Correlates of Crime Reporting Among Victims in Lagos, Nigeria

By

Johnson Oluwole Ayodele
(Matriculation Number: 154808)

Submitted to
The Department of Sociology,
Faculty of the Social Sciences,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology of the University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Supervisor:
Prof. Adeyinka Abideen Aderinto

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ABSTRACT

Crime reporting practices are critical for effective policing and reduction of crime. Studies have shown that more crimes are committed than reported, while little research attention has been paid to the determinants of crime reporting among Nigerians. This study, therefore, examined the correlates of crime reporting among crime victims in Lagos State, Nigeria because its high crime rates are disproportionally reported.

The Weberian Social Action theory provided the theoretical framework for the study. It adopted the survey research design. Multistage sampling consisting of purposive and simple random techniques was used to select study locations and respondents respectively. A structured questionnaire was used to obtain data on socio-demographic characteristics, incidence of crime, and reporting practices from 948 randomly selected crime victims across the three LGAs from the senatorial districts of Lagos. Four hundred and seventy five respondents from Mushin local government area to represent Lagos west,291 respondents from Lagos Island local government area for Lagos central and182 respondents from Ibeju Lekki local government area for Lagos east senatorial districts. Sixteen in-depth interviews were conducted with traditional rulers and religious leaders with one purposively selected respondent from each senatorial district. Twelve key informant interviews with two relations of victims, a crime officer and one landlord association chairman were also conducted in each senatorial district. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics, chi-square and regression at 5% level of significance, while qualitative data were content analysed.

Respondents' age was 35.04±11.2 years; 66.1% were males, 46.5% were single and 61.2% had tertiary education. While 93.4% male respondents experienced crime, 50.2% reported crime. Also, 70.0% of the respondents had no confidence in the police, 19.3% had confidence and 10.7%were indifferent. Major reasons for non-reporting were: police inability to solve crime (56.3%), lack of confidence in the Nigeria police (25.6%) and crime as a private affair (11.0%). Victims reported minor (53.3%) and major (46.7%) crimes. Respondents who identified fear of offenders' revenge (odds ratio [OR] = 2.140) and court processes (OR = 2.061) as their special considerations for reporting were twice more likely to report crimes relative to loss of value (OR=1.000). While only marriage was significantly related to crime reporting among male respondents (X^2 = 0.00), religion (X^2 = 0.002), education (X^2 = 0.000), ethnicity (X^2 = 0.001) and marital status (X^2 = 0.045) were significantly associated with crime reporting among female respondents. Crime reporting among respondents was lower from rural (59.1%) through semi-urban (52.9%) to urban Lagos (47.1%). Stigmatisation of reporting as unbeneficial was dominant in rural communities. In urban Lagos, reporting crime to the police was not the usual practice. Self help was the familiar alternative to police notification. Generally, residents avoided reporting crime to the police because some officers had connived with criminals.

Crime reporting was generally low among residents of Lagos. Government should empower victims to enrich police crime data bank, by reporting, so as to enhance the efficiency of the entire criminal justice system. Also, the police should be trained to inspire improved crime reporting through confidence building among residents.

Keywords: Crime reporting, Nigeria police, Lagos State

Word count: 500

CERTIFICATION

I certify that Johnson Oluwole Ayodele [Matric Number 154808] wrote this thesis under my guidance and supervision in the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to:

1. The memory of my parents, Late Gabriel Ekundayo Ayodele and Late Victoria Ebun Ayodele for the intense sacrifices they both made to give me a rounded education.
2. 'Lai Olurode of the University of Lagos and 'Yinka Aderinto of the University of Ibadan, both acknowledged Professors of Sociology, for their positive engagements with me to attain this academic height.

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Even if it seems excessive in the extreme, in so far it is towards appreciation of a steady commitment of a supervisor; let me give it to my amiable and indefatigable Professor Abideen Adeyinka Aderinto. I honestly owe him more than what mere graphic messages could convey. On sabbatical at the Lagos State University, he gave me the theoretical training that guides the dynamics of a rewarding research career as an MPhil/Ph.D student. Then, as Head of Department, he brought his tremendous intellectual clear-headedness to bear on the program.

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Johnson Oluwole Ayodele

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Crime is a social problem that every society seeks to address. Once a crime occurs, it instantly throws up different layers of victims. In the dynamics of victimisation and social reactions to it, crime reporting plays a critical role. Therefore, public concern over human exposure to violence and its disproportionate reporting by victims and witnesses in society is not new. Given the obvious forms of violence in present-day society, public interest has come to be focussed on what Alemika (2004) described as the several difficulties that influence the collection of reliable statistics on criminal activity and victimisation in Nigeria. Apparently, the unwillingness of victims and witnesses to report crimes to the authority is probably the most disturbing of the challenges facing the collection of crime data. The National Crime victimisation Survey (NCVS), British Crime Survey (BCS) and Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) all indicate that as few as 38 - 42% of crime is reported and the 'dark figure' of unreported crime may make up as much as half of some categories of crime (Page, McLeod, Kinver, Iliasov & Yoon, 2009). Since crime takes an infinite physical, financial and emotional toll on its victims, no national characteristics, no political regime, no system of law, police, justice, punishment, treatment or even terror has rendered a country exempt from crime (Radzinowicz & King, 1979). Nevertheless, criminal acts and their report must go together so as to establish the rate of recurrence and spatial coverage of crime, update crime data, properly reward victims and punish offenders.

The foregoing logic must have led Azfar and Gurgur (2008) to consider the protection of the person and property of citizens one of the central roles of government. Thus, the concerns of

crime victims and non-victims about exposure towards crime will be significant not just in Europe and the former Soviet Union (Roberts, Stickley, Petticrew & McKee, 2010), but also in America (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981) and in Africa (Roberts, 2010). To become the gatekeeper of the criminal justice system (Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976), then, one of the most important decisions which victims must take in the aftermath of their victimisation is whether or not to notify the police (Greenberg & Beach, 2004). It is a paradox however that in the regions of the world where more crime occurs; the police know less about it (Alvazzi del Frate, 2003).

In the West, about 25 per cent of the people are crime victims every year and around one in five of them is victimised more than once (Van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Thus, building safer and less violent communities is a major challenge facing nearly all states and local communities throughout the world. The pool of unrecorded crime arising from the reluctance of victims and witnesses to report their victimisation experiences has several critical consequences. Some of these limit the deterrent capability of the criminal justice system, contribute to the misallocation of police resources, render victims ineligible for public and private benefits, affect insurance costs and help to shape the police role in society (Skogan, 1977a) as well as cause a self–denial of the opportunity to turn to the criminal justice system (Van der Vijver, 1993).

Nonetheless, victim reports are the most important source of information for the police on where crimes are committed and where police efforts are needed (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976; Mayhew, 1993; Warner, 1992). With a prevailing climate of great public concern about security, and the recognized limitations of the police to respond to rising crime levels, most citizens treat the question of crime reporting with a measure of scepticism. These make victims' tendency to report crime a key determinant in shaping the

statistics recorded by the police and also in providing a broader understanding of how crime impacts different individuals, communities and neighbourhoods (Tarling & Morris, 2010). Little wonder then that a rising literature probes the reasons for victims' willingness to report (Fohring, 2010).

Though research based on large scale victimisation surveys tends to suggest similar factors influencing victims' decisions to report such as the perceived seriousness of the offence, the victims' relationship to the offender, and the value of items lost or damaged (Skogan, 1984; Baumer & Lauritson, 2010; Tarling & Morris, 2010), a proliferation of theories suggesting the use of a cost-benefit calculation; a cognitive tool which victims use to weigh the potential pros and cons of reporting to the police (Bowles, Reyes, Garoupa, 2009 & Cohen, 2005) also exists. On the other hand, social psychological research using interviews with community samples of victims and students in laboratory settings has led to the development of a theoretical model. In this context, the victim's decision process is construed of as consisting of three stages: labelling the event, determining its seriousness, and deciding what to do (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). Furthermore, these theories do not rely solely on a 'cold' and calculated method of backward induction, but consider the importance of victims' emotional reactions following an incident, and the social influence of close others (Greenberg & Beach, 2004).

However, in traditional societies where written laws did not exist, informal sanctions deterred deviations from the social norm **(**Akhilomen, 2006). There was no formal reporting procedure that was associated with that epoch. So, anyone whose interest was then criminally injured simply approached the chief priest. In such a society, some victims sought 'personal justice' and retaliated against the offender (Topalli, Wright & Fornango, 2002), some avoided those who harmed them altogether, some reported to *Ogboni* and *Oro* cults (Chukwuma &

Ibidapo-Obe, 1995) and age grades (Emiola, 1997). Reporting crime was then not as hazardous, detested and repressed as it is nowadays. At that time, anyone who reported a crime was rendering a culturally useful public service. But in more socially complex societies in which the police have emerged as the primary means for promoting and maintaining social order with their complicated limitations **(**Akhilomen, 2006), the story has lamentably altered. No matter how concerned a government is about social order in its jurisdiction, its crime control efforts may fail to achieve its mandate of crime control. Victims of crime should acknowledge the reality, intensity, frequency, spatial coverage and impact of crime by reporting their experiences of crime. In the Netherlands, for example, only slightly more than a third of the crimes were reported to the police by or on behalf of the victims in 2002 (Eggen, 2003).

Concerned about the factors that predispose residents of Lagos to a high level of criminal victimisation with a disproportionate level of crime reporting, analysts have pointed to a weak criminal justice system (Yishau, 2005). Olonishakin (2008) identified corrupt socio-economic and political institutions. Even, Ologun (2010) reported that Onovo, a former Inspector General of Nigeria Police, acknowledged the fact that some policemen were working with criminals. All the foregoing considerations do not exhaustively explain the disproportional relations of crime events with the crime reporting practices of victims in Lagos, Nigeria. Persuasive as these correlates may seem, they neglect the importance of socio-cultural relations among victims in Lagos. Therefore, investigating the nexus between victimisation and victims' reporting practices is important in bridging this identified gap in knowledge. The new megacity status of Lagos will continue to beckon at numerous migrants across the world. As the borders of Lagos become more open than it ever had been, the influx of migrants may worsen the existing unacceptable trend in victimisation/reporting ratio.

Gyong (1996) studied crime reporting in Nigeria. But his study site was Kaduna. Cleen foundation has studied crime reporting in Lagos. Its major limitation has always been that it treats crime reporting in association with other important variables of crime and social control or at best including Lagos in nationwide surveys. Therefore, these have always made the rigor which crime reporting, as a major research area, deserves to elude this all important public safety issue. Realising that the events, which are not officially known, will evade attempts to redress their untoward effects (Skogan, 1977b), this study commits itself to examining the correlates of crime reporting among victims in Lagos. Therefore, the objective of the present study was to add new knowledge to the body of already existing literature. It is against this backdrop that this study bridged a gap in knowledge by studying the correlates of crime reporting in the Nigerian context, using Lagos State.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Crime rate in Lagos increased from 12% to 21% between 2011 and 2012 making it rank as the highest scorer in crime rates in Nigeria (Cleen Foundation, 2013). Yet, a significant proportion of crime is unreported (Gutrierrez & Leroy, 2007) as Cleen Foundation found amongst some 10,000 Nigerians that 30% of victims in 2005 and 11% in 2006 reported crimes to the police (Alemika, Igbo & Nnorom, 2006). Odekunle (1979) acknowledged that the most neglected subject in the study of crime is its victims. Scholars who study crime have included the victims in their observation efforts only to enhance the popular appeal of their subjects (Schafer, 1977). Most researchers in the area of criminology have consistently seen the victim as playing a distinctly passive role (Gyong, 1996).

As a result of the foregoing, victims' reporting practices do not access deserved research attention. Since most victims do not report their experiences of crime, there is need for a more

complete understanding of victims' reporting practices, its distribution and correlates. Doing this will help policy makers assess the performance of criminal justice agencies. Besides, if non-reporting or underreporting precludes access of victims to compensation schemes, makes offenders, who caused them pains escape being arrested, and prevents the goal of a more equitable criminal justice system from being achieved, why then do victims still remain indifferent to crime reporting? To bridge this gap, this study examined the correlates of crime reporting among victims mainly in Lagos so to gain an in-depth and holistic understanding of the nuances that compel victims to report or not report crimes the way they do in the study site. Could victims' socio-economic and cultural characteristics, therefore, account for their low rate of crime reporting in Lagos communities? This is the problem this study attempted to address.

1.2 Research Questions

Consistent with the problems that this study intended to address, it answered the following questions:

i. What are the socio-cultural characteristics of victims that affect crime reporting practices?
ii. How does the nature of crime affect victims' crime reporting practices?
iii. What implications do the above have for the criminal justice system?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to examine the socio-economic correlates of crime reporting among residents of Lagos. The specific objectives included:

i. Examination of the effects of nature of crime on crime reporting practices.
ii. Investigation of the special considerations that shape victims' crime reporting practices.

iii. Exploration of the effects of public confidence in the police on victims' crime reporting practices.

iv. Examination of the effects of crime location on victims' crime reporting practices.

v. Identification of the victims' socio-cultural conditions that affect reporting practices.

1.4 Justification of the Study

Crime rate in Nigeria generally and Lagos in particular is rising but its reporting is disproportionately low. Understanding the characteristics of crimes unknown to police, victims who do not report crimes, and the reasons these crimes are not reported may help identify gaps in the provision of criminal justice services and inform police practice and policies (Langton, Berzofsky, Krebs, & Smiley-McDonald, 2012). The scientific community knows very little about the factors accountable for low crime reporting. Besides Alemika's work (e.g. 2010, 2011) the area of crime reporting has been largely ignored in the community of crime experts in Nigeria. The combination of structured and unstructured interviews with case studies has improved on prior methods of data collection on victims' reporting behaviour in the study area. Moreover, the study significantly contributes to the limited literature on low crime reporting. It also simplifies the complex interplay of informal and formal crime reporting practices that characterise Lagos where the disproportionally reported crimes were committed. Beyond these, it serves as a vital resource to legislators, researchers, educators, other public and private agencies involved with criminal justice in Lagos as it spurs multi-agency partnerships for safer communities in Lagos.

1.5 Operational Definition of Concepts

This subsection operationalizes the concepts used in the study. This is in compliance with the guideline provided by Patten (2005) that good science starts with good definition and a

minimum level of consensus is needed on the definition of what the field is and what it is not. It is therefore equally important to highlight the ones to be used in the study.

1.5.1 Crime Victims

Victims are persons who have suffered death, physical or mental anguish, or loss of property as the result of an actual or attempted criminal offence committed by another person (Schmalleger, 2003). However, Black's Law dictionary, ninth edition (2009) defines a victim as a person harmed by a crime, tort or other wrong. In this study, a victim is anybody, irrespective of age, sex, ethnicity, creed or nationality, who on the account of not being adequately protected, suffers injury from anybody, regardless of their relationships.

1.5.2 Crime Reporting

While Soares (2004) noted that crime reporting is the fraction of the total number of crimes that is actually reported to the police, Goudriaan (2006) observed that crime reporting is notifying the police of a crime that took place. On the other hand, Alemika (2009) noted that people report their experience of criminal victimisation to different agencies, including non-law enforcement agencies depending on what they perceive as the cost of doing so as well as their individual perception of personal gratification from doing so. In this study, therefore, crime reporting is taken to be the deliberate act of notifying the formal or diverse informal structures of crime control about the occurrence of a crime.

1.6 Outline of Study

The study focused on how victims respond to victimisation, the structures they access, their efficiency and the merits of formal and informal forms of justice systems. This report is divided into six chapters. Chapter One gives an overview of the entire study, stressing the problem, its objectives and justification. In Chapter Two, literature was reviewed on correlates of

reporting; the theoretical and conceptual frameworks were presented and discussed, ending with hypotheses. Chapter Three focused on methodology, the research design, data collection and data analysis were discussed. Chapter Four covered presentation of results, data analysis and discussion. Chapter Five concluded with suggestions.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Review of Literature

There has been a growing interest in understanding the dynamics of crime reporting among victims in Lagos. Except victims and non-victims report incidents of crime to which they are exposed, recorded trends and patterns of criminal activities may produce an incorrect estimation of the true levels of criminal activity in the community. Using crime statistics obtained from such a defective premise to evolve crime management philosophy may also give rise to a regime of inapplicable crime prevention policies and strategies. Crime-reporting practices indicate the willingness by victims to report crimes to authorities. A critical review of existing literature on crime-reporting shows that people's willingness to report crime to the police is influenced by a number of complex interconnected factors.

The decision to report crimes to the police can have intense implications for victims and the criminal justice system. Non crime reporting attitude of community members causes official statistics to underestimate apprehension rates as these exclude from the denominator those offenders going undetected. It also determines which offenders are vulnerable to arrest and which are not. Furthermore, non-reporting limits our knowledge of offenders, much of which is derived from profiles of apprehended criminals. Knowing which crimes are most frequently reported helps in defining the tasks of the police. Strategic planning, operational planning, budgeting, and proper resource allocation by police are dependent upon figures of reported crime.

Different groups in the population may differ in their willingness to report crimes to the police. If crime experiences of disadvantaged people or more vulnerable groups tend to go

unreported, the negative consequences of non-reporting will add to their disadvantage. Failure to report violence to the police has serious consequences. First, the victim may be ineligible to receive victim assistance services (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Skogan, 1984). Second, failure to report threatens the deterrent ability of the criminal justice system since authorities are less able to apprehend and/or punish the offender. Third, an offender who goes free is able to stay in the community and victimise others. Fourth, failure to report victimisation alters the police mandate, resulting in the misallocation of scarce police resources to areas based on an inaccurate assessment of the true levels of violent activity (Skogan, 1977; 1984).

As a result of the foregoing reasons, the quest for crime control has led scholars to examine the various ways by which victims of crime respond to their victimisation. The literature review on this study covered the state of knowledge on relevant issues on correlates and crime reporting practices of victims in Lagos, Nigeria. It underscored crime reporting practices as genuine mechanisms by which crime victims can express their discontent, access justice, reduce insecurity and strengthen social control in the community.

In particular, this subsection covers available information on all the stated objectives in order to find out the gap in knowledge. In reviewing available relevant literature, it became clearer that there exists a paucity of studies on crime reporting in both developed and developing societies of the world. As a result of this, the review was greatly influenced by body of studies on victims' crime reporting practices that were mostly drawn from developed societies. The rest of the chapter is divided into seven key sections guided by the objectives of the study. The sections are conceptual issues associated with criminal victimisation; trends and patterns of crime reporting practices; crime recording practices; predictors of victims' crime reporting practices;

building the capacity of crime reporting skills among actors; theoretical and conceptual frameworks and hypotheses.

2.1.1 Conceptual Issues Associated with Criminal Victimisation

This section presents conceptual issues that are associated with victimisation in a sequence that will make the subject matter very comprehensive and therefore helpful for understanding explaining the problem in respect of which this study set out to proffer solutions.

2.1.2 What Crime is

What is and is not a crime varies according to epochs, cultures, locations within countries and countries. Similarly, the penalties associated with crime alter. Thus, criminals and individuals who feel the pains of their wicked acts are all products of the same society and in some cases, individuals from different backgrounds. Crimes are created, recreated, introduced, facilitated and discouraged, as the case may be, in the daily lives of every member of a given society. Out of the many literature reviewed, there is no convergence on the definition of crime among scholars, legal practitioners and commentators because of ethical and ideological positions that are at variance. Crime is a complex interaction of many processes. It has been and may remain, for a long time to come, a subject of conceptual debate.

There is hardly a way by which a discussion of the meaning of crime can be done without involving some kind of power relations. An attempt, therefore, to identify typical features that characterise crime calls for an attachment of a meaning that makes definition very political and culturally problematic. Crime in the context of a violation of a lawful provision is a universal concept, but what actually constitutes a crime varies significantly from one cultural environment to the other. Thus, perceptions of crime are not determined by any objective universal indicator

of the degree of injury or damage, but by cultural values and power relations. Nevertheless, the basic idea of criminality of certain behaviours considered serious everywhere is universal.

"Crime, for the most part, is injury inflicted on another person" (von Hentig, 1948:383). But to some scholars, crime does not exist. Only acts do. This position appears illogical in the context of social construction of the meanings of crime, criminals and victims. This is so because it is the act of victimisation caused by criminals that changes the profile of the afflicted individual from non-victim to victim status. If crime does not truly exist, its perpetrators and victims do. This goes without saying that crime exists in its causative form in the mind and physical actualisation of the thought of the criminal and its consequence also in the mind and physical wellbeing of the victim. The causes of crime originate from within the society. Its effects impact the health and survival of the society and even go beyond. To that extent therefore, crime is not only functional; it is a social fact that has a verifiable independent existence of its own and implications for the criminal, the victim and the society at large.

Crime is both a symptom and a cause of violence, conflict and instability which drives business away, lowers the quality of life, destroys public trust, and undermines the rule of law (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2010). At a deeper – individual and intrapsychic – level, crime creates anxiety and insecurity. Sexual violence, burglaries, car thefts, and workplace violence traumatize victims of crime. "As a result, they may no longer view the world as a safe place. Their experience of victimisation activates a negative self-image. Victims become socio-emotionally paralysed when confronted with the reality of human malevolence and their own vulnerability" (Dunn, 2007:258). Perpetrators who get away with crime may become emboldened by their 'success' and be inclined to reoffend as new opportunities arise. Bystanders may grow indifferent to continuous violence and destruction (Staub, 2003). Victims

of abuse may join subsequent generations of perpetrators of violence (du Plessis & Holtmann, 2005:162). The foregoing are a few of the numerous manifestations of crime in society.

Quite often, acts are given different meanings within various socio-cultural frameworks. This assumption must have compelled Christie (2004:3) to inform members of the scientific community that 'acts and the meanings given to them are our (criminologists') data. Our challenge is to follow the destiny of acts through the universe of meanings. Particularly, what are the social conditions that encourage or prevent giving the acts the meaning of being crime?' From the foregoing, it is clear that every crime is not a real idea but the image of the understanding of a people who have attached a label to the act in the context of social relations.

Criminalisation of acts, as a product of social construction, is a function of every interpretative society. Crime evolves from the dynamics of social interaction. Its specific understanding would only make sense and enjoy widespread application within the communities in which that interaction occurred and its meanings constructed and mutually shared. If the concept of crime is made too elastic so as to accommodate all shades of cultural variation, simple tolerable cultural differences might be interpreted as crime. Perhaps, the existence of crime might not have caused so much controversy, as it now does. An act is invariable. Anywhere, an act remains an act. The meanings which such acts call up in different social situations by different individuals having diverse dispositions cause variation in the cultural interpretation of such acts. It is in these contexts that the existence of crime truly raises disagreeing and diverse concerns.

Thus, acts are often given different meanings within various social situations. Having seen how in practice and in the literature, there is much disagreement over defining exactly what crime is, McCabe (1983:49) says 'there is no word in the whole lexicon of legal and

criminological terms which is as elusive of definition as the word "crime".' How then can a study investigating the response of victims to crime overcome the key conceptual difficulty to achieve its stated objectives? To capture the essence of the concept of crime, there is need to examine it from legal, cultural and moral perspectives.

Legally, any act is a crime in so far as it constitutes a deliberate act or error of oversight which runs contrary to a criminal law and is committed without protection or justification. The implication of this definition is that without criminal law, there is no criminal act. Criminal law is an inherently political, social and cultural phenomenon. This is the definition to which most lawyers, by ethical training and professional understanding, show greatest commitment. They often tend to overlook the extent to which any act they define as crime reflects a fairly widespread sense that the behaviour in question violates social norms, values and conscience collective of a particular people. It is probably as a result of this that the perceptions of crime are not determined by any objective indicator of the degree of injury or damage but by cultural values and power relations (United Nations Research Institute, 1995). Thus, any act becomes a crime in so far as it transcends the personal boundary to make an undue incursion into the public domain, by breaching rules or laws of prohibition that have attached legitimate punishments and which requires the intervention of a local or state authority.

From the above, it is clear that criminal law does not simply express universally held norms and values. Essentially, however, for any act to constitute a crime under the legal system, the victim must report to the police, it must be recorded by the police and may or may not be investigated, it may or may not result in litigation, and it may become part of criminal statistics. In most capitalist environments such as Nigeria, cultural controversy is at the foundation of all contests for ascendancy to power. Then, power relations that emerge from this background put

the more powerful in a vantage position to determine the rhythm of social conduct that is expressed through the law. In this context, it is obvious that culture and power relations interact to shape conduct which the law recognises as criminal.

