URBAN CRIME IN NIGERIA: TRENDS, COSTS AND POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH UPTAKE AND DISSEMINATION STRATEGY</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIME IN NIGERIAN CITIES: THEORETICS AND EVIDENCE REVIEW</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBANISATION TRENDS IN NIGERIA</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USEFULNESS OF THEORIES FOR UNDERSTANDING URBAN CRIME</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEORETICAL FOUNDATION FOR STUDYING URBAN CRIME DYNAMICS IN NIGERIA</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIGERIA’S CONTEMPORARY URBAN CRIME: EVIDENCE AND DEBATES</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF CRIME</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE STUDY CITIES</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIME MORPHOLOGY AND MAPPING</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREVALENCE OF URBAN CRIME</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCENTRATION OF CRIME</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEAR OF CRIME</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECIALISATION OF VIOLENT CRIMES</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECIALISATION OF PROPERTY CRIMES</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECIALISATION OF SERIOUS SEXUAL OFFENCES</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMPORAL QUALITY OF CRIME</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHYTHM OF URBAN CRIME RISK</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHYTHM OF RISK OF VIOLENT CRIMES</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNUAL RHYTHM OF PROPERTY CRIMES</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SERIOUS SEXUAL OFFENCES</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHAT DRIVES CRIME IN URBAN CENTRES?</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDICATORS OF DEPRIVATION AND SOCIAL POLARISATION</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF RISK FACTORS</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN ABUJA</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN KANO</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN LAGOS</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN LOKOJA</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN PORT HARCOURT</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE COST OF URBAN CRIME: MEASURING CRIME HARM</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CONCEPT AND CLASSIFICATION OF COST OF CRIME</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIME HARM: A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO EVALUATING THE REPERCUSSIONS OF CRIME</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MODELLING URBAN CRIME HARM</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIATIONS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN CRIME HARM</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN ABUJA</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN KANO</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN LAGOS</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN LOKOJA</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN PORT HARCOURT</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNEX 1: REFERENCES</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNEX 2: ORGANISATIONS &amp; GROUPS ENGAGED DURING FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNEX 3: CITIES INCLUDED IN THE SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS STUDY</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Urbanisation helps to engender economic growth which is often underpinned by improved access to jobs, goods and services especially for poor people in developing countries. Nigeria is positioned at the frontend of the escalator of rapidly urbanising countries therefore most cities in the country are centres of social, political and economic power. The attention that these cities command makes some of them flashpoints for crime and violence. The fact that many of Nigerian cities combine rapid unmanaged growth with decaying public infrastructure mean that risk factors can accumulate and deepen the potential for urban crime. Disorderly growth transforms power relationships within Nigerian urban centres. This in turn activates new social and economic pathways which can trigger crime and conflict.

For more than two decades, calls have been made for inter-city comparative analysis of crime in Nigeria. Whilst selected single-city studies have been conducted, there is no recent robust attempt to systematically gauge the internal crime dynamics of cities in Nigeria against each other.

This research monograph represents a bold empirical move in this regard. Thirty six Nigerian cities are placed on a rigorous and reliable comparative footing by applying selected statistical measures from a battery of indicators. The extensive numerical analysis is further supplemented by interpretivist approaches which help to yield fresh contextual evidence about the dynamics of crimes in urban settings.

In terms of substantive analysis, cities are compared by assessing numerous dimensions of the spatial and temporal quality of crime. Critical inter and intra-city drivers of crime are also evaluated. We appraise the consequence of urban crime by developing a set of very novel urban crime harm indices which blend together parameters of crime prevalence and severity. This monograph also articulates and assesses the range of prevention and control strategies in operation across a number of cities and provides evidence-driven strategic and operational recommendations for combating crime and stimulating urban development across Nigeria.

The evidence from deep literature synthesis shows that research studies on crime within Nigerian cities are heavily skewed in favour of cities in the South West geopolitical zone. Further evidence revealed a dearth of knowledge on the temporal quality of crime across cities.
Nearly 5 in 10 urban dwellers were victims of crime during the year period 2005 to 2011. From a settlement hierarchy perspective, metropolitan areas with more than 1 million inhabitants experience the highest levels of crime. Heightened risk of crime is greatest within Port Harcourt with around 7 in 10 residents likely to be victims of crime. This is more than treble the level of crime in Damaturu where prevalence is at its lowest.

The mean number of crime incidents per urban victim in Nigeria is 2.2 with highest within Port Harcourt and Benin City. However, fear of crime is concentrated in Aba, Abuja, Jalingo, Katsina and Maiduguri. The Boko Haram crisis is probably a key factor in the heightened fear of crime recorded in Maiduguri. Relative fear of crime is at its lowest in Nnewi and Lagos.

In general, cities within the South East and South South geopolitical zones specialise in violent crimes. However, it is worth mentioning that key cities of the North Central and North East also specialise in murder. An interesting revelation is the high level of representation of domestic violence across cities of the North East and North West.

The specialisation of property crimes is generally dispersed across different geopolitical zones. However, there is an endemic problem of theft (mobile phones, money and from car) within cities of the South West geopolitical zone. Many of these types of crimes are generally preventable.

Results from the analysis suggest that there is an endemic problem within cities in the South East and South South. Apart from Benin City, Nnewi and Awka, all other cities evaluated within these two geopolitical zones exhibit very high to moderately high levels of overrepresentation of rape. The greatest levels of rape concentration is in Enugu (2.6 times more concentrated), Uyo (2.2 times more concentrated) and Yenagoa (2.2 times more concentrated). In Makurdi, the crime is 2.1 times more endemic than the urban Nigeria average. Rape is also very overrepresented in Abuja where the crime is 1.6 times more concentrated.

Temporal analysis revealed that urban crime rose from the middle of the first decade of the current millennium and peaked at the end of the decade. Crime starts to fall afterwards. Approximately half of urban murders take place at night time. However, murders in the metropolitan centres (1 million or more residents) are much more sporadic than the other settlement hierarchies. In metropolitan areas, the majority of rape incidents occur in the evening. However, it is striking that 42% of rapes in small cities (less than 300,000 inhabitants) take place in broad day light.
We deduce from the analysis that cities with high levels of relative deprivation tend to have higher levels of murder and burglaries. However, they combine these with lower levels of robbery, physical assault and rape. We also discover from the results that those cities with higher life expectancy indices also experience lower levels of murders, robberies and burglaries. Furthermore, those urban centres with high levels of economic inequality also experience high levels of murder, robbery, physical assault and rape. Cities with higher levels of educational attainment experience lower levels of murder, robberies and burglary.

Some key drivers of urban crime identified from the fieldwork include poverty, migration and unemployment, endemic drug abuse, small arms and light weapons trafficking, incessant political violence coupled with population upsurge. Additional urban security challenges include systemic failure of governance and weakened public trust in law enforcement agencies.

In general, the impact of crime diminishes as crime prevalence decreases. There are however some fluctuations. Amongst the northern cities, the harm of crime is greatest within Jos and Yola. Further evaluation crime harm in the three geopolitical of southern Nigeria suggests that the harm exerted by crime is particularly concentrated within cities in the South East and South South whilst those cities in the South West generally incur lower levels of harm. This does not mean that urban residents of the South West do not experience losses and pain from crime.

In order to curtail the spate of urban crime there is the need for the implementation of nuanced strategies that would improve opportunities for economic livelihood and limit access to small and light weapons. Additionally, it is imperative to strengthen the capacity of law enforcement institutions. Kidnapping is a growing menace in urban centres therefore awareness creation is crucial together with the fostering of a coordinated multiagency response. We also recommend the expansion of opportunities for legitimate livelihood as this will help to bolster community resilience for crime prevention. Finally, we believe speedy prosecution of criminal trials is imperative for the dispensation of justice in the law courts of urban centres.
INTRODUCTION

Numerous Nigerian urban centres are growing at a remarkable pace (Bloch et al., 2015). Fast paced urbanisation generates both opportunities and challenges for policy stakeholders. Insecurity is one form of anxiety that sometimes accompanies fast paced urbanisation. Urban crime is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria; however, traditional forms of crime in urban Nigeria have been relatively under-researched.

The introductory chapter of this report sets out to achieve five objectives. First, we provides the rationale for conducting the research. This is followed by a statement of our research vision and an outline of our key objectives. We also discuss our research design providing robust description of the secondary and primary data sources. In our methodology section, we elaborate on a range of space-time statistical techniques that we apply to the datasets. We also provide detailed explanations of more interpretative methods used for data collection and analysis. We conclude the chapter by describing the strategy for engaging stakeholders in order to ensure the research outputs receive maximum publicity and outreach.

CONTEXT

At least three important forces of development have shaped the transformation of modern societies since the 18th century. These forces include industrialisation, urbanisation and globalisation (Hove et al., 2013; Chen et al., 2014). Industrialisation is a primary stimulant for economic growth. It yields those outputs which drive dynamic social mobility and give impetus to urbanisation processes in developed and developing societies (Osterhammel and Camiller, 2014). Industrialisation breeds urbanisation which in turn lubricates globalisation. Industrialisation, urbanisation and globalisation are interconnected and interdependent and in a sense, urbanisation sits as the conduit between the other two forces.

Towards the end of the last decade, the world became predominantly urban (Tacoli et al., 2015). Global economic productivity is also highly skewed in favour of cities. For instance, by 2025, 60% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ($64 trillion) will be generated in cities; average per capita income within these cities is expected to rise to $32,000; and households expect their income to jump above $20,000 per annum (Dobbs et al., 2011).
From financial remittances to the sociocultural transmittals of social mobility, urbanisation brings widely documented possibilities for developing countries (Beall and Fox, 2009; Dobs et al., 2011; Grant, 2012; Bloch et al., 2015). During a 2011 interview with the European Magazine, Harvard University’s Edward Glaeser noted that “if you compare countries that are more than 50 percent urbanised with countries that are less than 50 percent urbanised, incomes are five times higher in the more urbanised countries and infant mortality rates are less than a third in the more urbanised countries” (Mensel, 2011, p. 1).

For many developing countries, cities represent the last stand for uniformity, a sort of enclave where people struggle so as not to succumb; a benign place where there is still a guarantee of difference and where tradition is cultivated. Cities in developing countries are perceived as havens where the idea of community is transferred, with all the difficulties that this entails, and where all these diversities are allowed to coexist and concentrate into relatively limited spaces, with mutual respect.

However, it is fair to say that with all its merits, urbanisation has also brought new challenges in terms of crime, insecurity and urban violence. In much of the world, crime is disproportionately urban (Onibokun et al., 1995; Glaesar, 2011). More than 1.5 billion people live in areas affected by repeated cycles of criminal violence (World Bank, 2011). The landmark World Development report published by the World Bank in 2011 highlighted the significance of crime and insecurity as clogs in the wheel of urban development.

Urban crime constitutes a serious impediment to social and economic development in Nigeria (Marenin and Reisig, 1995; Salm and Falola, 2009). In numerous urban centres, high rates of crime threaten human welfare, undermine the growth of small, medium and large scale enterprises and impede social development (Suberu, 2001; Nyam and Ayuba). Many urban local governments are in dire need of new methods for enhancing the design, implementation and effective management of sustainable crime prevention and reduction strategies (Adebayo, 2012a; Ajayi and Longe, 2015).

Due to the perpetuation of terrorism and insurgency across Northern Nigeria and the re-surfacing of the Niger Delta crisis in the south following the election of President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015, political attention has shifted towards these two conflicts. Urban security and community safety resources have been channelled largely towards ameliorating the effects of organised crime to the detriment of other traditional forms of crime (Adebayo, 2012b).
The international response to Nigeria’s urban insecurity problems has also concentrated largely on transnational crimes perpetrated by local and international groups of highly centralised enterprises run by criminals who intend to engage in illegal activity, mostly for money and profit (Ellis, 2016).

As a result of the shift in local and international policy focus, very few empirical research studies on the dynamics of conventional forms of urban crime have been conducted in Nigeria over the last decade. We use the term “conventional crimes” to refer to those traditional, illegal behaviours that most people think of as crime. These include murder, rape, assault, robbery, burglary and theft. To the best of our knowledge, we are unaware of any recent national study that has used a rigorous mixed-methodological comparative framework to provide an evidence-base of the scale and dimensions conventional crime in Nigeria’s major urban centres over the last decade. This paucity has created some serious knowledge gaps about the:

- Spatial and temporal configuration of urban crime;
- Contemporary centrifugal and centripetal forces that stimulate urban crime;
- Scale of social, political and economic damage that urban communities suffer as a result of crime;
- New and emerging coping strategies that urban communities use to combat crime;
- Effectiveness of some of these strategies; and
- The possible future prospects of urban communities with respect to crime.

This research study seeks to fill some of these knowledge gaps. The study synthesises a wide range of literature on the depth and breadth of crime within selected Nigerian urban centres and based on primary research, presents compelling new evidence on the structure, trends and repercussions of crime on urban dwellers.

**RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

The aim of the study is two-fold. First, we seek to utilise well-tested rigorous spatial analytical approaches to profile and understand the scale, structure and temporal quality of different forms of urban crime. Secondly, through more interpretivist approaches, we seek to generate new contextual evidence about the repercussions of crime on urban dwellers and what works in preventing crime within urban settings.
Whilst it is not intended to provide a definitive blueprint for action, this report is offered as a mechanism for engaging key local stakeholders, civil society organisations, citizens, and international partners in a thoughtful dialogue on crime, based on robust empirical analysis and good practices from within and outside Nigeria. The central objectives of this project are listed below:

**Objective 1**: To provide a spatio-temporal analytical overview of urban crime trends since the middle of the last decade

**Objective 2**: To robustly evaluate the internal and external forces and factors that stimulate the perpetuation of different forms of crime

**Objective 3**: To gauge the social and economic costs of urban crime

**Objective 4**: To articulate and assess the range of prevention and/or reduction strategies in operation in selected case-study cities

**Objective 5**: To provide a framework of evidence-driven recommendations for combating crime and stimulating urban development across Nigeria

This research study is national in its scope, extending across as many major cities as possible within the country’s six geo-political zones.

**RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA**

We consider this study to be an empirical scientific project. Our research design is therefore structured as a robust blueprint which specifies two important processes. These processes are:

- Secondary data collection process; and
- Primary data collection process.

The remainder of this section describes each of the two research design processes.

**Secondary Data Collection Process**

The objectives of this research study require a cross-fertilisation of disciplines and datasets. Therefore, the project is designed such that it can draw upon a mixed-methodological route of enquiry. This means that our datasets and the data collection process compel us to adapt both positivist and interpretivist schools of thought.
From a positivist perspective, we make use of secondary datasets. Secondary datasets are effective where primary data collection is infeasible (Bryman, 2012). Secondly, and more importantly, elements of some of our project objectives (Objectives 1, 2 and 3) can be addressed by interrogating previously collected and validated datasets. The bulk of the secondary data requirements for this research study are drawn from:

- The National Crime and Victimisation Survey (NCVS);
- The Nigerian Geodemographic Classification System (NIGECs); and
- The Global Rural-Urban Mapping Project (GRUMP).

**The National Crime and Victimisation Survey (NCVS)**

Under normal circumstances, the Nigerian Police Force is expected to record all crime incidents and make such datasets available for researchers who wish to interrogate them further (Alemika, 2011). Official crime figures in Nigeria are generally problematic and disputed (Pérouse de Montclos, 2016). They are largely based on crime incidents that are reported to the police by the public. Unreported cases cannot be recorded, and there is good reason to believe a substantial volume of criminogenic events are not reported (Alemika, 2013). However, attempts were made to secure access to official crime datasets but the efforts proved abortive.

The NCVS was used as the principal source of crime statistics. It is designed and implemented by CLEEN Foundation¹, Nigeria. The survey data collection has been in operation since 2005 through funding support from the Ford Foundation and the Macarthur Foundation. The survey is targeted at adults who are 18 years and above and it provides valuable information for understanding the extent, trends and patterns of crime victimisation in Nigeria (Alemika, 2013).

**Table 1: Dates, Coverage and Sample Sizes of the National Crime Victimisation Survey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years which Data Represent</th>
<th>Dates of Survey</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
<th>Sample Sizes</th>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Oct. and Dec. 2006</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>11,161</td>
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¹ The CLEEN Foundation is a non-governmental organisation established in January, 1998 with the mission of promoting public safety, security and accessible justice through the strategies of empirical research, legislative advocacy, demonstration programmes and publications, in partnership with the government, civil society and private sector.
The design and construction of the NCVS mirrors methodologies used in similar international studies such as the Crime Survey for England and Wales and the International Crime Victims Survey. A multi-stage probability sampling procedure is used in the NCVS and data collection covers all 36 states in Nigeria. Sample sizes for the different years are provided in Table 1.

