IRV International Review of Victimology

Article

International Review of Victimology
2022, Vol. 28(1) 69–91

DOI: 10.1177/02697580211027987
journals.sagepub.com/home/irv
SAGE

Violent victimisation in Lagos metropolis: An empirical investigation of community and personal predictors

Waziri B Adisa
University of Lagos, Nigeria

Tunde A Alabi
University of Lagos, Nigeria and University of Cape Town, South Africa

Johnson Ayodele
Lead City University, Nigeria

Franca Attoh
University of Lagos, Nigeria

Samuel O Adejoh
University of Lagos, Nigeria

Abstract

Violence or its threats have been a part of many African cities since the end of the Cold War, when many African countries transited from military to civilian rule. While the incidence of organised crime and violent victimisation of innocent citizens is not new to many West African cities, the emergence of terrorist organisations, armed bandits, kidnappers and armed gangs in a city like Lagos has created new security challenges. The challenges include the inability of government to cope with the rising number of young people in organised cult clashes and the threats to peace and stability in Lagos metropolis. This study is designed to investigate the influence of socio-demographic (senatorial district, gender, age, ethnic group, marital status, education, employment, duration of residency and type of apartment) and community factors (presence of

Corresponding author:
Tunde A Alabi, Department of Sociology, University of Lagos, Akoka, Yaba, Lagos, Nigeria.
Email: taalabi@unilag.edu.ng

nightclubs/hotels, use of private security and frequency of police patrol) on residents' experience of crime victimisation, robbery and organised crime. The study adopted a cross-sectional survey design and a quantitative method of data collection. A structured questionnaire was used to elicit information from 300 respondents across three senatorial districts of Lagos State. The study found that factors such as location, type of apartment, nightclubbing, duration of residence, employment status and use of private security predicted at least one of the three dependent variables. The implications of the findings are discussed.

Keywords
Victimisation, robbery, organised crime, Lagos metropolis, nightclubbing, location

Introduction

Violent crimes allegedly caused or perpetrated by organised criminal groups have been on the increase around the world since the end of the Cold War, especially in the West African sub-region where the state is unable to guarantee the security of lives and property. For decades since the end of the Cold War, the West African sub-region has remained the hub of organised crime such as illicit arms trading, drug peddling, trading in human parts, human trafficking and advance fee fraud. The region is also host to deadly terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, ISIS, Ansanru and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. At different times, these groups have launched attacks in a number of countries, including Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Mali. The activities of these groups have now altered the nature of armed conflict and victimisation in the region since the end of the Cold War (International Crisis Group, 2016; Mazzitelli, 2007; Meredith, 2005; Pantucci and Jesperson, 2015).

Although violent crimes always occurred all over the world prior to the Cold War, certain factors that emerged after that war have changed and aggravated the rate of crime in less developed societies. Such factors include the increased capacity to produce weapons of mass destruction, the internationalisation of crime, the illicit transfer of arms from Europe, Asia and Latin America to criminals in Africa, and the apparent poor governance system. All of these factors have crippled the capacity of security forces (Hübschle, 2011; Mazzitelli, 2007; Onuoha, 2014; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2005). Beyond the Cold War, however, there is also the argument that governments in many developing countries have failed to curb corruption in the public sector, thus leading to the impoverishment of millions and the creation of an army of unemployed youths who end up taking to crime in a bid to survive. It is within this context that this study addresses the city of Lagos.

Since the end of British rule in Nigeria, the city of Lagos, like other West African cities, has continued to undergo rapid urbanisation (movement of people from the rural areas to commercial capitals in the bid to access urban infrastructure). At the same time, the city of Lagos has been confronted with multiple crises of development arising from lack of proper planning. For instance, Aluko (2010) noted that the development of Lagos has followed the nature of urbanisation in the West African sub-region. Whereas industrialisation in Western countries was largely responsible for the growth of cities in those places, the colonial and postcolonial conditions in the West African sub-region are responsible for the growth of West African cities. These conditions include colonial foreign policy, colonial laws and the political economy of the postcolonial state and they have shaped the way people live in Lagos, as well as the type of criminal victimisation they face in their everyday world.

Because commercial capitals previously served as colonial headquarters for most colonised African countries, it is not uncommon to find people move towards erstwhile colonial capitals in search of greener pastures, urban infrastructure and businesses. However, uneven development between commercial capitals and high levels of corruption have either driven people back to their villages or worsened their conditions in many African countries (Mbaku, 2016; Meredith, 2005). Burdened by additional challenges such as overpopulation, unregulated migration and increase in the rate of organised crime, the city of Lagos is now the hub of cybercrime (Adejoh et al., 2019).

Even as Lagosians worry about the rising rate of cybercrime, they also have cause to panic about the existence of armed gangs on the streets and the activities of deadly rival cult gangs. This paper is thus designed to examine the effects of personal and community factors in the nature of violent victimisation that people face on the streets of Lagos. The study seeks to answer the questions of whether socio-demographic factors (senatorial district, age, gender, ethnic group, marital status, education, employment status, length of stay and apartment type) predict experience of crime victimisation, robbery and organised crimes; and whether community factors (presence of night-clubs/hotels, use of private security and frequency of police patrols) influence experience of crime victimisation, robbery and organised crimes. The study is necessary in view of the changing dynamics of violent crime in one of Africa's megacities. It is also necessary to assess the city's modern experience in the light of the existing body of knowledge in the field. For decades, the literature on criminal victimisation has shown that age, gender and class are consistently related to the nature of crimes that people confront around the world. Do these factors also feature in the dynamics of Lagos, a city where cosmopolitanism, colonial formations and postcolonial African politics have shaped both the nature of crimes that occur and the way the police respond to them?

Literature review

One of the unrelenting social issues that face humankind is crime. Not easily wished away or ignored, crime has become a thorn in the flesh of human beings, especially in terms of human disposition, property and legitimate authority (Louis et al., 1981). In the complicated contemporary world, the situation is exceedingly disquieting. However, quite unlike many countries in Western Europe that have witnessed a large decline in crime over recent decades (McVie, 2017), police statistics do not indicate a declining crime picture in Lagos State. Therefore, the crime drop across different countries may sufficiently reflect the reality in some countries to have spurred some scholars to describe it as a 'near-universal drop' (Van Dijk et al., 2007: 16). Nevertheless, the same claim may not be correctly made with regard to the Lagos reality.

Paradoxically the world's poverty capital, Nigeria is today grappling with frightening crime rates, as armed robbery attacks, pickpocketing, shoplifting and advance fee frauds have multiplied owing to rising poverty levels and unemployment (Gulumbe et al. 2012, Adejoh et al., 2019). With the combined pressures of rising population growth and fast urbanisation, crime has become a key social crisis in towns and cities throughout the world (Adigun, 2013; Badiora and Afon, 2013; Jayamala, 2008). Indeed, crime has become a global spectacle to which towns and cities are vulnerable (Kinsella, 2012; Pope, 2010). Victimisation appears inevitable because the organisation of towns, cities and urban centres is now not just complex but highly inhibiting of conformity to all social rules by the inhabitants (Badiora, 2012; Kinsella, 2012; Porter, 2010). To be sure, crime is not a spiritual occurrence since it has identifiable social causes. While some causes of crime are culture-driven (family values), others are system-induced (educational, political, law-enforcement, economic) and yet others are personality-induced. To this extent, poor parenting skills, peer

pressure, drug and alcohol abuse, access to guns, joblessness and poverty are some of the root causes of crime (Melkonyan, 2012).

Considering the trends in situational or victimological criminology, crime is seen as the outcome of interactions between potential offenders and potential victims (Felson, 2002). It is in the context of this relationship that the 'act of crime alters the social definition of all principal role players and even bystanders in the event – the actor, the person acted upon and yet the person who was present when the offence was committed' (Ayodele and Aderinto, 2015: 20). Therefore, the assumption that the characteristics and behaviour of potential victims are the key factors in determining the levels of crime at the individual and collective levels (Van Kesteren and Van Dijk, 2010) is almost flawless. As such, as noted in the victimological literature, certain segments of the city population are more predisposed to being victims of crime. Several theoretical models exist in the literature to explain how the differential weakness of individuals to criminal victimisation is influenced by their lifestyle or routine activities (Felson, 2002; Hindelang et al., 1978). For property offences, those owning easily stealable items such as electronic consumer goods are obvious targets. The criminal opportunity assumption holds that the more attractive targets there are in a particular place, the more crime poses a threat (Felson, 2002). Surveillance and other impediments prevent crimes from happening. It is not very likely that a bicycle will be stolen if its owner is closely watching it or if it is stored in a secure shed. In public spaces, the use of a secure lock decreases the likelihood that the bicycle will be stolen. In the same vein, a wealthy person is likely to seek more protection for their person and property.

