

CRIME VICTIMIZATION, SAFETY AND POLICING IN NIGERIA

Edited by

Etannibi E.O. Alemika and Innocent C. Chukwuma

CLEEN FOUNDATION,
Lagos, Nigeria

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Preface

The significance of reliable data and statistics on the extent and pattern of crimes and victimization in a nation and its different constituent political administrative units is recognized by criminologists, criminal justice officials and criminal justice policy-makers. However, the production of accurate crime and victimization data has been characterized by many problems. Some of the problems of collection and production of accurate crime and victimization are inherent in the nature of criminal activities, including efforts by criminals to conceal their actions and evade detection and arrest, capacity and practices of criminal justice agencies (police, courts and prisons).

Information on crimes and victimization are obtained from three different sources: official statistics produced by criminal justice agencies (police, courts, prosecutors, prisons, etc.); self-report surveys which collect information (through questionnaire and interviews) from individuals on their involvement in any criminal activities, usually during the preceding twelve months, and victim surveys which obtain information from individuals and households (through questionnaires and interviews) on their criminal victimization experience during the preceding twelve months. The three sources provide indicators of level of victimization and criminality and complement each other, though they do not fully resolve the problems of incomplete information on crime and victimization.

Nigeria lacks reliable criminal statistical system as a result of several factors, including:

- a. Lack of appreciation of the significance of evidence-based policy, operations and practice;
- b. Neglect of collection, analysis and utilization of crime and victimization surveys as essential input to planning, operations and administration;
- c. Lack of necessary capacity for the collection, analysis, utilization, storage and retrieval of essential data and information.

CLEEN Foundation pioneered the conduct of large scale national criminal victimization survey based on multi-stage cluster and proportionate sampling methods. The Foundation piloted criminal victimization survey in Lagos in 2004 and subsequently conducted national criminal victimization surveys in respect of 2005 and 2006. The findings of the 2005 and 2006 national criminal victimization surveys have been published as research monographs¹. Another survey covering 2007-2009² was conducted in early 2010, the major findings of which are presented in chapter two of this book.

The aim of this book is to provide a comparative analysis of the data collected through three rounds of national criminal victimization surveys in Nigeria. The chapters in the book analysed different themes and provided summary of findings and recommendations.

It is our hope that the publication of this book will contribute to the understanding of crime, victimization and the operations of the criminal justice system in the country. The data and

¹ Etannibi Alemika and Innocent Chukwuma, 2007. *Criminal Victimization, Safety and Policing in Nigeria – 2006*. Lagos: CLEEN Foundation, and EEO Alemika EU Igbo and CP Nnorom, 2006. *Criminal Victimization, Safety and Policing in Nigeria – 2005*. Lagos: CLEEN Foundation.

²The questions format for victimization requested the respondents about whether or not members of their households experienced criminal victimization during the past three years that covered 2007, 2008 and 2009. The respondents were also asked about their experience of victimization during the three years period. The fieldwork took place in March/April 2010.

findings presented in the book contain valuable evidence that can inform effective policy, planning and operations aimed at enhancing safety and security in Nigeria.

We express our appreciation to experts who assisted with the review of the chapters, and especially to Dr. CT Orisaremi of the Department of Sociology, University of Jos, who reviewed all the chapters in order to provide a comprehensive assessment of the contributions in the book. Weequally thank the various contributors to the book for accepting to write their chapters.

EEO Alemika and IC Chukwuma
Editors

CHAPTER ONE

Security, Criminal Justice and Criminal Victimization

Etannibi EO ALEMIKA

Security is the most fundamental need of human beings. There are several interrelated domains of security – physical, emotional, social, economic and political. However, physical security – protection from threat or act of violence by individuals, groups or the state is a precondition for humane existence and orderly society. This is now widely recognized in national democratic constitutions, which provide for fundamental human right to life and freedom from torture, cruel and degrading treatment.

Criminal victimization is a violation of physical security. One of the primary duties of the state is to guarantee the security of the citizens, including their protection from crime. The social contract philosophical fictional account of the emergence of the state and justification for its continuing existence rests on human need for physical security. A state that is unable to guarantee the physical security of citizens and the safety of their possession will lose its legitimacy.

In this chapter, we discuss the dynamics of security and crime, and criminal justice system in Nigeria. Following this we discuss the major theories of criminal victimization. In the final section, we present the various approaches to the measurement of criminal victimization. The general aim of this chapter is to provide theoretical and methodological frameworks for the understanding of the analyses of criminal victimization presented in the subsequent chapters of this publication.

Security and Crime in Nigeria

Physical security as a component of human security may be defined as freedom from threat or act of violence and loss of property. Human security broadly defined refers to protection from threats to life and means of livelihood, safety from bodily harm; freedom from fear of diseases, unemployment, violent conflicts and human rights violations. It is “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities” (UNDP Human Development Report 1994).

Security is the absence of fear and want. Insecurity is the opposite of security and may be classified into three types of vulnerabilities:

1. Vulnerability to injuries and losses arising from criminal activities
2. Vulnerability to oppression from and by corporate actors; institutions and officials of the state, manifested essentially as systematic exploitation, oppression as well as violation of fundamental and other human rights, and
3. Vulnerability to deprivation of or lack of access to necessities of life – food and nutrition, shelter, clothing, health care, education and employment.

Crime becomes a national or community problem when it is chronic and systematic and its incidence, pattern and seriousness become a threat to the wellbeing of members of society. Nigeria has a crime problem. Armed robbery is a major source of loss of lives and property as well as a cause of pervasive fear of crime among the population. Corruption is also endemic in the nation’s public and private sectors.

There are four important indicators of whether or not a country has a crime problem. These indicators are the *extent, seriousness and pattern of crime, and the control capacity or effectiveness of crime control institutions*. Based on these indicators, Nigeria has a crime problem because the country's crimes are serious and of diverse kinds, while crime control institutions are corrupt, oppressive and ineffective. *The following features of Nigeria's crime problem can be identified:*

1. Relatively low population-crime ratio of recorded crime due largely to unwillingness of the citizens to report crime to the police and reluctance of the police to honestly record reported crimes.
2. The pattern of crime in Nigeria is, however, a source of major concern. The high rates of corruption (though grossly under-reported in official statistics but more widely reported in the mass media and popular discourse); armed robbery, theft and fraud undermine wellbeing of the citizens and the country's development.
3. Substantial involvement of Nigerian citizens in transnational crimes of drug trafficking, fraud (advance fee scam, trade and other forms of fraud), money laundering, deposit of stolen fund in foreign accounts by the rulers and human trafficking have tainted the country's image, discourage foreign investment and trust in Nigerian citizens by foreigners.
4. Widespread violent conflicts and crime. Ethnic, religious and intra-community violence as well as armed robbery and assassinations are important components of violent crimes in the country.

Nigerian criminal justice agencies

A criminal justice system consists of various institutions of which the core are the legislature, police, courts, prisons, prosecutors and defence lawyers. The legislature provides the parameters for the socio-political construction of crime by enacting criminal laws, while the police are responsible for the enforcement of criminal law, prevention of crime, detection, apprehension, investigation, detention and prosecution of crime suspects.

The Nigerian criminal justice system consists of the following institutions - legislature (for law-making), police (for law enforcement), courts (for judging – interpretation and adjudication of law) and the prisons (for punishment and re-socialization). In a broad sense, the police system consists of the Nigeria Police Force and specialized policing organization with more limited jurisdiction (e.g. Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps; National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, Customs, Immigration, Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission – ICPC). The judicial system consists of the courts and tribunals.

The police agencies are responsible for the protection of citizens from victimization and the detection and prosecution of offenders. Nigeria has no discernible policy for responding to the experience of victims and impacts of victimization. The Nigerian criminal justice system focuses on crime and criminals while victims remain invisible within the system.

Theories of criminal victimization

Traditionally, criminologists were pre-occupied with finding and explaining the causes of crime and the characteristics of criminals. Historically, criminology largely focused on crime and criminals, just like the criminal justice system. This pre-occupation of criminology and the criminal justice system stems from the state's pre-occupation with crime control. It was only in the late 1940s that the idea that victims are active participants in the chain of events that lead to their victimization began to be taken seriously by criminologists (Von

Hentig 1940, 1948; Wolfgang 1957, 1958; Amir 1967; Ellenberger 1955). From the early 1960s, and especially since the 1980s, victims' movements emerged to canvass for policy responses to victimization and the plights of victims.

Several theories have been developed over the past 50 years to explain the relationships between victims and criminals as well as the variation in victimization (Meier and Miethe 1993; Schneider 2001). Some of the popular theories are the victim precipitated perspective; lifestyle and exposure approach; deviant place and routine activities perspectives.

Victim Precipitated Perspective

Wolfgang in his seminal book, *Patterns of Criminal Homicide*, published in 1958 used the term victim precipitated victimization to describe an incident in which the victim initiated or contributed to the onset of the behaviours or actions of their attacker. The perspective draws attention to the dynamic interaction between offenders and victims. Wolfgang, in an article published in 1957 said that:

In many crimes, especially in criminal homicide, the victim is often a major contributor to the criminal act. Except in cases in which the victim is an innocent bystander and is killed in lieu of an intended victim, or in cases in which a pure accident is involved, the victim may be one of the major precipitation causes of his own demise (Wolfgang 1957: 1)

Wolfgang's work was inspired by Von Hentig's earlier proposition of victim complicity in their victimization (Von Hentig 1940, 1948). According to him, there are instances in which "we can frequently observe a real mutuality in the connection of perpetrator and victim, killer and killed, duper and duped" (Von Hentig 1941: 303). This observation has led to two lines of thought in victimology, a sub-discipline of criminology. First, it informs the idea that victim's action and behaviours may make them vulnerable to victimization or attractive to predators. This idea was later developed by lifestyle exposure perspective. The second line of research focuses on the similarity of victims and predators in terms of their socioeconomic and demographic backgrounds.

Von Hentig's work points to the need to focus on the relationships between victims and crime perpetrators in theorization and research on criminality and victimization. His work also has implications for the determination of culpability in criminal justice administration and in the formulation of crime prevention and victim policies.

The criticism, especially by feminists, that the term victim-precipitated crime implies victim blaming or assignment of responsibility to the victim, does not validly apply to the use of the term by Wolfgang (1958). As used by Wolfgang, the term is intended to draw attention to victimization as a dynamic relation process between victims and predators with varying physical, verbal and other forms of communicative interactions between the parties in any crime incident. The term was also used by Wolfgang as a classificatory tool. Thus victimization can be classified into those in which the victims played a role in their occurrence and those in which they played no role. Wolfgang (1958), for example, found that 26% of the homicide victims in his study took the first aggressive steps. This implies that three-quarters of the homicides were non-victim precipitated.

Criticisms of victim-precipitation have often come from its application to rape (Amir 1967). According to Amir:

Theoretically, victim precipitation of forcible rape means that in a particular situation the behavior of the victim is interpreted by the offender either as a direct invitation for sexual relations or as a sign that she will be available for sexual contact if he will persist in demanding it ... Victim behavior may consist of an act of commission (e.g., she agreed to drink or ride with a stranger), or omission (e.g., she failed to react strongly enough to sexual suggestions and overtures). This distinction is made in addition to the variety of interpersonal relationships which may exist between them. (1967: 493).

The argument of the critics is that perpetrators have no right to interpret the behaviours and gestures of their partners or victims as an invitation to sexual act.

Feminists argue that the victim-precipitated perspective provides justification for rape and sexual violence by males. Much of the criticisms are driven by ideological positions rather than a challenge to the empirical basis of the victim-precipitated propositions. Amir was careful to define victim precipitated rape as follows:

The term "victim precipitation" describes those rape situations in which the victim actually, or so it was deemed, agreed to sexual relations but retracted before the actual act or did not react strongly enough when the suggestion was made by the offender(s). The term applies also to cases in risky or vulnerable situations," marred with sexuality, especially when the victim uses what could be interpreted as indecency in language and gestures, or constitute what could be taken as an invitation to sexual relations.

It is clear that the term does not refer to all rapes. Some of the criticisms are borne out of activism rather than scholarship because Amir even in the context of rape introduced several caveats and attempted distinction between victim-precipitated rape and others. The term and approach do not argue that *all* rapes are victim precipitated but rather that some are. Whether this is the case or not or what proportion of total rape cases are victim-precipitated are empirical questions.

The victim-precipitated approach is not a comprehensive explanation of victimization. However, it provides insight for personal and community crime prevention strategies, including the introduction of target hardening strategies and reduction of attractiveness as target of crime. Criminologists recognize that wearing expensive jewellery and clothing, driving an expensive cars, displaying expensive goods in parked and unattended vehicle and presence in particular locations at particular times may render individual vulnerable to victimization. It also offers insight into the roles of certain implements such as weapons and alcohol in victimization. Both the life-style exposure and routine activities perspectives incorporated insights from victim-precipitation approach.

Life Style - Exposure Perspective

People are differentially exposed to victimization. Differential exposures are due to lifestyles, which are influenced by individual socioeconomic and demographic backgrounds. Victimization is not an event that is randomly experienced by people with different backgrounds. On the contrary, the likelihood of different types of victimization is associated with different lifestyles. Different lifestyles are associated with varying degrees of exposure to victimization. From this perspective, there are high-risk and low-risk lifestyles.

Certain lifestyles may engender violent assault while some other lifestyles attract theft or robbery. Rates and types of victimization are therefore associated with the lifestyles of

individuals. People involved in different lifestyles also experience different types of victimization. Individuals who work during the night, or patronize nightclubs are more vulnerable to certain victimizations compared to those who work during the day or do not patronize clubs. This approach explains the differences in the rates of victimization of different groups in terms of exposure to offenders.

Victimogenic Place Perspective

Social disorganisation theory of crime points out that crimes are highest in neighbourhoods characterised by poverty and unemployment; high population density, diversity and mobility; lack of dominant cultural values and social control mechanisms; absence or inadequate or deteriorated housing, health, educational and recreational infrastructures. This perspective implies that persons who reside in such neighbourhoods are more likely to be involved in deviant or delinquent or criminal behaviours. From the logic of the theory, such neighbourhoods are both crimogenic and victimogenic. Thus, individuals who live in socially disorganised neighbourhoods are more vulnerable to victimizations. This implies that victimization rates for different crimes vary across residential neighbourhoods. Highly crimogenic environments are regarded as *deviant place*, where victimization risk and rates are inevitably high.

Routine Activity Perspective

Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979) proposed that victimization is determined by the routine activity of individuals. Routine activity, according to them refers to “any recurrent and prevalent activities that provide for basic population and individual needs” (Cohen and Felson (1979: 593). They argue that crime as well as victimization occurs when three necessary but not necessarily sufficient factors are present: availability of suitable or vulnerable targets, absence of capable guardians against crime and victimization (to serve as deterrence to intending offenders) and presence of motivated offenders.

The original proposition was aimed at explaining variation in crime rates as well as the impact of social, political, cultural and economic changes on patterns and trends of crime. Changes in the pattern of economic activities and opportunities will affect the rates of crime and victimization. Increased participation of women in the labour force increases female criminality and victimization in the workplace. In this sense, routine activity and life-style perspectives are complementary because they focus on the exposure of individuals to the risk of victimization based on routine activity patterns or lifestyles. They both also recognize that lifestyles and routine activities correlate with socioeconomic and demographic factors like age, sex, income, residence, etc.

Integrated Perspective

There have been attempts to integrate the life-style/exposure and routine activity perspectives on criminal victimization (Miethe and Meier 1990; Cohen, Kluegel and Land 1981). The two perspectives, according to Meier and Miethe “highlight the importance of physical proximity to motivated offenders, exposure to high risk environments, target attractiveness, and the absence of guardianship as necessary conditions for predatory crime” (1993: 475).

Structural-choice perspective claims to be an integration of the life-style/exposure and routine activity perspectives. The integrated approach “emphasizes both macrodynamic forces that contribute to a criminal opportunity structure (as identified by routine activity theory) and microlevel processes that determine the selection of particular crime victims (as implied by lifestyle-exposure theory” (Meier and Miethe (1993: 475). Further, under the structural-

choice model “proximity and exposure are considered ‘structural’ features (because they pattern the nature of social interaction and predispose individuals to riskier situations), whereas attractiveness and guardianship represent the ‘choice’ component (because they determine the selection of particular crime targets within a sociospatial context)” (Meier and Miethe (1993: 475).

Cohen, et al (1981) developed the ‘opportunity model of predatory victimization’. This approach ‘considers the time-space relationships in which victimization is greatest’. According to them:

The risk of criminal victimization is seen as largely dependent on the lifestyle and routine activities of persons that bring them and/or their property into direct contact with potential offenders in the absence of capable guardians who could potentially prevent the occurrence of a crime.

Victimization surveys generally unravel correlation between socioeconomic factors and victimization. Cohen and his colleagues explained the relationships. According to them:

... the key to understanding why income, race, and age appear to affect the likelihood of victimization in the ways they do is to focus on the mediating role played by five factors: exposure, guardianship, proximity to potential offenders, attractiveness of potential targets, and definitional properties of specific crimes themselves (Cohen et al 1981: 507).

In their empirical test of the model, they “found that exposure, guardianship, and proximity all have significant partial effects on the risk of predatory victimization”(Cohen et al 1981: 520)

The concept of capable guardianship is very central to efforts at preventing crime and victimization. According to Meier and Miethe (1993: 483), the concept has “social (interpersonal) and physical dimensions”. “Social guardianship”, according to Meier and Miethe “includes the number of household members, the density of friendship networks in the neighborhood, and having neighbors watch property or a dwelling when the home is unoccupied”. They observed that “availability of others (e.g., friends, neighbors, pedestrians, law enforcement officers) may prevent crime by their presence alone or through offering physical assistance in warding off an attack” (Meier and Miethe 1993: 483). “Physical guardianship” according to them (Meier and Miethe 1993: 483):

... involves target-hardening activities (e.g., door/window locks, window bars, burglar alarms, guard dogs, ownership of firearms), other physical impediments to household theft (e.g., street lighting, guarded entrances), and participation in collective activities (e.g., neighborhood watch programs, home security surveys)”. The significance of capable guardianship lies in “increased “costs” to would be offenders (e.g., greater effort, greater risk of detection and apprehension)” and contingent decrease in “the opportunity for victimization (Meier and Miethe (1993: 483).

Theories of victimization attempt to explain the processes and conditions that expose individuals and groups to becoming victims of different crimes. The theories draw attention to the need to analyse rates of victimization in terms of specific crimes as aggregate rates conceal significant variances across age-groups, sexes, income levels, occupations, leisure and recreational patterns, neighbourhoods and rural-urban spaces.

Measurement of criminal victimization

Crime and victim statistics are required by various audiences for different purposes. The efforts by criminologists to study criminals, crimes and victims as well as responses or reaction of government and non-governmental agencies to them will be greatly impaired by the absence of reliable crime and victimization statistics. Similarly, criminal justice policy-makers cannot plan properly for effective control of crime and insecurity if they do not have reliable statistics on criminality and criminal victimization.

The law enforcement officials cannot offer effective service if they do not know the extent and pattern of crime and victimization in their commands. Given the importance of crime and victimization statistics, every country should develop adequate capacity and deploy enough human, financial and infrastructural facilities to the collection and analysis of the incidence, prevalence, trends and patterns of criminal activities and victimization in order to acquire necessary knowledge and ability for crime prevention and crime control. However, the measurement of crimes and victimization through the collection of reliable crime and victimization statistics has remained a major problem, to varying degrees, in most countries, though continuous advancement is being made.

Measuring crime and victimization

There are several problems that impinge on the collection of reliable statistics on criminal activity and victimization. Some of the most important difficulties are associated with the collection of crime and victimization information. The following are the major difficulties.

1. Some crimes occur without anyone realizing it;
2. Many victims of crimes do not report them to formal law enforcement officials such as the police to enable them record such events;
3. Law enforcement agents may resolve some crimes brought to their notice without recording them and invoking the criminal process.

These are often acknowledged as the problems of 'dark' and 'grey' crime figures, which imply 'unknown or undetected or unreported crime' and 'detected, reported but not recorded' incidents of crimes and victimizations. These problems indicate that the crime statistics produced by the criminal justice agencies – police, courts, prosecutors and prisons – are not true or accurate reflection of the extent and pattern of criminal activities and victimization in society.

The second set of problems associated with the collection of reliable crime and victimization statistics relates to national and organizational failures and lack of capacity with respect to information management as tool of planning, decision making, monitoring and evaluation. With specific reference to crime and victimization statistics, the following problems are observed:

- d. Some countries, including Nigeria, do not appreciate the significance of evidence-based policy, operations and practice - grounding public policy and decision-making in reliable information and statistics, and research;
- e. Police forces in many countries, including Nigeria, neglect collection, analysis and utilization of crime and victimization surveys as essential input to their planning, operations and administration;
- f. Countries and police forces that ignored the collection and utilization of vital statistics for planning and administration usually lack necessary capacity for the collection, analysis, utilization, storage and retrieval of essential data and information.

In these circumstances, decisions are not based on systematically collected and analyzed information. This tends to produce a culture of planning and administration through experience, traditions and hunches, with attendant ineffectiveness and inefficiency.

The third set of problems requires political will and change of orientation or attitudes toward crime and victimization statistics. Although, by no means easy, these problems can be more easily resolved than the first set of problem relating to knowledge, reporting and recording of incidents of criminal activities and victimization. Several attempts have been made to minimize the problems of dark and grey figures of crime. In the case of the lesser difficulty of grey crime figures, measures like mandatory recording of complaints, and better training of officers responsible for receiving crime complaints and recording, improved – including automated – crime record processing, storage and retrieval are implemented.

The critical problem of dark figures of crime remains largely unresolved. Over the past five decades, criminologists have developed measures to minimize the problem by devising two alternative and independent measures of level of criminal activity and victimization in a country.

There are three alternative measures of criminality and victimization. These are *official statistics, self-report crime survey and criminal victimization survey*. These alternative measures of criminal activity and victimization are discussed below.

Official Statistics

Official crime statistics are mainly produced by the police (official policing agencies), prosecutors, courts and prisons. Such statistics are the traditional indicators of the level and pattern of criminality. However, official statistics are inaccurate due to dark figures (unreported crimes), grey figures (reported but unrecorded crimes and manipulation of records to satisfy political and, or institutional interests (as when reported increase or decrease may be advantageous to regime in power or the police force).

Official statistics are indicators of criminal activities brought to the notice of criminal justice agencies and the actions taken in respect of reported incidents. While they are useful for the purpose of understanding the volume, variety, and distribution of crimes processed by the criminal justice institutions, they are not accurate measures of the extent and pattern of crime in society due to differential levels of detection, reporting and official reactions associated with the various behaviours that violate the law.

Globally, official statistics are known to suffer several weaknesses. Such weaknesses led criminologists to develop two methods of obtaining information on criminality, victimization, criminal justice administration and public attitudes to crime and criminal justice administration in society. These are the self-report measures – crime survey (self-reported criminal behaviour) and victim survey (self-reported victimization). They complement official crime statistics produced by the police, judiciary and the prisons service. Official crime statistics in Nigeria suffer many weaknesses, in addition to the more universal problems of dark and grey crime figures.

There are several reasons why the Nigerian criminal justice and security agencies lack capacity for effective information management for planning, operations, monitoring and evaluations. The more significant reasons are:

- a. a historical legacy that views crime statistics as mere product of activities without additional values;
- b. emphasis on operational performance as basis for promotion meant that officers outside general duty do not really commit themselves to the job, and lack of appreciation and supervision by superiors compound the apathy;

- c. inadequate understanding and appreciation of the role of criminal statistics and intelligence management in effective and efficient delivery of services by the police, judiciary and prisons;
- d. institutional apathy towards information management by government agencies in the country generally, and
- e. lack of necessary skills and resources for statistical and information management.

More fundamental than these reasons is that successive governments in the country loathe accountability and therefore do not develop statistical and information management system that will enable the public to assess their performance. As a result, even when data and statistics are collated, they are treated as secret documents, locked up and rarely used for evaluating and improving performance.

Self-Report Crime Survey

Crime survey involves the study of a sample of the population as regards the types and number of crimes that they committed during a particular period, usually during the past year - whether or not detected or reported to the police. The method uses questionnaire to collect relevant information. Crime survey is characterized by many weaknesses: First, the questionnaire tends to contain more questions on minor crimes with which the respondents are more comfortable and questions on more serious and sensitive crimes are avoided. Second, respondents may not accurately recall their criminal activities, and third, respondents also tend to underreport serious crimes that they may have committed. Notwithstanding the deficiencies, crime surveys have provided a broader view of the extent and pattern of crimes and public perceptions of crime and criminal law enforcement in society and across the socioeconomic strata of society.

Criminal Victimization Survey

Victim survey is used to obtain data on the extent of criminal victimization. Unlike crime survey, which is used to obtain data on the extent and patterns of crimes committed by members of society, victim survey is used to measure the extent and pattern of victimization in a community, among members of groups and in a nation or across nations. Questionnaires are designed and administered to gather information on respondents' experience of criminal victimization. The method also suffers several deficiencies, including inability of the respondents to accurately report events during the period covered by the survey.

Several advantages have been attributed to victim survey. Principally, it provides rich data for understanding the distribution of criminal victimization and the socio-demographic characteristics of victims and criminals; offers better information for building theories on criminality and victimization. It also promotes understanding of the consequences of victimization and the extent of fear of crime among different groups in different locations.

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CHAPTER TWO

Criminal Victimization and Public Perceptions of Safety and policing

by

Etannibi EO ALEMIKA

Introduction

The primary aim of criminal victimization survey is to collect, analyse and interpret data on the experience of victims with a view to explaining the patterns and trends of crime and victimization in society or community. Criminal victimization surveys yield information and insight that complement those acquired from other sources of statistics on crime and victimization. This chapter presents the major findings of the national criminal victimization survey in Nigeria covering household victimization from 2007 to 2009 and personal victimization, perceptions of corruption and victimization trend, road safety and accidents and perception of the law enforcement agencies.

Research design and method

The study employed survey research design. Its principal aim was to determine the views of Nigerians on the extent, trends and patterns of crime in the society in order to develop and implement effective administration of criminal justice. The study was conducted in all the thirty six states of Nigeria (36) and the Federal Capital Territory.

The basic method employed for data collection was the in-home, face-to-face personal interview using a stratified multi-stage random selection procedure in order to achieve a nationally representative sample. Respondents were adult Nigerian males and females aged, eighteen years and above and have stayed in the selected household for a period of not less than six months. A total of 10,228 respondents were covered in the survey. The questionnaire was translated to Pidgin English, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba languages. These were the local languages spoken predominantly in the country. The translation aimed at ensuring uniform translation of questions and proper administration of questionnaire by the field interviewers.

Sampling Procedure

Respondents' selection followed a stratified multi-stage random selection process as follow:

- a. Selection of urban locations
- b. Selection of rural locations
- c. Selection of sectors
- d. Selection of dwelling structure
- e. Selection of household
- f. Selection of respondent

Major Findings

The major findings of the survey in the areas of victimization, fear of crime, road safety, perceptions of trend of crime and corruption, and perceptions of corruption and performance by law enforcement agencies and officials are presented in the sections below.

Victimization of household members and respondents

Respondents were asked two separate questions. The first asked the respondents to report if any member of their household (other than themselves) were victims of specific crimes

during the past three years. The second question asked the respondents if they were victims of specific crimes during the previous three years. Their responses are presented in table 1.

Table 1: Household and Personal Victimization: 2007-2009

Crime	% of respondents who reported victimization	
	Household members	Personal victimization
Murder	3.5	-
Attempted murder	2.6	1.6
Robbery	11.1	7.4
Attempted robbery	5.5	3.1
Rape	1.7	0.7 ³
Attempted rape	2.0	1.1
Kidnapping	1.7	0.5
Attempted kidnapping	1.5	0.4
Theft of car	3.5	1.0
Motorcycle theft	6.4	2.5
Domestic violence	16.9	11.2
Same-sex intercourse	1.8	0.8
Physical assault	21.4	16.3
Theft of mobile GSM phone	29.7	24.1
Burglary	10.7	5.7
Theft of money	23.5	17.5
Theft from car	4.1	1.7
Theft of agricultural product	12.4	6.8

The most common forms of victimization reported by respondents were theft of various kinds of property (money, GSM handset, agricultural products, automobiles, etc), robbery, domestic violence, physical assault and burglary (table 1). The introduction of mobile phone handsets produced a new form of crime targets and the widespread victimization in this respect is related to specific lifestyle and exposure to thieves.

The respondents were further asked about their personal most recent victimization. Their responses indicated the following as the most common forms of victimization: theft of GSM handset, theft of money, physical assault, domestic violence, robbery, theft of agricultural products and burglary (table 2).

Table 2: Most recent experience of crime

Crime	% of respondents who reported following crime as their most recent victimization
Attempted murder	0.8
Robbery	8.1
Attempted robbery	2.4
Rape	0.7
Attempted rape	1.0
Kidnapping	0.5
Attempted kidnapping	0.3
Theft of car	0.7

³ Only female respondents were asked the question

Motorcycle theft	1.7
Domestic violence	9.1
Physical assault	15.1
Theft of mobile phone	28.2
Burglary	4.0
Theft of money	17.7
Theft from car	0.8
Theft of agricultural products	7.8

Personal Victimization by State

The findings from the survey indicated that criminal victimization was highest in Kebbi, Kwara and Ebonyi states where more than three-quarters of the respondents said they experienced criminal victimization over the past three years. The safest states were Ogun and Katsina where less than 10% of the respondents reported experience of criminal victimization. Overall, 47.1% of the respondents, across the nation, reported being victims of crime over the past three years (table 3).

Table 3: Personal victimization over three years: 2007-2009

State	<i>% that reported personal victimization over past 3 years</i>
Kebbi	82.9
Kwara	79.9
Ebonyi	75.3
Gombe	69.9
Borno	69.2
Ondo	68.4
Niger	65.4
Bauchi	65.2
Cross River	65.1
Edo	63.9
Enugu	62.7
Akwa-Ibom	62.6
Plateau	61.6
Yobe	61.5
Adamawa	60.9
Bayelsa	58.9
Oyo	52.0
Benue	50.8
Sokoto	50.6
Rivers	50.4
Delta	48.5
Anambra	43.5
Kano	43.5
Abia	42.9
Kaduna	42.4
Jigawa	37.9
Ekiti	35.1
Taraba	34.1

Nasarawa	31.3
Zamfara	29.5
FCT	29.2
Lagos	28.5
Osun	28.4
Imo	21.8
Kogi	19.6
Katsina	9.5
Ogun	9.3
National	47.1

Crime reporting behaviour or preference

Crime reporting behaviour and preferences can indicate the extent to which the public trust the police as well as accessibility to police services. They may also indicate the pattern of crime in society and availability of various options for handling them. In many Nigerian cultures, the norm is that dispute among family members be settled by family and clan elders and not by strangers. Similarly, it is expected that acquaintances resolve their conflicts through the mediation of friends. Religious groups also expect that members present their disputes to the leaders for resolution.

It has been demonstrated in the literature that the willingness or incentive to invoke the criminal justice system is dependent on the seriousness of offences, likelihood that offenders will be apprehended or losses will be recovered by the police and extent of confidence in the police. The victims of crime reported their experience to the following agencies:

1. Family and friends – 52%
2. Police – 20.2%
3. Traditional leaders – 3.0%
4. Religious leaders – 2.3%
5. Courts – 0.3%, understandably, because only civil cases will accommodate direct complaint to courts by victims
6. Vigilante groups – 2.4%

Respondents who reported to the police were asked if they were satisfied with the handling of their complaints by the police, less than a half (42.8%) were satisfied; 13.1% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; the rest 44% were dissatisfied. When asked why they were dissatisfied, the respondents cited the following reasons:

1. Police did not do enough to apprehend the offender – 36.2%
2. Police did not do enough to recover property – 21.6%
3. Police were slow to respond to call for help – 9.3%
4. Police did not keep me properly informed of development about their actions – 8.0%
5. Police did not treat me with respect – 5.8%
6. Police asked me for money (bribe) – 13.2%
7. Police colluded with suspects – 3.9%

A careful analysis of the reasons indicates that the dissatisfaction derived from three principal factors: capability and effectiveness of the police (67.1%); police treatment of complainants (13.8%) and integrity or lack of it, corruption – (17.1%).

Extent and causes of rape in communities

A total of 3.7% of the respondents said that at least a member of their households were victims of rape (1.7%) and attempted rape (2.0) during the three year period (2007-2009). Further, 1.8% of the respondents reported experience personal victimization (rape by 0.7%

and attempted rape by 1.1%). The respondents were asked about their opinion on the extent of the incidence of rape in their areas or communities. Nearly a half (48.6%) said that rape was non-existent; 37.6% said rape occurs only occasionally; 10.6% said that the incidence of rape was widespread and 3.2% reported that rape was very widespread and occurs all the time. About one in eight female respondents said rape is widespread in their communities.

Respondents were asked why women are being raped. They gave the following reasons:

1. Provocative dressing – 72.1%
2. Influence of the media – 8.2%
3. Lack of self-control by men – 11.3%
4. Mental illness by men – 3.2%
5. Influence of hard drugs – 2.1%

Nearly three quarters of the respondents attributed rape to provocative dressing. On classification of responses by sex, 72.7% of male respondents and 71.5% of female respondents attributed rape to provocative dressing. Further classification by religion shows that 72.7% of Christian respondents; 69.6% of Muslim respondents and 54.1% of traditional religion respondents attributed the reason why women are being raped to provocative dressing. The responses fit into either victim-blaming or victim-precipitated explanations in the criminological literature.

Perceptions of corruption among public officials, especially law enforcement agencies

Perceptions of corruption are generally much higher than actual incidence of corrupt practices. A better picture of corruption can be obtained through information on the proportion of respondents that had contact with officials who were asked for bribe. Table 4 presents level of contact for services with selected public officials during the past 12 months and solicitation for bribe by public officials.

Table 4: Contact and perception of corruption

Agencies	% of respondents with contact	% of respondents solicited for bribe
Economic and Financial Crimes Commission	1.0	15.7
Federal Road Safety Corps	5.4	29.4
State Security Services	1.0	15.2
Independent Corrupt Practices Commission	0.5	9.9
Custom Service	2.9	26.0
Immigration	4.4	29.8
Police	29.7	51.7
Civil Defence – NSCDC	3.4	21.9
Higher courts	2.8	12.0
Lower Courts	3.9	14.9
Prison	6.0	18.4
Lecturers in tertiary institutions	20.3	23.2
Power Holding Company – PHCN/NEPA	42.5	27.6

Contacts between the public and government officials within the context of service delivery vary considerably. The highest contacts occurred between the public and officials of the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (responsible for the provision of electricity). Cases of corruption were reported across the agencies, with the highest proportion by those with contacts with the police followed by those with contacts with Immigration, FRSC, PHCN,

Custom, lecturers in tertiary institutions and civil defence where at least 20% of officials were reported to have solicited for bribe from those requesting services or against whom laws were being enforced.

Three-fifths (60.0%) of the respondents said corruption has increased during the past three years; 12.9% said it had declined and 23.7% said corrupt practices declined. The perceived increase or decrease varies across states as presented in table 5.

Table 5: Perception of trend of corruption in the states

States	% reporting increase in corruption in the state
Ogun	85.2
Abia	84.8
Nasarawa	83.8
Imo	83.4
Plateau	79.8
Oyo	77.0
Ondo	73.4
Osun	70.8
Edo	70.4
Gombe	67.0
Kano	66.5
Enugu	66.0
Akwa-ibom	65.4
Sokoto	65.1
Kaduna	64.9
Delta	64.6
Bayelsa	64.4
Adamawa	64.0
FCT	63.2
Anambra	63.0
Borno	61.9
Ekiti	61.5
Bauchi	58.7
Benue	57.3
Ebonyi	57.2
Kwara	56.4
Kogi	53.8
Lagos	52.7
Yobe	52.3
Katsina	51.8
Niger	48.1
Taraba	40.6
Kebbi	36.3
Rivers	35.7
Cross River	34.4
Jigawa	25.5
Zamfara	24.7
National	60.0

Perception of increase in corruption within the state was highest in Ogun, Abia, Nasarawa and Imo states where more than four-fifths of the respondents said that corruption increased a lot or slightly. The cleanest states were Zamfara, Jigawa, Cross River, Rivers and Kebbi states where less than two-fifths reported increase in corruption in the state over the past three years.

