors feel that such a child has brought blemish to the family. Consequently, such a girl will prefer to run to a baby factory and remain there till the period of delivery after which she abandons the child and moves on with her life. The owner of the baby factory then sells off the child to buyers depending on the need of the buyers. This practice evinces how culture has become a potent source of violence to women in the society.

¹⁸Van Balen, F. & Gerrits, T. Quality of infertility care in poor-resource areas and the introduction of new reproductive technologies. 2001 *Http://num rep. Oxford Journals Orgci/content. Html.*; Stanton, A. L., Tennen, H., Afflick, G. & Mendola, R.. Cognitive appraisal and adjustment to Infertility. *Women Health*, 17, 1991, 1-15; Hollos, M. Profiles of infertility in Southern Nigeria, Women’s voice from Amakiri. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 7 (2). 2003.

¹⁹ Abbey, A., Andrews, F.M., & Halman, L.J. Gender’s role in response to infertility. *Psychology Women Quarterly*, 5, 1991, 295-316.

²⁰ Op cit

²¹ Op Cit

²² Op Cit

²³ Onuoha, F.C. new wares of trade: understanding evolving baby factory and trafficking in Nigeria A paper presented at the 5th international conference: National and international perspectives on crime reduction and criminal justice, organised by the Institute of Security Studies, at Radisson Blu Gautrain Hotel, Sandton, Johannesburg, 14 - 15 August 2014.

²⁴ Op cit

²⁵ Op Cit

²⁶ Bazzi-Veil, L. ‘Sub regional study on child trafficking for economic exploitation in West and Central Africa’, UNICEF, 1999

6. Relationship between baby sales and poverty in Nigeria: Empirical reports

Another causative factor inducing the spread of baby sales and buying is closely knitted to economic challenges. In the last five years in Nigeria, the rate at which people are selling babies is quite high. This is partly as a result of economic hardship in Nigeria. For instance, Imo State Police Command arrested a 27-year-old single mother Nneka Donatus who allegedly sold her baby girl a day after putting to bed for the sum of ₦600,000 to enable her to buy cell phone and wrapper. She explained that while she had bought a phone, wrapper and slippers for herself, she had wanted to use what remained of the money to start a business.²⁷ In another instance, on the 8th February, 2019 the Police in Imo State apprehended a 23-year-old lady Chinonye Oparaocha alongside other suspects for allegedly selling her six hours old baby boy for ₦850,000, shortly after delivery at a hospital along Nekede Road in Owerri West Local Government Area of Imo State. The Ondo State Command of the Nigeria Police Force paraded a nurse Mrs. Chibuzor Okoye for selling a baby belonging to a 17- year-old girl, Miss Tessy Obianua, to a couple in Onitsha, Anambra State, for the sum of ₦500,000. This was reported 20th March 2016. Similarly, 23-year-old Blessing Aluna was arrested by men of the Niger State Police Command for selling her one-week-old baby for ₦200,000 to open provision store in Suleja at least to take care of herself and siblings. This was reported 4th February 2019. On October 13, 2016 Vanguard reported that Baby sells for ₦20, 000 in eastern Nigeria. As 16-year-old Maria strained under the anguish of labor in eastern Nigeria, a midwife repeatedly slapped her across the face – but the real ordeal began minutes after the birth of her baby. The reports are inexhaustible.

7. Historicizing Baby Factories

Table 1: Reported Number of Women Rescued from Baby Factories²⁸

Month and Year	Location	Number of Women Rescued
May 2006	Enugu	25
January-March 2010	Aba	77
June 2011	Aba	32
October 2011	Lagos	17
May 2013	Enugu	6
May 2013	Aba	9
June 2013	Aba	16
June 2013	Orlu	26
June 2013	Ondo	6
December 2013	Owerri	17
January 2014	Ondo	5
March 2014	Ogun	8
May 2014	Okigwe	16
April 2014	Umuahia	12
August 2015	Asaba	8

Source: Nwaka & Odoemene, 2019²⁹.

The first publicly reported case of a baby factory was contained in a report published by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in 2006. Since then, most of the discovered baby factories were located in Southern Nigeria with a high incidence recorded in Ondo, Ogun, Imo, AkwaIbom, Abia and Anambra. From a single identified baby factory in the years 2008 and 2009, the number of identified factories increased to a total of five in 2013 and eight in 2015³⁰. The menace has continued to assume an upward trend despite human trafficking, including the sale of babies, being prohibited under the Nigerian law.