Felson (2002) ascribes the rising crime rates across the Western world to the prevalence of stealable commodities and the emergence of operational changes in the ability of communities to exercise effective social control over younger persons. Regarding the crime inventory in Lagos State between January and November 2015, at a town hall meeting organised by the state's Security Trust Fund (LSSTF), the Commissioner of Police officially listed 220 murder cases, 44 armed robbery cases and 25 kidnap cases among the security challenges faced in the state during the period in question. A high proportion of the murder incidents were due to cult-related activities and street fights. However, the Police Command reportedly recovered 233 stolen vehicles and items worth NGN1.4b (*The Guardian*, 2015).

More worrying is the shift in cult clashes from the conventional university campuses to the streets of Lagos, where artisans are now cult kingpins. Police authorities may also wish to worry about an upsurge in ritual killings and kidnapping for ransom. Beyond the police figures, nine ritual murders – all women victims – were reported in one location of Ikorodu town where headless bodies were deposited in a canal, within five days. The key victimological findings from the International Crime Victims Survey support the assumption that individual factors determine the seriousness and existence of a global consensus on the normative appreciation of the main types of common crime (Van Kesteren and Van Dijk, 2010). The police must thus take full responsibility for the poor investigations that have resulted in a high number of unresolved murders, even of high-profile citizens in the recent past (*The Guardian*, 2015).

With regard to the crime statistics reported by type (i.e. offence against persons, offence against property, offence against lawful authority and offence against local Acts), Lagos State had the highest percentage share of total cases reported, at 36.08% of the 45,385 cases recorded in Nigeria (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017). The report described offences against persons as including murder, manslaughter, infanticide, concealment of birth, rape and other forms of physical abuse. Offences against property included stealing, receiving stolen properties, obtaining property by false pretences, robbery, burglary and housebreaking. At the institutional level, the offences

against lawful authority consisted of any offence committed against any establishment of the law, such as tax evasion (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017). The community members enabled the criminal justice system to be on top of the control of criminality by partnering with law enforcement for collective safety. The failure to report violence to the police 'threatens the deterrent ability of the criminal justice system since authorities are less able to apprehend and/or punish the offender' (Ayodele and Aderinto, 2015: 10).

From 'Pepe Farm' to a mega city: weathering the storm of crime victimisation in modern Lagos

Lagos has a well-established history that is linked to the dynastic rule of the Aworis in the 16th century and the Benin conquest of the 17th century. However, most research on the history of Lagos fails to clearly describe the role of colonisation in the emergence of crime in modern Lagos. Nevertheless, since the present study does not focus on this linkage, the literature review is limited to the rise of crime in Lagos.

Since colonial times, the pattern and distribution of crimes in Lagos have followed the pattern of the city's colonial conquest. Colonialism had emerged in the 19th century as Westerners sought to rule the African natives of Lagos and exploit the city's economic resources. Although there were crimes in pre-colonial Lagos, they were restricted to dynastic crimes such as the struggle for local power between the White Cap Chiefs and the Oba of Lagos whose emergence in Lagos followed the Benin invasion of the town in the 17th century.

As the Lagos population started rising from the 1870s, the city began to witness new dimensions of crime. Since criminality was not new to the colonial masters, they deemed it necessary to establish a modern criminal justice system to curtail the activities of criminals in the new colony. Consequently, the colonial administration established colonial courts in 1862 and 1872, as well as the colonial prison at Freedom Park (Ogunleye, 2007; Oshinfodunrin, 2019). Although the courts were meant to enforce colonial laws, they also helped to restore social order in the face of rapid modernisation of the 'Pepe Farm', otherwise called 'Lagos'. These institutions were established because the modernisation process was accompanied by the emergence of crime.

Several factors have been given for the emergence of crime in colonial Lagos. One reason was the rising profile and popularity of Lagos in the regional commerce trade introduced by the colonial masters. With the emergence of Lagos as one of the dominant African cities of the 19th century, a sizeable number of Africans from Europe returned to the city to find new jobs, and some wanted to return to their ancestral lands at the end of the transatlantic slave trade.

Writing about urbanisation in Lagos, Mabogunje (1968) noted that the development of Lagos in both colonial and postcolonial times followed three main patterns. The first pattern occurred between 1861 and 1900, when the colonial masters established colonial domination of Lagos. The second phase was the period of 1901 to 1950, when the city became popular after the world wars and the decolonisation struggles orchestrated by African leaders (Mabogunje, 1968). The last phase was the period of independence, when Africans took over the leadership of their countries and began reconstructing the African state. Adisa (1994) noted that the period after Nigeria's independence witnessed more crimes than other periods in the history of Lagos, owing to increased migration to Lagos from the north and south-east after the civil war. One of the consequences of the post-Civil War era was that it paved the way for criminal acts such as advance fee fraud. It also increased the rate of armed robbery and commercial sex work in the city.

In its 2005 report on the history of transnational organised crime in West Africa, the United Nations noted that Lagos was the major city from which young unemployed West Africans launched an advance fee fraud business before moving to other parts of the continent. While fraud was not peculiar to Nigeria, the notoriety of the label '419' – derived from section 419 of the criminal code – as well as young people's involvement in the drugs trade in the 1980s, made the crime synonymous with Nigeria (UNODC, 2005). Thus, most violent victimisation of the 1980s was targeted at money benefits. This is noticeable in the 'Anini Saga' of 1980s Lagos.

As Lagos was developing in the 1990s, it witnessed the emergence of the 'Area Boys phenomenon' and the ethno-religious clashes fuelled partly by the annulment of the 12 June 1993 presidential election (Akinyele, 2001; Ikelegbe, 2005). While the Area Boys phenomenon was largely concentrated on Lagos Island, the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) versus Fulani clashes spread across the state, leading to the deaths of scores of innocent citizens. The trend continued until President Olusegun Obasanjo proscribed the OPC in Lagos.

Notwithstanding the proscription of the OPC by the federal government, skeletal clashes by the group continued until early 2010. Crime victimisation survey results in Lagos, conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics and the CLEEN Foundation in 2005, showed that the most prevalent forms of crime victimisation of citizens were robbery, attempted robbery, assault and burglary. The difference in the reported incidence of violence in Lagos and personal crime victimisation must have been informed by the fact that direct encounters with criminals often vary and are related to locality (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2005). Because Lagos is a cosmopolitan city, its heterogeneity and congestion of urban populations have produced different cases of crime victimisation in recent times. For instance, the increased population of Lagos and policing systems in the city have seen the upsurge of violent cult clashes in the urban slums of Lagos such as Oworonshoki, Odogunyan, Ajah, Agege, Ikorodu and Ketu (Ekpimah, 2019; Ekpimah and Lambo, 2019). This development confirms earlier studies claiming that urban environments have greater influence on the incidence of crime and crime victimisation (Boggess, 2010; Kunnuji, 2016; Roncek, 1981; Troy et al., 2016; Wikstrom and Dolmen, 1990).

Studies conducted on crime in Lagos have barely focused on the implications of violent crime for the livelihoods of citizens. Like Ebbe (1989), the present study notes that there has not been any systematic attempt to study the linkage between crime and victimisation experiences across residential areas in the state.

Violent victimisation: empirical evidence on personal and environmental predictors

Research on the possible causes of violent crimes and their consequences on society has been undertaken since the emergence of criminology as a behavioural science. However, the decades after the Second World War saw more rigorous research on violent crimes around the world. Some of the studies examined the nexus between age, sex, class, residential status and the vulnerability of individuals to crime. Equally, considerable attention has been paid to the implications of increases in an area's population on the experience of violent crime. Considering the role of globalisation and the emphasis on citizen-centred policing, researchers have recently been interrogating the extent to which police performance and the criminal justice system determine the incidence of violent crimes in the larger society (Buvinic and Morrison, 2000; Siegel, 2007).