Culturally, crime is any act that is known too well among members of a cultural community as running counter to the overall cultural prescription. All traditional settlements have enduring cultural regulations that are expressed in folkways, folklores, norms, values, standards, beliefs, taboos and others which provide a blueprint for a collective thinking and living. While norms are guidelines for action and rules that dictate how members of a particular community should behave in a given situation, values are more abstractive ideas which concern what is valuable. All of these components are critical to law making in every cultural environment. Whenever these rules are disobeyed, the gods and goddesses intervene through a series of sacrifices in their appeasement to restore the rhythm of order in such societies. Depending on the gravity of the offence, the oracles may prescribe fines, ostracism, banishment or even death penalty. Following from the above, the idea of same sex marriage may never enjoy ascendancy in Africa because of its fundamental implications.

Morally, any act that disregards moral expectations of a society constitutes a crime. Africans are moral people. On the ground of morality, Africans are not likely to tolerate the experimentation of same sex marriage on their continent. It may be extensively condemned as a practice that is deep in moral depravity. Therefore, the commission of such acts is usually met with disapproval from the vast majority of people who have a set of ideas and moral attitudes that typify their group living. In such a society, 'when a crime is committed, justice must be done . . . a failure to punish crime is wrong and a community that does not punish its criminals is derelict in its moral duty' (Gross, 1979: xv & 18). Nevertheless, that an act is made a crime does

not necessarily mean it is immoral (Hart, 1961). Suffix it to summarise that if the concept of crime is improved to cover public attention, it may become an object of national concern capable of causing some moral panic among citizens. The present level of social sophistication among Nigerians may necessitate the classification of the citizenry into legal, cultural and moral definers of crime. While lawyers, social reformers, journalists and civil rights activists champion the legal interpretation of crime; Kings, Obis, Emirs and various other traditional title holders as custodians of culture guide public understanding of crime in the context of culture; Christians and Muslim clerics, priests and other moral entrepreneurs mould and reconfigure public understanding of crime in agreement with moral standards.

On the whole, a crime is an act that runs counter to the expectations of legal, moral or cultural norms of a given community. Along this discrete existence, crime has three primary categories. In the first category, we have diverse crimes of severe effect, generally classified as felony. It often attracts a term of imprisonment. Next in hierarchy is misdemeanour which comprises of crimes of less seriousness for which offenders could be subject to either fines, probation or jail term. Finally, infractions are the least serious crimes. Offences under this head do not involve punishment by imprisonment. They are usually punished by a fine.

The summary of Quinney's (1970) six propositions of conflict theory of crime appears to justify the multifactorial perspectives to which an attempt to define and defend crime always provoke. In a society characterised by socio-cultural diversity such as Nigeria, acts considered to be criminal may depend on some or all of Quinney's propositions:

- The definition of crime rather than the substance of criminal behaviour itself because society is not one monolithic political unit.

- The stakes of individuals constituting a society are varied. This variety compels the persons who gain political ascendancy to use their greater access to power to make inputs into the definition of crime. This exonerates them and their minions but criminalise their political or ideological adversaries. It also goes ahead to make these ultimately become the law that guides the conduct of all. The opposition generated by the powerless with the lopsided meaning which crime is made to assume causes the powerful to criminalise the behaviour of the weak that contradicts the interest of powerful members of society.
- In this way, the law supports the ways of life of the powerful because they control the rhythm of law making, law interpretation and law enforcement in society.
- For doing different things, the less involved a segment of society is in law making and its enforcement, the more likely their activities would be criminalised.
- Opinions of the powerful represent the popular opinions as presented by the media to govern public thinking.
- Finally, the social reality of crime is a combination of these propositions.

Thus, it is relevant to imagine especially from the thoughts resulting from the above that if the English system evolved from their indigenous traditions, customs, and native practices (tribal laws) of England, there is no doubt that these have promoted the growth and development of the English values because they are, essentially, in agreement with their valued ways of life. To look at the concept of crime in the context of Africa through the lenses of the English system will produce a distorted picture of crime the way culture drives the phenomenon. The effort to navigate all these premises are significant to the enterprise of crime reporting because an act will be reported to the police if only it is perceived to be unjustifiable, unfair and therefore criminal by the bearer of its pains.

Finally, looking at crime as a dynamic outcome of the relationship between the state and the social relations embedded in gender, race, age, and class (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2006) may appear the most eclectic and more sociological definition of crime. However, in so far as nothing is wrong with economists' traditional understanding of criminal behaviour as a rational decision made taking into account the expected benefits compared to the expected costs (Becker, 1968; Lab, 1988), at the broadest level, there are societal factors such as cultural norms and economic conditions that also influence violence (WHO, 2002). Without prejudice to any part of the world, any act that leaves painful effects on the individuals that bear the outcomes of that act is considered a crime throughout the world because the understanding of the cause and effect implications of such gainful-painful interaction between the 'powerful' (criminals) on the one hand and the 'powerless' (victims) on the other hand are, at the risk of making a sweeping claim, cultural universals.

2.1.3 Meaning of Victimisation

To the ordinary man in the street, victimisation is the process of becoming a victim in the course of living his/her ordinary everyday life. To the extent that the scientific study of the process, rates, incidence and spatial prevalence of victimisation is the core concern of victimology, anybody who suffers any form of physical, financial or emotional injury as a result of other people's negligent, overzealous or illegitimate activities is a victim of crime. From this, it is clear that victimisation is a violent act which instantly alters the social profiles of both the actor and the sufferer of injuries arising from the criminal act. In criminological parlance, if the offender is not a first time offender, he/she comes to be recognised as a recidivist. Conversely, if the victim is not a first time victim, he/she also comes to be known as a re-victimised victim.

Therefore, a criminal act is like a knife having two edges. The perpetrator of a criminal act, the sufferer of the outcome of the criminal act as well as individuals that witnessed the event all have their social statuses to which everyone that knew them prior to the crime did not find in their earlier profiles. While the perpetrator loses his/her usual innocent membership personality of his/her society to become a criminal, the bearer of his/her harmful acts too automatically loses his/her natural non-victim status to become a victim and the persons in whose presence the crime was committed also transit from being ordinary members of the society to become crime witnesses. From the above state of affairs, it is clear 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.

Thus, when victimisation occurs, social relations become threatened. To re-establish harmony, the issues involved have to be resolved. Conflict resolution at the level of informal justice system, in the study area, goes beyond a mere desire for the establishment of justice. It involves the need to enhance and maintain family name for the purpose of identity formation, sustenance and future reference. It is probably in realisation of this assumption that Abati (2003) restated the reality of Nigerians as a people whose individual destiny is linked to that of their family, clan or tribe. A criminal within the family destroys the credibility of his/her family and family name. Having a good name means not ending up as a criminal, not raising doubts about the family pedigree. But somehow, we soon lose that in the Nigerian society. With the increasing emphasis on money, instant wealth became the new measurement of social relevance. And gradually, the new ethos catches. Nigerians begin to look for money by any means. Ritual killing becomes common. Such victimisations leave behind countless diverse victims.

Also, the need to return both offender and victim to their pre-crime status enjoyed considerable interest in traditional procedure of conflict resolution in most African societies. It is mainly because of the critical need for the continuance of communal affinity that the enforcement of order is always construed to be genuinely in the interest of the community. Conflict was not resolved only to punish the guilty on behalf of one unclear political interest now called 'the state'. It is a statement of fact that the criminal did not directly threaten the interest of the state before, during or even in the aftermath of his/her criminal act. In traditional justice epoch, justice focussed on the need to appease the victim and maintain undisturbed order that existed in the community before its stable rhythm was threatened by the criminal. Based on the obvious community crave for the ascendancy of justice, the guilty usually admitted guilt and recognised that he/she has truly invaded the privacy of the victim without justification. In most cases, the criminal apologised to the victim and asked for forgiveness. It is in this context that this study recognises the following phases as necessary trajectories of victimisation in most African cultural situations:

i. Existence of pervasive poverty that enables economically weak parents to put their interest on economic stabilisation before the normative socialisation of their children.
ii. This inevitably leads to a preponderant presence of poorly socialised youths as socio-economic actors/actresses in society.
iii. Their large number creates a subculture in which misconduct finds approval in group relations and favourable definition among peers.
iv. The access of members of this subculture to influential adult cultists who provide them with the courage and illegitimate resources such as illegal drugs, funds and weapons with which they effect widespread victimisation.

v. The presence of naive targets, individuals whose routine activities and lifestyles make them vulnerable and therefore most likely open to easy victimisation.

vi. Apparent inability of the 'at risk' individuals to defend themselves and therefore prevent their victimisations.

vii. Absence of vigilant enforcers of community safety to protect vulnerable members.

viii. Active negative group solidarity that supports criminals at the expense of victims' support.

ix. Absence of active justice monitoring civil society in the community to support justice delivery.

x. Non-existence of structured policies for victimisation redress in the community.

The foregoing conditions provide a highly fertilised ground for victimisation in most parts of Nigeria to suitably re-enact the scenario between the offended and victim as created by Karmen (2010) to be usually an asymmetrical interpersonal relationship that is abusive, painful, destructive, parasitical and unfair. While a crime is in progress, offenders temporarily force their victims to play roles (almost as if following a script) that mimic the dynamics between predator and prey, winner and loser, victor and vanquished and even master and slave.

2.1.4 Who A Crime Victim Is

The concept of *victim* has its roots in many ancient languages that covered a great distance from North Western Europe to the southern tip of Asia and yet had a similar linguistic pattern: *victima* in Latin; *víh, wéoh, wíg* in Old European; *wíh, wíhi* in Old High German; *vé* in Old Norse; *weihs* in Gothic; and, *vinak ti* in Sanskrit (Webster's, 1971). Although writings about the victim appeared in many early works by many classical criminologists, the word "victimology" had its origin in the early writings of Benjamin Mendelsohn (1937) published on

the rapist and his victim. We now refer to him as "The Father of Victimology" (Dussich, undated).

"Most scholars refer to von Hentig and Benjamin Mendelsohn as classical victimologists and founding fathers of victimology" (Morosawa, 2002:52; Walklate, 2005:12). Mendelsohn is credited with using the concept victimology in his 1947 Rumanian presentation as a new science (Hoffmann, 1992). Though contemporary belief supports the claim that the history of Victimology started with these two scholars in the fifth decade of the 20th century, some scholars argued that the topic "victims" can be found on the scientific agenda predating these Founding Fathers (victimologists whose work precisely have not neglected these precursors (Manzanera, 2003) to victimology such as Hans Joachim Schneider: Victimoloie-Wessenschaft vom verbrechensopfer. Tuebingen.

However, the word victimology is a combination of two parts, *victim* and *ology*. While the word victim, as noted above, comes from the Latin word *victima* (then meaning a person or animal sacrificed in a religious ceremony), the suffix *ology* comes from the Greek word *logos* meaning speech, word, or reason. This was mainly associated with divine wisdom, reason, doctrine, theory, and science. Victimology is the systematic study of victimisation, emerging relationships between victims and offenders, victims and the criminal justice system (the police, courts and prisons (corrections officials), victims and other social groups and institutions in society such as the media, businesses, and social movements.

The definition of the term 'victim' poses a challenge as to the extensiveness of it to be explored by scholars. While one approach is to limit the search for definition of the concept of victim to victims of traditional crimes such as murder, rape, robbery, burglary etc, some other schools of thought canvass the inclusion of prisoners, immigrants, subjects of medical

experimentation, persons charged with crimes but not found guilty, as victims of crimes. For the scope of contemporary victimology to be all inclusive, it must not be restricted to the study of victims of crime only but may cover other forms of human rights violations that are not necessarily crime. In contemporary criminology and criminal law, a victim of a crime is an identifiable person who has been harmed individually and directly by the perpetrator, rather than merely the society as a whole. However, this may not always be the case, as with victims of white collar crime, who may not be clearly identifiable or directly linked to the crime. Victims of white collar crime are often denied their status as victims by the social construction of the concept (Croall, 2001).

These days, the word victimology is defined from the victim's viewpoint as the discipline which scientifically studies, as objects of investigation, all types of victims, especially crime victims (cited in Dussich, undated). Earlier construction of definition of the concept of victims must have relied on textbook or dictionary definitions to characterise victims as hapless dupes who prompted their own victimisations. In the 1980s, the association of 'Victimism' with 'victim precipitation' caused feminists to attack the perspective. Due to feminists' objection, the concept of victim became upgraded to refer to anyone caught up in an asymmetric (unbalanced, exploitative, parasitical, oppressive, destructive, alienating, or having inherent suffering) relationship or situation. It is probably helpful to add here that a one - size - fits - all definition of the concept of crime victims does not exist probably for the same reasons that the concept of crime lacks a universal definition.

Though, victims may view the violent effect of criminals on law abiding members of society, the same way throughout the world, perception of the status of victims and societal reactions to victimisation may not be the same. It is in the light of this assumption that it is

acknowledged here that the concept of crime victim is deceptively simple. At another layer of theoretical argument, it may be overly misleading to conceive victims exclusively as 'human individuals'. Whether the offender is found or not, whether the offender is an individual, institution, government or even a society, an individual who has been victimised should still be considered a victim. It is probably more inclusive to acknowledge businesses; communities; public bodies; minority groups; vulnerable members of the community; or individuals who are victimised in a variety of ways as crime victims. It is then incorrect to assume that if no offender is caught, then no victim exists. A person is regarded as a victim of crime regardless of whether the perpetrator is identified, apprehended, persecuted or convicted and regardless of familial relationship between the perpetrator and the victim (Ehindero, 2006).

In reality, however, questions relating to the concept and identity of victims are highly problematic. Generally, crime victims are those people most directly affected by crime. Thus, survivors or indirect or secondary victims (such as family members and lovers) are not immediately involved or physically injured in conflicts. However they might be burdened even devastated. Dominant inexperience in the earlier times was likely to have caused the confusion brought into the concept of victim. Thus, the 'victims of misfortune' for whom initial care givers sought to make provision were those oppressed by the five 'giant evils of society' – want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness – but not crime (Mawby & Gill, 1987:38). Victimisation is a whole complex concept that involves family members, friends and other care providers who may also be affected whenever a crime occurs.

Understanding who a crime victim is has been a challenging question right from the very beginning of victimology as a research area in criminology. Victimology is a subfield of criminology that specializes in studying the victims of crime. Moreover, the discipline seeks to

understand why some individuals, households, and other entities are targeted for victimisation by offenders and others are not. From this background, almost always, public perception appears to determine individuals who can be acceptably called a victim. Yet, a victim has been defined in a variety of ways to date.

While New South Wales Council for Civil Liberties (NSWCCL) (2009) defines victims of crime as citizens who have had their lives interrupted by crime, International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) (2010), sees victims as including individuals who have been direct targets of violence or property loss or damage, their family members, and people who experience emotional trauma as a result of witnessing such an incident. One approach is to limit the concept to victims of traditional crimes such as murder, rape, robbery, burglary etc. However, it has also been proposed to include a broader definition of the concept by covering groups such as prisoners, immigrants, subjects of medical experimentation, and persons charged with crime but not proved guilty (Karmen, 2005). But Mendelsohn (1976:21) appeared to have settled the issue of scope of victimology when he argued that "Just as medicine treats all patients and all diseases, just as criminology concerns itself with all criminals and all forms of crime, so Victimology must concern itself with all victims and all aspects of victimity in which society takes an interest".

On the basis of a universal appreciation of the concept of victim, the UN Declaration (1985) on victims describes victims as any individual who, alone or in the company of others, have suffered diverse forms of losses and pains, through acts or omissions that violate criminal laws. For Schmalleger (2003) victims are individuals who have suffered death, physical or mental anguish, or loss of property as the result of an actual or attempted criminal offence committed by another person.

Nsereko (1989) provides a seemingly all inclusive description of a victim of crime as any person who is hurt physically, mentally, financially, or economically as a result of criminal conduct. He may sustain permanent physical or mental incapacitation as a result of such conduct. His health may be impaired. His property may be permanently lost, destroyed, or damaged. His reputation in society may be irreparably damaged. His business or professional interests may be ruined. His social standing may be shattered, and this is especially true of victims of sexual offences. His family's welfare may also be dealt a heavy blow, and this is especially so where he or she dies or where his or her ability to support them is diminished or totally extinguished. For the most part, the victim is innocent, going about his/her activities lawfully and peacefully.

For the purpose of this study, a crime victim is any (natural as against cloned) person, institution, group, society or people who have felt the pains of injury, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic or cultural loss, directly or indirectly caused by negligent acts or omissions of another individual which are in violation of cultural norms, moral values or the criminal laws of Nigeria.

2.1.5 Types of Crime Victims

At the micro level, an individual victimisation has a number of outcomes for a considerable number of individuals that function within the victim's network of social, cultural and economic axis. That the word victim is used today in many different contexts to cover disease, war, natural disaster and crime (Furedi, 1997; Burnley, Edmunds, Gaboury & Seymour, 1998) makes the rejection of the status seem understandable. To the extent, therefore, to which divergent historical and socio-cultural issues are interwoven in the processes that throw up socially constructed meanings of the concept, varying components will form the profile that characterises the typology of victims. It is along this direction that persons who fall into the

categories identified as victims will take the label which sticks if acceptable. If it is rejected, it may fall into complete oblivion. This is more so when the supposed victim is convinced that victimhood, using the tool of the victim label, does not constitute an appropriate parameter for explaining his/her experiences.

An individual may define internalised pains and sufferings experienced from crime by taking the whole affair as a sacrifice to make the soul holier. In this light, the experience may be looked at as a valuable component of a life that is spiritually enriched and necessary rather than observing it negatively as victimisation. Spalek (2002) observed that this can be seen in some people who hold a strong religious belief, where this involves a perception that human trials are a part of life and so present opportunities for spiritual and emotional growth. It is important to note that a criminal incident often affects more than one person, and so multiple victims are more commonly created rather than single victims (Young, 2000). Given the communal kind of life which most Africans live, the almost countless implications of victimisation for society extend beyond the victim. They involve the seeming unlimited members of his/her network of social relationships. It is from this that victimisation derives its more profound meaning in Africa.

Often, words such as direct and indirect, primary, secondary and tertiary victims are identified in victimisation studies. Therefore, a victim of a violent crime can be operationally defined as an individual who has been confronted, attacked, assaulted, or violated by a perceived predator, resulting in serious short-term, as well as long-term, physical and/or mental injuries to the crime victim. Crime victims suffer from illegal criminal acts and usually struggle with a number of medical, psychological, and financial problems caused by burglary, rape, theft, domestic violence, robbery, pick pocketing, carjacking, purse snatching, stalking, or attempted

murder (Mendelsohn, 1976), kidnapping, suicide bombing and cultural exclusion in cases of rape in contemporary times.

Quite often, the category of a victim would be determined by the character of the crime an individual suffers. It is for this reason that the various examples of crimes to which an individual could fall victim are identified below:

i. Anyone whose death is caused by another having no legal justification or excuse (Abadinsky, 2000) is a victim of homicide.

ii. A person who is attacked by another with the intent to inflict serious harm or kill him/her is a victim of aggravated assault.

iii. A girl/woman who experiences sexual penetration against her will through the use of threat or force (Strong, DeVault, Sayad, & Yarber, 2005: G-10) or a girl below the age of consent (which is 18 in most states of the world) who is subjected to sexual activity by a man (Kelly, 2004:G8) is a victim of rape.

iv. Furthermore, with reference to property crimes, when an individual's property is stolen by using force or the threat of force, that person is a victim of robbery.

v. Similarly, when an individual's property is stolen i.e. simple theft, that person is a victim of larceny.

vi. The moment criminals break into a person's house with the intent to steal, that individual is a victim of burglary.

vii. Once a "self-propelled road vehicle" is stolen from an individual with the goal of keeping it "permanently or temporarily" (Abadinsky, 2000:6), the owner becomes a victim of motor vehicle theft.

viii. Also, immediately an individual experiences a malicious burning of his/her property or, sometimes, one's own property, as in an attempt to collect insurance" (Nichols, 1999:75), that person becomes a victim of arson.

For the purposes of classification to obtain formally dichotomised types, there are two primary categories of victims. We have the direct and the indirect victims. It is the indirect victim that has the secondary and tertiary layers.

2.1.6 Primary Victims

This category stands alone to serve as the origin of other forms of victims such as indirect victims which could either be secondary or tertiary. Any individual can become a victim. Any victimisation event has the potential to produce a minimum of one victim. In extreme cases, diverse victims may emerge, leading to harm, suffering or even death. A primary victim is therefore a person, group of people, organisation, or an institution which directly feels and nurses the impact of victimisation that causes injuries to him/her/them/it as direct consequence(s) of an act of violence from another person, stimulated by negligence, provoked or unprovoked aggression. The injuries mentioned here could transcend bodily harm to involve mental illness or disorder, intellectual impairment, accidental pregnancy resulting from sexual offence and/or a combination of all the above.

2.1.7 Secondary Victims

Secondary victims are individuals who are indirectly affected by the impact of victimisation on the primary victim by way of familial or socio-economic intimacy. Usually, these are persons who are significant others to the direct victims. In some settings in the study area where tradition has a firm grip on the ways of life of residents, display of emotions that often follow victimisation of just one primary victim could be expected to produce a bewildering

network of secondary victims among individuals that are, in some special ways, connected to him/her. Furthermore, if society is to extend its social responsibility to the victim, a web of tertiary victims could, as a result be inadvertently created.

2.1.8 Tertiary Victims

Tertiary victims are individuals who, somehow, observe the immediate traumatic effects of victimisation on the primary victims. These individuals are usually professionals whose perception of the gory details of victimisation of the primary victims are caused to be emotionally and or psychologically disturbed. In this category, one could expect to find medical practitioners, social workers, and individuals involved in rescuing victims in painful trappings, for example, of mangled human bodies such that characterised the Dana Aircraft crash in Lagos in 2012. Their fright invoking experiences may alter the statuses of these service providers and even teeming television audiences who watched the rescue process to become involuntary tertiary victims.

2.1.9 Causes of Criminal Victimisation

Victimisation is not a random process because it is a product of crime which occurs in an interactional context. Though, victimisation occurs at any time or place without prior warning, most victimizing events are not random or unpredictable. Criminals are rational beings who put their rationality in reverse use to harm their neighbours. No criminal plot is designed to fail. As a result, criminality is oftentimes pre-planned. Therefore, certain personal attributes and characteristics are regarded as indicators of an individual's increased vulnerability to victimisation. Chappell and Di Martino (1998: 65) identified a number of non-exhaustive significant indicators of risk. These include:

1) Clothing can serve to deter or encourage criminals. In particular, uniforms may be seen as representing authority and thus deter criminals, but they may also be seen as a target as they serve protective interest of the establishment. A lady who dresses provocatively could be attracting the attention of habitual rapists or those her behaviour has sent misinterpreted messages of sexual invitation have converted to situational rapists to come and victimise her sexually.
2) Gender may also affect the likelihood of crime, as women (due to their assumed weaker sex status) may be seen to be a 'soft target'. On the other hand, men (by exerting masculine control and appearing aggressive) may escalate a situation that is favourable for victimisation.
3) Age and experience are important variables, as those of an older age and greater experience may be a less likely target for attack.
4) Personal characteristics and interpersonal skills can affect the emotionality of a situation and thus have an effect on its outcome.

A complete understanding of the causes of crime inevitably involves a consideration of sociogenic, psychogenic and biogenic theories of crime causation. This is the only way by which a holistic view of crime causation could be obtained from bringing parts that appear disconnected together to appreciate the dynamics that accounts for their various roles in the social construction of crime. Commonly, the commission of a crime is impossible unless there is a convergence of a motivated offender, an unprotected or weakly protected victim or property and obvious absence of capable guardianship. The absence of a combination of these conditions provides a criminal opportunity for criminals or even situational criminals to activate clear or hitherto suppressed latent tendencies to commit crime.

There is the societal or macro-level factor perspective that informs the ways society is structured. It is individuals that actually commit crimes. Other factors are mere facilitating ingredients. As a result, individual factors need to be the centre of any description of the causes of crime because they describe how a person becomes motivated to commit a crime. Though motivation alone cannot cause a crime to occur, a person's propensity to commit a criminal act at a particular point in time is a function of a complex array of interacting causes involving factors such as lack of surveillance, ease of turning stolen items into cash and socially based conditions as inconsistent parenting, school abandonment, individual motivation and opportunity.