The respondents proffered several recommendations towards the control of corruption in the country. Percentages of respondents who recommended the following are:

1. Tougher laws and sentences – 62.3%
2. Better education and upbringing of children – 70.1%
3. Effective monitoring and control of public officials – 54.5%
4. Greater publicity of the impact of corruption – 55.4%
5. Good leadership – 71.5%
6. Better salaries for public officials – 60.9%
7. Social security for the aged, unemployed and handicapped – 50.2%

Fear of being a victim of crime

Fear of being a victim of crime can affect social relationships, economic activities and confidence in vital institutions of society, especially the government and law enforcement agencies.

Table 6: Fear of being a victim of crime

State	% that reported being very fearful or fearful of being crime victims
Gombe	98.9
FCT	98.2
Plateau	97.8
Ebonyi	97.6
Ondo	97.3
Sokoto	97.0
Borno	96.0
Taraba	95.9
Osun	95.7
Enugu	95.0
Nasarawa	94.8
Bauchi	93.9
Kogi	92.9
Edo	92.3
Adamawa	92.0
Niger	90.7
Jigawa	90.5
Oyo	90.4
Abia	89.4
Kano	89.0
Katsina	88.6

Yobe	86.8
Kebbi	85.5
Kaduna	84.0
Bayelsa	83.8
Kwara	83.8
Benue	82.6
Cross River	82.6
Rivers	79.9
Akwa-ibom	79.4
Imo	79.2
Delta	78.2
Ekiti	77.1
Zamfara	76.9
Lagos	72.9
Ogun	66.7
Anambra	58.1
National	86.6

Most respondents exercise very high degree of fear. Overall, 38.9% were very fearful, 32.7% were fearful and 15% were a little fearful. Respondents in Gombe, FCT, Plateau, Ebonyi, Ondo and Sokoto states were most fearful while those from Anambra, Ogun and Lagos states were least fearful (table 6).

Road safety and accident

Accident and highway robbery are major sources of death on Nigerian highways. Respondents were asked about how safe they felt on the highways in the state. Overall, 71.1% of the respondents across the nation said they felt safe in their respective states. However, there were variations in the extent to which respondents felt safe in their states (table 7).

Table 7: Feeling of Safety on the Road

State	% that reported feeling very safe or safe on roads In the state
Katsina	93.3
Lagos	92.8
Adamawa	86.2
Zamfara	85.9
Niger	83.7
Bayelsa	83.0
Akwa-ibom	82.2
Cross River	81.4
Rivers	79.9
Sokoto	79.6
Ogun	78.9
Delta	76.8

FCT	76.5
Kwara	76.0
Bauchi	75.8
Anambra	74.4
Enugu	74.3
Jigawa	74.2
Kogi	74.2
Oyo	74.2
Taraba	72.9
Borno	70.2
Kano	69.3
Plateau	68.6
Imo	66.2
Gombe	61.8
Nasarawa	61.1
Kaduna	60.6
Osun	57.2
Ondo	55.4
Benue	53.1
Ekiti	51.8
Yobe	48.6
Edo	46.4
Kebbi	41.5
Ebonyi	36.1
Abia	21.4
National	71.1

Respondents in Katsina, Lagos, Adamawa and Zamfara states generally felt very safe on the highways while respondents in Abia, Ebonyi, Kebbi, Edo and Yobe states generally felt unsafe (table 7).

Trend of property crime in the last 12 months

Property crimes constitute the highest proportion of the nation's criminal statistics. Slightly more than one-half (51.2%) of the respondents across the country said property crimes decreased in their respective states. However, there are variations across the state (table 8)

Table 8: Trend of Property Crimes

State	% that reported felt that property crimes has decreased In the state in the last 12 months
Jigawa	82.0
Lagos	79.2
Rivers	68.9
Niger	64.0
Osun	63.4
Zamfara	62.0

Anambra	59.7
Kebbi	59.4
Ekiti	59.2
Kogi	59.2
Cross River	57.7
Borno	57.3
Benue	56.6
Bauchi	55.8
Taraba	55.3
Adamawa	54.7
Kaduna	53.7
Yobe	53.4
Akwa-ibom	51.7
Kwara	51.4
Ogun	48.5
Ondo	48.4
Bayelsa	48.1
Sokoto	46.1
Enugu	45.6
Oyo	43.1
Imo	43.0
Kano	41.0
FCT	36.8
Abia	35.7
Gombe	34.7
Katsina	33.2
Delta	28.6
Ebonyi	28.3
Plateau	22.4
Edo	19.7
Nasarawa	17.2
National	51.2

The highest level of reduction in the incidence of property crime was reported by respondents in Jigawa, Lagos, Rivers and Niger states while least reduction was reported in Nasarawa, Edo, Plateau and Delta states

Trend of violent crimes in the state in the past twelve months

The feeling of insecurity in Nigeria has generally been engendered by the incidence of violent crimes such as murder and especially robbery and kidnapping. More than one-half (52.4%) of the respondents across the nation said there was a decrease in the incidence of violent crimes during the past twelve months in their respective states (table 9).

Table 9: Trend of Violent Crime

State	% that said violent crime has decreased In the state
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Jigawa	84.4
Lagos	79.9
Niger	72.7
Rivers	68.4
Osun	64.2
Zamfara	64.1
Kebbi	62.0
Benue	61.5
Kogi	59.6
Borno	59.5
Taraba	58.2
Bauchi	58.1
Yobe	58.0
Anambra	57.1
Ekiti	56.9
Cross River	56.7
Kaduna	56.2
Adamawa	54.2
Sokoto	52.8
Kwara	52.0
Ondo	50.8
Bayelsa	49.6
Ogun	47.0
Akwa-ibom	46.9
Imo	45.4
Enugu	43.2
Kano	42.2
Oyo	42.1
FCT	40.6
Gombe	39.3
Katsina	37.9
Abia	35.3
Ebonyi	30.7
Delta	24.2
Edo	19.7
Nasarawa	18.7
Plateau	17.7
National	52.4

Highest reduction in the incidence of violent crimes was reported by respondents in Jigawa, Lagos, Niger and Rivers states. Least reduction in violence was reported by respondents in Plateau, Nasarawa, Edo, Delta, Ebonyi and Abia states (table 9).

Public assessment of police performance

The Nigeria Police Force is the law enforcement agency with the widest jurisdiction and powers concerning the enforcement of law and maintenance order. Members of the Force have primary responsibility for the preservation of security and safety in the country. Less than one-half (43.4%) of the respondents across the country said the police were doing very good or good job. Slightly more than a third (34.3%) said they were poor or very poor job, while 22.4% said the police were neither doing a good nor a bad job. In table 10, the variation across the states is presented.

Table 10: Performance of the Police

State	% that reported felt the police was doing very good or good in the state
Jigawa	78.7
Katsina	68.5
Plateau	67.6
Bauchi	65.5
Adamawa	61.8
Yobe	61.5
Zamfara	61.1
Benue	58.5
Nasarawa	57.5
Ogun	52.6
Kaduna	50.6
Osun	50.6
Kano	48.1
Ondo	48.1
Enugu	47.7
Kogi	45.8
Borno	43.0
FCT	41.5
Sokoto	40.9
Akwa-ibom	39.8
Gombe	38.7
Delta	38.4
Bayelsa	37.2
Kwara	35.2
Lagos	35.2
Niger	35.2
Taraba	34.1
Anambra	33.1
Edo	33.0
Oyo	32.3
Cross River	24.6
Abia	22.4
Rivers	21.2
Imo	19.8

Ekiti	19.5
Kebbi	18.8
Ebonyi	7.8
National	43.4

The police received the highest positive performance evaluation by the respondents in Jigawa, Katsina, Plateau and Bauchi states. Most negative evaluation of the police were reported by respondents in Ebonyi, Kebbi, Ekiti, Imo, Rivers, Abia and Cross River states where less than a quarter said the police were doing very good or good job.

CHAPTER THREE

Criminal Victimization in Nigeria: Pattern and Trend

Moses U. Ikoh, Ph.D.

Introduction

The twenty first century Nigeria is confronted with pervasive crime wave. Ethno-religious and political violence has compounded the problem of insecurity in the country. In the cities, hoodlums unleash terror on unsuspecting citizens, and bandits are reported to man many Nigeria link roads (Yishau, 2005). Recent empirical works point to crime as the major cause of death in the country (Nigeria Watch, 2009; Hazen & Horner, 2008). Since the civil war, Nigeria has never recorded the amount of waste of lives and property as it has done since 1999 till date (Nnoli, 2003). Both the print and non-print media suggest that crime is a growing industry in Nigeria. Judging by the upsurge in pervasive insecurity such as murder, attempted murder, robbery, assault, theft of various items, burglary and kidnapping, public commentators have tended to regard Nigeria as a failing state which is incapable of providing security for the lives and property of its citizens (Intersociety, 2010; Adibe, 2010).

The factors responsible for the upsurge in crime have been located in the advent of globalization with its attendant rapid social change driven by information and communication technology (ICT). Most of these changes bring improvement in our lives. But they equally breed culture of discontent: a level of aspirations that far exceeds the bound of an individual's local opportunities. Local events have been influenced by external ones and a number of dearly held moral values have been eroded. In addition to this is the existence of widespread inequality, economic deprivation, ethnic conflict, family disruption, unemployment and high levels of poverty, and the inability of government to find lasting solutions to these social problems (Ekpenyong, 1989). In the midst of poverty, affluence, much of which have no trace to honest work, generates feelings of relative deprivation. Discrepancies between aspiration and achievements result in strain (Agnew, 1992). And as scholars point out, economic deprivation and exploitation can foster social disorganization (Alemika, 2003; Albin-Lackey, 2007). The impact of these on crime has a long history (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1920), which has been confirmed by contemporary criminologists (Sampson, 1985; Smith & Jarjoura, 1988).

The absence of reliable data on crimes and victimization has hindered the understanding of crime pattern and trend in the country. Apart from identifying crime trends, victim surveys help to elicit a clearer picture of levels of criminal victimization as well as the opinion of a cross-section of society on matters relating to crime and punishment, their perception of the criminal justice agencies and the methods of handling offenders and victims. Such information collected from victims also covers their experience before, during and after the offence has occurred. It constitutes a better indicator of the level of crime than the number of crimes reported to and recorded by the police. As Mueller (1978) argues, gathering information about crime victims would not only help analyzing victim-offender relationships, but also in planning crime prevention and control.

In criminological geography, victimization survey is likened to environmental scanning. The environment is scanned for the purpose of gathering and subsequent processing of information about the external environment of an entity in order to identify major trends affecting it and enabling analysis to define potential changes resulting from these trends. This

process contributes to the development of a proactive focus and makes the relationship between the trends identified and the entity more transparent (Morrison, 1992). Victimization surveys therefore serve to alert the public and decision-makers to changes in criminal pattern with a view to using such information in crime prevention and control. Such usefulness influences the objective of this chapter.

The sources of data for this chapter were the 2005, 2006 and the 2007 - 2009 surveys on criminal victimization and public attitudes towards the law enforcement agencies in Nigeria conducted by the CLEEN Foundation. It examines the pattern and trend of household and personal victimization for seven major crimes, viz: murder, attempted murder, robbery, assault, theft of various items, burglary, and kidnapping. It also discusses the official crime statistics and highlights its challenges. In doing these we adopted an eclectic theoretical lens that drew largely from the criminological literature.

As a general framework for our analysis, we argue that unequal access to institutional means has blocked the achievement of societal goals and so created disjunction between aspiration and achievement. To some citizens such deprivation stimulates innovative thinking that may be negatively patterned, but are handsomely rewarded given existing moral decadence that shapes our socio-political, ethnic and economic relations. The success of such negative innovators lures others, and accounts for the existing trend and patterns of crime in the country. Official statistics fail to identify these trend and patterns with location of victimization among its other shortcomings. The chapter suggests a roadmap in crime mapping technology that could enhance recognition and deployment of police to crime hotspots in the communities.

The chapter is arranged under themes. The first theme is the introduction. The second deals with the review of related literature, followed with the review of official crime statistics. The fourth theme provides explanatory theories that guide our discussion, while the fifth is analysis of field data. The sixth theme provides the discussion of findings and policy implication. It ends with conclusion and recommendation as the seventh theme.

Review of literature

There is no disagreement from both macro-and-micro level studies that the rate of crime in Nigeria has reached an unacceptable level (Tamuno, 1991; Ohaeri, 1996, Ekpenyong 1999; Hazen, & Horner, 2008). The fact file on losses between June 1999 and October 2001 painted a picture of robbery and murder victims akin to a declaration of war by hoodlums. Estimated property lost is in billions of Naira, while a total of 3,680 people lost their lives.

Apart from those murdered in the course of robbery, murder occurs in a variety of circumstances. Of the 7,823 murders which occurred in Nigeria between 1989 and 1993 (Ohaeri, 1996), some started as arguments, fights, or brawls, while others were killed in murders, which began as robberies, rapes and burglaries. Very few were murdered in unknown circumstances (Dambazau, 1996). A syndicate of young boys who specialized in killing commercial motorcyclists in the process of stealing their bikes confessed that they robbed either in the day or night by hiring commercial motorcycles and directing the cyclists to dark or lonely end of the town after enticing them with good pay. "As soon as he stops, one of us will put a cable around his neck and tighten the noose. While he is gasping for breath, we will drag him until he is dead. Then we will take his motorcycle away" (Ifeyanyi, 2004:16).

Ritual murder is also common in the country. There is no comprehensive data to accurately ascertain the number of victims of ritual killings in Nigeria, but the Federal Office of Statistics reported that 7,595 persons mysteriously disappeared between 1981 and 1994, while a total of 3,692 persons disappeared between 1995 and 1997. In the city of Kano, an average of 25 persons including children were said to disappear every month (Abdu and Umar, 2004). In many instances the corpses of these peoples earlier declared missing by the police were found with their vital organs missing. While some of these organs are used for money making rituals, the police have reported organ harvesting which involved kidnapping and the removal of vital organs of the victims for the purpose of selling them for transplanting while they dispose of the body (Clutterbuck, 2005).

Assault related injuries, which include bruises, cuts, black eyes and broken bones have severally been reported (CRSSYB, 2003). Some of these assaults occurred as domestic violence, while others are inflicted by criminals on guards especially under volatile situations (Oshunkeye, 2004). These assaults have resulted in damaged joints, partial loss of hearing and vision, permanent disfigurement, scares from burns, knives and machet wounds (Ikoh, 2002). In women, assault by violent criminals can result in miscarriages. The multiplier effect of the burden of violent crime on a household includes reduced quality of life, inability to feed and pay the school fees of children, and inability to participate in community and income earning activities. The entire household thus suffers. Aside from the human and sociological effects of violent crime, there is a significant economic cost to the countries in which rates of crime and violence are high. Such economic effect includes increase absenteeism, decreased labour market participation, reduced productivity that lowers earning (Krug, Dahlberg, & Mercy, 2002).

In Nigeria kidnapping for ransom started in 1992 with a single incident. By the end of 1999, the figure had grown to 34 (Hiscox Insurance Group, 2000, cited in Pharoah, 2005), but government did not raise alarm until 26 February 2006 when the Niger Delta militants kidnapped foreign oil workers to press home their demand. Since then kidnapping has become ubiquitous and a commercialized venture. It has spread from the Niger Delta to virtually all nooks and crannies of the country, with some states of course being hotspots. Kidnappers now make victims not only of foreign oil workers but also of Nigerians suspected to be closely related to the wealthy including parents, grand parents, and toddlers from whom they hope to get some ransom. Those behind the recent wave of the despicable act have also changed from being exclusively Niger Delta militants to dodgy elements from different walks of life - armed robbers, unemployed, fraudsters and gangsters. In a survey report rendered by Eboh (2010), more than 1,500 persons were said to have been kidnapped in Nigeria in 2009. This was against 512 persons in 2008 and 353 in 2007. The growing incidence of kidnapping in the country suggests its profitability.

Kidnapping can be classified into two: criminal and political. While criminal kidnapping has the motive of obtaining ransom from the family or business of the victims, political kidnapping has the objective of furthering the political aim of the group or movement. In this case, a monetary ransom is demanded for the group to fund their activities. This type of kidnapping differs from holding individuals against political ends, such as the release of comrades from prison (Clutterbuck, 2005). Judging by this differentiation, one can conclude that most of the kidnapping in Nigeria are criminally motivated. When the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), started kidnapping foreign oil workers in 2006, the emphasis was largely political: to gain a share of the region's wealth. Today many

criminal gangs have taken to kidnapping and have made ransom payment their main source of income.

Insecurity from crime always demands swift action by law enforcement agencies. Government may seize the opportunity to strengthen state repressive apparatus, eroding civil rights by targeting dissidents and political opponents along with criminals. The several theatres of violence and the harvest of deaths in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria serve to clarify this point. For instance, the Odi massacre in Bayelsa State was an attempt to arrest the suspects behind the murder of nine policemen (Effiong, 2002). In 2004, government's attempt to end the activities of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) led by Alhaji Asari Dokubo, resulted in many deaths and destructions of lives and property. Scores of security officers died in both the operations *Isaac Boro* (war to rid the State of vultures or bad rulers) and *Denni Feberesima* (war to rid the state of cultists) staged by the NDVF. The high casualties forced the government to negotiate with the NDVF, but not after many villages, settlements, and fishing ports were destroyed, resulting in several internally displaced and homeless people (Ogbogbo, 2004). Similar violence victims were recorded in May, 2009 when the Joint Task Force launched a military onslaught on the militant leader, Tompolo, at camp five in Delta State. It resulted not only in the destruction of Gbaramatu kingdom but also in the killing of scores of people.

Millner (1998) argues that where people have no confidence in the ability of the states' to protect them from crime, alternative form of crime control, ranging from private to security firms, to vigilantes groups and death squad often emerge. The formation of Bakkassi Vigilante group in Aba followed similar development. The Ariaria International Market (AIM) in Aba is patronised by traders and businessmen and women throughout the South-South and South East zones of the country. On the realization of this, thieves and hooligans began to target traders who went to the market to do business and dispossessed them of their money. On many occasions victims who were reluctant to part with their money were killed. The Ariaria Market Traders' Union responded by forming the Bakkassi Boys Vigilante group. The success of the Vigilante group in Aba prompted the establishment of a branch in Onitsha on the invitation of the Onitsha Market Traders Association. Bakkassi Boys' rare feat in combating armed criminals attracted the Anambra State government, who took over the vigilante outfit, only to use it for political vendetta. Before the group was disbanded by the Federal Authority, Bakkassi Vigilante had become a death squad that killed and assaulted innocent Nigerians (Fagbemi and Nwankwo, 2002). Dogon-Yaro (1996) also gives account of assault committed by *Yan Banga*, a vigilante group deployed to patrol streets and business areas in Kaduna. According to him, the "Yan banga" members armed with clubs, horse whips, swords, knives and charms, often molest and harass innocent members of the public for alleged offences and extort money from them in the name of providing protection.

The psychological effect of assault is devastating for the victim. Rape survivors have exhibited a variety of trauma-induced symptoms that range from nightmares, depression, inability to concentrate, sleep and eating disturbance, feeling of anger, humiliation and self-blame (Becker et. al., 1986). Beyond physical injury and emotional trauma, rape survivors face the risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) including the human immune-deficiency virus (HIV).

Once crime reaches endemic level, it inflicts severe strain on the social fabric and can lead to moral decadence and the disintegration of the society. The presence of this suspicion in many communities is compounded by relentless media reports of heinous crimes. This fosters a

general sense of insecurity and hopelessness, which in turn stifles individual initiative, and in sum retard economic growth (Burgess and Holmstrum, 1976). Money spent on protective measure could escalate to the point that it exceeds losses from the crimes that these measures are intended to prevent (Conklin, 2001). Some people stay home rather than venture outdoors for fear of being raped, robbed or assaulted.

In his study of criminal activities in the city of Port Harcourt, Iwariemie-Jaja (1999) reports the negative impact of robbery, burglary and assault on business activities. The luxurious bus operators pay police for security escort of their passengers and vehicles, and so increase the transport fare to recover the cost. In similar manner, the business entrepreneurs pay protection money to the local criminal gangs, and pass the incidental cost on the customers. The burden of violent crime on the growth and socio-economic and political development of Nigeria is adjudged to be very high (Ezechukwu, Ukpaukure, Musa, Eugene and Oloyede, 1988), and so is the cost of curbing it. This is because of the complex underlying roots of violent crime (Ohaeri, 2001).

For every violent crime, there are injuries that result in hospitalization, shock and even permanent disability. The burden of violent crime can therefore be quantified in terms of the number of years lost due to premature death, the number of years lived with disability, the number of orphans, widows and widowers and the number of valuables and property destroyed, looted and stolen during criminal operations. In terms of society's loss, the stakes are equally high. Loss of confidence by investors (Maltzan, 1998; Millner, 1998), losses due to injury, death and disability of police officers, loss of arms and ammunitions, money spent in treatment and rehabilitation of injured officers and payment of compensation to the families, which can run into millions of Naira (Brown and Wycoff, 1997).

Abdu and Umar (2004) observe that there are cases of high profile assassinations and unresolved murders in Nigeria, including the murder of Nigeria's Chief Legal Officer on December 23, 2001. The financial loss of this murder include medical expenses, funeral costs, lost productivity (the total wages the victim would have earned had he lived until the expected age), the criminal justice expenditure to arrest, prosecute, and punish the offender(s) and such intangible costs as pains and emotional trauma (Conklin, 2001).

Krug, et. al. (2002) rates Nigeria along with Indonesia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan as countries where the burden of crime is high. The estimated firearm deaths based on quantitative information were put at 2,300 per 100,000. In a population of about 130 million people (NPC, 2001), this suggests an estimated 3,036,000 people are under the burden of violent crime yearly. The 2010 Failed State Index report released by the Fund for Peace (cited by George, 2010) ranked Nigeria along with war-ravaged countries like Chad, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Iraq, North Korea, Kenya and Niger as countries with high criminal burden.

According to Peden, McGee and Sharma (2002), thousands of people die each year in Africa as a result of injuries received from violent crime. For each death from injury there are many more injuries that result in hospitalisation, treatment in emergency departments, or treatment by practitioners outside the formal health sector. In his study of injuries resulting from violent crimes, using the University College Hospital, Ibadan as case study, Ohaeri (1996) confirms the man hours that could be lost as a result of injuries.

A statistical compilation of operations involving bullets extraction and correction of fracture as a result of armed robbery wounds reveals that scarce household resources were being devoted to the treatment and care of the victims. Yet by 1993 when the study was carried out,

Ibadan with 29 murders, 25 armed robberies and 939 thefts/stealing was considered as one of the fairly safe cities in Nigeria to live in. It means therefore that cities in Anambra and Abia States, and the Niger Delta region which are regarded as dangerous in all violent crimes must have recorded much more injuries and hence loss of much more man hours. The implications of such data for the country call for combating violent crime through designing strategies that can reduce it to the barest minimum.

Theoretical consideration

Over the years criminological theories have sought to explain the development of offenders. This was just one side of the coin. Emerging criminological theories have tended to complement this by providing explanation for the development of criminal events. In explaining the actual criminal events, concern is focused on how crime and place interact. In this chapter we combine the two theoretical dimensions: the ones that seek to explain crime causation (general strain theory, social disorganization theory, subculture of violence theory) and the ones that explain crime and place interaction (crime pattern theory).

The general strain theory

The general theory of strain is elaborated by Agnew (1992). The theory classifies strain into failure to achieve positively valued goal, denial or removal of previously attained positive achievement, and exposure to negative or noxious stimuli. These strains are capable of producing anger and frustration in those experiencing them.

The first source of strain experienced as a result of failure to achieve positively valued goals incorporates Merton's (1958) argument that crime is the result of discrepancy between economic aspirations and achievements. Merton had asserted that monetary aspirations combined with unequal distribution of legitimate opportunities may produce criminal tendencies. To this source of strain, Agnew (1992) added two other subtypes: - Strain due to a disjunction between expectations and achievement, and strain resulting from a disjunction between what an individual perceived as a fair outcome and the actual outcome.

Aspirations are often lofty and idealistic while expectations are often based on personal experiences and realistic comparison with one's reference groups (Hagan and McCarthy, 1997). When people are asked to pursue economic success and at the same time denied means of achieving it, there is a goal blockage. Here the aspiration is frustrated and may lead the individuals to choose illegitimate means to achieve their goals. Many college graduates who are caught in armed robbery in the country have tended to give excuses that include frustration because of lack of job to eke out a living since after graduation (Akinyemi, 2002). However, the third subtype of strain, which is closely related to "relative deprivation", demonstrates that while economic deprivation may induce strain, it may arise from non-financial sources and may have more to do with a person's perceptions of equity or fairness than with his or her objective level of disadvantage or deprivation. The ugly incident in the Niger Delta region of the country serves as explanation to this. Long years of neglect by successive government to develop the region and the failure of the Multinational Oil Companies to integrate the oil producing communities into the oil economy result in feeling of deprivation and subsequent crisis that make kidnapping common crime in Nigeria today.

The second major type of strains, which results from the denial, or removal of previously attained positive achievement is produced by stressful life events. Example includes breaking up with a political patron/matron, and being fired or laid off from a job. Violent crime in Nigeria has been located within this context. Jobless youths recruited by politicians as

political thugs are abandoned after the elections without retrieving the arms/ammunitions that they were provided with for the purposes of electioneering campaigns and elections. These guns and ammunitions become operational tools for armed robbery and hired assassinations. Such transition from political thuggery to organized gang criminality and street hoodlums represent a realignment of interest and readjustment of economic strategies rather than a clean break from the original motive behind engaging in violence. In his study of violence crime in River State, Joab-Peterside (2005:46 – 47) observed that:

Idle youths that operated as political thugs and militia group were recruited because of their fire-power and paid heavily for services, thereby transforming violence into a commodity priced and purchased in the democratic process.

The third major type of strain – exposure to negative or noxious stimuli – includes experiencing some type of trauma such as an accident, abuse, family disruption and neglect. The less power the individual has to control or eliminate the negative stimulus the more strain that individual will likely experience. Agnew and Passas (1997) argue that individuals adapt to strain in different ways depending on a number of internal and external constraints, commonly referred to as “conditioning factors.” These include whether the individual has alternative goals/values/identities in which to take refuge; the individual’s personal coping resources (such as self-esteem, problem-solving skill, and intelligence); the various forms of social support available to the individual; associations with delinquent peers; and macro level or environmental variables, such as money, status and educational attainment. When people respond to strain or stress with anger, while at the same time externalizing the blame, the chances for instrumental and retaliatory type of crime increases (Mazerolle and Maahs, 1998). Exposures to delinquent peers and holding deviant beliefs have been found to impact positively on criminal outcomes (Brezina, 1996).

Social disorganization theory

Social disorganization theory popularized by Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) and Shaw and McKay (1969) is concerned with the way in which characteristics of cities and neighbourhoods influence crime rate. According to the theory, the intervening dimension of community social organization is measured in terms of the prevalence and interdependence of social networks (both formal and informal) and in the span of collective supervision that the community directs toward local problems. In the face of rapid changes in industrialization or increase in immigration, there is a decline in the effectiveness of institutional and informal forces for social control in the communities and neighbourhood.

Social disorganization therefore refers to the inability of a community structure to mobilize the common values of its residents to maintain effective informal social controls (Sampson, 1989). Informal social control operates outside that of the criminal justice system, and often provides a strong moral compass for community members. Its absence has allowed crime to flourish not only in the cities but also in the urban peripheries and autonomous communities where kidnappers are found to have enjoyed the tacit support of the community leaders (Eke and Ologun, 2010).

Subculture of violence theory

A subculture is a “normative system of some group or groups smaller than the whole society”. It includes specific standards of behaviour that are learned and transmitted from one generation to another (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1982, cited in Conklin, 2001: 200). According to proponents of the theory, certain groups of people carry sets of norms and values that make them more likely to engage in crime. Since violence is the acceptable form of behaviour, criminality in general, and violence in particular, are appreciated by group members.

Situations that normally might simply anger others could provoke violence by those carrying subculture of violence values (Conklin, 2001). According to Erlanger (1974), social institutions contribute to the development and persistence of a subculture conducive to criminality and violence. For example, the disintegration of particular institutions (like religious, family, and school) denies certain populations the opportunity to learn conventional norms and values. The result of such processes is that certain groups are more likely to use violence in their day-to-day encounters, and violence is seen as an acceptable means to solving disputes.

The proliferation of religion and the rise of fanatical leaders have brought the country serious social problem. Christianity and Islam appear to be erecting a fence against each other. And we have had instances where a religious leader informed adherents that Western education is a sin. In the name of religion a subculture of violence is being promoted through the *Almajiris*. It is a common sight in our cities (especially in the North) where many children of school age are found roaming the streets and begging for alms in the name of religion. Matza (1966) refers to them as the “disreputable poor” who would remain unemployed, even during period of full employment, because they have no skills. These people easily take to violence. The family too has been affected by a cultural virus calls enculturation.

Recent development in media technology, such as satellite transmission, video recording, and the Internet have expanded enormously the number of media materials available to the youth. How they make use of these materials becomes a thing of concern. A media, which depicts a world of unhealthy behaviour such as physical aggression, smoking and drinking as in-group values, generates negative consequences. These are demonstrated in rapid rise in violent crime, callousness, assault, alcohol abuse, robbery, daylight extortion, night marauders, teenage pregnancy, truancy and drug addiction.

Crime Pattern Theory

Crime pattern theory is a combination of rational choice and routine activity theories. According to the theory the manner in which victims and locations come to the attention of offenders influences the distribution of crime events over time and space (Brantingham&Brantingham 1993). Crime pattern theory argues that rational offenders, while engaging in their routine activities, will note places without security and security officers. The theory therefore concerns itself with the interactions of offenders and their physical and social environments. The concept of place thus becomes essential to crime pattern theory, for not only are places logically required for a criminal event, but the characteristics of a place may influence the likelihood of a crime occurring (Eck & Weisburd 1995). What characteristics make the Nigerian environment conducive to crime? Analysts point to a weak criminal justice system (Yishau, 2005) and corrupt socio-economic and political institutions (Olonisakin, 2008). The police can easily be bribed to stay away from the crime scene until the operation is over. In one of his press releases, then Inspector General of Police, Ogbonnaya Onovo, acknowledged the fact that some policemen were working with criminals (Ologun, 2010).

Analysis of official criminal statistics

Official crime statistics in the country is associated with the Police yearly performance evaluation. It is based on cases reported to the police and the action taken in solving them. In 2004 for instance, police reported robbery-related crime, which claimed the lives of 54 police officers and men, 39 of them sustained injuries (Yishau, 2005). But the police killed more either through extra judicial killing or stray bullets. The 2005 situation report by the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) disclosed that about 20,000 people, including men, women and

children were killed in brutal extra judicial circumstances by police since 1999. The victims include “the 2,300 people killed in Udi in 1999 and about 250 deaths recorded in Zaki Biam in Benue State”. Elsewhere in Kaduna the police allegedly killed and buried about 19 corpses of participants who took part in the strike organized by the Nigerian Labour Congress in October 2004 to protest fuel price hike (Ifeanyi, 2004:89).

Police brutality and arbitrary killing was visible in the gruesome murder of the Apo six. The United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC, 2005, cited in Yishau, 2005) observes that the killing of the alleged robbers which consisted of fraudulent placement of weapons on them, failure to undertake proper post-mortem procedure, the denial of wrongdoing, and the flight of a senior police officer, were the usual strategies used by the police to cover exposure of extra judicial killings in Nigeria. Killing by police has by no means reduced. The 2007 – 2008 survey reports by Nigeria Watch (2009) recorded a death toll of 1,540 people out of which police were responsible for 846 of them. Although 785 of them were armed robbery suspects who died during exchange of gunfire, the rest (41) died from police stray bullets.

The 2008 Annual Report of the Nigerian Police Force (NPAR, 2008) provides a grim statistics of the crime situation in the country. Its analysis of ten most serious crimes in 2007 and 2008, which include armed robbery, murder, attempted murder, kidnapping, burglary, house breaking, false pretence and cheating, rape and indecent assault, arson and grievous wounding, revealed increased rate of occurrence for all the crimes. Out of 2,239 armed robbery incidence recorded during the period, 4,656 armed robbery suspects were arrested, while 1,319 and 91 of them were killed and wounded respectively. Two hundred and eleven policemen and 392 civilians were killed by armed robbers during the period. The criminal offence of murder and attempted murder recorded 1,956 and 231 victims respectively. Although the 5,821 incidence of grievous harms and wounding recorded during the period raise alarm for concern on the crime situation in the country, the 4,594 incidence of false pretence and cheating recorded suggest the existence of moral drift in the society.

Compared to 2007, there was increase in the incidence of some crimes in 2008. For instance, 35,109 crimes against persons were recorded in 2008 as against 34,738 in 2007. This represents 1.5 percent increase. However, there was reduction in offence against property, as 47,627 cases were recorded in 2008 against 49,415 in 2007. Out of the 2,433 vehicles that were reported stolen in 2008, 1,464 were recovered and returned to owners. But out of the 363 persons reported missing in 2008, only 83 were successfully traced (NPAR, 2008).

Victimization pattern and trend in Nigeria

In order to examine the pattern and trend of criminal victimization based on the 2005 to 2010 survey results, we combine tables of figures with explanations that summarize the information. This is to enable readers who are not familiar with research to interpret the table easily. The analysis is presented in two segments: household members' victimization and personal criminal victimization. Household members' victimization reports the extent to which household members were victims of crime during the years under review, while personal victimization measures the experience of the respondents as crime victims. Understanding criminal victimization from both sides shows that victimization is not limited to the primary victim, but also secondary victims, like friends, neighbours and family members of persons victimized by the criminal acts. But as Alemika, Igbo and Nnorom (2005: 14) argued earlier, data on household victimization often suffered some shortcomings associated with exaggeration and forgetfulness. In many instances “only serious victimization both within and outside the household are discussed among members” and to the knowledge

of the neighbours. This suggests that data from household victimization may not capture all criminal victimizations. In the case of personal victimization it is believed that individuals are more likely to recall events that affect them directly.

Household victimization

Criminal victimization varies across households. Table 1 presents a summary of criminal victimization of household members between 2005 and 2009. In assessing household victimization, respondents were asked if a member of their household had been a victim of a particular crime listed during the years under review or over a longer period. On a comparative basis, the results revealed a dramatic reduction in the level of all crimes suffered by household members between 2007 and 2009 (annual average) in comparison to 2005 and 2006. But the data must be interpreted with caution. This is because of the differences in the wordings of the instruments used in the 2005, 2006 and the 2009 surveys. In the 2005 and 2006 surveys, respondents were asked *if members of their household had suffered a stated crime during the past 12 months*, but in the 2009 survey respondents were asked *if in the past 3 years members of their household had suffered a stated crime*. Such time frame is likely to generate problem of recall, especially when it has to do with crimes that affected others. However when 2007 – 2009 is taken holistically, the result shows household members reporting more cases of assault, robbery, theft of motorcycle and murder than in the previous years. The drop in the incidence of rape reported by household members which started in 2006 continued in 2007 -2009. There was equally reduction in theft of vehicle but report of kidnapping from household members assumed exponential increase.