Traditionally, research has consistently shown that age and sex are universally related to crime victimisation. All over the world, age is believed to be inversely related to both the commission

and experience of crime. This relationship derives from the fact that young people, especially those aged between 16 and 24 years, live most parts of their lives outside the home. In school, they associate with new people, get admitted into new cultures and values and eventually transit into adulthood. Similarly, adolescents are believed to have considerable energy and power for exploring their world, thus giving them an opportunity to meet new people and get admitted into a new social order.

In line with this argument, Siegel (2007) noted that 'whereas youths aged 13 to 17 collectively make up about 6 percent of the total population of the US population, they account for about 25 percent of index crimes and 17 percent of arrests for all crimes' (Siegel, 2007: 51). Conversely, research has shown that as people grow old, their tendency to be victimised also reduces because older people spend most of their time at home, unlike the younger people who attend school, go to work and spend considerable time competing for political and economic power with their peers.

On gender and crime victimisation, research has shown that, globally, males are more likely to be perpetrators and victims of physical and violent crimes than females (Anderson et al., 2009) due to the high frequency of male-to-male crimes (Graham and Wells, 2003). However, women tend to be victims of sex crime, especially in masculine societies where women are exposed to norms and cultures that support the oppression of the opposite sex. The experience is even more worrisome in sub-Saharan Africa, where the state has a very weak legal and institutional framework to support the defence of women's rights.

Interesting findings have also been found on the environment and crime victimisation. Anchored largely on an ecological thesis, research has consistently established a relationship between the population size/density of cities and the vulnerability of individuals to crime (Kunnuji, 2016). For the environmentalists, people encounter crimes not only because they expose themselves to crime but because congestion in the cities aids the perpetration of crime. Writing on the increasing influence of cities, Buvinic and Morrison (2000) noted that modern society is faced with complications arising from exponential population growth, rapid development of cities in the developing world and a sharp increase in the population densities of these cities. Because the cities lack good governance systems, Buvinic and Morrison noted, the children of the poor, who are left behind in the rapidly growing market-based economies, have no choice but to revolt against global inequality and rising poverty among their peers.

Nightclubs and police presence as factors in crime victimisation: a revisit of social disorganisation and routine activity theories

The theory of social disorganisation, which was first articulated by Shaw and McKay (1942), as well as the theory of routine activity as propounded by Cohen and Felson (1979), represents a paradigm shift in the explanation of crime occurrences. While earlier theories were people-centric by focusing on factors related to the perpetrators of crime, theories of social disorganisation and routine activity highlight the activities and atmosphere present in the physical environment as factors in crime causation. While social disorganisation theory recognises kinds of place (e.g. nightlife settings) that create conditions favourable to crime (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003: 1), routine activity theory recognises the presence/absence of capable guardians (e.g. the police) as a factor in crime causation (Purpura, 2013).

The impact of nightlife and nightclubbing has been studied previously. Demant (2013) noted that nightlife settings are points of attraction for people to connect and have fun after a stressful day, with some sometimes going there to find sexual partners (Wrightson-Hester et al., 2019).

Bianchini (1995) found that the night-time economy helps to boost the economy of the state through high levels of purchases and sales and helps to improve the freedom of young people to share and realise multiple hidden identities. However, nightclubbing often serves as a den where deviant behaviours such as alcoholism and sexual abuses are perpetrated (Tutenges and Bøhling, 2019). Many behaviours in nightlife settings are socially unacceptable at school and in the workplace but they happen frequently, nonetheless (Wrightson-Hester et al., 2019). Nightclubs are a hotspot for perpetrators of crime. At nightclubs, behaviour such as drug binges and alcoholism are not uncommon. Moreover, many cases of cult clashes, murder and theft have been reported at nightclubs and their environs (Olabulo, 2019). Poynton et al. (2005) reported that nightclub areas are mostly prone to physical violence among young people. Such violence may cause damage and loss of property to residents living close by. Due to poor security infrastructure, the police usually arrive late to such crime scenes and often arrest innocent residents.

Buttram et al. (2018) noted that nightclubbing is a major characteristic of a large city. Given that Lagos is the economic hub of the country and that it has a large population of young and energetic people, nightclubbing may be viewed as a regular phenomenon in the state. Sometimes, crimes that are typical of neighbourhoods with an active nightlife tend to be perpetrated by those living outside the neighbourhood. However, residents often bear the brunt of police arrests (Buttram et al., 2018). In the case of Lagos, this has led to loss of trust and confidence in the police and may explain why residents sometimes resist arrest and become physical with the police, as seen in the recent End SARS (Special Anti-Robbery Squad) protests that led to the burning of police stations in the state, and the brutal murder of police officers including the Divisional Police Officer of Olosan police station in the Mushin area of Lagos metropolis.

As with social disorganisation theory, Anderson et al. (2009) reported that some settings are more prone to crime than others, such as nightclubs and bars, where criminal activities are more likely to occur. The perpetration of crime, as well as the fact of being a victim of crime, may sometimes be due to intoxication, a common phenomenon in nightclubbing (Graham et al., 2014). Drawing from social disorganisation theory, it is hypothesised that residents living close to nightclubs and hotels may experience not only crime but also wrongful arrest by the police. Most people tend to socialise and network at nightclubs and hotels. However, such places can also sometimes be the meeting point for people with criminal intent to strategise on how to recruit new members. The disorganisation of activities in nightclubs, such as binge drinking, drug use and sexual abuse, tends to increase the chances of crime occurrence. The crime may spread from inside of the club to neighbouring houses if there is no police presence. Nightlife, especially in tourist destinations, provides an easy escape route to perpetrators (Kurtz et al., 2009).

Regarding police presence, Nakano et al. (2019) reported that the presence of police officers deters drivers from engaging in unacceptable and non-driving activities. Similarly, Struckman-Johnson et al. (2015) stated that police presence keeps drivers focused, promotes expected behaviours and ensures safety. This shows the potential of police presence in deterring potential perpetrators from executing criminal activities. Police presence and frequent patrols are supposed to reduce the occurrence of crime, as potential perpetrators are wary of the high likelihood of being apprehended while trying to commit crime (Baudains et al., 2019; Durlauf and Nagin, 2011). However, there is no consensus in the literature as to the influence of police patrols. While some studies have shown that deployment of police officers and patrols yield positive results, such as reducing public fear and consequently increasing public satisfaction (Zhao et al., 2002) and general crime reduction (Koper, 1995; Mohler et al., 2015; Telep et al., 2012), other studies have shown that police presence creates a backlash effect – a phenomenon of increasing crime perpetrated by a

group of people or mob who perceive police arrest and sanction to an earlier event to be unjust (Baudains et al., 2019) – especially during large-scale political violence/protests and terrorism against the state (Baudains et al., 2019; Earl and Soule, 2010).

Like social disorganisation theory, routine activity theory also postulates that the environment plays a role in the occurrence of crime. Three elements must be present before a crime can occur, namely an available and suitable target, a motivated offender and the absence of an authority figure (Purpura, 2013). Studies have shown that nightclubbing is characteristic of perpetrators of crime (Kurtz et al., 2009) and motivated offenders are usually present therein to dispossess people within and outside the club of their belongings. The potential offender's evaluation of police presence and the likelihood of being apprehended determine whether or not the crime will be eventually committed. When potential criminals realise that police will be effective in curtailing crime in nightclub settings, the commission of crime may reduce.

Methods

Design and study setting

The study utilised a cross-sectional survey design and a quantitative method of data collection. The study was carried out in Lagos metropolis in south-western Nigeria. Lagos State is divided into three senatorial districts, 20 local government areas (LGAs) and 37 local council development areas. Although the study covers the three senatorial districts, the LGAs selected from each district are those in the metropolitan area – this is why the study location is better described as 'Lagos metropolis' rather than Lagos State. The study population comprised residents who were at least 18 years old at the time of the study. The respondents were those either living or working in any of the study locations at the time of the study regardless of whether they were indigenes of Lagos State. Respondents were verbally screened to ensure that they met the eligibility criteria for participating in the study.