8. Geographical shift

The scourge which has over the years intensified in Southern Nigeria, however, appears to be gaining ground in Northern Nigeria lately, with two baby factories uncovered in January and February 2017 in Borno and Jos respectively. Though the reason for this geographical shift cannot be ascertained, it cannot be unconnected with the increasing spate of poverty, worsened by a growing loss of value for human life as drawn from evidences garnered from the factory uncovered in Jos. According to Arinze Orakwue, Head of Public enlightenment at the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) a total of 14 baby factories were

²⁷ (Online Punch, 10th May 2019).

²⁸ Makinde, O.A., Olaleye, O., Makinde, O.O., Brown, B., Baby factories in Nigeria – starting the discussion towards a national prevention policy, *Journal of Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 2017, 1-35

²⁹ Nwaka, J.C., Odoemene, A., 'Baby Factories': Exploitation of Women in Southern Nigeria, *Journal on Sexual Exploitation and Violence*: Vol. 4: Iss. 2, Article 2, 2019, pp. 1-15

³⁰ Ibid

discovered in the first nine months of 2016, six in 2015 and 10 in 2014 as showed by the data.³¹ In 2018, according to Mr. Dabiri, the Commissioner for Youths and Social Development in Lagos State, more than 160 children were rescued from a 'baby factory' and two unregistered orphanages in Nigeria's main city, Lagos. According to him, 100 girls and 62 boys were rescued. 'The children and teenagers rescued from the 'baby factory' and homes were placed at government-approved homes for care and protection'.³² In September 2019, the Nigerian police freed 19 pregnant women from properties in Lagos, which they described as 'baby factories'. Most of the women had been abducted 'for the purpose of getting them pregnant and selling the babies', a police statement said. Two women who operated as untrained nurses were arrested but the main suspect is on the run. According to the Police, male babies would be sold for \$1,400 (£1,100) and the females for \$830.³³

9. Classes of Buyers of Babies

Supporting the previous definitions of baby buying and selling, Alabi (2018) refers to it as the sale of infants. It is a process that commodifies a baby as a product for financial value. In this context, there are two classes of people that are analysed, the seller (proletariat) and the buyer (Bourgeoisie). From the media reports and police arrest, there are two classes of people that are usually arrested or apprehended, the seller of the baby and the intermediaries. Most often the baby buyers do not want to be known by the seller; rather, there is usually an intermediary who knows both the buyer and the seller. The reason behind this is that in case legal issues arise concerning the paternity of the child or children in the future, the original parents will not come up to claim the child or the children. Pertaining to the class difference between the sellers and the buyers, usually the sellers of the baby belong to the lower class (the poor) while the buyers are usually the upper class (the rich). Judging from the amount that a child is sold, it is evident that only the upper class can afford to pay while the seller uses the proceeds to alleviate poverty either in the form of upgrading business, payment of school fees or paying of rent among others. These reasons were usually given by persons arrested for baby sales, showing that economic pressure is the chief reason behind the sale of babies. As pathetic as the economic condition of the perpetrators might seem, no reason is sound enough to make a woman sell her own child. From the religious perspective, the Bible talks about how difficult it is for a mother to forget her child (Isaiah 49:15, *King James Version KJV*): 'Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb?' According to Peter³⁴, women are agents of peace, care givers, nurturers, trainers, educators, and are compassionate but, in recent times, women are found to be involving in new and emerging crimes such as kidnapping, robbery, militancy and of recent baby factories and sales. In the chain of the baby distribution, women are found to be the links connecting one woman to another. The current economic predicament seems to have hardened women to the point of participating in such crime in order to cater for their families. Poverty and hardship is seen as structural violence to the people in the various societies. Government can be an actor in creating structural violence either by design or by default. Participant by design could arise from the fact that government does not bother about the plight of the common people simply because they may not have the requisite power to revolt against the government. On the other hand, participant by default could mean that it is not a deliberate action by government to create hardship but hardship arises because of government's lack of capacity to cater for the people. All these form the basis for structural violence that manifests in the process of time. Nigeria should invest more in positive peace than in negative peace. Creating opportunities for marginalized stakeholders to participate in the empowerment of their communities is an essential component of positive peace building. According to Galtung,³⁵ positive peace requires peace-building efforts to manifest social relationships and social structures that meet basic human needs and fulfill human rights. In the words of Ho³⁶, the avoidable nature of violence emphasized by Galtung means that space, opportunities and strategies for conflict resolution need to be created by concerned parties.³⁷ People should be allowed to participate in decisions that concern them. The aftermath of structural violence can also be dealt with in the form of negative peace (peace pursued through Law enforcement). Evidently, positive peace strategy has the potential to build more lasting peace in society. Positive peace exists when oppression and structural violence are minimized or eliminated through the existence of supportive and sustainable relationships between different groups across a range of boundaries.³⁸ The experience of positive peace includes the experience of a just society.³⁹