When interpreting results contained in this report, readers should bear in mind that a limitation of the NCVS is that it provides a measure of common crimes to which members of the public are generally exposed. The NCVS largely ignores victimisations resulting from complex crimes such as grand corruption and other forms of organised crime.

The victimisation survey also avoids probing into areas that may be sensitive to a person who has been a victim of crime. Due to the possible distress that may be caused, it may be inappropriate to ask some young people about certain issues, such as being victims of violent or sexual crime. The NCVS tries to overcome this ethical problem by focusing on older respondents.

Lastly, self-report studies such as the NCVS often concentrate on the reporting of less serious offences. Due to fear of the possible consequences, few people will admit to a serious crime, even if anonymous, but most will acknowledge minor law breaking. This can pose difficulties for instance when studying urban patterns of crimes with high youth offending rates because of relationships of young people to gangs and delinquent urban subcultures.

**The Nigerian Geodemographic Classification System**

The second source of secondary data is the Nigerian Geodemographic Classification System (NIGECS). Concisely, a geodemographic system is an area classification that simplifies a large and complex body of multivariate and multidimensional information about people, where and how they live, work and recreate. Geodemographic systems are developed based on geographical ontologies that similar people with similar characteristics are more likely to live within the same locality and that such locality types will be distributed in different locations across geographical space (Harris et al., 2005; Sleight, 1997; Brown, 1991). The NIGECS uses multi-criteria data fusion techniques to combine multivariate data derived from the 2006 Census of population and other national surveys sourced from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). Following a rigorous variable selection exercise from a pool of nearly half a million data points, approximately 35,000 data
points spreading across 10 themes were used to create a three-tier hierarchical classification of all the 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Nigeria (Ojo et al., 2012).

The ten broad themes that the data cover include Agriculture, Demographics, Education, Employment, Health, Household Composition, Household Infrastructure, Housing, Socio-economics and Women and Children. The NIGECS dataset was used in concert with the GRUMP dataset to link LGAs to their corresponding urban centres and. It also served as an additional framework for explaining the nexus between social polarisation and crime in urban centres.

**The Global Rural-Urban Mapping Project**

The GRUMP project is a collaborative engagement between the Centre for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN), the International Food Policy Research Institute (IPFRI), the World Bank and the Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical (CIAT).

GRUMP dataset was produced by combining several disparate datasets. As a base, the project uses the first consistent globally georeferenced population dataset – the Gridded Population of the World (GPW) developed at the National Centre for Geographic Information Analysis (NCGIA) in 1995 (Balk and Yetman, 2004). The GPW was integrated with satellite data referred to as night-time lights. This dataset was sourced from the United States Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP) (Elvidge et al., 1997). Night-time lights and ancillary geographic information were used to identify urban extents. Furthermore, these base datasets were integrated with additional information including: Census (or census-type) inputs on the population size of settlements and their corresponding latitude and longitude coordinates.

One of the products created by combining and enhancing these different datasets is an urban extents raster dataset. This dataset was used to gauge the spatial extents of some cities and determine the LGAs that coincide with the urban extents as shown in Figure 1. Doing this enabled us to create a look-up table of LGAs to cities.

**Primary Data Collection Process**

The primary datasets were derived from two sources – Focus Group Discussions and Interviews. Given competing demands of funding and time required to deliver the project, five cities were chosen from four geopolitical zones to host the Focus Group Discussions as shown in Table 2.
### Table 2: Venues of Focus Group Discussions and Interviews

<table>
<thead>
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<th>City</th>
<th>Geopolitical Zone</th>
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<tr>
<td>Abuja</td>
<td>North Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>North West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>South West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokoja</td>
<td>North Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port-Harcourt</td>
<td>South</td>
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The cities have some peculiarities that make them pivotal for the research study. Abuja with its federal capital status presents some issues linked to social exclusion and crime on the fringes.

The choice of Kano as an important city to be investigated in the north also draws from its historical antecedents, and the fact that it is the commercial capital of the northern Nigeria.

Lagos is a City State. Its cosmopolitan uniqueness of cannot be overemphasised. It is a mixed bag for all sorts of urban security dynamics.

Lokoja is a pivot state that connects the southern and northern divides, and the city presents some crime dynamics that must be investigated due to its geographical positioning as well. For instance, urban/rural banditry in the City has recorded enormous media reporting over the years (Egwu, 2016).

Finally, the oil-producing status of Port-Harcourt presents some peculiar crime issues that must be adequately documented and compared with other cities.

Annex 2 shows the participating organisations and groups within each of the five case cities. As can be seen contextual information was captured from a broad range of stakeholder groups. We believe this makes the findings reported in this study robust and defensible.

### METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research study is intended to provide a thorough critical analysis of the dynamics of contemporary urban crime in Nigeria. From a quantitative perspective, we draw on applied knowledge from a range of disciplinary areas including Human Geography, Planning, Statistics, Crime Science,
Computer Science, and Development Studies. The analysis musters advanced quantitative techniques from established literature about social disorganisation, concentrated disadvantage, geodemographics and space-time analysis.

Traditional qualitative techniques such as Focus Group Discussions, in-depth interviews and some historical comparative analysis are also adapted. Whilst they are less reliable in terms of internal validity (Bryman, 2012) these methods have been found to be effective in identifying intangible and contextual factors whose role in terms of urban insecurity may not be readily apparent from numerical analysis. In the remainder of this section, we discuss detailed overview of our approach to addressing the research objectives.

**Delineating Spatial Extent of Urban Centres for Data Disaggregation**

The crime dataset provided by CLEEN Foundation was made available at LGA level. Therefore, we needed to devise a method for aggregating the data to city level. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to secure an official look-up table (LGAs to Cities) from the National Population Commission (NPopC). We decided to create our own look-up table. Two approaches were adapted to create a robust and reliable LGAs to Cities look-up table.

First, we undertook extensive content analysis of a wide range of materials previously produced by the NPopC, the National Bureau of Statistics and the National Boundary Commission. This information was supplemented by desk review of local and international studies that had been conducted trying to address the problem. The second is a digital approach. There is minimal consensus in literature on the actual sizes of many of Africa’s largest urban settlements. To resolve this problem, we dwell on geospatial datasets comprised of satellite imagery and census data. This method was used in a recent research study focused on urban expansion in Nigeria (Bloch et al., 2015). Linard et al. (2013) describe the use of satellite imagery as a more precise and reliable way of defining urban extents than population thresholds. The urban extents grids from the GRUMP database was used to map the extent of urban centres in Nigeria.
Figure 1: Spatial Extents of Metropolitan Ibadan (1990-2010)


Figure 1 illustrates how data from the GRUMP database was used to map the urban extents of Ibadan. The boundaries of corresponding LGAs were overlaid on the urban extents to facilitate visual inspection and assignment of LGAs to cities in concert with information derived from the content analysis and desk review.

Analysing Crime Structure and Trends

Recent research on insecurity in Nigeria has focused much more on organised crimes, such as insurgency and terrorism, with minimal attention paid to traditional crime trends. Understanding crime patterns is central to decisions about how crime can be reduced and prevented within urban spaces (Andresen, 2006; Alemika, 2013). In order to develop a robust judgement of the structure of urban crime in Nigeria, consideration needs to be given to the long-term trends of crime, the spatial distribution of crime and the time series analysis of crime.

We placed major urban centres across Nigeria on a reliable comparative empirical framework using a battery of measures. First, we evaluated the levels of crime by examining the volumes and prevalence rates of crime victimisation in different urban jurisdictions. Crime volume is basically the count of crime incidents recorded in a specific urban jurisdiction within a specified time-frame, whilst prevalence rate is a relativised number that represents the per capita distribution of crime incidents.
Next, we assessed the concentration of crime by evaluating the density of repeat victimisation across urban centres. Crime concentration was measured as the ratio of victimisations to the number victims (See Equation 1.1). Results yield the mean number of incidents per victim. Higher mean values are one indicator of the extent to which repeat victimisation occurs.

\[
Concentration = \frac{\text{Number of victimisations}}{\text{Number of victims}}
\]  

(1.1)

We also gauged the intensity of fear of crime across urban centres. The intensity of fear was measured by creating a composite measure from the weighted prevalence of different echelons of fear. Respondents to the NCVS were asked to indicate their level of fear of crime using a 5-level Likert scale: Very fearful, Fearful, A little fearful, Not at all fearful, don’t know. The three levels of fear were assigned the following weights:

- Very fearful (Weight = 0.5)
- Fearful (Weight = 0.3)
- A little fearful (Weight = 0.2)

The composite intensity of fear for each urban centre was subsequently calculated using Equation 1.2.

\[
Intensity \ of \ Fear = P_i w_i + P_j w_j + P_k w_k
\]  

(1.2)

Where:

\( P_i w_i \) represents the product of the prevalence and weight of being very fearful of crime

\( P_j w_j \) represents the product of the prevalence and weight of being fearful of crime

\( P_k w_k \) represents the product of the prevalence and weight of being a little fearful of crime

We use the location quotient as a metric for evaluating the relative specialisation of different crime types across urban centres. The location quotient provides an alternate measurement to crime rates. The metric emerged with the field of economic geography in the 1940’s (Isard et al. 1998; Miller et al. 1991). Proponents originally used it to assess employment dynamics and industrial specialisation. We calibrated the
location quotient for various crime types and urban centres using the notation in Equation 1.3.

\[
LQ = \frac{C_{in} / C_{tn}}{\sum_{n=1}^{N} C_{in} / \sum_{n=1}^{N} C_{tn}}
\]

(1.3)

Where:

- \(C_{in}\) represents the count of crime \(i\) in city \(n\)
- \(C_{tn}\) represents the count of all crimes in city \(n\)
- \(N\) represents the total number of Nigerian cities included in the analysis

The utilisation of the location quotient in criminogenic research was first explored in the 1990’s by Paul and Patricia Brantingham (Brantingham and Brantingham 1993, 1995, 1998). More recently, the metric has found widespread use by other scholars (Andresen, 2007, McCord and Ratcliffe, 2007, Ratcliffe and Rengert, 2008, Ha and Andresen, 2017).

We also contrasted hot crime places with hot crime times in order to create temporal graphs of crime activity by settlement hierarchy. Doing this enabled us to recognise those hours of high and low criminogenic activities in urban settings during the period of 2005 to 2011. The visualisations help to make the periods of intense and sparse activity more apparent.

**Evaluating Risk Factors of Urban Crime**

The scrutiny risk factors of urban crime across Nigerian cities presents a number of benefits. It offers an understanding of the basic profile of potential victims of urban crime. Such a profile can be very useful for designing and targeting strategic and operational interventions (Adebayo, 2012a). A second benefit is that when combined with criminological theories, a narrative of risk factors can yield insights into social processes driving criminal activities. This in turn can help to shape urban security policies through an evidence-driven lens.

We conceptualise the various stimuli on urban crime by drawing on a deep synthesis of academic and policy literature. The literature synthesis was hooked unto the social ecological model. This model considers the multifaceted interaction between individual, relationship, community, and societal factors. It allows us to comprehend the range of factors that put people at risk of crime victimisation or protect them from experiencing or perpetrating crime (Dahlberg and Krug, 2002). Furthermore, we explored the association between urban crime and forces of social polarisation and human development.
Determining Cost/Impact of Urban Crime

It can be challenging trying to quantify and indeed qualify the mental suffering, agony, ruined lives, broken hearts, desolation and despair that often trail criminogenic activities in urban environments. The approach used to examine the repercussions of crime is predicated on empirical research conducted at the Institute of Criminology, Cambridge University. We propose two composite metrics for estimating the overall impact crime across urban centres in northern and southern Nigeria. We developed the Northern Urban Crime Index (NUCHI) for cities in northern Nigeria and the Southern Urban Crime Index (SUCHI) for those cities in Southern Nigeria. It is argued that all crimes are not necessarily created equal, therefore a more precise determination of the harm caused by crime should integrate crime types using a weighted approach (Sherman, 2007 and 2010; Sherman et al., 2016).

In order to construct the NUCHI and SUCHI, we determine the average number of prison days that different types of crimes attract in Nigeria. This information is sourced from analysing sentencing guidelines from different legal jurisdictions. The hypothetical logic used here is that the number of prison days is used to represent the weight of severity of crime (Sherman et al., 2016).

Reviewing What Works and What Doesn’t in Preventing and Reducing Urban Crime

Understanding what works in crime prevention and reduction is important for policy makers and law enforcement agents. This study seeks to galvanise efforts of a multiplicity of law enforcement stakeholders to reduce urban crime by articulating efficient and effective mechanisms for strategic and operational decision-making within Nigeria’s diversified urban crime landscape.

In Figure 2, we illustrate some of the potential advantages of better understanding the different strategies and operational tactics that are yielding positive results within various urban jurisdictions. For this study, we review practices and interventions from the five case-study cities listed in Table 2 and label the different practices in terms of quality and impact evidence base.

---

2 “Sentencing is a very broad field accommodating different approaches and ideas. Also, sentencing is an exercise of a discretionary power that is little guided in a country such as Nigeria. Hence, the power presents sentencer’s with a very wide playing field and accommodates individual inclinations and approaches or solutions to the same problem.” (Anyebe, 2011, p. 152).
Based on broad-based research findings, generic strategic and operational recommendations are provided to help ameliorate urban crime in Nigeria. We also make an effort to offer more bespoke policy recommendations for a number of cities included in the study.

**RESEARCH UPTAKE AND DISSEMINATION STRATEGY**

Any investment commitment to human development projects seeks to make a difference to the lives of people residing in the study region. For this research study to stimulate an impact on urban crime reduction, we believe it needs to be communicated and brought to the attention of both policy makers and people whose lives could be improved by our findings. CLEEN Foundation (providers of the core crime datasets) have links with national Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), policy-makers, the police and universities. They regularly disseminate research findings at a high level. We will leverage on this already established network to promote increased visibility of the results from this study.

Additionally, we expect to produce up to three articles for publication in high impact academic journals; publish one book chapter; deliver two conference presentations; and publish a book on contemporary urban crime across Nigerian cities.
Finally, we plan to reach an even wider and engaging audience on social media by sending short easy-to-comprehend articles and opinion pieces related to our findings to highly effective blogs or news platforms like Sahara Reporters. These platforms generate huge traffic from social media and technology savvy middle-aged population groups within and outside Nigeria.
Theoretical foundations play significant roles in the study of urban crime. Without theories, it would be difficult to operationalise the analytical activities need to gain an understanding of the subject matter. This chapter starts by introducing the reader to some recent trends of urbanisation in Nigeria. Following this, the benefits of criminological theories are examined and then a brief overview of the main theories used for understand criminogenic activities are discussed. The chapter moves on to justify the theoretical framework for this study. Finally, we discuss a robust evidence review of key elements of the study of criminogens across Nigerian cities. We identify at least three major areas of knowledge gaps. This study seeks to contribute towards filling those knowledge gaps.

**URBANISATION TRENDS IN NIGERIA**

According to Mabogunje (2004), there were relatively large population settlements in Nigeria prior to the period of colonial rule. These settlements thrived mainly on proceeds from trade (including slave trade) and administration.

Similar to many other parts of the world, the metamorphosis of early urbanism across northern Nigeria was primarily a function of trade and politics. The Northern urban enclaves served as routes for facilitating trans-Saharan trade. They also functioned as political capitals for the expanding states of the northern savannah (Mabogunje, 1965).

Early urbanism in southern Nigeria was dominated by the rise of Yoruba expansionist city-states like Lagos and Ibadan together with the Benin empire (Fourchard, 2012). Rapid competition also grew amongst coastal towns in the south for control of the trade from the interior to the Atlantic (Gordon, 2003). Furthermore, the increasing activities of traders from Europe stimulated large-scale in flock of people to these coastal cities in the south.

---

1. The earliest northern urban enclaves included cities like Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Sokoto and Borno.
2. The main coastal cities of the south included Lagos, Badagri, Brass, Bonny, Calabar and Port Harcourt.
Fourchard (2003) recounts that the period of colonisation also triggered changes in the morphological patterns of towns across Nigeria. A number of new towns such as Kaduna and Nsukka became administrative headquarters while other like Enugu and Jos metamorphosed into industrial centres.

The southeast area of Nigeria witnessed much of this transitioning morphological changes during the colonial era (Abumere, 1994). Prior to British rule, urban growth featured in much of the urban enclaves. However, during the colonial era, British administrators encouraged the emergence of new cities in the southern protectorate largely for processing and exporting raw materials transported from the north and other parts of the country (Fourchard, 2012). After independence, Nigeria experienced further rapid urbanisation. The resident populations of Lagos and Ibadan was in excess of half a million people by the early 1960s (Aniah, 2001; Rotimi, 2003).