Sampling and research instrument

The three senatorial districts of Lagos State were sampled: Lagos Central, Lagos East and Lagos West. Two LGAs were selected from each district using the purposive random technique – the two LGAs are those situated in the metropolitan parts of each district. In Lagos Central, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island LGAs were selected; Kosofe and Somolu LGAs were selected from Lagos East; and Ikeja and Mushin LGAs were selected in Lagos West. The six local government areas have been regarded by earlier authors as parts of metropolitan Lagos (see Kunnuji, 2014). A structured questionnaire was used to elicit information from 360 respondents who were randomly selected. After post-field screening, a total of 67, 132 and 98 questionnaires in Lagos Central, Lagos East and Lagos West respectively were eligible for entry, putting the eventual sample size at 297. For this study, the questionnaire contained sections on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and their experience of crime and crime victimisation. The questions were mainly close-ended. The questionnaire was self-administered only for those who declared themselves educated and were willing to complete the survey on their own, with the interview administered for those who chose to be assisted.

Measures

The study had three dependent variables. For the first, crime victimisation in the last six months, respondents were asked, 'Have you been a victim of crime in the last months?' with 'No' and 'Yes' choices. In the second dependent variable, experience of robbery, they were asked, 'Have you been robbed on your street in the last one year?' with 'No' and 'Yes' as the required answers. In the third variable, they were asked about their experience of organised crime: 'Have you ever witnessed a criminal attack carried out by organised criminals in this community?' The choices were also either 'Yes' or 'No'.

There were two broad types of independent variables. The first were the socio-demographic factors comprising nine variables: senatorial district, age, gender, ethnic group, marital status, education, employment status, duration of residency and apartment type. Only age and duration of residency were continuous variables; the rest were categorical. The second, which can be described as community factors, comprised three variables: presence of nightclubs, use of private security and frequency of police patrols. For presence of nightclubs, the researchers asked, 'Are nightclubs and brothels available in this community?' with 'No' and 'Yes' options. On the use of private security, respondents were asked whether they employed the service of any private security other than the police, with 'No' and 'Yes' as options. Respondents were also asked about the frequency of police patrols in their neighbourhood. The four Likert-scale options, which ranged from 'Very frequent' to 'Not frequent', were recoded into two outcomes: 'Frequent' and 'Not frequent'.

Data analysis

Simple frequencies and percentages were used to analyse and present findings at the univariate level. Since the dependent variables were categorical and have two possible outcomes, '0' for 'No' and '1' for 'Yes', binary logistic regression was used. A separate model was presented for each of the dependent variables and used all the nine socio-demographic questions as covariates in each model. The first option in each of the independent variables, which were categorical, was used as the reference category. Separate models were computed to test the influence of night-clubs/brothels on the three dependent variables. All tests were run at a 95% level of significance. Categories with too small values were excluded (i.e. declared missing) to avoid high standard error values.

Ethical considerations

Permission to conduct the study was granted by the Criminology, Policing and Victimization Studies Research Group in the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos after the research goals and instruments were reviewed. Traditional rulers in the communities of study also granted approval to carry out the study. All the respondents were verbally briefed about the rationale for the study before they were interviewed. The questionnaire also contained a brief letter of introduction that informed the respondents about the rationale for the study and asked for their permission to participate. No respondent was paid to participate in the study.

Findings

The demographic profile of the sample is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic profiles.

Senatorial district	Frequency (n=297)	% (100)
Lagos Central	67	22.6
Lagos East	132	44.4
Lagos West	98	33.0
Gender		
Male	159	53.5
Female	138	46.5
Age[a]		
20 or less	28	11.3
21–30	112	45.2
31–40	70	28.2
41 or above	38	15.3
Mean=31.3; SD=9.89		
Ethnic group		
Yoruba	203	68.4
Igbo	70	23.6
Hausa	13	4.4
Other	11	3.7
Marital status		
Single	160	53.9
Married	123	41.4
Divorced	4	1.3
Separated	6	2.0
Widowed	4	1.3
Education[b]		
No formal education	10	3.6
Primary education	24	8.5
Secondary education	97	34.5
Tertiary education	150	53.4
Employment status[c]		
Employed	220	74.6
Unemployed	75	25.4
Apartment type		
Single room	56	19.9
Room and parlour	130	46.1
Duplex	41	14.5
Other	55	19.5
Duration of residency in Lagos: mean=12.3; SD=9.85		
Household size: mean=5.8; SD=7.45		

[a]Forty-nine respondents did not state their actual age.

[b]Sixteen respondents had other forms of education – they include those who had Islamic education, artisans etc. They refused to be categorised as 'no formal education'.

[c]Two respondents were students and not eligible to work.

[d]Fifteen respondents did not have a permanent place of residence. They slept in different places depending on circumstances.

Experience of crime and crime victimisation

It was found that more than a quarter of the respondents (30.6%) had been a victim of crime in the last six months and 79.1% of such victims lost physical belongings such as cars, cash and mobile

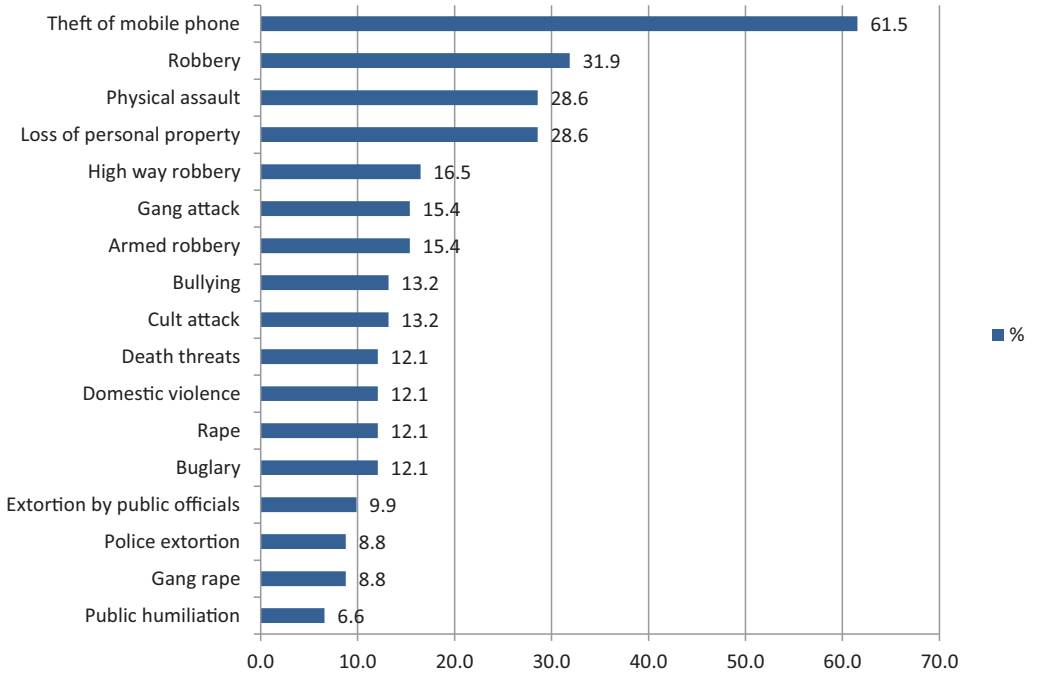

Figure 1. Chart showing different crimes experienced (options are not mutually exclusive).

phones (see Figure 1). Approximately 62% of the victims reported that they were traumatised and 40% of them reported sustaining physical injury from the crime. All of the victims reported that they were afraid of being a victim again in the next month. More than (56%) of the victims said that they did not feel safe since the community was highly vulnerable to criminal attack. A total of 16.5% of the respondents said they felt unsafe because police patrols do not deter criminals; 8.8% said they felt unsafe because criminals bribe the police and that criminals have some undetected hideouts. Of the respondents (91) who had been victims of crime in the last six months, the crime experienced the most was theft of a mobile phone, followed by robbery, physical assault, loss of property etc. The least experienced was public humiliation.