Table 1: Household members' victimization %

Type of crime	Year			
	2005	2006	2007 - 2009	Annual average 2007 – 2009
Murder	2.0	2.1	3.5	1.2
Robbery	8.5	8.3	11.1	3.7
Physical attack	9.8	9.3	21.4	7.1
Rape	2.1	1.8	1.7	0.6
Kidnapping	1.0	1.2	1.5	0.5
Theft of vehicle	3.1	4.6	3.5	1.2
Had something stolen from a vehicle	9.7	10.1	4.1	1.4
Theft of motorcycle	1.3	1.4	6.4	2.1
Had something stolen at home	15.9	6.5	-	-

Analysis of victimization of household members across states

Murder

The breakdown of the household members' victimization by states reveals that murder (referred to as the illegal taking of another person's life) was still high in Beyelsa, Ebonyi, Edo, Enugu and Rivers States. The distribution of murder victimization by household members is shown in Tale 2. Although the national average in murder cases reported by household members had dropped from 2.3 percent in 2006 to 1.3 percent in 2007 – 2009, increasing cases of murder in Benue, Cross River, Sokoto, Yobe and FCT, was recorded during the 2010 survey. Surprisingly, Nasarawastate which in 2006 had about 3.6 times murder cases above the National average of 2.3 percent had declined to 0.3 percent in 2010. The states of Adamawa, Gombe, Kano and Ogun recorded marginal increases in household

murder. But Plateau, a relatively murder free state in 2006 was fast returning to its 2005 status with 1.3 percent murders cases reported by household members 2007 - 2009.

Table 2: Murder victimization of household members (%)

States	2005	2006	2007 - 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	2.8	3.6	2.0	0.6
Adamawa	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.3
Akwa Ibom	1.2	2.2	2.0	0.6
Anambra	1.6	0.9	2.0	0.6
Bauchi	0.2	1.6	4.0	1.3
Bayelsa	0.5	9.2	18.0	6.0
Benue	1.0	1.2	13.0	4.3
Borno	0.0	2.4	1.0	0.3
Cross River	1.4	0.4	7.0	2.3
Delta	0.3	4.4	3.0	1.0
Ebonyi	0.0	3.3	16.0	5.3
Edo	0.0	2.8	9.0	3.0
Ekiti	0.5	1.6	1.0	0.3
Enugu	2.2	3.7	7.0	2.3
Gombe	0.8	5.6	1.0	0.3
Imo	0.4	0.9	2.0	0.6
Jigawa	0.9	1.5	1.0	0.3
Kaduna	0.6	0.0	4.0	1.3
Kano	0.9	1.2	1.0	0.3
Katsina	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
Kebbi	0.3	2.1	2.0	0.6
Kogi	0.5	1.2	3.0	1.0
Kwara	0.6	1.0	2.0	0.6
Lagos	1.5	0.8	0.0	0.0
Nasarawa	0.0	8.4	1.0	0.3
Niger	0.0	2.1	2.0	0.6
Ogun	0.0	0.8	1.0	0.3
Ondo	1.4	0.4	2.0	0.6
Osun	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0
Oyo	0.8	0.4	2.0	0.6
Plateau	2.5	1.0	4.0	1.3
Rivers	2.7	3.6	12.0	4.0
Sokoto	0.0	1.6	6.0	2.0
Taraba	1.4	5.1	2.0	0.6
Yobe	0.0	0.5	7.0	2.3
Zamfara	1.2	1.2	3.0	1.0
FCT	2.0	0.0	5.0	1.6
National average	0.8	2.3	-	1.3

Assault

Assault involves threatening another person with force or actually applying force against another person. It is commonly classified into two: common assaults and aggravated assaults. Any application of force which does not result in actual bodily harm can be interpreted as a

form of common assault. This includes spitting upon another person or simply pushing someone (Gillies, 1993). On the other hand aggravated assault often results in grievous bodily harm. It includes any ‘permanent or serious disfigurement’ of a person or “any bodily injury of such nature as to endanger or be so likely to endanger life or cause or be likely to cause permanent injury to health” (Brown, Farrier, Neal & Weisburd, 1996: 782). As shown in Table 3 below, the national average rate of assault victimization of household members had declined from 10.7 percent in 2005 to 9.8 percent in 2006, and further to 7.8 percent in 2007 – 2009. This was principally due to decline recorded in States like Anambra, Bauchi, delta, Imo, Kano, Kogi, Nazawa, Ogun, Plateau, Ekiti, Jigawa, kaduna, Lagos, Osun, Katsina, Oyo and Zamfara. Despite this decline, assault victimization of household members was consistently above the national average in Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Benue, Edo, and Enugu States during the years under review.

Table 3: Assault victimization of household

States	2005	2006	2007- 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	25.0	15.2	27.0	9.0
Adamawa	9.2	13.3	30.0	10.0
Akwa Ibom	13.9	11.7	35.0	11.7
Anambra	10	9.0	23.0	7.7
Bauchi	4.3	14.3	17.0	5.7
Bayelsa	18.7	29.8	36.0	12.0
Benue	14.1	11.3	25.0	8.3
Borno	5.1	10.1	43.0	14.3
Cross River	16.1	8.0	43.0	14.3
Delta	12.7	16.6	20.0	6.7
Ebonyi	23.7	8.3	32.0	10.7
Edo	11.7	14.8	29.0	9.7
Ekiti	3.7	8.4	8.0	2.7
Enugu	12.8	15.9	32.0	10.7
Gombe	5.8	11.2	31.0	10.3
Imo	14.3	14.8	13.0	4.3
Jigawa	6.2	4.4	13.0	4.3
Kaduna	4.0	4.0	9.0	3.0
Kano	6.7	5.8	21.0	7.0
Katsina	1.1	4.7	0.0	0.0
Kebbi	3.7	4.5	71.0	23.7
Kogi	17.9	6.8	14.0	4.7
Kwara	5.6	3.7	40.0	13.3
Lagos	6.6	3.9	6.0	2.0
Nasarawa	8.4	23.6	4.0	1.3
Niger	2.9	7.1	32.0	10.7
Ogun	2.4	9.6	3.0	1.0
Ondo	12.8	2.0	27.0	9.0
Osun	4.8	4.8	7.0	2.3
Oyo	8.4	3.3	21.0	7.0
Plateau	4.3	3.2	20.0	6.7
Rivers	52.5	32.6	23.0	7.7
Sokoto	4.2	6.8	25.0	8.3

Taraba	16.3	9.7	5.0	1.7
Yobe	2.5	2.4	40.0	13.3
Zamfara	4.3	4.4	3.0	1.0
FCT	17.6	4.8	36.0	12.0
National average	10.7	9.8	23.4	7.8

Robbery

As shown in Table 4, robbery victimization of household members at the State level exhibits considerable variation. The national average declined from 8.9 percent in 2005 to 8.7 percent and 4.1 percent in 2006 and 2007 – 2009 respectively. Consistent increase, some of which were marginal, was reported by household members in Bayelsa, Imo, Nasarawa, Rivers, Enugu, Plateau and Sokoto States. But the Federal Capital Territory and States like Ondo and Lagos reported low robbery victimization. Surprisingly, States like Bauchi, Kebbi, Kwara and Yobe, which rate of robbery victimization of household members was below the national average during the 2005 and 2006 surveys reported increased robbery victimization of household members which was above the national average of 4.1 percent during the 2007 – 2009 survey.

Table 4: Robbery victimization of household members %

States	2005	2006	2007 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	31.5	14.8	12.0	3.0
Adamawa	11.6	7.6	7.0	2.3
Akwa Ibom	9.5	7.2	21.0	7.0
Anambra	16.6	10.1	14.0	4.7
Bauchi	5.2	5.6	15.0	5.0
Bayelsa	8.3	17.0	20.0	6.7
Benue	10.6	5.5	24.0	8.0
Borno	1.3	7.7	6.0	2.0
Cross River	14.1	4.0	25.0	8.3
Delta	11.3	8.9	13.0	4.3
Ebonyi	23.0	11.6	19.0	6.3
Edo	8.4	29.8	21.0	7.0
Ekiti	5.0	8.4	7.0	2.3
Enugu	7.8	14.5	18.0	6.0
Gombe	1.6	11.8	10.0	3.3
Imo	4.2	20.9	13.0	4.3
Jigawa	2.8	2.9	5.0	1.6
Kaduna	8.5	3.8	9.0	3.0
Kano	7.3	4.0	4.0	1.3
Katsina	2.3	4.9	1.0	0.3
Kebbi	6.1	3.2	18.0	6.0
Kogi	17.1	4.4	7.0	2.3
Kwara	3.4	2.3	23.0	7.7
Lagos	6.8	5.4	3.0	1.0
Nasarawa	11.2	16.6	16.0	5.3
Niger	1.4	5.6	5.0	1.7
Ogun	2.4	5.6	3.0	1.0
Ondo	8.2	2.0	9.0	3.0

Osun	2.7	4.8	10.0	3.3
Oyo	6.0	1.4	6.0	2.0
Plateau	8.3	9.4	12.0	4.0
Rivers	24.3	35.0	18.0	6.0
Sokoto	3.2	4.4	14.0	4.7
Taraba	15.1	6.6	9.0	3.0
Yobe	3.1	2.9	17.0	5.7
Zamfara	4.0	3.6	10.0	3.3
FCT	15.7	6.0	10.0	3.3
National average	8.9	8.7	-	4.1

Rape

Rape is officially regarded as sexual assault. It has received several classifications from scholars depending on who is the perpetrator and condition surrounding the assault. The classifications include violent rape, stranger rape, date rape and acquaintance rape. Table 5 presents a mixed picture with regard to rape victimization of household members across the states. Rape victimization in States like Bayelsa, Ebonyi, Enugu, Rivers and Taraba was above or equal to the national average of 2.2 percent, 2.0 percent and 0.6 percent recorded in 2005, 2006 and 2007 – 2009 respectively. But States like Abia, Adamawa, Gombe, Katsina, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, and Zamfara recorded no rape victimization during 2007 – 2009 survey. Comparatively, there was a general decline in report of rape victimization by household members.

Table 5: Rape victimization of household members %

States	2005	2006	2007- 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	5.8	2.7	0.0	0.0
Adamawa	0.8	1.4	0.0	0.0
Akwa Ibom	6.6	0.9	3.0	1.0
Anambra	1.2	0.6	1.0	0.3
Bauchi	0.0	0.4	4.0	1.3
Bayelsa	8.2	10.4	2.0	0.6
Benue	1.7	0.9	3.0	1.0
Borno	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0
Cross River	4.3	0.4	2.0	0.6
Delta	1.0	4.3	3.0	1.0
Ebonyi	2.7	2.4	12.0	4.0
Edo	1.6	0.8	3.0	1.0
Ekiti	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.3
Enugu	2.4	4.2	2.0	0.6
Gombe	2.5	5.6	0.0	0.0
Imo	1.1	2.4	2.0	0.6
Jigawa	1.2	0.9	0.0	0.0
Kaduna	0.2	0.0	1.0	0.3
Kano	1.0	1.4	1.0	0.3
Katsina	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0
Kebbi	1.0	1.2	2.0	0.6
Kogi	1.8	2.0	1.0	0.3
Kwara	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0

Lagos	3.2	4.1	0.0	0.0
Nasarawa	1.7	5.6	3.0	1.0
Niger	0.0	2.4	1.0	0.3
Ogun	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ondo	3.2	0.4	1.0	0.3
Osun	0.4	4.4	1.0	0.3
Oyo	2.4	0.4	0.0	0.0
Plateau	1.7	1.4	1.0	0.3
Rivers	7.8	2.0	7.0	2.3
Sokoto	0.0	1.2	4.0	1.3
Taraba	5.8	2.8	2.0	0.6
Yobe	0.0	0.0	5.0	1.6
Zamfara	2.4	0.8	0.0	0.0
FCT	5.0	1.2	2.0	0.6
National average	2.2	2.0	-	0.6

Personal crime victimization

In contrast to household victimization, measuring personal victimization involves asking the respondents if they had personally suffered victimization of a particular crime during a specific time period. During the 2005 and 2006 surveys “respondents were asked if they or any member of their household suffered stated crime victimization during the past three years.” The stated crimes include murder, attempted murder, robbery, attempted robbery, rape, attempted rape, kidnapping, attempted kidnapping, assault, theft of handset and GSM phones, etc. In the 2009 survey, respondents were asked if they had been victims of any type of crime in the past three years, and thereafter asked specifically: *for each of the crime that you have been a victim of, please tell the year it happened.* The answer from such questions offers an opportunity to understand crime from the perspective of the victims and not that of the Criminal Justice agencies.

Table 6 reveals the variations in personal crime victimization found during the surveys. For instance, robbery which was reported by 4.9 percent of the respondents in 2005 rose to 7.6 percent in 2009 after a marginal decline to 4.2 percent in 2006. Theft of mobile phones also recorded high rates of personal victimization. In 2005 only 9.5 percent of the respondents were victims of theft of mobile phones, but this figure grew to 15.7 percent in 2006 and 24.1 percent in 2009. Equally, 11.2 percent of the respondents suffered domestic violence between 2007 - 2009 as against 3.9 percent in 2005 and 4.4 percent in 2006. Unlike rape victimization that declined from 3.0 percent of the respondents in 2005 to 2.1 percent and 0.7 percent in 2006 and 2009 respectively, attempted rape had declined from 5.2 percent in 2005 to 4.4 percent in 2006 and 1.1 percent in 2009.

Table 6: Personal of victimization

Nature of victimization	Past three years including 2005	Past three years including 2006	Past three years (2007–2009)
Someone entered your house and stole something (Burglary)	17.9	17.6	5.7

Someone unsuccessfully tried to enter your home, damaged locks and windows in order to steal something (Attempted burglary)	7.3	6.5	-
Took your property by using force or threat of force (Robbery)	4.9	4.2	7.6
Attempted robbery	-	-	3.1
Forced you to have sex with (Rape)	3.0	2.1	0.7
Attempt to force you to have sex with (Attempted rape)	5.2	4.4	1.1
Kidnapping	-	-	0.5
Attempted kidnapping	-	-	0.4
Car theft	-	-	1.0
Motorcycle theft	-	-	2.5
Physical assault	-	-	16.3
Theft of mobile phone	9.5	15.7	24.1
Theft of money	-	-	17.5
Theft from car	-	-	1.7
Beaten by husband (Domestic violence)	3.9	4.4	11.2

Although not measured in previous years, physical assault was becoming a crime to be concerned about. More than 16.0 percent of the respondents reported assault victimization during the 2009 survey. This finding suggests the preponderance of anger, frustration and aggression, such that situations that would have ordinarily ended in verbal arguments in the past have now attracted the use of fists. Living with daily threat of crime has been found to exacerbate stress and angry aggression (Bernard, 1990). As Table 6 further reveals, theft of money either through pilfering and pick-pocketing or through the snatching of handbags and wallets was reported by about 18.0 percent of the respondents. About 3.0 percent of the respondents were victims of motorcycle theft in 2009. Theft of cars and theft from cars were reported by 1.7 percent and 1.0 percent of the respondents respectively.

Given the increased rate of personal crime victimization, it was suggestive to examine both the zonal variation and socio-demographic aspects of it along with the distribution in states. While the zonal variation offers the advantage of testing the long held criminological views on crime pattern theory, the socio-demographic variables of gender, age and residential pattern will enable us to identify those who are vulnerable to victimization.

Zonal crime variation of personal victimization

When personal victimization was subjected to zonal analysis (Fig. 1), it revealed an increasing report of personal victimization from the North Eastern part of the country, that is much more than the South-South geo-political zone where normlessness could have been expected due to activities of militants; and the city of Lagos, which is both the industrial, financial and the commercial nerve center of the country. Especially with the incessant religious crises and the recent *boko haram* uprising that have constituted serious threat to peace in the Northern part of the country. Even the North Central zone that was relatively peaceful during the 2006 survey reported more personal criminal victimization between 2007 and 2009 with a yearly average of 17.0 percent that is higher than the South East zone (15.3%) which was ahead of it in 2006. Lagos zone had the least report on personal criminal victimization, followed by South West and North West zones.

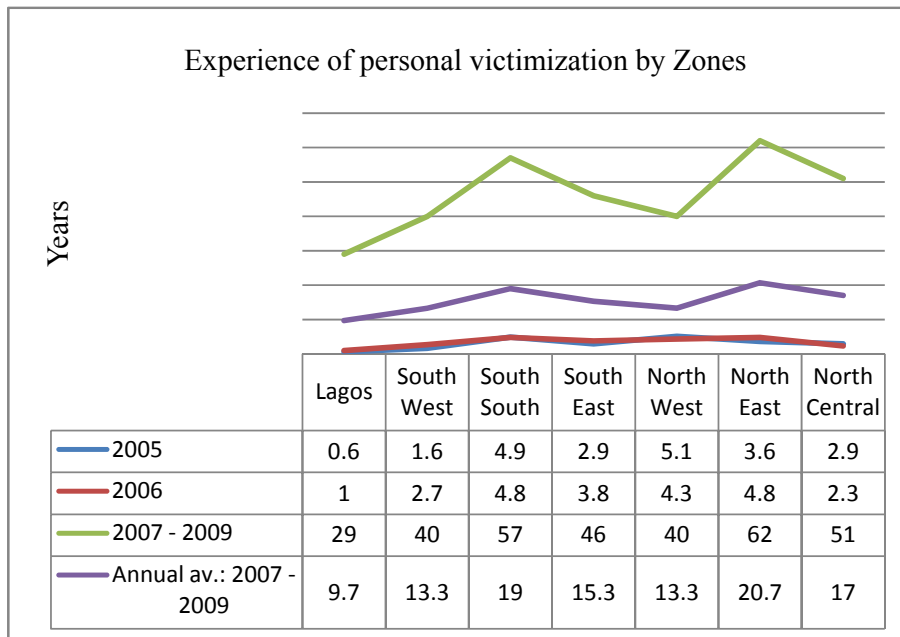


Fig. 1: Personal criminal victimization by zones (2005 – 2009)

Socio-demographic variables and personal victimization

The breakdown of the report on personal victimization into gender, age and residential pattern is summarized on Table 7. There was no marked difference in the rate of victimization between the male and female respondents. Apart from rapist that target women principally, this finding suggests that there is no strong relationship between gender and crime. And except for respondents who were above 51 years old, all others in the different age categories were equally exposed to criminal victimization. There was however marginal difference between rural and urban dwellers who reported criminal victimization.

Table 7: Some socio-demographic variables and personal victimization (%)

Variables	Victim in the past three years including 2005	Victims in the past three years including 2006	Victimized in the past 3 years	
			2007 - 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Gender				
Male	23.2	24.4	49.0	16.3
Female	19.8	21.8	45.0	15.0
Age				
18 - 24	21.0	22.4	47	15.7
25 - 30	22.2	24.6	49	16.3
31 - 35	23.2	24.6	47	15.7
36 – 40	21.2	22.0	47	15.7
41 - 50	22.8	22.3	49	16.3
51+	17.8	21.1	39	13.0
Residential pattern				
Urban	22.4	24.4	48	16.0
Rural	19.5	20.2	45	15.0

Rate of personal crime victimization 2005 – 2009

The rate of personal crime victimization across the states demonstrates significant differences during the years under review. As shown on Table 8, the national average which was 21.5 percent in 2005 had grown to 23.4 percent in 2006 and declined to 16.3 percent in 2009. The 2009 result suggests a decline in personal crime victimization. But as earlier pointed out the 2007 – 2009 results appear to have been infected with *recall virus*, and should be interpreted with caution. When the survey was conducted in 2009 respondents were asked *if they had been victims of any type of crime in the past three years*. Although they were asked to *specify the years* in the follow-up questions, there is the likelihood of forgetfulness as the years span along.

In comparative term, only Imo State had a consistent increase in personal crime victimization rate that was above the national average throughout the years under review. The reports from other States exhibit great variations. For instance, in 2005 only 17 States including Abia, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Benue, Cross River, Ebonyi, Edo, Imo, Kaduna, Kano, Kogi, Plateau, Rivers and Taraba, which victimization rate was above the national average of 21.5, contributed significantly to the increase in the rate of personal crime victimization. In year 2006, the significant States increased to 19, but without Akwa Ibom, Kano, Kogi, Plateau and Taraba. The upsurge in crime rate at Borno, Delta, Enugu, Ogun, Oyo, Sokoto and the Federal Capital Territory had replaced them. By 2009 States that used to be relatively crime free like Ekiti, Osun, and Zamfara were still safe places to stay but Ondo had lost its pride of place due to upsurge in crime. It recorded a personal crime victimization rate of 22.7 percent that was above the national average of 16.3 percent. Surprisingly, low personal victimization rate was recorded in Ogun (3.0%), Katsina (3.3%), Kebbi (6.7%), Imo (7.3%), Osun (9.3%) and Lagos (9.7%) in 2009 when compared to previous years.

The national average rate of 16.3 percent in personal crime victimization recorded in 2009 was significantly influenced by 21 States. These included Yobe, Sokoto, Rivers, Plateau, Oyo, Ondo, Kwara, Niger, Nasarawa, Kebbi, Gombe, Edo, Imo, Enugu, Ebonyi, Cross River, Borno, Benue, Bayelsa, Bauchi, Akwa Ibom and Adamawa. The rate of personal crime victimization dropped in the Federal Capital Territory from 34.1 percent in 2006 to 9.7 percent in 2009. Summarily, the report on personal crime victimization in Taraba State declined from 40.0 percent in 2005 to 18.8 percent in 2006 and 11.3 percent in 2009. Kaduna and Kano States which recorded high personal crime victimization in 2005 (31.0% and 28.5%, respectively) reported consistent decline (14.0 percent and 14.7 percent respectively) in the 2009 survey.

Table 8: Personal crime victimization across states

States	Victims in the past three years including 2005	Victims in the past three years including 2006	Victims in the past 3 years:	
			2007 - 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	26.2	35.5	43.0	14.3
Adamawa	25.0	32.4	61.0	20.3
Akwa Ibom	25.0	20.5	63.0	21.0
Anambra	22.9	26.9	44.4	14.7
Bauchi	23.1	32.3	65.0	21.7
Bayelsa	47.7	28.6	59.0	19.7
Benue	32.3	34.7	51.0	17.0
Borno	15.0	32.4	69.0	23.0
Cross River	33.5	23.4	65.0	21.7
Delta	21.2	31.5	48.0	16.0

Ebonyi	31.3	26.4	75.0	25.0
Edo	24.6	23.4	64.0	21.3
Ekiti	9.1	11.6	35.0	11.7
Enugu	13.8	28.2	63.0	21.0
Gombe	11.6	14.6	70.0	23.3
Imo	26.4	31.2	22.0	7.3
Jigawa	12.5	21.7	38.0	12.7
Kaduna	31.0	25.4	42.0	14.0
Kano	28.5	17.7	44.0	14.7
Katsina	16.8	14.1	10.0	3.3
Kebbi	13.7	19.4	83.0	27.7
Kogi	42.1	18.5	20.0	6.7
Kwara	15.6	14.6	80.0	26.7
Lagos	9.1	16.5	29.0	9.7
Nasarawa	11.1	15.3	31.0	18.3
Niger	11.8	13.0	65.0	21.7
Ogun	7.3	27.4	9.0	3.0
Ondo	11.8	12.3	68.0	22.7
Osun	16.5	6.7	28.0	9.3
Oyo	13.7	35.9	52.0	17.3
Plateau	33.3	13.0	62.0	20.7
Rivers	57.5	46.0	50.0	16.7
Sokoto	19.4	28.6	51.0	17.0
Taraba	40.0	18.8	34.0	11.3
Yobe	8.1	14.8	61.0	20.3
Zamfara	12.7	17.5	29.0	9.7
FCT	14.6	34.1	29.0	9.7
National average	21.5	23.4	48.9	16.3

Attempted murder victimization

The distribution of attempted murder victimization is shown on Table 9. The national average varies from 6.7 percent in 2006 to 0.6 percent in 2009. In 2006 incidence of attempted murder was more pronounced in Abia, Adamawa, Bayelsa, Rivers and Nasarawa States. Other States which rating was above the national average were Delta, Bauchi, Taraba, Edo, Akwa Ibom, Plateau and Imo. A significant number of respondents from Abia, Borno, Sokoto and Niger States also suffered attempted murder victimization. In comparative terms, there was a decline in the report of attempted murder victimization in 2009 when compared with the victimization rates in 2006. Although States like Bayelsa, Borno, Edo and Rivers had consistently experienced attempted murder victimization above the national average rate, others like Abia, Ekiti, Imo, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kwara, Lagos and Ogun did not report any attempted murder victimization in 2009. Only seven States including Bauchi, Bayelsa, Borno, Ebonyi, Edo, Rivers, Yobe and the FCT contributed significantly to the 0.6 percent national average in attempted murder victimization reported in 2009. Attempted murder victimization had increased in Yobe State from 0.9 percent in 2006 to 2.0 percent in 2009, while it declined in Ondo and Osun from 0.8 percent recorded in 2006 to 0.6 percent in 2009.

Table 9: Attempted murder victimization across states

States	Victims in the past three years	Victims in the past 3 years:	
		2007 - 2009	Annual av.:

	including 2006		2007 - 2009
Abia	8.4	0.0	0.0
Adamawa	12.5	2.0	0.6
Akwa Ibom	8.7	2.0	0.0
Anambra	3.4	2.0	0.6
Bauchi	10.3	3.0	1.0
Bayelsa	25.8	6.0	2.0
Benue	7.1	1.0	0.3
Borno	8.0	4.0	1.3
Cross River	2.8	2.0	0.6
Delta	12.0	2.0	0.3
Ebonyi	3.7	6.0	2.0
Edo	9.1	4.0	1.3
Ekiti	5.6	0.0	0.0
Enugu	5.0	2.0	0.6
Gombe	6.9	1.0	0.3
Imo	8.9	0.0	0.0
Jigawa	5.3	1.0	0.3
Kaduna	5.8	1.0	0.3
Kano	6.4	0.0	0.0
Katsina	2.8	0.0	0.0
Kebbi	6.4	0.0	0.0
Kogi	4.8	1.0	0.3
Kwara	2.8	0.0	0.0
Lagos	3.3	0.0	0.0
Nasarawa	12.5	1.0	0.3
Niger	6.8	1.0	0.3
Ogun	2.4	0.0	0.0
Ondo	0.8	2.0	0.6
Osun	0.8	2.0	0.6
Oyo	0.7	1.0	0.3
Plateau	8.8	1.0	0.3
Rivers	16.7	5.0	1.6
Sokoto	7.9	1.0	0.3
Taraba	9.3	1.0	0.3
Yobe	0.9	6.0	2.0
Zamfara	2.4	2.0	0.6
FCT	5.6	3.0	1.0
National average	6.7	1.8.	0.6

Robbery victimization

The 2008 Police Statistics suggest a wide spread robbery incidence in the country. It is one crime that the police have devised several means to detect, prevent and control since after the civil war. Table 10 presents the distribution of personal robbery victimization compiled from the 2005, 2006 and 2009 survey data. Except for a slight decline in 2006, the National average in personal robbery victimization increased consistently from 5.3 percent in 2005 to 8.9 percent during the 2007 – 2009 surveys. Although the 2007 – 2009 figures suggest a national average robbery victimization rate of 2.9 percent for the three years, the Table

reveals that robbery was not only widespread but tended to increase in tenacity every year. States like Gombe, Borno and Bauchi that were relatively free of robbery in 2005 had become robbery hotspots in 2006 and were still being regarded as robbery flash-points in 2009.

A significant decline in robbery victimization was however observed in Adamawa, Kano, Katsina, Lagos and Oyo States in 2009 when compared to previous years. But more than half of the States that were included in the study in 2009 reported robbery victimization that was above the national average rate of 2.9 percent. This finding suggests that robbery victimization is not only wide spread in the country but its menace and toll on the people could be overwhelming. In Anambra State for instance, the rate of robbery victimization grew from 4.3 percent in 2006 to 4.7 percent in 2009. Similarly, Enugu and Kwara States witnessed increase in robbery victimization from 3.7 percent and 1.9 percent in 2006 to 4.7 percent and 3.7 percent respectively in 2009. Ondo and Osun States which were relatively free of robbery incidence in 2006 also recorded increase in 2009. Surprisingly, Niger and Kaduna States were becoming safe from robbery as shown by a considerable decline in robbery victimization in 2009.

Table 10: Personal robbery victimization across states

States	Victims in the past three years including 2005	Victims in the past three years including 2006	Victims in the past 3years:	
			2007 - 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	15.4	8.1	11.0	3.7
Adamawa	3.3	7.0	4.0	1.3
Akwa Ibom	9.6	5.6	15.0	5.0
Anambra	8.6	4.3	14.0	4.7
Bauchi	1.5	2.8	15.0	5.0
Bayelsa	5.5	9.1	13.0	4.3
Benue	8.0	5.2	10.0	3.3
Borno	1.0	6.5	6.0	2.0
Cross River	9.4	4.4	13.0	4.3
Delta	6.2	4.3	11.0	3.7
Ebonyi	12.0	5.1	8.0	2.7
Edo	7.1	9.3	12.0	4.0
Ekiti	2.8	1.2	7.0	2.3
Enugu	3.3	3.7	14.0	4.7
Gombe	0.8	3.5	7.0	2.3
Imo	3.5	7.7	10.0	3.3
Jigawa	3.1	4.2	6.0	2.0
Kaduna	2.9	2.1	2.0	0.6
Kano	4.1	2.6	3.0	1.0
Katsina	1.4	1.5	0.0	0.0
Kebbi	2.3	3.4	9.0	3.0
Kogi	5.8	1.6	5.0	1.7
Kwara	2.8	1.9	11.0	3.7
Lagos	2.2	2.9	2.0	0.6
Nasarawa	6.1	6.0	10.0	3.3
Niger	2.5	4.6	3.0	1.0
Ogun	1.2	3.2	4.0	1.3
Ondo	0.9	1.6	8.0	2.6

Osun	2.0	0.4	6.0	2.0
Oyo	4.1	0.9	3.0	1.0
Plateau	6.1	3.7	7.0	2.3
Rivers	28.3	25.0	10.0	3.3
Sokoto	3.6	3.6	9.0	3.0
Taraba	5.3	3.7	4.0	1.3
Yobe	1.9	1.9	14.0	4.7
Zamfara	2.0	0.0	9.0	3.0
FCT	10.1	4.0	7.0	2.3
National average	5.3	4.5	8.9	2.9

Personal rape victimization

Table 11 shows the percentage of personal rape victimization recorded during the 2005 and the 2007 – 2009 surveys. Each year had exhibited a unique offending pattern which influenced the national average rates of 3.3 percent in 2005, 2.3 percent in 2006, and 0.2 percent in 2009. The wide spread personal rape victimization that was observed in the States during the 2005 and 2006 surveys gradually declined in 2009 leaving the concentration in a few States. But for Benue, Ebonyi, Edo, Rivers and Yobe States, rape victimization was not significantly reported in all the States during the 2009 survey. Ekiti State for instance recorded no personal rape victimization during the years under review, and except for a few incidences in 2006 rape was not recorded in Gombe, Kwara, Ondo and Zamfara States. However states like Abia, Anambra, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Benue, Ebonyi, Delta, Edo, Enugu, Kebbi, Rivers, Nazarawa, Taraba and Yobe reported rape victimization that was above the national average in 2009.

Table 11: Personal rape victimization across states

States	Victims in the past three years including 2005	Victims in the past three years including 2006	Victims in the past 3 years:	
			2007- 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	13.0	1.2	1.0	0.3
Adamawa	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0
Akwa Ibom	9.3	6.2	1.0	0.3
Anambra	8.6	1.9	1.0	0.3
Bauchi	0.0	0.4	1.0	0.3
Bayelsa	17.7	7.1	2.0	0.6
Benue	1.4	1.2	3.0	1.0
Borno	2.1	3.1	0.0	0.0
Cross River	4.6	5.6	0.0	0.0
Delta	4.1	1.8	1.0	0.3
Ebonyi	4.4	0.9	4.0	1.3
Edo	7.7	2.4	3.0	1.0
Ekiti	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Enugu	3.3	1.8	1.0	0.3
Gombe	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0
Imo	7.3	6.2	0.0	0.0
Jigawa	0.6	2.3	0.0	0.0
Kaduna	2.6	0.4	0.0	0.0

Kano	1.7	0.8	0.0	0.0
Katsina	0.5	1.3	0.0	0.0
Kebbi	2.1	0.6	1.0	0.3
Kogi	2.6	2.4	0.0	0.0
Kwara	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
Lagos	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.0
Nasarawa	2.3	6.5	1.0	0.3
Niger	0.7	1.2	0.0	0.0
Ogun	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0
Ondo	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Osun	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0
Oyo	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
Plateau	3.4	2.8	0.0	0.0
Rivers	16.7	8.0	3.0	1.3
Sokoto	0.8	0.0	1.0	0.3
Taraba	2.4	1.8	1.0	0.3
Yobe	0.0	0.0	4.0	1.3
Zamfara	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
FCT	0.0	4.0	1.0	0.3
National average	3.3	2.3	0.8	0.2

Theft of mobile phones

The advent of information and communication technology (ICT) with mobile phone mediated communication (MMC) has introduced another trend in convenient theft and robbery in the country. The belief among street boys (Area Boys) is that if no money is found in a handbag snatched from a woman, there would at least be a mobile phone (Ikoh, 2002). Such belief and the availability of ready buyers encouraged by a proliferated second-hand market called *Belgium* or *Tokunbomake* the theft of mobile phones a lucrative venture for criminals.

In Table 12 below, the national average of personal victimization on the theft of mobile phones increased from 10.0 percent in 2005 to 15.4 percent in 2006 and declined to 8.3 percent in 2009. Despite such observation, theft of mobile phones in Enugu, and Rivers States as well as in the FCT consistently remained above the national average. Comparatively, theft of mobile phones was increasingly being reported in Ekiti, Gombe, Kebbi, Ondo, Osun and Yobe States. The increase in the incidence of victimization across the States suggests that the large quantities of mobile phones that have been stolen from their original owners are being put again into circulation through the second-hand markets.

Table 12: Theft of mobile phone victimization across states

States	Victims in the past three years including 2005	Victims in the past three years including 2006	Victims during the past 3 years:	
			2007 - 2009	Annual av.: 2007 – 2009
Abia	18.9	21.6	20.0	6.7
Adamawa	8.3	15.3	26.0	8.7
Akwa Ibom	27.0	14.6	26.0	8.7
Anambra	13.6	18.8	22.0	7.3
Bauchi	3.3	10.3	22.0	7.3
Bayelsa	22.3	21.2	19.0	6.3
Benue	12.0	13.6	21.0	7.0

Borno	5.1	12.6	36.0	12.0
Cross River	7.5	15.9	33.0	11.0
Delta	12.4	29.0	30.0	10.0
Ebonyi	9.3	9.7	25.0	8.3
Edo	18.4	30.9	23.0	7.7
Ekiti	6.0	6.8	22.0	7.3
Enugu	11.0	15.0	30.0	10.0
Gombe	0.8	9.7	49.0	16.3
Imo	15.3	16.9	15.0	5.0
Jigawa	3.1	11.3	26.0	8.7
Kaduna	8.1	16.2	22.0	7.3
Kano	5.0	13.3	22.0	7.3
Katsina	1.8	4.5	11.0	3.7
Kebbi	3.7	10.8	34.0	11.7
Kogi	16.2	13.1	14.0	4.7
Kwara	6.2	14.3	31.0	10.3
Lagos	9.5	24.3	15.0	5.0
Nasarawa	10.0	27.7	12.0	4.0
Niger	4.6	15.8	33.0	11.0
Ogun	8.1	21.1	19.0	6.3
Ondo	6.4	11.5	38.0	12.7
Osun	7.7	6.4	18.0	16.0
Oyo	8.6	13.6	33.0	11.0
Plateau	10.5	15.2	33.0	11.0
Rivers	26.5	35.6	30.0	10.0
Sokoto	3.6	13.9	14.0	4.7
Taraba	7.0	10.2	21.0	7.0
Yobe	4.4	5.1	32.0	10.7
Zamfara	3.6	4.8	11.0	3.7
FCT	23.2	17.1	29.0	9.7
National average	10.0	15.3	24.8	8.3

Personal burglary victimization

Burglary which was originally seen as the breaking and entering of a dwelling house of another person at night with the intention to commit a felony or larceny is no longer a night crime. Many houses are known to have been burgled while the owners are away at work; and many vehicles have been burgled at garages during daylight. Results of crime victimization survey reveal an increasing national average on personal burglary victimization in the country. As shown in Table 13, victimization rate varies across the States. For instance in 2006, 19 States recorded burglary victimization rate that was above the national average of 18.0 percent as against 21 States in 2009 with rates above the national average of 1.9 percent. Although the 2009 results suggest a decline in burglary victimization, there was consistency in spread across the States. This could suggest that burglary like armed robbery is a crime to watch.