³¹ (*Vanguard*, 13th October, 2016).

³² (BBC, 26th April, 2018).

³³ (BBC, 30th September, 2019).

³⁴ Op Cit

³⁵ Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (3), 1969, 167.

³⁶ Ho, K. Structural violence as a human rights violation. *Human Rights Review*, 4(2) 2007.

³⁷ *ibid*

³⁸ Stiles, C.E., Countering structural violence: Cultivating an experience of positive peace. *Dissertations and Theses*. Paper 210. 2011.

³⁹ Barash, D. & Webel, C.. *Peace and conflict studies* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc. , 2009

Positive peace is the exemplary outcome of social interactions because citizens may experience a greater degree of social harmony. Characteristics of a society experiencing positive peace include improved health, effective implementation of justice initiatives and socioeconomic equity. Positive peace will also entail that society does not push people to the extreme to acquire what they are not meant to acquire. Baby sales and buying thrive under the influence of negative peace. Negative peace entails that crimes are in existence without being detected while positive peace in this context entails that people avoid crime even without being monitored by the law enforcement. From the perspective of baby buying, childless couples that have money to buy a baby should have toed the path of honour by either adopting children or embarking on IVF that is legal in nature instead of engaging in baby buying, which is criminal. Part of the cultural violence is stigmatization: the society believes that when one adopts a child, such a child is not one's own, but when one buys a baby, nobody will be able to claim that the child is not one's own. Cultural violence in this context affects women more than men. Reports show that those involved in child buying are usually women most times with the consent of men but the men usually operate behind the scenes thereby pushing the woman forward to commit the dastardly act. This appears to be the reason why women are more on the chain of distribution, cartel and syndicate of baby buying and baby sales than men.

10. Conclusion and Recommendations

The issue of human trafficking in the Western world is not the same as the one playing out in this part of the world. Culture and poverty are identified as the main factors behind the issue of baby factories, baby sales and buying, in Nigeria. While in the western world couples can remain without having children, the opposite is the situation in Nigeria and Africa. When couples do not give birth after marriage, family, friends, and church members begin to ask questions and this pressure has made people to resort to baby buying in order to cover the shame and stigmatization against their childlessness. On the other hand, parents that are too strict about the teenage pregnancy of their daughters have given rise to mushroom maternity homes where babies are delivered and subsequently sold. The paper concludes that if the factors that create the enabling environment for baby factories to thrive are addressed it will go a long way in stemming the ugly tide. Based on the observations from this study, the following recommendations are made. Unhealthy and violent cultural practices should be abolished so that childless couples should not be too desperate to have a child at all cost. Giving the increase in the level of childlessness in the country, the government should train more gynecologists and sponsor more research in gynecology and obstetrics to cater for women. Experience has shown that some treatable cases of barrenness are allowed to degenerate because most couples cannot afford medical care. Government should therefore subsidize such treatments and make them affordable to the common man. If IVF becomes affordable, women will prefer their own flesh and blood. Nigeria should invest more in positive peace than in negative peace by attacking poverty and providing jobs and empowerment for her teeming youth. Government and non state actors must embark on sensitization and awareness programme so that people will be exposed to the danger of baby factories, buying and sales to the general public to stem the tide of this menace. The procedure for legal adoption of a child should not be rigorous and painstaking. That way, the option of illegal adoption will be less appealing.