When asked whether they had been robbed on the street in the last year, 73 (24.6%) of the respondents reported that they had been robbed on the street. In all, 172 (57.9%) of respondents reported that most cases of robbery happened at night in their own community; about one-tenth (10.8%) reported that robbery usually occurs in the evening in their own community.

Regarding organised crime, close to half (46.5%) of the respondents reported that they had witnessed criminal attacks by organised criminals in their community. Of the 138 respondents who had witnessed such crime, 69 of them had witnessed cult attacks, 10 witnessed money ritualism, 33 witnessed riots by area boys and 22 witnessed kidnapping.

RQ 1: Do socio-demographic factors predict exposure to crime victimisation?

As Table 2 shows, socio-demographic factors predict respondents' perception of crime victimisation. The model explains approximately 20% of the variance in exposure to victimisation. It

Table 2. Binary logistic regression for being a victim of crime in the last six months.

					95% CI for EXP(B)	
Socio-demographic factors	B	SE	P	AOR	Lower	Upper
Senatorial district						
Lagos Central	–	–	0.046	1		
Lagos East	−1.449	0.585	0.013	0.235	0.075	0.739
Lagos West	−0.642	0.474	0.175	0.526	0.208	1.331
Gender						
Male	–	–		1		
Female	−0.038	0.359	0.915	0.962	0.476	1.945
Age	−0.022	0.031	0.477	0.978	0.92	1.04
Ethnic group						
Yoruba	–	–	0.524	1		
Igbo	1.065	1.168	0.362	2.902	0.294	28.645
Hausa	1.465	1.198	0.221	4.329	0.414	45.316
Other	0.627	1.612	0.697	1.872	0.079	44.13
Marital status						
Single	–	–		1		
Married	0.415	0.492	0.399	1.514	0.578	3.969
Education						
None			0.182	–		
Primary education	2.012	1.369	0.142	7.475	0.511	109.421
Secondary	0.865	1.249	0.489	2.375	0.205	27.486
Tertiary	1.496	1.243	0.229	4.462	0.39	50.981
Employment status						
Employed	–	–		1		
Unemployed	−0.371	0.47	0.43	0.69	0.275	1.733
Duration of residency	0.016	0.021	0.451	1.016	0.975	1.057
Apartment type						
Single room	–	–	0.004	1		
Room and parlour	−1.365	0.449	0.002	0.255	0.106	0.616
Duplex	−1.303	0.605	0.031	0.272	0.083	0.89
Flat	−1.937	0.631	0.002	0.144	0.042	0.497
Constant	−1.226	1.772	0.489	0.294		
Omnibus test: Chi-square (p): 31.031 (0.013)						
Goodness of fit: Chi-square (p): 9.140 (331)						
Nagelkerke R^2: 0.202						

Note: The first category is the reference point. B = Coefficient, SE = Standard Error, P=p-value, AOR = Adjusted Odds Ratio, CI = Confidence Interval

was found that the districts in which respondents resided was a significant predictor, as respondents in Lagos Central (AOR=1) were more vulnerable than those in Lagos East (AOR=0.235) and Lagos West (AOR=0.526). Apartment type was also a significant predictor, as respondents living in a single room were more vulnerable (AOR=1.0) than those living in a room and parlour (AOR=0.255), duplex (AOR=0.272) or flat (AOR=0.144).

Although other factors were not significant predictors at a 95% confidence level, Igbo and Hausa respondents were 2.9 times and 4.3 times respectively more likely to be victims of crime in

Lagos than their Yoruba counterparts. (It is worth noting that the south-western part of the country is largely dominated by the Yoruba.) Similarly, those who had tertiary education were 4.5 times more likely to be victims of crime than those with no education at all.

RQ 2: Which socio-demographic factors predict exposure to robbery?

Table 3 shows that, overall, the model has a good fit, with a predictive ability of 23.4%. The table also shows that only duration of residency and apartment type were significant predictors. It was found that those who had lived for a longer time in the community experienced more robbery. This implies that it would only be a matter of time for those who are relatively new in the community to experience robbery, if adequate security measures are not put in place. Like in the previous model, respondents who lived in a single room were more likely to experience robbery (AOR=1.0) than those living in a room and parlour (AOR=0.287), duplex (AOR=0.171) or flat (AOR=0.123).

RQ 3: What socio-demographic factors predict experience of organised crimes?

As with Table 2, it is also clear in Table 4 that those in Lagos Central were more likely to witness organised crime (AOR=1.0) than those in Lagos East (OR=0.073) and Lagos West (0.259). Unemployed residents were more likely to witness organised crime since they seemed to spend more time in the neighbourhood during the day.

RQ 4: Do the presence of nightclubs/hotels, use of private security and frequency of police patrols influence experience of crime victimisation, robbery and organised crimes?

Table 5 shows the influence of the presence of nightclubs/hotels, use of private security and frequency of police patrols on the three dependent variables. In the first model, it was found that respondents who lived in communities where there were no nightclubs/hotels were 3.3 times less likely to have experienced crime victimisation (AOR=0.299). Use of private security and frequency of police patrols do not influence crime victimisation. In Model 2, none of the environmental factors significantly predicted experience of robbery. This could have been because the experience of crime occurred outside the community where respondents lived, such that use of private security at home and police patrols in the neighbourhood would have no influence. Model 3 shows that the presence of nightclubs/hotels and use of private security were significant predictors of experience of organised crime. Respondents who lived in communities where there were no nightclubs/hotels were less likely to experience organised crime (B=−0.846; P=0.011). Respondents who did not employ the services of private security were two times more likely to experience the activities of organised crime (B=0.675).

Discussion and conclusion

This study set out to investigate the demographic and environmental predictors of crime victimisation using three experiences of crime: being the victim of any crime in the last six months, experience of robbery in the last one year, and experience of organised criminal activities. It was found that six factors were significant predictors and each of them predicted at least one of the three dependent variables. The significant predictors were location (senatorial district), type of apartment, duration of residency, employment status, presence of nightclubs and use of private security.

Table 3. Binary logistic regression for experience of robbery in the last one year.

Socio-demographic factors	B	SE	P	AOR	95% CI for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Senatorial district						
Lagos Central	–	–	0.056	1		
Lagos East	−0.704	0.645	0.275	0.495	0.14	1.753
Lagos West	0.667	0.499	0.182	1.949	0.732	5.186
Gender						
Male	–	–		1		
Female	−0.498	0.385	0.197	0.608	0.286	1.294
Age	−0.037	0.034	0.282	0.964	0.901	1.031
Ethnic group						
Yoruba	–	–	0.148	1		
Igbo	0.987	1.176	0.401	2.684	0.268	26.895
Hausa	1.854	1.209	0.125	6.387	0.598	68.265
Other	0.997	1.631	0.541	2.709	0.111	66.267
Marital status						
Single	–	–		1		
Married	0.371	0.531	0.484	1.45	0.512	4.107
Education						
None	–	–	0.808	1		
Primary education	0.198	1.4	0.887	1.219	0.078	18.938
Secondary	0.128	1.267	0.92	1.136	0.095	13.617
Tertiary	0.523	1.261	0.678	1.688	0.143	19.979
Employment status						
Employed	–	–		1		
Unemployed	−0.487	0.493	0.323	0.614	0.234	1.616
Duration of residency	0.049	0.023	0.033	1.05	1.004	1.099
Apartment type						
Single room	–	–	0.003	1		
Room and parlour	−1.247	0.458	0.006	0.287	0.117	0.705
Duplex	−1.765	0.663	0.008	0.171	0.047	0.628
Flat	−2.098	0.701	0.003	0.123	0.031	0.484
Constant	−0.954	1.794	0.595	0.385		
Omnibus test: Chi-square (p): 33.560 (0.006)						
Goodness of fit: Chi-square (p): 8.905 (350)						
Nagelkerke R^2: 0.234						

Note: The first category is the reference point. B = Coefficient, SE = Standard Error, P = *p*-value, AOR = Adjusted Odds Ratio, CI = Confidence Interval.