Table 13: Personal burglary victimization acrossstates

States	Victims in the past three years including 2006	Victims in the past 3 years:	
		2007 - 2009	Annual av.: 2007 - 2009

Abia	18.2	7.0	2.3
Adamawa	25.0	12.0	4.0
Akwa Ibom	10.0	7.0	2.3
Anam bra	17.0	5.0	1.7
Bauchi	16.7	7.0	2.3
Bayelsa	35.0	3.0	1.0
Benue	20.1	7.0	2.3
Borno	22.2	14.0	4.7
Cross River	9.5	7.0	2.3
Delta	11.7	7.0	2.3
Ebonyi	13.9	6.0	2.0
Edo	23.8	15.0	5.0
Ekiti	8.4	2.0	0.6
Enugu	13.2	9.0	3.0
Gombe	20.2	10.0	3.3
Imo	18.6	1.0	0.3
Jigawa	19.8	7.0	2.3
Kaduna	24.8	4.0	1.3
Kano	24.6	3.0	1.0
Katsina	16.9	1.0	0.3
Kebbi	24.3	7.0	2.3
Kogi	24.3	1.0	0.3
Kwara	9.3	10.0	3.3
Lagos	10.7	6.0	2.0
Nasarawa	32.9	5.0	1.7
Niger	11.1	6.0	2.0
Ogun	23.0	2.0	0.6
Ondo	10.9	8.0	2.7
Osun	5.2	2.0	0.6
Oyo	8.3	2.0	0.6
Plateau	15.7	7.0	2.3
Rivers	27.4	5.0	1.7
Sokoto	31.7	2.0	0.6
Taraba	19.0	6.0	2.0
Yobe	10.2	13.0	4.3
Zamfara	11.9	1.0	0.3
FCT	25.0	4.0	1.3
National average	18.0	5.9	1.9

Location and time of criminal victimization

A number of successful crime prevention studies have recently pointed to the importance of place in understanding crime and crime prevention. Beginning with the work of Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin (1972), this finding has challenged criminological thinking and control policy to examine both situational and personal factors that are associated with victimization. The argument is that if we know where and when crimes are likely to take place and factored this to prevention strategies it would go a long way in curbing criminal victimization. As Hindelang, Gottfredson&Garofalo, (1978: 251) pointed out, “victimization is not a phenomenon that is uniformly distributed. It occurs disproportionately in particular times and

places.” Offenders usually seek out attractive targets with low security or they chance upon such opportunities while engaging in routine non-criminal activities. Hence, in places that present many opportunities for crime, disproportionately high levels of crime are likely in the presence of motivated offenders (Eck & Weisburd, 1995). Experiences from robbery and assault victims could constitute alerts on street safety. People have fallen victim while walking in dark secluded places at night and suddenly being approached by someone under the pretext of asking for help or assistance. Others have travelled as passengers in vehicles where they got involved in discussions of fake but attractive business offers. Others still have offered free ride to unsuspected members of gangs that lay in ambush waiting for their victims (Charles & Ikoh, 2005). In the five year survey reviewed in this chapter, information on location and time of criminal victimization was solicited.

Robbery and attempted robbery victimization:

Table 14 presents the location and time of robbery and attempted robbery victimization of respondents. Except in 2006, majority of the robbery took place at home and elsewhere in the State, and mostly at night. Attempted robbery followed similar pattern, with offenders targeting victims late in the evening, night and midnight. Robbery and attempted robbery also occurred at work location and schools. Such robbery may not necessary be personal robbery but commercial robbery that targeted the business premises. Those who work in such places or even clients present at the scene can easily become victims. There was no marked difference in terms of magnitude and time of occurrence of this crime during the years under review.

Table 14: Location and time of robbery and attempted robbery victimization

Location:	Robbery victimization (%)			Attempted robbery victimization (%)		
	2005 N = 1,071	2006 N = 1,073	2007 - 2009 N = 755	2005 N = 463	2006 N = 408	2007 - 2009 N = 318
At home	42.2	18.1	59.1	43.0	42.4	56.3
Near home	16.2	42.3	14.8	18.6	22.1	16.7
At work place or school	5.1	6.7	6.5	6.5	6.1	5.0
Elsewhere in the State	26.5	26.7	19.6	26.5	26.2	22.0
Elsewhere in the country	10.0	6.2	-	10.0	3.2	-
Time	N = 1,069	N = 1,066	N = 755	N = 463	N = 404	N = 318
Morning	10.5	5.6	5.5	12.1	5.2	6.6
Afternoon	13.1	14.0	11.5	14.5	17.1	13.8
Evening	24.2	7.8	24.4	23.3	27.5	23.0
Night/midnight	41.4	52.6	58.5	50.1	50.2	56.0

Location, time of murder and causative factors:

Table 15 shows that most attempted murder took place at home and near home. In 2005, 55.5 percent of the attempted murder incidences happened at home and near home and mostly during night hours (41.4%). A slight difference occurred in the attempted murder pattern of 2006 and 2007 – 2009 in that most of the attempts on the lives of the victims took place in the evening although at home and near home. A few of the attempted murders took place in the

morning, while the afternoon hours accounted for 25.3 percent, 25.2 percent and 17.6 percent of the attempted murder that occurred in 2005, 2006 and 2007 – 2009 respectively.

Table 15: Location and time of attempted murder victimization by year (%)

Location	Year		
	2005 N = 99	2006 N = 151	2007 – 2009 N = 159
At home	31.3	31.1	43.2
Near home	24.2	32.5	24.3
At work place or school	6.1	4.0	13.6
Elsewhere in the state	26.3	29.1	18.9
Elsewhere in the country	12.1	3.3	-
Time	N = 99	N = 143	N = 159
Morning	9.1	10.5	7.9
Afternoon	25.3	25.2	17.6
Evening	24.2	34.3	39.4
Night/Midnight	41.4	30.1	35.2

Murder and attempted murder could occur in a variety of circumstances. Some could be deliberate, like the several assassinations reported by the police. Others could be unintentional such as in robbery or rape or in several police accidental discharge of bullets. Report of the 2009 survey (table 16) reveals that 29.0 percent of the murder victimization of household members that occurred in 2007 – 2009 was caused by organized gang groups, while 21.0 percent occurred during robbery. Intimate relations and family members were responsible for 20.0 percent of the murder cases, and 11.0 percent were killed through mob action while the Police and other security organizations were blamed for 4.0 percent of the murder cases.

Attempted murder victimization of respondents was mostly carried out by organized gang members (32.1%) and intimate relations and family members (24.2%). Seventeen percent occurred during robbery operation and 13.2 percent through mob action. The police and other security agencies accounted for 2.5 percent.

Table 16: Perpetrators of murder and attempted murder victimization (%)

S/N	Perpetrators	Murder Household members (%)	Attempted murder Personal (%)
1	Intimate relation/Family member	20.0	24.2
2.	Organized gang group	29.0	32.1
3	During robbery	21.0	17.0
4	Police and other security agencies	4.0	5.7
5	Mob action	11.0	13.2
6	Others	6.0	2.5

Kidnapping and attempted kidnapping:

The modus operandi of kidnappers appear to vary over the years (table 17) thus suggesting both time and location of convenience. In 2005, most of the kidnapping took place at home (35.0 %) and elsewhere in the State (32.5%). In 2006 the pattern changed as many of the kidnapping incidents took place near the homes of victims (43.6%); an equal number of

people (23.1) were kidnapped elsewhere in the State and at home. In 2009, the survey revealed that a great number of the victims were picked at their place of work (29.8%), near home (27.7%) and elsewhere in their State of residence (27.7%). Similarly the distribution of attempted kidnapping during the years under review varies. In 2005 victims were targeted at places of convenience most of which turned out to be “elsewhere in the State” (32.4%) especially during the afternoon hours (42.4%). But in 2006 attempts were mostly made near the residence of victims (50.0%), during the evening (38.3%) and night hours (29.8%). Between 2007 - 2009, 36.2 percent of the attempted kidnapping occurred near the home of victims, while 46.8 percent took place at the place of work and elsewhere in the State, mostly during the afternoon and evening hours.

Table 17: Location and time of kidnapping and attempted kidnapping victimization (%)

Location:	Kidnapping victimization (%)			Attempted kidnapping victimization (%)		
	2005 N = 40	2006 N = 39	2007 - 2009 N = 47	2005 N = 34	2006 N = 48	2007 - 2009 N = 46
At home	12.5	23.1	14.9	20.6	25.0	17.0
Near home	35.0	43.6	27.7	26.5	50.0	36.2
At work place or school	10.0	10.3	29.8	20.6	2.1	23.4
Elsewhere in the State	32.5	23.1	27.7	32.4	4.6	23.4
Elsewhere in the country	10.0	-	-	-	-	-
Time	N = 35.0	N = 35	N = 27.7	N = 33	N = 47	N = 46
Morning	10.0	8.6	8.5	9.1	10.0	19.6
Afternoon	35.0	45.7	34.0	42.4	21.3	34.8
Evening	37.5	25.7	40.4	27.3	38.3	26.1
Night/midnight	17.7	20.0	17.0	21.2	29.8	19.6

Rape and attempted rape

The location and time of rape and attempted rape reported during the victimization survey is summarized in Table 18. Rape victimization was common in all the sampled locations, but majority of it occurred at home and near home especially during the evening and night hours. Attempted rape was possible even at the place of work. In 2005, 20 percent of the attempted rape occurred at the place of work, the incidence declined to 16.1 percent in 2006 and 12.0 percent during 2007 – 2009. Although morning hours were no exception, most of the attempted rape took place in the afternoon, evening and night hours.

Table 18: Location and time of rape and attempted rape victimization (2005 – 2009) %

Location:	Rape victimization (%)			Attempted rape victimization (%)		
	2005 N = 119	2006 N = 105	2007 - 2009 N = 76	2005 N = 159	2006 N = 174	2007 - 2009 N = 117

At home	36.1	20.0	27.5	18.9	14.9	32.5
Near home	32.8	37.1	41.3	35.2	43.1	29.1
At work place or school	14.3	15.2	7.5	20.0	16.1	12.0
Elsewhere in the State	14.4	27.6	23.8	21.4	25.9	26.5
Elsewhere in the country	2.5	-	-	3.8	-	-
Time	N = 118	N = 101	N = 76	N = 158	N = 171	N = 117
Morning	4.2	6.9	3.8	5.1	9.4	4.3
Afternoon	16.9	20.8	7.7	29.7	22.2	19.7
Evening	39.8	31.7	43.6	38.0	37.4	42.7
Night/midnight	39.0	40.6	44.9	27.2	31.0	33.3

Assault victimization

Most of the assault victimization took place at home and near home, and during the afternoon and evening hours. About 21.3 percent of assault that took place in 2005 occurred in the morning. In 2006, 23.8 percent of the respondents were assaulted during the morning hours, while 18.6 percent were victims in 2007 – 2009 during similar period (table 19). Comparatively, there was marginal decline in assault victimization at work place as well as assault experienced elsewhere in the State.

Table 19: Location and time of physical assault victimization (2005 – 2009) %

Location	Year		
	2005 N = 1,506	2006 N = 1,470	2007 – 2009 N = 1,670
At home	26.3	29.8	35.4
Near home	36.7	38.4	37.3
At work place or school	17.7	16.7	16.3
Elsewhere in the state	17.1	14.6	11.0
Elsewhere in the country	2.3	0.6	-
Time	N = 1,504	N = 1,465	N = 1,670
Morning	21.3	23.8	18.6
Afternoon	38.9	40.1	38.2
Evening	32.4	28.0	35.8
Night/Midnight	7.4	8.1	7.4

Theft of mobile phones

Table 20 shows the location and time of theft of mobile phones. Although the percentage varies, theft of handset was common in all locations. Most of the theft took place during the afternoon and evening hours.

Table 20: Location and time of mobile phone victimization (2005 – 2009) %

Location	Year		
	2005 N = 1,056	2006 N = 2,026	2007 – 2009 N = 2,464

At home	23.9	24.3	36.8
Near home	20.4	29.3	25.4
At work place or school	19.9	19.4	21.9
Elsewhere in the state	32.0	25.3	15.9
Elsewhere in the country	3.8	1.6	-
Time	N = 1,053	N = 2,018	N = 2,464
Morning	14.5	12.2	12.2
Afternoon	33.2	31.5	32.6
Evening	33.6	37.0	37.4
Night/Midnight	18.7	19.3	17.8

Discussion of Findings

Assessment of the criminal literature and theories demonstrates that crime can be facilitated by socio-cultural and political factors as well as the existence of subcultures. In States characterized by ethno-religious crisis and militancy, it is possible that the violence associated with the conflict could change the trend and pattern of criminality. It may generate more violent crime as a way of pursuing certain life-styles. The 2005, 2006 and 2007 – 2009 victimization survey analyzed in this chapter reveals the nature and extent of criminal victimization in the country as follow:

- a. Contrary to expectation the North East Zone of the country was ahead of all other Zones in personal crime victimization.
- b. There was a decline in the report of household members' victimization when compared to report on personal crime victimization, thus confirming the fear that only serious victimizations are discussed and brought to the knowledge of household members and neighbours.
- c. Crime vulnerability was not a function of gender as the percentage change in male victimization increased by 25.8 percent between 2005 and 2009, while that of women increased by 25.2 percent within the same period.
- d. Report on attempted murder victimization increased from 6.7 percent in 2005 to 21.5 percent in 2006 and declined to 0.6 percent in 2009. Both murder and attempted murder victimizations were blamed especially on the activities of organized gang groups, conflicts with intimate relation/family members and activities of armed robbers, among others.
- e. Robbery victimization was widespread. Although the national average revealed a declined from 5.3 percent in 2005 to 4.5 percent in 2006 and 2.9 percent in 2009, many respondents reported robbery menace in their State. Victims of both robbery and attempted robbery were attacked mostly during the evening and night hours.
- f. Cases of rape declined considerable from 3.3 percent in 2005 to 2.3 percent in 2006 and 0.2 percent in 2009. Most rape victimizations occurred at home and near home, and were during evening and night hours.
- g. Convenience theft of mobile phones was on the increase. From a National average victimization rate of 10.0 percent in 2005, it rose to 15.3 percent in 2006 but declined to 8.3 percent in 2009 across States. Mobile phone theft was wide spread and it occurred during the day and night hours.

- h. The national average of burglary victimization rate declined from 18.0 percent in 2006 to 1.9 percent in 2009. Despite such decline, burglary victimization like armed robbery was becoming wide spread and demands security attention.
- i. Kidnapping was revealed as an emerging crime to watch in the country. It was inflicting painful cost on both individuals and household members. About 0.5 percent of the respondents had suffered personal victimization experience, while 0.4 percent of them suffered attempted kidnapping victimization.
- j. Assault victimization of household members increased in 2009 than previous years included in the survey. Most of the assault incidents took place at home and near home during the afternoon, evening and morning hours.

These findings confirm the existing report of increase in national crime rate in Nigeria (NPAR, 2008). It equally provides a statistical summary of the size of victimization of household members and individuals in the country as well as the changes in the levels of victimization.

Recommendations and conclusion

Criminal victimization has negative consequences in term of loss, death, psychological and physical pains, permanent disabilities, etc, on the victims. High rates of victimization therefore raise important public policy questions concerning how to detect, control and prevent crime in the country. Comparison among States and even zones in the levels of victimization over the years can help focus attention on States and zones that need more support to curb crimes.

The potential value of crime mapping technology to crime prevention and control cannot be over emphasized. Crime mapping allows Police officers and security analysts to view patterns of crime over extensive areas. It provides the ability to ‘zoom-in’ on specific ‘places’ of interest as small as street corners. Crime maps can display the incidence of different types of offences like assaults, kidnappings, robberies, etc, at different locations (McEwan and Taxman, 1995). The usefulness of crime mapping in crime prevention and control are enormous. Police officers who are new to a patrol can spend only few minutes studying these maps to gain a good understanding of the spatial and temporal distribution of crimes on their beat. It could also help in effective patrol deployment arrangements even without the benefit of substantial personal experience of the topography of crime in a state (Eck&Weisburd, 1995). With crime mapping raw data can be transformed into useful and meaningful information for effective policing as crime patterns become easily conceptualized than spending time to review report on statistical tables. It could thus help in the tracking of kidnappers and the rescue of victims.

Developing and using crime mapping technology have some expectations. Since society changes over time, the pattern and trend in crime victimization are bound to change. Based on such anticipation crime mapping must be continuous. The Police must be able to create a good empirical basis for assessment and monitoring of crime victimization and not merely data for the yearly evaluation of crime control and prevention. They must be able to acquire the capacity to perform spatial crime mapping and put the information it provides into effective use.

As the victimization survey reveals, the distribution of crime vary across the states in the country. On the realization that criminals tend to avoid places manned by security officer and

or police, we recommend effective policing that could be realized through crime mapping and beat patrol. This will require intensive and periodic criminal victimization surveys of the states as well as the provision of police divisions in the country with resources commensurate with the size of criminal problem they are confronted with.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Corruption in Nigeria: Patterns and Trends

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Introduction

The term ‘corruption’ does not lend itself to an easy and precise definition. A distinguishing feature of corruption, however, is the demand for bribe to perform a duty. Transparency International (TI), cited in Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) (2003:2) defines corruption as “the abuse of public office for private gain”. According to World Bank (1998) as cited in Idahosa, Masajuwa and Mustapha (2003:107), public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts bribe; when private agents offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes; and when a public office holder seeks for personal benefits through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets or diversion of state revenues. Thus, corruption refers to the general tendency for people in positions of authority to use such positions to ‘make’ money, or gain other advantages. Put differently, corruption refers to the demand for, or acceptance of, money and other gratifications by any person in a position of authority in order for him or her to bestow undue advantage to the giver.

Corruption has become a major problem for most countries of the world. This is more so for developing countries, including Nigeria. Shah (2007:235) has summarized the adverse consequences of corruption on development as: slowing down the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and capital accumulation, reducing the quality of education and public infrastructure and increasing income inequality and poverty.

According to the ICPC (2010:2), corruption can be occasional or opportunistic, widespread, systemic, or destructive. Occasional or opportunistic corruption involves demanding and accepting bribes in abuse of one’s position or paying bribes to gain an unfair advantage. ‘Widespread corruption’ refers to a situation whereby society endorses taking bribes by all and sundry, as being socially acceptable. Systemic corruption’ refers to a situation where employees and employers, and private citizens and office holders, attempt to reap personal gain. Finally, ‘destructive corruption’ manifests where the rich seek more wealth and live extravagant lifestyles at the expense of the poor masses, with serious implications for discontent and violence.

In his own contribution, Shah (2007) argued that there are four broad categories of corruption. The first is “petty corruption”, which involves individual public officials who abuse their offices by demanding bribes and kickbacks, diverting public funds or doling out favours in return for personal gratifications. The second is what he calls “grand corruption” which refers to the theft or misuse of vast amount of resources by state officials, including politicians and government bureaucrats. The third category of corruption is “state or regulatory capture and influence peddling” which refers to a situation where private individuals collude with public officials or politicians for their individual and mutual benefits. The fourth and last category is “Patronage, paternalism, clientilism and being a team player” which is a situation where public officials use their official position to provide assistance to clients or colleagues from the same geographic, ethnic, or cultural origin to enable them receive preferential treatment from the public sector (Shah, 2007:243).

The foregoing varieties of corruption are very much prevalent in Nigeria. Indeed, it is widely believed that corruption is the bane of the Nigerian society and appears to have eaten deep into the fabric of the society. One often hears that in Nigeria, “nothing goes for nothing” (meaning that you don’t expect something to be done for you for nothing). At other times, references are made to “the Nigerian way”. Sometimes, one is confronted with the embarrassing question: “Are you not a Nigerian”? The ‘Nigerian way’, or ‘being a Nigerian’, pejoratively implies that one should bribe one’s way to have certain things done in one’s favour.

Over three decades ago, Chambliss (1975:70) declared that “in Nigeria, the acceptance of bribes by government officials is blatantly public and virtually universal”. One can say that today, the situation does not appear to have changed for the better. If anything, it has become worse, with corruption being, more or less, institutionalized in the country. Not too long ago, Transparency International, reported that between 1996 and 2002, Nigeria’s position in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) oscillated between “the world’s most corrupt nation” to somewhere around the worst four (ICPC, 2003:2). A detailed CPI ranking for the country from 1996 to 2009 will make the point clearer.

Table 1: Nigeria’s Corruption Perception Ranking/Index: 1996 – 2009

Year	World Ranking	Index
1996	54 out of 54	0.69
1997	52 out of 52	1.76
1998	81 out of 85	1.9
1999	98 out of 99	1.6
2000	90 out of 90	0.6
2001	90 out of 90	1.0
2002	101 out of 102	1.6
2003	132 out of 133	1.4
2004	144 out of 146	1.6
2005	152 out of 158	1.9
2006	160 out of 163	2.2
2007	147 out of 179	2.2
2008	121 out of 180	2.7
2009	130 out of 180	2.5

Source: Emenyonu (2007:12); Economic Confidential (2009); Wikipedia (2010).

Note: Highest score for the index is 10. The higher the score, the less the perceived corruption.

The data presented in Table 1 shows that Nigeria was the most corrupt country out of the 54 and 52 countries surveyed in 1996 and 1997 respectively. As more countries were included in the survey, Nigeria’s position improved very slightly in 1998 and 1999 only to slide back to the worst position in 2000 and 2001. Again, between 2002 and 2004, the position improved very slightly. Between 2005 and 2007, there was improvement as the country was ranked ahead of 16 countries in 2005, 13 countries in 2006, and 12 countries in 2007. This may be as a result of the activities of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) hounding and prosecuting public officers, including former state Governors. Nigeria’s position remarkably improved in 2008, only to slide slightly behind in 2009. The big question is how do the Nigerian public perceive the problem of corruption in the nation?

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the views of the Nigerian public on corruption, with special reference to public agencies across the states. The chapter will also examine the patterns and trends of corruption in the 2005, 2006 and 2009 National Crime Victimization Surveys, as well as examine the recommendations of the respondents for controlling corruption in Nigeria.

A Survey of Public Perception of Corruption in Nigeria

Corruption in Nigeria involves mainly bribery and embezzlement of public funds. The respondents in the survey were asked questions bordering on bribery, which can be said to be the most eloquent testimony of corruption in the country. Bribery refers to the demand for, or offer of, money or other favours to influence a public official. In Nigeria, bribery is pervasive and easily observable not only in government offices and parastatals but also on the streets and highways, particularly with law enforcement agencies.

Government Officials and Demand for Bribe

It is generally believed that only very few, if any, government officials render services to the public without directly or indirectly demanding bribe. If one is desperate for the service being sought, one would be prepared to give a bribe to get it. This means that the more desperate people are for the services of government officials, the more they would be willing to offer bribe in cash, gifts and other favours in order to get the desired services. Government officials are aware of this fact and often capitalize on it at every little opportunity.

Respondents in the national crime survey were asked to indicate whether any government official had asked for, or expected bribe from them during the previous three years.

Table 2: Government Officials and Demand for Bribe in the Last three Years

Year of Survey	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
2005	2172	7776	88	10036
%	21.6	77.5	0.9	100
2006	2145	8776	240	11161
%	19.2	78.6	2.2	100
2009	3004	7038	186	10228
%	29.4	68.8	1.8	100

Table 2 shows that 21.6% of the respondents in 2005, 19.2% in 2006, and 29.4% in 2009 indicated that they had been asked or expected to pay a bribe by government officials in the previous three years. Put differently, about one out of every five respondents across the various States in Nigeria had been asked for a bribe in 2005 and 2006, while nearly one out of every three respondents were asked for bribe in 2009. This means that more of the respondents in 2009 had been so asked than in 2005 and 2006.

Gender and Demand for Bribe

Many people believe that males are often the targets of bribe-takers because they are thought to have more money to give out than females. As a result, the respondents were asked whether or not they have been asked for bribes in the last three years.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents by Gender and Demand for Bribe

	2005				2006				2009			
Gender	Yes	No	D/K	Total	Yes	No	D/K	Total	Yes	No	D/K	Total

Male %	1400 27.6	3631 71.5	44 0.9	5075 100	1323 23.7	4147 74.4	106 1.9	5576 100	1753 34.1	3299 64.1	92 1.8	5144 100
Female %	772 15.6	4144 83.5	44 0.9	4960 100	822 14.4	4629 82.9	134 2.4	5585 100	1251 24.6	3739 73.5	94 1.8	5084 100
Total %	2172 21.6	7775 77.5	88 0.9	10035 100	2145 19.2	8776 78.6	240 2.2	11161 100	3004 29.4	7038 68.8	186 1.8	10228 100

DK = Don't know

Table 3 shows that 27.6% of male respondents in 2005, 23.7% and 34.1% in 2006 and 2009 respectively, indicated that they had been asked for a bribe by government officials in the previous three years. This means that one out of every three male respondents in 2009 and about one out of every four respondents in 2005 and 2006 indicated having been asked for a bribe in the previous three years. The figures for female respondents are 15.6% in 2005, 14.7% in 2006, and 24.6% or one out of every four females in 2009. Again, 2009 witnessed increased demand for bribes from female respondents when compared to 2005 and 2006. On the whole, government officials made less demands for bribe from women than they did with men. A few smiles and nice words from women can sometimes pave the way for them.

Respondents' Place of Residence and Demand for Bribes

The survey sought to find out whether one's place of residence has anything to do with demand for bribe by government officials.

Table 4: Distribution of Respondents by Place of Residence and Demand for Bribe

	2005				2006				2009			
	Yes	No	D/ K	Total	Yes	No	D/ K	Total	Yes	No	D/ K	Total
Urban %	174 3 24.6	527 6 74.5	61 0.9	7080 100	166 2 21.5	590 5 76.3	172 2.2	7739 100	197 0 32.3	401 9 65.8	118 1.9	6107 100
Rural %	429 14.5	249 9 84.6	27 0.9	2955 100	483 14.1	287 1 83.9	68 2.0	3422 100	103 4 25.1	301 9 73.3	68 1.7	4121 100
Total %	217 2 21.6	777 5 77.5	88 0.9	1003 5 100	214 5 19.2	877 6 78.6	240 2.2	1116 1 100	300 4 29.4	703 8 68.8	186 1.8	1022 8 100

Table 4 shows that one out of every four respondents (24.6%) in the urban areas of the country had been asked for a bribe. The figures for 2006 and 2009 were one out of every five respondents (21.5%), and one out of every three respondents (32.3%) respectively. In contrast, respondents in the rural areas of the country reported less demands from government officials for bribe with about one out of every seven respondents in 2005 and 2006 being asked for bribes, and one out of every four respondents in 2009. The reason for the apparent higher number of demands for bribe in urban areas is not far-fetched as government officials and their agencies are generally located in urban areas than their rural counterparts. Thus, the more the physical contacts with government officials, the more the demand for bribes.

Age and Demand for Bribe

Some people believe that age can determine whether or not one can be asked for bribe. Thus, respondents of various age categories were asked whether or not government officials have demanded bribes from them in the previous three years.

Table 5: Distribution of Respondents by Age Group and Demand for Bribes

	2005				2006				2009			
	Yes	No	DK	Total	Yes	No	DK	Total	Yes	No	DK	Total
18-24yrs %	634 18.8	2705 80.4	27 0.8	3366 100	644 16.7	3121 81.1	82 2.1	3847 100	771 27.1	2023 71.2	46 1.6	2840 100
25-30yrs %	639 23.8	2021 75.2	29 1.1	2689 100	632 20.7	2347 78.8	77 2.5	3056 100	926 29.7	2132 68.4	61 2.0	3119 100
31-35yrs %	292 25.4	848 73.7	10 0.9	1150 100	280 21.6	988 76.1	31 2.4	1299 100	450 32.8	891 65	30 2.2	1371 100
36-40yrs %	209 21.6	753 77.8	6 0.6	968 100	182 19.7	727 78.7	15 1.6	924 100	280 28.8	676 69.5	16 1.6	972 100
41-50yrs %	248 22.7	836 76.5	9 0.8	1093 100	248 20.8	918 77.1	24 2.0	1190 100	353 31.6	744 66.5	21 1.9	1118 100
51year %	150 19.5	612 79.6	7 0.9	769 100	159 18.8	675 79.9	11 1.3	845 100	224 27.7	572 70.8	12 1.5	808 100
Total %	2172 21.6	7775 77.5	88 0.9	10035 100	2145 19.2	8776 78.6	240 2.2	11161 100	3004 29.4	7038 68.8	156 1.8	10228 100

Table 5 shows that the demand for bribes by government officials was slightly less for the age group 18-24 years during the three survey years of 2005, 2006, and 2009 and more for the category of 31-35years for the same period. This tends to suggest that the younger the respondents, the less the demand for bribes by government officials. It is also interesting to note that respondents of all the age groups reported higher demands for bribes by government officials in the 2009 surveys. Two scenarios are possible here. It is either that there has been increased physical contact with government officials, or that there is more of a breakdown of institutional ethics in 2009 than in 2005 and 2006.

Education and Demand for Bribes

The surveys sought to know the extent to which a person's educational background can be a factor in being asked for bribe by public officials. The thinking here is that people with little or no education may be more easily intimidated and helpless, and therefore, more prone to being asked for bribe by government officials.

Table 6: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Level and Demand for Bribes

Education	2005				2006				2009			
	Yes	No	D/K	Total	Yes	No	D/K	Total	Yes	No	D/K	Total
No Education %	67 9.7	623 90.2	1 0.1	691 100	65 10.7	523 86.4	17 2.8	605 100	117 19.3	464 76.4	26 4.3	607 100

Koranic Sch. %	101 13.1	666 86.3	5 0.6	772 100	109 14.7	622 83.6	13 17	744 100	124 24.5	371 73.2	12 2.4	507 100
Literacy Classes %	24 21.4	87 77.7	1 0.9	112 100	28 17.6	125 78.6	6 3.8	159 100	20 30.3	45 68.2	1 1.5	173 100
Primary Dropout %	29 12.2	202 84.9	7 2.9	238 100	25 11.1	195 86.6	5 2.2	225 100	47 27.2	125 72.3	1 0.6	66 100
Completed Prim. %	131 15.7	690 82.7	13 1.6	834 100	82 11.5	608 11.5	20 2.8	710 100	155 25.2	453 73.7	7 1.1	615 100
Secondary Dropout %	195 17.3	925 82.1	6 0.5	1126 100	165 15.0	896 81.7	36 3.3	1097 100	228 24.6	681 73.6	16 1.7	925 100
Secondary Complete %	786 23.0	2603 76.1	33 1.0	3422 100	770 19.4	3112 78.6	77 1.9	3959 100	1136 28.2	2817 70.0	69 1.7	4022 100
Tertiary %	839 29.5	1979 69.7	22 0.8	2840 100	901 24.6	2695 73.6	66 1.8	3662 100	1177 35.5	2082 62.5	54 1.6	3313 100
Total %	2172 21.6	7775 77.5	88 0.9	10035 100	2145 19.2	8776 78.6	240 2.2	11161 100	3004 29.4	7038 68.8	186 1.8	10228 100

Table 6 shows the educational level of the respondents. The indication is that the majority of the respondents who were asked for bribes by government officials were educated. Over half (52.5%) had completed their secondary education, or were either in, or had completed post secondary or tertiary education in the 2005 survey, 44% and 63.7% in the 2006 and 2009 survey respectively. Interestingly, these are the same people one finds in government establishments. It is also interesting to note that those with post-secondary and tertiary education topped the list of those being asked for bribes in the three survey years: 29.5% in 2005, 24.6% in 2006, and 35.5% in 2009. This would seem to suggest that the higher the education, the more the demand for bribes by government officials. This is however debatable because experience shows that bribe takers tend to avoid educated people because they are believed to know their rights.

States and Demand for Bribe

The victimization surveys of 2005, 2006 and 2009 sought to find out the perception of respondents on the extent of corruption (bribe-taking) in the 36 States of Nigeria, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja.

Table 7: Distribution of Respondents by States and the Demand for Bribes

State	2005	2006	2009
Lagos %	70 10.9	67 9.8	86 41.0
Ogun %	41 15.8	60 23.8	46 20.4
Oyo %	99 25.2	70 16.2	50 17.5
Osun %	73 28.1	50 19.8	71 23.1

Ondo %	60 27.3	13 5.2	79 23.3
Ekiti %	36 16.4	45 17.9	62 48.1
Akwa Ibom %	88 33.3	62 19.3	116 37.5
Bayelsa %	93 42.3	69 27.4	120 39.7
Cross River %	49 23.1	27 10.7	59 27.4
Delta %	58 19.9	125 38.6	90 30.3
Edo %	37 15.4	29 11.5	117 70.5
Rivers %	118 53.9	57 22.6	137 58.8
Enugu %	28 15.5	41 18.6	62 35.6
Anambra %	92 30.6	36 11.1	109 45.2
Imo %	69 24.6	152 46.9	4 3.8
Abia %	97 37.3	81 25.0	72 41.6
Ebonyi %	71 39.0	32 14.8	28 9.9
Kano %	83 17.4	97 19.2	31 9.9
Sokoto %	30 11.9	66 26.2	77 17.5
Kaduna %	71 15.7	97 20.7	257 37.9
Katsina %	100 22.7	40 8.5	82 19.6
Zamfara %	25 9.9	19 7.5	112 49.9
Kebbi %	22 7.3	84 25.8	32 13.3
Jigawa %	51 15.9	135 37.6	63 35.2
Bauchi %	99 20.6	176 34.9	79 11.9
Gombe %	15 12.4	19 13.2	15 11.2
Borno %	49 16.7	37 11.4	104 36.0
Adamawa %	29 24.2	8 5.6	82 30.4

Taraba %	60 34.9	40 18.5	152 59.4
Yobe %	17 10.6	9 4.2	87 33.9
Plateau %	27 15.0	23 10.6	155 38.2
Nasarawa %	27 15.0	77 35.6	65 28.0
Benue %	93 31.0	54 16.7	88 23.6
Kogi %	77 32.1	13 5.1	96 35.7
Kwara %	45 25.0	14 6.5	49 28.8
Niger %	43 15.4	80 24.7	44 25.3
FC/Abuja %	30 15.2	41 16.3	26 11.1
Total %	2172 21.6	2145 19.2	3004 29.4

Table 7 shows that Rivers state has the highest percentage of respondents (53.9%), over half, who indicated that government officials had asked or expected them to pay bribes for their services in 2005. Following Rivers State is Bayelsa State with 42.3% or two out of every five respondents, and Ebonyi State (39.0%) following closely. In 2006, Imo State had the highest percentage (46.9%), about half of the respondents who indicated being asked to pay bribe in the previous three years. Others are Delta (38.6%), Jigawa (37.6%), and Nasarawa (35.6%). In contrast, the 2009 survey showed that Edo State had the highest percentage of respondents (70.5%) who indicated that they had been asked for bribes in the previous three years. Next to Edo State is Rivers State with 58.8%, Ekiti State with 48.1%, Zamfara with 47.9% and Anambra with 45.2%.

Bayelsa State came second to Rivers State in 2005 with 42.3%, sixth in 2006 with 27.4%, and eighth in 2009 with 39.7%. The prominent position occupied by these two neighbouring Niger Delta States may not be unconnected with the 'oil economy'. However, from a low-keyed position in 2005 (15.4%) and 2006 (11.5%), Edo State shot into 'prominence' in 2009 (70.5%) to occupy the number one position among all the states in Nigeria where government officials often make demands for bribes in the course of their normal duties.

Corruption in Public and Private Agencies

We had earlier indicated that corruption is widespread in Nigeria among men and women, the youth, and the old, and can be found in both urban and rural areas, and across all the States in Nigeria, to a greater or lesser extent. The question here is: how do the ordinary Nigerians see corruption within public agencies? This question will be addressed first, by using the most current national crime survey of 2009; and thereafter by analyzing the likelihood of paying bribe to obtain services from public agencies and officials based on the 2005, 2006 and 2009 crime surveys.