Nigeria’s urban population expanded swiftly over the past 50 years. There is also an expectation that population growth will continue to rise in the coming decades (Bloch et al., 2015). Figure 3 is an illustration from the recent work published by Bloch et al. (2015) where they utilise three different data sources to illustrate trends in urban population from 1950 to 2010. The data sources include Nigerian censuses conducted in 1952, 1963 and 1991; the United Nations; and Africapolis, which fuses census data with other geo-spatial datasets.

Figure 3: Urban growth in Nigeria, 1950-2020

The three data sources suggest a 10-fold spike in the size of Nigeria’s urban population over a forty-year period (1950 to 1990). Estimates from Nigeria’s last population and housing census of 1975. There is a lot of controversy about the true size of Nigeria’s urban population. Estimates from the UN and Africapolis studies quote a figure of 40 million urban dwellers for 2000. However, Bloch et al. (2015) note that these estimates are based on figures from the 2006 census although the 2006 estimate of the nation’s population is not publicised.

Furthermore, Bloch et al. (2015) contend that: “The underlying cause of rapid urban population growth and urban expansion in Nigeria is rapid population growth driven by declining mortality and persistently high fertility: urban natural increase plays a significant (and possibly dominant) role in driving urban population growth” (Bloch, et al., 2015, p. 1). The role played by rural-urban migration as a major driver of contemporary urbanisation appears to be minimal.

USEFULNESS OF THEORIES FOR UNDERSTANDING URBAN CRIME

The dynamic abilities exhibited by crime perpetrators means that crime has an evolving nature particularly within urban settings. This underscores why it is important to be able to generate explanations for the natural and un-natural behaviours of people who are at the heart of criminogenic activities.

Crime theories represent valuable mechanisms for articulating the way the world around us works within the context of threats, harms and risks to human security. Theories help to properly unpack the nexus between key actors within the human security ecological footprint (Akers and Sellers, 2016). Such actors might include criminals, victims and survivors and the criminal justice system.

In some situations, crime theories can also be useful for unpacking the underlying logic of the occurrence of a criminogenic activity (Akers and sellers, 2016). This is achieved by illuminating the drivers, processes and outcomes of such criminal activities.

While studying urban crime dynamics, it is sometimes not uncommon for researchers within different jurisdictions to generate contradictory results. Crime theories serve as useful frameworks for reconciling such contradictory outcomes by discovering, synthesising and synergising contingent constructs and factors subsumed within the opposing studies.
Crime theories also help to stimulate a snowballing effect on knowledge building about urban enclaves (Brantingham and Brantingham, 2008). This is achieved when certain theories are used to bridge knowledge gaps between other theories thereby creating the opportunity and rationale for the review of previously existing theories.

Figure 4: Features of Good Criminological Theories

In order for them to be optimally useful, criminological theories must, at the minimum, exhibit at least four traits illustrated in Figure 4. Logical consistency refers to a situation where the underlying building blocks of the theory (i.e. concepts and assumptions) of the theory make sense and fit seamlessly. Theories seek to mimic reality. The explanatory power of a criminological theory is the degree to which the theory is able to explicate reality. Falsifiability ensures that the theory is potentially disprovable if tested empirically. In other words, good criminological theories are empirically testable. A parsimonious theory is one that is simpler than other competing theories because it embraces the least number of assumptions about the subject in question.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

Criminological theories are fundamentally concerned with etiology\(^5\) whilst also touching on the dynamic characteristics of main actors within the criminal justice system. Akers and Sellers (2016) probably put together one

\(^5\) The study of causes or reasons for crime.
of the most comprehensive resource covering most of the major theories of crime over the latter part of the 20th century. For easy understanding, we group these theories in Table 2 and briefly provide the underlying assumptions and overarching policy responses to the different schools of thought.

### Table 2: Families of Major Criminological Theories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theory Family</th>
<th>Assumptions</th>
<th>Typical Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deterrence and Rational Choice Theories</td>
<td>People choose to commit crimes because they think it will be more rewarding and less costly for them than noncriminal behaviour (Becker, 1968; Cohen and Felson, 1979).</td>
<td>If punishment is certain, severe, and swift, people will refrain from crime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological and Biosocial Theories</td>
<td>Law violating behaviours, are determined by factors (such as heredity, vitamin deficiency and hormonal imbalance) largely beyond individual control (Lombroso, 2006).</td>
<td>Isolation and medical treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Theories</td>
<td>Criminal behaviour is a result of individual differences in thinking processes (Freud, 1933).</td>
<td>Stress treatment and counselling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Learning Theory</td>
<td>The underlying assumption in social learning theory is that the same learning process in a context of social structure, interaction, and situation, produces both conforming and deviant behaviour (Akers et al., 1979).</td>
<td>Use of positive reinforcement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Bonding and Control Theories</td>
<td>Crime and delinquency result when an individual’s bond to society is weak or broken (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990)</td>
<td>Child-rearing and social bonds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labelling Theory</td>
<td>A complete picture of crime or deviance cannot be attained by merely examining offenders and their characteristics;</td>
<td>Non-intervention and Re-integration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Instead, a complete picture of deviance must also reveal societal reactions to incidents of rule-breaking (Kitsuse, 1962; Becker, 1963; Kobrin, 1976; Cohen, 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Disorganisation and Ecological Theory</th>
<th>The effects of location and location-specific characteristics of fragile communities such as poverty, ethnic heterogeneity and weakened social stability influences the perpetuation of crime (Park and Burgess, 1928; Park et al., 1969; Shaw and McKay, 1942).</th>
<th>Community empowerment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strain Theory</td>
<td>Stressors such as the inability to achieve one’s goals, the loss of positive stimuli, the presentation of negative stimuli increase the likelihood of crime (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2007).</td>
<td>Minimise economic blockage and increase opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Theory</td>
<td>Power differentials systematically imposed by the criminal justice system embody special interests of the most powerful people in society, rather than those of society as a whole (Chambliss and Seidman, 1982)</td>
<td>Stimulate increased equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical and Radical Theories</td>
<td>Points to the underlying assumption that crime is defined by class struggle, capitalism and a small number of people (the ruling class) who indirectly or directly proscribes the crimes (Bernard, 1981).</td>
<td>Praxis and Socialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminist Theories</td>
<td>Examines the function of patriarchy and gender inequality in society and seek to explain why men commit more crime than</td>
<td>End gender discrimination</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


women, and the adequacy of theories developed by males for explaining female deviance (Alder and Alder, 1985).

When it comes to resolving practical urban criminogenic problems, there is often no magic bullet. Rather, it is common practice to integrate theories with the hope of gaining more holistic understanding and providing better explanation for urban delinquency. The process of theoretical integration entails fusing together constructs and concepts from competing theories into a potentially more homogeneous theoretical framework. The next section illustrates an approach to theoretical integration for understanding the complexity of crime across Nigeria’s urban centres.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION FOR STUDYING URBAN CRIME DYNAMICS IN NIGERIA

There have been a number of recent criminological studies conducted within Nigeria’s urban spaces. However, none of these studies seems to have practically and empirically implemented common criminological theories such as those from the social disorganisation or ecological schools of thought (Pérouse de Montclos, 2016). As a result, the relevance of existing ecological theories and their associated constructs and concepts such as collective efficacy, social cohesion and community fragmentation, amongst others, across urban contexts in Nigeria are largely unknown. This paucity means that there is therefore a need in Nigeria to empirically evaluate the applicability of established ecological theories of crime in order to potentially develop new theories or extend existing ones using local insight.

Nigeria’s major urban centres exhibit unique social, economic, political and environmental characteristics. For instance, urban expansion is transforming agricultural and commercial systems, which affects access to markets, the role of traders, the role of cities in the economic and social development of their surrounding regions and patterns of income diversification and mobility (Atu et al., 2013). An assessment of existing social disorganisation theory is therefore an important requirement not only in the evaluation of the preconceptions originating from other contexts in the standards and customs of Nigeria’s urban cultures but also in the possible development of an urban ecological theory of crime in Nigeria. If existing ecological theory is found to accurately account for the spatial distribution and dynamics of urban crime in Nigeria, then the
theory holds true, if not, then such a discovery will serve as the impetus for formulating a theory that better explains the phenomenon in Nigeria.

In order to properly gauge the dynamics of crime across Nigerian cities, our theoretical framework embraces four theoretical approaches that share a common interest in criminal events and the immediate circumstances in which they occur. Our perspective is heavily anchored on the notion of crime prevention within urban settings as opposed to the provision of remedial services for perpetrators. We base our stance on the premises that the behaviour of criminals is influenced by their immediate environments; the distribution of urban crime is not necessarily random; and an awareness of the patterns of urban criminogenic activities in space and time can be powerful for investigating, controlling and preventing future occurrences (Wortley and Mazerolle, 2008). Four theoretical approaches are integrated. These include:

- The rational choice perspective;
- Situational precipitators of crime;
- Routine activity approach; and
- Crime pattern theory.

The Rational Choice Perspective

At the heart of the rational choice perspective are the rational choice perspective are the concepts of choice, decision-making, present centeredness and the fact that successful perpetration of criminogenic events embellishes the motivation of offenders to develop criminal lifestyles (Cornish and Clarke, 2008).

Cornish and Clarke (2008) offer six concepts and decision-making models which can be adapted when unpacking urban crime from a rational choice perspective.

- Criminal behaviour is purposive
- Criminal behaviour is rational
- Criminal decision-making is crime-specific
- Crime choices fall into two groups - involvement and event choices
- There are separate stages of involvement
- Criminal events unfold in a sequence of stages and decisions.

In principle, the position of the rationale choice perspective is that criminals think exactly the same way as non-criminals. Crime perpetrators within urban settings intentionally choose to commit offences largely because they feel it would be more rewarding for them than non-criminal behaviour (Cornish and Clarke, 1986; Nagin, 2007).
Situational Precipitators of Crime

The concept of opportunity lies at the heart of situational crime. In 1983, Ronald Clarke summarised situational crime prevention as procedures for minimising the volume of opportunities for crime using “measures directed at highly specific forms of crime that involve the management, design, or manipulation of the immediate environment in as systematic and permanent way” (Clarke, 1983, p. 225).

Wortley (2008) notes that the foundation of the situational crime concept relies on the assumptions that more opportunities lead to more crime, easier ones attract more offenders, and such existence of easy opportunities makes possible for a lifestyle of crime within urban settings. According to Wortley (2008), there are four main ways that the immediate environment might precipitate criminal responses in urban settings. The four Ps of urban crime precipitation are prompts, pressures and provocations.

**Prompts**: This could include triggers such as the effect of ammunitions, signals such as ethnic discriminatory chants, imitations such as copy-cat crimes and expectancies such as bars known to be notorious for violence.

**Pressures**: This encompasses immediate burdens to conform to gang culture (such as prevailing cultism activities on the campuses of numerous Nigerian Higher Educational Institutions). Pressures can also derive from obedience to corrupt superiors and defiance of laws and law enforcement staff.

**Permissions**: Nigerian public officials (who mainly reside within urban settings) have a reputation for notorious levels of corruption (Kieghe, 2016). These offenders tend to systematically avoid punishment for their actions by minimising the rule, responsibility, consequences and indeed the victim.

**Provocations**: Provocative precipitators embody frustrations such as road rage, crowding such as in popular open markets and environmental irritants like riots in heatwaves.

Situational crime prevention within urban settings represents a fresh strategy in which the core concept deals with working with crime through an understanding of the surrounding details rather than focusing on the crime or perpetrator itself (Gordon, 1998). This approach can be particularly attractive for urban security policy makers in Nigeria.
The Routine Activity Approach

The Routine Activity Theory is theory of crime events which focuses on explaining why offenders commit crimes rather than how the criminal even is produced. The theory suggests that the organisation of repetitive activities in urban settings create opportunities for crime. Essentially, within the framework of the theory, three specific criteria must be involved (Felson, 2008). First, there must be an offender who is motivated enough to commit a crime. Secondly, there must be a target against which the motivated offender can strike. And thirdly, a capable guardian for the potential victim must be absent at the place and time when the offender strikes.

Figure 5: The Crime Analysis Triangle

The interconnectivity of these important elements were cleverly illustrated by Eck (1994) who devised the crime analysis triangle depicted in Figure 5. Crime problems within urban settings happen when offenders are at the same locations as victims, without any effective crime manager. If one or more managers are present, however, the chances of criminal activities are greatly reduced.

Crime Pattern Theory

The crime pattern theory recognises the perpetration of crime as a complex phenomenon. Despite the complexity, proponents of the theory believe there is room for discerning some organised configurations (Brantingham and Brantingham, 2008). Often, crime pattern theorists would utilise phrases like ‘patterns in the chaos’.

The underlying premise for the pattern theory is that crimes does not happen randomly or uniformly in time, urban space, across social groups
and during daily or life-time routines. For all these elements, there are hot and cold crime spots. Similarly, there are those offenders who repeatedly commit crimes within urban settings and there are targets (persons and places) that repeatedly fall victim to such crimes.

A systematic analysis of the characteristics of these elements within and across cities can yield discernible crime patterns which can be useful for efficient and effective operational policing in Nigerian cities. As Brantingham and Brantingham (2008) put it:

“Crimes occur within a context created by the urban form. Roads, land use, the economic forces driving a city, the socio-economic status of residents and workers and the place of the city within a hierarchy of cities in the region are all elements of the backcloth. The urban backcloth is not static” (Brantingham and Brantingham, 2008, p. 87).

**Table 3: Hotspot Places and Causal Mechanisms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hot Spot Type</th>
<th>Cause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime generator</td>
<td>Numerous unprotected targets (people and places)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime attractors</td>
<td>Characterised by attributes that appeal to offenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime enablers</td>
<td>Erosion of crime controls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime neutral</td>
<td>Neither attracts offenders nor produces criminal opportunities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The crime pattern theory yields insight into how crime concentrates within and across cities. If cities are viewed as points in space, it is possible to classify their crime concentration characteristics in terms of being crime generators, crime attractors, crime enablers and crime neutral (Brantingham, 1995). Table 3 summarises these hot-spot types and their underlying causes.

The motivation for integrating a coalition of ecological theories of crime in this research study is underpinned by the dynamic nature of the research objectives outlined in Chapter one and the fact that urban crime has an inherently environmental nature (Wortley and Mazerolle, 2008).

**NIGERIA’S CONTEMPORARY URBAN CRIME: EVIDENCE AND DEBATES**

Nigeria is a vibrant multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation and urban centres typically serve as the melting pot for this dynamism. Urban centres
often serve as the epicentres for socio-political activities and as a result, can often be blighted by the twin evil of crime and violence (Idemudia, 2005). Additionally, Nigerian urban centres are notoriously characterised by challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth amongst their resident diverse populations (Onibokun and Faniran, 1995). This naturally results in anger, agitation and violent crimes against urban residents and the Nigerian state by some individuals and groups.

Nigeria has one of the highest crime rates in Sub-Saharan Africa (Pérouse de Montclos, 2016). Violent crimes within urban centres is common place in large cities like Lagos, Kano and Port-Harcourt. Murder often accompanies minor burglaries. Wealthy urban residents live in gated privately secured compounds because they can afford it (Idemudia, 2005). The Library of Congress Country Studies and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Factbook (1991) reported that in the 1980s, serious crime grew to nearly epidemic proportions, particularly in Lagos and other cities characterised by rapid population growth, socio-cultural change and contrasting economic inequality, deprivation, and crippling public services (USCA, 2012).

More recently, Ikoh and Okenyodo (2014) examined the temporal patterns of criminal victimisation in Nigeria. Their findings were stunning. According to results from the study, levels of victimisation declined marginally in 2010 and increased sharply between 2011 and 2012. Middle-aged persons appeared to suffer high levels of victimisation. Evidence from the analysis of Nigeria’s demographic distributions indicate that urban centres harbour more middle-aged persons than rural settings (Ajaegbu, 2012). No discernible patterns were observed for gender victimisation. This is perhaps due to the limited sophistication of the analysis which was simply based on counts and percentages. More sophisticated pattern recognition techniques may have yielded discernible patterns.

Ikoh and Okenyodo (2014) seem to suggest that victimisation levels were higher in rural settings. However, numerous other authors contend with this position. The contending authors suggest that crime rates, particularly violent crimes are more prevalent within neighbourhoods of relatively better-off socio-economic status and that such neighbourhoods are prominent within urban centres (Iwarimie-Jaja, 1998; Arokoya and Obafemi, 1999; Shopeju, 2007).