Although there is no definitive analysis that identifies an exhaustive list of the causes of crime, the UN Congresses concur with the scientific literature that the causes are multiple and include social development, cultural, situational and law enforcement related factors. These include the determination of crime trends by changes in societies summarised below: First, social development, which embraces gap between rich and poor; youth excluded from school, jobs and hope; demographic proportion of 15-24 males in population. Second, cultural disposition, which includes females dependency on males - violence in home; urban shift - atomisation of families and communities and third, physical design of communities, which encapsulates transportable property not looked after or designed for protection; access to firearms, alcohol and other drugs; enforcement and justice, faceless society - low clearance rates and persistent offenders not incarcerated (but huge opportunity cost).

In everyday affairs of citizens of any country, a number of indigenous factors that are place specific and some others that have foreign origin, probably imported through some kinds of means, may combine to make individuals vulnerable to both common and unusual victimisations. Among these, situational factors such as emotional and physical coercion on

victims of diverse crimes are prominent. Thus, victims might become repeatedly victimised if they are considered vulnerable targets, even by individuals who were, up to the time of offence, situational criminals. This implies the state of their being fatefully available and weak physically or psychologically deprived to resist crime or devise imaginative means of avoiding victimisation. Secondly, if individuals become gratified targets in which case their physical attributes, their possessions, where they live and quality of their lifestyles make them attractive to offenders and thirdly, if individuals are unduly antagonistic or aggressive targets, they may also be repeatedly victimised. For instance, when a potential target first attacks offenders, in a way that suggests victim precipitation of an attack, this may trigger victimisation.

2.2 Forms of Victimisation

The first person to begin the development of theoretical writings about victimology, as earlier noted, was the Romanian Defence Attorney Benjamin Mendelsohn, who needed to understand victims to improve his ability to defend offenders. To do this, in 1956 he created a short taxonomy of six categories that centred on the relative guilt of victims. These categories were designed to facilitate the degree to which a victim shared the responsibility for a crime with the offender; however, they do not explain the causes of victimisation. He referred to this relationship phenomenon as the penal couple.

1) The completely innocent victim.
2) The victim with minor guilt.
3) The victim who is as guilty as the offender.
4) The victim who is guiltier than the offender.
5) The guiltiest victim.
6) The imaginary victim

The basic criterion on which Mendelsohn based his categorisation was the level of guilt of the victim. In 1940, when he coined the term "victimology", he argued that a new field should be dedicated to the study of victims (Burgess, Regehr & Roberts, 2013). Among the six distinct types of victims constructed by Mendelsohn, only one category comprised victims who are completely innocent. The other five consisted of victims with minor guilt and responsibility from their own ignorance, those who are as guilty as the offender and share equal responsibility, those who are slightly guiltier than the offender (in terms of provocation), those who are exclusively responsible for their victimisation, and lastly, imaginary victims, who suffer no actual harm but falsely accuse another party (Burgess et al., 2013).

The guilt driven classification was primarily based on the attribution of guilt since "the ascription of guilt… tends to destroy victim status" (Strobl, 2010:9). Later classifications of victims resemble this original typology, with Fattah proposing five categories of victims, including the non-participating victim, the predisposed victim, the provocative victim, the precipitating victim and the false victim (Burgess et al., 2013). It should be borne in mind that both scholars anchored their classifications on the guilt and responsibility of the victim.

In his part, von Hentig advocated a categorisation that focused on the victim-offender relationship proposing a more extensive (thirteen) distinct categories of victims, based on the degree of culpability exhibited by the victim (Dignan, 2005). Also, Schafer proposed his own seven categories of victims, being unrelated victims, provocative victims, precipitative victims, biologically weak victims, socially weak victims, self victimising victims and political victims (Burgess et al., 2013). Schafer's typology is strikingly different from others that existed before his because his classification draws attention to the idea of victim precipitation, which attributes

a level of blame to the victim for their victimisation and therefore implies that victims can take actions to prevent their victimisation.

Each typology can be viewed as a continuum of blame, from the completely innocent to the fully culpable. However these typologies did not just ascribe blame to individuals who were seen to incite or provoke their victimisation, but also incorporated those who had become victims through unintentional actions of inattention, vulnerability, neglect or poor judgment (Cook, 2010). Collectively, these typologies reinforced the perception that victims should be able to avoid victimisation, through modifying and regulating their own actions and interactions with potential offenders. However, some situations emerge in which the 'Penal couple' - victim and his/her offender (Mendelsohn, 1956) are involved in very intricate relationship (Von Hentig, 1948) the offender and victim are equally guilty of what the law sees as a crime because none of the dyad complains, it becomes a situation of victimless crime -*Volenti non fit injuria*- meaning to a willing person no injury is done or no one can complain of injury to which he/she has submitted willingly. Looking at Mendelsohn's taxonomy, essentially from the perspective of his law background, it could be assumed that though he is the acknowledged father of victimology, he stumbled on the discipline not from a genuine hope to salvage victims but free offenders from their criminal responsibility for the injuries they had caused their victims.

Victimisation takes many different forms, including domestic abuse by individuals close to the victim, other non-domestic victimisation, frequency of victimisation events, time of occurrence, location of occurrence (e.g., public location vs. private location), different types of victimisation (e.g., crimes against property vs. crimes against persons), and different degrees of severity of victimisation (e.g., from murder, rape, repeat-assaults, to property loss). Each of these forms of victimisation differs in terms of propensity to report victimisation events to the police,

and each form of victimisation may be explained by different sets of correlates (Bachman, 1998; Karmen, 1984, 1990; Skogan, 1976a, 1976b; Goudriaan, 2006; Greenberg, 1979; Doerner & Lab, 1995; Meadows, 1998; Zhang, Messner & Liu, 2007).

There is also the invisible victimisation. This form of victimisation refers not only to victimisation that we 'do not see' or 'know about' but also to an inability of omission in measuring different types, experiences and locations for victimisation. It also signifies deficiencies in theoretical and policy development and political awareness. One of the reasons that this victimisation is 'unseen' is that many people avoid contact with these groups and live in 'exclusive' areas which are socially and geographically segregated. Some of the steps taken by top income earners to avoid the risk of victimisation (Goodey, 2004:138) include the following: choosing to buy homes in safer neighbourhoods; sending their children to safer schools; insuring their homes, property and health; replacing stolen consumer goods regardless of insurance cover; employing private security; avoiding encounters with undesirable others in crime-ridden neighbourhoods, through the use of private transportation; employing lawyers to ensure that justice is done on their behalf and seek advice about giving evidence (Davies, Francis & Greer, 2007).

2.2.1 The Influence of Victimisation Experiences on Crime Reporting Practices

In the earlier part of this chapter, it was stated that crime-reporting practices of residents are influenced by a variety of factors. These factors have varying influences on crime reporting practices. Most prior studies that have been conducted in this area have studied crime reporting behaviour in part. Yet, many earlier works have been focused on one type of crime or on factors that have been vaguely conceptualized (Avidja, 2010). This study looks deeper into the

phenomenon than its predecessors by going into evaluating the implications of socio-cultural conditions of community people on reporting.

Crime reporting practices indicate the willingness by victims to report crimes to authorities. A critical review of existing literature on crime reporting shows that people's willingness to report crime to the police is influenced by a number of interrelated factors. While a few of the factors have direct effects on crime reporting practices of victims, some join others to exert some remarkable pressures on victims to respond negatively or positively toward the police in their crime reporting choices. Therefore, to 'advocate for justice processes that centre on the victim rather than the offender and holds offenders morally accountable' (Snyman, 2005:12), the foregoing possible consequences of crime should either stimulate or compel victims to report their experiences of crime to the criminal justice system. This is the motivation for exploring the influence of victimisation experiences on crime reporting practices of victims in Lagos, Nigeria.

Xie, Pogarsky, Lynch, and McDowall (2006) researched the relationship between factors that affect crime-reporting behaviour for individuals who have been victimised by crime. The major assumptions in this study were that crime reporting behaviour will be affected by the victim's prior experience with the police, by whether or not an arrest was made by the police in an effort to investigate the crime that has affected the victim, and by the police response to an individual's own prior victimisation rather than victimisation of another household member. To test these hypotheses, the researchers analysed longitudinal data borrowed from the National Crime Victimisation Survey (NCVS) of (2002). Xie et al. (2006) found that the greater the police efforts following the most recent victimisation of an individual, the greater the likelihood that that individual will report subsequent victimisation events to the police.

Furthermore, consistent with Hickman and Simpson's (2003) and Holmberg's (2004) research findings, Xie et al.'s research shows that a positive police response to prior victimisation (i.e., if the offender who committed the crime against the victim was arrested) encouraged victims to report subsequent crimes to the police. About indirect reporting to the police, the research of Xie et al.'s (2006) shows that victimisation of another household member did not have an effect on an individual's crime reporting behaviour. This study points out that prior victimisation is strongly associated with crime reporting behaviour. Therefore, those who have been previously victimised by a crime are more likely to report subsequent crimes to the police (Xie et al., 2006). The findings of an earlier study conducted by Conaway and Lohr (1994) also confirmed that crime reporting behaviour is strongly associated with one's prior victimisation status. Their analysis of factors associated with reporting violent crimes to the police show that people who have been previously victimised, regardless of the type of victimisation, are more likely to report subsequent victimisation events to the police (Conaway & Lohr, 1994).

Moreover, research shows that as the frequency of victimisation events increases, reporting victimisation events to the police also increases. This hypothesis has been empirically supported by the research findings of Unnever and Cornell's (2004) study which examined factors that influence students' decisions to report being bullied to school officials. They found that victims who reported bullying to school officials increased as the persistency of victimisation increased. In other words, this study shows that the higher the repetition of victimisation is, the higher the reporting rates will be (Unnever & Cornell, 2004; Tilley, 2005). Research findings of Williams and Cornell (2006) also show that there is a positive influence on students' willingness to seek help for a threat of violence when they have been previously

victimised by crime. This tells us that there is a good reason to believe that an increased number of victimisation events is positively correlated with willingness to report subsequent victimisation events to the police.

This conclusion is not universally supported by all prior research studies. However, Zhang, Messner and Liu (2007), for example, found that there is a negative effect of prior victimisation on reporting subsequent victimisation events. This study shows that individuals who have been previously victimised by crimes were less likely to report subsequent crimes to the police. The authors explained that following a victimisation event, victims of crime may submerge into an increased isolation from the mainstream society, creating a defensive shield, which is perceived by the victims to serve as a mechanism against future victimisations (Zhang et al., 2007). Nonetheless, Zhang et al. (2007) maintain that crime reporting behaviour is explained by incident-specific correlates, individual-specific correlates, and environment-specific correlates.

Criminal victimisation is a complex event that is usually characterised by flashbacks of disturbing experiences for most victims. It is sudden and often shattering. It almost always involves long drawn out physical and emotional consequences which are difficult to overcome. Crime affects the individual victims and their families in different ways being different individuals with varying socio-demographic characteristics. Various studies focus on different categories of crime victims; they also employ different methodological approaches in order to investigate different facets of the victimisation process as well as their impacts on victims. Understanding the process of victimisation and what it entails has mainly been shaped by three very different types of research (Maguire, 1991): first, victimisation survey data, which concentrate on the effects of relatively less serious 'conventional offences' and their impact on

victims; second, in-depth qualitative studies that mostly focus on medium/serious conventional crimes and their impact on victims; and third, clinical studies investigating the psychological effects of catastrophic events and their impact on victims. The latter include some of the most serious conventional crimes such as rape and certain 'state crimes' such as those committed in concentration camps, as well as some non-criminal catastrophic events.

Though the costs in monetary terms of victimisation arising from property, person and other kinds of crimes can be heavy and staggering, these costs are inevitably borne by victims except in a relatively few marginal cases when insurance bears the risks (Igbo, 2006). The situation with the crime victims in developing environments of the world becomes a little unclear judging by the observation of Evans (1998) that victims are emerging from their weakness and claiming their rightful place. The experiences of victims in the study area do not seem to agree with the foregoing because they are still largely at the right based developmental stage. Therefore, for scholars to capture the entire essence of the need for victims to report how they have encountered violence; there is a need to understand the impact of victimisation on their entire lives. This is necessary in order to promote a thorough understanding of the range of victims' reactions that are universal and others that may be expressed in ways that reflect a culture-specific experience.

At a macro level, crime is both a symptom and a cause of violence, conflict and instability. It drives business away, lowers the quality of life, destroys public trust, and undermines the rule of law. Where this is fragile, citizens and institutions struggle to deliver security, protection, social welfare, economic growth, and legitimate political institutions. As criminal influence has a tendency to sponsor further acts of violence – and to even affect political events – it almost always sparks further conflict, as the downward cycle feeds upon itself

(UNODC, 2010). At a deeper – individual and intrapsychic–levels, crime creates anxiety and insecurity.

Physically, at the time of a crime, or upon discovering that a crime has occurred, victims are likely to experience a number of physical reactions such as shocking responses to ordinary everyday occurrences and bodily injuries. Financially, in the long run, crime can adversely impact the victim's employment by demotion, loss of pay and possibly dismissal. Research shows that the shock waves from victimisation touch not only the victim but also the victim's immediate family and relatives, neighbours and acquaintances. This holds true for the emotional as well as the financial consequences, and the effects can endure for years or even a lifetime (United Nations Office for Drug Control and Prevention, 1999).

Psychologically, it is almost impossible to predict how an individual will respond to crime. Psychological injuries created by crime are often the most difficult to cope with and have long-lasting effects. The extent to which individuals (victims, witnesses, family members, and community members) may be affected by crime will vary enormously; at one extreme, people may shrug off serious crimes with no noticeable effects, while, at the other extreme, they become stuck at a particular stage and never move on (United Nations Office for Drug Control and Prevention, 1999).

Crime victims generally experience one of four types of effects: physical, emotional, behavioural, and economic (Menard, 2002), as well as cultural in traditional environments as commonly found in Africa. Few would deny the often devastating effects of crime on those upon whom it is inflicted. Victims of crime may be affected adversely in many ways: physically, emotionally, psychologically, financially and culturally. Unfortunately, many people's first contact with the criminal justice system is as a result of being a victim of crime. 'Victims of

crime have been subjected to someone interfering in their lives, and this negative experience may fundamentally alter their view of the world' (Reeves & Mulley, 2000:126).

Essentially therefore, if victim surveys highlight the 'hidden' experiences of crime victims and 'fear of crime' (Goodey, 2000:15), then 'victimisation can result in psychological distress and increased suspicion, or victims may respond by restricting their activities' (Reeves & Mulley, 2000:208). Feelings of anger, fear and guilt are both normal and healthy and it is usually the emotional impact of a crime that is more profound for the victim than physical pain or financial loss (Reeves & Mulley, 2000). Other reported effects of crime include feelings of self-blame for the offence and the impact on work such as missing time or losing/leaving a job (Watson, 2000). Finally, if we are to break the cycles of violence and lessen the stresses that drive them, countries must develop more legitimate, accountable and capable national institutions that provide for citizen security, justice and jobs (Zoellick, 2011)

2.2.2 Conceptual Issues Associated With Criminal Victimisation

In ordinary everyday assessment of victimisation, public opinion leaders and analysts appear not to have carried their empathy beyond their concerns for the immediate victims of a criminal episode - the primary victims of criminal activities. In victimology, it is however, acknowledged that every victimisation produces a primary and usually an array of secondary and tertiary victims. Thus, the expatiation in this thesis will go beyond the common-place notion of limiting victimism only to the primary victims to engage other variants of secondary and tertiary victims in a challenging manner so as to come up with a clearer picture of which victims acceptably qualify to be described as ideal species. Some consideration also will be given to the social meaning that has been constructed to cause victims to detest being labelled a victim and prefer, in alternative, to be seen and addressed as a survivor.

As a result, a theoretical argument that has existed within the modern legal discourse which was identified by Latimer and Kleinknecht (2000) is that a crime is defined as an injury against the state. This implies the idea that a person who commits a crime should be answerable to the state, not the victim has been adopted (Doerner & Lab, 1998, 2003). Consequently, the role of the victims was relegated to serving as mere witnesses for the state. The assumption seemed to be that because the state represented all members of the public – including victims – victims had no special interests and certainly no rights within the criminal justice system (American Bar Association, 2006). This appears to be a striking misconception of the right of the victim within the context of modern justice system because the victim, who has a critical stake in the process, requires significant input and meaningful participation as well as reparation. "In a case of robbery for instance, the armed robber did not rob society, he robbed the victim" (Barnett, 2003:50). It therefore seems illogical today to conceive all acts of violation of the private rights of individuals as a direct injury to the crown because this dominant role of the crown has resulted in devastating and lasting effects for the real victims whose interests are injured by offenders' wrongful acts. They have never been parties in their own legitimate causes (Llewellyn & Howse, 2002). Hence, the issue of who gets injured and who receives compensation has remained a complex question, not only to the emerging crop of civil liberty activists but also within the Nigerian criminal justice system. The question may not become simplified until the emergence of a victim-centred definition of crime recognises the ideal victim as the injured individual who needs and deserves public support.

2.2.3 Ideal Type Victims of Crime

An ideal type is a pure representation of a phenomenon. It is one that ignores all the empirical variations which are irrelevant to the core idea. "An ideal type allows observers to see

the underlying concept behind surface phenomena by painting a portrait of the 'thing' that is sociologically interesting. An ideal type is an analytical construct that serves the investigator as a measuring rod to ascertain similarities as well as deviations in concrete terms. This kind of abstraction is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view according to which concrete individual phenomena are arranged into a unified analytical construct" (Weber, 1904/1949: 90). This does not mean, however, that objectivity, limited as it is, can be gained by "weighing the various evaluations against one another and making a 'statesman-like' compromise among them" (Weber, 1917/1949:10). However, an attempt will be made to assemble an assortment of theoretical criteria that will help portray the picture of who an ideal victim should look like. The concept of the ideal-type came about when it did so that sociologists and other scientists would have a method to do historical-comparative studies. Thus, the ideal-type is mainly discussing moral ideals.

Christie's (1986) theory of the ideal victim helped to clarify the misconception that stood between real-life crime victims and imaginary victims by conceptualising the ideal victim as 'a person or a category of individual who – when hit by crime – most readily [is] given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim' (1986:18). The necessity to evolve a set of acceptable considerations that distinctly separates the person who precipitated his/her victimisation and the one who had no hand whatsoever in the unprovoked aggression that turned him/her to an involuntary victim probably led Christie (1986) to identify the ideal victim as a person or category of individuals who, when hit by crime, most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim. A person would typically be ascribed ideal victim status if he/she has the following attributes: vulnerable and weak; carrying out a respectable and legitimate activity when the crime occurred; was where he/she could not possibly be blamed for

being; in comparison with the victim, the offender was big and bad; finally, the offender was unknown to the victim and had no prior relationship whatsoever with the victim.

Christie's ideal victim supposedly consists of the following elements: she or he is weak, carrying out a respectable project when the crime occurs, and can by no means be blamed for being where she or he was when the crime happened. Moreover, the perpetrator should be big and bad and should have no prior personal relationship to the victim. Christie's own example is an old lady on her way home after caring for her sick sister. The lady is then mugged by a big man who later uses the money to buy alcohol or drugs (1986:19). Apparently, the main characteristics of an ideal victim include being as vulnerable as possible, both physically (e.g., old, young, ill, handicapped) and economically. In addition, it is equally important that she or he be identified and evidenced as innocent (Walklate, 2007: 28). The idea of the ideal victim is widely recognized and referred to in criminology.

However, Mendelsohn (1976) suggests that within scientific inquiry, the concept of victim may be viewed as containing four fundamental criteria:

1. *The nature of the determinant that causes the suffering.* The suffering may be physical, psychological, or both depending on the type of injurious act.
2. *The social character of the suffering.* This suffering originates in the victim and others' reaction to the event.
3. *The importance of the social factor*. The social implications of the injurious act can have a greater impact, sometimes, than the physical or psychological impact has.
4. *The origin of the inferiority complex.* This term, suggested by Mendelsohn, manifests itself as a feeling of submission that may be followed by a feeling of revolt. The victim generally attributes his or her injury to the culpability of another person.

The victim needs to be unimpeded by counter powers strong enough to silence the victim (Christie, 1986) particularly in terms of establishing his/her ideal crime victim status. The ideal victim therefore must be a victim of certain kinds of interpersonal crimes, those committed by individuals against other individuals (Tombs & Whyte, 2010). If the 'ideal' victim who 'deserves' support is hardly, representative of victims in general, policy and services continue to perpetuate the myth, and prioritise the treatment of this stereotypical victim. There then remains a hierarchy of victimisation, both reflected and reproduced through a variety of official discourses and practices (Greer, 2007).

Though, victims of crime were commonly described as the abandoned lubricant of criminal justice system, Garland (2001) said that if victims were once forgotten, hidden casualties of criminal behaviour, they have now returned with a vengeance, brought back into full public view by politicians and media executives who routinely exploit the victim's experience for their own purposes. The sanctified personality of the suffering victim has become a valued commodity in the circuits of political and media exchange, and real individuals are now placed in front of the cameras and invited to play this role. As a result of his/her public significance in contemporary times, the image of the victim requires clear conceptualization. Thus, believing in reality, that crime victims are not always completely blameless, a lot of considerations go into the determination of who an ideal victim really is. Who is actually most likely to be recognized as a crime victim has been an issue that involves construction and reconstruction of meaning in a bid to develop an image of crime victims that is probably acceptable to all.

The definition of the concept victim varies in different legal, social, psychological or criminological contexts. Shedding more light on the word victim so as to lay the foundational

plank for the discussions of the issues flowing from it, Eluwa (2011) conceptually looks at the ideal victims as persons who have been subjected through no fault of theirs to pain, torture, sometimes death, permanent disfigurement, maiming or disability or loss of property and valuables through the direct criminal acts or omissions of others. In sociological parlance, real victims are the ideal types who emerge as the clearest possible archetypes of victims. Their victimhood attracts insignificant scathing remarks on moral, ethical or legal premises because they are identifiable and therefore easily recognisable. Quite often, the ideal victim has been typically considered as the empathy–deserving injured person, whose trauma evokes perceptions of credible innocence that effortlessly elicit public support and political understanding for the use of public resources in form of financial compensation to mitigate the impact of unprovoked aggression on him/her.

Still, surprisingly little empirical effort has been made to systematically unravel what exactly is meant by ideal victims in media criminology. Moreover, the origins of such ideal types of victims are often explained even more loosely. For example, Cavender, Bond-Maupin, and Jurik, (1999:645) have claimed that those most likely to be regarded as ideal victims in cultural constructions and popular discourse are white, young, stereotypically pretty, and virginal or married mothers of small children. However, 'cultural constructions' and 'popular discourse' are left unexplained in their writing and used vaguely in reference to American reality-crime programming. Even Christie (1986) didn't define where and how the concept of the ideal victim is generated in Western societies.

Viano (1989) identified four different complementary stages in the definition of victimisation. These stages also constitute a process which confers official victim status on an individual if it is carried out to its conclusion. This approach helps to focus research attention to

individuals who will be in each stage, who will move from one stage to the next and when, how and why. Persons at one stage will have a different perception of their status as victim than those at other stages. This will affect their behaviour and will influence (or even determine) who will make the transition from one stage to the next and who will not. The process approach also stresses the dynamics of the situation and the impact that social and cultural values and forces have on the determination of who is a 'real' victim:

First Stage: individuals experience harm, injury or suffering caused by another person or institution.

Second Stage: some of these individuals perceive such harm as undeserved, unfair and unjust and they therefore perceive themselves as victims.

Third Stage: some of these individuals, perceiving themselves as harmed or victimised attempt to get someone else (e.g. family, friends, helping professionals, or authority figures) to recognise the harm and validate the claim that they have been victimised.

Fourth Stage: finally, some of these individuals receive validation of their claim to victim status; become 'official' victims, and possibly benefit from various types of support, depending on various variables.

Flowing from the above procedural stages, a victim is any individual harmed or damaged by another or by others who perceive(s) him/herself as harmed, who shares the experience and seeks assistance and redress, and who is recognised as harmed. It should also be noted that institutions, corporations, commercial establishments, and groups of people can also be victimised and claim victim status, basically following the same stages (Viano, 1989).

2.2.4 Transition from Non-Victim to 'Victim' and Then to 'Survivor' Status

In all human environments, whether well protected or not, every individual is a potential victim. The level of vulnerability is however different from one person to the other, depending among other things on individual occupation, place of residence, lifestyles and routine activities. Becoming the victim of a criminal act therefore causes consequences and reactions that can influence daily life. Again, the intensity of emotions varies from one person to another. Despite this, the reactions and consequences that victims live through are normal (Crime Victims Assistance Centre, 2005).