Table 8: Distribution of Respondents by Public Agencies and Demand for Bribes: 2009

	Yes	No	Total
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EFCC	16	86	102
%	15.7	84.3	100
FRSC	164	393	557
%	29.4	70.6	100
SSS	16	89	105
%	15.2	84.8	100
ICPC	5	46	51
%	15.2	90.2	100
Customs Officer	78	222	300
%	26.0	74.0	100
Immigration Officer	133	313	446
%	29.8	70.2	100
Police Officer	1570	1465	3035
%	51.7	48.3	100
National Security/ Civil Defence	77	275	352
%	21.9	78.1	100
National Assembly	22	93	115
%	19.1	80.9	100
State Assembly	26	173	199
%	13.1	86.9	100
Local Govt. Councillors	56	334	390
%	14.4	85.6	100
Local Govt. Officials	81	388	469
%	17.3	82.7	100
Tax/Revenue Officials	202	586	788
%	25.6	74.4	100
Magistrate/Customary Courts	59	366	395
%	14.9	85.1	100
High/Appeal/Supreme Courts	35	256	291
%	12.0	88.0	100
Post Office Officials	57	855	812
%	6.3	93.8	100
Doctors/Nurses	138	4218	436
%	3.2	96.8	100
Teachers(Primary/Secondary)	225	3042	3267
%	6.9	93.1	100
Lecturers (Tertiary Institution)	482	1592	3074
%	23.2	76.8	100
Bank Officials	129	2976	3105
%	4.2	95.8	100
Prison Officials	113	501	614
%	18.4	81.6	100
NEPA/PHCN Officials	1200	3149	4349
%	27.6	72.4	100
Gas/Petrol Station Attendants	404	1890	2294
%	17.6	82.4	100
Other Private Sector Officials	91	996	1087
%	8.4	9.6	100
Traditional Authorities	90	1774	1864

%	4.8	95.2	100
Religious Authorities	104	4179	4283
%	2.4	97.6	100

Table 8 shows the summary of the views of the respondents in the 2009 crime survey across the 36 states, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja, on whether or not officials of certain public institutions and some private sector enterprises asked, or demanded, for bribe in the past twelve (12) months. A good majority (51.7%) of the respondents indicated that they were asked for bribe by the Police. After the Police, the respondents gave Immigration officers a distant second position (29.8%), closely followed by officials of the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) with 29.4%. Other top contenders include Officials of Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) formerly known as NEPA (27.6%), Customs Officers (26.0%), Tax/revenue Officials (25.6%), Lecturers and Professors in Tertiary Institutions (23.2%), and National Security/Civil Defence Officials (21.9%).

The overwhelming indictment of the police in this survey is not surprising. Many Nigerians feel that the police in Nigeria are terribly corrupt. For example, Okereke as cited in Dambazau (2007:22) argues that many Nigerians perceive the policeman as a “lazy, corrupt, inefficient, bribe-taking, money extorting officer”. As we have argued elsewhere (Igbo, 2007:188), police corruption commonly involves paltry sums or what could be called “peanut money” extorted mostly from commercial vehicle drivers and violators of traffic laws. This is insignificant when compared to political corruption which results from the making of laws and approval of policies and appointments at local, state, and federal levels. However, political corruption did not feature prominently in this survey because the actors were more or less ‘masked’ in their individual and corporate identities. If they are pulled together: National Assembly members, (19.1%), Local Government Councillors, (14.4%), State Assembly members (13.1%), and Local Government Officials (17.3%) the combined total (63.9%) would be much higher than that of respondents who stated that the police are more corrupt than other public agencies.

Nigerians often assume that corruption is, more or less, synonymous with the police. This may be as a result of the fact that the police are the public agents most proximate to crime and very visible on the streets and highways where they openly indulge in bribe-taking of paltry sums of money. In contrast to police corruption, political corruption involves huge amounts of money that often have serious debilitating effect on national development and the health and welfare of ordinary Nigerians.

Reporting of Bribes

Respondents were asked in the 2006 and 2009 surveys whether they reported demands for bribe to relevant law enforcement agencies such as the police, ICPC and EFCC

Table 9: Report of Demand for Bribe to Relevant Law Enforcement Agencies

Law Enforcement Agency	2006			2009		
	Yes	No	N/Response	Yes	No	N/Response
Police	39	2081	25	80	3753	1370
%	1.8	97	1.2	1.5	72.1	26.3
ICPC	12	2107	3	6	3824	1379
%	0.6	98.2	0.2	0.7	73.4	26.5

EFCC	1	22	2121	7	1391	1391
%	0.0	1.0	98.9	0.1	73.1	26.7

Note: Figures for 2005 not available.

Table 9 shows that an overwhelming majority of the respondents for both 2006 and 2009 surveys did not lodge official report when they were last asked to pay bribe. Thus, in 2006, 97.0% did not report to the police, 98.2% did not report to the ICPC, while 98.9% did not report to the EFCC. Similarly, in the 2009 survey, 72.1% did not report to the police, 73.4% did not report to the ICPC, while 73.1% did not report to the EFCC. It must be pointed out, however, that the percentage of respondents in the 2009 survey that did not report was less than that of the 2006 survey. This may be a result of increasing public education and awareness.

Generally, however, people do not often report to the police when they or their relations fall victims to criminals, unless the crimes are too serious to be ignored (eg. murder or threat to life). Some of the reasons often advanced for not reporting to the police include: that the police will not do anything; that the police may dribble them by asking them to “come today, come tomorrow”; that the police may demand money from them before taking any action; or that reporting to the police may lead to further victimization or reprisal attack. Respondents in these surveys appear to have the same reasons not reporting to the police, and also the ICPC and the EFCC which are relatively new government agencies that are directly charged with the enforcement of the laws on corruption.

Table 10: Likelihood of Paying Bribes to Obtain Services from Public Officials/Agencies

Public Officials/ Agencies	2005				2006				2009			
	Most Likely	Likely	Not likely	Don't know	Most likely	Likely	Not likely	Don't know	Most likely	Likely	Not likely	Don't know
Legislature (Fed/State)	25.2	31.2	26.2	17.4	14.8	26.7	37.0	21.4	13.7	40.8	29.9	14.7
Ministry Officials	25.2	33.2	25.5	16.1	14.7	28.9	36.2	20.2	14.7	42.8	29.2	28.2
Local Govt Officer.	26.0	32.9	26.0	15.1	16.5	29.7	34.4	19.3	15.5	43.9	29.6	11.9
NEPA/PHCN	41.2	33.1	16.9	8.8	35.3	33.5	20.4	10.8	.2	41.8	25.4	32.6
Police Officers	58.9	25.4	10.3	5.4	48.1	26.8	16.7	8.3	40.9	35.5	16.5	7.1
Customs Officers	35.2	32.5	19.2	13.2	25.5	30.5	28.6	15.4	19.6	43.0	24.6	12.8
Court Officials	24.9	32.8	26.9	15.4	17.2	28.6	36.3	17.4	12.5	40.8	34.4	12.7
Tax/Revenue Officials	24.2	33.7	26.6	15.5	16.7	29.2	36.0	18.1	17.7	42.3	27.7	12.3
Doctors/Nurses	11.1	21.6	51.5	15.8	6.0	16.1	56.4	21.5	8.4	29.6	50.7	11.4
Bank Officials	13.3	23.4	46.4	16.9	6.7	19.6	50.2	23.5	8.7	31.4	47.8	12.2
Teachers/Lecturers	27.5	31.1	28.2	13.1	20.1	25.6	36.4	17.8	13.3	38.1	38.5	10.3
Security Guards	17.1	32.8	34.7	15.4	11.8	26.4	41.5	20.5	-	-	-	-
Traditional Auth.	14.4	28.4	40.1	17.1	9.5	23.8	43.6	23.1	6.9	31.5	48.3	13.3
Religious Auth.									4.6	18.8	63.5	13.1
Private Sector Official	13.5	29.3	35.8	21.4	7.9	21.7	41.8	28.7	0.1	37.9	37.0	25.0
EFCC	-	-	-	-	4.8	15.0	54.1	26.1	10.4	35.6	37.7	16.3
ICPC	-	-	-	-	4.9	15.0	51.6	28.5	-	-	-	-
NAFDAC	-	-	-	-	4.8	14.8	55.0	25.3	-	-	-	-
Immigration Official	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	42.4	24.4	33.1
Post Office	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.6	35.0	42.4	13.1
Prison Officials	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.9	39.0	35.5	13.6
Petrol Attendant.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	40.1	33.9	16.1

SSS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.3	37.1	36.5	16.1
FRSC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.6	40.7	32.9	13.8
Other Private Sector Official	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	37.9	37.0	25.0
Water Board	16.6	30.5	35.9	17.0	10.9	25.0	43.8	20.3	-	-	-	-

Note: Figures for employ cells not available

Table 10 shows that of all the public agencies, the police again stand out prominently (58.9% in 2005; 48.1 in 2006; and 40.9% in 2009) as the most likely to demand and be paid bribe for public services. When averaged for the three years, this translates to 49.3% or half of the respondents who perceive the police as the most likely public agency to demand bribe, while the Customs comes a distant second with 26.7%. Others are NEPA/PHCN (25.6%), Teachers/Lecturers/Professors (20.3%), Local Government Officials (19.3%), and Government Ministries (18.2%).

Alderson (1979:31) observed that police corruption operates at two levels: at the level of the individual dishonest police officer, and at the group or departmental level. At the individual level, it can be ‘lateral’—among the peer group only, while at the departmental level it can be ‘vertical’—in which case it includes senior officers as well. This aptly describes the situation in Nigeria. However, the police are not alone in this scandal. The customs service, NEPA/PHCN and others are part and parcel of the problem, based on the responses in Table 10.

Table 11: Trend of Corruption (Over the Years)

	2005	2006	2009
Response	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.
Increased a lot	6431	5273	3829
%	64.1	47.2	37.4
Slightly increased	1398	1742	1317
%	13.9	15.6	12.9
Slightly decreased	902	1916	1600
%	9.0	17.2	15.6
Decreased a lot	302	414	830
%	3.0	3.7	8.1
Don't know	299	533	345
%	3.0	4.8	3.4
Total	10036	11161	10228
%	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 11 reveals how the respondents assess the changing nature of corruption in Nigeria. In 2005, 64.1% or three out of every five respondents were of the opinion that corruption had increased a lot. In 2006, 47.2% or slightly less than half of the respondents thought so while in 2009, this reduced further to 37.4% or about two out of every five respondents. This appears to agree with Transparency International’s ranking of Nigeria in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) between 2005 and 2009 (see Table 1 above). This means that the outlook is still bad but not as bad as it was in the 1990s and the first half of the 2000 decade.

Control of Corruption

It can be said that corruption is a serious social problem in Nigeria. Horton and Leslie, cited in Igbo and Anugwom (2002:78), define social problem as “a condition that affects a significant number of people in ways considered undesirable, about which it is felt that

something must be done through collective social action” to ameliorate it. Thus far, a good majority of the respondents see corruption as a problem that has become endemic and hydra-headed, in all ramifications, and which therefore needs to be addressed squarely. Respondents were asked for their views on how best to tackle corruption. Their views are presented in table 12.

Table 12: Control of Corruption

	2005	2006	2009
Measures	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.
Tougher Laws/Sentences	2241	3142	6374
%	22.3	28.2	62.3
Better education and upbringing of children	2246	4975	7168
%	22.4	44.6	70.1
Good example of leadership	2084	5405	7309
%	20.0	48.4	71.5
More control of public officials	901	2797	5573
%	9.0	25.1	54.5
Greater publicity of corruption	791	2764	5671
%	7.9	24.8	55.4
Better salaries for public officials	700	4620	6227
%	7.0	41.4	60.9
Others	695	1812	586
%	6.9	16.2	5.7
Nothing	-	323	180
%	-	2.9	1.8
Social Security for aged, unemployed and handicapped	-	-	5135
%	-	-	50.2

In 2005, 22.4% or about one out of every five people indicated that corruption can be controlled by means of better education and upbringing of children. About the same number of respondents voted for tougher law and sentences. The number of respondents who stated that corruption can be controlled through better education and upbringing of children doubled in 2006 (44.6%) and increased by over half in 2009 (70.1%). Similarly, while ‘Good example of Leadership’ received a low endorsement of 20% or one out of every five of the respondents in 2005, it got to 48.4% or nearly half of the respondents in 2006, and almost doubled to 71.5%, or seven out of every ten respondents, in 2009. Whereas it was in the third position among the options chosen by respondents in 2005, ‘Good example of Leadership’ came first in both 2006 and 2009 with 48.4% and 71.5% respectively, with a mean of (46.4%), followed by better education and upbringing of children (45.7%). Others are tougher laws (37.6%), better salaries (36.4%), more control of public officials (29.5%), and greater publicity of corruption (29.4%).

The essence of good leadership in combating corruption in Nigeria cannot be over-emphasized. Nearly three decades ago, one of Nigeria’s foremost writers declared that:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership... The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership (Achebe, 1983:1).

The Anglican Bishop of Jos, Rt. Rev. Benjamin Kwashi, cited in Chuta (2004:54), put it more succinctly when he declared that:

As long as Nigerian and, indeed, African leaders continued to pay lip service to fighting corruption, without purging themselves first, the menace of corruption will continue to live with us.

A situation where an incumbent president and the ruling party engage in ‘selection’, rather than election of State Governors, as well as federal and state legislators, exacerbates rather than reduce the scourge of corruption in Nigeria. It is interesting here to note that barely five months to the General Elections in April 2011, seven (7) out of a total of 29 Governors ‘elected’ on the platform of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in 2007, have been removed from office by the courts on account of rigged and fraudulent elections. These are the Governors of Anambra, Delta, Edo, Ekiti, Ondo, Osun and Rivers States.

Summary of Findings

- a. A substantial percentage of the respondents agreed that they had been asked for bribe by Government officials in the last three years – 21.6% in 2005, 19.2% in 2006, and 29.4% in 2009.
- b. More males than females reported being asked for bribe by government officials in the previous three years.
- c. Respondents in the urban areas who were asked for bribe were more than those in the rural areas. This may be because most of the government offices and activities are found in the urban areas as against the rural areas.
- d. The younger the respondents, the less the demand for bribe by government officials, particularly the youngest age group in the study (18 -24years). This may be because they are largely unemployed and have little or nothing to offer as bribe. Also, young people are prone to the violation of the secrecy governing bribe transactions and the bribe takers may consider them non-profitable and a security risk.
- e. Interestingly, the lower the educational level of the respondents, the less the demand for bribes. On the other hand, the higher the educational level the more the demand for bribe by government officials. One would have thought that the opposite would be the case since the more educated appear to know their rights more than the less educated.
- f. Generally, respondents from the southern states reported more demand for bribes from public officials than respondents from the Northern states. Rivers and Bayelsa States on the average reported higher demands for bribe by public officials than other states of the country. This may not be unconnected with the “oil economy”.
- g. An overwhelming majority of the respondents did not report their being asked for bribe to the relevant law enforcement agencies – the Police, ICPC or EFCC.
- h. Of all the public agencies, a substantial majority of the respondents indicated that the police is the “most likely” public agency to demand for bribe, followed distantly by the Customs Service.
- i. On the trend of corruption over the years, respondents overwhelmingly indicated that it has “increased a lot” for the 2005 and 2006 survey years but this decreased in 2009.

- j. On how best to tackle corruption in Nigeria, majority of the respondents indicated that it is by good and exemplary leadership and better education and upbringing of children.

Conclusion

We have so far attempted to analyze the data from the National Crime Surveys of 2005, 2006, and 2009 by CLEEN Foundation on the hydra-headed problem of corruption in Nigeria. Internationally, Nigeria is perceived as one of the most corrupt countries in the world today. The big question is: how do Nigerians themselves perceive corruption in Nigeria?

The data from the 2005, 2006 and 2009 National Crime Victimization Surveys reveal that a good majority of the respondents from across the 36 states, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), see corruption as endemic in Nigeria, and particularly within government or public agencies. As would be expected, the Nigeria Police Force was indicted as the most corrupt public agency, which regularly and consistently asks for bribe from members of the public. Other agencies that were mentioned include politicians in the National and State Assemblies, as well as Local Government Officials, the Customs and Immigration Services, FRSC and PHCN (former NEPA), as well as Teachers/Lecturers/Professors in Territory institutions.

On the control of corruption in Nigeria, the consensus was that it is dependent on the political leadership of the country. It is because Nigerian leaders do not lead by personal examples that corruption and all manner of indiscipline tend to germinate and flourish. Nigeria today, more than at any other time in the past, needs leaders who are imbued with wisdom, the will, the ability, and the vision to pilot the affairs of the country in the 21st century. The leadership cannot prosecute the war against corruption when it is completely immersed in the quagmire of corruption. The saying that: “he who comes to equity must come with clean hands” aptly summarizes this point.

The EFCC and, to some extent, the ICPC have over the years waged a fierce battle against top politicians and government bureaucrats for corrupt practices and enrichment. It is now history that the EFCC has successfully prosecuted a former Inspector General of Police and a top politician and member of the Board of Trustees of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria. The former Governors of Bayelsa, Enugu, Edo, Delta, Jigawa and Abia States have been arraigned in court by the EFCC over corruption charges. Similarly, a serving National Chairman of the PDP was forced to resign his post in early 2010 over allegations of corruption and has since been charged to court by the EFCC. The list is limitless and only time will tell which way about corruption in Nigeria.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Fear of Crime and Crime Control Initiatives

Ebai S. Eban Ph.D.

Introduction

Criminal events provoke many emotions from the general public: outrage, sadness, anger, disgust, and shock. One of these emotions, public fear of crime, has attracted attention from social scientists since the late 1960s. The fear of crime refers to the fear of being a victim of [crime](#) as opposed to the actual probability of being a victim of crime. Fear of crime, according to victimology literature, tends to be high, in excess of the actual risk of victimisation.⁴ For example, reports of the 2006 surveys show that 23.1% of the respondents said they were victims of any crime in 2006. However, 52.2% of the respondents said they were very fearful of becoming victims of crime; another 20.4% were quite fearful⁵. Compared to the percentage that reported victimisation during the year, the ratio of victimisation to fear of victimisation translated to 1:3.2.⁶

The phrase "fear of crime" is sometimes loosely used to describe a variety of attitudes, perceptions, or feelings about crime (e.g., concern about the moral decline of the country, the deterioration of neighbourhoods, or mistrust of strangers). Used properly, however, the term *fear* refers to a particular emotion, that is, a feeling of apprehension or dread caused by an awareness or expectation of danger. Fear of crime can be differentiated into public feelings, thoughts and behaviours about the personal risk of criminal victimization. These feelings, thoughts and behaviours have damaging effects on individual and group life: they can erode public health and psychological well-being; they can alter routine activities and habits; they can contribute to some places turning into 'no-go' areas via a withdrawal from community; and they can drain community cohesion, trust and neighborhoods' stability.⁷ An overwhelming fear of crime also has serious consequences for democracy, economic development, social capital and associational life generally.⁸

Nigeria has witnessed an upsurge in crimes during the past two decades. Increasing incidence of armed robbery has led to a paralyzing fear, which has in turn affected economic and social life in the country. As a result of the growing rates and severity of criminality successive

⁴Etannibi E.O Alemika; Innocent C. Chukwuma, Criminal Victimization, safety and policing in Nigeria Lagos, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 4 June 2006) Table 38, P.60

⁵ Etannibi E.O Alemika; Innocent C. Chukwuma, Criminal Victimization, safety and policing in Nigeria Lagos, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 4 June 2006) Table 38, P.61

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Hale, C. (1996). Fear of crime: A review of the literature. *International Review of Victimology*, 4, 79-150.

Farrall, S., Jackson, J. & Gray, E. (2007). Theorising the fear of crime: The cultural and social significance of feelings of insecurity. Published on the Social Science Research Network: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1012393 Farrall, S. & Gadd, D. (2004). The frequency of the fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44, 127-132.

⁸Etannibi E.O Alemika and Innocent C. Chukwuma, Criminal Victimization and Fear of Crime in Lagos, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 1 June 2005) p5.

governments in the country since the early 1980s introduced diverse crime control measures but without much success.⁹To effectively combat crime and reduce the fear of crime, comprehensive socio-economic development planning aimed at effective and equitable social services delivery as well as efficacious citizen political participation is necessary.

This chapter used the data from the national crime and safety survey 2005, 2006 and 2007-2009 to analyse pattern and trend of fear of crime in all the 36 federated states and the federal capital territory of Nigeria. It also uses secondary (including media and ethnographic) materials to discuss concern with safety and security in the country. It analyses the extent of fear of crime and common crimes in communities, and measures taken to protect community members. Pattern and trend across states, zones, gender, locality, age and education are analysed. The establishment and employment of vigilante groups, community crime watch groups, will also be analysed. The chapter also made recommendations on how crime control could be made more effective not only to reduce the fear of crime but also to effectively reduce the incidences of crime.

Pattern and Trend of Fear of Crime

This section analyses the pattern and trend of fear of crime amongst the respondents of the surveys in all the 36 federated states and Abuja during the past five years. Pattern and trend will be considered along states, zones, gender, locality, age and education. The nature, extent and pattern of fear of crime have been attributed to several factors like age, sex, community population structure, incivility, prior victimisation and high crime incidences. In this section, patterns and trends of crime in 2005, 2006 and 2009 are analysed in order to determine whether the fear of crime or the feeling of safety is increasing or decreasing amongst respondents across states, regions, age, and gender.

Feeling of Safety and Fear of Crime

Feeling of safety from criminal victimisation is affected by several factors. Such factors include personal experience, information from acquaintances and the press, reports and advice by law enforcement agencies, and observed deterioration of infrastructure and quality of life and civil association in the neighbourhood.¹⁰ Fear of crime and actual level of criminality do not often highly correlate because fear includes assessment of risks or vulnerability¹¹

Reports of the 2005 survey generally reveal that, while walking alone in one's area or neighbourhood during the day, 75.3% of respondents felt very safe and 21.0% felt fairly safe making a total of 96.3% of respondents that felt very or fairly safe in their area while walking in the day¹². Fear of crime heightens during the night such that people generally felt less safe after day light, as such, 49.6% of respondents felt very safe and 31.7% felt fairly safe making a total of 81.3% of respondents who felt very safe and fairly safe walking around in their neighbourhood at night. Most respondents however felt very safe while at home both during the day and night than walking around. 76.2% feel very safe and 19.5% feel fairly safe at home during the day making a total of 95.7% of respondents feeling very safe or safe at

9 Ibid, p 1

10Eli B. Silverman and Jo-n Della- Guistina, 2001 'Urban Policing and the Fear of crime' Urban Studies (5-6): 941-957, in Etannibi E.O Alemika; Emmanuel U. Igbo and Chinyere P. Nnorom, Criminal Victimisation, Safety and Policing in Nigeria, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 3 2005) p51

11 Ibid.

12 Etannibi E.O Alemika; Innocent C. Chukwuma, Criminal Victimisation and Fear of Crime in Lagos, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 1 June 2005) p51

home during the day. At night the percentage reduces to 54.7% and 28.9% of respondents feeling very safe and fairly safe at home at night alone. This brings the percentage of respondents to 83.6%. The percentage of respondents that felt safe in 2005 was 88.45%.

Fear of crime seems to be increasing as the years go by. Reports of the 2006 survey generally revealed that 94.7% of the respondents felt safe at home during the day and 79.6% in the dark. Altogether, 87.15% of the population felt very safe at home and in the dark. In 2009, 38% of the respondents felt very safe and 55% felt safe, totalling 93% of respondents that felt very safe and safe to walk alone during the day in their neighbourhood. In the night 79% of respondents felt very safe or safe walking alone in their areas with 27% feeling very safe and 52 feeling safe. In the homes during the day 92% feel very safe or safe and 82% in the night. The percentage average of respondents feeling safe at home in 2009 is 85. See Table 1 below.

Table 1: Feeling of Safety and Fear of Crime

	2005	2006	2007-2009
How safe do you feel(General)	%	%	%
Walking alone in the day	96.3	-	93.5
Walking alone in the dark	81.3	-	78.0
Home alone during the day	95.7	94.7	92.0
Home alone in the dark	83.8	79.6	82.0
At work			81.0
In Public Places			81.0
% Average	88.45	87.15	85.0

From the table 1 above more people generally felt less safe in 2009 than they were in 2005.

Fear of Criminal Victimization in States

Criminal victimisation varies across the states so also is the feeling of safety across residences. The States may be classified in terms of the extent of feeling of safety by their residents. Respondents generally felt safe at home during the day than in the night. Overall, 95.7% of respondents felt very safe or safe at home in the day in 2005, 94.7% in 2006 and 92% in 2007-2009 surveys. In 2005 more residents of Abia, Anambra, Borno, Cross River, Kebbi, FCT, Rivers, Edo and Ebonyi states, felt relatively unsafe at home. In the 2006 survey

however, the feeling of safety at home during the day was highest amongst respondents in Kano, Ogun Ondo, Yobe, Anambra, Imo, Kogi, Kwara, Osun, Sokoto, Taraba and Zamfara states and FCT. In the 2009 survey, fear of victimisation at home alone was highest in Edo, Ebonyi, Katsina, Akwa Ibom, FCT, Abia, Benue, Gombe, and Anambra states. See Table 2 below.

Table 2: Feeling of Safety at home during the day in States

States	2005	2006	2007-2009
	Total of very Safe and fairly safe	Total of very Safe and fairly safe	Total of very Safe and fairly safe
	%	%	%
Abia	81.5	90.8	85
Adamawa	97.5	88.8	98
Akwa-Ibom	93.9	94.9	89
Anambra	92.7	89.9	80
Bauchi	98.8	96.0	95
Bayelsa	99.1	85.7	98
Benue	94.7	93.5	85
Borno	93.9	95.7	93
Cross-River	94.3	97.7	89
Delta	93.5	95.1	94
Ebonyi	94.0	91.2	67
Edo	92.5	83.7	63
Ekiti	96.4	96.4	98
Enugu	96.1	86.4	95
FCT	96.5	96.0	88
Gombe	98.3	91.0	85
Imo	98.5	97.9	96
Jigawa	97.2	91.9	95
Kaduna	95.6	94.5	94
Kano	96.4	99.4	98
Katsina	98.4	96.4	77
Kebbi	91.8	92.6	96
Kogi	94.9	97.2	88
Kwara	99.4	96.7	99
Lagos	97.2	93.5	98
Nasarawa	96.6	92.1	91
Niger	99.3	95.7	95
Ogun	98.9	99.6	96
Ondo	97.7	98.8	76
Osun	98.1	97.7	95

Oyo	97.7	98.2	94
Plateau	98.3	94.9	99
Rivers	93.5	92.5	94
Sokoto	96.0	98.0	91
Taraba	97.7	96.3	97
Yobe	95.7	98.6	97
Zamfara	94.9	96.8	97
National	95.7	94.7	90.9

Feeling of Safety at home at night in States

Fear of crime heightened in the night. Therefore, people generally feel less safe after daylight. Nevertheless, the feeling of safety varies across communities, reflecting residents' perception of threats to life and property. Respondents felt considerably less safe at night than they were during the day.

In 2005 respondents in Abia, Rivers, Anambra, Bayelsa, Kebbi, Sokoto and Yobe States felt relatively unsafe at home during the night. In the 2006 survey, the feeling of insecurity at night was highest amongst respondents in Bayelsa, Benue, Edo, Nasarawa, Plateau, Rivers and Taraba states. In contrast, respondents in Kogi, Ogun, Osun and Oyo states generally felt very safe while at home alone in the dark. In 2009, the fear of crime at home in the night was highest in Edo, Ebonyi, Akwa Ibom, Enugu and Delta states. On the contrary the feeling of safety was highest in Adamawa, Lagos, Bayelsa, Ondo, Ogun, Osun, Kano and Zamfara states. See Tale 3 below.

Table 3: Feeling of Safety at home in the night in States

States	2005	2006	2007-2009
	Total of Very Safe and safe	Total of Very Safe and safe	Total of Very Safe and safe
	%	%	%
Abia	39.2	62.1	68.0
Adamawa	80.0	71.5	97.0
Akwa-Ibom	80.8	73.6	82.0
Anambra	66.7	81.4	62.0
Bauchi	92.9	78.9	71.0
Bayelsa	89.4	29.4	95.0
Benue	84.7	58.3	70.0
Borno	78.9	85.8	85.0

Cross-River	81.1	70.2	74.0
Delta	69.8	81.8	64.0
Ebonyi	75.3	79.1	53.0
Edo	75.8	51.6	35.0
Ekiti	86.3	82.1	90.0
Enugu	90.6	65.4	63.0
FCT	90.9	83.3	66.0
Gombe	76.0	68.1	79.0
Imo	89.6	88.2	80.0
Jigawa	90.0	80.3	84.0
Kaduna	90.1	82.6	85.0
Kano	90.9	97.7	92.0
Katsina	91.5	92.9	79.0
Kebbi	73.3	81.8	83.0
Kogi	83.2	94.1	78.0
Kwara	90.6	85.7	86.0
Lagos	92.2	79.0	96.0
Nasarawa	81.1	75.4	70.0
Niger	95.0	88.9	87.0
Ogun	96.6	94.9	93.0
Ondo	88.2	92.8	94.0
Osun	95.0	96.0	92.0
Oyo	92.6	95.3	86.0
Plateau	83.4	69.5	84.0
Rivers	51.1	49.6	88.0
Sokoto	77.0	88.1	88.0
Taraba	84.3	71.8	91.0
Yobe	77.5	84.7	83.0
Zamfara	92.9	82.5	92.0
Total	82.8	79.6	80.1

Feeling of Safety in Neighbourhoods during the day and at night in States

More respondents expressed fear of crime in the neighbourhoods than at home. In 2005 respondents of FCT as well as Abia, Rivers and Taraba states were more fearful of crime in their neighbourhood than residents of other states. In 2009, the fear of crime in the neighbourhood during the day was high in Ebonyi, Edo, Abia, Borno, Gombe States and FCT. At night high fears were noticed in Edo, Ebonyi, Akwa Ibom, Benue, Cross River, Delta, and Enugu States. States with the highest feeling of safety were, Lagos Kaduna, Bayelsa and Bauchi States. On the whole 84.2% of respondents felt very safe and safe in their neighbourhoods in 2009 survey while 76.9% felt so in 2005. See Table 4 below.

Table 4 Fear of Crime in the Neighbourhood

	2005	2007-2009		% Annual Average
	% Total of Very Safe and safe	% Total of Very Safe and safe	% Total of Very Safe and safe	
		Day	Night	
Abia	70.4	85.0	58	71.5
Adamawa	71.7	98.0	85	91.5
Akwa-Ibom	64.5	85.0	48	66.5
Anambra	81.9	89.0	80	84.5
Bauchi	82.9	98.0	90	94.0
Bayelsa	59.1	97.0	90	93.5
Benue	58.7	86.0	62	74.0
Borno	73.7	93.0	86	89.5
Cross-River	66.5	85.0	66	75.5
Delta	71.2	97.0	59	78.0
Ebonyi	64.8	68.0	48	58.0
Edo	60.	69.0	28	48.5
Ekiti	97.7	97.0	83	90.0
Enugu	76.8	95.0	67	81.0
FCT	67.2	82.0	69	75.5
Gombe	81.0	87.0	79	83.0
Imo	82.5	87.0	71	79.0
Jigawa	78.8	96.0	81	88.5
Kaduna	64.8	94.0	82	88.0
Kano	80.3	97.0	88	92.5
Katsina	89.1	83.0	78	80.5
Kebbi	88.0	96.0	81	88.5
Kogi	80.4	87.0	77	82.0
Kwara	94.4	99.0	86	92.5
Lagos	81.7	98.0	95	96.5
Nasarawa	81.7	94.0	68	81.0
Niger	83.9	95.0	84	89.0
Ogun	89.2	94.0	89	91.5
Ondo	80.0	96.0	88	92.0
Osun	94.2	95.0	90	92.5
Oyo	86.0	98.0	80	89.0
Plateau	55.0	96.0	81	88.5
Rivers	60.7	95.0	83	89.0
Sokoto	89.7	94.0	81	87.5
Taraba	55.2	99.0	80	89.5
Yobe	96.3	97.0	79	88.0
Zamfara	88.9	97.0	97	97.0

Regional Variations in Criminal Victimization and the Fear of Criminal Victimization

Literature in Criminology showed that regions and cities with high concentration of industrial, financial and commercial activities tend to have higher victimisation rate that engender greater fear of criminal victimisation than in regions with lesser activities. Lagos is the nation's primary centre for such activities. The nation's oil fields and production are located in the South-South, while the South-East, South-west and North-west have high level of commercial activities. Incidentally, respondents in Lagos exhibited substantially lesser fears of criminal victimisation than their counterparts in other zones. For instance, 98% of respondents in Lagos feel very safe or safe moving alone during the day in their neighbourhood. The percentages show that many more people are less fearful of criminal victimisation in Lagos than their counterparts in all other regions of the federation. The percentage of respondents fearful of criminal victimisation is highest in the South East-with 86% of respondents and 88% in South-South feeling very safe and safe walking around alone in their neighbourhood during the day respectively. The North Central followed with 92%, North West had 94% while North-East and South-West both have 96% of respondents feeling very safe or safe walking alone in their neighbourhood during the day. However, national and international media portray Lagos as unsafe. This is perhaps partly due to journalistic sensationalism as well as the concentration of media agencies in the city, and the sophistication with which armed robbery incidents are executed. The high level of fear of crime in the South-south and South-East regions may be attributed to the level of conflicts and commercial activities in the respective communities.

Gender and Fear of Crime

Reports of the 2009 survey reveal that 40% (5144) of males felt very safe and 53% felt safe making a total of 93% of males that felt very safe and safe moving alone during the day in their neighbourhood. The percentage of females is lower than that of males with 35% (5084) of females feeling very safe and 57% feeling safe with a total of 92% female feeling very safe or safe moving alone in their neighbourhood. A substantial percentage of respondents felt unsafe moving around alone in their neighbourhood at night. 79% of males and 77% of females felt very safe or safe walking alone at night in their neighbourhood. Table 6 below shows that a cumulative annual total of male respondents is 86% and females 84.33%. In 2009, the percentages of men and women feeling very safe and safe at home alone during the day are 92% for males and 92% of females. On average 92% respondents felt very safe and safe at home during the day for both males and females. In 2009, 33% of men felt very safe and 50% safe making 83% of males feeling very safe and safe at home alone during the night. During the same period 27% of females felt very safe and 54% felt safe at home alone at night, summing up the percentage of females feeling very safe and safe at home alone at night to 81%. The sum total of 82.0% percentage of males and females felt very safe and safe at home alone at night. However, in 2005 7.02% of males and 75.0% of females were said to have feared crime.

These figures confirm literature on criminology and its sub-discipline of victimology which generally reveals that females are less prone to criminal victimisation than their male counterparts but harbour higher levels of fear of victimisation than men. There has been continuing debate in the literature about the paradox of higher male victimisation and higher

fear of crime amongst the female.¹³ Some argue that the high level of fear exhibited by females is irrational judging by their lower rates of victimisation. But some researchers have argued that female victimisations either within the household or in terms of sexual assault are under-reported. Women victimisations are therefore said to be largely hidden and unreported even to researchers. According to Zedner; “ Since crimes against women, particularly sexual offences and assaults occurring within the home, are least susceptible to discovery or revelation, women may suffer far higher levels of victimisation than are revealed even by crime surveys”¹⁴ Similarly, Jennet argued that crime against women tend to be unreported and suggested that if “the full extend of unreported crimes against women were known and coupled with acknowledgment of the continuum of sexual violence which they experience, we might have a clearer understanding of women’s fears.¹⁵ The percentage differences between males and females fear of crime did not reveal substantial differences thus confirming Zedner and Jennet’s assertion; namely that women do not report most of the crimes committed against them. See Table 5 below

Table 5: Gender and Fear of Crime.