It was also found that respondents who lived in Lagos Central Senatorial District were more likely to have been victimised in the last six months and were more likely to have witnessed organised criminal activities than residents in Lagos East and Lagos West senatorial districts. There are theoretical and local explanations for this. The finding is also consistent with earlier studies of Block and Block (1995), Anderson et al. (2009) and Mawby (2015), who found that location is a factor in crime and that some settings are more prone to crime than others. Locally, there are two plausible explanations. One, the 2017 Lagos State Abstract of Statistics (Lagos

Table 4. Binary logistic regression for witnessing of organised crimes.

Socio-demographic factors	B	SE	P	AOR	95% CI for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Senatorial district						
Lagos Central	–	–	<0.001	1		
Lagos East	−2.619	0.602	<0.001	0.073	0.022	0.237
Lagos West	−1.352	0.488	0.006	0.259	0.099	0.673
Gender						
Male	0.494	0.344	0.151	1.638	0.835	3.214
Female						
Age	−0.008	0.029	0.788	0.992	0.938	1.05
Ethnic group						
Yoruba			0.772			
Igbo	0.528	1.034	0.609	1.696	0.224	12.868
Hausa	0.136	1.063	0.898	1.146	0.143	9.207
Other	0.373	1.325	0.778	1.453	0.108	19.486
Marital status						
Single	0.793	0.473	0.094	2.209	0.874	5.583
Married						
Education						
None			0.761			
Primary education	−0.333	1.189	0.779	0.717	0.07	7.362
Secondary	−0.224	1.051	0.831	0.8	0.102	6.272
Tertiary	0.167	1.041	0.873	1.182	0.153	9.095
Employment status						
Employed	1.164	0.451	0.01	3.203	1.324	7.749
Unemployed						
Duration of residency	−0.008	0.022	0.728	0.992	0.95	1.036
Apartment type						
Single room			0.291			
Room and parlour	0.375	0.467	0.423	1.454	0.582	3.635
Duplex	0.057	0.585	0.922	1.059	0.336	3.333
Flat	−0.745	0.621	0.23	0.475	0.141	1.604
Constant	0.294	1.542	0.849	1.342		
Omnibus test: Chi-square (p): 35.282 (0.004)						
Goodness of fit: Chi-square (p): 7.900 (0.443)						
Nagelkerke R^2: 0.235						

Note: The first category is the reference point. B=Coefficient, SE = Standard Error, P = *p*-value, AOR = Adjusted Odds Ratio, CI = Confidence Interval.

Bureau of Statistics, 2017) shows that of the six local government areas (two in each senatorial district), the LGAs in Lagos Central Senatorial District recorded the mean highest population density of approximately 88,338 persons per square kilometre, followed by Lagos West with a mean of approximately 75,692 persons and Lagos East with 39,257 persons per square kilometre.

The literature shows that the experience of crime may increase with population density (Harries, 2006; Kunnuji, 2016; Steinmetz, 2016). Kunnuji (2016) attributed this to a number of factors, such as increased anonymity, heterogeneity, infrequent interaction, lack of a database on human

Table 5. Model for influence of nightclubs/hotels, use of private security and frequency of police patrol on crime victimisation, robbery and organised crimes.

					95% CI for EXP(B)	
Model 1	B	SE	P	AOR	Lower	Upper
Presence of nightclubs/hotels						
Yes						
No	−1.207	0.392	0.002	0.299	0.139	0.645
Use of private security						
Yes						
No	−0.081	0.3	0.788	0.923	0.512	1.662
Police patrols						
Frequent	−0.365	0.281	0.193	0.694	0.4	1.203
Not frequent						
Constant	−1.207	0.204	0	0.299		
Omnibus test: Chi-square (p): 12.926 (0.005)						
Goodness of fit: Chi-square (p): 7.109 (0.213)						
Nagelkerke R^2: 0.067						
Model 2						
Presence of nightclubs/hotels						
Yes						
No	−0.180	0.363	0.62	0.835	0.41	1.703
Use of private security						
Yes						
No	−0.533	0.305	0.081	0.587	0.323	1.067
Police patrols						
Frequent						
Not frequent	0.359	0.293	0.22	1.432	0.807	2.544
Constant	−0.987	0.183	0	0.373		
Omnibus test: Chi-square (p): 4.819 (0.186)						
Goodness of fit: Chi-square (p): 0.246 (0.993)						
Nagelkerke R^2: 0.028						
Model 3						
Presence of nightclubs/hotels						
Yes						
No	−0.846	0.334	0.011	0.429	0.223	0.826
Use of private security						
Yes						
No	0.675	0.292	0.021	1.965	1.108	3.486
Police patrols						
Frequent						
Not frequent	0.507	0.274	0.064	1.66	0.97	2.839
Constant	−0.284	0.177	0.108	0.753		
Omnibus test: Chi-square (p): 15.895 (0.001)						
Goodness of fit: Chi-square (p): 0.663 (0.985)						
Nagelkerke R^2: 0.086						

Note: B = Coefficient, SE = Standard Error, P = *p*-value, AOR = Adjusted Odds Ratio, CI = Confidence Interval.

movements around the city and lack of in-depth knowledge of people in one's surroundings in places with high population density. These characteristics of highly dense areas reduce the likelihood of apprehending perpetrators and consequently encourage crime. Studies have shown that crime increases with reduced perception of apprehension (Nagin, 2013; Nussio and Céspedes, 2018). Two, Lagos Island – a local government area in the Lagos Central District – is regarded as one of the expensive areas in Lagos State considering the fact that it houses many large organisations, nightclubs, hotels and many wealthy people. To many Lagosians, relocating to the Island is a sign of climbing higher on the socio-economic ladder. These settings may attract perpetrators and make residents in the area more vulnerable to crime.

This study also found that apartment type is a predictor of experiences of crime in the last six months and robbery in the last one year. For the two variables, residents who lived in a single-room apartment had the highest likelihood of vulnerability, while those living in flats and duplexes had the lowest risk of vulnerability. This finding contradicts the common-sense assumption that luxurious apartments will be more attractive to crime because they possess more valuables than single-room apartments. However, the finding is not without plausible explanations. Logically, one may assume that wealth is related to accommodation type, that is, wealthy people may prefer to stay in flats and duplexes because they can afford to pay for the comfort, while less privileged people may stay in smaller accommodations. Single rooms were more prevalent in poorer neighbourhoods characterised by high density, filth, social disorganisation and, most importantly, lack of security infrastructure, all of which increase the likelihood of vulnerability to crime victimisation.

Chamberlain and Boggess (2016) provide some explanations as to why perpetrators of property crime such as robbery may target poorer accommodation types than luxurious ones. One, luxurious apartments are located relatively away from poor neighbourhoods and are more likely to have adequate security infrastructure, e.g. security cameras, thereby increasing the risk of apprehension of potential perpetrators. In addition, in developing countries such as Nigeria, property crimes against well-to-do people are taken seriously by the police authorities and pursued with vigour, with perpetrators being usually apprehended and charged swiftly. Two, social connection is more likely in well-off neighbourhoods, as residents are likely to come together to address an issue including prevention of crime, unlike the case in poor neighbourhoods, where social cohesion is low. Three, perpetrators of property crimes target residences that are worse off relative to their own because perpetrators from poor neighbourhoods may be unfamiliar with the behaviours and social terrain in wealthy neighbourhoods, a fact that deters them from targeting residents in luxurious apartments (Ratcliffe, 2003).

The study also found that duration of residency is associated with experience of robbery in the last year; those with longer residence being more vulnerable. It was also found that unemployed people are more likely to witness organised crimes. Regarding duration, one would expect that the 'JJC' ('Johnny Just Come') phenomenon (a term used to describe people who are new to a particular environment and are yet to be familiar with the terrain and behaviours of the new place) would play out since the newly arrived are novices and may be less conversant with the terrain of the new environment. This was demonstrated by Boakye (2010), who reported that tourists are likely to be victimised more than local residents since the former, like the newly arrived, are not familiar with the environment and have to depend on unknown people for basic services. However, the findings of this study suggest that it is only a matter of time; there are possibilities that new residents may still be victims in future *ceteris paribus*.