Nigeria is a youth bulge and strong evidence shows that when age characteristics are profiled, rural-urban internal migration is prevalent

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6 “The youth bulge is a common phenomenon in many developing countries, and in particular, in the least developed countries. It is often due to a stage of development where a country achieves success in reducing infant mortality but mothers still have a high fertility rate. The result is that a large share of the
amongst people aged (Mberu, 2005; Oyeniyi, 2013). Due to pervasive levels of urban unemployment, young urban migrants become easy prey for organised criminal gangs (Ellis, 2016). Evidence shows a substantial rise in the share of young people pulled into urban criminality due to economic pressures and an at-all-cost urban survival mentality (Pérouse de Montclos, 2016).

Nigerian urban centres experience crime in different ways. Usman et al. (2012) used Principal Components Analysis to interrogate crime data obtained from the Criminal Investigation Department, Sokoto State Police Headquarters. They discovered that crimes like assault committed against persons were heavily prevalent whilst burglary was reportedly prevalent when property crime was analysed.

Badiora and Afon, (2013) investigated the prevalence and spatial occurrence of criminal activities within Ile-Ife, Southwest Nigeria. They utilised data derived from a primary survey totalling 334 respondents. Similarly, to the study in Sokoto, the Ile-Ife study reported high indices of occurrence for the burglary of commercial shops. The study also revealed that residential burglary was particularly prevalent amongst middle-income residents. Gender-based crimes such as attempted rape was perceived to be the major challenge in post-crisis residential parts of the city.

There is relative paucity in the study of traditional forms of crime within cities in the South East and South geopolitical zones. Chinwokwu (2013) studied the activities of police officers while conducting criminal investigation in Enugu, South East Nigeria. The study utilised primary data sourced from 330 respondents across Enugu. Results from the data analysis suggest that factors such as lack of training, skills, facilities, corruption, disobedience to due process and unethical standards account for the high rate of undetected and pending cases of criminal investigations in Enugu. Additional findings from the study suggest that the investigative strategies and techniques adopted in policing the city are ineffective.

A number of other small scale studies have been conducted focusing of specific spatial aspects of crime in select cities across the nation (Aguda, 1994; Agbola, 1997; Afon, 2001; Agbola, 2002; Adedibu and Abodunrin, 2005; Oredeln, 2006; Ahmed, 2012; Adigun 2013). There are also limited efforts aimed at investigating the temporal structure of crime in pockets of population is comprised of children and young adults, and today’s children are tomorrow’s young adults” (Lin, 2012 p. 1).
some cities (Omisakin, 1998; Abodunrin, 2004; Adeboyje and Abodunrin, 2007).

The evidence from deep literature synthesis shows that:

- Research studies on crime within Nigerian cities are heavily skewed in favour of cities in the South West geopolitical zone;
- There is dearth of knowledge on the temporal quality of crime across cities; and
- To the best of our knowledge, there is no recent comprehensive study that place different cities on a rigorous empirical comparative framework.

This research study seeks to make a contribution towards filling these three areas of gap in knowledge.
SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF CRIME

Urban centres in Nigeria have a reputation for being exposed to high levels of insecurity. However, the Nigerian urban security literature terrain is dominated by qualitative studies with minimal use of quantitative methods. This chapter presents a comparative discussion of the spatial configuration of crime in urban Nigeria using a series of reliable crime metrics. The metrics allow for the analysis of the fear of crime, spatial density of repeat victimisations, the prevalence and epicentre of different crimes and the concentration of crime.

THE STUDY CITIES

Crime is arguably a major social issue for much of Nigeria’s urban centres, with its only serious rivals being economic development and corruption (Kieghe, 2016). Urban crime not only harms people directly by making them feel insecure, it harms them further by restraining their opportunities to earn a living.

The challenge of combating urban crime in Nigeria has been complicated by the dearth of robust and reliable data on the incidence and impact of crime. Crime management institutions and actors do not have access to information on the number of incidents of violence, the number of deaths due to violence, and the amount of property lost as a result of violence.

In general, crime statistics are extremely problematic, and Nigeria represents a case study of just how deceptive they can be. Official crime figures are much more problematic. They are generally based on police statistics, and the figures rely on cases that are reported to the police by the public. Unreported cases cannot be recorded, and there is genuine reason to believe a substantial volume of crime is not reported in Nigeria (Marc-Antoine, 2016). Making comparisons across jurisdictions is even more complicated, because the precise scale of under-reporting varies between cities. Those cities where the law enforcement agencies enjoy a good deal of public confidence are more likely to publish crime figures.

In the absence of reliable police statistics, the best source of data on crime comes from the NCVS conducted by CLEEN Foundation. In order to avoid small number problems surveys conducted from 2005 to 2011 were pooled together into a robust database yielding 36 urban centres included in the study. The 36 urban centres are listed in Annex 3 and their spatial distribution is shown in Figure 6.
 Metropolitan areas have residential populations above 1 million people and make up 17% of the share of cities included in the analysis. Large cities which have populations ranging between half a million and 1 million people make up 30% of the settlements. Medium sized cities account for 39%. These cities having less than half a million inhabitants but greater than 300,000 people. Small cities have less than 300,000 inhabitants and they account for 14% of the study cities.

**CRIME MORPHOLOGY AND MAPPING**

Studies of crime structure and trends have established that crime will always display an uneven geographical distribution and that this variation is often the result of the interrelationship between humans (or groups of humans) and their surroundings. Analysis of patterns of urban crime incidence at the global level reveals that high rate of crime is prevalent within less developed regions of the world (World Bank, 2010). According to UN-Habitat (2007), the highest rates of crime are found in developing countries, particularly, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Furthermore, in 2004, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that 90% of violent-related deaths in the year 2000 occurred in low and middle income countries with violent death rates of 32 per 1000 people.

At settlement level, Shaw and McKay (1942), advanced social disorganisation theory in their study of communities with high levels of crime using Chicago as a case study and observed that crime rates were
unevenly distributed throughout the city in a non-random manner. Those communities closest to the city centre exhibited highest rates of crime. These neighbourhoods were found to be areas in transition, having low socio-economic status, high numbers of ethnic minorities and high residential mobility (Wilcox et al., 2003). Shaw and McKay concluded that the high levels of crime were not a function of the personal attributes of the groups living in the neighbourhoods but rather they argued that the structural factors of poverty, high heterogeneity, and high mobility created social disorganisation which in turn triggers crime.

In the mid-1990s, there was a revival of Shaw and McKay’s approach in the form of the “New Chicago School” which adopted computerised mapping and spatial analysis techniques, particularly through the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS).

Urban crime spatial analysis and mapping techniques have improved markedly in recent years. Crime maps expose important spatial relationships, like the clustering of particular offences in particular locations (often known as hot spots), the inter-relationship between offences and infrastructure, land uses and other contextual descriptors of urban centres. Detailed spatial analysis demonstrate where certain types of offences are disproportionately concentrated, which will provide insight into potential urban crime interventions. Some of these techniques are adapted in this study.

**PREVALENCE OF URBAN CRIME**

A substantial body of research focused on individual cities in Nigeria demonstrate that crime is unevenly distributed among victims and places (Aguda, 1994; Agbola, 1997; Afon, 2001; Agbola, 2002; Adedibu and Abodunrin, 2005; Oredein, 2006; Ahmed, 2012; Adigun 2013; Marc-Antoine, 2016). Prevalence rates describe the level of victimisation based on the number of persons (or households) in the population who experienced at least one victimisation during a specified time period. The key distinction between a victimisation or incident rate and a prevalence rate is whether the numerator consists of the number of victimizations or the number of victims. These rates tell about the risk of experiencing at least one crime in a given period. The given period in this study is 7 years (2005 to 2011).
Nearly 5 in 10 urban dwellers were victims of crime during the seven year period. Heightened risk of crime is greatest within Port Harcourt with around 7 in 10 residents likely to be victims of crime. The prevalence of crime in the city of Port Harcourt is more than treble that of Damaturu where risk is at its lowest as shown in Figure 7.

Table 4: Estimated Prevalence Rates of Crime by Settlement Hierarchy (2005 to 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Rate per 1000 people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results in Table 4 establish the heightened risk of crime within metropolitan areas with over a million inhabitants. However, the results also suggest that on average, levels of risk within medium sized cities is greater than large cities where population is much greater.

CONCENTRATION OF CRIME

Evidence from literature indicate that a considerable portion of the victimisations that occur are generally experienced by a small number of repeat victims (van Dijk et al., 2007). This suggests that the profiling of repeat victims may present a distinctive opportunity to mitigate urban crime rates, as it focuses the attention of Law Enforcement Agents on those individuals who disproportionately experience victimisation. The mean number of incidents per victim is estimated by dividing the number...
of victimisations by the number of victims. Higher mean values are one indicator of the extent to which repeat victimization occurs.

Table 5: Crime Concentration vs Crime Prevalence Rate (2005 to 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Concentration of Crime</th>
<th>Rate per 1000 people (All Crimes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benin City</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Harcourt</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nnewi</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyo</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yola</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gombe</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilorin</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jos</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiduguri</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results from the analysis indicate that the mean number of crime incidents per urban victim in Nigeria is 2.2. Significant fluctuations exist within the results. Repeat victimisation is highest within Port Harcourt and Benin City each recording around 2.7 incidents per victim. Abeokuta and Ado-Ekiti experience the lowest levels of repeat victimisation (1.5 and 1.6 incidents per victim respectively).

Table 5 compares those cities with the highest levels of crime concentration with their corresponding prevalence rates. With the exception of Nnewi, all the other 9 cities combine relatively high concentration of crime with higher than average prevalence rates.

Further analysis of average crime concentration by settlement hierarchy does not yield any significant differences between the four different types of settlement hierarchies.
FEAR OF CRIME

Ayoyo (2013) suggests that fear of crime victimisation has been on the rise in across Nigeria. The concept of fear of crime does not have a universal meaning amongst academics and urban policy makers. This has triggered a wide range of definitions. Fear is subjective and it embraces a rather complex variety of interconnected emotions, feelings, perspectives and risk-estimation (Ditton et al., 1999). It implies different things to different people.

For some urban dwellers, fear is connected with what they perceive to be immediate threats to their personal or communal security. For others, fear is associated with historical or anticipated experiences. Psychologists frequently use the terms fear and anxiety to differentiate reactions to immediate threats (fear) from reactions to future or past events (anxiety) (Warr, 2000).

For this study, the intensity of fear of crime in urban centres was calculated by creating a composite value from different expressions of levels of fear. Details of the methodology are summarised in Chapter 1.

Figure 8: Relationship between Intensity of Fear of Crime and Estimated Prevalence of Crime (2005 to 2011)

Results from the calibrated fear of crime show that fear is concentrated in Aba, Abuja, Jalingo, Katsina and Maiduguri. The Boko Haram crisis is probably a key factor in the heightened fear of crime recorded in Maiduguri. Relative fear of crime is at its lowest in Nnewi and Lagos.
Fear of crime does not always translate into risk of victimisation because different factors account for fear within cities (van Dijk et al., 2007). The relationship between fear of crime and actual prevalence rates is examined in Figure 8. The result shows that indeed, majority of urban centres express fear at levels higher than the actual prevalence of crime. Approximately 81% of Nigerian urban centres express fear of crime at levels above the actual prevalence of crime. Roughly 6% of cities exhibit fear at levels which equate to the prevalence of crime. In the remaining 14% of cities, the prevalence of crime exceeds the intensity of fear. Surprisingly, in the city of Port Harcourt where the prevalence of crime is highest, the fear of crime is also one of the lowest in the country.

SPECIALISATION OF VIOLENT CRIMES

A violent crime is a crime in which the perpetrator uses or threatens force upon a victim. Violent crimes can include scenarios where the offender utilises violence as a means to an end such as kidnapping. It also embraces those crimes such as murder where the violent deed is the objective of the offender. Eight types of violent crimes were analysed. These include:

- Murder;
- Attempted murder;
- Robbery;
- Attempted Robbery;
- Kidnapping;
- Attempted kidnapping;
- Physical assault; and
- Domestic violence.

Within the context of this study, crime specialisation is defined by the location quotient which measures the share of criminal activity within an urban centre relative to the percentage of the same criminal activity across urban Nigeria as a whole (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995; 1998). This helps strategic and operational decision makers determine if a particular type of crime is at an expected level, under represented or over represented within an urban centre.

If the location quotient is equal to one, the urban centre exhibits a proportional share of a particular crime; if the location quotient is greater than one, the urban centre has a disproportionately larger share of a particular crime; and if the location quotient is less than one, the census tract has a disproportionately smaller share of a particular crime. We adopt the useful classification of the location quotient provided by Miller et al. in Table 6.
Table 6: Interpreting Results of the Location Quotient Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location Quotient Value/Range</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0 \leq LQ \leq 0.70$</td>
<td>Very underrepresented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0.70 &lt; LQ \leq 0.90$</td>
<td>Moderately underrepresented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0.90 &lt; LQ \leq 1.10$</td>
<td>Averagely Represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1.10 &lt; LQ \leq 1.30$</td>
<td>Moderately overrepresented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$LQ &gt; 1.30$</td>
<td>Very overrepresented</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Results of the analysis of the specialisation of violent crimes are presented for visual interpretation in Figures 9 to 16.

Figure 9: Specialisation of Murder (2005 to 2011)
Figure 10: Specialisation of Attempted Murder (2005 to 2011)

Figure 11: Specialisation of Robbery (2005 to 2011)
Figure 12: Specialisation of Attempted Robbery (2005 to 2011)

Figure 13: Specialisation of Kidnapping (2005 to 2011)
Figure 14: Specialisation of Attempted Kidnapping (2005 to 2011)

Figure 15: Specialisation of Physical Assault (2005 to 2011)
The results presented in Figure 9 summarises levels of murder specialisation for urban centres across the country. Numerous urban centres in the eastern half of Nigeria seem to exhibit disproportionate share of murder. Murder is very much overrepresented in Aba (3.9 times more concentrated relative to the rest of urban Nigeria), Umuahia (3.8 times more concentrated relative to the rest of urban Nigeria) and Jos (2.4 times more concentrated relative to the rest of urban Nigeria). With the exception of Abuja, five of the six metropolis harbouring over 1 million people display lower than average levels of deterrence for murder.

Attempted murder represents an intent to commit murder and it is recognised as a misdemeanour offense. Generally, there can be no attempt to commit a crime unless the intent to perpetrate that crime exists at the time when an attempt is made. Figure 10 shows the variations in specialisation of attempted murder across cities in Nigeria. There are dramatic variations between cities of similar sizes. Disproportionate levels of unsuccessful murder attempts are concentrated in Umuahia, Yenagoa, Uyo and Jos. Attempts at murder are also moderately overrepresented in three metropolis (Benin City, Port Harcourt and Abuja).

Cities in the South East Geopolitical zone appear to exhibit high levels of specialisation of robbery as shown in Figure 11. Seven cities in the South East are included in this analysis. Robbery is very overrepresented in four (Awka, Owerri, Umuahia and Abakaliki) of these cities and moderately overrepresented in two (Enugu and Aba). Ado-Ekiti in the South West,
Makurdi in the North Central and Damaturu in the North east also exhibit very significant levels of overrepresentation of burglary.

The specialisation attempted robbery is summarised in Figure 12. Again, Awka, Owerri, Umuahia and Abakaliki show values of the location quotient. This suggests that robbers in these cities are probably aware and motivated by the massive overrepresentation of successful robbery attempts and are undeterred by the equally high representations of unsuccessful attempts.

It is noteworthy to discuss the specialisation patterns of robbery and attempted robbery in Port Harcourt and Ado-Ekiti. Whilst attempted robbery is overrepresented in Port Harcourt, there is an average level of successful representation of the crime. Conversely, in Ado-Ekiti, attempted robbery is highly underrepresented whilst successful ones are very overrepresented. Port Harcourt is a much larger and economically buoyant than Ado-Ekiti which could explain the concentration of attempts at robbery. The fact that success rates are at an average level in Port Harcourt also suggests that guardianship levels are higher in city. For Ado-Ekiti, we hypothesis that robbers are probably more prolific thereby recording greater success with comparatively fewer attempts.

Kidnappings in urban Nigeria are often executed by criminal gangs seeking ransom, but also by armed groups demanding a fairer distribution of oil revenue (Ellis, 2016). In a bid to deter would-be hostage takers, the Nigerian parliament resolved in 2016 to enact a bill that would make provisions for the death penalty as the punishment for anyone caught in the act of kidnapping. Numerous state legislatures have since imposed the death penalty for kidnapping with some stipulating life imprisonment for attempted kidnapping.