Gender	2005	2006	2009	% that felt safe in at:			% Annual Average 2007-2009
				Area; Day/night	Home Day/night	Work	
Male		7.02	93 79	92 83	87	82	86.0
Female		75.0	92 77	92 81	84	80	84.3

Age and Feeling of Safety

The relationship between social characteristics and fear of crime is one of the enduring interests in criminology, especially its sub-discipline of victimology. But the nature of the relationship has not been consistently determined. People who were less likely to experience victimisation (age wise) were reported to be more fearful of crime.¹⁶ Data repots from the 2006 and 2007-2009 surveys presented in table 6 below show that people above 50 years harbour less fears of criminal victimisation, while respondents in the 18-24 years age

13 Etannibi E.O Alemika; Innocent C. Chukwuma, Criminal Victimization, safety and policing in Nigeria Lagos, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 4 June 2006) Table 38, P.46

14Zedner L. Victims in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner(ed), The Oxford hand book of Criminology, Oxford: Oxford University Press: %77-612.

15Jennet,C Qualitative Review in Tulloch J. et al, Fear of Crime: audit of literature and community Programs, Canberra: Commonwealth of Autralia in Etannibi E.O Alemika, Emmanuel U. Igbo and Chinyere P. Nnorom, Criminal Victimization, safety and policing in Nigeria ((CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 3) 2005 P47

16 Box, S., Hale, C. and Andrews G. 1988. ‘Explaining fear of crime’, British Journal of criminology 28, 340-356, in Etannibi E.O Alemika; Innocent C. Chukwuma, Criminal Victimization, safety and policing in Nigeria Lagos, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 4 June 2006) Table 38, P.62

category were most fearful of crime. This pattern with respect to age differs from some findings in the literature which reported the opposite.¹⁷

Table 6: Age and Fear of crime

Age	2005	2006	2007-2009	% that felt safe in at:			Average 2009
				Area Day/night	Home Day/night	Work	
18-25		75.1	93 76	92 81	84	80	84.3
25-30		71.3	92 78	92 81	86	81	85
31-35		71.6	91 79	91 82	87	81	85.2
36-40		72.8	92 79	91 81	86	82	85.2
41-50		73.7	93 79	92 82	85	70	83.5
51 and older		66.1	90 74	94 87	90	86	87

Urban-Rural Variations and the Fear of Crime

Crimes vary across neighborhoods. Generally, both experience and criminological knowledge suggest that criminal victimisation is lowest in rural areas than in urban areas with 22.4% of respondents reportedly victimised in the urban areas and 19.5% victimised in rural areas in 2005. Some of the reasons may simply be that rural areas rarely report victimisation to official agencies and victimisation there though wide spread are not as serious as those in urban areas. This probably explains why the fear of victimisation is less in rural areas than in urban areas. In the table below a total of 85.3% of respondents in rural areas felt very safe or safe, while a total of 85% of respondents felt very safe and safe in urban area. The figure in the table below indicates that there is less fear of crime in rural areas than in urban areas. These figures tallies with the 2005 reports which show that the actual rate of victimisation is lower in the rural than in urban areas.¹⁸ Although the differences are not as substantial as official statistics, media reports and even criminological literature suggest.

17 La Grange, RL and Ferraro, KF. 1989 Assessing age and gender differences in perceived risk and fear of crime', *criminology*, 27: 697-719 in Etannibi E.O Alemika; Innocent C. Chukwuma, *Criminal Victimisation, safety and policing in Nigeria Lagos*, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 4 June 2006) Table 38, P.62

18 Etannibi E.O Alemika, Emmanuel U. Igbo and Chinyere P. Nnorom, *Criminal Victimisation, safety and policing in Nigeria* ((CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 3) 2005 P47

Table 7: Feeling of safety in Urban/Rural Areas

% Feared/ suffered victimisation	2005 Victimised	Feeling of safety: 2007-2009				Annual Average 2009
		%	%	%	%	
		Area day/night	Home day/night	At work	Public Place	
Urban Areas	22.4	91 76	92 91	85	78	85
Rural	19.5	93 82	80 84	88	85	85.3

Level of Education and the Fear of Crime

The National Crime and safety survey 2009, shows that the degree and type of education received has an influence on the fear of crime. Respondents from Koranic Schools exhibited less fear of criminal victimisation with a cumulative average of 92%. For the respondents walking alone in their neighbourhood for instance, 32% felt very safe, 56% felt safe, totaling 96% of the respondents feeling very safe and safe moving alone in their neighbourhood during the day. Respondents with the highest level of Education exhibit greater fear of victimisation with cumulative average of 84.2%, See Table 8 below

Table 8: Level of Education and the Fear of Crime

Type and Level of Education	Feeling of safety: 2007-2009				
	%	%	%	%	% of
	Area Day/night	Home Day/night	At work	Public Place	cumulative average
No education	91 84	91 86	86	81	86.5
Koranic School	96 89	95 91	90	89	92
Literacy Classes	91 82	92 85	85	80	86
Primary not completed	91 85	91 88	88	82	87.5
Primary completed	93 85	92 86	88	87	88.5
Secondary not complete	94 79	94 85	87	81	87
Secondary	93 79	92 82	88	81	85.5

completed					
Post Secondary/Tertiary/ University	92 84	91 78	83	77	84.2

Most feared and Common Crimes in the Community

Fear of crime derives from either high incidences or seriousness of the crimes in the community. Respondents across the country identified several crimes as the most prevalent in their communities in the reports. The 2005 survey revealed that theft, house breaking, burglary, livestock theft and assault are the most common crimes in the respondents' communities. In 2006, violent and non-violent property crimes (robbery, theft, and burglary) were the crimes that occurred most frequently in the Nigerian communities, cities and neighbourhoods. The 2009 reports revealed that abuses due to drunkenness, sexual intimidation; assault, abduction, and rape were the frequently feared crimes in the communities and the most fearful crime at home at night was the fear of a criminal entering the home. The most feared crimes did not necessarily correspond to the level of incidences of certain crimes in communities for example; the two most feared crimes (robbery and murder) were not identified as crimes that occurred fairly frequently. Incidence of crimes that occur too often is decreasing with crimes like robbery dropping from 21% in 2005, 16.4% in 2006 to 16% in the 2009 survey reports. See Table 9 below

Table 9: Most Common and Feared Crimes in Respondents' Communities

Crimes that occur most often in respondents community	2005	2006	2007-2009
	%	%	%
Robbery	21.7	16.4	16
House breaking	19.6	6.9	13
Livestock theft	8.6	6.9	-
Crop theft	4.0	3.5	-
Murder	3.3	4.1	-
Assault	5.0	5.3	5
Pick pocketing and bag snatching	2.5	4.6	-

Theft of motor vehicle	1.4	1.8	2
Sexual assault and rape	1.6	1.8	
Land grabbing and land disputes	1.8	1.6	-
Kidnapping	1.2	1.2	-
Others	3.9	3.8	-
<i>Crime most feared in respondents' community</i>			
Robbery	21.9	-	-
Murder	20.5	-	-
Theft of property	13.3	22.3	-
House breaking	4.8	-	-
Livestock theft	3.3	-	-
Sexual assault and rape	3.0	-	5
kidnapping	2.2	-	2
Domestic violence	3.7	-	11
Crop theft	1.8	-	-
Pick pocketing and bag snatching	1.1	-	-
Others	1.8	-	-
None	10.2	-	11

Measures Taken to Protect Criminal Victimization

Citizens take various measures to protect themselves against crime. A comparison of the period under study reveals that a huge number of respondents did not take extra measures against criminal victimisation. In 2005 nearly one-half (49.6%) of citizens did not take extra measures against criminal victimisation. In 2009 in spite of the increase in fear of crime even a greater number (57%) of respondents did not take extra measure against criminal

victimisation. Amongst those who did, the use of vigilantes and community watch initiatives as well as target hardening mechanisms, (locks, alarms, fences, etc) were preferred. In Nigeria, the rich usually build high fences around their premises, install special doors and locks, employ security guards and deploy dogs for their security. In contrast the poor tend to rely on locks, grills, and arrangements between neighbours for mutual security¹⁹. About one in a hundred respondents acquired fire arms in 2005. This number increased to 3% in 2009 reports.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It has generally been noticed that more people developed fear of victimisation in 2009 than in 2006 and 2005. These means the effects of the fear of crime is on the increase in Nigeria. It should be recalled that the fear of crime has a number of damaging effects on individual and group life: they can erode public health and psychological well-being; they can alter routine activities and habits; they can contribute to some places turning into 'no-go' areas via a withdrawal from community; and they can drain community cohesion, trust and neighborhood stability.²⁰ All these mean that the fear of crime is deleterious to democracy, economic development, social capital, as well as to associational life in general. The various means and ways the citizens use to protect themselves from crime is not only weighing on their meager economic means but is also a sign of the inability of the state to provide safety and security to its citizens. For instance reports of the 2006 survey reveal that only 4.2% of the respondents relied on or use of the police to ensure safety and security at home. Such a huge loss of confidence in the states ability to provide safety and security is recipe for trouble. In many cases private security guards, neighbourhood watch groups and other non state security and safety providers have risen to destabilise the security of the state. Nigeria, a country wide a wide variety of people, some with deep ethnic or tribal and political inclinations is not a place to allow the private security out fits to gain greater grounds.

It has been noted that outside the home, people often encounter cues or signs that imply heightened risk and thus incite fear. One of those cues is darkness, a particularly potent sign of danger. Nigeria indeed is in darkness, the electricity Holding company must sit up and provide the necessary power that would keep Nigeria lighted and reduce the incidence of crime.

A number of investigators have identified the physical and social features of neighbourhoods: litter and trash, graffiti, transients, broken windows, abandoned homes, and other as signs of incivility that seem to mark areas as dangerous places (Ferraro, 1995). Research indicates that these signs are in fact correlated with fear. It is therefore incumbent on the authorities concerned to address these issues and rebuild confidence in the state security mechanism thus, reducing the fear of victimisation. As mentioned earlier, to effectively combat crime and subdue the fear of crime, a comprehensive socioeconomic development planning aimed at effective and equitable social services delivery as well as efficacious citizen political participation is necessary

¹⁹Etannibi E.O Alemika; Innocent C. Chukwuma, *Criminal Victimisation, safety and policing in Nigeria Lagos*, (CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No 4 June 2006) Table 38, P.65

²⁰Hale, C. (1996). Fear of crime: A review of the literature. *International Review of Victimology*, 4, 79-150.

Farrall, S., Jackson, J. & Gray, E. (2007). Theorising the fear of crime: The cultural and social significance of feelings of insecurity. Published on the Social Science Research Network:

http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1012393Farrall, S. & Gadd, D. (2004). The frequency of the fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44, 127-132.</ref><ref>Gray, E., Jackson, J. and Farrall, S. (2008).

CHAPTER SIX

Road Accidents and Road Safety in Nigeria

by

Shola Omotosho

Introduction

Road safety is a major concern throughout the developing world, as traffic accidents have become one of the leading causes of death for young people throughout Africa. As developed countries experienced a decline in traffic deaths, Africa experienced an exponential increase (Nantulya and Muli-Musiime 2001). In 1998, developing countries accounted for more than 85% of all deaths due to road traffic crashes globally and for 96% of all children killed. Moreover, about 90% of the disability adjusted life years lost worldwide due to road traffic injuries occur in developing countries (Nantulya and Reich 2002). According to statistics from the Federal Road Safety Commission, between January and middle of April 2010 alone, 1,056 persons lost their lives in 7,737 reported road accidents, making it an average of one death in every 7.3 road accidents.²¹ The same source also indicated that there were estimated 161 deaths per 100,000 vehicles involved in a road traffic accident in Nigeria.²² There are several factors that contribute to the problem, some that are shared with the developed world and are more difficult to tackle, others that are unique to low income countries and are more preventable.

Elvik, in his work on road safety, discusses why some road safety problems are seemingly intractable. These include the high risk of accidents involving young drivers; the high risk of injury by unprotected road users; risks attributable to incompatibility between different types of vehicles and groups of road users; differences in risk between different types of traffic environments and speeding. These problems are difficult to solve because oftentimes they are not perceived as problems, drivers often have misguided confidence, and it is difficult to overcome the physics that lead to some deadly accidents (Elvik 2010).

Traffic accidents remain a major problem in the developing world for several reasons, including but not limited to: governments' lack of resources to invest in traffic safety, cultural beliefs regarding fatalism of injuries, competing health problems such as HIV/AIDS, and traffic mixes that comprise many vulnerable road users like pedestrians and motorcyclists. There are some interventions that have taken place in developed countries that have been and can continue to be applied to low income countries successfully. These include legislation and enforcement of seat belt and helmet use, sidewalks, roadway barriers, and pedestrian crossing signs with clearly marked crosswalks. Before these interventions are made, however, it is important to factor in country-specific issues such as costs, sustainability, and barriers (Forjuoh 2003).

The Federal Road Safety Commission Nigeria

The establishment of this Commission was the response of the Federal Government of Nigeria to the unpleasant trends in the nation's road traffic system often resulting to an upsurge in road traffic accidents. It was created in February 1988 and governed by the Federal Road Safety Commission (establishment) Act 2007.

²¹ Osita Chidoka, Chief Executive of the Federal Road Safety Commission, quoted in Punch Newspapers, April 19, 2010.

²² Ibid

The functions of the Commission generally relates to:

1. Making the highway safe for motorists and other road users.
2. Recommending works and devices designed to eliminate or minimize accidents on the highways and advising the Federal and State Governments including the Federal Capital Territory Administration and relevant governmental agencies on the localities where such works and devices are required, and
3. Educating motorists and members of the public on the importance of discipline on the highway.

In particular the Commission is charged with responsibilities for:

1. Preventing or minimizing accidents on the highway;
2. Clearing obstructions on any part of the highways;
3. Educating drivers, motorists and other members of the public generally on the proper use of the highways;
4. Designing and producing the driver's license to be used by various categories of vehicle operators;
5. Determining, from time to time, the requirements to be satisfied by an applicant for a driver's licence;
6. Designing and producing vehicle number plates
7. The standardization of highway traffic codes;
8. Preventing or minimizing accidents on the highways;
9. Clearing obstructions on any part of the highways
10. Educating drivers, motorists and other members of the public generally on the proper use of the highways;
11. Giving prompt attention and care to victims of accidents
12. Conducting researches into causes of motor accidents and methods of preventing them and putting into use the result of such researches;
13. Determining and enforcing speed limits for all categories of roads and vehicles and controlling the use of speed limiting devices;
14. Cooperating with bodies or agencies or groups in road safety activities or in prevention of accidents on the highways;
15. Making regulations in pursuance of any of the functions assigned to the Corps by or under this Act.
16. Regulating the use of sirens, flashers and beacon lights on vehicles other than ambulances and vehicles belonging to the Armed Forces, Nigeria Police, Fire Service and other Para-military agencies;
17. Providing roadside and mobile clinics for the treatment of accident victims free of charge;
18. Regulating the use of mobile phones by motorists;
19. Regulating the use of seat belts and other safety devices;
20. Regulating the use of motorcycles on the highway;
21. Maintaining the validity period for drivers' licences which shall be three years subject to renewal at the expiration of the validity period; and

In exercise of the functions, members of the Commission shall have power to arrest and prosecute persons reasonably suspected of having committed any traffic offence.²³

Data on Road Accidents and Safety

There is, unfortunately, limited data on road safety issues in the developing world in general. Existing official data on road safety provides statistics on number of road accidents; number,

²³ Official Website of the Federal Road Safety Commission Nigeria www.frsc.gov.ng

nature and victims over the years as well as licensing information (published in the Annual Report of the FRSC). The statistics do not show the causes of such accidents and this could be the reason why in spite of road safety policies, deaths on Nigerian roads still stand at a staggering 400 lives in one month.²⁴ The Road Safety survey provides complimentary source of information on experiences of road accidents and further probes public opinion on causes and impacts of road accidents in Nigeria. A section on 'Road User Behaviours' in the data collection instruments was designed to elicit information on the role of the road user in occurrence of accidents.

Patterns and Trends of Road Accidents

Official statistics on road accidents are published by the Nigeria Police Force (Annual Report), the National Bureau of Statistics (Annual Abstract) and the Federal Road Safety Corps (Annual Report). All sources of data depend solely on reported cases either to the Nigeria Police, the FRSC or both.

Table 1: Summary of Reported Road Accident Cases and Casualties, 2003 - 2007

Year	Cases				Casualties		
	Fatal	Serious	Minor	Total	Killed	Injured	Total
2003	5,401	7,432	4,373	17,206	7,697	16,171	23,868
2004	6,362	8,509	4,740	19,611	8,161	20,925	29,086
2005	6,132	7,849	4,678	18,659	8,980	16,888	25,868
2006	5,806	8,052	4,804	18,662	9,131	19,200	28,331
2007	5,789	7,223	4,785	17,797	9,390	17,413	26,803
2008	5,908	7,228	4,252	17,388	9,572	19,496	29,068

Source: Nigeria Police Force Hqtrs Annex, Lagos.

Table 2: 2004 and 2005 Road Traffic Accidents Summary

Year	2004	2005	Remarks
Total RTA cases	14279	8962	37% reduction in RTA
Fatal cases	3275	2299	29% reduction in fatal cases
Persons killed	5351	4519	16% reduction in the number of persons killed
Persons injured	16897	15779	7% reduction in number of persons injured
Total Casualty	22248	20298	9% reduction in total casualty figures

Source: Annual Report 2005. Federal Road Safety Commission

Using a sample of 10,228 respondents, 18.4% reported experiencing accidents on Nigerians roads in varying degrees during the past three years. Slightly more than one-fifth (20.7%) of the cases involved the loss of lives or limbs and long hospitalization of more than one month. Further, 20.5% of cases were serious involving hospitalization for less than a month and destruction of vehicle beyond serviceability; 21.7% of cases were somewhat serious, involving injury treated at hospital and damage to vehicle; 28.8% of cases were considered not serious involving minor injuries and damages to vehicle while only 8.4% considered their accidents not serious at all.

Table 3: Experience of Road Accidents

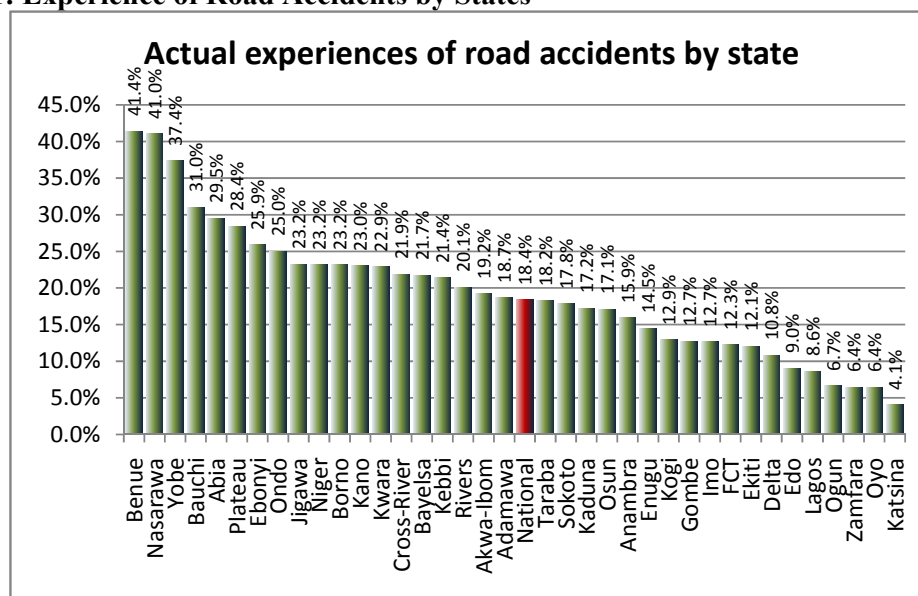
Have you or any member of your household experienced road accidents in your state of residence in the last three years.

²⁴ Sun News Publishing (2008): Nigeria's Grim Road Accidents Statistics. www.sunnewsonline.com

	National	Gender		Age		Marital Status	
		Male	Female	18-40 years	40 & Above	Married	Not married
Yes (%)	18	19	17	18.25	16	17	18.25
No (%)	82	81	83	81.75	84	83	81.75
	Education		Residential Status			Urbanization	
	Educated	Not educated	Higher Status Residential	Medium Status Residential	Lower Status Residential	Urban	Rural
Yes (%)	17.7	11	17	19	18	20	16
No (%)	92.3	89	83	81	82	80	84

There is a wide range in the experience of accidents across the states. Respondents in states like Benue, Nasarawa and Yobe reported high accident rates, as much as 41.4%, 41% and 37.4% respectively. In contrast, respondents in States like Katsina, Oyo and Zamfara reported low accident rates - 4.1%, 6.4% and 6.4% respectively (chart 1).

Chart 1: Experience of Road Accidents by States



Respondents without formal education had the least experience of accidents (11%) as compared with 20% of persons who have had secondary to tertiary education. However, with regards to residential status, respondents with low to medium residential status seemed to have experienced slightly higher level of road accidents than those in the higher residential status. It is popular opinion that poor people are at greater risk for accidents.

According to LaFlamme 2001, traffic injury is one of the causes of mortality with the steepest social class gradient, especially for children and young people. Additionally, the most vulnerable road users have been identified as pedestrians, cyclists, motor-cyclists, or users of public transportation who do not own or have access to a private car, groups that also tend to be the poorest segments of the population. Quite logically, urban dwellers (20%) reported more experience of road accidents than rural dwellers (16%) because road infrastructure and technology is higher in the urban areas and so is population density.

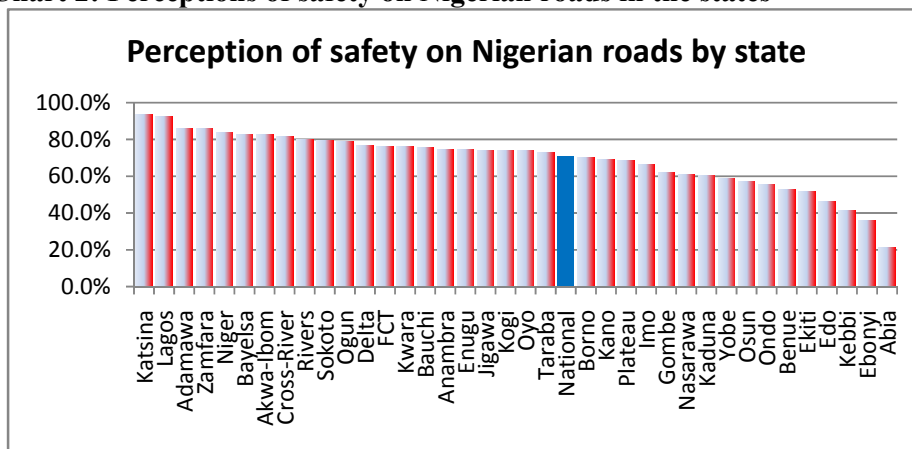
Perception of Safety on Nigerian Roads

Feeling of safety on roads is affected by several factors, which could include among other things, personal experience, information from acquaintances, media reports or even observed deterioration of road infrastructures. This indicator is important for capturing experiences beyond that of respondents as well as obtaining popular opinion about road safety issues. In general, 71% of Nigerians expressed varying degrees of safety on Nigerian roads while 28% did not feel safe. Bad roads (52%) was the most important reason people gave for feeling unsafe on roads; 30% believed that traffic was too fast in their locations, 27% felt that there was too much traffic (too many cars on the roads), 24% blamed road insecurity on the ill-functioning streetlights while an average of 21% complained of lack of walkways, safe crossing points and footbridges.

On the type of roads feared the most, more than a quarter of the respondents (26.6%) singled out the highways, known as ‘express roads’. The absence of safe crossing points and footbridges in some locations heightens the fear of pedestrians on these roads. It is important to point out that although such bridges do exist on some of the roads, they are seldom used, where they existed, for other excuses, including the fear that the bridges provide hideouts for criminals who lurk to mug pedestrians or that that the bridges are misused and pose health hazards to pedestrians. Single lane roads were ranked next to the express roads, with 24% of respondents expressing fears about them. This is probably because speed of cars on these roads is usually under-estimated and pedestrians believe they can quickly dash across as the roads are short; this often ends up in accidents. As much as 29.4% of respondents fear all the road types and this proportion are likely to have had some bad experiences on roads.

There is no significant difference in the feeling of safety on road across the different age categories. However, just as the case with actual experience of road accidents, fear on roads increased with the level of education. State distribution of responses showed the highest level of fear was in the South-East and lowest in the South-South where water transportation is common. The chart below shows the different perception of road safety the states.

Chart 2: Perceptions of safety on Nigerian roads in the states



Causes of Road Accidents

Nigeria has a fairly extensive infrastructure of roads, railroads and airports. The road system is by far the most important element in the country's transportation network, carrying about 95 percent of all the nation's goods and passengers. According to Oni and Okanlawon,²⁵ “the

²⁵Oni, S. I. & Okanlawon, K. R. *Nigeria's Transport Infrastructural Development: An Integral Part Of The National Economic Empowerment And Development Strategy (Needs)* Department of Geography, University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos.

major road transport infrastructure in Nigeria consists of 32,000 km of Federal highways including seven major bridges across the Niger and Benue Rivers, the Lagos ring road, the third mainland axial bridge; 30,500 km of state roads; and 130,000 km of local roads (Buhari, 2000). Buhari stated further that as at June 1996, only 50% of the Federal roads and 20% of the State roads were in reasonably in good condition. Many of the roads are in disrepair because of poor maintenance and years of heavy traffic.

Studies have shown that developing countries have higher accident rates and accident mortality rates than industrialized countries (Soderlund and Zwi 1995). In developing countries, excessive speeding is a leading cause of many road accidents. Although the governments of developing countries often lack the resources to effectively enforce speed limits, nonetheless, speed bumps and rumble strips have been shown to be very useful in reducing traffic fatalities. Other road user behavior problems have also been shown to cause accidents. In the developing world, drivers are less likely stop for pedestrians on uncontrolled pedestrian crossings and, not surprisingly, fewer pedestrians made use of such crossings compared with the UK. Also, observations in Pakistan demonstrated relatively high proportions of drivers crossing continuous "no overtaking" lines (15 %) and not stopping at stop signs, even when traffic was near (52 %) (Downing 1985, Downing, etal 1991).

Road accidents in Nigeria are caused by two major factors: (i) road conditions and (ii) driving habits (the human factor). Roads and highways in Nigeria are generally regarded as *death traps* as a result of poor road maintenance. The conditions of vehicles that ply these roads are also a source of concern as vehicle inspection is not very efficient. This concern is highest among commercial vehicles as they lack basic safety devices like fire extinguishers or first aid kits and are often overloaded. On the other hand, a significant proportion of drivers in Nigeria do not respect traffic laws like speed limits. Motorcycle-taxi (commonly called *Okada*) drivers are also another source of threats on Nigerian roads. This category of road users are usually unruly and do not comply with road safety measures like the use of crash helmets, in spite of government regulations.

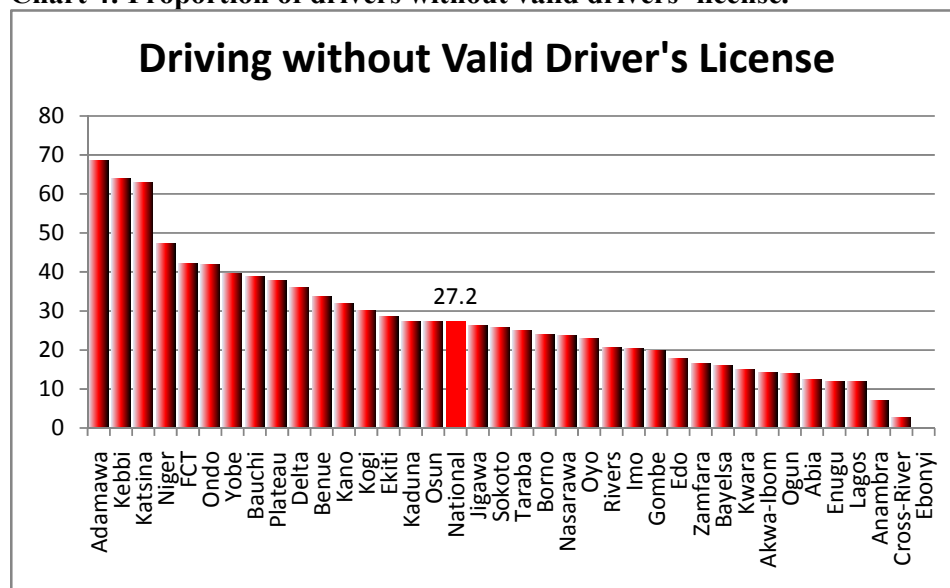
From the survey results, bad roads (52%) was the greatest reason that people gave for feeling unsafe on Nigerian roads. Poor street-lighting (24%); high speed (30%), high volume of traffic (27%) were other sources of feeling of road insecurity (chart 3). More than one-half of the respondents (56%) felt that the roads in their locality were prone to accidents while 70% of the respondents were convinced that roads will be safer in Nigeria if they were properly maintained.

Chart 3: Reasons given for not feeling safe on Nigerian roads



Apart from bad roads, quality and attitude of drivers were also factors that affect the level of road accidents. Out of the 1,697 respondents who reported that they drive vehicles across the country, about 27.2% did not have valid driver's license while 60% never went through a formal driving school for training before driving a vehicle. Among the respondents who had driver's license, only 54% obtained their license through the proper process, which is the FRSC. Nearly three-fifths 59% went through driving tests before being issued the licenses. The chart below presents the distribution of respondents who admitted to driving without a valid driver's license across the states (chart 4).

Chart 4: Proportion of drivers without valid drivers' license.



There were other self-report road user behaviours that may account for some of the accidents on Nigerian roads.

Use of seat belt

In his book,²⁶ Tom Vanderbilt expressed that “optimistic bias” or the “above-average effect” in drivers explains resistance to traffic safety measures like seat belts or cell phone restrictions. Seat belts are safety measures meant to reduce impact during crashes. There is seat belt requirement in Nigeria but like many policies, there is a level of resistance and non-compliance. In the survey, 56% of drivers reported that they used seat belts every time they drive; 24% admitted that they were fairly regular in their use of seat belts, and as much as 15% reported that they use seat belts occasionally; 3% hardly ever used seat belts while 2% never used them. This is an interesting finding considering the level of penalty prescribed by the FRSC for non-compliance to this road safety measure.

There seems to be better compliance among urban dwellers than among the rural dwellers. This is not unassociated with the fact that sensitization efforts reach urban dwellers more. Expectedly also, there is a lower level of compliance among the lower age category (18-24 and 25-30 yrs) than among the higher age category. The chart below shows the pattern of use of seat belts across states:

Table 4: Self report on use of seat belts while driving by states

State	Regularly (%)	Irregularly (%)
Abia	85.0	15.0
Adamawa	77.1	22.9
Akwa-Ibom	90.5	9.5
Anambra	85.7	14.3
Bauchi	66.7	33.3
Bayelsa	77.4	22.6
Benue	86.1	13.9

²⁶ Vanderbilt, T (2009), Traffic: Why We Drive The Way We Do. First Vintage Books, New York, United States of America

Borno	71.6	28.4
Cross-River	94.6	5.4
Delta	87.5	12.5
Ebonyi	70.0	30.0
Edo	94.6	5.4
Ekiti	97.6	2.4
Enugu	89.7	10.3
FCT	63.2	36.8
Gombe	50.0	50.0
Imo	75.0	25.0
Jigawa	73.7	26.3
Kaduna	75.3	24.7
Kano	60.9	39.1
Katsina	31.4	68.6
Kebbi	58.3	41.7
Kogi	85.0	15.0
Kwara	90.0	10.0
Lagos	95.4	4.6
Nasarawa	90.5	9.5
Niger	89.5	10.5
Ogun	78.9	21.1
Ondo	87.1	12.9
Osun	96.4	3.6
Oyo	77.1	22.9
Plateau	79.3	20.7
Rivers	90.4	9.6
Sokoto	80.6	19.4
Taraba	55.0	45.0
Yobe	62.5	37.5
Zamfara	91.7	8.3
National	80.5	19.5

Running of traffic light

The most common violation associated with traffic lights is failing to stop for a red light. Running red lights has been listed as one of the top sources of accident in the United States.²⁷ This behaviour is usually associated with driver distraction or haste, but whichever the case, can lead to very fatal crashes. Although official statistics on accidents in Nigeria do not supply information on how driver behaviours influence accidents, the survey data was able to capture the extent of this violation. In general, about 18% of drivers in the survey admitted to violating traffic lights all the time, 38.7% admitted to doing so occasionally while only 43.1% reported not doing so at all.

²⁷ Law Offices of Michael Pines: Personal Injury Attorneys & Car Accident Lawyers. See: <http://www.seriousaccidents.com/legal-advice/top-causes-of-car-accidents/>

Driving under the influence of alcohol

Alcohol consumption impairs sight and hearing, which makes it risky to operate any machinery, including vehicles while drunk. Alcohol can alter the performance and behaviour of an otherwise good driver and pose a risk of accidents. Although a total of 64% of respondents reported that they were never involved in drunk-driving, 19% admitted that they very rarely do so, 14% and 3% said respectively that they drink and drive sometimes and often/always. According to Tom Vanderbilt²⁸ “men are twice as likely as women to be involved in an alcohol related fatal crash. They are more likely to drink, to drink more and to drive more after they drink.” The survey result did show variations, although not as wide as the assertion in the number of male and female respondents who reported driving after drinking more than one bottle of beer.

Aversions to other road users

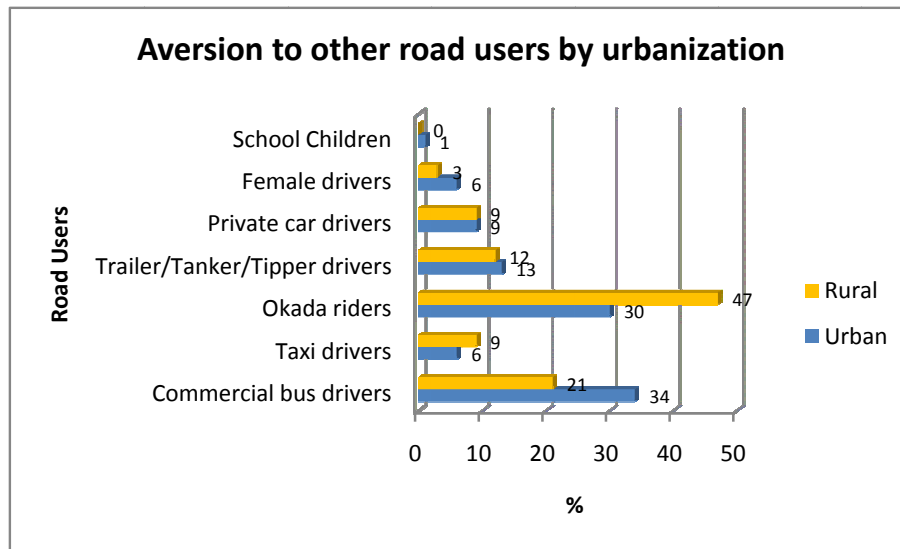
Aversion in this context refers to a fixed and instinctive dislike for certain kinds of road users, which could produce deliberate adverse behaviours. Such aversions can produce two extreme results, which can be risky behaviours. On one hand a driver with such aversion can choose to avoid these road users to a point of driving dangerously while on the other hand, he/she may drive dangerously in order to put the other off the road.

In the survey, respondents were asked if they find themselves having an aversion to particular class of road users and to indicate their hostility by whatever means they can. To this, 45% of respondents declare that they do not have such aversions, 29% admitted that they do behave this way, but very rarely, 18% admitted that they do so sometimes while 9% admitted to doing so, often and always. On further analysis more men than women exhibited this behaviour, and respondents between ages 25 and 40 years than any other age category. When probed further on the category of road users that such aversions are usually directed at, 34% of respondents pointed out motorcycle riders (also known as *Okada* in most parts of the country), 31% mentioned commercial bus drivers, 13% mentioned trailer/tanker drivers, 9% mentioned private cars (this category of response was dominated by commercial vehicle drivers), 7% of respondents mentioned taxi drivers, while 5% (all male respondents) asserted that their aversion is directed towards female drivers. Women’s aversions are mostly towards motorcycle riders while that of men is divided equally between motorcycle riders and commercial bus drivers.