Regarding the unemployed, most studies on employment and crime have only demonstrated that unemployment will serve as a push factor that leads the unemployed to commit crime (Papps and Winkelmann, 2000; Tabar and Noghani, 2019). Common sense dictates that the employed would have more assets that should be attractive to perpetrators than the unemployed. It is, therefore, surprising that the unemployed were more likely to witness organised crimes than the employed. The only possible explanation, which was advanced by Braithwaite and Biles (1979), is that the unemployed spend more time in public places such as parks and public bars instead of private ones and free open-space parties instead of enclosed ones, thus making them vulnerable to not only criminal victimisation but also police victimisation. In order to provide more explanation, researchers should consider conducting a study on the influence of duration of residency and employment status on experience of crime victimisation.

It was found that residents in areas where nightclubs/hotels were present were more likely to be vulnerable to victimisation within the last six months and were more likely to have experienced organised crime. Frequency of police patrols did not predict any of the three dependent variables. That nightclub settings may increase the rate of socially unacceptable behaviours has been well documented in the literature (e.g. Buttram et al., 2018; Poynton et al., 2005; Tutenges and Bøhling, 2019; Wrightson-Hester et al., 2019). One may expect that victims of crime are supposed to be clubbers and not residents living close to the location of night bars/clubs. In Lagos, it is not uncommon to see teenagers and those in their twenties gather in their hundreds in front of night-clubs/bars and hotels, especially those clubs where hip-hop artists perform; more often than not, the youths are found to be engaged in alcohol and cannabis consumption. When violence breaks out, as it commonly does at nightclubs in urban centres (Poynton et al., 2005), residents suffer vandalism, theft and even police harassment. Secondly, in Lagos, while most expensive nightclubs are situated in business districts and are surrounded by firms with adequate security, less expensive clubs and bars are situated in residential areas characterised by inadequate security and high population density, thus increasing the vulnerability of residents to crime victimisation.

The study highlights that police patrols do not deter crime but use of private security reduces vulnerability to crime victimisation. Studies in Nigeria have highlighted that private security, such as the informal local vigilantes, are effective in crime control and are preferred by residents (Chikwendu et al., 2016; Ogbozor, 2016; Onwuegbusi, 2017; Yahaya and Bello, 2019). Onwuegbusi attributed the acceptance of local vigilantes to the ineffectiveness of the formal police, thus leaving the people with no alternatives. Informal security might deter crime for two reasons. One, residents are likely to employ the services of local security men who are familiar with their neighbourhood and people. The fear of being recognised could deter potential perpetrators. Two, in Nigeria, local vigilantes are feared because many assume that they possess spiritual powers to harm crime perpetrators. As such, the fear of spiritual attack could cause potential perpetrators to refrain.

In conclusion, this study has shown that location, type of apartment, duration of residency, employment status, presence of nightclubs and use of private security are related to victimisation. These factors should be taken into consideration by policy makers who wish to manage crime in Lagos metropolis. Areas with high density and presence of nightclubs should have modern security infrastructure that aids the detection of crime.

References

Adejoh SO, Alabi TA, Adisa WB, et al. (2019) 'Yahoo boys' phenomenon in Lagos metropolis: A qualitative investigation. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology* 13(1): 1–20.

Adigun FO (2013) Residential differentials in incidence and fear of crime perception in Ibadan. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 3(10): 96–104.

Adisa J (1994) Urban violence in Lagos. In: Osaghae E, Toure E and Kouame N (eds) *Urban Violence in Africa*. Ibadan: IFRA-Nigeria, pp.139–175.

Akinyele RT (2001) Ethnic militancy and national stability in Nigeria: A case study of the Oodua People's Congress. *African Affairs* 100(410): 623–640.

Alemika E and Chukwuma IC (2005) Criminal victimization and fear of crime in Lagos metropolis, Nigeria. *CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series*, 1.

Aluko OE (2010) The impact of urbanization on housing development: The Lagos experience, Nigeria. *Ethiopian Journal of Environmental Studies and Management* 3(3): 64–74.

Anderson T, Daly K and Rapp L (2009) Clubbing masculinities and crime: A qualitative study of Philadelphia nightclub scenes. *Feminist Criminology* 4(4): 302–332.

Ayodele JO and Aderinto AA (2015) *Correlates of crime reporting among victims of Lagos, Nigeria*. PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Badiora AI (2012) *Spatio-temporal pattern of crime and delinquency in Ile-Ife, Nigeria*. MSc Dissertation, Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria.

Badiora AI and Afon AO (2013) Spatial pattern of crime in Nigerian traditional city: The Ile-Ife experience. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory* 6(3): 15–28.

Baudains P, Belur J, Braithwaite A, et al. (2019) The exacerbating effect of police presence: A multivariate point process analysis of the Naxal conflict. *Political Geography* 68: 12–22.

Bianchini F (1995) Night cultures, night economies. *Planning Practice and Research* 10(2): 121–126.

Block RL and Block CR (1995) Space, place and crime: Hot spot areas and hot places of liquor-related crime. *Crime and Place* 4(2): 145–184.

Boakye KA (2010) Studying tourists' suitability as crime targets. *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(3): 727–743.

Boggess L (2010) Violent crime, residential instability and mobility: Does the relationship differ in minority neighbourhoods? *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 26: 351–370.

Braithwaite J and Biles D (1979) On being unemployed and being a victim of crime. *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 14(3): 192–200.

Buttram ME, Pagano ME and Kurtz SP (2018) Residential proximity to electronic dance music nightclubs and associations with substance use, sexual behaviors, and related problems. *Journal of Drug Issues* 48(1): 4–16.

Buvinic M and Morrison AR (2000) Living in a more violent world. *Foreign Policy* 118: 58–72.

Chamberlain AW and Boggess LN (2016) Relative difference and burglary location: Can ecological characteristics of a burglar's home neighborhood predict offense location? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 53(6): 872–906.

Chikwendu SC, Nwankwo IU and Oli NP (2016) The role of vigilante service groups in crime control for sustainable development in Anambra State, South-East Nigeria. *Greener Journal of Social Sciences* 6(3): 65–74.

Cohen LE and Felson M (1979) Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review* 44(4): 588.

Demant J (2013) Affected in the nightclub. A case study of regular clubbers' conflictual practices in nightclubs. *International Journal of Drug Policy* 24: 196–202.

Durlauf S and Nagin D (2011) Imprisonment and crime: Can both be reduced? *Criminology and Public Policy* 10: 13–54.

Earl J and Soule S (2010) The impacts of repression: The effect of police presence and action on subsequent protest rates. In: Coy P (ed.) *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Vol. 30). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 75–113.

Ebbe ON (1989) Crime and delinquency in metropolitan Lagos: A study of crime and delinquency area theory. *Social Forces* 67(3): 751–765.

Ekpimah E (2019) Police arrest 77 for killing, cult clashes in Ajah. *Punch*, 25 March. Available at: https://punchng.com/police-arrest-77-for-killing-cult-clashes-in-ajah/ (accessed 19 September 2019).

Ekpimah E and Lambo D (2019) Four killed, 74 arrested in Lagos cult clashes. *Punch*, 3 September. Available at: https://punchng.com/cult-clashes-claim-four-lives-in-lagos/ (accessed 19 September 2019).

Felson M (2002) *Crime and Everyday Life*, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Graham K and Wells S (2003) 'Somebody's gonna get their head kicked in tonight!' Aggression among young males in bars – a question of values? *British Journal of Criminology* 43(3): 546–566.

Graham K, Bernards S, Abbey A, et al. (2014) Young women's risk of sexual aggression in bars: The roles of intoxication and peer social status. *Drug and Alcohol Review* 33(4): 393–400.

Gulumbe SU, Dikko HG and Bello Y (2012). Analysis of crime data using principal component analysis: A case study of Katsina State. *CBN Journal of Applied Statistics*, 3(2), 39–49.

Harries K (2006) Property crimes and violence in United States: An analysis of the influence of population density. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences* 1(2): 24–34.

Hindelang MJ, Gottfredson MR and Garofalo J (1978) *Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation for a Theory of Personal Victimization*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Hübschle A (2011) From theory to practice: Exploring the organized crime-terror nexus in sub-Saharan Africa. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5(3/4): 81–95.