The victim, just like any other product of violent circumstances, deserves empathy not sympathy. It is probably the enormous volume of sympathy that some members of the public shower on contemporary victim that has provoked a rejection of being a victim because it now appears to have some negative connotation. In the British environment, when an individual becomes a victim of his/her own error, witnesses say, 'take care'. But in developing societies where civilisation has toned down the traditional solidarity, if one of the witnesses is instrumental in his/her victimisation, even if subtle, the offender says 'sorry'. In the study setting, whether one is the originator of an error that causes harm to another or not, the display of a minimum level of cultural solidarity is expected. For this reason, rather than a situation of victimisation giving expression to superior-inferior social relations among neighbours, victims resort to giving testimonies at their various places of worship. This perhaps is one of the regrettable fallouts of colonialism.

They thank God for not making someone a victim of their acts and also thank God for not becoming victims of other people's plots. However, as victims, some people feel a sense of being patronised. Every individual who has personal integrity will strongly dislike this kind of

treatment. To maintain their personhood therefore, especially after having survived shocking violence, some victims may prefer to be seen and referred to as individuals who have survived a crime. In some cases however, some victims do not consider their new status as entirely negative. While some might be frustrated that they are victims, some others take it to the spiritual realm. In general, circumstances will determine who prefers which of the two available nomenclatures.

2.2.5 Victims as Victimisers and Victimisers as Victims

Criminological research shows the close link between victimisation and offending, and the overlap between the victim and offender populations (Fattah, 1994). When an invading robber is overpowered, disarmed and dealt with, an original victimiser obviously becomes a victim. If he reports to the police and has the wherewithal to use his network of evil connections with the police effectively, the situational victimisers may turn to become victims of the conspiracy of the original victimiser with the police whom the offender intended to make them were they not physically powerful enough to initially overpower the offender. It is possible that victims may themselves be active or former offenders, or they may have provoked the perpetrator in some way; which would reduce their willingness to report their victimisations to the police. However, this is an area where more research is needed (Carcach, 1997). The cyclical interaction between some victims and offenders make the boundary between offence and victimity very unclear. The relationship between a male armed robber and a prostitute is though intimately interlocked in their reciprocal exchange of rewards, it is nonetheless purely illegitimate. Both of them engage in criminalised activities. That a negotiation that does not involve any possible friction strangely leads to a ‘cash and carry’ business understanding between them does not make their engagement legitimate. Any of the two could be an offender

now and the other a victim; the reverse of the equation too could be true the next moment. It is not all the time that the victim is victimised that he completely does not have a hand in the cause of the violence. This often decreases their eagerness to report their experiences of crime. In the event of this kind of involvement, both criminal and offender will most probably avoid reporting their experiences to the police making the experience pass unnoticed by the police as a victimless hidden crime.

2.2.6 Formal Justice System – Victims' Access and Barriers

The phrase criminal justice system excites much conjecture. Each word may be queried, and this leaves the validity of the phrase in doubt. Nearly all commentators agree that the various agencies that comprise the system are only loosely coupled. Although they are connected to each other and share certain objectives, they also have their own agenda (Daly, 2006). A more accurate term for system would be a collection of interdependent agencies, each having its own function. After all, 'the criminal law does not enforce itself' (Davies, Croall & Tyrer, 2005:10). To a significant extent, people (i.e. the police which hold suspects in custody in pre-trial period, prosecutors who filter out weak cases and keep strong ones, magistrates and judges who provide public arena so that justice "can be seen" to be done, probation which prepares pre-sentence reports and prison personnel who hold people who are sentenced to a term of imprisonment) working in particular agencies enforce it (Daly, 2006).

In the criminal justice arena, the most important power that people have, whether working as police officers, legal officials, or in other roles is discretion in decision-making. Criminal justice is not an entirely predictable, consistent or certain system. Rather, it is a sequence of decision situations where people apply, distort or ignore rules, and where other people have their lives and futures directly affected by such decisions (Findlay, Odgers, & Yeo,

2009: xix-xx). Such decisions are made in particular professional contexts by people in workgroups, they anticipate decisions at subsequent stages of the criminal process, and they are affected by what came before. The exercise of discretion poses important questions for theory and research. For example, are some people given more favourable treatment than others? Should similar and reported crimes be treated the same or differently, depending on the offender's background, social circumstances, prior victimisation? It is against the backdrop of discretion and the fate of victims in their quest to explore the crime reporting practices of their people that this aspect of the intellectual exercise becomes enlightening.

Nweke (2004) stressed the victim-criminal justice system relationship when he said that the aim of the criminal justice system partly is to sustain the rule of law by preventing crime wherever possible; by detecting the culprit when crimes are committed; convicting the guilty and acquitting the innocent; and by dealing adequately and appropriately with those who are guilty and by giving proper effect to the sentence and orders which are imposed. Effective as his diagnoses seemed; he probably inadvertently left out suggesting any concrete provision of protection for or damages to the victims of crime. To understand the victim of crime and his relationship with the criminal justice system, the following questions need to be posed and addressed: "what is the current role of the victims in the administration of justice? How well are they enabled to perform the functions? What influences do they have on the decisions which are made? How are they treated? What are the effects of this treatment? Are they satisfied with what they see done? Will they cooperate again in future? Will they take justice into their own hands? Will they be more alienated from the society? Are they damaged further by their cooperation with the administration of justice? If so, how does it occur? What does it entail? Is it greater than the original injury, and could it be avoided? What are the needs of the victims of crime

immediately after the victimisation, in connection with his assisting in the prosecution of the case, and after conviction? If there are needs which are not now being met, what would be the result of providing services to meet them? Would the victims have a more favourable attitude toward the administration of justice? Would they be more willing to cooperate?" (McDonald, 1975:18).

From the victims' point of view, particularly in the study area, their confidence in the justice system is frequently weakened by one or a combination of the following:

- Long delays that seek to justify the contention that justice delayed amounts to justice denied. Most Lagos residents may prefer to internalise pains of and losses to crime so as to create time to struggle for the survival of their family livelihood.
- High costs of using formal justice system block the legal representation of residents in the event of a desire to follow up reported cases of victimisation.
- While the Directorate for Citizen's Rights (CRD) created by Lagos state Ministry of Justice provides greater access to justice for the financially weak and vulnerable groups in society, Citizen's Mediation Centre (CMC) resolve conflicts through the use of less stringent protocols and the process that allows for self-representation and use of native dialects in Lagos, most residents still feel excluded because of the fear associated with the formal justice system, distrust of government, ignorance of the facilities or a combination of all.
- Perhaps, an absence of preventive provisions might have caused community people to see the formal justice system as essentially unfair, scarce and the existing few are clearly unreachable.

- Existing laws have some shortcomings. For instance, gender biased laws and legal systems have the potential to cause inadequacies in existing laws to fail to protect women, children, poor and other vulnerable community members effectively.
- Low levels of literacy of a great proportion of community people and the indirect expectation of the use of English language as the accepted medium of expression can prevent quite a significant number of people from having anything to do with the justice system.
- Lack of adequate information and limited popular knowledge of rights prevent the less formally educated residents of Lagos from crime reporting (Lagos Alert, 2012).

Of course the effectiveness of any data collection mechanism is intimately connected with the readiness of victims to report their experiences of crime to the police. If reporting procedures are simplified and less endangered, individuals and businesses might be encouraged to divulge those crimes they have been traditionally disinclined to report. The need for simplified reporting procedures is attested to in a survey which found that sixty-one per cent (61%) respondents would be more willing to report crime if easier reporting methods were available (West, 2000).

2.2.7 Emerging Profile of Crime Victims

The quest of victimologists to understand the degree to which crime victims experience physical injuries, economic hardships, or the extent of depression, traumatisation, infuriation, or embitterment and if they are, how they are being assisted, served and accommodated. Or how they are rehabilitated, educated, ignored, neglected, belittled, manipulated, socially stigmatised and commercially or politically exploited. All these form the bases of their investigative concern that compelled victimologists to devise ways of establishing the extent of victims' problem and

cause public policy to accelerate their recovery. These concerns must have been the immediate factors that triggered victim visibility in contemporary times, if the remote was assumed to be the paradigm shift in sympathy for humanity.

Some of the general observations in early work in critical criminology on criminal victimisation (Christie, 1986; Quinney, 1972) actually presaged, very accurately, the foregrounding by governments of a kind of hyper-individualised victim as an important hegemonic device. We can see this most clearly in the ways that victims are used symbolically to legitimise or vindicate criminal justice policy. Thus, the victims ushered into the fold of the criminal justice system during this period were those who cohered best with the intensification of a 'war on crime' (Tombs & Whyte, 2010).

Strong arguments have been raised to suggest that the police (in fact the whole criminal justice system) have tended to neglect crime victims. It may sound sad, even if true, that in Lagos and indeed in the whole of Nigeria, there is no carefully organised program that spells out care for victims of crime. That kind of thoughtful relations with the victim is yet to be a community way of life that includes secondary victimisation of the unfortunate individual in the hands of the actors in the criminal justice system. All these associated favourable conditions do not present themselves in Lagos because the social status of the victim is still very much underdeveloped and therefore not well defined. However, nongovernmental organisations and sometimes, the courts do cause some victims, in isolated cases, to enjoy appropriate status through some generous awards. In these circumstances, the public empathises with the victims. After due critical review of literature, as yet, there appears no well thought-out and obvious strategy that explains how victims in the study area should be supported.

While Weir (1984) looked at the concept of crime prevention as principles, policies and programs which aim to reduce law-breaking, through both formal and informal social control mechanisms which are acceptable in a democracy and respect basic human rights, numerous other scholars prefer the expression 'crime reduction' (Elias, 1986; Hope & Shaw, 1988). Either of the two concepts would have resulted in a drop in crime and the number of sufferers of its pains – the victims. Making a clarification, Elias (1986) categorised 'crime reduction' strategies on the basis of purpose. While some strategies are intended to increase victim participation, others target victimisation avoidance, yet, others require greater law enforcement. Importantly, Elias' contribution to the definition of crime prevention appreciates that victims have a post-victimisation role beyond simply reporting crime and appearing as State witnesses, and that the failure to provide a useful framework which facilitates the 'recovery' of victims, and the failure to involve victims in the design, implementation and continuing monitoring of such a framework are yet other sources of victimisation.

2.2.8 Trends and Patterns of Crime Reporting Practices

Trends reveal how circumstances vary with the passage of time. To establish crime reporting trends, certain questions need to be answered. Are the dangers of getting re-victimised by criminals increasing or decreasing with each passing year? Is crime reporting increasing or declining? The crime reporting practices of victims have great implications for the criminal justice system and the community. Through the reporting of their crime experiences, residents start the criminal justice machinery. This action enables investigation of crimes by police, the prosecution and trial of offenders, their punishment as well as treatment. However, not all the victimisation incidents are crimes in a technical sense, and of those which are, some are very minor indeed.

On the other hand, patterns reflect predictable relationships or regular occurrences that show up during an analysis of data. Statistics reveal patterns of victims' report of criminal activities. A search for patterns of victims' crime reporting practices would involve the provision of answers to questions such as: are crimes generally more reported at a higher rate in urban than suburban areas of Lagos? Is crime reporting more difficult in one part of the state than the other? Is crime reported more often during the early hours of the day than the afternoons? Are crimes more often reported by men than women?

The police will complete criminal offence reports in only a small number of these incidents. Increased willingness to report what people perceive as crimes would result in increased police efforts in dealing with minor incidents, not all of which may result in satisfactory outcomes to the victims. In theory, this is an issue having harmful effects for the reporting of perhaps more serious future incidents. Victimisation is an expression of social conflict in a society. Reporting of observed victimisation experiences to the police is usually a reaction to that social disorder. The exercise of this often depends upon a complex set of factors ranging from seriousness of incidents to public confidence in the criminal justice system. Therefore, a more complete understanding of non-reporting, its distribution and its correlates will help to assess the performance of our criminal justice agencies (Carcach, 1997). It is from this vantage point that though individual victims have a right to report or not report their victimisation experiences to the police, they have a duty to report if they want to enjoy security and make public safety a right to others and not a mere source of pride.

The responsibility of crime reporting is a misunderstood and misused concept. It is on this premise that the need for the comprehensive scientific study of its life-saving possibilities is anchored. Azfar and Gurgur (2008) based their search for instruments for crime reporting on the

idea that crimes are more likely to be reported if the citizenry possesses more civic virtue and if crime reporting is less onerous. The fact that residents in Lagos appear to have and display less civic virtues, they see crime reporting as time–wasting and therefore a frustrating experience. These reduce the eagerness of residents to report crime. The net effect of this is that crimes are mostly likely unreported or at best underreported because people who are more active in civic activities are also more likely to approach the police to report crimes.

Moreover, official police figures vary because of differences in legal definitions of crimes, crime reporting and recording practices, and precise rules for classifying and counting incidents. But most importantly, official figures appear to suffer from systematic under-reporting of crimes in the most misgoverned countries (Soares, 2004). Crimes are more frequently reported to the police in Western Europe, North America and Australia than in the other regions, thus showing an opposite trend with respect to the frequency of victimisation (Alvazzi del Frate, 2003). Except public policy reverses the mutual distrust between members of the public and the police, the social injury which non reporting or underreporting of crime has the capacity to inflict on society may take a much longer time to heal.

Generally, crime reporting is understood to mean the act of reporting a crime, usually by the victim to the justice system. However, victimisation is deemed reported regardless of whether the victim or someone else did the reporting. Defining reporting to police to include reporting by any party (i.e., not just the victim) is warranted. In the context of African jurisprudence, structures to which the occurrence of crime could be reported are numerous. If crime is deemed to be reported only when it is directed to the police, this has the tendency to exclude the reporting of various other crimes. Avakame et al. (1999) defined reported violence as that which comes to the attention of police by the victim only. Baumer (2002) defined reporting

to police as contacts made to the police by the victim and the victim's family. It is probably more reflective of the objective reality in Africa to look at crime reporting as the notification of either formal or informal justices systems by victims, witnesses or any concerned individuals of the occurrence of a crime.

Much of man's daily life is still governed by routines that find their bases and legitimacies in traditional communal arrangements. Much crime (especially rape, incestuous conduct) and disorder are handled informally because of a widespread distrust of formal social control institutions and the belief that informal mechanisms yield immediate and just solutions. As a result of this, "It is clear that the informal procedure of crime control is applied in most cases, except in the serious cases or in case of strangers who are in no relationship with their victim or with someone known to the victim." (Adeyemi, 1990:182). It is expected therefore that in environments in which informal social control mechanisms are influential; the people are likely to direct their crime reporting concerns to them. Conversely, in urban settings especially, it is a matter of course to expect that community people are more likely to report their experiences of crime to the formal social control than the informal because of instrumental relationships that dominate their daily lives.

The differential behaviour of females and males in reporting incidents where the offender was known to the victim suggests the need for more structured approaches to foster community involvement with crime prevention efforts. Females tend to report robberies but not assaults. A study in Queensland found that seventy-one per cent (71%) of the time of uniformed police was taken up with handling incidents, responding to reports of offences and other related activities (Criminal Justice Commission, 1996). The same report shows that police notification by victims of crimes was completed for around one-third of the calls to which the police attended, when

they know the offender. This indicates that it is the loss of property that leads victims to report an incident to the police. Many incidents of assault involving women who know the offender go unreported. Domestic violence is certainly included within this category, therefore remaining beyond the reach of police (Carcach, 1997).

In the UK, the British Crime Survey (BCS) provides a 10 year picture of crime reporting in England and Wales where reporting rates were as low as 31% in the first survey in 1982, peaked at 43% in 1992, and have since dropped again to 38% (Hoare, 2009). Results from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) mirror those from England and Wales, with only two in five (38%) being reported to the police (McLeod, Page, Kinver, Littlewood & Williams, 2009). In the Netherlands, forty-three per cent of victimisations are reported to the police (Goudriaan et al., 2006). The 'dark figure' of unreported crime makes up nearly half of crimes overall, and may be much higher for some categories of crime.

2.2.9 The Significance of Reporting Practices

The decision to report crimes to the police can have intense values for victims and the criminal justice system. Compensation to victims of crime and insurance payments will elude victims unless the incidents are duly reported to the police. Non-reporting makes official statistics underestimate apprehension rates as these exclude from the denominator those offenders going undetected. It also determines which offenders are vulnerable to arrest and which are not. Furthermore, non-reporting limits our knowledge of offenders, much of which is derived from profiles of apprehended criminals. Knowing which crimes are most frequently reported helps in defining the tasks of the police. Strategic planning, operational planning, budgeting, and proper resource allocation by police are dependent upon figures of reported crime. Different groups in the population may differ in their willingness to report crimes to the

police. If crime experiences of disadvantaged people or more vulnerable groups tend to go unreported, the negative consequences of non-reporting will add to their disadvantage.

Without such notification by victims, few crimes would ever come to the attention of the police. Therefore, one of the most important decisions following violence is whether to report the violent incident to the police (Greenberg et al., 1982; Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976; Reiss, 1971; Skogan, 1984). Failure to report violence to the police has serious consequences. First, the victim may be ineligible to receive victim assistance services (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Skogan, 1984). Second, failure to report threatens the deterrent ability of the criminal justice system since authorities are less able to apprehend and/or punish the offender. Third, an offender who goes free is able to stay in the community and victimise others. Fourth, failure to report victimisation alters the police mandate, resulting in the misallocation of scarce police resources to areas based on an inaccurate assessment of the true levels of violent activity (Skogan, 1977; 1984).

The importance of crime reporting practices help to keep track of, where, and what types of crimes that took place along with who reported and why report was made. Crime reporting practices are used to see whether crime is increasing or decreasing in the communities. For the criminal justice system to capture crime statistics to evolve meaningful crime control policies, all crimes must be reported. Regrettably however, many of the criminal cases do not get reported for different considerations. This failure causes certain crimes in the communities to endure. They cause the intention to provide law enforcement agencies with statistical data on the types of crime committed, as well as the demographic and chronological statistics of those crimes also to be unsuccessful. Understanding why victims report (or fail to report) is important for the

development and implementation of crime control strategies, and specifically for efforts to increase the percentage of crimes that is reported to the police (Goudriaan, 2006).

The negative consequences resulting from a lack of police reporting are worsened when failure to report is concentrated among a particular group of individuals such as the young, the elderly, the excluded or the poor. If any group fails to report to the police in a systematic way, they are denied access to the criminal justice, they are not privy to the benefits of the system, and as a result, equality in the criminal justice system is endangered (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1980; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1994; Skogan, 1984). Though the consequences of non-reporting are far-reaching, violence, even very severe violence, is infrequently reported to the police (Hart & Rennison, 2003; Hindelang, 1976; Rennison & Rand, 2003; Rennison, 2002).

Victims' propensity to report crime is a key determinant in shaping the statistics recorded by the police and also in providing a broader understanding of how crime impacts on different individuals, communities and neighbourhood (Tarling & Morris, 2010). However, disproportionate reporting of victimisation to police denies under-reporting groups of full access to justice and the services available to victims. Not reporting crime also essentially eliminates the possibility that offenders will be punished, allowing them to remain free to victimise other innocent members of the community. In addition, geographic areas where severe under-reporting occurs may not obtain the police and public resources needed to adequately ensure public safety (Powers, 2008). For the foregoing reasons, there is an ever growing literature investigating the reasons behind victims' willingness to report (Fohring, 2010).

2.3 Crime Reporting Anonymity

It is not every crime a person witnesses that he/she has a natural urge to report to police. The desire to remain anonymous sometimes drives the crime reporting decisions of crime

witnesses and even victims themselves. The desire to remain anonymous in the context of crime reporting to the police is commonly driven by two considerations. First is the fear of criminal retaliation by offenders in the event the police compromise ethics to divulge their source of information to the offender. Second, is the pathological fear of the police by members of the public arising from lack of confidence in the police. Although studies that have included anonymity as an influencing factor on individual's decision to report crime to the police are very rare, the logical explanations offered by their research findings are compelling (Avidja, 2010). As of current data, the only available studies that have included anonymity as a reason why people do not report crime to the police are that of Singer (1988), Smith and Arian (2006), Goudriaan (2006), Goudriaan, Wittebrood, and Nieuwbeerta (2006), Greenfield et al. (1998), and Bachman (1998) (Avidja, 2010).

A number of other studies have included crime-reporting anonymity only as a transit variable, a variable that was not directly measured (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002, 2003, 2005c). Smith and Arian's (2006) study shows that individuals who possessed valuable information about witnessed crimes did not report to the police due to fear of criminals' reaction toward them. When respondents were asked why they did not report to the police information that was available to them, and that might assist the police, the reason was that they feared criminals would retaliate against them. Furthermore, this fear of reporting crime to the police was mostly based on lack of confidence and a presence of some form of dissatisfaction with the police and their ability to help or properly deal with crimes (Smith & Arian, 2006; Vellani & Nahoun, 2001; Singer, 1988; Tankebe, 2009; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002, 2003).

If anonymity is assured, and their names will not be made public (i.e., will not appear in the news media), then there will be an increase in crime-reporting behaviour (Bachman, 1998).

Lack of confidence in the police appeared to be one of the primary reasons for not reporting crime to the police, when anonymity is a concern. Finally, the review of literature suggests that certain segments of society that are distrustful, suspicious of the police, and yet believe that the police are ineffective in dealing with problems at hand, will display attitudes that tend towards lower crime-reporting behaviour (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1987; Tankebe, 2009). In other words, those who hold negative attitudes toward the police are more likely to manifest that in a lower crime reporting behaviour (i.e., they are less willing to report crimes to the police) and may explore the anonymous crime reporting option.

Studies that have included anonymity as an influencing factor on crime-reporting behaviour are very few in numbers. Researchers who have attempted to integrate crime reporting anonymity in their studies have failed to identify it as a variable. Most of those studies have discussed anonymity in an effort to explain victims' reasons why they did not report their victimisation events to the police. Crime-reporting anonymity has not been studied directly, especially quantitatively (Avidja, 2010). Therefore in this study, crime reporting anonymity has been deliberately considered indirectly as a contributing factor to non-reporting practices in the study setting.

2.3.1 Electronic Crime Reporting

In Nigeria, the way the ordinary man in the street looks at crime is that it is probably a joint venture between criminals and the police. From this assumption, a bond that defies explanation exists between these ironic partners who under normal conditions are expected to be natural enemies. The values of society also appear to have been compromised. Otherwise, in societies where round pegs are designed for round holes, people of questionable characters would not be entitled to conferment of chieftaincy titles. But when dubious people are culturally

honoured and celebrated, deliberately or without knowing, the signals being sent to the police is to hold these 'sacred' criminals in high esteem in society even when these individuals are implicated in clear cases of criminality.

In the event of crime involving these individuals therefore, law abiding citizens quite naturally feel very unsafe to report their criminal activities to the police. Consequently, citizens simply keep sealed lips over confidential information in respect of clues that may help the police to foil crimes and apprehend criminals. The concern becomes even more critical when police who are supposed to shield citizens from harm and protect sensitive public information about crime, expose the identities of crime reporters and even make photocopies of their petitions available to criminals. In retaliation, these criminals later, as expected, wreak violence on these otherwise patriotic providers of information for public safety. With this reality, every citizen in possession of critical information about criminals uses such to map out either target hardening or escape strategies for them to avoid becoming undue targets of offenders' retaliation.

Some important technological discoveries have compelled a paradigm shift among Nigerians about crime, its impact and societal reactions to it. These appeared to have increased participation among victims and third parties who facilitate crime control by informing law-enforcement officials of incidents or situations that might benefit from police intervention. There is no doubt that just as technology has enhanced victims' crime reporting capacity, in some ways too, it has impeded their efficiency in reporting to the police. Most of the time in Nigeria, power outage appears to be the norm rather than an exception. It is only when cell phones have charged batteries and there is electricity to power internet services that police contact through internet resources can ensure effective access, easier communication and meaningful exchanges of crime control information. Thus, the introduction and increasing use of mobile telephones and internet

resources in Nigeria within the last decade is likely to have promoted anonymous crime reporting among Nigerian crime victims and witnesses to the police. As a result, technological discoveries have provided a ready means by which the police could be notified during or in the aftermath of a crime and often enable citizens to do so in ways not easily traced (Mullins, 2008). However, with the registration of Subscribers' Identification Modules cards (SIM cards) in Nigeria, Mullins (2008) appears to have overlooked some striking possibilities. Genuine crime preventing measure though, it is not foolproof. In situations where a syndicate operates, their members also could be 'planted' in a number of service providing networks to track information going to the police that are inimical to their organised criminal enterprises. These secret agents could be sending the details of such information providers to their paymasters for punitive reactions. Crime reporters by means of electronic gadgets may not be completely untraceable. Following the gruesome murder of 25 year old Damilola Ibrahim Olaniyan, a.k.a *Damino Damoche,* a 400 level student of the Lagos State University, Lagos, Nigeria, in February 2013 (Vanguard, March 07, 2013), through the log call records of network providers, the list of individuals he called and those that called him was made available to the police for their investigations. Through this means, many suspects were caught. It is possible in Nigeria that the police, through similar partnership with staff of network providers could trace providers of critical crime information. In the event of their success, the individual that provided the cue might run the risk of being victimised or altogether eliminated by the aggrieved offenders.