Hostility towards motorcycle riders seems to be greater in rural areas than in urban areas while that towards commercial bus drivers is more common in urban areas. Aversions towards motorcycle riders and commercial bus drivers are generally not surprising as these categories of road users have remain very notorious across the country. Motorcycle riders especially, have accounted for very fatal accidents in every state in Nigeria and this has led to legislations to ban or restrict their movements (Chart 5).

Chart 5: Aversions by respondents to other road users by urbanization

²⁸ Vanderbilt, T (2009), *Traffic: Why We Drive The Way We Do*. First Vintage Books, New York, United States of America



Unofficial car racing

Street car racing, even though not a driver behaviour that is often thought of, is a very prevalent cause of serious car accidents, especially as it leads to the violation of most or all of the road safety rules. Racing cars are less likely to observe stop signs or red lights or slow down at the sight of ramps or pedestrian crossings. The greater the speed of travel the less likely it is that a driver will be able to control the vehicle. Although it does not seem very popular, as much as 13% of respondents admitted that they get involved in these races sometimes while 3% admitted to doing it often/all the time. Interestingly also, there is no difference in the number of men or women who get involved in them.

Others concerns

Risky behaviours covered in the survey include the following:

1. Failing to check rear view mirror before pulling out or changing lanes of which a total of 45% of respondents were guilty in varying degrees; female respondents were more at risk with this behaviour than men.
2. Underestimating the speed of an on-coming vehicle when overtaking; 54% of respondents admitted to having done this at some point or the other.
3. Driving on the wrong side of the road ; 42% of respondents reported this behaviour.
4. Getting angered by another driver's behaviour, involving a road rage or chase with the intention of giving him/her a deserved treatment; 61% of respondents admitted to doing this.
5. Driving very close to the car in front as a signal for its driver to go faster or get out of the way; 58% of respondents reported this behaviour.
6. Become impatient with slower drivers on the outer lane and overtake them from the right side; 59% reported this behaviour in varying degrees.

Summary of Major Findings

The major findings of the survey pertaining to road accidents and road safety are:

- a. Data on road accidents are not harmonized across the different existing sources i.e. the Nigerian police, the Federal Road Safety Corps and it is hard to get a true picture of the state of road accidents using official statistics.
- b. There is a wide variation in road accidents across the states.

- c. Involvement in road accidents is higher among the educated than the uneducated, younger than the older, men than women, urban areas than rural areas, although there is no strong difference across socio-economic status.
- d. Katsina state records the highest feeling of safety on roads and this is complemented by the lowest records of actual experience of accidents in the state.
- e. Driving without valid driver’s license is more rampant in the north western to the north central parts of the country, including the FCT. Interestingly, Katsina records a high level of driving without valid licenses as well as other self reported violations like irregular use of seat belts while driving.
- f. There is a generally high level of self-reported violation of traffic laws that can lead to road accidents.
- g. Respondents recommended improvement of quality of roads and street lights as the major measures making roads safer in the country.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This section recommends two measures that can reduce road casualties and enhance the feeling of safety on roads. These are prevention and response measures. While effective prevention measures would ensure that the occurrence of road accidents is reduced to the barest minimum, an efficient response system would reduce the casualties from the few accidents that do occur.

Prevention

This is the best way to reduce road and traffic casualties. Road accident prevention must be the ultimate goal of the Federal Road Safety Commission in Nigeria. Specific open-ended questions were directed at respondents of the survey on how roads can be made safer in Nigeria. In line with the reasons respondents gave for unsafe roads, repair of roads was prioritized as the solution by 70% of respondents. Improvement of street lighting ranked next to repairs and identified by 41% of the respondents. The chart below presents respondents’ opinion on measures that can be taken to make roads safer.

Chart 7: Suggestions to make roads safer in Nigeria



Another category of responses apart from improving the quality of roads identified by respondents include better training for learner drivers (64%), measures to reduce vehicle speeds (50%), more police enforcement of traffic rules and regulations (38%), more road public safety campaigns (38%) and road skill training for all drivers (new and old) (39%),

Response

Prevention is a proper way to reduce traffic injuries and fatalities. However, key improvements can also be made through the provision of effective emergency response to traffic accidents. Effective emergency response is often lacking in low income countries, increasing traffic fatality rates significantly. Response to victims of accidents occurs in three different stages – the pre-hospital care, hospital care and the post hospital care.²⁹

Communication gap among agencies like the police force, the Federal Road Safety Corps and the ambulance agencies is one of the reasons why victims of accidents suffer at the pre-hospital stage. Communication gap and harmonization of activities of the various accidents response agencies for effective performance should be addressed

There are several weak points in pre-hospital and hospital care that must be addressed, including: human resources (staffing and training), physical resources (equipment, supplies and infrastructure), and administration and organization. The “essential services” approach can be developed to improve care for the injured. This would define the trauma treatment services that could realistically be made available to every injured person. It would then address the inputs of human resources, physical resources, and administration necessary to best assure these services in countries in varying stages of economic development. Finally it would target deficiencies in these areas that need strengthening (Mock, et al 2003).

²⁹Ugbeye, M. E. (2010).An Appraisal of Emergency Response System to Victims of Trauma in Nigeria. Being a paper presented at the Seminar organised by the CLEEN Foundation, Nigeria.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Public Perception of Criminal Justice Agencies in Nigeria

by
Omololu Soyombo and Waziri B. Adisa

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the public perceptions of the criminal justice agencies in Nigeria using data from three criminal victimization surveys conducted by CLEEN in 2005, 2006 and 2010³⁰. The chapter includes discussions of the challenge of crime in Nigeria; corruption as a major form of crime in Nigeria; public concerns about corruption; the reporting of criminal victimization; satisfaction with police action on reports of criminal victimization; corruption in the criminal justice agencies; and perceptions about the performance of the criminal justice agencies. The last section of the chapter examines human rights protection and violations in Nigeria. The chapter concludes with recommendations for the control of corruption in the criminal justice agencies.

Nigerian Criminal Justice Agencies

The criminal justice agencies are the organisations saddled with the responsibility for law enforcement, crime control and the sanctioning or sentencing and treatment of offenders. The criminal justice agencies in Nigeria include the Nigeria Police Force, the judiciary, the Nigerian Prisons Service, the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Nigerian Immigration Service, and the Nigeria Customs Service. For the effective discharge of their functions, it is important that the criminal justice agencies have a good relationship with the citizens to whom they are responsible.

Public support is crucial for the successful discharge of their duties. The need for public support can be reinforced with the observation that most of the crimes that get to the attention of the police come through reports by the citizens. Thus, it can be safely said that without public support, the efficiency of the police in uncovering crimes and successfully prosecuting offenders will be severely limited. Their activities should be people-focused. Given the importance of public support and goodwill for the success of the criminal justice agencies, it is desirable to gauge the public perception of the criminal justice agencies in order to ensure that the agencies respond to the wishes and meet the expectations of the people they serve.

Most prominent among the criminal justice agencies are the police and the judiciary. The police force is usually the most visible, nearest and perhaps most accessible agency to the citizens. For this reason, it has often received the most attention in the study of criminal justice agencies. Invariably, it is also usually the most vilified criminal justice agency. The police force is usually charged with the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the society, prevention of crime, investigation of crimes, apprehension and prosecution of offenders. To complement the police, the judiciary is the official institution that is charged with responsibility for the adjudication of disputes and deciding on criminal cases that are brought before it, as well as the sentencing of offenders.

³⁰ The data for collected in the early 2010 survey elicited information on household and personal victimization for the three years period of 2007 to 2009

The general indication is that criminal justice agencies have not lived up to the expectations of the people. The capacity of the police to prevent crime remains questionable, just as their capacity to successfully prosecute suspects has also been questioned. The police and other security organizations have been accused of flagrant abuse and violation of human rights of citizens in circumstances such as harassment and physical abuse of innocent citizens and suspects, as well as allegations of extra-judicial killing. The performance of the ICPC and the EFCC has also been questioned, especially over allegations of limited successful prosecution of cases despite the glaring level of financial misdemeanor and corruption. Similarly, the judiciary has come under scrutiny over delay in the dispensation of justice, accusations of miscarriage of justice and corruption.

Various factors that may affect public perception of the criminal justice agencies include: contacts by the public with the agencies, the efficiency and effectiveness of the agencies in the discharge of their duties, demonstration of discipline and integrity by officials of the agency.

The Challenge of Crime in Nigeria

Crime has been identified as a major socio-economic problem of contemporary Nigerian society (Soyombo, 2009:4). It is one that continues to attract the attention of all stakeholders, including the government and political leaders, the management and leadership of the Nigeria Police Force, corporate organizations and the organized private sector and individual citizens, as well as the international community. The challenge of crime in contemporary Nigeria is one of the major impediments to the attainment of sustainable development and economic growth.

In response to the problem of crime and the limited capacity of the Nigeria Police Force to cope with the situation, many communities, especially in urban areas, have Community Development Associations (CDAs) which have community security control as a major concern. Increasingly too, many communities resort to self-help by erecting street barriers to limit access to their residential areas, in an effort to ward off criminals. At the individual and household levels, people invest money in additional security measures including the installation of electronic security devices, employment of private security guards, erection of high fences around their homes, and various forms of access control measures. Many also curtail their freedom by embarking on various forms of avoidance behaviours, including avoiding night outings.

Despite these various steps, crime has remained a major problem of contemporary Nigeria. Thus, when asked if they were afraid of becoming victims of any type of crime, 83.9% of the respondents in the 2005 survey answered in the affirmative (46.9% “very fearful”, 21.8% “quite fearful” and 15.2% “a little fearful”), with only 15.3% not expressing any fear at all. This indicates a relatively high level of fear of criminal victimization. Similarly, 83.2% of the respondents in the 2006 survey were fearful of becoming victims of crime (52.2% “very fearful”, 20.4% “quite fearful” and 10.6% “a little fearful”), with only 15.4% not expressing any fear at all. In 2010, 86.6% of the respondents were fearful of becoming victims of crime ((38.9% “very fearful” and 32.7% “quite fearful” and 15% “a little fearful”).

Extent of Criminal Victimization

Given the general concern about crime in the country, what is the actual level of crime? What proportion of the respondents have actually been victims of crime in the recent past? The findings from the surveys show that consistently over the years, at least one-fifth of the members of the respondents’ households were victims of crime (21.5% of respondents in the 2005 survey, and 23.1% of respondents in the 2006 survey reported being victims of crime in

the 12 months that preceded the surveys, while 47.1% of the respondents in 2010 reported being victims of crime in the three years that preceded the study). This indicates a relatively high level of criminal victimization.

Gender analysis indicates that a higher proportion of men (23.2%) than women (19.8%) reported having been victims of crime in the 12 months that preceded the 2005 survey. A similar pattern was reported in 2006 (24.4% victimization rate for males, compared to 21.8% victimization rate for females) and in the 2010 survey (40% victimization rate for males, compared to 45% victimization rate for females over three year period). Analysis of victimization rates for different age groups in 2006 suggests a curvilinear relationship with the following reported victimization rates: 18 – 24 years = 22.4%; 25 – 30 years = 24.6%; 31 – 35 years = 24.6%; 36 – 40 years = 22%; 41 – 50 years = 22.3%; and 51 years and above = 21.1% (Fig. 1).

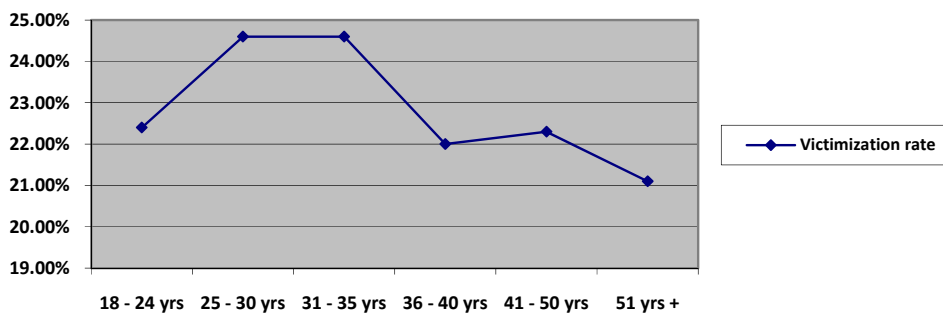


Fig. 1: Victimization rates for various age groups (2006 survey)

Perceptions about Police Performance

When asked for their opinion on the effectiveness of the police in controlling crime, 50.7% of the respondents in the 2005 survey thought the police was doing a good job (37.7% “fairly good job” and 13% “very good job”). The proportion increased to 55.4% in 2006 (42.2% “fairly good job” and 13.2% “very good job”), but dropped to 47.3% in 2010 (8% “very good job” and 39.3% “fairly good job”). Generally, relatively few respondents thought the police was doing a “very good job” (13% in 2005, 13.2% in 2006 and 8% in 2010).

Table 1: Effectiveness of the police in controlling crime

	2005	2006	2010
Very poor job	16.3	12.4	11.2
Fairly poor job	18.6	13.4	18.8
Neither good nor poor	14.4	18.8	20.8
Fairly good job	37.7	42.2	39.3
Very good job	13.0	13.2	8.0
No response			1.8
Total	100.0 (N=10,036)	100.0 (N=11,161)	100.0 (N=10,228)

* Asked for opinion on how the police is doing generally

With particular reference to their communities, 48.2% of the respondents in the 2005 survey thought the police was doing a good job (13.1% “very good job” and 35.1% “fairly good job”), while 52.8% in the 2006 survey thought the police was doing a good job (12.3% “very good job” and 40.5% “fairly good job”). There was no comparative data in the 2010 survey.

Generally, this indicates an improvement in the opinions of the respondents about the performance of the police in their communities from 2005 to 2006. Again, an inference from the data is that relatively few respondents thought the police was doing a “very good job” in their communities (13.1% in 2005 and 12.3% in 2006).

Table 2: Performance of the police in the respondents’ communities

	2005	2006
Very good job	13.1	12.3
Fairly good job	35.1	40.5
Fairly bad job	17.0	15.2
Very bad job	22.3	17.0
Don’t know	10.7	13.5
No response	1.9	1.5
Total	100.0 (N=10,036)	100.0 (N=11,161)

Further analysis of the data showed that higher proportions of respondents from the northern zones than the southern zones thought the police were doing a good job (Table 3). For instance, in 2005 21.7% of respondents from the North-East zone, 15.1% from the North-Central zone and 13.8% from the North-West zone thought the police were doing a “very good job”, compared to 5.7% in the South-East and 5.7% in the South-South zones. A similar pattern was observed in the 2006 survey in which 25.8% of respondents in the North-West zone and 12.6% of respondents in the North-East zone thought the police was doing a “very good job”, as against 4.4% in the South-West zone and 4.9% in the South-South zone.

Table 3: Performance of the police in the respondents’ communities

Zones	2005		2006	
	Fairly good job	Very good job	Fairly good job	Very good job
Lagos	26.9	6.9	34.3	10.4
South-West	31.9	12.1	37.8	4.4
South-South	29.9	5.7	31.4	4.9
South East	28.1	5.7	39.2	6.1
North-East	37.3	21.7	50.2	12.6
North-West	41.4	13.8	35.9	25.8
North-Central	43.0	15.1	53.6	10.5
Total	35.1	13.1	40.5	12.3

At another level, 28.6% of the respondents in the 2005 survey thought the performance of the police in their communities improved in the past three years. The proportion of respondents who had this view increased slightly to 30.8% in 2006.

Table 4: Trend of performance of the police in the respondents’ communities

	2005	2006
Improved	28.6	30.8
Stay the same	36.1	42.0
Become worse	32.9	23.9
No response/Don’t Know	2.4	3.3
Total	100.0 (N=10,036)	100.0 (N=11,161)

Again, a higher proportion of respondents in the northern zones thought the performance of the police in their communities improved during the reference periods (Table 5).

Table 5: performance of the police improved in respondents' communities

Zones	2005	2006
Lagos	14.2	20.2
South-West	28.3	21.1
South-South	21.9	24.2
South East	12.9	24.6
North-East	37.0	36.3
North-West	33.2	38.2
North-Central	36.5	38.7
Total	28.6	30.8

The most common reasons that were given by the respondents for why they thought the police was doing a good job include: because they usually arrest offenders; they are committed; they usually respond on time; they usually recover stolen property, and usually come to the scene of crime. On the other hand, corruption was the most commonly given reason why the respondents in the 2005 survey thought the police was doing a bad job. Similarly, the most common reasons for why respondents in the 2006 survey thought the police was doing a bad job are corruption; that they do not respond to distress calls/crime reports on time; and that they sometimes collude with criminals.

When asked how helpful the police are to people, only 44.7% of the respondents in the 2005 survey thought the police were doing everything they could to help people and to be of good service (Table 6).

Table 6: Police is doing everything they could do to help people

	2005
Strongly agree	8.8
Agree	35.9
Neither agree nor disagree	16.1
Disagree	24.4
Strongly disagree	14.8
Total	100.0 (10,036)

When asked further on what they thought the police should be doing, most of the respondents in the 2010 survey thought the police should give more attention to the control of armed robbery (22.3%), control of corruption (16.7%), control of violent crimes (16.1%), and apprehending and prosecuting offenders (10.9%). Other notable responses are: patrolling the streets (8%), protecting the human rights of citizens (7.8%), responding promptly to calls for assistance (7.4%), and controlling ethno-religious conflicts (7.1%).

Police-Citizens Encounter

The frequency and outcome of encounters between the citizens and the police and other criminal justice agencies should normally be expected to influence the perceptions of citizens about the police and the criminal justice agencies. Critical in this regard will be opinions about police effectiveness in the prevention of crime, police response to crime incidents and

distress calls, the speed of response, apprehension of suspects/accused persons, investigation, and prosecution of suspects/accused persons. In a situation where the crime rate is increasing, people are more likely to question the capacity of the police to control crime and thereby effectively discharge their duties.

Contrary to the slogan that “the police is your friend”, police-citizens encounters are often tainted by misdemeanor on the part of the policemen with whom the citizens are in contact as reflected in the incidence of the notorious demand for “N20.00” from commercial bus drivers and commercial motorcycle (*okada*) operators. Given that “stop-and-search” is a common practice of the police in apprehending offenders on the streets, this practice provides a common mode of encounter/interaction between the police and the citizens in the course of routine police activities. Thus, respondents were asked if they had been stopped by the police either on foot or in a vehicle in the twelve months that preceded the surveys. The analysis shows that 39.5% of the respondents in the 2005 survey and 37.6% of the respondents in the 2006 survey affirmed that they had been stopped by the police.

Table 7: Encounter with the police over the past twelve months

	2005	2006
Yes	39.5	37.6
No	60.0	61.2
No response	0.6	1.2
Total	100.0 (10,036)	100.0 (11,161)

Although the reporting of police stop-and-search activities reduced slightly from 39.5% in the 2005 survey to 37.6% in the 2006 survey, regional analysis showed that police stop-and-search activities were reported more in the southern zones than in the northern zones in the 2005 and the 2006 surveys (Table 8).

Table 8: Experience of Stop and Search by the Police (% Yes)

	2005	2006
Lagos	42.7	46.1
South-West	48.3	47.1
South-South	41.3	34.4
South East	56.1	43.6
North-East	27.6	37.7
North-West	32.8	32.1
North-Central	43.0	31.4
Total	39.5	37.6

Experience of stop and search by the police was reported to be highest in Nasarawa State (62%), followed by Ogun State (60.7%) and Oyo State (57.2%); and lowest in Kogi State (14.6%), Katsina State (19.4%) and Akwa Ibom State (21.4%).

The findings of the 2005 survey show that people aged 25 – 35 years are more likely than other age groups to be stopped and searched by police patrol teams. The 2006 survey also showed that the older people are less likely to encounter stop-and-search activities. The 2005 survey also shows that males are also more likely to be stopped and searched (47.4%) than females (31.3%). A possible explanation for these variations is that the police usually have preconceived ideas about who is likely to be a criminal or suspect and people who meet such

preconceived notions are more likely to be stopped and searched. The general belief is that the younger people are more likely to commit crimes than the older people – that there is a point in life at which the propensity to commit crime reduces. Similarly, the males are believed to be more likely to commit crimes than the females, thus, the males are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police. Another possible explanation is that the groups of people who encounter police stop-and-search activities are likely to be more out-going (to spend more time on the streets) than other groups, and thus more likely to be exposed to (more likely to encounter) police stop-and-search activities.

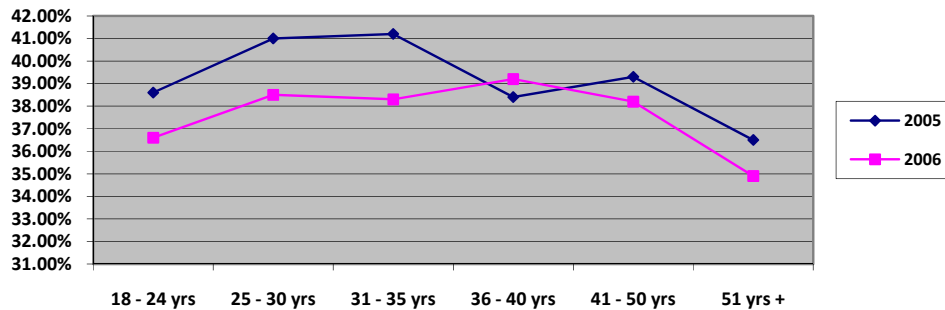


Fig. 2: Experience of Stop-and-search by police for various age groups

The 2006 survey also showed that urban dwellers are more likely to experience “stop and search” by the police (40.7%) than rural dwellers (30.5%). This may be attributed to the urban bias in the location of police officers, as there are more police officers and police activities in the urban areas than in rural areas. Thus, more people in the urban areas are naturally more likely to encounter police stop-and-search activities than rural dwellers.

Willingness to Report Criminal Victimization to the Police

In spite of various opinions about the performance of the police, it remains the most popular/most preferred agency/institution to which most of the respondents would report criminal victimization. Majority of the respondents in the three surveys (68.1% in 2005, 72.7% in 2006 and 65.1% in 2010) would report serious crimes known to them to the police. Majority (57.1%) of the respondents would teach them to approach the police for help whenever they are in trouble. This indicates a fairly high level of willingness to report serious offences to the police.

Table 9: Willingness to report serious crime to the police

Willingness to report serious crime to the police	2005	2006	2010
Yes	68.1	72.7	65.1%
No	31.1	26.0	34.0
No response	0.8	1.2	0.9
Total	100.0 (N=10,036)	100.0 (N=11,161)	10,228

Zonal analysis again shows that willingness to report criminal victimization to the police was generally higher in the northern region than in the southern region as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Willingness to report serious crime to the police

States			
	2005	2006	2010
Lagos	62.0	72.8	84.0
South-West	60.5	64.4	71.0
South-South	60.2	60.0	65.0
South East	61.0	72.9	55.0
North-East	75.4	75.5	57.0
North-West	69.4	80.7	65.0
North-Central	79.2	77.5	76.0
Total	68.1	72.7	65.1

Furthermore, the 2005 survey shows that a higher proportion of males (73.3%) than females (62.7%) are more willing to report criminal victimization to the police. A similar pattern was observed in the 2006 survey in which 75.8% of males compared to 69.7% of females expressed willingness to report serious crimes to the police.

Generally, willingness to report criminal victimization to the police gradually increases with the age of the respondents, although the trend dropped sharply at age 51 years and above as shown in Fig. 3.

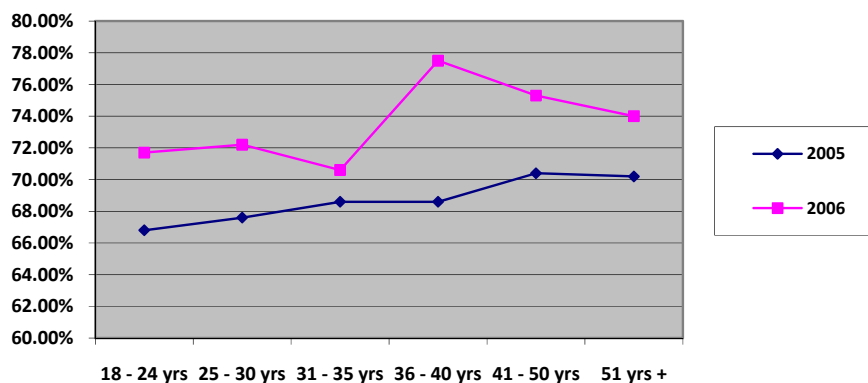


Fig. 3: Willingness to report crime to the police by age

Satisfaction with Police Actions and Performance

Beyond, reporting, it is desirable to assess the level of satisfaction of the respondents with the outcome of their reports to the police or with police actions/response to their reports. It is believed that satisfaction with response by the police to previous reports by victims will strongly influence the propensity by victims to report future victimization experiences. When asked if they were satisfied with the way the police handled the cases, only 41.6% of the victims in the 2005 survey said they were satisfied (with only 14.5% being “very satisfied” and 27.1% just “satisfied”). In the 2006 survey, only 43.8% were satisfied (16.8% “very satisfied” and 26.9% “satisfied”). Similarly, only 42.8% of the victims of crime in the 2010 survey who reported their victimization experiences to the police said they were satisfied with the way the police handled the cases (11% “very satisfied” and 31.8% “satisfied”).

Generally, the largest proportion of respondents who expressed dissatisfaction with the police handling of the cases attributed their dissatisfaction to their belief that the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders, followed by views that the police did not do enough to recover the properties that were stolen. Furthermore, only 31.9% of victims of robbery in the 2005 survey who reported their victimization experiences to the police were satisfied with the way the police handled the robbery cases (13.2% “very satisfied” and 18.7% “satisfied”), with the largest proportion of the respondents attributing their dissatisfaction with the way the police handled the cases to their belief that the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders. In the 2006 survey, only 27.3% of the victims of robbery who reported to the police said they were satisfied with the way the police handled the matter (10.5% “very satisfied” and 16.8% “satisfied”). Most of the respondents in the 2006 survey who expressed dissatisfaction with the way the police handled the matter (reported robbery cases) attributed their dissatisfaction to the repeated demand for money (bribe) by the police, while many also attributed it to the belief that the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders.

Moreover, only 33.3% of the victims of rape in the 2005 survey who reported to the police expressed satisfaction with the way the police handled the cases (14.3% “very satisfied” and 19% “satisfied”). The most common reason for dissatisfaction was because the respondents did not think the police did enough to apprehend the offenders. In the 2006 survey, a little more than half (52.6%) of the victims of rape who reported to the police were satisfied with the way the police handled the case (31.6% “very satisfied” and 21.1% “satisfied”). The most common reason given for dissatisfaction was that the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders, followed by complaints that the police kept asking them (victims) for money. However, only 41.7% of the victims of rape in the 2010 survey who reported to the police said they were satisfied with the way the police handled the cases (20% “very satisfied, and 21.7% “satisfied”). The largest proportion of the victims who were dissatisfied with the police handling of the cases attributed their dissatisfaction to their belief that the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders.

However, in the 2005 survey, 53.1% of the victims of assault/attempted assault who reported to the police were satisfied with the way the police handled the matter (18.8% “very satisfied”, 34.3% “satisfied”), while 40% were dissatisfied with the way the police handled the matter (9.9% “not at all satisfied” and 30.1% “not satisfied”), and 6.9% neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. The most commonly given reason for dissatisfaction was because they thought the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders

Furthermore, 30.8% of the victims of assault/attempted assault in the 2006 survey who reported to the police were dissatisfied with the way the police handled the matter (5.1% “not satisfied at all” and 25.7% “not satisfied”). The most common reasons given for dissatisfaction were that the police kept asking them (victims) for money and that the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders.

Overall, 64.4% of the respondents in the 2005 survey whose household members were victims of murder who responded to the pertinent question said they were dissatisfied with the way the police handled the case (22.1% “not satisfied at all” and 42.3% “not satisfied”), the most common reason for dissatisfaction being that the respondents did not think the police did enough to apprehend the offenders. Only one-third (38.2%) of respondents in the 2006 survey who reported the murder of members of their household to the police said they were dissatisfied with the way the police handled the matter (9.7% “not at all satisfied”,

28.5% “not satisfied”). Most of the respondents who were dissatisfied felt so because they thought the police did not do enough to apprehend the offenders.

Knowledge of criminal justice agencies

Respondents were asked about their awareness of some criminal justice agencies. Analysis of the findings shows that the level of awareness of the agencies was highest for the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) (85.2% in 2005 and 88.2% in 2006), followed by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) (59.1% in 2005 and 80.1% in 2006); the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) 46.2% in 2005 and 53.7% in 2006. The Police Service Commission recorded the lowest level of awareness (28% in 2005 and 29.6% in 2006). Generally, there was an increase in the reported level of awareness about the criminal justice agencies between 2005 and 2006.

Table 11: Knowledge or awareness of law enforcement and regulatory agencies

Ever heard of the following agencies?	Respondents that said YES	
	2005	2006
Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)	46.2	53.7
Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)	59.1	80.1
National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC)	85.2	88.2
Police Service Commission (PSC)	28.0	29.6

Table 12 shows the awareness of the law enforcement agencies/criminal justice agencies by region. A general inference is that the awareness level about the agencies is generally higher in the southern zones than in the northern zones.

Table 12: Knowledge or Awareness of Law Enforcement and Regulatory Agencies by Zone

Ever heard of the following agencies?		Respondents heard of ... (% Yes)							Total
		Lagos	South-West	South-South	South-East	North-East	North-West	North Central	
Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)	2005	29.1	40.9	48.9	48.3	46.3	40.0	64.1	46.2
	2006	41.1	56.8	60.7	56.4	50.2	43.9	69.1	53.7
Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)	2005	54.4	58.8	65.9	55.6	56.3	52.9	72.4	59.1
	2006	79.8	85.9	81.6	79.5	81.7	73.0	84.4	80.1
National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC)	2005	81.3	86.5	90.4	92.2	79.9	81.3	89.4	85.2
	2006	89.0	93.0	93.7	91.1	84.8	82.2	89.8	88.2
Police Service Commission (PSC)	2005	17.7	20.2	32.5	32.6	31.1	25.0	30.2	28.0
	2006	31.8	22.1	37.3	27.8	28.3	27.8	34.0	29.6

Further analysis shows that males are generally more aware or knowledgeable about the law enforcement/criminal justice agencies than females (Table 13).

Table 13: Knowledge of law enforcement and regulatory agencies (2005) by Sex

States	Aware		
	Male	Female	Total
Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)	55.1	37.1	46.2
Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)	68.9	49.1	59.1
National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC)	90.1	80.2	85.2
Police Service Commission (PSC)	31.9	24.1	28.0

Corruption and the criminal justice agencies in Nigeria

When asked about their opinion on the trend of corruption in Nigeria, the majority (78%) of the respondents in the 2005 survey thought corruption had increased since May 1999 (64.1% “increased a lot” and 13.9% “slightly increased”). Majority (62.8%) of the respondents in the 2006 survey still thought corruption increased in the 12 months that preceded the survey (47.2% “increased a lot” and 15.6% “slightly increased”), however, the proportion of respondents who thought corruption increased was lower than in 2005. The proportion further

reduced to 60% in 2010 (37.4% “increased a lot” and 22.6% “slightly increased”), suggestive of improvement in the control of corruption.

Table 14: Perception and trend of corruption in Nigeria since May 1999

	2005	2006	2010
Increased a lot	64.1	47.2	37.4
Slightly Increased	13.9	15.6	22.6
Stayed the same	7.0	11.5	12.9
Slightly decreased	9.0	17.2	15.6
Decreased a lot	3.0	3.7	8.1
Don't Know	30.	4.8	3.4
Total	100.0 (N=10,036)	100.0 (N=11,161)	100.0 (10,228)

2006 survey asked about opinion about corruption in the 12 months preceding survey

Generally, a higher proportion of respondents in the southern zones than in the northern zones thought corruption increased during the reference period (Table 15).

Table 15: Perception of trend of corruption in Nigeria

		Increased a lot	Slightly increased	Remained the same
Lagos	2005	79.8	5.5	5.5
	2006	65.7	6.3	5.9
	2010	20.0	33.0	
South-West	2005	58.7	16.0	7.7
	2006	46.9	15.5	9.2
	2010	53.0	22.0	
South-South	2005	70.5	11.4	8.3
	2006	53.2	14.3	11.4
	2010	32.0	22.0	
South East	2005	81.6	10.6	5.0
	2006	58.7	18.6	10.1
	2010	54.0	18.0	
North-East	2005	59.4	15.2	6.4
	2006	36.5	14.7	12.1
	2010	34.0	25.0	
North-West	2005	58.3	18.5	7.4
	2006	41.3	18.1	14.9
	2010	32.0	20.0	
North-Central	2005	54.3	13.4	8.2
	2006	46.4	15.3	10.9
	2010	36.0	25.0	

On personal experiences of corruption as indicated in the demand for bribe, a little more than one-fifth (21.6%) of the respondents in the 2005 survey reported that they had been asked for bribe by government officials in the 12 months that preceded the study. The same proportion of respondents (21.6%) also said government officials had asked them for bribe in the past three years.

Analysis of the 2006 survey showed that the demand for bribe by government officials increases with the income of respondents as shown in Fig. 4, although dropping drastically from N150,000 or more per month.

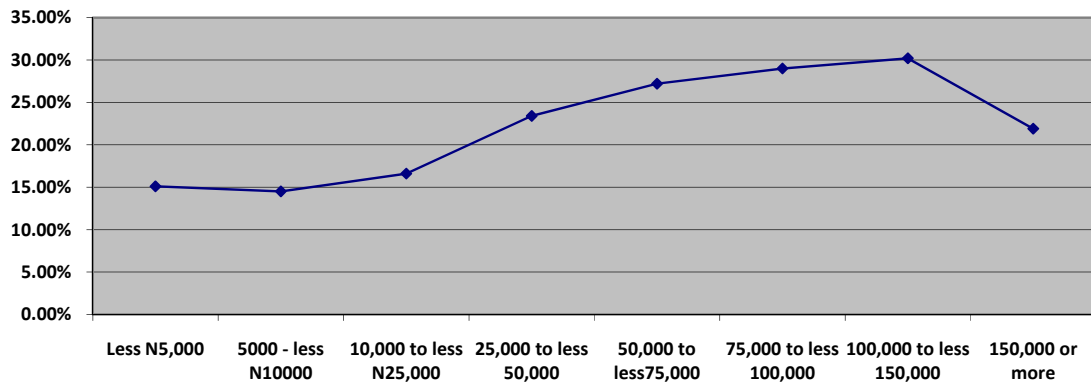


Fig. 4: Income levels by request for bribe (2006)

Table 16 presents information on the solicitation of bribe from respondents by various officials. While the table shows that requests for bribe were made by various officials, a comparative analysis indicates that the police personnel were the highest culprit in the demand for bribe from members of the public, with 65.4% of respondents who answered the pertinent question in the 2005 survey affirming that police personnel asked them for bribe, just as 10.9% in 2006 and 15.4% in 2010. Except for 2006 in which Immigration officials slightly edged out the police, the police had the highest reporting rate in the three surveys.

Table 16: Officials who solicited for Bribe from Respondents (N=2178)

Officials who demanded have	2005 (N=2178)	2006 (N=11,161)	2010 (N=10,228)
Police Personnel	1425 (65.4%)	1,216 (10.9%)	1,570 (15.4%)
NEPA/PHCN	177 (8.1%)	1087 (9.7%)	1,200 (11.7%)
Teachers, Lecturers and Professors	164 (7.5%)	654 (5.9%)	Primary school teachers
Primary and secondary school teachers			225 (2.2%)
University lecturers/professors			482 (4.7%)
Other government officials	96 (4.4%)		
Customs Officials	32 (1.5%)	203 (1.8%)	78 (0.8%)
Immigration official	23 (1.1%)	1224 (11.0%)	133 (1.3%)
Security Guard	20 (0.9%)	230 (2.1%)	
Elected municipal/local government councilors		172 (1.5%)	56 (0.5%)
Municipal/local government officials	34 (1.6%)	259 (2.3%)	81 (0.8%)
Tax/ Revenue Officials	25 (1.1%)	277 (2.5)	202 (2.0%)

Court Officials	22 (1.0%)	265 (2.4%)	94 (0.9%)
Prison Warder/officers		1,090 (9.8%)	113 (1.1%)
EFCC official s		30 (0.3%)	16 (0.2%)
ICPC officials		48 (0.4%)	5 (0.0%)
NAFDAC officials		43 (0.4%)	
FRSC official			164 (1.6%)
State Security Service (SSS) official			16 (0.2%)
Doctors/nurses		870 (7.8%)	138 (1.3%)
Bank officials		440 (3.9%)	129 (1.3%)

The 2006 survey showed that males are more likely to be asked for bribe (23.7%) than females (14.7%). Urban dwellers were also shown to be more likely to be asked for bribe (21.5%) than rural dwellers (14.1%). Analysis of the demand for bribe as reported in the 2010 survey showed that males were more likely to be asked for bribe (34%) than females (25%). As in the 2006 survey, urban dwellers were also reported to be more likely to be asked for bribe (32%) than rural dwellers (25%).