Ikelegbe A (2005) State, ethnic militias and conflict in Nigeria. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39(3): 490–516.

International Crisis Group (2016) *Cameroon: Confronting Boko Haram*. Report no. 241, 16 November. Belgium.

Jayamala M (2008) Trends and spatial patterns of crime in India: A case study of a district in India. Doctoral Dissertation, Annamalai University, India.

Kinsella C (2012) Re-locating fear on the streets: Homelessness, victimisation and fear of crime. *European Journal of Homelessness* 6(2): 121–136.

Koper CS (1995) Just enough police presence: Reducing crime and disorderly behavior by optimizing patrol time in crime hot spots. *Justice Quarterly* 12(4): 649–672.

Kubrin CE and Weitzer R (2003) New directions in social disorganization theory. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 40(4): 374–402.

Kunnuji M (2014) Spatial variations in access to improved sanitation and water in Lagos state. *Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development* 4(4): 612–619.

Kunnuji M (2016) Population density and armed robbery in Nigeria: An analysis of variation across states. *African Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 9(1): 62–73.

Kurtz SP, Inciardi JA and Pujals E (2009) Criminal activity among young adults in the club scene. *Law Enforcement Executive Forum* 9(2): 47.

Lagos Bureau of Statistics (2017) *Abstract of Local Government Statistics*. Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget, Lagos.

Louis S, Cookie WS, Louis AZ, et al. (1981) *Human Response to Social Problems*. Illinois: The Dorsey Press.

Mabogunje AL (1968) *Urbanization in Nigeria*. London: University of London Press.

Mawby RI (2015) Exploring the relationship between crime and place in the countryside. *Journal of Rural Studies* 39: 262–270.

Mazzitelli AL (2007) Transnational organized crime in West Africa: The additional challenge. *International Affairs* 83(6): 1071–1090.

Mbaku JM (2016) International law and the fight against bureaucratic corruption in Africa. *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law* 33(2): 661–740.

McVie S (2017) Social order: Crime and justice in Scotland. In: McCrone D (ed.) *The New Sociology of Scotland*. London: SAGE, pp. 293–322.

Melkonyan A (2012) Causes of crime. Available at: http://www.scribd.com/doc/8376295/Causes-of-Crime (accessed 30 January 2014).

Meredith M (2005) *The State of Africa: A History of the Continent Since Independence*. London: Free Press.

Mohler GO, Short MB, Malinowski S, et al. (2015) Randomized controlled field trials of predictive policing. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 110(512): 1399–1411.

Nagin DS (2013) Deterrence in the twenty-first century. *Crime and Justice* 42(1): 199–263.

Nakano Y, Okamura K, Kosuge R, et al. (2019) Effect of visible presence of policing activities on drivers' vigilance and intention to refrain from non-driving activities: A scenario-based survey of general Japanese drivers. *Accident Analysis and Prevention* 133: 105293.

National Bureau of Statistics (2017) Crime Statistics: Reported Offences by Type and State. National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria. Retrieved from https://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/pdfuploads/Crime_Statistics_Reported_Offences_-_2017.pdf (accessed 19 September 2019).

Nussio E and Céspedes EN (2018) Deterring delinquents with information: Evidence from a randomized poster campaign in Bogotá. *PLoS One* 13(7): e0200593.

Ogbozor E (2016) Understanding the informal security sector in Nigeria. Special Report 391, United States Institute of Peace, September.

Ogunleye A (2007) *The Nigerian Prison System*. Lagos: Specific Computers Publishers.

Olabulo O (2019) Three inspectors, two police officers arrested for alleged killing at a Lagos night club. *Nigerian Tribune*. Available at: http://tribuneonlineng.com/breaking-three-inspectors-two-police-officers-arrested-for-alleged-killing-at-lagos-night-club/ (accessed 21 December 2019).

Onuoha FC (2014) A danger not to Nigeria alone: Boko Haram's transnational reach and regional responses. Report, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Nigeria, November.

Onwuegbusi CA (2017) Public perception of the services of vigilante groups in Anambra State. *Journal of Religion and Human Relations* 9(1): 73–106.

Oshinfodunrin P (2019) Theft in early colonial Lagos. In: Akinyele R (ed.) *Crime, Law and Society: Essays in honour of Stephen Ellis*. Leiden: Brills Publishers, pp.31–61.

Pantucci R and Jesperson S (2015) From Boko Haram to Ansaru: The evolution of Nigeria jihad. Occasional Paper, Royal United Services Institute, UK, April.

Papps K and Winkelmann R (2000) Unemployment and crime: New evidence for an old question. *New Zealand Economic Papers* 34(1): 53–71.

Pope R (2010) The jouissance of the flaneur: Rewriting Baudelaire and modernity. *Space and Culture* 13(1): 4–16.

Porter JR (2010) *Tracking the Mobility of Crime: New Methodologies and Geographies in Modeling the Diffusion of Offending*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Poynton S, Donnelly N, Weatherburn D, et al. (2005) The role of alcohol in injuries presenting to St. Vincent's Hospital emergency department and the associated short-term costs. Alcohol Studies Bulletin 6, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Australia, December.

Purpura PP (2013) Security and Loss Prevention: An Introduction, 6th ed. London: Butterworth-Heinemann, pp. 55–88.

Ratcliffe JH (2003) Suburb boundaries and residential burglars: Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice. *Australian Institute of Criminology* 246: 1–6.

Roncek DW (1981) Dangerous places: Crime and residential environment. *Social Forces* 60(1): 74–96.

Shaw CR and McKay H (1942) *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Siegel L (2007) *Criminology: Theories, Patterns and Typologies*, 9th ed. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

Steinmetz DR (2016) Do higher population densities increase crime?. *NYC Data Science Academy Blog*. Available at: https://nycdatascience.com/blog/student-works/pressure-cooker-higher-population-densities-increase-crime/ (accessed 23 December 2019).

Struckman-Johnson C, Gaster S, Struckman-Johnson D, et al. (2015) Gender differences in psychosocial predictors of texting while driving. *Accident Analysis and Prevention* 74: 218–228.

Tabar SAMM and Noghani M (2019) Unemployment and crime in developing countries: A meta-analysis in Iran. *Crime, Law and Social Change* 72(3), 327–338.

Telep CW, Mitchell RJ and Weisburd D (2012) How much time should the police spend at crime hotspots? Answers from a police agency directed randomized field trial in Sacramento, California. *Justice Quarterly* 31(5): 905–933.

The Guardian (2015) The crime statistics in Lagos. Available at: https://guardian.ng/opinion/the-crime-statistics-in-lagos/ (accessed 7 December 2019).

Troy A, Nuney A and Grove M (2016) The relationship between residential yard management and neighbourhood crime: An analysis from Baltimore City and County. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 147: 78–87.

Tutenges S and Bøhling F (2019) Designing drunkenness: How pubs, bars and nightclubs increase alcohol sales. *International Journal of Drug Policy* 70: 15–21.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2005) *Transnational organized crime in the West African region*. Report. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

Van Dijk J, Van Kesteren J and Smit P (2007) Criminal victimisation in international perspective: Key findings from the 2004–2005 ICVS and EU ICS. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

Van Kesteren JN and Van Dijk JJM (2010) Key victimological findings from the international crime victims survey. In: Shoham GS, Knepper P and Kett M (eds) *International Handbook of Victimology*. Boca Raton: Taylor and Francis, pp. 151–180.

Wikstrom PH and Dolmen L (1990) Crime and crime trends in different urban environments. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 6(1): 7–30.

Wrightson-Hester AR, Allan M and Allan A (2019) Nightlife patrons' personal and descriptive norms regarding sexual behaviors. *Ethics and Behavior* 29(6): 423–437.

Yahaya JU and Bello MM (2019) The impact of vigilantism and crime control in contemporary Nigeria: A case study of Gezawa Local Government Area, Kano State, Nigeria (2010–2015). *International Journal of Recent Innovations in Academic Research* 3(1): 115–138.

Zhao JS, Schneider M and Thurman Q (2002) The effect of police presence on public fear reduction and satisfaction: A review of the literature. *The Justice Professional* 15(3): 273–299.