Figures 13 and 14 show the spatial distribution of the specialisation of kidnapping and attempted kidnapping respectively. Enugu and Uyo exhibit the most overwhelming levels of specialisation of kidnapping. Kidnapping is 2.7 times more concentrated in Enugu and 2.6 more times concentrated in Uyo. Abuja and Aba display similar specialisation kidnapping and attempted kidnapping traits. Both cities sit at the two extremes. They are very underrepresented when one considers unsuccessful hostage taking and very overrepresented when one considers successful hostage taking. A number of factors could contribute to this. First, it is likely that kidnappers spend extra effort to meticulously plan their attacks. It is also possible that urban residents of these territories are less informed and prepared for the crime. The patterns generated in Figures 13 and 14 indicate an endemic problem in urban centres in the South east and to some extent the South South and North West. Attempted kidnapping also appears to be disproportionately endemic in the North East.

Physical assault and domestic violence are two forms of interpersonal physical violence explored in this study. In much of urban literature, there
are expressions that suggest these sorts of violent crimes tend to be compartmentalised within the everyday lives of the urban poor (Raphael and Tolman, 1997; Jewkes, 2002).

Figure 15 shows a map of the specialisation of physical assault across cities. Unlike most of the previously analysed violent crimes which showed extensive concentration in the South East and South South, overrepresentation of physical assault is not peculiar to the South East. There is significant level of concentration of physical assault in some cities in the South West. Amongst all the cities included in the analysis, Abeokuta accounts for the highest level of overrepresentation of this crime. The city has 90% more of this crime relative to urban Nigeria as a whole.

There is growing evidence that domestic violence is on the rise in urban Nigeria particularly amongst middle-aged persons (Ayotunde et al., 2014). Figure 16 sows a remarkably different pattern of distribution when compared to maps earlier discussed. Cities in North West, North East and South West are hot concentrations of domestic violence.

**SPECIALISATION OF PROPERTY CRIMES**

Property crimes are not specifically targeted at individuals. Rather, these crimes are aimed at the possessions of individuals. Property crimes can lead to the destruction or defacing of the targeted property. Usually people are not injured since the intent is typically focused on obtaining or defacing the property in question. However, it is possible that individuals may be harmed, as in arson.

Some scholars have argued that social fragmentation exerts great influence on the concentration of property crimes in urban settings. Martin (2002) interrogated the significance of several socioeconomic and locational factors as predictors of burglary rates using spatial autocorrelation and multivariate spatial lag models. The study revealed that community cohesion helps to maintain order in urban neighbourhoods even if strong criminogenic conditions are present. Furthermore, Portnov and Rattner (2003) established that inequality is interlinked with urban property crime. According to them, the aerial proximity of disadvantaged and wealthy towns tends to stimulate property crime concentration in wealthy urban enclaves.

Six types of property crimes were analysed in this study. These include:

- Vehicle theft;
- Motorcycle theft;
- Mobile Phone theft;
- Burglary;
- Theft of money; and
Theft from car.

The spatial distribution of the specialisation of vehicle theft is shown in Figure 17. With the exception of the South West, all other cities have at least one city where vehicle theft is excessively overrepresented. Whilst vehicle theft appears to be particularly pervasive in urban centres northern half of the country, the crime greatest level of specialisation is in Yenagoa (South South) where it is 2.1 times more concentrated relative to other urban centres Nigeria.

Figure 17: Specialisation of Vehicle Theft (2005 to 2011)
Figure 20: Specialisation of Burglary (2005 to 2011)

Figure 21: Specialisation of Theft of Money (2005 to 2011)
Similar to vehicle theft, cities in the northern half of the country also demonstrate great affinity for motorcycle theft as shown in Figure 18. The reason for high levels of specialisation of motorcycle theft in the northern cities may not be unconnected to the prevalent use of this form of transportation when compared with some southern cities. In Lagos for instance, motorcycles are banned from some neighbourhoods (Eru, 2012) which makes them probably less attractive to would-be criminals.

Figure 19 shows the representation of mobile phone theft across cities. Results suggest that cities in the South West are distinctively attractive centres of mobile phone theft. With the exception of Akure, all the other five cities have moderately to very high overrepresentations of the crime. Two cities (Ado-Ekiti and Oshogbo) account for the highest levels of pervasiveness of mobile theft. Both cities each account for 50% more of the crime relative to urban centres.

Burglary is one of the most pervasive crime problems in urban Nigeria. Burglary is defined as a scenario where a criminal breaks into a building with the intention of stealing, hurting someone or committing unlawful damage. In numerous Nigerian urban centres, burglary is not always a one-off event. Some residences and offices are repeatedly burgled. Repeat victimisation problems involve victims repetitively attacked by different offenders. These are often described as sitting duck problems (Eck and Spelman, 1987). Urban burglary can also have a significant impact on the emotional well-being and sense of security of urban residents.
Results summarised in Figure 20 show that burglary is overrepresented in four cities. The pervasiveness of burglary in Nnewi is 2.5 times greater than that of urban Nigeria. Sokoto, Jalingo and Makurdi record values of 1.8, 1.6 and 1.4 times above the collective urban share. Amongst the six metropolis, burglary is also moderately overrepresented in three – Benin City, Kano and Lagos. These three cities each account for 30% more of the crime relative to other urban centres.

Figure 21 shows the distribution of the specialisation of theft of money. There is a clear distinction across the geopolitical zones suggesting that the South East and South South cities are cold spots for this type of crime. However, there seems to be clear problems in the South West and the North West.

It takes only a few moments for a thief to steal something from an unmanned vehicle. Most vehicle crimes are actually preventable because they often occur as a result of carelessness on the part of victims. Thefts from vehicles usually involve small monetary values in terms of the property stolen. However the resolution of such crimes can take up considerable policing resources and further intensify fear of crime amongst urban residents. Recurring thefts from cars in urban centres community can erode residents’ and visitors’ feelings of safety and security, as well as their confidence in law enforcement agencies.

Evidence deduced from Figure 22 suggests that thefts from car is not really a problem for cities in the North West. It is also a minimal problem for South South cities with the exception of Benin City where there is an overrepresentation of 40% above the urban average. Thefts from car seems to be pervasive in the cities of the North West especially in Zaria and Sokoto where concentration of the crime is 2.2 and 1.8 times greater than average respectively. Lagos has an endemic theft from car problem in the South West accounting for 1.6 times the concentration relative to other urban centres.

SPECIALISATION OF SERIOUS SEXUAL OFFENCES

Serious sexual offences are traumatic experiences that affect female residents of Nigerian urban centres disproportionately (Ogunyemi, 2000). Sexual offences trigger psychological, physical and social distresses in victims. It can also result in shock, severe injury or murder in extreme cases where perpetrators seek to conceal their identity.

Serious sexual offences encompass a wide range of activities ranging from rape to physically less intrusive sexual contacts. However, two types of offences were analysed in this study. These include:

- Rape; and
- Attempted rape.
Sexual offences are characteristically underreported particularly in developing countries like Nigeria (Palemo et al., 2014). This is due to a number of factors including an enduring culture of male dominance, female social and economic disempowerment and low prosecution rates of offenders.

**Figure 23: Specialisation of Rape (2005 to 2011)**

**Figure 23: Specialisation of Attempted Rape (2005 to 2011)**
Figures 23 and 24 show the spatial variation in the specialisation of rape and attempted rape across urban centres. It is immediately noticeable that there is an endemic problem in cities in the South East and South South. Apart from Benin City, Nnewi and Awka, all other cities within these two geopolitical zones exhibit very high to moderately high levels of overrepresentation of rape. The greatest levels of rape concentration is in Enugu (2.6 times more concentrated), Uyo (2.2 times more concentrated) and Yenagoa (2.2 times more concentrated). In Makurdi, the crime is 2.1 times more endemic than the urban Nigeria average and Abuja records a specialisation value of 1.6.
TEMPORAL QUALITY OF CRIME

The occurrence of urban crime is not distributed evenly over time. There are usually fluctuations in the times, days and seasons when specific crimes are committed. The type of economy supported by an urban centre also influences trends in the temporal structure of crime. For instance, those urban centres that support a late-night economy may generally experience elevated levels of assaults at evenings and weekends due in part to increased levels of alcohol consumption at those times. An understanding of the chronological trend of crime can help guide the dispersal of law enforcement resources. Nigeria lacks a comprehensive, coherent, and up-to-date infrastructure to monitor crime trends and relay the resulting information to law enforcement agencies, researchers, policy makers, and the public. This study evaluates the year on year temporal patterns of urban crime risk in Nigeria using four settlement hierarchies introduced in the previous chapter. Additionally, we examined crime fluctuations by analysing the period of the day that various criminogenic activities occur.

RHYTHM OF URBAN CRIME RISK

We tracked the trajectory of all crimes from 2005 to 2011. Settlement hierarchies are used to aggregate the data. Prevalence rates were calculated and a logarithmic transformation applied to the rates.

Results in Figure 25 show that urban crime rose from the middle of the first decade of the current millennium and peaked at the end of the decade. Crime starts to fall afterwards.

Figure 25: Trends in Urban Crime
Trend patterns for medium and large cities are the most similar to the trend for urban Nigeria with correlation co-efficient values of 0.98 and 0.97 respectively.

From the results, it is evident that small cities which were characterised by the lowest risk of crime by the middle of the last decade, have outpaced other urban settlement hierarchies. Metropolitan cities with over 1 million residents exhibited comparatively lowest risk of crime at the beginning of the present decade.

**RHYTHM OF RISK OF VIOLENT CRIMES**

In Figure 26, we illustrate the temporal patterns of murder for the different settlement hierarchies. The trend observed for medium sized cities is the closest predictor of the national trend of urban murders in Nigeria. We also note that the risk of murder in large cities is consistently higher than the national urban distribution throughout the study period.

![Figure 26: Trends in Urban Murders](image)

In Table 7, we show the percentage share of murders that were committed at different times of the 24 hour cycle. For easy interpretation of the table, the classification below should be used:

- Morning (6.01 am to 12.00 pm)
- Afternoon (12.01 pm to 5.00 pm)
- Evening (5.01 pm to 8.00 pm)
- Night/midnight (8.01 pm to 6.00 am)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Nigeria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Approximately half of urban murders take place at night time. However, murders in the metropolitan centres (1 million or more residents) are much more sporadic than the other settlement hierarchies. Night time murders are relatively disproportionately concentrated in small cities.

**Figure 27: Trends in Urban Robberies**

The temporal structure of urban robberies is illustrated in Figure 27. Urban robberies follow the trend of all urban crimes. Unlike the other three settlement hierarchies where robberies peak during the 2007 – 2010 period, we find that the trend is flat for metropolitan areas from 2005 to 2010 and then it falls sharply.

**Table 8: Share of Daily Regime of Urban Robberies (2005 to 2011)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Nigeria</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 8, we show that most people experience robberies at night/midnight. All the four settlement hierarchies show daily regimes that mimic the national urban distribution.

**Figure 28: Trends in Urban Kidnappings**

During the middle of the last decade (20016 – 2006), metropolitan areas were particularly notorious for kidnappings as shown in Figure 28. However, by 2010, the share of kidnappings in large cities had become comparatively greater than the metropolitan areas. However, the trend analysis reveals that by the turn of the present decade, hostage taking had become more frequent in small cities.

**Table 9: Share of Daily Regime of Urban Kidnappings (2005 to 2011)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We deduce from Table 9 that the largest share of urban kidnappings occurs during daylight times. Together afternoons and evenings account for roughly 7 in 10 urban kidnappings. However, 37% of all urban kidnappings occurred in the evening. Comparatively, the share of kidnappings in small cities is disproportionate at 60% while kidnappings mainly take place in the afternoons within large cities.

**Figure 29: Trends in Urban Physical Assaults**

During the middle of the last decade, the risk of physical assault was consistently higher within medium sized cities than national risk levels. It fell slightly in the period 2007 to 2010 and rose again afterwards.

**Table 10: Share of Daily Regime of Physical Assaults (2005 to 2011)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10 shows the percentage share of the daily regime of physical assault during the period 2005 to 2011. Afternoons and evens account for 7 in 10 assaults in urban Nigeria with the majority occurring in the afternoon period. This trend is consistent in all four settlement hierarchies. However, large cities have a comparatively larger share of assaults than the other three settlement hierarchies.

**ANNUAL RHYTHM OF PROPERTY CRIMES**

We now move on to examine trends for property crimes. Figure 30 shows the year on year risk of vehicle thefts in Nigerian urban centres. In 2005, large cities exhibited the highest level of risk. However, this risk fell consistently through to the end of the decade but seems to have risen again at the beginning of the present decade.

*Figure 30: Trends in Urban Vehicle Thefts*

What is perhaps most striking about Figure 30 is the divergence in the trend of one of small cities relative to the national urban trend for vehicle thefts. Within small cities, vehicle thefts fell sharply from 2005 to 2006 and then rose sharply afterwards. Whilst other urban settlement hierarchies showed a downward trajectory since the beginning of the decade, small cities show a trend in the upward direction.

*Table 11: Share of Daily Regime of Vehicle Thefts (2005 to 2011)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The daily pattern of vehicle thefts within urban centres is shown in Table 11. Around 4 in 10 thefts took place in the dark hours of the day with 3 in 10 occurring the evenings between 5.01 pm and 8.00 pm. Metropolitan areas experienced a disproportionately higher share of vehicle thefts at night/mid night than the rest of urban Nigeria.

**Figure 31: Trends in Urban Motorcycle Thefts**

Risk trends for the theft of motorcycle thefts are shown in Figure 31. Amongst all the crime types analysed in this study, it is only motorcycle thefts that indicate a near perfect risk relationship between the overall urban trend and the trends for all four settlement hierarchies. However, we also note from Figure 31 that risk was consistently highest for medium sized cities during the study period.

**Table 12: Share of Daily Regime of Motorcycle Thefts (2005 to 2011)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We discover from Table 12 that the largest share of urban motorcycle thefts occurred during the dark hours of the day. Small and large cities experience disproportionately higher share of stolen motorcycles during this time of the day. For metropolitan areas with over a million residents, motorcycles are predominantly stolen during the evening between 5.01 pm and 8.00 pm.

**Figure 32: Trends in Urban Mobile Phone Thefts**

![Figure 32: Trends in Urban Mobile Phone Thefts](image)

Figure 32 summarises the trends of mobile phone thefts between 2005 and 2011. In general, thefts rose from the middle of the decade and peak at the end of the decade. Afterwards, thefts of mobile phones bean to fall. However, the trend reveals a risk displacement of mobile phone thefts from metropolitan areas to small cities.

**Table 13: Share of Daily Regime of Mobile Phone Thefts (2005 to 2011)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Just over 6 in 10 mobile phones were stolen during the afternoon and evening hours in urban centres as shown in Table 13. The majority (36%) were stolen in the evening with a disproportionate representation in metropolitan areas.

ANNUAL RHYTHM OF SERIOUS SEXUAL OFFENCES

The analysis of the trend of motorcycles summarised in Figure 31 revealed that a near perfect positive risk relationship between the overall urban trend and the trends for all four settlement hierarchies. In contrast, when we analysed the trends for rape, we discovered the most irregular trends. Figure 33 exposes significant divergence in the trend of rapes in large and small cities. Both settlement hierarchies indicate an upward trend for this crime whilst other hierarchies point in a downward direction.

Figure 33: Trend of Urban Rapes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Night/Midnight</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Nigeria</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Share of Daily Regime of Rape (2005 to 2011)
A voluminous incidence of rapes take place in the evenings and dark hours of the day. Approximately 8 in 10 rapes occur during this periods with the majority of the crime (43%) clustered at night/midnight. Two settlement hierarchies (Large cities and medium sized cities) also experience their highest percentage shares of rape at night/midnight. In metropolitan areas, the majority of rape incidents occur in the evening. Perhaps the most striking difference is for small cities where the largest share of rape (42%) takes place in broad day light.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Type</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>38</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>100</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Nigeria</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WHAT DRIVES CRIME IN URBAN CENTRES?

Numerous studies have speculated on the cause of higher crime rates in urban centres. In general, Urban Criminologists have traditionally conceptualised criminogenic behaviour as a rational decision made taking into account the expected benefits compared to the expected costs. This chapter presents two types of analysis. First, we discuss results from a macro-analysis of risk factors for urban crime, using data related to human development and social polarisation. Next we provide detailed insights on urban crime drivers using a case-study approach that focuses on five Nigerian cities – Abuja, Kano, Lagos, Lokoja and Port Harcourt.

INDICATORS OF DEPRIVATION AND SOCIAL POLARISATION

The attraction of cities for the criminal class tend to include the higher pecuniary benefits for crime in large cities and the greater opportunity to profit from crime. Criminals can also be attracted to densely populated urban environments due to lower arrest probabilities (Eck and Weisburd, 2015). The presence of large populations ensure that criminals benefit from increased levels of anonymity and a lower chance of recognition especially in cities where populations are also highly mobile.