Though crime reports can be made using telephones, technology has promoted the immediacy of crime reporting than it did some decades before now. Online crime reporting too facilitates comprehensive discussion with deeper graphic portrayal of crime events than it was hitherto possible. These mechanisms would have intensified anonymous crime reporting in

Nigeria were it not for the nefarious activities of criminal online users which compelled the regulatory agency of government, in this case, Nigeria Communication Commission (NCC), to insist on mandatory Subscribers' Identification Modules Cards' (SIM cards) registration. To report crimes to the police in whom members of the public have no confidence, under the present sim-card-registration regime, is predictably preventive of voluntary crime reporting cooperation with the police.

It is, however, not being advanced that sim-card registration is evil. It is a practice that is universal. But given the level of development of Nigeria and the disproportional rate of crime associated with police complicity in crime, it is feared that the registration is likely to make crime reporters feel unsafe to divulge sensitive crime information to the police. The awareness of members of the public that the information they might volunteer could be traced to them in case the police compromise their professional ethics to enter into a corrupt partnership with network providers and criminals is most likely to affect the use of this resource to boost a positive crime reporting culture. With the passage of time, it is however, expected that both members of the public and the police will respond positively to orientation that is loyal to public security about the judicious use of internet and any other associated technological facility.

2.3.2 Crime Reporting Practices in Traditional and Modern Times

How a culture is defined historically creates the perspective from which it is viewed in the modern social and intellectual contexts (Frawley, 1999). Thus a people's culture that governs their crime reporting practices may be dependent on the historical background from which their conduct evolves. There is no doubt that an understanding of a people's crime reporting practices may be influenced by modern intellectual ideas as well as the dominant intellectual dimensions. Whether traditional or contemporary times, the family has played and is still playing dominant

role in helping victims to contain the pains arising from victimisation, its reporting and capacity of their communities to support them. It is probably for this remarkable role that Conteh-Morgan (1997) observed that throughout traditional African societies, the family is the primary pillar of victim assistance. From time immemorial and up to the present time, judging by the experiences in developing societies, the family serves as the most important and powerful means of passionate and financial support to victims in the aftermath of victimisation.

Beyond these, in traditional societies, the family was driven by elders' accumulated wisdom, especially as represented by the male members. These elders have been described as those who are the most knowledgeable of religious and ceremonial matters as distinct to just being the oldest members of the community (Behrendt, 1995). Decisions were generally brought about by consensus guided by the elders well known (indeed, often related) to, and respected by the parties, with little place for coercion to enforce a decision or punishment (Nicholson, 1999). Generally, for more serious matters (especially those involving breaches of sacred law), authority is vested in elders. There is also evidence that when a dispute is not able to be resolved within a family or kin group, elders may be caused to intervene (Berndt & Berndt, 1988). The advice of elders in traditional societies was usually held with lots of respect (Fryer-Smith, 2002).

For the foregoing reasons, the decisive role that elders play in determining the course of crime reporting is critical. Judgment was never a hit-or-miss activity. Under traditional law, the distinction is commonly made between public and private wrongs. Maddock (1984) referred to the general categorisation of public matters as criminal and private as civil; however, he observed that the boundaries between the two are not always clear. While public wrongs include breaches of sacred law, incest, sacrilege or murder by magic; private wrongs include homicide, wounding and adultery. For public wrongs, elders are actively involved; whereas for private

wrongs, the person who has been harmed (and their relevant kin) generally determines the appropriate response.

Some assumptions have it that on what antecedent could Lagos residents base their reports of crimes when thought-out criminal justice system did not exist in pre-colonial times. Throwing light on these, Fadipe (1970:223) raised two significant arguments which appeared to have rationalized the presence of structured traditional justice system long before the advent of colonialists in this traditional Yoruba society. First, "the people had reached the stage where redress for injuries, suffered directly or indirectly, was taken out of hands of the individual and his kindred. In other words, the stage of public as opposed to private justice had already been reached; crime reporting in the traditional pre-colonial era has got its distinguished character". Second, distinguishing between civil and criminal actions in the traditional system, Fadipe (1970) identified three (3) types of courts/tribunals that were already in place – the Baale court; the tribunal of the ward chief; and the central tribunal, in ranking order. The great majority of criminal cases were, as a matter of course, brought before the central tribunal which were usually the same as that of the council of state sitting in its judicial capacity.

Therefore, any argument based on the existence and utility of the criminal justice structures which presents crime reporting practices before the advent of colonialism as non-existent will not find favour with indigenous scholars, legal historians and criminologists. As an extension of the frontiers of knowledge further outwards, Singer (1959a: xviii) noted that 'every nation has two phases, the "modern" and the "traditional," which are not always worn together on the same occasions. While extreme "modernists" and extreme "traditionalists" sometimes speak of irreconcilable conflict, there is, in fact, a mutual dependence between the two phases, as if the appearance of each were illuminated by the light reflected from the other'.

Does an irreconcilable conflict actually exist between traditional and formal justice systems in the way in which victims who reside in Lagos perceive and selectively use them? It is in the light of the clarification of the foregoing that the frequency with which crimes are reported varies across borders and across different types of crimes (Van Dijk, 2008; Soares, 2004). Crime statistics and victimisation surveys have revealed a recurring problem of underreporting crime not only in first world countries, but also in countries that recently transitioned to democracy (Gaviria & Pages, 1999). Thus, the far too low level of crime reporting in Lagos particularly and in Nigeria in general may appear sad; it is not an exclusive social disease. It is a fair reflection of the global crime reporting malaise.

Following Ashworth (1998), one may distinguish between two types of decisions in the criminal process. One is processual, that is, decisions about –the processing of the case from initial charge through to trial (Ashworth, 1998); these include police procedures in questioning suspects and gathering evidence, and prosecutorial decisions on what charges to lay. Another is dispositive, that is, decisions about - the disposal of the case (Ashworth, 1998). The most well-known dispositive decision is sentencing, but there are earlier points in the criminal process where a police officer or prosecutor can make a dispositive decision by diverting a case from the court process.

2.3.3 The Context, Prior Studies and Trajectory of Crime Reporting

The government of Lagos has embarked on a life changing socio-economic reforms which have significantly changed many features of society, including levels of, concern about, and responses to, the consequences of criminal acts on the bearers of the pains of criminality – crime victims. Under traditional regime of indigenous crime control approach, the model of crime control to which most Yoruba people subscribe, was not only the responsibility of the *esos*

(– the traditional police corps) in cooperation with individual victims but also an obligation of all culturally mature members of society. The guiding principle was that, in Africa, everybody is his/her brother's keeper. This understanding covers the valued commitment by every community member to ensure a society in which crime is kept at its barest minimum.

However, when a crime is committed, three possible categories of actors become instantly likely to being identified. These are: the offender, the victim and possibly, in some cases, the witness(es). The last two are commonly the most likely actors that may activate the process of crime reporting. It is only in rare cases when the offender is a situational criminal who is moved by the sense of naivety in the context of criminality and ignorance of the management of its emerging outcomes that he/she may volunteer information about the occurrence of a crime. In the traditional justice system, the victim is the fulcrum and ultimate focus of justice, whether or not he/she is the initiator of the report of a crime in which he/she was a victim. Community institution that got involved is essentially an enabler of fairness and equity in the common commitment to the preservation of conscience collective. Except in cases whereby punishment fails to restore the victim to his/her pre victimisation status that the payback means of punishment is not preferred.

2.3.4 Context of Crime Reporting Practices

The socio-ecological model predicts that factors related to the context of the neighbourhood in which victims live will influence the crime reporting behaviour of individual victims (Goudriaan, 2006). It is in the light of this consideration that in this study, the effects of public confidence in police effectiveness on crime reporting is assumed to be important. Thus, in traditional justice systems, victims of crime have customarily expected support from their families, villages or ethnic groups. The informal social network was there to cushion the impact

of victimisation on victims and accelerate their recovery. Very critical is this same network in resolving conflict and seeing to it that reconciliatory decisions were fairly but firmly implemented.

Within this context, it is taken for granted that the victim (and his or her kin), the victimiser (and his or her kin) and the entire social group will share the burden of dealing with the crime. In many parts of the world, with the increasing complexity of society and the evolution of systems of justice, the State has gradually assumed a dominant role in the justice process. Specific forms of behaviour are defined by the State as crimes, which have come to be seen more as crimes against the State than violations of the individual victim's fundamental human rights. The State ultimately took over the responsibility for the investigation of the offence, the prosecution of the suspect, adjudication and enforcement of the sentencing decision (United Nations Office for Drug Control and Prevention, 1999).

Therefore, just as journalists must strive to place criminal acts in context even when, for example, many Americans enjoy an almost guilty pleasure from watching and reading sensationalized stories of murder and mayhem, crime victims and witnesses must place crime reporting in context. Irresponsible crime reporting can end up exacerbating crime problems which their reporting is naturally intended to uncover and assist the criminal justice system to resolve. Except crime reporters put a commitment to place crime reports in a societal context, it may be dangerous than non-reporting. As a result, crime reporting involves some discreet thoughts so that victims of such crimes may not be scared to come forward for fear of being publicly stigmatised (Krajicek, 1998).

The victim was afforded fewer opportunities for direct participation. Although it was often the victim who reported the offence to the authorities, subsequent decisions came to be

made more with the interests of the State and the community in mind than those of the victim. This is not to say that the historical development has been a simple one of gradual diminution of the status of the victim. Traditional justice systems have not invariably been ideal from the point of view of the victim; mobilization of the community against the aggressor depended to a large extent on the subsisting power relations and the side of it to which the offender belongs. Moreover, modern society has sought to provide extended protection to the victim through its criminal laws and systems of social security (United Nations Office for Drug Control and Prevention, 1999), regrettably, these resources have not received widespread support in most developing societies of the world.

In addition, the different criminal justice systems and other forms of justice have not all followed an identical path of development. In some present-day systems, such as those of Islamic countries and several European countries, the victim plays a key role throughout the criminal justice process. Nonetheless, by the middle of the present century, in many societies, the victim could aptly be termed the forgotten person in the administration of justice. Considerable attention had quite justifiably been paid to ensuring due process for the defendant, who is, after all, threatened with State-imposed punishment, and should, therefore, be afforded every possibility of establishing his or her innocence, and/or presenting other considerations in his or her defence. This degree of attention has been too lopsided. It had not been adequately put behind the victim. The State was assumed to be representing the interests of the victim and accordingly no need was perceived for direct victim involvement in the proceedings (United Nations Office for Drug Control and Prevention, 1999).

Since the early studies in the 1940s by Benjamin Mendelsohn and Hans von Hentig, increasing attention has been turned to the problems faced by victims, both in society in general

and in their interaction with the criminal justice system in particular. Many victims face insensitive treatment by the police, prosecutors and court officials, thus causing a second injury. This applies particularly to certain especially vulnerable categories of victims. Even if the offender is apprehended and brought to trial, the experience of victims in many jurisdictions is that they have been marginalized and do not have the opportunity to express their views and concerns in the criminal justice process or in human rights courts or international tribunals. Many systems do not allow the victim to present his or her civil claim in conjunction with criminal proceedings. Even if the offender is convicted, the sanctions (often a fine, probation or imprisonment) have little relevance to the victim, other than affording the satisfaction of seeing the offender punished (United Nations Office for Drug Control and Prevention, 1999). The offender did not directly injure the state. It is the victim that is the direct bearer of the pains of crime.

As earlier noted, Lagos has embarked on urban renewal and upgrade projects in recent times, probably to meet up its anticipated megacity status. While in some striking ways, these structural reforms have given pleasant facelift to the physical outlook of the environment, they also have undesirably blocked the destinies of some community members. The implications of the upgrade for criminal victimisation, the levels of concern about and responses to the impact of crimes cannot be ignored. In the urban transformation agenda of Fashola's administration in Lagos, crime control received an impressive boost in terms of generous equipment donation to and encouragement of the police. Given the terrifying crime rates and widespread socio–political challenges, crime reporting to the police remains a major concern for contemporary criminal justice system.

Faced with rising crime problem and the changing social contexts, crime reporting by individual victims has become a major worry constituting a genuine challenge to the Lagos Police Command as well as other criminal justice agencies. In sum, rising levels of and growing concern about crime have been accompanied by a withering away of the extensive involvement of victims in Lagos. The factors that affect victims' crime reporting practices to the police in Lagos still largely remain unknown. This study therefore examined the extent to which patterns of crime reporting observed in Western research are similar to or different from those that characterise the previously unexplored Lagos' setting. It therefore looked at the correlates of crime reporting practices among victims in Lagos, Nigeria.

2.3.5 Prior Studies of Crime Reporting Practices

Long recognizing the importance of understanding variability in crime reporting practice, social scientists have compiled a voluminous research literature examining the effects of numerous individual incidents and community-level determinants on the decision to report a criminal victimisation to the police (Bachman, 1998; Block, 1974; Felson, Messner, & Hoskins, 1999; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). This research has relied primarily on the rational framework outlined above, which assumes that individual reporting decisions result from cost-benefit analyses aimed at determining whether or not it is worth it to report a crime (Skogan, 1976, 1984). Consistent with expectations derived from this framework, researchers repeatedly have found strong positive associations between indicators of crime severity (e.g. victim injury, financial loss, armed offender) and the likelihood that a crime report is made (Baumer, 2002; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2002, Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Pino & Meier, 1999; Skogan, 1976; Sparks, Genn, & Dodd, 1977).

Prior research also provides evidence of normative influences on individuals' crime reporting practices. Using an experimental design, Ruback, Ménard, Outlaw & Shaffer (1999) first presented participants with fictitious and in-depth crime vignettes. These researchers then asked participants to state whether the victims in the fictional scenarios had a duty or responsibility to report their victimisations to police officials. Participants' responses to this question revealed a normative code in which reporting was more acceptable for females, the elderly, and persons not drinking alcohol at the time of their victimisation. Interestingly, these findings – which are generally consistent with both familiar notions of crime seriousness (e.g. crimes against the elderly are more serious than crimes against the other adults) and prior findings regarding the relationship between incident severity and reporting – suggest that rather than operating separately, norms may influence reporting by altering perceptions of the costs and benefits of making a crime report.

2.3.6 The Trajectories of Crime Reporting Practices

Just as research consistently indicates that there are a number of different offending patterns over the life course, (i.e. while most juveniles grow out of crime, they do so at different rates). Some individuals are more likely to desist than others; this appears to vary by gender, for example (Fagan & Western, 2005). The processes motivating abstinence have not been well explored and it appears that there may be multiple pathways in and out of crime (Fagan & Western, 2005; Haigh, 2009). Perhaps most importantly, a small proportion of juveniles continue offending well into adulthood. A small core of juveniles has repeated contact with the criminal justice system and are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime (Skardhamar, 2009). From the foregoing related argument, the processes encouraging desistance from crime reporting

have not been well explored and it appears too that there may be multiple pathways in and out of crime reporting in the study area.

Generally, under-reporting by victims of crime may be driven by a lack of understanding of, or confidence in, the criminal justice system, as well as fear of police and concern about the stigma and shame associated with criminal justice system contact, which may act as a barrier to accessing both formal and informal support systems. Knowledge of reporting patterns and the factors affecting reporting practices is responsible in most societies for crime prevention and control. Yet the unwillingness of the residents of Lagos to report crime raises a number of important questions about the complex interplay of victimisation and usual responses to them. For example, the crime surveys conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in six jurisdictions found six hundred and six thousand, eight hundred (606,800) victims of robbery, assault or sexual assault for the year from May 1994 to April 1995 found that only two hundred and twenty seven thousand (227,000) of these victimisations became known to the police.

Regarding break and enter, the surveys found three hundred and thirty five thousand, nine hundred (335,900) self-reported victims, with two hundred and forty-four thousand, three hundred (244,300) reporting to the police. The level of reporting is a measure of community participation in crime prevention and control and of public confidence in the criminal justice system. Crime survey data are used to examine unreported offences and in this way to reveal the so-called “dark figures” of crime. Crime surveys show that unreported offences account for a substantial amount of some categories of crime. However, data from crime surveys can also assist in the analysis of reporting behaviour. Who are more willing to report a crime and why; and conversely, who are less willing to do it and why, are important public policy issues. What factors increase willingness to report crimes? In what way do these factors affect operational and

strategic processes associated with the response to crime? These are among the many questions that can be examined by analysing the processes that influence reporting decisions by citizens (Carcach, 1997).

Interviews with victims indicate that many incidents are not reported to the police, either by themselves or (as far as they know) anyone else. Crime reporting by witnesses rather than victims is even lower. In Britain, only about 12 per cent of the instances of shoplifting observed by the public get reported to anyone, eight per cent (8%) of serious fights, and twenty nine per cent (29%) of thefts from cars (Skogan, 1990). Further, the National Crime Victimisation Survey reveals that reporting differs by population group. Generally, lower income people, younger victims, and men report victimisations at a lower rate, while home owners report at a high rate. Incidents away from home, those with smaller financial consequences or for which victims had no insurance and crimes in which victims and offenders know one another well are reported less frequently. Interracial (black on white) crimes are also more likely to be reported. In some crime categories, fear of retaliation discourages reporting; in others, people do not report because they plan to take action on their own. The belief that police would not want to be bothered, or that they are ineffective or biased, is responsible for about 10-15 per cent of non-reporting, depending on the category (Skogan, 1997).

2.3.7 Police Recording Practices

The police recording practices have direct implications for crime reporting behaviour of victims in the study area. Police recorded crime is, as known, not equivalent to "all" crime. A well-known fact is that a large proportion of "all" crime remains unrecorded. Recorded crime may vary significantly as a consequence of dissimilar reporting rates and recording practices (Heiskanen, 2010). In modern times, crime statistics are increasingly becoming considerably

useful in the assessment of the performance of police forces. In addition, to make reliable comparisons, as well as assess the way in which crime in local areas changes over time, consistent recording across forces is essential. Under-recording among police officers is as real as under-reporting of crime among crime victims. "Crime statistics are a collection of crime data or facts expressed in figures and or signs, showing at a glance the totality of crime situation or state of crime in any given area. The information is collected in respect of total number of cases reported, number of cases accepted as true cases, number of cases refused, number of cases prosecuted, convicted or discharged. Summary of important cases reported usually issued monthly, shows offences prevalent month by month in any particular area" (Membere, 1982:164).

It is important to recognise that there are a number of legitimate reasons that can account, in part, for the substantial differences between reported and recorded crimes. These explanations have been rehearsed, in different ways, in the reports on each sweep of the BCS (Mirrlees-Black, Budd, Partridge & Mayhew, 1998). The reasons presented there, together with other possible explanations, are: Sample survey errors, Non-sampling survey errors, Adjustments, Crime coverage and definitions, Counting crime, Reporting to the police. Estimates of recorded crime hinge on the proportion of incidents victims said were reported to the police. Any errors in reporting rates will have a disproportionate 'knock-on' effect in deriving those estimates. There are various issues here and respondents' recall has already been addressed above.

The police recorded crime statistics are a measure of the amount of crime which is reported to and recorded by it. The recorded crime statistics do not include crimes that have not been reported to the police or that the police decide not to record. Police recorded crime covers all crime reported to, or discovered by the police and then recorded which are required to be also

further processed. Police recorded crime has the advantage that it covers the full range of crimes and are the only data that can be used to look at crime at neighbourhood level. It has the disadvantage that it largely depends on the public reporting crimes to the police (about 60% is currently not reported) (Allen & Ruparel, 2006) and on the police recording all the crimes reported to them. It can also be open to the suggestion that recording may be influenced by the demands of performance management regimes (Home Office, 2006).

Despite this long history of reported and recorded crime statistics being used to judge police performance, such statistics have long been recognised as having a number of weaknesses. First, there have been regular claims that the police adjust their crime statistics to improve measured reported performance. Second, the processes and categories used by local police to record crime have historically had a significant degree of local variability; this has made it difficult both to make comparisons among local forces and to form aggregates to provide a meaningful national picture. Third, the picture that emerges from recorded crime is potentially distorted by the unknown and uncontrollable variability in the public's reporting of crime to the police. A number of attempts have been made over the years to address these perceived problems but they largely remain (Home Office, 2006).

Police discretion without doubt the major difference between recorded crime and BCS estimates is attributable to the discretion exercised by the police as opposed to the more rigid procedures adopted by 'coders' of British Crime Survey (BCS) data. This has long been recognised. The 1992 BCS makes the crucial point that, by seeking to apply legal criteria to the description of events supplied by the person interviewed, the BCS develops a nominal definition of crime: a count of incidents which according to the letter of the law could be punished, whereas the police apply an operational definition of crime (Mayhew et al., 1994, Mirrlees-Black et al.,

1998). Allegations relating to 'completed' crimes were more likely to be recorded than those relating to 'attempts'. Those reported by victims, or by others on their behalf, were also more likely to be recorded than those reported by witnesses.

In addition to the fairly systematic bias introduced by citizens' non-reporting, official figures are further confused by the vagaries of police recording practices. Founded incidents are not the same thing as reported incidents, often for good reasons, but the gap between the two can also disguise deceptive recording practices. At several levels, police may act to avoid unpleasant or seemingly unproductive work, to forestall complaints about their behaviour, or in response to pressure from higher-ups to keep the crime count down. Bona fide reported offences may be shifted from one category to another, mostly to 'downgrade' them, or they can be ignored. In numerous well-documented cases, there have been sharp changes in crime rates associated with reform movements, changes in political administration, turnovers among district commanders, and the like. In Chicago, detectives were caught red-handed 'killing crime' at an enormous rate by unfounding rape, robbery and assault incidents without investigation. The practice was widely understood within the department, which kept two sets of books - one public and one private - on reported offenses (Skogan & Gordon, 1983).

2.4 Predictors of Victims' Crime Reporting Practices

Lincoln (1858) said if we could know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it (Angle, 1991). It is against this background that previous research has identified many relevant correlates of reporting violence though it is not always clear as to how the correlates influence police reporting (Hanushek & Jackson, 1977). After decades of survey-based research on criminal victimisation, an extensive multidisciplinary literature has been developed focusing on levels and predictors of police notification by crime

victims (Bachman, 1998; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 1999; Fisher et al., 2003; Hindelang, 1976; Lizotte, 1985; Ruback, Greenberg, & Westcott, 1984; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Some of the predictors of victims' crime reporting reasons that are prominent in the study area are presented below:

2.4.1 Nature of Crime.

Nature of crime is the quality which a crime episode has that causes significant physical, financial and material losses to the victims. The extent of these losses determines the seriousness of crimes. Research is consistent in showing that seriousness of crimes has the greatest influence on reporting (Skogan, 1994). The seriousness of crime is commonly determined by the perception of the victim or through a more objective measure that is either driven by financial loss or physical injury. The financial or physical injury is probably the most important factor in predicting the reporting behaviour of victims. In other words, financial loss, physical injury and the perceived seriousness of crimes are highly significant predictors of reporting. Thus, individual perception about the seriousness of crime plays an important role in crime-reporting behaviour (Carcach, 1997; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994).

The nature of crime is perhaps best determined by the perceived seriousness or intensity of its effects plus their duration from the victim's own standpoint. Looked at from this perspective, then nature of crime refers to a manifestly subjective assessment and evaluation by the victim of the overall consequences of his victimisation. Here, the meaning and significance of the crime for the victim, whether the incident elicits a change in self-perception by which the victim comes to perceive himself or herself as a victim or not. Skogan (1984) argued that crime-reporting behaviour is a form of individual evaluation of the events in terms of cost-benefit analysis. Usually, crimes with multiple offenders and crimes in which the offender carried and

brandished a weapon are also more likely to be reported than other crimes that are not characterised by these features.