Regional analysis showed that the request for bribe was highest in the South-East zone (24.3%) followed by the South-South zone (22.3%), North-West zone (20.5%), North-East zone (19.6%), South-West zone (16.5%), North-Central zone (14.8%) and Lagos State (9.8%). It can also be inferred from this that the request for bribe by government officials is higher in the southern states than in the northern states. More analysis of the 2006 survey showed that the demand for bribe was highest in Imo State (46.9%) and lowest in Yobe State (4.2%). The 2010 survey followed a similar pattern, with the request for bribe being higher in the southern States than the northern states. The request for bribe as reported in the 2010 survey was highest in the South West zone (39%), followed by the South East zone (34%), and the South South zone (32%), followed by the North East zone (30%), North Central zone (27%), North West zone (26%), while the request for bribe in Lagos State was 12%.

The request for a bribe for service in the 2005 survey was reported to the police, Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) or the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) by only 5.5% of the 2178 respondents who reported having been asked for a bribe. However, only 1.8% of respondents in the 2006 survey who reported demand for bribe for service said they reported to the police, and 0.6% to ICPC. Less than half of the respondents that reported the demand for bribe were satisfied with the way the police/control agencies handled the cases.

Only 1.5% (80) of respondents who reported being asked for bribe in the 2010 survey said they reported the last incident to the police. Overall, only 40.9% of those who reported the demand for bribe to the police in the 2010 survey were satisfied with the way the police handled the matter (18.2% “very satisfied”, 22.6% “satisfied”).

When asked about the likelihood that bribes would be paid to get help from various government officials, the police personnel were identified by most of the respondents as being likely to require bribe for service, with 84.3% of the respondents in the 2005 survey saying the police personnel were likely to be bribed in order to get help from them (58.9% “most likely” and 25.4% “likely”), just as 74.9% in 2006 (48.1% “most likely” and 26.8% “likely”), as well as 76.4% in 2010 (40.9% “most likely” and 35.5% “likely”). On the other

hand the EFCC officials, ICPC officials and NAFDAC officials were said to be the least likely to be bribed to get help from them (Table 17).

Table 17: Likelihood that Bribes would Be Paid to Get Help from Various Officials

Likelihood of demand for bribery to obtain services in the following organizations		2005	2006	2010
National Assembly officials	Most likely			15.1
	Likely			41.1
Legislature	Most likely	25.2	14.8	14.2
	Likely	31.2	26.7	41.5
Ministry officials likely	Most	25.2	14.7	Federal: 0.2 State: 14.7
	Likely	33.2	28.9	42.3 43.4
Elected L.G. officials	Most likely	26.0	16.5	16.2
	Likely	32.9	29.7	43.5
NEPA/PHCN	Most likely	41.2	35.3	0.2
	Likely	33.1	33.5	41.8
Police Personnel likely	Most	58.9	48.1	40.9
	Likely	25.4	26.8	35.5
Customs Officials	Most likely	35.2	25.5	19.6
	Likely	32.5	30.5	43.0
Lower Court officials	Most likely			12.2
	Likely	24.9	17.2	41.6
Higher Court officials likely	Most	32.8	28.6	11.9
	Likely			40.0
Tax/Revenue Officials likely	Most	24.2	16.7	17.7
	Likely	33.7	29.2	42.3
Water Board Officials likely	Most	16.6	10.9	
	Likely	30.5	25.0	
Doctors/Nurses likely	Most	11.1	6.0	8.4
	Likely	21.6	16.1	29.6
Bank Officials	Most likely	13.3	6.7	8.7
	Likely	23.4	19.6	31.4
Teachers/Lecturers/Professors likely	Most	27.5	20.1	
	Likely	31.1	25.6	
Primary School Teachers likely	Most			10.0
	Likely			35.9
Tertiary Teachers/Professors	Most likely			16.5
	Likely			40.3
Security Guards likely	Most	17.1	11.8	
	Likely	32.8	26.4	

	Likely			
Traditional Authorities likely	Most	14.4 28.4	9.5 23.8	6.9 31.5
	Likely			
Private Sector Officials likely	Most	13.5 29.3	7.9 21.7	0.1 37.9
	Likely			
EFCC officials likely	Most		4.8 15.0	10.4 35.6
	Likely			
ICPC officials	Most likely		4.9	
	Likely		15.0	
NAFDAC officials	Most likely		4.8	
	Likely		14.8	
State Security Service official likely	Most			10.3 37.1
	Likely			

2005: (N=10,036)

2006: (N=11,161)

2010: (N=10,228)

Respondents were asked in the 2010 survey about the extent to which they trusted various government officials. Overall, only 25.6% of the respondents said they trusted the police (6.4% “a lot” and 19.2% “somewhat trust”), while 35.8% said they trusted the courts of law (8.2% “a lot” and 27.6% “somewhat trust”). Trust in the police was shown to be highest in the South South zone (34%) and lowest in the South West zone (16%). Trust in the courts of law was again highest in the South South zone (40%) and lowest in the South West zone (27%).

Table 18: Extent of trust in agencies and officials (2010)

Extent of trust	Police	Courts of law
Not at all	34.3	18.4
Just a little	37.2	41.6
Somewhat	19.2	27.6
A lot	6.4	8.2
Don't Know	3.0	4.2

Overall, the respondents returned a generally negative perception of government officials at various levels. For instance, only 5% thought the President and his officials were not involved in corrupt practices, while only 4.3% thought the state governors and their officials were not involved in corrupt practices, just as 3.7% of the members of the National Assembly, 5.6% of the court officials, and 3.1% of the police (Table 19). Conversely, 54.3% thought most or all the officials in the Presidency are involved in corrupt practices, just as 49% of State Governors and officials; 51% of the members of the National Assembly; 46% of court officials; and 64.7% of the Police Force.

Table 19: Extent of involvement of government officials in corruption (2010)

Extent of involvement in corruption	All of them	Most of them	Some of them	None of them
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President and officials	15.1	39.2	43.0	5.0
State governors and officials	15.6	33.4	39.7	4.3
Members of the National Assembly	16.2	34.8	38.4	3.7
Police	26.8	37.9	28.4	3.1
Courts of law	14.7	31.3	42.2	5.6

Perceptions about the Performance of the Criminal Justice Agencies

Since the Police, the Court, and the Prisons are all working to protect public interest, citizens usually have some perceptions about their performance. For instance, the Nigeria Police Force is saddled with the responsibility of preventing crime, investigating criminal offences, supplying critical information in how crime could be controlled, deploying security personnel for the security of lives and property, protecting the integrity of the government, protecting the state from internal conflicts and ensuring that citizens comply with the rule of law. But experiences have shown that most officers of the Nigeria Police Force have not met the above set standards regulating their job as state agents. This is often reflected in the citizens' trust in the system, willingness to report crimes, willingness to give vital crime information to the Police, the Courts and the Prisons, willingness to help security agencies during surveillance and cooperation with the Police in combating crimes.

Overall, less than half (43.4%) of the respondents thought the police were doing a good job in their states (5.8% "very good job" and 37.6% "good job"), while 49.4% thought the Director of Public Prosecution in their states was doing a good job (5.3% "very good job" and 44.1% "good job"); 56.1% thought the courts were doing a good job (7.7% "very good job" and 48.4% "good job"); and 52.6% thought the prisons were doing a good job (6.4% "very good job" and 46.2% "good job").

Table 20: Performance of criminal justice agencies in respondents' states

Performance of criminal justice agencies in respondents' states in the 12 months preceding 2010 survey	Police	Director of Public Prosecution	Courts	Prisons
Very good job	5.8	5.3	7.7	6.4
Good job	37.6	44.1	48.4	46.2
Neither good nor poor job	22.4	33.8	27.9	31.6
Poor job	25.9	13.7	13.3	12.9
Very poor job	8.4	3.1	2.7	2.9
Total	100.0 (N=10,228)	100.0 (N=10,228)	100.0 (N=10,228)	100.0 (N=10,228)

Generally, all the other criminal justice agencies were said to be doing a good job, except the Police Service Commission (Table 21). For instance, overall, in the 2006 survey, 85% of the respondents thought the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) was doing a good job (50.4% "very good job" and 34.6% "fairly good job"), while 92.1% thought the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was doing a good job (67.7% "very good job" and 24.4% "fairly good job"), and 97.6% thought National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) was doing a good job (83.6% "very good job" and 14% "fairly good job"). In 2006 only 21.8% of the respondents thought the Police

Service Commission was doing a good job (9.2% “very good job” and 12.6% “fairly good job”).

Table 21: Performance of criminal justice agencies

		2005	2006
Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)	Very good job	43.5	50.4
	Fairly good job	39.7	34.6
Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)	Very good job	58.0	67.7
	Fairly good job	32.8	24.4
National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC)	Very good job	84.3	83.6
	Fairly good job	13.2	14.0
Police Service Commission (PSC)	Very good job	8.3	9.2
	Fairly good job	12.1	12.6

Table 22 shows regional variations in the assessment of the performance of the various criminal justice agencies in the 2006 survey.

Table 22: Type of job various agencies are doing (2006)

		ICPC	EFCC	NAFDAC	PSC
Lagos	Very good	47.7	77.2	93.8	12.2
	Fairly good	33.8	17.1	5.1	12.1
South-West	Very good	55.0	72.7	80.3	5.1
	Fairly good	34.5	22.6	18.5	8.2
South-South	Very good	41.7	61.0	82.9	6.5
	Fairly good	35.0	27.3	13.3	14.9
South East	Very good	34.9	49.8	78.5	5.8
	Fairly good	45.0	34.7	18.0	14.8
North-East	Very good	47.6	67.5	81.8	7.6
	Fairly good	37.7	25.5	16.5	13.9
North-West	Very good	60.2	73.1	84.0	15.1
	Fairly good	28.7	20.5	13.4	8.9
North-Central	Very good	60.8	74.0	90.1	9.6
	Fairly good	29.9	21.4	8.0	17.8
Total	Very good	50.4	67.7	83.6	9.2
	Fairly good	34.6	24.4	14.0	12.6

When asked more specifically if they thought the courts were generally performing their duties well, majority of the respondents returned a positive verdict, with 60.8% in the 2005 survey and 59.9% in the 2006 survey answering in the affirmative (Table 23).

Table 23: Performance of the Courts

	2005	2006
Yes	60.8	59.9
No	22.3	20.3
No response	16.9	19.9
Total	100.0 (N=10,036)	100.0 (N=11,161)

Suggestions for the control of corruption in Nigeria

Various suggestions were made by respondents for the control of corruption in Nigeria, including: providing a good example of leadership; better education and proper upbringing of children; better salaries for public servants and officials; tougher laws and sentences; more regular control of public officials; greater publicity of the problem of corruption; .

Human rights protection and violation in Nigeria

Human rights are fundamental rights which all citizens should enjoy. The fundamental rights of Nigerian citizens as enshrined in Chapter IV of the *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999* include:

- a. Right to life (Section 33)
- b. Right to dignity of human person (Section 34)
- c. Right to personal liberty (Section 35)
- d. Right to fair hearing (Section 36)
- e. Right to private and family life (Section 37)
- f. Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Section 38)
- g. Right to freedom of expression and the press (Section 39)
- h. Right to peaceful assembly and association (Section 40)
- i. Right to freedom of movement (Section 41)
- j. Right to freedom from discrimination (Section 42)
- k. Right to acquire and own immovable property anywhere in Nigeria (Section 43)

These are fundamental rights of Nigerian citizens, subject to the conditions for the restriction on and derogation from Fundamental Rights as listed in Section 45 of Chapter IV of the Constitution.

The security agencies are required by law to respect and protect the human rights of all citizens, and are not expected to violate the human rights of citizens. It therefore becomes an aberration when the criminal justice agencies which are expected to protect the human rights of individual citizens are directly guilty of the violation of the same human rights. The security agencies (the police, the military and para-military agencies, etc. have often been accused of violating the human rights of citizens. The Police are usually the most criticized and condemned agency when it comes the violation of citizens' human rights. However, violations of human rights of citizens are not limited to the police, as other security agencies have also often been accused of violation of human rights. A very prominent case of the violation of human right by personnel of a security agency is the assault of one Miss Uzoma Okere by naval ratings in Victoria Island, Lagos on November 3, 2008. The case attracted considerable attention, ending with the prosecution and conviction of the officer involved.

According to Ayuba and Ajewole (2007:141), violations of human rights that the Nigeria Police have often been accused of include:

- a. "Incivility to citizens involving verbal assault
- b. Threat of or actual physical restraint without lawful grounds
- c. Brutality against citizens, including physical assault
- d. Excessive use of force amounting to torture and degrading treatment
- e. Frivolous searches and arrests in order to intimidate or harass individuals
- f. Extortion and corruption

- g. Long pre-trial detention either due to frivolous arrests aimed at facilitating extortion or due to incompetence and ineffectiveness in investigation
- h. Torture of suspects as means of obtaining confession; and
- i. Extrajudicial killing”

Odinkalu (2008:39-45) documented various cases of police killings and extrajudicial killings, noting that “extrajudicial killings are a routine feature of policing in Nigeria, and the patterns of killings appear roughly the same across the country (Odinkalu, 2008:39). He also noted the practice of taking no prisoners or “wasting the robbers”, which refers to the practice of “wasting” suspected armed robbers “because of the supposed failure” of the judicial system. Odinkalu (2008:64) also cited a 2006 report by Amnesty International which alleged that “rape by police and security forces (in Nigeria) is endemic ...”

Incidence of Human Rights Violations

Generally, the 2010 survey shows that the reporting of the violation of citizens’ human rights in Nigeria is low, relative to the notions about the level and extent of the violation of human rights by security agencies. Except for physical assault by government officials, vigilante groups or mobs which were reported by 6.4% of the respondents, each of all other violations were mentioned by less than 5% of the respondents (Table 24).

Table 24: Victims of human rights violation in the past three years (2010 survey)

Whether respondents or household members have been victims of human rights violations in the past three years by:	Yes (%)
Extra-judicial killing by security agencies	0.4
Extra-judicial killing by vigilante or mob	0.3
Attempted extra-judicial killing by security agencies	0.3
Torture by government officials, vigilante group or mob	2.6
Physical assault by government officials, vigilante group or mob	6.4
Rape by government officials, vigilante group or mob	0.5
Attempted rape by government officials, vigilante group or mob	0.3
Detention without arraignment within 48 hours by government officials, vigilante group or mob	2.0
Forced eviction by government officials, vigilante group or mob	0.8
Verbal abuse by government officials, vigilante group or mob	4.0
Sexual harassment by government officials, vigilante group or mob	0.7
Extortion by government officials, vigilante group or mob	2.8
Human trafficking by government officials, vigilante group or mob	0.3
Abduction by government officials, vigilante	0.2

group or mob	
Abuse of power by government officials, vigilante group or mob	1.2
Denial of remedies by government officials, vigilante group or mob	0.7

Extrajudicial killings by security agencies were reported by the respondents in Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Edo, Gombe, Plateau, Sokoto and Yobe states.

Regional/zonal analysis shows that physical assault by government officials, vigilante groups or mobs was reported by 2% of respondents in Lagos State, 4% in South West zone, 7% in South –South zone and 5% in South-East zone. In the northern region, extrajudicial killing was reported by 6% of respondents in the North-West, 10% in the North East, and 7% in the North-Central zone. State analysis showed that Kebbi State had the highest reporting (31%).

Location of Human Rights Violations

In terms of location, most of the extra-judicial killings by security agencies were said to have occurred on the road/at check points (39.6%) and in detention (30.2%). Similarly, extra-judicial killings by vigilante groups or mobs occurred on the road/at check points (47.2%), and at home 44.4%). Most tortures were also said to have occurred on the road (32.5%), and in detention (31.4% %).

Table 25: Human rights violations in the past three years

Human rights violations in the past three years by:	Where occurred (highest % reported)				
	At own home	On the road/checkpoint	At work place/school	In detention	Other places
Extra-judicial killing by security agencies	20.8	39.6	3.8	30.2	5.7
Extra-judicial killing by vigilante or mob	44.4	47.2	2.8	2.8	2.8
Attempted extra-judicial killing by security agencies	20.0	40.0	25.7	11.4	2.9
Torture by government officials, vigilante group or mob	16.2	32.5	19.1	31.4	0.7
Physical assault by government officials, vigilante group or mob	31.6	45.7	19.0	3.5	0.2
Rape by government officials, vigilante group or mob	39.3	37.5	17.9	5.4	
Attempted rape by government officials, vigilante group or mob	40.0	25.7	20.0	2.9	11.4
Detention without arraignment within 48 hours by government officials, vigilante group or mob	9.4	22.1	5.6	60.6	2.3
Forced eviction by government officials, vigilante group or mob	51.9	25.9	14.8	7.4	
Verbal abuse by government officials, vigilante group or mob	21.9	48.2	25.5	4.1	0.2
Sexual harassment by	43.2	33.8	17.6	5.4	

government officials, vigilante group or mob					
Extortion by government officials, vigilante group or mob	7.5	74.1	13.3	4.4	0.7
Human trafficking by government officials, vigilante group or mob	16.7	63.9	11.1	8.3	
Abduction by government officials, vigilante group or mob	20.7	51.7	13.8	13.8	
Abuse of power by government officials, vigilante group or mob	13.5	41.3	38.9	4.8	1.6
Denial of remedies by government officials, vigilante group or mob	20.0	24.0	40.0	14.7	1.3

* Percentages based on number of victims

Year of human rights violation

Table 26 shows that the violation of human rights reported by the respondents occurred in various years. The rates reported for violations such as physical assault, rape verbal abuse, sexual harassment and extortion were highest in 2009, indicating increases in the one year that preceded the 2010 survey.

Table 26: When (year) violation of human rights occurred

When (year) violation of human rights occurred	When occurred (highest % reported)		
	2007	2008	2009
Extra-judicial killing	24.2	50.0	25.8
Attempted extra-judicial killing	41.9	22.6	35.5
Torture by government officials, vigilante group or mob	24.8	42.3	32.8
Physical assault by government officials, vigilante group or mob	15.3	33.4	51.3
Rape by government officials, vigilante group or mob	28.8	34.6	36.5
Attempted rape by government officials, vigilante group or mob	32.3	41.9	25.8
Detention without arraignment within 48 hours by government officials, vigilante group or mob	18.8	43.8	37.5
Forced eviction by government officials, vigilante group or mob	19.5	48.1	32.5
Verbal abuse by government officials, vigilante group or mob	11.1	37.8	51.1
Sexual harassment by government officials, vigilante group or mob	24.6	26.1	49.3
Extortion by government officials, vigilante group or mob	6.9	34.6	58.5
Human trafficking by government officials, vigilante	6.3	50.0	43.8

group or mob			
Abduction by government officials, vigilante group or mob	24.0	40.0	36.0

* Percentages based on number of victims

Agencies or Organisations Responsible for Human Rights Violations

Analysis of information about the agencies or organizations responsible for the violation of the rights of citizens showed that the police force was the highest culprit, identified as responsible by 44.7% of the respondents, followed by the Nigerian Army (26.3%), the Nigerian Navy (13.2%) and the Nigerian Air Force (5.3%). Other agencies were mentioned by less than 5% of the respondents (Fig. 5).

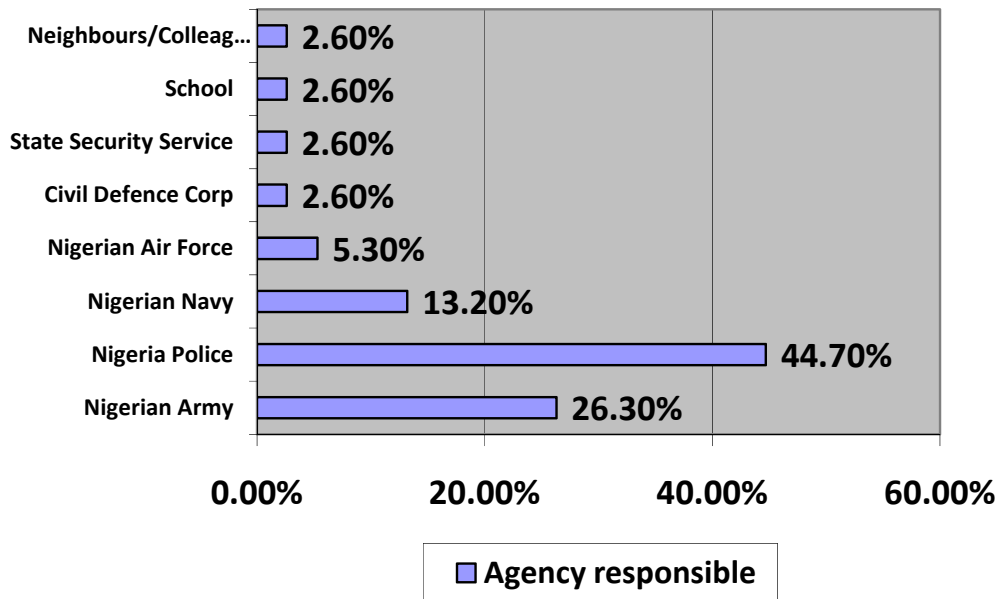


Fig.5: Agencies responsible for human rights violations

Prosecution of Suspects for Human Rights Abuses

When asked if the suspects for the human rights violations reported by the respondents were prosecuted, less than one-third of the respondents answered in the affirmative for any of the specified violations. This indicates that most of the time, the violations occurred without any remedy or punishment for the violators.

Table 27: Prosecution of suspects for human rights violations

Whether or not human rights violators were prosecuted	(% Yes)
Extra-judicial killing	25.4
Attempted murder	29.0
Torture by government officials, vigilante group or mob	29.2
Physical assault by government officials, vigilante group or mob	24.3
Rape by government officials, vigilante group or mob	28.8
Attempted rape by government officials, vigilante group or	29.0

mob	
Detention without arraignment within 48 hours by government officials, vigilante group or mob	18.8
Forced eviction by government officials, vigilante group or mob	22.1
Verbal abuse by government officials, vigilante group or mob	13.3
Sexual harassment by government officials, vigilante group or mob	24.6
Extortion by government officials, vigilante group or mob	11.8
Human trafficking by government officials, vigilante group or mob	28.1
Abduction by government officials, vigilante group or mob	28.0

* Percentages based on number of victims

Various reasons were given for why the suspects were not prosecuted, the most common being that the cases were not reported (57.7%). This finding calls for more enlightenment activities for citizens to be aware of their rights and to be ready to protect their rights by reporting violations to appropriate authorities for remedy, rather than suffering in silence.

Changes in respect for human rights by members of various organizations

Analysis of responses to the question on changes in the respect for human rights by members of various organizations in the 2010 survey showed general improvements with 58.6% of the respondents reporting improvement in respect for human rights by the Nigerian Army (12.2% “greatly improved” and 46.4% “improved”), 52.6% for the Nigerian Navy (8.1% “greatly improved” and 44.5% “improved”), 53% for the Nigerian Air Force (9% “greatly improved” and 44% “improved”), 54% for the Civil Defence Corp (8.4% “greatly improved” and 45.6% “improved”), 50.4% for the State Security Service (6.9% “greatly improved” and 43.5% “improved”), 48.8% for the Nigerian Customs Service (6.1% “greatly improved” and 42.7% “improved”), 49.7% for the Nigerian Immigration Service (6% “greatly improved” and 43.7% “improved”), while the Nigerian Police Force had the lowest reported improvement of 37.2% (4.2% “greatly improved” and 33% “improved”).

Table 28: Respect for human rights by members of various organizations (2010)

Whether respect for human rights has:	Greatly improved	Improved	Stayed the same	Worsened	Don't Know	Total
Nigerian Army	12.2	46.4	27.2	7.6	6.6	100.0 (10,228)
Nigeria Police Force	4.2	33.0	36.5	21.4	4.8	100.0 (10,228)
Nigerian Navy	8.1	44.5	30.2	5.8	11.4	100.0 (10,228)
Nigerian Air Force	9.0	44.0	29.8	5.7	11.6	100.0 (10,228)
Civil Defence Corp	8.4	45.6	30.4	5.4	10.2	100.0 (10,228)
State Security Service	6.9	43.5	32.3	6.0	11.3	100.0 (10,228)

Customs Service	6.1	42.7	33.3	7.1	10.9	100.0 (10,228)
Immigration Service	6.0	43.7	32.7	6.5	11.1	100.0 (10,228)
Federal Road Safety Commission	7.1	44.7	32.6	7.2	8.4	100.0 (10,228)
Local Government	4.8	37.1	37.7	13.0	7.4	100.0 (10,228)
State Government	5.9	38.6	36.0	12.3	7.1	100.0 (10,228)
Federal Government	5.5	39.6	36.1	11.3	7.5	100.0 (10,228)

Further analysis of the perception of respondents about respect for human rights by members of the Nigeria Police Force showed that greater improvements were reported in the northern region than in the southern region. For instance, the North-East zone reported the highest improvement (6% “greatly improved” and 42% “improved”), while the South-West reported the lowest improvement (1% “greatly improved” and 27% “improved”).

Table 29: Perceptions about respect for human rights by the police

Zones	Greatly Improved	Improved
Lagos	3	31
South-West	1	27
South-South	5	29
South-East	2	22
North-East	6	42
North-West	7	37
North-Central	3	36

However, it should be noted that the police is not the only security agency that violates human rights of citizens, as 60.8% of respondents who answered the pertinent question affirmed that other agencies responsible for protection against crime (such as the vigilante groups, Neighbourhood Watch, Civil Defence, Man-o’-War, night guards and private security also administer physical punishment to suspects. The most violated human rights were said to be: freedom of expression (mentioned by 19.2%), the right to life (13.9%), freedom from arbitrary arrests (11.8%), human dignity (9.8%), right to liberty (7.7%) and freedom from torture (5.2%). Violation of other rights was mentioned by less than 5% of the respondents who provided an opinion.

Interestingly, although many people complain about the abuse of human rights by the police and other security agencies, considerable proportions of the respondents thought the police should have the power to kill suspects in certain circumstances. For instance, 49.2% thought the police should have the power to kill armed robbery suspects; 24.9% to kill armed robbery suspects in their (police) custody, 33.8% to kill persons engaging in violent ethnic and religious conflict, and 51.5% to kill suspects found committing serious crimes (Table 30). In a sense, the seeming endorsement of extra-judicial action by the police as reported could be

indicative of the desperate desire of the people to find solutions to the cases of serious crimes indicated.

Table 30: Police should have power to kill

Whether police should have power to kill ...	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know	Total
Persons caught in armed robbery	18.9	30.3	31.8	17.4	1.6	100.0 (10,228)
Armed robbery suspects in their custody (cell)	7.7	17.2	49.0	24.6	1.5	100.0 (10,228)
Persons engaging in violent ethnic and religious conflict	9.9	23.9	43.8	20.8	1.7	100.0 (10,228)
Suspects found committing serious crime	17.6	33.9	32.3	14.3	1.8	100.0 (10,228)

Changes in the respect for human rights under the present civilian government

Military governments have been widely noted for lack of respect for human rights, and security agencies are expected to show more respect for human rights under civilian governments. When asked about changes in the respect for human rights between the present civilian government and the past military governments, most (63.3%) of the respondents confirmed that respect for human rights have improved under the present civilian government (14.4% “greatly improved” and 48.9% “improved”). While this indicates positive change, more can still be done to ensure greater respect for human rights.

Table 31: Human rights records of the military and civilian governments

Compared to the military era, respect for human rights under the present civilian government has:	%
Greatly improved	14.4
Improved	48.9
Stayed the same	20.8
Worsened	8.5
Greatly worsened	2.7
Don't Know	3.6
No response	1.1
Total	100.0 (10,228)

Comparison of respect for human rights by the past military governments and the present civilian government in Nigeria showed that the South-South zone had highest proportion (71%) of respondents who thought respect for human rights have improved under the civilian government (17% “greatly improved” and 54% “improved”), while the South-East zone had the lowest proportion of respondents (56%) who thought respect for human rights has improved under the civilian government.

Table 32: Respect for human rights by military and civilian governments

Zones	Greatly Improved	Improved
Lagos	13	55
South-West	10	48
South-South	17	54

South-East	10	46
North-East	17	43
North-West	19	49
North-Central	12	54

Conclusions and Recommendations

General conclusions that can be reached from the analysis of the three surveys are as follows:

- a. Crime is a major problem of contemporary Nigerian society;
- b. Corruption is a major form of crime in Nigeria;
- c. Many people believe that the crime rate in the country has been increasing.
- d. A higher proportion of respondents thought the police were doing a “good” job in controlling crime, although a considerable proportion also thought they were doing a “poor” job;
- e. The reporting of criminal victimization to the police is very low;
- f. Despite the low reporting of criminal victimization to the police, it remains the most popular agency that many people would report criminal victimization to;
- g. Less than half of the respondents who reported criminal victimizations to the police were satisfied with the way the police handled the cases;
- h. Many respondents had negative perceptions about the police, with many respondents believing that they are generally corrupt;
- i. Majority of the respondents were aware of the criminal justice agencies (such as the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), except the Police Service Commission (PSC);
- j. Most of the respondents thought corruption was on the increase in Nigeria;
- k. Level of trust in various government officials was relatively low;
- l. Majority of the respondents believed that most of the government officials (including the President and his officials, the State Governors, members of the National Assembly, the judiciary, and the Police) are involved in corrupt practices;
- m. Most of the respondents thought the courts were performing their duties well;
- n. The incidence of abuse of human rights as reported in the 2010 survey was relatively low;
- o. The police were the highest culprits in the violation of human rights in Nigeria;
- p. Most of the suspects in human rights abuse are not prosecuted;
- q. Most citizens do not lodge official reports about the abuse of their human rights by security officials;
- r. Most of the respondents believed respect for human rights by security agencies is generally improving in the country; and
- s. Respect for human rights is higher under the present civilian government than under previous military government.

Suggestions made by respondents for the control of corruption in Nigeria include:

- a. A call on the leadership in the country to lead by example;
- b. Better education and proper upbringing of children;
- c. Good salaries for public servants and officials;
- d. Tougher laws and sentences for offenders;
- e. Stricter control of public officials; and
- f. More enlightenment about the undesirable consequences of corruption;

Further to the suggestions by the respondents, the following recommendations are made, based on the analysis of the findings of the surveys:

- a. Urgent steps should be taken to control crime in the country;
- b. The police should be strengthened and appropriately equipped to control crime;
- c. Necessary steps should be taken to ensure improvements in the police-community relationship. The Police Community Relations Committees should play a good role in this regards. This will also help to enhance public confidence and trust in the police;
- d. More commitment should be shown to the Community Policing project for it to be expanded to be fully operational in all states of the federation;
- e. Officials involved in corrupt practices should be appropriately sanctioned in line with applicable laws without fear or favour;
- f. There should be enlightenment programmes to encourage people to report criminal victimizations to the police;
- g. There should be appropriate monitoring/assessment schemes in place to ensure that the police take necessary actions about cases of criminal victimization that are brought to their attention;
- h. Violators of human rights should be prosecuted and, if found guilty, appropriately sanctioned as a deterrence to other potential violators;

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APPENDIX I

Research Design and Methodology

Survey research design was adopted for all the three rounds of survey conducted to cover the period 2005, 2006, and 2007-2009. Fieldwork was carried out in early 2006, 2007 and 2010. The principal aim of the surveys was to determine the views of Nigerians on the extent, trends and patterns of victimization in the country. The results of the surveys will provide reliable data for the development and implementation of effective policies and strategies for crime and victimization prevention and control as well as effective administration of criminal justice.

The surveys were conducted in all the thirty six states and the Federal Capital Territory in Nigeria. The basic method employed for data collection was the in-home, face-to-face personal interview using a stratified multi-stage random selection procedure in order to achieve a nationally representative sample.

Respondents for the surveys were adult Nigerian males and females aged, eighteen years and above and have stayed in the selected household for a period of not less than six months. Non-citizens of Nigeria, people aged less than eighteen years and people living in institutionalized settings were not selected as respondents. A total of 11,161, 10,036 and 10,228 respondents were covered in the 2005, 2006 and 2010 surveys. There were equal male and female respondents in each of the samples.

The questionnaire used in each of the surveys was translated to Pidgin English, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba languages. These were the local languages widely spoken in the country. The translation aimed at ensuring proper administration of questionnaire by the field interviewers.

Sampling Procedure

Respondents' selection followed a stratified multi-stage random selection process as follow:

- a. Selection of urban locations
- b. Selection of rural locations
- c. Selection of sectors
- d. Selection of dwelling structure
- e. Selection of household
- f. Selection of respondent

Selection of urban and rural locations

State capital of each state was automatically selected as urban locations. All the Local Government Areas (LGAs) outside the state capitals were listed alphabetically and one of them selected using a ballot system. In all the selected LGAs, all the rural locations were listed alphabetically and one of them selected through a ballot system.

Selection of sector

Sectors were divided into high, medium and low density areas. Each of the sectors was randomly selected from each division using the available street maps already sectorized into different density areas. Where this was not available, an exhaustive list of sectors containing

low, medium and high-density areas was used. Thereafter, a simple ballot system was used to randomly select sectors where interviews were conducted.

Within each sector, the team randomly selected sampling Start Point (SSP). This enabled the team to know where to start the random walk pattern within the sector. In each of the sectors, Group Interviewing Technique (GIT) was adopted. By this design, a team of interviewers and one supervisor moved as a group to each sector before jointly moving to another sector. This design afforded the supervisors the opportunity to closely monitor the interviewers under them.

Selection of Dwelling Structure

In each of the sectors, the “Days Code” was used to randomly determine each interviewer’s starting point i.e. (the first house or dwelling structure to enter). A dwelling structure was defined as a floor of a distinct residential building within a sector of a town/village. Where only one household occupies a multi-storey building, the entire building (and not the floor) constituted a dwelling structure. Where it is a multi storey building with multiple occupants, counting of floors was carried out consistently from the upper floor to the ground floor in an unbroken chain from floor to floor. A fixed sampling gap of one in three (1:3) and one in five (1:5) were observed after each successful call in low and high density areas respectively.

Selection of Households

On entering a selected dwelling structure, the interviewer determined the number of household within the structure. Having done that, the interviewer then used the household selection grid to determine the household where the interviews took place. A household was defined as the individuals living under the same roof and having a common arrangement for feeding. However, members of the household were also expected to have stayed together for a period of not less than six months. In line with this definition, households did not include domestic servants and house-helpers as well as family members who lived elsewhere for the purpose of work or schooling.

Selection of respondents

To select the person to be interviewed within a household, all the adult males and females (depending on the sex to be interviewed) aged, 18 years and above, in the selected household were listed by name on the respondents’ selection grid table from the oldest to the youngest. Members of the selected household not at home at the first time of call were also listed. Interviewers then randomly select the respondent.

Call back/Substitution

In a case where the randomly selected adult was not available at the time of call, interviewers were instructed to enquire about the whereabouts of the selected respondent (they may perhaps be at work) and if nearby, the interviewer walked to that place to conduct the interview but where the selected respondent was not at home, the interviewer booked an appointment to meet them at a time the respondent will be available.

The fieldwork for all the three surveys was carried out by Practical Sampling International (PSI), a professional commercial social survey organisation based in Lagos under contract from CLEEN Foundation. Data analyses and the writing of the report for each of the survey were carried out by experts for the Foundation.

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