In order to comprehend macro-level drivers of urban crime, we present a series of graphical bivariate comparisons of crime prevalence rates with various risk factors. The following risk factors were juxtaposed with prevalence rates of different crimes:

- **Relative Deprivation**: The proxy used for this risk factor is the Standardised Welfare Scores (SWS). The SWS is the arithmetic mean of relativised standardised scores across five poverty quintiles (Ojo and Ezepue, 2012).

- **Life Expectancy**: The proxy used for this risk factor is the Life Expectancy Index (LEI) which is indicative of the average period that city dwellers may expect to live (UNDP, 2016).

- **Economic Inequality**: The proxy used for this risk factor is the GINI Index which is a measurement of the income distribution of amongst a city’s residents (UNDP, 2016).

- **Educational Attainment**: The proxy for this risk factor is the Educational Index which is calculated using mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling (UNDP, 2016).
Social and Economic Development: The proxy used for this risk factor is the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI). The IHDI takes into account not only a city’s average human development, as measured by health, education and income indicators, but also how it is distributed (UNDP, 2016).

Loss in Human Development Potential: The proxy used for this risk factor is measured as the difference between the HDI and the IHDI due to inequality (UNDP, 2016).

BIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF RISK FACTORS

The analysis discussed here is based on at least one type of crime from each of the three categories discussed in the previous section. We focus on elucidating city level risk factors of some of the most prominent urban crimes:

- Murder (Violent crime);
- Robbery (Violent crime);
- Physical assault (Violent crime);
- Burglary (Property crime); and
- Rape (Serious sexual offence).

Figures 34 to 38 show a collection of scatter plots for each of the different crimes against various deprivation and social polarisation factors earlier defined in the previous section. For all the plots, each point corresponds to one of the 36 cities included in the study.

We deduce from the results that cities with high levels of relative deprivation tend to have higher levels of murder and burglaries. However, they combine these with lower levels of robbery, physical assault and rape. The relationship between relative deprivation and violent crimes in urban centres is well documented (Adegbami and Uche, 2016). Violent crimes are some of the few options available to urban dwellers without the economic means to cater for the crisis that accompany many of the everyday problems of life. Relative deprivation stimulates emotional distress which can escalate into violence.

We also discover from the results that those cities with higher life expectancy indices also experience lower levels of murders, robberies and burglaries. This finding is consistent with widely held views. Fergusson et al. Following a detailed empirical study of 90 countries, Ferguson et al. (2010) found that life expectancy could be expected to rise to 63 years if murders were reduced to the regular level. This implies that urban citizens could add an extra 9 years to their lives if excess violent crimes were addressed through effective policies of control and prevention.
Figure 34: City Level Correlations of Murder vs Risk Factors
Figure 35: City Level Correlations of Robbery vs Risk Factors

- Relative Deprivation: $R^2 = 0.0387$
- Economic Inequality: $R^2 = 0.1491$
- Life Expectancy: $R^2 = 0.0003$
- Educational Attainment: $R^2 = 0.1338$
- Social & Economic Development: $R^2 = 0.0698$
- Loss of Human Development Potential: $R^2 = 0.0844$
Figure 36: City Level Correlations of Physical Assault vs Risk Factors
Figure 37: City Level Correlations of Burglary vs Risk Factors

- Relative Deprivation: $R^2 = 0.0097$
- Life Expectancy: $R^2 = 0.1033$
- Economic Inequality: $R^2 = 0.0312$
- Educational Attainment: $R^2 = 0.0387$
- Social & Economic Development: $R^2 = 0.0819$
- Losses in Human Development Potential: $R^2 = 0.0343$
Figure 38: City Level Correlations of Rape vs Risk Factors

- Relative Deprivation: $R^2 = 0.0972$
- Economic Inequality: $R^2 = 0.1617$
- Life Expectancy: $R^2 = 0.0197$
- Educational Attainment: $R^2 = 0.1293$
- Social & Economic Development: $R^2 = 0.1082$
- Basic Human Development Potential: $R^2 = 0.0336$
The bivariate analysis also indicate that urban centres with high levels of economic inequality also experience high levels of murder, robbery, physical assault and rape. While crime may be associated with deprivation, it is important to note that there are pockets of poor urban communities in Nigeria where behaviour is constrained by informal social and cultural values which tend to puncture the upsurge of crime. Inequality in the distribution of income is probably a more important factor than poverty in terms of its influence on urban crime (Fajnzylber et al., 2002). This is because closely associated with economic inequality are key social exclusionary factors relating to unequal access to employment, education, health and basic infrastructure. However, an interesting finding from the analysis is the suggestion that high levels of urban economic inequality does not necessarily translate to high levels of burglaries.

Cities with higher levels of educational attainment experience lower levels of murder, robberies and burglary. However, these cities experiences higher levels of rape and physical assaults. Numerous development intervention programmes and policy recommendations assume that assisting women in urban centres to empower themselves, particularly through vocational training, will translate to a reduction in their risk of sexual violence. However, the findings from this study suggests otherwise. There is a growing body of evidence that these strategies and policies may conflict with prevailing social norms and expectations that are relatively slow to change (Rocca et al., 2009). This can sometimes intensify sexual violence against women.

Further evaluation of the scatter plots reveal that cities with better levels of social and economic development (measured by the IHDI) experience lower levels of property crime. However what we also find is that these cities still experience higher levels of violent crime and serious sexual offences. Furthermore we deduce that the higher the loss in human development potential, the more a city experiences property crime.

**SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN ABUJA**

Abuja is a well-planned city. Given its pattern and design, Abuja specifically contains business and residential areas. While the pattern and design conformed to international standards in certain sections of the city, it however imposes considerable environmental challenges ranging from urban sprawl, decaying inner-city, inadequate housing, and heightened incidence of crime among others. In this section, we discuss findings from the analysis of stakeholder discussions on the factors that drive crime within the city.
Poverty, Migration and Unemployment

The incidences of poverty, unemployment and rural urban drift have contributed largely to the spate of criminal activities within Abuja. This study established that the endemic poverty in the rural areas on the fringes of the city and across neighbouring states as a result of governments’ neglect precipitates an unprecedented rural urban migration among the youths into Abuja. The city has also witnessed a wave of migration triggered by several conflicts in the northern half of the country. There are a few instances when the security forces have intercepted the operations of Boko Haram members and other violent criminals in the Abuja. These experiences have been compounded by the increasing rates of youth unemployment in the city. Apart from the criminal migrants law enforcement stakeholders also observe that most of the migrants in Abuja often resort to unskilled jobs for their livelihood. When the cost of living becomes unbearable for them, they venture into petty and wholesale criminal activities to meet their basics needs for survival in the city. This observation upholds the findings of a previous study which argued that the twin problem of poverty and unemployment are overstretching the moral and psychological strength of many urban residents in their bid to remain law-abiding citizens (CLEEN Foundation, 2014).

Proliferation of Shanty Settlements, Demolition and Displacement

Government demolitions have displaced hundreds of thousands of people in Abuja over the last decade. This housing insecurity is not simply the result of urbanisation, population growth, or wealth disparities. Rather, it has been attributed on one hand to property rights that perpetuates discrimination by providing special land rights for the early inhabitants of the city, and the failure of the prospective developer to comply with the physical planning standards contained in the Abuja Master plan on the other hands. Over the years, different administrations (both Federal and Local Government) have embarked on demolition exercise which have rendered millions of Abuja residents homeless and provoked economic losses for many families. This structural disadvantage and social disorganisation have exacerbated the incidence of homelessness in the city and driven many young people to occupy obscure places which have further made them vulnerable to be recruited into criminal gangs.

Mutual Social Exclusion and Poor Community Networking among Residents

Abuja was originally conceptualised as a cosmopolitan city which serves as an economic habitat for the larger urbane and educated middle and upper class citizens with varying cultural backgrounds, drawn from the different sections of the country. In a local description and language, most Nigerians have drawn a cliché that suggest that “Abuja is a no man’s land”. This implies that it is a city that belongs to all, wherein no section of the country can claim any form of hegemonic influence over another. However, this idea has rubbed the city a sense of “community ownership” of projects and initiatives which are characteristic of other cities in Nigeria.
in terms of crime prevention or community organisation for any form of advocacy on issues of critical social concerns. Residential communities within the city centres are inhabited by individuals who live independent of each other on the same streets and are so separated by regular demands that accompany urban lifestyle to the extent that they hardly come together in any community forum to provide collective solutions to the general issues of concern such as crime. This glaring disconnection among the city dwellers provides a leeway for criminals to prey on different households within the city.

**SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN KANO**

Urban Kano is located at the central part of Kano State’s closed settled zone. It has a high highest density due in part to some measure of industrialisation and other economic development. It has also become a cosmopolitan city with a considerable concentration of other ethnic groups in Nigeria. The changes in urban character of the city over the years have also given rise to the spate of crime unique to other metropolitan cities in Nigeria. In this section, we discuss findings from the analysis of stakeholder discussions on the factors that drive crime within the city.

**Population Upsurge**

The factor of population upsurge as a driver of crime in Kano is intricately connected to the incidences of poverty and unemployment amongst youths residing in rural areas. This study also established that neglected street children who have become victims of pervasive inequality in most Kano constitute a vulnerable group that are easily recruited into criminal gangs. The proliferation of street children is also linked to poor parenting and restricted family planning as a recipe for population control particularly in northern Nigeria. Law enforcement stakeholders believe there is a strong link between uncontrolled population and the rising spate of crime in Kano.

**Weakened Family Structure and Breakdown of Value System**

Emerging realities from Kano indicated there is a conspicuous crack in the family system. There is a rising incidence of unstable marital relationships in the Hausa community. In the past, children had the privilege of primary family socialisation fitted into broader society. Social control was also maintained in this pattern. This ensured that before a young person misbehaves and defies the norms of the society, such individuals would weigh the potential consequences of their actions. In traditional Hausa community, there was no doubt that all misconduct had a penalty that would always be served irrespective of the personality and socio-economic background of the offender. This paradigm served as a form of deterrence for the younger people and any other person contemplating the breach of the norms and mores of the society.
The community was homogenous and every member of the community stayed alert and reported any incidence that would violate societal peace whether gross or in the most minute sense to the appropriate authority. Mothers were significant in the social upbringing of children. However prevailing harsh socioeconomic forces have impacted negatively on the family structure as the basic unit of the community and a microcosm of the larger society.

Hate Speeches

Kano has witnessed series of religious riots and violence leading to significant loss lives in the last three decades. Occasionally, the perpetrators of religious riots been incited through the extremists preaching of religious fundamentalists in the city. Such preachers twist religious postulations to indoctrinate and incite their followers to attack the adherents of the other faith. Very recently, hate speeches have taken another dimension as major political gladiators and their supporters have resorted to hate speeches to score political points against each other. This study found that some political leaders in the city have occasionally mobilised gangs from the LGAs of Kano State to accompany them to political events. Mobilised gangs have been seen carrying lethal weapons such as machetes, knives, bows and arrows in the state.

SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN LAGOS

Lagos is a city state. The physical growth and development of Lagos are tied to its expanding economic and political roles, which aided by its rapid and explosive population growth has been phenomenal. Lagos metropolis is the economic and financial capital of Nigeria. The cosmopolitan character of Lagos coupled with population density present an opportunity for unprecedented crime challenges. In this section, we discuss findings from the analysis of stakeholder discussions on the factors that drive crime within the city.

Population Growth through Intensive Migration

Lagos is arguable the commercial capital of West Africa and has a population estimated at 21 million in 2016, which makes it the largest city in Africa. It has also been established that a fast-growing population around 600,000 persons are added annually to the population of Lagos. This imposes a serious constraint on social services such as housing, water and transportation, and pushing Lagos to the edge of the cliff especially through the manifestation of social vices such as crime. The space for economic competition and livelihood security between the city dwellers to a considerable degree is influenced by the spatial distribution of population, and migratory flows, which can be correlated with incidence of crime in the city.
Increasing Wave of White Collar Criminals in Public Service

This study established that public sector corruption helps to stimulate crime in Lagos. Recently Nigeria is witnessing a rising wave of financial scandals and corruption reporting about serving and former political office holders who loot the government treasuries (Federal and State) to the tune of billions of US Dollars. This degree of impunity manifesting by the corrupt officials is setting the tone for grievances and social discontents among the citizens and this is translating to a ticking bomb whereby aggrieved citizens might resort to pick arms against the state and corrupt officials. Apparently, this social malady is also communicating a wrong message to the youths to jettison the culture of transparency, accountability and probity in their quest for a means of livelihood (Kieghe, 2016).

Uncontrolled Street Trading

Street trading on both the arterial roads and the highways is woven into the culture of daily life in metropolitan Lagos. It is a trade plied by the poor lower class residents in the city in search of economic survival. The convenience to ply and patronise the trade by both the sellers and the buyers is precipitated by constant traffic jams and congestion which provide a ready market for sellers to hawk their goods to commuters. The sellers on bridges and expressways are predominantly youths (male and female), selling different wares ranging from drinks and snacks to cloths, books and household utensils among others. These hawkers cluster on and beneath pedestrian bridges and around bus stops wherever the congestion bodes well for quick patronage by the commuters. Over the years, street trading has been a contentious issue in Lagos. Various administrators and Governors of the city have taken legislative steps to outlaw street trading in metropolitan Lagos. The reason for the failure of such action has been traced to lack of political will for enforcement, inadequate manpower, and public outcry against government actions. However the menace of street trading has transformed to different strands of crime incidence in the state. It serves as an impetus for child abuse. Children under the age of 16 trade openly and widely on the traffic corridor. This exposes the female hawkers in particular to sexual assault by rapists. Armed robbers also masquerade as street hawkers to prey on unsuspecting commuters in the city.
SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN LOKOJA

Lokoja lies at the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers and assumed the status of the capital of Kogi state in 1991. While the Nupe, Hausa, Yoruba, Igala and Ebira are indigenous to the city and surrounding communities, other ethnic groups of Nigeria, including the Igbo, Bini/Edo and Tiv have recently established themselves. Travelers transit through Lokoja to about 23 states on a daily basis. Lokoja is a pivot city and this unique characteristic has increased the crime rate as a result of dynamic population mobility. In this section, we discuss findings from the analysis of stakeholder discussions on the factors that drive crime within the city.

Drug Abuse

This study found that the higher rate of youth involvement in crime is deeply connected to substance abuse in Lokoja. Moreover, alcohol and drug (Tramadol) consumption contribute to youths’ propensity to engage in crime in the city. The consequences of uncontrolled consumption of alcohol and drug abuse have placed a significant burden on Nigeria’s security sector. Stakeholders in the northern Nigeria have a lot to contend with especially with respect to the incidence of drug abuse in the region. The North West, North East and North Central geopolitical zones of the country have been bedevilled by the malaise and the wanton abuse of drugs, including Indian hemp, psychotropic substances and solvents. Trafficking often originates from the South East and some parts of South West (Ellis, 2016). In this regard, Lokoja is a pivot city as Kogi state serves as a major transit corridor between northern and the southern Nigeria.

Small Arms and Light Weapons Trafficking

The threat and prevalence of crime in Lokoja is largely occurring in an environment characterised by not only by widespread poverty, mounting unemployment and drug abuse. A considerable driver is also the high rate of circulation of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs). Politicians in the quest for power have empowered some youths with ammunitions that law enforcement agents struggle to retrieve. Some stakeholders belie an amnesty programme where youths will be asked to lay down their arms for some certain benefits or pardon is perhaps long overdue in the city. The illicit proliferation of SALW has had a considerable impact on peace and security and increased the incidence of organised crime in the country at large (Ellis, 2016).
Radicalisation and Violent Extremism in Neighbouring Communities

Kogi State is one of the most tempestuous and conflict-prone states in Nigeria. Cases of the use of illegal arms in the state are rampant in a neighbouring community called Okene. The most common forms of violence in the state are: political thuggery and organised killings by terrorist elements operating under the name of Boko Haram. The state has also witnessed a wave of communal and religious violence. Religious intolerance, fundamentalism and extremism, disruptive modes of worship by the two main religions (Christianity and Islam), disparaging preaching and stereotyping, proselytising, religious marginalisation and sensationalism in media reporting are used to fuel tension and associated crime in Lokoja.