Prior research suggests that incidents that involve injury and weapon use, and that occur in the home, are more likely to be reported (Felson et al., 2002). In all studies, a strong positive relation has been found between the crime seriousness and the reporting percentage. Other aspects of criminal events that have influenced the seriousness of the incidents are presence of weapons, threats or use of force, completion of rape, and monetary losses (Gartner & Macmillan, 1995; Orcutt & Faison, 1988). Severity of the crime is also of interest because previous research has indicated that this is a very strong predictor of the decision to report crime (Greenberg & Beach, 2004; Goudriaan, Wittebrood & Nieuwbeerta, 2006). Crime is also more likely to be reported when it involves the use of a weapon, results in injury to the victim, or produces greater financial loss (Laub, 1997; Skogan, 1984).

Tanton and Jones's (2003) study shows that victims of serious crimes have a higher propensity to report crimes to the police than victims of less serious crimes. For example, victims who have experienced injuries during an assault were associated with higher reporting of the event to the police (Tanton & Jones, 2003; Gartner & Macmillan, 1995). Moreover, the nature of crime incident characteristics is highly related to the likelihood that the police are contacted. Severity of violence is one of the most widely agreed upon predictors of whether the police are contacted: the more severe the violence, the more likely the police will be called (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1980; Baumer, 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Laub, 1981; Skogan, 1976; 1984). An exception to this is that rape, considered by most to be the most severe non-fatal violence, is reported only about one-third of the time nationally (Rennison, 2002).

There are a number of crimes that are known to be inadequately reported to the police and therefore inadequately recorded. Some crime, often referred to as 'victimless crime', is rarely reported. Indeed some crimes, for example drug possession, are only known about if the police proactively seek to identify them. Some crimes are known about but not reported to the police. In particular, some forms of fraud against financial institutions are not reported beyond the institution because the information is regarded as commercially sensitive. Similarly, crimes involving sex, race and crime within the family are often unreported. Some crimes are known about by other government departments but are largely not reported to the police: e.g. benefit or VAT fraud. Some crime – such as shoplifting, is largely left to the private sector to deal with and so remains underreported to the police (Home Office, 2006).

A similar exception is noted in Illinois, where sex crimes were the least likely to come to the attention of the police (Hiselman, 2005). For instance, weapon presence is another measure of severity of violence. Evidence is mounting that the degree of reporting appears contingent on the type of violence considered (Hart & Rennison, 2003; Rennison, 2007). Severity of violence is one of the most widely agreed upon predictors of whether the police are contacted. The more severe the violence, the more likely the police will be called (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1980; Baumer, 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Laub, 1981; Skogan, 1976; 1984). The severity of violence can be measured in ways other than type of crime. For instance, weapon presence is another measure of severity of violence. When a weapon especially a firearm, is brandished or used, police contact is more likely (Hart & Rennison, 2003; Baumer, 2002; Skogan, 1984; Block & Block 1980). A third measure of severity of violence – victim injury – is also related to reporting.

2.4.2 Victims' Special Considerations for Crime Reporting Practices

Individual perception about the seriousness of crime plays an important role in crime-reporting behaviour (Carcach, 1997; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994). Skogan argued that crime reporting behaviour is a form of individual evaluation of the events in terms of cost-benefit rationale (Skogan, 1984). Thus, according to Skogan, crimes that tend to produce some form of personal gain (e.g. property crimes) are more likely to be reported to the police (Skogan, 1984; Goudriaan, 2006; Tanton & Jones, 2003). The decision of victims whether to report a crime to the police will depend on the seriousness of the event. Quite often, the decision of victims is shaped by other considerations such as the value of the stolen items and whether they are easily retrievable or replaceable; how close by and easily accessed the police station is to the place of victimisation, how motor-able the roads are, how efficient the telephones are and how helpful the transport systems are, how solid and adequate the available evidences are, which may influence a victim's assessment of whether the crime itself is serious enough to justify reporting.

Formal social control, namely police intervention is most common where interaction, intimacy, and integration are scarce. Strangers frequently use formal social control to solve their disputes, whereas people who know one another are less likely to call the police on each other. Furthermore, it has been found that victims have different considerations that can play a role in their decision-making (Felson, Messner & Hoskin, 2002). Also, Goudriaan, Lynch, & Nieuwbeerta (2004) presented a two-dimensional framework that distinguishes between key influences on crime reporting decisions in an effort to provide a comprehensive model for understanding why individuals choose to report (or not report) crimes.

While the first aspect of this framework differentiates "situational" from "contextual" influences on reporting behaviour in which situational influences exclusively imply the

"immediate crime scene or the face-to-face interaction between the victim and the offender" (Goudriaan et al., 2004: 936) comprising such aspects of the crime such as whether the victim was injured, whether the offender was armed, the presence of witnesses at the scene, and the physical location of an incident (e.g., at a convenience store or at home). Examples of individuals capable of exerting influence on reporting behaviours – even when not physically present at the time of an incident – consist of those with intimate personal ties such as family members and close friends.

The second half of Goudriaan et al.'s (2004) two-dimensional framework for understanding crime reporting behaviours distinguishes those reporting decisions reached through rational cognitive thought from those that purely reflect one's normative views. The basis of the first or "rational" framework that is that reporting decisions are reached through individual cost-benefit analyses aimed at determining whether or not it is worth it to report a crime (Skogan, 1976, 1984). According to this model of decision-making, a crime is reported only when the benefits of reporting (e.g., recovery of property, reduction in vulnerability to future victimisation) outweigh the costs of doing so (e.g. investments of time and effort, potential for retaliation). One key element that shapes the outcome of this cost-benefit analysis is the extent to which an individual is harmed as a result of a criminal victimisation. Incidents involving relatively more harm, such as those in which the victim was injured or financial loss was great – are more likely to be reported because individuals involved in such incidents perceive the benefits of reporting to be higher than would be the case for less serious incidents.

Crime reports that represent normative responses, on the other hand, are not based upon this rational cognitive process. Rather, these types of reporting decisions reflect individuals' normative views or the normative context of their social environments. For instance, citizens

who believe that it is their duty to report crime are likely to report even the most trivial of crimes. When individuals choose to report these types of crime, their behaviour is not the result of a cost benefit analysis, per se, but rather is reflective of their normative views regarding the importance of crime reporting. Other examples of norms that are likely to influence reporting include: the police don't care about me or my community; I should deal with this myself and this isn't a matter that the police would be interested in (Goudriaan et al., 2004). For example, if the victim knows the offender well, the chance that the victim fears retribution by the offender after reporting the incident to the police or an alternative authority will be higher than if the offender is unknown (Bachman, 1993, Felson, Messner & Hoskin, 1999, 2002; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Singer, 1988). In case of a known offender the probability that the victim decides that it is a private matter and the situation should be resolved privately is higher than when the offender is unknown (Felson et al., 2002). However, it should be noted that emotions such as compassion, anger, and indignation all have powerful effects on how people make decisions about whether to act or remain quiescent (Penney, 2006), especially in terms of who reports what crime in almost every society.

It should be noted however that the ways in which situational, contextual, rational and normative influences interact with one another to influence reporting behaviours of victims represents one unique value of the framework presented by Goudriaan et al. (2004) is their illustration. Thus, "any situation or social context in which a crime occurs offers different rational and normative considerations that can influence the decision to report a crime" (Goudriaan et al., 2004:937). This objective is of particular interest to the present study in the aspect of how social context – specifically the extent of the network of relationships victims are

often involved influences their perceptions of the costs and benefits of reporting as well as their normative views regarding the act of reporting a crime.

2.4.3 Confidence in Police Effectiveness

The history of community police relation in Nigeria has been described as cold as the idea of policing imposed on the country by the colonial masters was calculated to foster an antagonism between the policed and the police (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2000; Onoja, 2007; Tamuno, 1970). Another neighbourhood characteristic that is assumed to affect the probability that victims report crimes to the police is the confidence in police effectiveness in a neighbourhood (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Baumer, 2002, Goudriaan, Lynch, & Nieuwbeerta, 2004). Trust in the police is one dimension of attitudes toward the police. In this context, the question of trust in the police has been addressed by many researchers (Sharp & Johnson, 2009; Tyler, 2005; Stoutland, 2001; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Goldsmith, 2005; Macdonald & Stokes, 2006). However, without public trust in police, policing would be without consent and legitimacy, which is difficult or impossible (Goldsmith, 2005).

From our traditional society era to the modem times, various role players and actors have been involved in law enforcement and public order services in our communities. In traditional epoch, you had a highly developed 'age grade system' and 'masquerade cults' in Igbo societies; secret societies such as *Ogboni*, *Oro* cults and *Egungun* Masquerade cult performed crime control functions in Yoruba communities and so did *Ekpe* cult groups among the Effiks and Ibibios (Ibidapo-Obe, 2004) encourage the development of sustainable crime reporting practices. These institutions, which were all recognized in the traditional era, ensured that crimes were controlled and social order maintained (Chukwuma, 2011) as well as crime reporting and its management. In modern era, we similarly, have state institutions such as the police leading in

crime control and public order services. There are also very active non state actors such as private security companies and Informal Policing Structures (IPS) popularly called vigilantes. However, when it comes to support for reforms and improving the services of the actors, only state institutions are focused leaving out the non-state ones. Forgetting that without the complement of the non-state actors, they would not be very effective and efficient in improving safety and security in our communities (Chukwuma, 2011).

A negative attitude towards the police, as well as the anticipated outcome once a crime has been reported influence the victim's decision to notify the police. Here, consideration is usually given to the way police treat victims in the charge offices; handle reports and consequently act as well as the nature of procedures in court. This has been especially found to be significant for victims of violent crimes. For the foregoing reasons, relationships between the Nigeria police and citizens are largely characterized by suspicion, prejudice, mutual disrespect, conflict and violence (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2000). Thus, the deepening gap between the Nigerian people and the police might have taken its origin from this background.

Trusting the police is not as practical as it seems in theory. Why should people not trust the police? Roberg, Crank, and Kuykendall (2000:5) argue that "The United States is a work in progress as our experiment in democracy continues to unfold. We are all participants in this experiment and by virtue of our studies or experience we are well aware that representatives of government, like the police, should never be trusted completely". Additionally, the police are committed to upholding the law. Some laws may not have the full support of the public. In this regard, "trust will…be elusive in situations in which the police are directed or choose to enforce laws that lack broad public support" (Goldsmith, 2005:452).

The estimated benefits of reporting to the police are assumed to depend on the victims' individual judgment of the police to a large extent. In the event of doubt or in stress situations, however, victims will allow their decision to partially depend on the judgment of their social environment (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Ruback, Greenberg, & Westcott, 1984). The estimated benefits of reporting crimes to the police can therefore generally be assumed to be lower (and the costs to be higher) for residents of neighbourhoods with a lower confidence in police effectiveness than for similar residents of neighbourhoods with a more positive perception of the police. In the colonial epoch, the style and principles of policing have been described as anti-people by several authors (Rotimi, 2001; Okafor, 2006; Chukwuma & Alemika, 2000; Ikuteyijo, 2009).

Public mistrust of the institutions responsible for controlling and preventing crime is closely linked to the feeling of insecurity. The origins of that perception are difficult to assess, but it can be linked to three phenomena. The first is the abuse of force by government institutions, especially the police (Birbeck & Gabaldon, 2002). The second and third are products of experiences in which obvious corruption of various parts of the criminal justice system has an impact on the general public such that the description by Oshiomhole, former president of the Nigeria Labour Congress, of some judgments as '*jankara'* stuff became an epitome of public perception of the judiciary. Finally, the slow-moving pace of the criminal justice system and the low case-solution rate leave people discouraged with government's capacity to address the problem effectively. Consequently, members of the public had to resign to faith that justice delayed is nothing but justice denied.

One of the earliest studies measuring citizen perceptions of police focused on citizen expectations of response time when police are called (Alarid & Novak, 2008). Percy (1980)

found that police response time and what police do during the citizen encounter significantly impact how citizens rate the police regardless of whether the initial call involved victimisation or an assistance non-emergency call. Many have suggested that victims will not estimate the benefits of reporting crimes as highly if they have low confidence in police effectiveness (Hagan & Albonetti, 1982; Sherman, 1993; Anderson, 1999; Baumer, 2002).

Alemika (1999:10) argues that 'police corruption elicits serious concern for three significant reasons. First, the police are expected to be moral as well as law enforcement agents. If the police which are employed to prevent and detect corruption, and bring culprits to judgment are themselves extremely corrupt, the society's crusade against corruption is guaranteed to fail. Second, the police exercise powers that have profound implications for the life, property, safety and freedoms of citizens. Where the exercise of such powers is contaminated by corrupt motives, the citizens feel exceedingly vulnerable, insecure and powerless. Third, police corruption is often tantamount to extortion, a form of robbery or demand with force. These dimensions of police corruption explain why the public is threatened by such practices. The most significant source of negative police community relations is corruption. Corrupt motive is also a source of police brutality. In many circumstances, police brutality is a means of coercing individuals to succumb to demands for bribes, and at some other time, it is a punishment for not cooperating with the police in their demand for gratification'.

Closely related to the problem of corruption and extortion is the incidence of collusion of some police officers with criminals, resulting in increased insecurity and police inefficiency in tackling crime. The twin phenomenon of police brutality and corruption constitute the main barrier between the police and public in Nigeria. Resource and management inadequacies have also impacted on police efficiency and conduct (Alemika, 1997, 1998; Balogun, 2003). Police

personnel from Ghana and Nairobi are repeatedly accused of collaborating with criminals, often lending or leasing their own arms and clothing, enabling what are often referred to as '*pobbers'* (police-robbers) (Aning, 2003). In Nigeria, a number of soldiers and police officers have been sentenced to death for armed robbery, (Small Arms Survey, 2006). Ultimately, any collaboration between formal security and criminal entities – even the perception of collusion – tends to weaken public confidence in the State (Muggah, & del Frate, 2007).

Recently, police departments have tried to tap local knowledge by training officers in "community policing." Officers are instructed on how to interact with local populations, build relationships, and get leads on crime. The goal of community policing is to increase the recognition of the police force as a part of the community. Reports show that contact with the police has a significant influence on improving people's opinions about the quality and effectiveness of police, but it seems that the general public has yet to develop a nuanced perspective on the specific tactics of formal "community policing" (Huang & Vaughn, 1996:42). In the West, society's general opinion of the police is static at a reasonably high approval rating. When viewing this static trend along with wide varieties of opinion across demographic groups and crime rate changes over time, the empirics seem puzzling. People's opinions about the police do not update when police are doing things differently. People's beliefs about the police do not update as police succeed and fail at solving crime. It is for this reason that victims have various motives for reporting crimes to the police, including catching and punishing the offender, retrieving stolen property, making insurance claims, and receiving police protection (Mihorean, Besserer, Hendrick, Brzozowski, Trainor, & Ogg, 2001).

2.4.4 Location in Which Victimisation Takes Place

The probability that victims will report a violent crime can be assumed to be dependent on the location in which the incident takes place. As argued by Goudriaan (2006), it is important whether the location is in the public, semi-public, semiprivate, or private domain. A private location is someone's home or other private property. A semi-private location is less private than the first category, but it is only open to specific people (for instance someone's workplace or school). Semi-public locations are open to everyone, but one has to obey the norms and regulations that exist in that specific location and sometimes one has to pay to be allowed in (for example cinemas, nightclubs, restaurants, and public transport). Public locations are open to everyone, free to enter, and they are owned by the (local) government (such as streets, forests, public parks, and beaches). Note that semi-public and semi-private locations are organizations, while private and public locations are not.

Goudriaan (2006) examined whether the likelihood of police notification by victims of violence is affected by the context of the location in which the crime took place. The study shows significant effects of the type of location in which the crime took place. Contextual influences refer to "any social aspects of the location in which a crime occurs outside the immediate face-to-face situation" (Goudriaan et al., 2004:936). Due to their strong association with physical geography, contextual influences often represent characteristics of the communities and cities in which individuals reside, including the nature of community relations with local police officials, levels of collective efficacy and social cohesion, and the extent to which alternative methods of conflict resolution are readily available. Beyond the social characteristics of geographic locations, contextual effects on reporting also arise from influences placed upon individuals by members of their social networks. It was found that victims'

likelihood of reporting violent victimisations to the police is lower for incidents taking place in the (semi-) public domain than for incidents taking place in the (semi-) private domain.

This finding suggests that victims experience stronger feelings of injustice and anger if crimes take place in the (semi-) private domain, because their desire to be safe is greater in these locations than it is in (semi-) public locations. They do not have the possibility to avoid the location to protect themselves against repeat victimisation. Generally, the results of Goudriaan's (2006) study confirm that it is important to consider contextual factors when attempting to explain reporting practices, instead of focusing exclusively on factors related to the crime seriousness and on victim's demographic characteristics. Furthermore, contextual factors previously studied concerned the context in which victims live, while the present study suggests that the context in which crimes takes place might be equally important for victims' reporting practices.

A great deal of research has been conducted on the willingness to report violent crimes taking place in the private domain (Block, 1974; Gartner & Macmillan, 1995; Malsch & Smeenk, 2004). These studies have shown that victims' willingness to report violence taking place in the private domain is relatively low. For acts of violence occurring in the semi-private and semi-public domain, the consequence of the situation is not as clear. What difference would the type of location make for the probability that crimes are reported? In the semi-private domain, including schools, universities, and other organizations or companies, formal rules and regulations often exist that describe what to do if a crime takes place. A formal control mechanism exists through which those who commit crimes can be punished and others (belonging to their organization) can be protected (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001).

Evidence shows that violence against suburbanites is reported to police at rates lower than violence against urbanites (Hart & Rennison, 2003), though the work by Baumer (2002) shows that this relationship is contingent on the type of violence. Likewise, findings are mixed as to whether violence against persons residing in wealthier households is more likely to be reported. Some work supports this relationship while other works suggest that it is contingent on the type of crime (Baumer, 2002; Hart & Rennison, 2003). The crime seriousness – especially often measured as the financial and physical damage resulting from the crime – is found to determine the outcome of this calculation (Fishman, 1979; Skogan, 1976, 1984; Sparks, Genn, & Dodd, 1977). However, the focus in empirical research does seem to shift. For example, some studies show that, in addition to aspects of the crime incident, the victims' social network has a strong influence on their decision-making (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). Others have found that the broader social context in which crimes take place and in which victims live is related to reporting behaviour also (Baumer, 2002).

2.4.5 The Socio-Cultural Conditions (SCC) of Victims

There are two hundred or more definitions of culture in the literature of the social sciences (Lonner, 1994). Among these, the abundance of generic conceptualizations cannot be overlooked because the task of operationalizing culture into measurable variables is substantially a challenge in several respects (Keating, 2008). While Alexander and Smith (1993) defined culture as a set of meanings, values and interpretations that form a specific social force independently of and partially autonomous of social structure and institutional contexts, Erturk (2007:8) conceived culture as the 'set of shared spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of human experience that is created and constructed within social praxis. As such, culture is intimately connected with the diverse ways in which social groups produce their daily

existence economically, socially and politically. It therefore embraces both the commonly held meanings that allow for the continuation of everyday practices as well as the competing meanings that galvanise change over time'.

Comparative research has shown that different cultures form distinctive patterns with typically interrelated elements (Inglehart, 1997). Thus, the concept of culture has two main components: shared activity, i.e. *cultural practices*, and shared meanings, i.e. *cultural interpretation and values* (Greenfield, 1997). It does not imply a monolithic concept of culture but gives room to internal differences, and subsets of shared meanings, though it insists on a minimum of consensus on basic practices and meanings within the same cultural pattern (Karstedt, 2001). Values are central to this concept of culture. An idealizing tendency in cultural analysis has exclusively identified values with images of the desirable and the good, and a monolithic concept of culture implied that this should be the common good. But their importance in cultural analysis is derived as much or even more from the fact that they set off the good from the bad, the desirable from the detested, the sainted from the demonic, (Alexander & Smith, 1993) and that they define a set of proper reactions toward transgressions of these limits.

Some research has explored the culture-specific aspects of victimisation (Choudry, 1996; Bowling, 1999; Mama, 2000; Shorter-Gooden, 2004). Nevertheless, this study focuses on some aspects of cultural dimension to crime reporting by victims. For example, the value we place on whether or not to report a crime, time to do so and the way such an action affects others, the possible opinion of those others that may be so affected are all issues embedded in socio-cultural considerations. Any belief that affects the value we assign to material or symbolic goods has its root in socio-cultural agenda. It is against the background of this assumption that the strength of

self-control which helps law abiding members of society remain obedient; resist temptation and report instances of victimisation are considered expressions of socio-cultural skills.

Otite and Ogionwo (2003) identified the economic structure; the cultural structure and the regulative structure as the three main kinds of social structure that constitute societies. While the economic structure is concerned with the means of life, cultural structure addresses the intrinsic ends and values of society (i.e. institutions and associations concerned with knowledge, art, religion, recreation etc.) and the regulative structure regulates or controls human relations (i.e. the machinery of law, the moral and religions codes as well as conventions and fashions). Considering the web formed by the dynamics of the three structures, they all function within the bigger framework of socio-cultural conditions which directly influence crime commission, its report and rewards in the past and contemporary Nigerian society.

Since all human societies are characterized by both social and cultural components, the focus in this study is on both material and non–material aspects of culture. Etobe, Enang & Ojua, (2004:14) noted socio-cultural conditions to be "those belief systems, cultural practices and socio-economic factors which make people behave in conformity to or rebel against social normative expectations". The definition of socio-cultural conditions as "set of ideas, norms and values that a group shares, as received from former generations and try to pass on to the next" (Klausen, 1991:5) shows the extent to which all human activities can be understood in a context of meanings and intentions. They all have a socio-cultural aspect. Limiting culture to ideas, norms and values tends to over-emphasize cultural uniformity in local communities. Socio-cultural condition is a constantly changing concept. Local factors such as beliefs, values and attitudes that characterise the social arrangements of a society influence decision making,

exercise of power, social relations and organisation, pattern of resource production, allocation and utilisation, forms and techniques of reporting offences.

Viewed this way, culture can be understood as a contested terrain, a diverse, open-ended and creative dialogue that both enables and constrains action, not a stable field of meanings, beliefs, values, and codes (Fantasia & Hirsch, 1995; Polletta, 2004; Steinberg, 1999b). It allows new practices and meanings to emerge through the course of collective action but, at the same time, limits the form and content of such meanings and practices (Fantasia, 1988; Hart, 1996; Williams, 2004). Limitations arise, in part because there is only a limited stock of popular ideas about crime reporting that echoes with the larger cultural context in which shared meanings about crime reporting actions occur. Therefore, it is important to consider the broader, enveloping cultural ideas that mediate relations between criminals, victims and the sympathizing or empathizing members of society. Such ideas are embodied in discourse. As Steinberg (1999:14) argues, "through discourse, both power holders and challengers construct notions of justice, fairness, and possibility. These discourses elaborate a group's place within the social order, its relations to other groups, and thus its identity, thereby defining the limits of legitimate agency".

Micro-mobilization contexts are the small group settings where "processes of collective attribution are combined with rudimentary forms of organization" (McAdam, 1988:135), and these form the building blocks of collective action. It is in these contexts that cognitive liberation is created. These are the new interpretations and meanings that can challenge dominant, hegemonic ideas, transform fatalism into activism, and establish collective efficacy (McAdam, 1988; Piven & Cloward, 1979). Within micro-mobilization contexts, meaning-making occurs discursively and at the symbolic level through the actions of the organizations and participants

(Zuo & Benford, 1995). What happens in the midst of organizing drives, or any form of collective action, shapes the emerging understanding of the context (Ellingson, 1995).

Being sets of self-motivated ideas, values and norms that evolved among residents of Lagos State, socio-cultural conditions could enable the people achieve their individual and collective aspirations. This is possible in the context of limitations brought into interaction in the course of containing or enduring criminality by group experiences. What sort of principles and guidelines can be proposed to assess the cultural influence of crime on the way it is reported by victims? If according to Sagnia (2004) cultural impact refers to the consequences to human populations of any public or private policies and actions that significantly change their norms, values, beliefs, practices, institutions as well as the way they live, work, socialize and organize themselves as part of their cultural life, then the inception of the formal criminal justice system could be said to have constituted the first of such impacts on the indigenous crime reporting practices of Lagos residents.

Though a community could be local, consist of people who essentially share a basic set of ideas, values and norms, given the cultural enrichment that characterizes a multi-cultural city such as Lagos, residents could be fairly homogeneous and heterogeneous in their ethnic origins, and still exhibit tolerable differences in their worldviews and motives. The gender debate has merely highlighted one of many potential ways in which people, presumably sharing a common culture, may be differentiated in important cultural respects. Gender roles are "sets of cultural expectations that define the ways in which the members of each sex should behave" (Vander Zanden, 1996:225). Beyond that, there is need to clearly state how socio-cultural conditions carve a role structure for women and children in their responses to victimisation.

For example, Nigerian cultures frown upon open discussions of sexual matters. It is for this unique and other reasons that discussions of sexual desires and sex organs are usually made indirectly using idioms, ironies or metaphors (Etobe, 2009). Therefore, cultural prescriptions impede the reporting of rape. Some of the socio-cultural variables that affect crime reporting activities include patriarchal ideology, religious beliefs, traditions, customs and taboos. This is so because residents' behaviour, attitude and habits are shaped by socio-cultural variables that are predominant in their environments of primary and secondary socialisations.

But there are also various socio-cultural factors that may cause both men and women to refrain from crime reporting. In some rural areas, the tradition of associating access of the criminal justice system by an aggrieved victim with cultural stigma is still widely practised. In some situations, members of the family of a plaintiff in a lawsuit may be avoided at all cost. People will be sceptical to enter into contractual agreement of any kind with members of a popular litigating family. As a result of this, crime reporting to formal structure of crime control is still seen by group norm as an act that is capable of casting reflections on family integrity.

While marriage is highly valued among Lagos residents, divorce is not allowed and women are advised to endure every bit of challenging situations that emerge, especially in marriage. Divorce is only allowed in the presence of evident neglect of a spouse especially during times of sickness or calamity, sexual promiscuity or infidelity, use of insulting language to parents-in-law, theft, laziness and other of such behaviours (Uchendu, 1965:79). This accounts for lack of residents' willingness to report domestic crimes to formal structures of social control.

2.4.6 Building the Capacity of Crime Reporting Actors in Society

Crime victims are acutely vulnerable to further victimisation (Farrell, 1995; Pease & Laycock, 1996). As a result, support mechanisms are crucial for their full reintegration in the

aftermath of crime. Part of this entails an examination of a victim's social ties to the community, such as family, friends, co-workers, and neighbours – people who can be called on to provide extra attention in the crisis period following the crime. There is need for effective measures to produce an army of human capital that will regulate the incidence of crime in society. The knowledge of residents to discover criminal plans before they are hatched makes them able to proactively foil crime plots by their eternal vigilance and crime reporting awareness. To make residents alive to this patriotic duty, individuals who are not well positioned to perform the duty of proactive crime reporting would need to be properly re-socialised. To build the capacity of crime reporting actors that will defend social development issues and solicit law enforcement, the cultural dispositions of residents must be consciously improved.

Up to the present day, women remain the dominant victim of domestic violence in Nigeria. There is no doubt that violence against women in particular is inherently linked to gender roles, gender stereotypes, notions of masculinity and patriarchal values (Vetten, 2000). The situation of gender imbalance appears to defy salvation as rapid decline in core values has left most of young family members confused about which norms – indigenous or foreign values they should adopt to guide behaviour in society. The design of the physical environments of the communities can promote or inhibit the development of skills for crime reporting that will help prevent victimisation in societies. An unplanned environment will facilitate the carting away of transportable items that lacked capable guardianship with ease.

Therefore, a society in which unauthorized users handle drugs, alcohol and firearms, lack time-occupying employment, prospective crime reporters may inadvertently transform into crime committers. If a society is structured in a way that members tolerate deviance, hardened offenders may become unrelenting in victimising their helpless victims. This may make the

phenomenon of group solidarity grow stronger and tilt towards supporting the law breakers. In sum, the outgoing section has presented the theoretical outline of the crime reporting conduct of victims, as they play out in the study area.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the theoretical platform on which this study is anchored. This study adopted the social action theory of Max Weber.

2.5.1 Social Action Theory

Earlier theorists had attempted to conceive of major historical or evolutionary tendencies of western society in structural terms. The predecessors of Weber therefore looked at different social-structural directions in their analytical view of individual human actors. For example, while Spenser likened the evolution of the body social to an organism, Tönnies' conception underscored the transition from *Gemeinschaft* (Community) to *Gesellschaft* (Purposeful Association), Maine studied the shift from Status to Contract, Durkheim concentrated on the institutional arrangements that maintain the cohesion of social structures by emphasising the movement from mechanical to organic solidarity. Marx was passionate about the conflicts between social classes within changing social structures and productive relations.

Responding to similar concerns, Weber proposed that Sociology is a comprehensive science of the subjective meanings of the "understandable" motives which human actors attach to their actions in their mutual orientations within specific socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, any behaviour outside of this web, Weber insists falls outside the purview of Sociology. His ultimate unit of analysis remains the concrete acting person. Interpretative Sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit, the upper limit and the sole carrier of meaningful conduct (Gerth & Mills, 1946). Moreover, Secher (1962) credited Weber with the conviction that

an action is 'social' if the acting individual takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course. The emphasis of this theory is on how customs, values, norms of particular socio-cultural environment encourage or frustrate individual action on emergent issues of crime prevention and control.

The explanation of a social phenomenon most frequently implies that the details making up individual actions can be provided. But what is it that explains an action? To explain an action, in celebrated Weberian concept of thought, is to 'understand' it (v*erstehen*) (interpretive understanding or subjective meaning attained by imagining oneself in the position of the person whose behaviour one is seeking to explain) or ideas which represent beliefs and values. By 'action' in this definition, Weber meant the human behaviour to the extent that the agent or agents see(s) it as subjectively meaningful. Thus, sociologists must put themselves in the position of the actors in whose actions he/she is interested.

Essentially, doing this entails a critical consideration of issues in which the actor is involved that could make the sociologist effectively bring out independent and subjectively logical meaning from the actor's actions. For example, the realities of the structure of the situation in which the actor found himself must be simulated. The whole exercise requires the observer to be close enough to the actor to access information about the actor's motivations and intentions from which concrete understanding could be obtained and yet remain separated as much as possible in contextual terms from the actor to achieve the required leverage in terms of detachment to make fair interpretations.

The meaning to which we refer may either be:

i. The meaning actually intended either by an individual agent on a particular historical occasion or by a number of agents on an approximate average in a given set of cases, or

ii. The meaning attributed to the agent or agents, as types, in a pure type constructed in the abstract.

In neither case is the 'meaning' to be thought of as somehow objectively 'correct' or 'true' by some metaphysical criteria. The concept was primarily developed to observe how human behaviours relate to cause and effect in the social situation. For Weber, therefore, Sociology is the study of society and behaviour.

Social Action theory was adopted to describe how interactions among residents within the socio-cultural context of Lagos influence the dynamics of crime reporting. The theory primarily seeks to understand the decision making process by which individual agents take action vis-à-vis their social environments and how these actions influence the structure, workings of the entire society. This theory presupposes the dominance and overwhelming influence of the whole over and above the individuals making up the whole. It therefore posits that the whole constrains the individual to use its pathways for or means of attaining a goal rather than the individuals' peculiar perception (Nwokocha, 2004). Since crime reporting is a common and frequently performed action by victims, it has an association with a subjective meaning that can be fairly credited to the same actors. Thus, crime reporting is done to comply with the normative pattern of crime reporting practices of the people. It is for this consideration that it is often not surprising when residents are expected to report their victimisation in a way that is consistent with the norms of the people so as to avoid being sanctioned.

Social Action Theory tries to explain how actors and society interact. Thus, the social context of social action recognises society as largely the consequence of individuals acting toward their own independent ends. However, since society also has a large role in determining what kinds of things are considered important to those actors, individuals are considered both

constitutive and at least partially constituted by their societies. It is against this background that social actions are primarily meaningful within the context of the purposes and intentions of individuals. However, such purposes and intentions are understood in the context of the background of historical conditions and social structures, and are largely informed by that background. Thus, action is not possible without meaning (Labinjo, 2002).

In Weber's sociology, social action may be overt and obvious to others, or inward and subjective. Others may be concrete people or indefinite pluralities. Moreover, it may be both active and passive. Thus, it may take the form of positive intervention, or of refraining from intervention. Weber believes that sociology is a science that engages in the interpretation of social action in order to provide causal explanations. To him, human behaviour is a social action when it is analysed from the standpoint of its subjective meaning to the actor. It is always an action oriented to the actual or potential conduct of others. Most events that happen around human beings involve behaviours with subjective meanings, which call for interpretive understanding in order to provide causal explanations. To this end, people's thoughts, actions and intentions shape a variety of social situations, suggesting an 'infinite plasticity of human behaviour' (Bone, 2009:1185).

In relation to crime reporting, this action is often taken by victims in a way that shows that they conform to the common pattern in their communities. Crime reporting becomes a social action when its decision is taken to cause cooperation or struggle among the reporting individual, the offender and other stake holders in the society. Weber argued that to explain an action we must interpret it in terms of its subjectively intended meaning. For Weber, it is important that action is defined in terms of meaningfulness and sociological analysis must proceed by identifying the meaning that actions have for actors. He insists that sociology should start inside

the individual with what his or her actions mean to him or her, and work outwards to understanding any laws or regularities that govern the whole of society. In "action" is included all human behaviour when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it. Recognising that human action is social in nature, Weber identified the four ideal types of social actions below:

i. **Goal Oriented Rational Action (Zweckrational)** in which goals and means are rationally chosen is exemplified by the engineer who builds a bridge by the most efficient technique of relating means to ends. An action could be value-rational action when the agent consciously decides on the ultimate value of his/her action and systematically organises his/her actions to achieve the goal. Action is based on collective beliefs, values and actions (Labinjo, 2002).

ii. **Value Oriented Rational Action (Wertrational)** is characterised by striving for a substantive goal which in itself may not be rational. For example, using faith based healing to cure obesity but which is nonetheless pursued with rational means of rigorous physical exercises. In other words, instrumental actions require that actions are planned and taken after evaluating the goal in relation to other goals, and after thorough consideration of various means (and consequences) to achieve it.

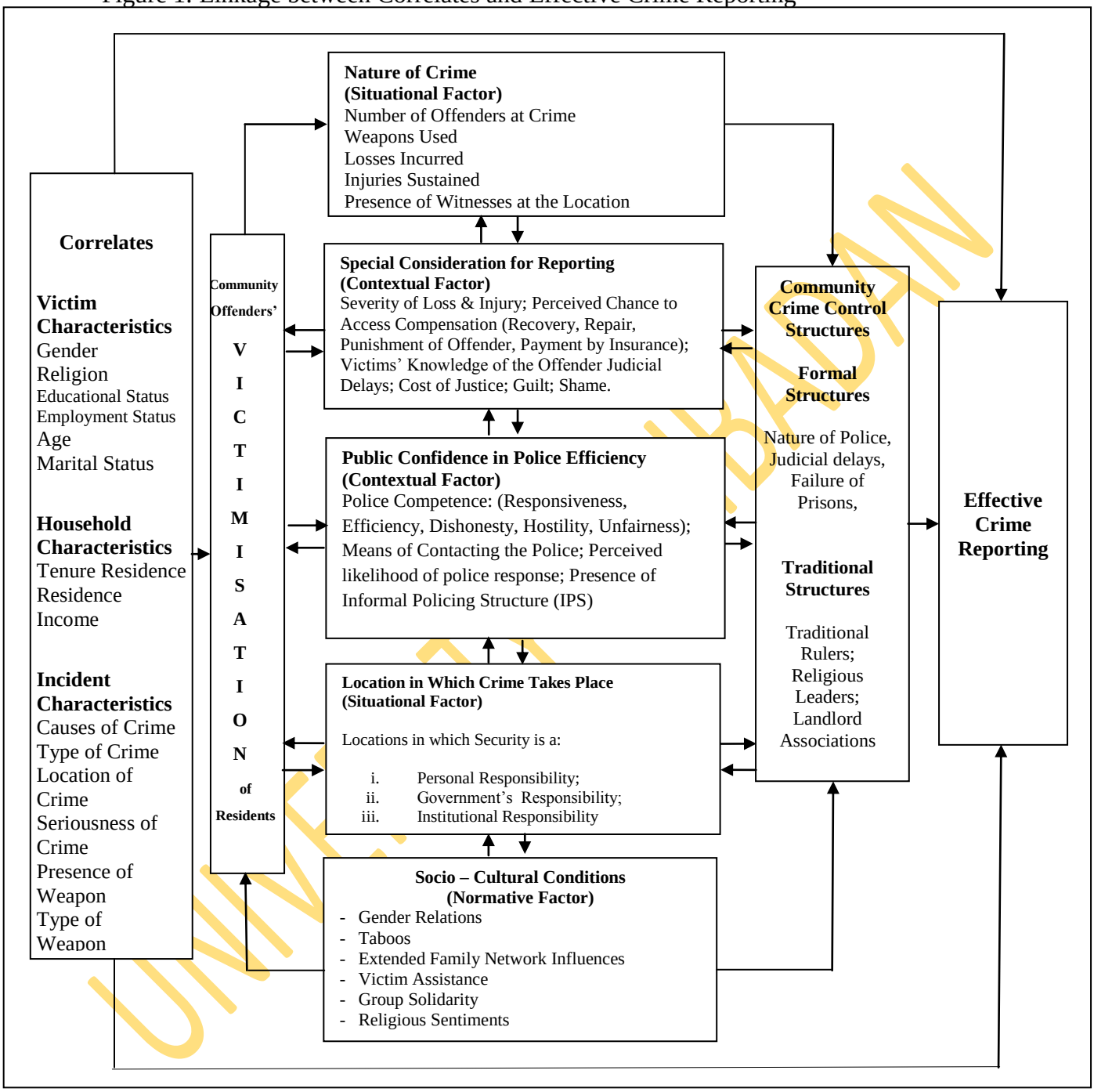
iii. **Affective or Emotional Motivations:** affective action is anchored in the emotional state of the actor rather than in the rational weighing of means and ends. When crimes occur, family members, acquaintances and friends of the victims may respond emotionally to crime by reporting the crime on behalf of the victim. The affective social action is anchored on the emotional state of the actor (Coser, 2004).

iv. **Traditional Action:** This is guided by customary habits of thought. Traditional action is divided into two subgroups: A custom is a practice that rests among familiarity. It is continually perpetuated and is ingrained in a culture. Customs usually last for generations. A habit is a series of steps learned gradually and sometimes without conscious awareness.

In reality, actions hardly take only one of these four forms. Usually, a social action takes two or more or even all the four types which constitute a heuristic device for understanding human action (Labinjo, 2002). Relating this to this study, one's social and cultural environments are dictated by norms that in turn define human actions in a given social context. Victims' crime reporting behaviour is therefore determined by the facilities or services that are found in the social environments. The theory primarily seeks to understand the decision making process by which individual agents take action vis-à-vis their social environments and how these actions influence the structure, and dynamics of the entire society. As a result, sociological explanations of action must begin with observation and theoretical interpretation of states of minds of actors.

2.5.2 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1: Linkage between Correlates and Effective Crime Reporting



The conceptual framework for this study provides the diagram of model of the theory utilised in the study. It rests squarely on the influence of the correlates of crime reporting of victims in Lagos. Using this framework, the main actors and actresses are the victims of crime.

The decision by a crime victim to report his/her experiences to the police is guided by a number of factors. Among these are his/her socio-cultural conditions. They determine the rhythm of crime reporting as well as condition the way residents report different crimes. These crimes include murder, robbery, burglary, kidnapping, carjacking, phone theft, bag snatching to the police as the dependent variable. The literature and the theoretical orientations of the study that were reviewed revealed a number of factors that directly influence the lack of concern and sometimes outright reluctance of crime victims to develop a suitable crime reporting interest.

Using the knowledge acquired from this exercise, the study was placed in an appropriate context vis-à-vis existing body of knowledge in the research area. Furthermore, it could also help to improve the revival of core values, mass education and firm justice system in the study area. Victims' crime reporting is the dependent variable and is influenced by a number of interrelated socio-economic variables. In African cultures, human lifestyles are influenced by the socio–cultural condition that is mostly based on the passion for brotherhood sentiments. This condition defines the tradition, customs, values, norms and laws relating to safety of non-victims and the welfare of crime victims as well. The conceptual framework for this study gives a clear understanding of the factors accountable for the crime reporting of victims in Lagos.

2.5.3 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are formulated to help in the realisation of the research objectives:

i. There is a significant relationship between the nature of crime and crime reporting.
ii. There is a significant relationship between victims' special considerations and crime reporting.
iii. Public confidence in police has a significant relationship with victims' crime reporting.
iv. The location of crime has a significant relationship with victims' crime reporting.
v. Socio-cultural conditions of victims have a significant relationship with crime reporting.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology adopted for the study. Therefore, the discussions here are divided into three major sections – the research design, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations. Other issues given prominence include community entry, training of field assistants and pilot study, data collection including selection process, conduct and data analysis as well as the use of chi square to test association and regression to show relationship between and among variables. Specifically, this chapter addresses the research design, study area, study population, sources of data, sampling process and analytical techniques. The chapter rounds off with a submission on the limitations arising from the design.

3.0 Research Design

In accordance with literature search and the objectives of the study, the survey design, involving the use of qualitative and quantitative data, was adopted in this study to facilitate the placing of relevant issues in suitable context. The collection of both quantitative and qualitative data became inevitable because triangulation as a research methodology allows the use of different data collection methods within one study to ensure that data are revealing what they are supposed to reflect. Also, it draws on the strength of each while reducing the weaknesses of other to give a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics of the interactions between offences, offenders, crime victims and crime reporting.

3.1 Study Area

The study was conducted in Lagos State, which is located in the South-West Geo-political zone of Nigeria. By the State (Creation and Transitional Provision) Decree No 14 of

1967, Lagos State was created on May 27, 1967. It did not however begin to enjoy the new status until May 1, 1968, when Administrative Divisions (Establishment) Edit No 3 of 1968 was enacted. The 2006 National Census credited the metropolitan area with a population figure of 9,013,534 (Official Gazette, 2006). Although the Lagos State has strongly contested the figure, it is consistent with the projections of the United Nations and other population bodies. Nevertheless, Arthur-Worrey and Chukwuma (2011) observed that Lagos is Nigeria and West Africa's financial, commercial and industrial capital. For the reason that Lagos city is the largest and most dynamic city of Nigeria, the state is the socio-cultural melting pot for Nigerians of all ethnicities from across the country and non-Nigerians from elsewhere in Africa and the rest of the world (Federal Health International, 2000)

Lagos is the economic nucleus of Nigeria and a wealthy state relative to others in the country; its gross domestic product is among Nigeria's highest, at more than US $235.9 billion (World Bank, 2011). Though, more than a third of the residents of the state consider themselves 'non-poor', against the national average of 25 per cent, and the Human Poverty Index for Lagos is 14.5%, compared with 32.3% for Nigeria as a whole, Generally, Lagos residents have access to better services than elsewhere in the country: over 60 per cent has access to improved water and nearly all residents have access to electricity (UNDP, 2009) especially in its dysfunctional state but not everybody has beneficial access to the criminal justice systems.

Lagos State accommodates over 6.4% of the national population of 140 million (2006 population census figure), on a land area of 358.861 hectares or 3.577 sq km. This represents 0.4% of Nigeria's total land mass making it the smallest state in the federation (Lagos State Centre for Rural Development, 2006). Urban Agglomeration Report issued by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Population Division) observes that the

population of Lagos in 2007 was 9.5 million ranking as the second most populous city in Africa. In a UN study of 1999, the city of Lagos was however expected to hit the 24.5 million population mark by the year 2015 and thus be among the ten most populous cities in the world. Furthermore, the UN estimates that at its present growth rate, Lagos state will be third largest mega city in the world by year 2015 after Tokyo in Japan (28.7 million) and Bombay (Mumbai) in India (27.4 million). The implication of this is that whereas country population growth is 4/5% and global 2%, Lagos population is growing ten times faster than New York and Los Angeles with grave implication for urban sustainability (Lagos State Government, 2009). Moreover, the presence of Air and Sea ports in Lagos makes the city unique for all forms of business activities. Lagos has 20 local government areas. The high rate of population growth of Lagos and the diverse characteristics of its inhabitants therefore have critical implications for property acquisition, property and personal victimisation as well as crime reporting practices.

Lagos is an urban metropolis with a burden of diverse needs of inhabitants to meet. Consequently, the transition of Lagos into a megacity status makes the population prone even more to rapid demographic changes. As a result, many people migrate to Lagos for different reasons. Since the city of Lagos holds one unique interest for all categories of migrants and inhabitants, some areas are reservation areas; some are exclusively inhabited by the rich while the poor predominantly live in some places. The presence of all sorts of people as residents of Lagos provides two diametrically conflicting even if interesting social classes – the well protected and those who are not well protected against victimisation.

Both classes have potentials for crime commission and crime reporting. In Lagos, more than other parts of Nigeria, particularly in recent times, armed robbery, kidnapping, drug trafficking, fraud, traffic offence, rape, murder and theft have become more serious to tackle as

they have manifested with new methods and techniques (Omisakin, 1998). The delinquency and criminal behaviours are common phenomena in our society, and the high rate of occurrence in recent time is of greater concern to the society. Historical evidence and information gathered indicated that crime in Nigeria has now reached a great height.

It is useful to note that the Lagos police command foiled 462 and 418 cases of robbery in 2012 and 2013 respectively. Out of the 1448 and 1263 vehicles stolen in Lagos in 2012 and 2013 respectively, 1187 vehicles were recovered in 2012 and only 954 vehicles have been recovered in 2013. In all, the police recovered 371 arms and 26058 ammunition in 2013 while 328 arms and 3553 ammunition were recovered in 2012. The police arrested 569 robbery suspects between November 2011 and October 2012 as against 522 recorded in the previous year. Moreover, 270 people were murdered in different parts of Lagos while a total of 32 policemen died in gun exchanges with armed robbers leading to the police killing 140 robbers (Manko, 2012). Despite a Lagos law that has led to the disappearance of commercial motorcycle operators from the major streets of the city following claims that they are responsible for most criminal activities, the state of Lagos still ranks high as one of the states with the highest crime rates in Nigeria. The increase in crime, judging by available statistics appears to continue every year. Frightening as the data seem to be, they do not include the unreported cases (dark figures) of crime. Therefore, the fact that this study investigated the correlates of crime reporting among the diverse residents of Lagos makes it the right location for the inquiry.

3.2 Study Population

The research topic provides the specifications that influenced the choice of the study population. The study examines the influence of correlates on the crime reporting practices of victims in Lagos, Nigeria. Therefore, the study population comprised:

1. All citizens who were 18 years or older and resident in Lagos for a period not less than twelve calendar months as at the time of the commencement of the study. This decision was taken on the assumption that individuals in that category were more likely to be knowledgeable about household members' decision making process involved in crime reporting in the community. Similarly, they were expected to be well informed of the available institutions of and framework for crime reporting system in the community.
2. Also, the study covered selected crime victims, traditional rulers, religious leaders, the chairmen of landlord association, crime police officers, chairmen of village/town associations and family members of crime victims in Lagos as credible alternative structures to the police as symbols of formal social control.

3.3 Sources of Data

The study is based on two categories of data namely, the quantitative and qualitative data. But in this section, detailed explanations are provided on how quantitative data were collected.

3.3.1 Sample Survey

Generally, the survey method serves as the main source of primary quantitative data. A sample survey was conducted between September and November 2012 to elicit quantitative data that are the bases for the generalisations made about the crime reporting practices of victims in Lagos, Nigeria.

3.3.2 Sampling Size Determination

The specific interest of this study is directed at a target population. Individuals in a target population typically share one characteristic. To the extent therefore that crime victims are not usually available (Gravetter & Forzano, 2003), the sample size of this study was, due to the nature of the study, the features of the population and sensitivity of its focus which recognise the

absence of a sampling frame from which a formal sample size could be selected, posed a bit of problem. The purpose and entire population size of any social inquiry informs the sample size that will be considered representatively desirable. Yamane (1967:886) provides a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes of study populations. This is based on 95% level of confidence and 0.5 level of precision. The formula for calculating sample size according to Yamane (1967) is provided below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

n is the sample size.

N is the population size.

e is the level of precision.

Given 95% confidence level, the total sample size required for the study is calculated in the survey, to select respondents aged 18 years and above using the following formula:

$$\frac{959927}{1 + 959927\ (0.03)^2}$$

$$\frac{959927}{1 + 959927\ (0.03)(0.03)}$$

$$\frac{959927}{1 + 959927\ (0.03)(0.03)}$$

$$\frac{959927}{1 + 959927\ (0.0009)}$$

$$\frac{959927}{865}$$

The Sample Size, therefore = 1110

For the purpose of the survey, a multistage sampling procedure that is demonstrated on Tables 3.1 and 3.2 led to the selection of 1110 participants for the general survey of the

community. Table 3.1 shows the population of the 3 selected local government areas in Lagos with their diverse demographic characteristics.