SOME DRIVERS OF CRIME IN PORT HARCOURT

The selection of Port Harcourt for this study is fundamental for certain reasons. Firstly, Port Harcourt is the capital of Rivers State and the pivot of oil sector activities in Nigeria. Over the years criminal gangs have become a security threat to oil companies as they continue to carry out nefarious activities such as bunkering, extortions and kidnapping of expatriate workers of International oil Companies. The spate and incidence of such crime remain alarming. Secondly, the city continues to witness the most extremely documented incidences of urban gang violence in the last decade in the country. In Port Harcourt, cults and gangs exist from the street level to the neighbourhood level and even the ethnic militias whose bases are outside the city operate in Port Harcourt for specific violent crimes. In this section, we discuss findings from the analysis of stakeholder discussions on the factors that drive crime within the city.

Incessant Political Violence

The use of armed political thugs is a phenomenon that occurs across Nigeria. This is deeply connected to widespread poverty and unemployment affecting young people, primarily young men, susceptible to informal "employment" by politicians or their supporters as small armed forces to subdue political opponents. The dynamics driving political violence differ relatively across the five cities in this study. For instance, in Port Harcourt, political conflict is often exacerbated by the desire to control the petroleum resources in the local communities and influence oil companies operating in the area. Furthermore, personal hostility between leading politicians has led to violence between their supporters. These cases illustrate different fundamental dynamics in the city, but also contain common themes across the country. This study established a parallel between the incidences of political violence and crimes in the city as politicians rarely disarmed their supporters after the elections. These armed gangsters use the weapons acquired prior to elections to perpetrate different crimes in their communities after the election.
Unbridled Agitation for Environmental Justice and Proliferation of Arms

Across all oil producing states of the Niger Delta region, agitation for environmental, economic and social justice has been at the top of public policy debates. The agitation reached the peak under the leadership of environmental activists such as Ken Saro Wiwa who embarked on non-violent movement to demand for the cleaning up of the degraded oil bearing communities in the region and the payment of commendable compensation to the indigenous people of the oil producing communities. However, shortly after the execution of the Ogoni-born environmental activist by the military dictator, Sani Abacha in 1996 and the subsequent disbandment of the of the movement, a host of other movements sprung up in the Niger Delta and transformed the non-violent agitation for environmental justice in the region into violent agitation. Several splinter groups have also mushroomed from the region perpetrating violent crimes such as oil bunkering, pipeline vandalism, armed robbery and kidnapping. Due to its pivotal role as the administrative headquarters of Rivers State, the city of Port Harcourt has born the burden of the nefarious activities of these sinister groups more than any other city in the Niger Delta Region.
THE COST OF URBAN CRIME: MEASURING CRIME HARM

Daily decisions made by stakeholders within Nigeria’s criminal justice system are a reflection of the relative seriousness of different types of crimes. The level of seriousness of urban crime often influences the type of proactive or reactive response. It is broadly accepted that cost of crime on urban development in Nigeria is relatively high. However, techniques for critically gauging this cost has received little attention. More effective measurements of these costs can help ensure that adequate attention is paid by public sector stakeholders and civil society to the design and implementation of crime prevention policies and programs. This study represents a first step towards making these judgements across urban Nigeria more explicit by adopting a menu of harm that calibrates the impact of urban crime according to the legally defined damage inflicted on victims.

THE CONCEPT AND CLASSIFICATION OF COST OF CRIME

The cost of crime captures the effects of crime on people (Agbola, 1997). In some literature, it is referred to as the economics of crime and covers the effects of crime on people and society at large. Crime costs are numerous and can sometimes be difficult or even impossible to quantify due to practical challenges or non-availability of relevant data. For instance, the initial objective in this study was to evaluate the cost of urban crime from an economic perspective. However, the relevant datasets to embark on this exercise in Nigeria is almost non-existent.

Brand and Price (2000) categorised costs of crime into three major groups. These include:

■ Cost in anticipation of crime;
■ Cost as a consequent of crime; and
■ Cost in response to crime.

Cost in anticipation of crime falls mainly on potential victims. It is incurred when urban residents pay for installations of security measures because of the expectation of crime victimisation.
Cost as a consequence of crime is incurred mainly by the actual victims. The cost manifests particularly in terms of property loss and damages.

Cost in response to crime according to Brand and Price (2000) is the cost that falls mainly on the criminal justice system.

The above groups are also consistent with broader literature where two costs of crime are mostly identified. These include:

- Monetary/economic cost; and
- Social cost.

Studies on the monetary cost of crime have been conducted by a number of economists (Sullivan, 1996; Brand and Price, 2000) while studies on the social cost of crime have been conducted by sociologists, victimologists and environmentalists (Brand and Price, 2000; Badiora, 2016) and either of these costs can be direct or indirect.

Direct cost is the actual cost incurred by the victims of crime while indirect cost is incurred by potential victims trying to prevent crime (for instance, the cost of security guards or devices). This implies there are four combinations of the cost of crime which include direct monetary cost; indirect monetary cost; direct social cost; and indirect social cost (Badiora, 2016).

The financial costs of certain impacts of crime are readily recorded costs such as the value of stolen property and the amount of money spent on crime prevention and enforcement. These are referred to as the economic costs (Brand and Price, 2000). Direct monetary costs of crime include all monetary costs incurred by victims of crime. Reynolds (1986) included in his calculation of direct monetary costs, such cost as personal loss like homicide, rape, assault, (cost of injury), property loss such as burglary, theft, robbery (cost of property), motor vehicle theft; and business loss like arson, shoplifting, employee theft and business fraud. According to Kathleen and Pastore (1995), the direct costs of crime include losses from property theft or damage; cash losses; medical expenses; amount of pay lost because of injury or activities related to the crime; and others, such as cost of physiological counselling; increased insurance premiums as a result of filing claims, decreased productivity at work, moving costs incurred when moving as a result of victimisation and intangible costs of pain and suffering. Indirect monetary costs include all the monetary costs incurred by the potential victim in an attempt to prevent the occurrence of crime, that is, the monetary costs of crime prevention. Reynolds (1986) included in his calculation of these costs, the costs of engaging the services of the police, the cost of legal services, the cost of correction, and the opportunity cost of improvement. In addition, there are the costs of
security personnel, watch dogs, electronic surveillance apparatus, and the costs of construction of burglar proof, fences, gates and walls.

Social costs refer to those impacts that cannot be readily expressed in cash terms (Brand and Price 2000; Abodurin 2004). Other impacts that are not fully or directly reflected in the financial consequences of crime, such as trauma, physical injury and change of lifestyle as a result of crime are social costs. The direct social costs of crime relate to the social effects of crime on victims. The primary social costs of crime is the fear that crime generates in people. Carter and Jones (1989) observed that the social and behavioural impact of the fear of crime may be as potent as crime victimisation itself. Fear of crime generates anxiety which may cause people to change their life styles, to withdraw into themselves, to fear going out at night, to shun associations with strangers and to live a localised social life. The major impact of these costs may be felt more by the elderly and children who are most prone to the feeling of vulnerability.

The final impact of crime is the indirect social cost of crime. This cost of crime refers to the social (including environmental) effects of the security devices put in place to combat crime, either on the users themselves or on their neighbours (Brand and Price, 2000). Inclusive here is the isolation of occupants in walled buildings from their social environment, the restriction of air circulation where small windows are used, the difficulty of escaping from fire outbreaks in heavily burglar-proofed buildings, the incessant howling of security dogs and a host of others.

CRIME HARM: A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO EVALUATING THE REPERCUSSIONS OF CRIME

In the absence of reliable data to estimate the social or economic costs of urban crime across Nigerian cities, we devised a different methodology for critically evaluating the severity of crime across various urban centres. The methodology is predicated upon the idea of harm focused policing. According to Ratcliffe (2015), harm-focused policing “aims to inform policing priorities by weighing the harms of criminality together with data from beyond crime and disorder, in order to focus police resources in furtherance of both crime and harm reduction” (Ratcliffe, 2015 p. 3).

It has been argued that by taking into account the volume and severity of criminal offences, it is possible to estimate the relative harm inflicted by crime on society (Sherman, 2007 and 2010; Sherman et al., 2016). The severity of a crime can be deduced from the punishment and prison sentencing guidelines used within the law courts.
Disparities in criminal sentencing exist within Nigeria’s criminal justice system because there are no national unifying guidelines. Criminal sentencing guidelines used in the northern half of the country are different from those used in the southern half of the country. The Criminal Code Act is used predominantly in southern Nigeria while the Penal Code Act generally applies across the northern states of the country.

Table 15: Differences in General Guidelines for Punishing Criminal Offences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Murder</td>
<td>Life imprisonment</td>
<td>Life imprisonment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>21 years</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Robbery</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>Life imprisonment</td>
<td>Life imprisonment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Rape</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Kidnapping</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle Theft</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle Theft</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile Theft</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Violence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of Money</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from Car</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The provisions of the two codes are similar in many respects. However, there are some significant variations especially in the definition, interpretation and punishments of crimes. At the time of their introduction during the colonial era, some effort was made to ensure that the legislations are adaptable to the religious and traditional cultures of the people in the different parts of the country. Differences in sentencing guidelines for the crimes analysed in this study are shown in Table 15. The table also includes the sentencing guideline for domestic violence drawn from the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act introduced in 2015 which prohibits all forms of violence against persons in private and public life.

**MODELLING URBAN CRIME HARM**

Due to the differences in the perceived severity of crimes highlighted in Table 15, separate urban crime harm indices are developed in this study for northern and southern cities. The Northern Urban Crime Harm Index (NUCHI) subsumes interpretations from the Penal Code Act and the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act. The Southern Urban Crime Harm Index (SUCHI) subsumes interpretations from the Criminal Code Act and the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act.

Where the punishment of a crime is life imprisonment or death, we used a corresponding proxy to represent prison sentence in years. The proxy used in this study is the average Nigerian life expectancy during the period 2005 to 2011 which equates to 50.2 years. Due to insufficient punishment information, we excluded attempted rape and attempted kidnapping from the analysis of the NUCHI and SUCHI.

We start the modelling process by generating corresponding severity weights based on the prison sentence for each of the different crime types. Table 16 shows the severity weights for crimes occurring in the north and south of the country. This list of weights is a reflection of the legislation set on behalf of the public and the courts in passing sentences in the three northern geopolitical regions and the three southern geopolitical regions. Whilst the list is not intended to be a pure ranking of ruthlessness of offences; it provides the basis for calculating a Severity Score for individual offences.

**Table 16: Weights Used to Construct the NUCHI and SUCHI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Weights for Cities in Northern Nigeria</th>
<th>Weights for Cities in Southern Nigeria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Murder</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Robbery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Type</td>
<td>Prevalence</td>
<td>Severity Weight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle Theft</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle Theft</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile Theft</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Violence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of Money</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from Car</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Crime severity scores were generated for each city and crime type by calculating the quotient of severity weight and the prevalence of the corresponding crime in the city.

A Crime Severity Score was generated for each city using Equation 1.4 below:

\[
Crime \text{ Severity Score} = P_1w_i + P_2w_j + \ldots + P_nw_n
\]

(1.4)

Where:

\(P_1w_i\) represents the product of the prevalence of crime \(i\) and the corresponding severity weight of crime \(i\)

\(P_2w_j\) represents the product of the prevalence of crime \(j\) and the corresponding severity weight of crime \(j\)

\(P_nw_n\) represents the product of the prevalence of crime \(n\) and the corresponding severity weight of crime \(n\)

To generate the NUCHI or SUCHI for each city, the Crime Severity Score of that were standardised using an inter-decile range standardisation approach. This method is a slight variation of Wallace and Denham (1996) range standardisation method.

\[
\frac{x_i - X_{\text{med}}}{X_{90th} - X_{10th}}
\]

(1.5)

Where:

\(x_i\) is the value of the variable to be standardised
$X_{med}$ is the median of the distribution

$X_{90^{th}}$ is the 90th percentile

$X_{10^{th}}$ is the 10th percentile

Inter-decile range standardisation compares each value of a variable to the median and then divides the result by the distance between the 90th percentile, and the 10th percentile. It was calculated using the notation given in Equation 1.5.

**VARIATIONS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN CRIME HARM**

The findings discussed in this section illustrate some types of comparative analysis that can be conducted using the NUCHI and SUCHI. Whilst interpreting these results, it is important to bear in mind some caveats:

- The NUCHI and SUCHI are relative measures that allow for cities to be placed in a comparative framework;
- The crime severity scores are influenced by the number of crime types included in the analysis; and
- The NUCHI and SUCHI are standardised values which are influenced by the number of cities included in the analysis.

An immediate review of the results in Figures 39 and 40 reveal that in general, the impact of crime diminishes as crime prevalence decreases. There are however some fluctuations. For instance, Makurdi combines a moderately high level of crime harm with a slight dip in prevalence. This is partly due to the severity of violent crimes and serious sexual offences.

**Figure 39: Relationship between Harm of Crime and Estimated Prevalence of Crime in Northern Nigeria Cities (2005 to 2011)**
Figure 40 also exposes some new insight about the three geopolitical regions in southern Nigeria. The results imply that the harm exerted by crime is particularly concentrated within cities in the South East and South South whilst those cities in the South West generally incur lower levels of crime costs. This does not mean urban residents of the South West do not experience losses and pain from crime. Rather, the results show that in relative terms, criminal activities in cities of the South West are less severe in terms of their costs to victims. Earlier analysis in this study revealed higher levels of specialisation of violent crimes in some South East and South South cities.
CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL

The prevention and control of crime dwells on a range of strategies that are implemented by individuals, communities, businesses, non-governmental organisations and all levels of government to target the various social and environmental factors that increase the risk of crime, disorder and victimisation. There are variety of approaches to crime prevention and control that differ in terms of the focus of the interventions, the types of activities that are delivered, the theory behind how those activities are designed to bring about the desired results. This chapter discusses current crime prevention and control strategies in operation across urban centres in Nigeria using five case study cities.

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN ABUJA

The strategic position of Abuja as an administrative city coupled with the economic buoyancy of most of the city dwellers have facilitated a convenient application of a modern Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED). The residents and the government work independently to apply CPTED in Abuja. This approach includes broader urban planning initiatives based on the premise that most crime events are associated with opportunities created by environmental design. CPTED is based on the hypothesis that the proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in crime and to an improvement in the quality of life. This approach encompasses the design or re-design of an environment to reduce crime opportunity and fear of crime through natural, mechanical, and procedural means. CPTED strategies rely upon the ability to influence offender decisions that precede criminal acts. It is basically concerned with the manipulation of the physical environment in order to deter crime. It is not intended to create an impregnable fortress, but merely to make penetration more difficult and time consuming (Cozens, 2007a and 2007b).

Experience from Abuja has shown that examples of CPTED include: road design, speed break; perimeter fencing of houses with electrified wire, street lightning, and design through territoriality, surveillances strategy, security barriers, street lighting, active support, maintenance and green area and landscaping. These have been achieved through the independent efforts of government and the citizens in the city.
In its bid to foster inclusion in security operations within the city, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) police command have also devised a means for citizens to reach out to the police to seek necessary security support in any case of emergency. Through respondents’ perspective, this study found that this bold step bodes well as a very proactive and responsive security template to ensure safety of lives and properties within the FCT. However, due to operational inefficiency and logistical challenges, the Abuja Command of the Nigeria Police Force has not been able to respond adequately to meet residents’ demand for security support through the use of the police hotlines.

**PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN KANO**

Kano has experienced notable violent crimes such as terrorism and insurgency, ritual killings/murder, kidnapping, gang violence and rape among others coupled with lesser forms of criminality. Security stakeholders in the state have called for urgent solutions to stem the tide of crimes as they constitute gross impediments to the growth and development of the economy of the city and its role as the main commercial hub of economic activities in Northern Nigeria.

The city has co-opted community policing as an approach to policing with home-grown solutions to some of the identified security challenges in the city. This action has translated to collaboration between the police and community members that identifies security challenges in their neighbourhoods/communities and proffers workable solutions. Community Policing offers a way for the law enforcement stakeholders and community members to work together to resolve problems that exist in their communities within the city.

The Kano state police command in collaboration with the state government has also introduced a joint patrol system among security forces in the state to check criminal activities in Kano Municipal and the state in general. This is popularly referred to as Joint Operations Room (JOR) and comprises the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Nigerian Army, the Nigerian Air Force, Customs, Prison, Immigration, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), State Security Service (SSS) and the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC). The security consortium also seeks to incorporate the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) into the JOR.
In Kano Municipal, the Joint Operations Room is aimed at proper planning and proactive intelligence gathering and sharing among security agencies. The consortium relies on processed information to plan and execute its raid operations, dislodge drug joints, effect arrest of criminals or groups involved heinous activities. The study established through police respondents in Kano that the effective implementation of this security initiative in Kano could see the JOR scaled up nationally.

**PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN LAGOS**

The Lagos State command of the Nigeria Police Force has been very supportive to the state government especially in combating crime and promoting public safety and security in the last decade. However, due to the huge population size of metropolitan Lagos, coupled with the identified security challenges confronting the state, the government has established the Lagos Neighbourhood Safety Corps (LNSC). This initiative has been adjudged as a commendable step towards enhancing security all over the city and a vital part of the ongoing efforts of the state Governors’ readiness to reform the security and justice sector. The LNSC is expected to complement police especially in areas of community policing. The LNSC has been designed to provide a second layer of policing in order to ensure that the state and communities are more secure. At the official inauguration of the LNSC in the first quarter of 2017, a total of 177 salon cars and vehicles equipped with necessary communication gadgets, 377 motorcycles, 377 helmets, 4,000 bicycles, metal detectors for ensuring that illegal weapons are not smuggled into public places, among other operational equipment’s were handed over to the Corps by the Governor of the state.

Lagos has recently recorded higher incidences of kidnapping in the last two years. For instance, in 2015 and 2016, 142 and 51 kidnapping cases were reported in Lagos respectively. In a bid to curb the rising wave of kidnappings in the, a bill prohibiting kidnapping in the state was sent by the Lagos State House of Assembly to the Governor has been signed to law for full implementation. The Law provides for the prohibition of the act of kidnapping and other connected crimes and proposes the death penalty for offenders whose captive(s) die in the custody of the criminals. Life sentences have been proposed for those offenders whose victims are rescued alive.
PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN LOKOJA

The residents in Lokoja have embraced a community organising approach to crime prevention in the city. Essentially, this calls for an expanded role for residents through a surveillance program. This is often premised on the notion that it is the fabric of neighbourhoods themselves that seemed to be the crux of the crime problem. Over the years in Lokoja, a number of different ways have been taken to mobilise the resources (particularly man-power) from the community to prevent or reduce crime in the city. The leadership of the communities have rallied the support of the home owners association across the neighbourhoods to hold security dialogues, employ night guards, construct barricades and embark on vigilante watch at night. A typical example has been witnessed in Idah community where the focus was on an attempt to organise the leadership of local residents to achieve a better co-ordination of community institutions in a unified program of crime prevention. This community organising approach led by the traditional ruler in the community was intended to facilitate a campaign to improve the security architecture of the community.

In an effort to stamp out kidnapping in Lokoja, the Kogi State government has deployed an emergency approach. Essentially, houses that are owned by notorious kidnappers. For instance, the notorious Ahlul-Sunnah Mosque in Inike, Okene LGA which was reportedly hijacked in 2015 by members of the Boko Haram terrorist group and has been serving as an operational base for their nefarious activities have been demolished by the state government.

Youth restiveness and violence has become a recurring problem in Lokoja. Youth are easy targets of criminal gangs and terrorists particularly in the North Central geopolitical zone. Some rural communities and schools are fast becoming the breeding grounds for youth radicalisation and have the unenviable reputation of being seen as a ‘wasteland’ for the poorest of the poor, ravaged by violent crimes, poverty, unemployment and unruly juveniles who frequently drop out of schools. Some NGOs have formed a consortium to address the challenge through the funding support from foreign donors. The objective is to foster preventive efforts that will significantly reduce factors that place youths at risk of perpetrating violence, and promote factors that protect youths at risk for violence through the strategy of in-school and out-of-school mentorship programmes.
PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF CRIME IN PORT HARCOURT

The Port Harcourt Police Command have adopted a Community Policing policy as a strategy for crime prevention in the city. The policy attempts to change the distribution of power and re-order the roles or relationship between community agencies dealing with problems of crime and fostering collaborative opportunities with Community Crime Prevention Coalitions in the city. The leadership of the police command is optimistic about the prospects of the Community Crime Prevention approach. There are calls for direct involvement of a combination of sectors in the conception, planning, development, financing and funding, implementation, operationalisation and evaluation of the programme. This will further stimulate collaborative working amongst relevant actors within the value chain of the city’s criminal justice system.

In April 2009, the idea of an amnesty for repentant militants was first introduced by the late President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua in an urgent bid to curb relentless attacks on oil facilities by the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). The amnesty program was a proactive solution to security conditions in the Niger Delta at the time. It sought to reduce the spate of violence within the city of Port Harcourt and its environs. The amnesty was meant to stabilise, strengthen and uphold the security conditions in the Niger Delta Region, as a requisite for promoting economic development in the area. The policy framework for the amnesty program prescribed that the initiative aimed at reintegrating and rehabilitating militants who openly express willingness to surrender their arms to the security organs of Rivers State. The policy options on the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) initiative mandated the federal government to:

- Establish credible and authoritative DDR institutions and process including international negotiators to plan, implement, and oversee the DDR programs at regional, state and local government levels;
- Grant amnesty to all Niger Delta militants willing and ready to participate in the DDR program;
- Work out long-term strategies of human capacity development and reintegration for ex-militants; and
- Exclude from amnesty and criminalize the activities of those militants committed to the DDR process and unwilling to surrender their arms.
In particular, state governments were required to support the rebuilding of communities destroyed by military invasion, and establish youth development centres. Subsequently, the Rivers State government under successive administrations, has collaborated with major security institutions in the state to facilitate a special amnesty programme for militants and cultists to ensure a systematic reduction of violent crime in the state. According to available report, the state amnesty program is yielding commendable results. Arms retrieved from militants, cultists and other criminals include: six General Purpose Machine Guns, 70 AK 47 rifles, 44 pump action rifles, 16 G3 Rifles, five K2 rifles, one FN rifle, five pistols, two crowd disposer, one RPG7 Tube bomb charger, four Sub-machine guns, two local sniper rifles and 443 single-barrel locally-made guns, 46 double barrel locally made guns and 266 locally made pistols. Other items include 2627 rounds of 7.62mm, 3813 rounds of 7.62 mm special and cartridges.

Notably, in Port Harcourt and some other key cities in Nigeria there is mutual distrust between citizens and law enforcement agents. For instance, there is widespread perception that police officers are often perceived unprofessional in the discharge of their constitutional responsibilities to society. This disconnect has been responsible for a seeming lack of cooperation and a seamless harmonious working relationship between the police and the public. To address this gap, the Rivers State Police Command based in Port Harcourt has proposed to facilitate regular sessions to discuss security issues in selected neighbourhoods in the city. The longer term plan is to ensure that this initiative is replicated at all divisional police headquarters. The essence is to sustain a regime of accountability and renewed public trust. The command is also encouraging and promoting intelligence-led policing, community partnership and visibility policing to ensure that the presence of the police is adequately felt by residents of the city in order to stimulate re-assurance. This involves proactive measures aimed at preventing crime such as stationing patrol vehicles at strategic road junctions and well-known crime hot spots across the city.
CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Nigeria’s urban centres are the engines of growth and development with nearly half of the country’s total population residing in cities. Threats emanating from urban crime exert pressure on urban residents and livelihoods.

This study represents a bold empirical move which has helped to excavate the spatial and temporal patterns of criminogenic activities in 36 Nigerian cities. The results reveal for instance that cities in certain parts of the country have greater affinity for certain types of crimes due in part to contextual environmental characteristics. We also discovered that the daily regimes of crimes vary significantly by settlement hierarchies.

The testing of the suitability or adaptability of traditional criminological theories within developing countries is outside the scope of the objectives of this study. However, a number of observations have been extracted from results of our analysis.

In the third chapter of this report, different crime types were shown to concentrate and vary across different types of urban centres. This supports the premise underlying the premise of crime concentration at places. Furthermore, these variations, as demonstrated in the analysis, are generated by factors other than mere chance.

Routine activity theory is used to understand criminal events by recognising that such events can only occur when motivated offenders and suitable targets converge in time and space without the presence of capable guardians for the victims or targets. The theory has proven most instructive for understanding temporal regimes of crime across developed countries.

The most prominent of the temporal crime patterns investigated is seasonality with a general agreement that crime increases during the summer months and diminishes once routine activities are confined indoors. The fourth chapter of this report analysed shorter daily fluctuations of crime in order to detect any possibility of convergence between offenders and victims. Results are generally consistent with the notion that offenders are quite meticulous when timing their activities.
Social disorganisation theory was originally conceptualised and developed to explain the disparities in crime rates across neighbourhoods in Chicago. It has also been adapted in European, Canadian and Australian cities. In Chapter 5, the relationship between six exogenous sources of social disorganisation were juxtaposed with the with prevalence rates of different types of crimes.

The analysis yields mixed results. Relative deprivation was found to be positively associated with violent and property crimes. Higher life expectancy was found to be negatively associated with violent and property crimes. This is consistent with widely held views in Euro-American studies (Ferguson et al., 2010). Economic inequality was found to be positively associated with all three forms of crimes examined (violent crimes, property crimes and serious sexual offences). Educational attainment was surprisingly found to be positively associated with serious sexual offences.

This finding bucks the trend in development literature which often suggest that the provision of educational interventions to women in urban centres to empower themselves, particularly through vocational training, may translate into a reduction in their risk of sexual violence. Further surprising findings point towards a positive association between levels of social and economic development (measured by the IHDI) and violent crime as well as serious sexual offences. These sets of findings suggest that further work could be done on the adaptability of social disorganisation within urban settings. Future studies might consider indicators that are sensitive to local context.

A host of crime facilitators have been identified and discussed. Some of these include poverty, population mobility, an impenetrable labour market, endemic drug abuse, small arms and light weapons trafficking, incessant political violence coupled with population upsurge.

To further understand the dynamics of urban criminality and responses to traditional forms of crimes, this research pursued an intensive five-city study which focused on Abuja, Kano, Lagos, Lokoja and Port Harcourt. Notable security challenges in the study cities include systemic failure of governance; diminishing public trust in the police, weak enforcement of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act; connivance of state security actors with vandals and some measure inter-agency rivalry among different law enforcement institutions.

The intention of this final section is not to be prescriptive. We hope to draw on an array of analysed materials and focus group discussions to
provide some strategic and operational recommendations. These recommendations may contribute to and sustain existing crime prevention and control programmes across cities. Areas for consideration are provided.

- This study has established that kidnapping is now a national problem across the different cities in Nigeria. It would require resolute efforts of all stakeholders in Nigeria to tackle the problem. The essence of intelligence gathering in a proactive manner has become pivotal. Empirical evidence has shown that the kidnappers use their mobile phones to communicate as they hold their victims hostage. A synergy between the Nigeria Police and the communication service providers should provide a platform to track the kidnappers. Some of the huge ransoms paid by the families of victims usually end up in banks. Through proper monitoring, banks should be able to report to the appropriate authorities if a customer starts making cash deposits that are not generated by any known business transactions.

- There is the need for both federal and state governments to immediately tackle widespread poverty and growing unemployment and inequality especially amongst the urban poor. In this regard, government at various levels should make concerted efforts to diversify their economic base through investment in agriculture, development of small and medium scale industries, and encouragement of art and craft production. Such engagements will contribute to employment generation, wealth creation and boosting of revenue profile of cities.

- The study established that youths constitute the major demographic group that are easy prey for organised crimes in cities. There is an urgent need for government at all levels in Nigeria in partnership with the private sector to invest greater financial and structural support in the capacity-building and skills development of young people to enable them to positively contribute to society and nation building. For instance, in 2016, the Gombe State Police Command, under the Police Community Partnership Approach to Policing project, collaborated with a National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) member to train 250 unemployed youths in the production of emulsion and text coat paints. Diversionary services such as the establishment of skills acquisition workshops to provide young people with vocational and technical skills are important in this regard. This could be matched with the establishment of Business Development and Coaching Services Centres (BCDSC) across cities. Amongst other the BCDSCs could render business development and career advice to jobless youths, facilitate their access to start-up funds and offer coaching services that will inform sound decision on career path for these young people.

- Communities are best positioned to notice emerging trends in criminal tendencies. Therefore, critical engagement among local communities will foster timely preventive measures against all forms of crime in the
cities. Government could enable civilian security platforms that are at the forefront of combating crime through orthodox means to detect and disrupt criminal recruitment and operation patterns at the community level. This will require greater government partnership with, and support to, community and civic leaders in the area of legal and logistic support and encouragement to bolster the capacity of local communities to identify and develop non-violent and practical solutions to check criminal operations in the cities.

- In Nigeria, despite the enactment of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act in 2015, it has been observed that the manual documentation of files and recording of court cases in long hand by the judges in court is still a norm. In this 21st Century where information processing and documentation are mostly digital and information technology is the driving force of most developments in legal practices, the Nigerian judiciary system is left behind in the analogue world where files and judicial activities are manually conducted. This adversely affects the dispensation of justice and contributes to the delay in most criminal trials across cities.

- Further research is required to understand how a range of different traditional and non-traditional policing models work within different urban contexts in Nigeria.
ANNEX 1: REFERENCES


ANNEX 2: ORGANISATIONS & GROUPS ENGAGED DURING FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND INTERVIEWS

Abuja

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisations or Groups</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLEEN Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigilante Group of Nigeria, Lugbe Chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Development Consultant and Specialist on Countering Violent Extremism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute for War and Peace Reporting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Legal Practitioner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Main Guard Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Abuja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisional Police Head Quarters, Karu</td>
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<td>Vigilante Group of Nigeria</td>
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Kano

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<tr>
<th>Organisations or Groups</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth Peace Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Association of Nigeria, Kano</td>
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</table>
Democratic Action Group, Kano
Kano State Hisbah Corps
Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Kano
Officer in Charge Community Policing
Sabon Gari, Village Head, Kano
Vigilante Group of Nigeria
Women in Leadership Forum
Women Peace and Security Network, Kano

**Lagos**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisations or Groups</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lagos State Police Command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Development Council, Odi-olowo Ojuwoye Local Council Development Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Association of Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Policing Partnership Association of Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Crime Reporters</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pan African Strategic and Policy Research Group – PANAFSTRAG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centre for Public Policy Alternatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vigilante Group of Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Policing Sector, Agege</td>
</tr>
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<td>Women’s Leader</td>
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**Lokoja**

<table>
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<th>Organisations or Groups</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Movement Against Gender Based Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organisations or Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Ulama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Federation of Women Layers, Kogi State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Union of Road Transport Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kogi State Police Command</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice Peace and Development Commission, Lokoja</td>
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<td>Vigilante Group of Nigeria</td>
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**Port-Harcourt**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Organisations or Groups</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer in Criminology &amp; Security Management, Rivers State University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centre for Coastal Conflicts Prevention</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law</td>
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<td>Interfaith Coalitions Nigeria</td>
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<td>Nigerian Institute of Security, Port-Harcourt</td>
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<td>Vigilante Group of Nigeria</td>
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### ANNEX 3: CITIES INCLUDED IN THE SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Settlement Hierarchy</th>
<th>City Class Size</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aba</td>
<td>Abia</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakaliki</td>
<td>Ebonyi</td>
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<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abeokuta</td>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuja</td>
<td>Abuja</td>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>1 million to 5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ado-Ekiti</td>
<td>Ekiti</td>
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<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
</tr>
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<td>Akure</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
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<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Awka</td>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>Small City</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin City</td>
<td>Edo</td>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>1 million to 5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabar</td>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Damaturu</td>
<td>Yobe</td>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>Fewer than 300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Population Range</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enugu</td>
<td>Enugu</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gombe</td>
<td>Gombe</td>
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<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
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<td>Gusau</td>
<td>Zamfara</td>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>Fewer than 300,000</td>
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<td>Ibadan</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>1 million to 5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilorin</td>
<td>Kwara</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jalingo</td>
<td>Taraba</td>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>Fewer than 300,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jos</td>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>1 million to 5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
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<td>5 million or more</td>
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<td>Lokoja</td>
<td>Kogi</td>
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<td>Borno</td>
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<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
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<td>Benue</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
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<td>Minna</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
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<td>City</td>
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<td>Population Class</td>
<td>Population Size</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nnewi</td>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshogbo</td>
<td>Osun</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owerri</td>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Harcourt</td>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>1 million to 5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umuahia</td>
<td>Abia</td>
<td>Medium Sized City</td>
<td>300,000 to 499,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyo</td>
<td>Akwa Ibom</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
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<td>Yenagoa</td>
<td>Bayelsa</td>
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<td>Adamawa</td>
<td>Small City</td>
<td>Fewer than 300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaria</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>Large City</td>
<td>500,000 to 1 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Urbanisation Research Nigeria (URN) is delivering research accompanied by data collection on key themes concerning urbanisation, urban development and the provision of infrastructure. URN will produce and disseminate thorough, relevant, interesting and readable research outputs which will contribute towards the evidence base for better urbanisation strategy, urban policy, and urban programming and management in Nigeria.

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