3.3.3 Sampling Process

As a result of the foregoing, a multistage sampling technique as shown below was adopted to select respondents:

3.3.3.1 Stage 1:

The study adopted the categorisation of Lagos State into three Senatorial Districts: Lagos Central Senatorial District, Lagos East Senatorial District and Lagos West Senatorial District by The National Population Commission (2006).

3.3.3.2 Stage 2:

Based on the findings of Soyombo (2009) and Alemika (2009) in respect of areas recognised as the "black spots" of crime in Lagos as listed by the police, Mushin Local Government Area was randomly selected from Lagos West Senatorial District, Ibeju Lekki Local Government Area was randomly selected from Lagos East Senatorial District and Lagos Island Local Government Area was randomly selected from Lagos Central Senatorial District to give a balanced cross section of urban, semi urban and rural communities, with efforts also made to ensure that participants represented a range of ethnic origins and religious backgrounds.

3.3.3.3 Stage 3:

The study adopted the 245 wards created by the Federal Government as its sample frame. Table 3.1 shows all the wards in the three randomly selected Local Government Areas for the study. Therefore, all the 19 wards in Mushin Local Government Area were included, 10 wards were randomly selected from those in Lagos Island Local Government Area and 5 wards were

randomly selected from those in Ibeju Lekki Local Government Area in accordance to the proportion of their different population sizes as shown in Table 3.2.

3.3.3.4 Stage 4:

As noted earlier, the number of political wards selected from each of the local governments reflected their sizes of population so as to make for equity in representation as shown in Table 3.1. Therefore, from Mushin Local Government, all its 13 political wards were included. The study randomly selected 2 streets from which 20 houses were then randomly selected. At Lagos Island Local Government, the study selected 2 streets from each of the 8 selected political wards shown in table 3.2.

Table 3.1: POPULATION OF THE 3 SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS IN LAGOS

Local Government Areas	2006 Population of Residents 18 Years and Older			No of Respondents Selected From Each of the LGAs
	Male	Female	Total	
Ibeju-Lekki	59544	57937	117481	200
Lagos/Island	108057	101380	209437	320
Mushin	328197	394812	633009	520
Total	495798	1187138	959927	1040

Source: National Population Commission (2006) and Fieldwork (2012).

In the last stage, from each of the 13 and 8 political wards that have been randomly selected from Mushin and Lagos Island LGAs, two streets were randomly selected. Similarly, from the 5 political wards that have been randomly selected from Ibeju Lekki LGA, two communities were randomly selected. Further, 20 houses were randomly selected from each of the two streets selected from the 13 political wards in Mushin (520 houses from 26 streets) and 20 houses were randomly selected from each of the two streets selected from the 8 political wards in Lagos Island (320 houses from 16 streets) as well as 20 houses were randomly selected from each of the two communities from 5 political wards at Ibeju Lekki (200 houses from 10 communities). Overall, 42 streets and 10 communities were randomly selected. One household was randomly selected from each of the selected 20 houses, making 520 houses from Mushin

LGA, 320 houses from Lagos Island LGA and 200 houses from Ibeju Lekki LGA to have 1040 houses. In case more than a household occupied a house; lottery method (yes/no) was used to select the 1040 household heads on whom copies of a questionnaire were administered.

Table 3.2: Randomly Selected Streets from Which Final Participants Were Selected

Senatorial Districts	LGAs	Wards Randomly Selected from the 3 LGAs	2 Selected Streets From The Randomly Selected Wards	
			1st Street	2nd Street
Lagos Central	Lagos Island 20 Wards	D1	LUTHER STREET	CUSTOM STREET
		E1	ODUNFA STREET	ISALE GANGAN STREET
		E3	TOKUNBOH STREET	GRIFFITH STREET
		F2	MOLONEY STREET	AJASA STREET
		G2	OSHODI STREET	IGBOSERE STREET
		G1	HAWLEY STREET	PIKE STREET
		A1	DAVIES STREET	LAKE STREET
		A3	PEDRO STREET	AGARAWU STREET
		B1	AJAYI BEMBE STREET	ASHOGBON STREET
		B3	AROLOYA STREET	ELIAS STREET
		C2	OKOYA STREET	PRINCESS STREET
		C1	ONILEGLEBA STREET	ENU-OWA STREET
Lagos West	Mushin 13 Wards	L	ADEYINKA STREET	ODUNLAMI STREET
		C1	AJEGUNLE STREET	SHILLON STREET
		G1	EFFON ALAYE STREET	AMU STREET
		G2	ADIO SHOMADE STREET	OGUNMEFUN STREET
		B2	FALOLU STREET	SHOKUNBI STREET
		C2	ONANUGA STREET	GBENLE STREET
		B1	KUMUYI STREET	OLOWO STREET
		C3	IJAYETEDO STREET	AIYETORO STREET
		H1	ADESHILE STREET	ADISA THOMAS STREET
		H2	MARTINS STREET	ADEYEMI STREET
		K	LAWANI STREET	OGUNFUNMI STREET
		J	OREMERIN STREET	ADEDEJI STREET
		A1	KADIRI STREET	AGBEKOLADE STREET
Lagos East	Ibeju Lekki 7 Wards	A*	OKEGUN ODOFIN COMMUNITY	OGOGORO COMMUNITY
		B*	ELERAN IGBE COMMUNITY	OFINRO COMMUNITY
		D*	IMAGBON OGE COMMUNITY	OKUN ILADO COMMUNITY
		E*	OBADORE COMMUNITY	SOLU ALADE COMMUNITY
		G*	KAJOLA COMMUNITY	ELEMORO COMMUNITY

Source: Fieldwork (2012)

A*, B*, D*, E* and G* *are political wards from which communities not streets were sampled the way it was done in other selected Local Government Areas' because of the absence of structured street naming practices in these communities*.

3.4 Research Instruments

3.4.1 Quantitative Instrument: The Questionnaire

Structured questionnaire was the major survey instrument used in this study. The designing of the questionnaire was based on the pilot study that revealed the salient variables that

impact crime reporting. A standardized questionnaire, which covered the objectives of the study, was developed to elicit information. The questionnaire was divided into seven sections. The first section consisted of questions on demographic data while the second section consisted of questions on the general background of crime reporting practices in the community. The third section elicited information on criminal justice system and reporting decision making process. The fourth section concentrated on questions which probed into the effects of location in which a crime took place on crime reporting practices of community residents. The fifth section explored the nature of crime and crime reporting practices of community residents. While the sixth section examined special consideration which victims looked at for crime reporting in the community, the seventh section probed into the socio-cultural conditions of the community and crime reporting practices.

3.4.2 Qualitative Instrument

Three qualitative methods were used for data collection. These were case studies, in-depth interviews and key-informant interviews.

3.4.2.1 The Case Studies

The case studies were conducted with ten victims of very serious violent crimes that were identified from survey respondents to capture victims' losses, trauma, worries, intervention programmes, adjustment and reintegration in the aftermath of victimisation. Ten (10) case studies were conducted with victims of serious crimes.

3.4.2.2 The In-depth Interviews

The in–depth interviews were conducted with 6 respondents that consisted of 3 traditional rulers and 3 religious leaders selected equally from each of the three Senatorial Districts.

3.4.2.3 The Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted with 12 respondents that consisted of 3 Divisional Crime Police Officers, 3 Chairmen of Landlord Associations and 6 Members of Victims' Family. The purpose of key informant interview in this study is to elicit key crime reporting issues to complete, validate and expand the researcher's understanding of crime reporting practices of the people. The various techniques used for the study and the number of respondents are indicated in table 3.3 while the matrixes of instruments are shown in table 3.4

Table 3.3: Shows the Breakdown of Sample Selection

Respondents (Target Population)	Sample Sizes	Methods	Instruments
1. Household Heads	948	Quantitative	Questionnaire
2. Traditional Rulers & Religious Leaders	6	Qualitative	In-Depth Interview
3. Victims' Family, Police and Landlords	12	Qualitative	Key Informal Interview
4. Victims of Serious Crimes	10	Qualitative	Case Studies

Source: Fieldwork (2012)

Table 3. 4: Matrix of Instruments for Data Collection and Measurement of Objectives of the Study

Research Instrument	Objective 1	Objective 2	Objective 3	Objective 4	Objective 5	Data Analysis
Questionnaire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Chi Square/Regression
IDI	x	x	✓	✓	✓	Content Analysis
KII	x	x	✓	x	✓	Content Analysis
Case studies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Content Analysis

Source: Fieldwork (2012)

3.5 Training and Pilot Study

Field assistants for the study were recruited in Lagos. The minimum qualification for the field assistant was Bachelor's Degree and fluency in English and the community's language. Fieldwork experience was also considered as one of the criteria. A total of 12 field (6 men and 6 women) workers were recruited. The field assistants were given a five-day pre-field training. The methodology workshop exposed the field assistants to the objectives of the study, data collection techniques, sampling method and familiarization with the instruments of data collection. In the course of the training, trainees assisted with the translation of the data collection instruments into the Yoruba language dialect used in the community. The training sessions also included role-

plays for the purpose of the In-depth interview. The last day of the training was used for a field-testing of the instruments of data collection.

A week later, a pilot study was conducted using Igboelerin Village in Ojo Local Government Area. The pilot study was a one-day exercise and it was conducted on a Saturday. For the sample of the pilot, five streets were randomly selected. From each of the five streets, four houses were selected. A household head was selected to respond to the questionnaire in each of the four houses. In all, copies of a questionnaire were administered on twenty respondents. The objective of the pilot study was two-fold. The first was to test the data collection instrument in order to ensure that the information emanating from them are relevant to the study. Second, it was also meant to assess the efficiency and sufficiency of the field assistants on their mastery of the instruments. The exercise also helped to sharpen the skills of the field assistants.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

3.6.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative data collected were subjected to three levels of analysis. The first level was univariate analysis. It addressed the description of the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of respondents, and incidence of various forms of crime reporting as well as indicators of crime reporting practices. This is anchored on the assumption that the behaviour of individuals in society is, to a large extent, determined by their personal characteristics as well as those of the environment in which they live. For this reason, it is expected that crime reporting practices will be greatly determined by individuals' background characteristics such as education, age, marital status, occupation, income, place of residence, ethnic origin and religion. To this end, simple percentages were employed to describe these variables. Here, frequency

distribution tables and graphs were used to provide general overview of the various socioeconomic variables that affect respondents' crime reporting practices.

The second level of analysis is bivariate analysis. It involved the examination of the pattern of relationship between the dependent variable i.e. crime reporting and other independent variables such as socio-cultural conditions, location in which crime takes place, public confidence in the police, victims' unique consideration for crime reporting and nature of crime.

The third level of analysis is multivariate analysis. It involved the use of advanced statistical techniques to test the formulated hypotheses and the pattern of relationship between dependent and independent variables. The regression technique was used to test these relationships. Specifically, logistic regression was used to show the relationship between the dependent variable (e.g. ever reported crime? i.e. yes or no,) and other independent variables (such as income, socio-cultural conditions, age at first crime reporting, perceived risk of reporting, knowledge about crime reporting).

3.6.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

The in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and case studies were conducted in both English and Yoruba. During the interview exercises, data were recorded using hand written notes and tape recorders. The principal researcher transcribed the tapes from the various in-depth interviews and they were compared with field notes from field assistants. Both the transcribed tapes and the field notes were utilized for the purpose of data analysis. The principal researcher cleaned and structured the qualitative data into themes according to various headings representing the key issues raised in the interviews and discussions using the research objectives and purpose of study as guides. Simple descriptive and narrative technique was used to report the interviews. The analysis was focussed on comparing the responses of respondents from the three

selected senatorial districts to see whether a similar pattern of responses existed among them. The analysis involved the categorisation of data collected into the objectives of the study. The information included was arranged in line with the responses of male and female victims. Also, data gathered from residents in rural, semi urban and urban locations were finally compared to see whether they were related and had implications for crime control in society.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Majority of the studies in the Social Sciences have direct bearing on real people in situations that are not simulated to agree with practices in laboratories by scholars in pure sciences. This situation raises ethical questions in terms of the link between the researcher and the respondents. The researcher took into consideration the respondents and communities' right of participation in the study. The consent of chiefs was sought and got. Oral consents of other respondents were also obtained. To this extent, the respondents were clearly informed about the purpose of the study. Respondents' identities and views were protected, particularly those of the crime victims involved. The community members were treated politely and with considerable humility. They were relaxed and not compelled to do or say what they ordinarily did not want to do or say throughout the conduct of this study. The respondents were well protected against any harm and they were explicitly informed of their right to withdraw from the study even after signing the consent forms. Besides, on the publication of the final copy of this work in learned journals, policy makers are expected to use its numerous findings in providing solutions to community residents' crime reporting challenges such that formal and informal justice systems take advantage of the latest intelligence contained in this study to evolve reporting norms and sustainable public safety policies for the community.

3.8 Limitations and Strengths

3.8.1 Limitations

A perfect method of investigating social reality does not exist. All research methods in use in social science, notably quantitative or qualitative, have their inherent weaknesses. Just as it is with other research methods, the methods that were employed in this study have their weaknesses and limitations.

3.8.2 Quantitative Instrument

Therefore, this work is not without its own limitations. The following realities underlined the weaknesses of this study which were discussed at both the specific and general levels.

The intermixture of urban, semi-urban and rural settings for the study created some problems which brought some limitations to the study. Lagos was divided into urban, semi-urban and rural areas to facilitate comparative analyses. On the field, it was discovered that traceable streets exist only in the urban and semi urban areas. Mostly in Ibeju Lekki, communities were in dominant use, not streets. It took some time, working with educated Ibeju Lekki indigenes to substitute communities for streets effectively before data gathering began.

While on the field, research assistants found that most Yoruba respondents in semi urban and rural areas of Lagos did not willingly want to accept that they had been victims of crime. In Yoruba, the meaning of crime is *Oran.* Thus, a criminal is *Odaran.* The moment the question is put *'Nje awon odaran ti seyin ni jamba kan tele ri?'* (Meaning have you ever been a crime victim?), in the quest of respondents to prove their spiritual protection against any form of misfortune, they usually responded by answering, in both semi urban and rural areas of Lagos, that *'Olorun koni jeki nse konge awon odaran ati oran won'* (I reject criminals and their evil deeds in the name of God.) But further probes into which kind of crime they had experienced

caused them to divulge diverse crimes such as robbery, assault, stealing, rape, etc. This widespread reluctance to provide the true picture of the victimisation experiences of respondents constituted initial challenge for data collection.

Some of the problems that usually characterise surveys which an aspect of this study shares are:

- The length of the quantitative instrument. The questionnaire for this study consisted of 112 items covering seven pages. Majority of respondents, particularly the lowly educated ones complained bitterly about the volume of the instrument and the incursion which their completion made into their business time.
- Moreover, most survey respondents openly demanded for gratification across the three divisions into which Lagos was put because they claimed that attending to the instrument wasted the time they would have used to look for money were they allowed focusing attention on their businesses. As a result, they wanted reimbursement for the time they spent completing the questionnaire. The negotiation of this took some time. On some occasions, however, the researcher acceded to providing soft drinks on respondents' complaint of intense heat. In sum, this is indicative of the level of economic hardship on the one hand and pervasive ignorance about the gains of research to human development on the other**.**

3.8.3 Qualitative Instrument

The challenges that were thrown up by qualitative instrument are not similar to those of quantitative instrument. For instance:

- Most respondents to qualitative instrument were opposed to the use of electronic recorders. Victims of serious crimes were unwilling to disclose their victimisation experiences in a face to face interview setting, particularly with individuals they did not know prior to the

interview. Their unwillingness might have arisen from the fear that these unknown individuals might want to know more about their weaknesses so as to launch yet another attack on them. This made the exercise a bit more challenging. Consequently, the researcher swapped research assistants by making them work in areas where they are more familiar with respondents. This strategy helped the study to make remarkable inroads into the respondents who were hitherto unwilling to share information with research assistants.

- Moreover, between Monday, October 22 and Wednesday, October 25 2012, members of the Lagos Traffic Law Task Force arrested motorcycle '*okada*' riders in a bid to enforce compliance with the Lagos traffic law forbidding *okada* riding in some named roads in Lagos that was then newly passed. Following the exchange of gunshots between the police and hoodlums who had hijacked the protest, data gathering efforts in most parts of the study sites became unsafe. Research assistants were scared. Therefore, the researcher directed all research assistants to seek safe escape routes back to their homes. In some ways, data gathering process was disrupted by the panic which the disturbances brought to bear on community dwellers' daily routine activities.

3.8.4 Strengths

This research has its strengths drawn from the influences of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The major strength of this study is its combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods. While the quantitative method makes for more generalizable outcomes (Sandelowski, 1999), qualitative method is powerful in gaining insights into the nature of human affairs by aiding the study of subtle nuances in attitudes and behaviours as social processes are examined over time (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Besides, the large sample (n = 1040) of respondents who completed the survey questionnaire, promotes the reliability of its findings.

Moreover, in practical terms, police recorded crime is, as known, not equivalent to "all" crime. A well-known fact is that a large proportion of "all" crime remains unrecorded. Recorded crime may vary significantly as a consequence of dissimilar reporting rates and recording practices (Heiskanen, 2010). The above consideration underscored the leading importance of victim survey in this study. van Dijk et al., (2007) see in victim surveys the capacity to provide more extensive and comparable data of criminal victimisation of households than the police records, since they capture also crimes that are not reported to the police.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter focuses on the social, economic, demographic and cultural attributes of the sample population. It also discusses the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents and victimisation, respondents' reasons for their victimisation and other issues such as the correlates of crime reporting among victims. Complementary qualitative data were also discussed.

4.0 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

This section addresses the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. Background characteristics of respondents are very important for the purpose of analysis in social surveys which are relevant to the measurement of human behaviour. It is for this reason that socio-demographic variables are considered very critical to obtaining a clear understanding of the correlates of crime reporting among victims in Lagos. This section is therefore devoted to the discussion of the characteristics of respondents which are shown in table 4.1

4.1 Age Composition of Respondents

In this study, in some important ways, age affects exposure to, avoidance and report of victimisation. In this study, a 10-year age grouping was used. The age patterns of respondents as shown in table 4.1 indicated that only 1.9% of respondents whose ages were less than 20 years; nearly half of the entire study population (44.7%) are between ages 21 – 30 years, 31 – 40 years (27.8%), 41 – 50 years (14.2%) and 51 years and above (11.4%). It is important to note that respondents between the age brackets of 21-30 and 31-40 years account for 72.4% of the total study population. Individuals within these age brackets are usually more powerful than those younger and older.

Table 4.1 Socio Economic Characteristics of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Sex		
Male	627	66.1
Female	321	33.9
Total	948	100
Age		
Less than 20 years	18	1.9
21 – 30	423	44.7
31 – 40	264	27.8
41 – 50	135	14.2
51 and above	108	11.4
Total	948	100
Education		
No Formal Education	77	8.1
Primary Education	99	10.4
Secondary Education	192	20.3
Tertiary Education	580	61.2
Total	948	100
Marital Status		
Single	441	46.5
Married	423	44.6
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	84	8.9
Total	948	100
Ethnicity		
Ibo	195	20.6
Yoruba	651	68.7
Others	102	10.8
Total	948	100
Religion		
Christianity	534	56.3
Islam	405	42.7
Traditional/Others	9	.9
Total	948	100
Residence		
Urban	366	38.6
Semi urban	516	54.4
Rural	66	7.0
Total	948	100
Occupation		
Civil Servant	105	11.1
Business Person	585	61.7
Students	186	19.6
Others	72	7.6
Total	948	100
Annual Income In Naira		
Less than N 2,000,000:00	219	23.1
N 2,000,001 – N 4,000,000:00	69	7.3
N 4,000,001 – N 6,000,000:00	30	3.2
N 6,000,001 – N 8,000,000:00	74	7.8
N 8,000,001 – N 10,000,00:00	54	5.7
N 10,000,001 and above	502	53.0
Total	948	100.0

Source: Author's Field Survey, 20124.2

4.2.1 Sex of Respondents

For this study, majority of respondents (66.1%) were male while 33.9% were female. The proportion of male to female has positive cultural implication for crime reporting in the study area because of entrenched gender biases that are rooted in culture. More commonly, male adults are credited, without empirical justification, to have requisite crime reporting qualities than their female counterparts. Anecdotal evidences have it that in most homes, male household heads will consider it an affront for their wives to report crimes for which they had not given their tacit prior approval to the police.

4.2.2 Educational Status of Respondents

Table 4.1 shows that only 8.1% of respondents did not have the advantage of formal education at all. About 61.2% of respondents had tertiary education, secondary education (20.3%), primary education (10.4%) and no education (8.1%). Education is one of the basic indices of human development. It is the transfer of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and norms of a society to the individual that enables him/her exercise an appreciable power of crime reporting decision-making in society in which he/she lives in interaction with others. In view of the critical role which education plays in mobilising respondents to report crimes, this variable was considered in the study.

4.2.3 Marital Status of Respondents

Data on marital status of the respondents reveal that 46.5% of the respondents were single, while 44.6% of respondents were married, 8.9% of respondents are either separated, divorced or widowed. Quite generally, marital status has demographic, economic, socio-cultural and crime reporting implications. These probably underlie the universal recognition of marriage as the main social arrangement within which human socialisation primarily takes place.

4.2.4 Respondents' Ethnic Origin

Table 4.1 shows that majority (68.7%) respondents were Yoruba, Ibo (20.6%), other ethnic groups (10.8%). The preponderance of Yoruba in the study should not be surprising; because the study was conducted in Yoruba speaking communities. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic state with about 350 ethnic groups (Otite, 1979). This ethnic variety is found in towns and cities throughout Nigeria. Ethnicity is an important variable in the study of demographic characteristics of a population. All over the world, ethnic groups have cultural norms, beliefs and practices which influence decision making in the context of how individuals and groups live their daily lives. These, essentially, include crime reporting as a non-violent response to crime.

4.2.5 Religious Affiliation of Respondents

The distribution of respondents by religion shows that Christians constituted the majority (56.3%), followed by 42.7% Muslim respondents. Religion is considered the customary beliefs and practices which are associated with the supernatural. It influences the behaviour of individuals through faith or belief in a supernatural being by adherence to 'divine' laws. On the basis of faith, some respondents may chose never to report their experiences of crime to ordinary mortals like them. They may prefer to channel their complaints to the being that is supernatural in their worlds.

4.2.6 Place of Residence

Data in table 4.1 show that 54.4% of the respondents live in the semi urban, urban (38.6%) and rural communities of Lagos (7.0%). Respondents' places of residence play a significant role in the formation of beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviour patterns which eventually determine an individual's perceptions and general viewpoint on crime and response to it in life.

4.2.7 Income Distribution of Respondents

Income is an important variable that influences crime reporting practices among respondents. From table 4.1, 53.0% of respondents earned N10, 000,001 and above and 3.2% of the respondents earned between N4, 100,001:00-N6, 000,001:00. However, information on income requires caution because it is extremely difficult to determine accurate income levels of traditional households in Africa.

4.2.8 Occupation of Respondents

Table 4.1 shows that about 61.7% of the respondents do businesses, students (19.6%), civil servants (11.1%) and others (7.6%). In most cases, particularly in capitalist environments, occupation is a critical determinant of income. The victimisation of many respondents which are income-induced could be prevented through victim tightening efforts. Their incomes too can determine how often they may take crime preventive measures and report their experiences of crime to the police.

4.3 Relationship between Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Victimisation

This section addresses the state of respondents' victimisation which naturally drives whether they will report crimes to the authority in Lagos or not. Descriptive and analytical techniques were used to make the subject matter of the section clearer. It is only when the levels and patterns of victimisation produce a clear picture that security policy makers can use data emerging from victims' crime reporting practices to formulate safety measures for citizens in the communities. It is against this backdrop that the section provides a broader insight into victimisation as a critical factor influencing crime reporting practices of respondents in the study.

Table 4.2: Relationship between Distribution of Socio Demographic Characteristics and Ever Been Victimised

Respondents' Sex	Respondents' State of Having Being Victimised				Total	
	Yes		No			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	573	91.4	54	8.6	627	100
Female	286	33.3	35	10.9	321	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Respondents' Age						
Less than 20 years	18	100.0	0	0.0	18	100
21 – 30	370	87.5	53	12.5	423	100
31 – 40	246	93.2	18	6.8	264	100
41 – 50	129	95.6	6	4.4	135	100
51 and above	96	88.9	12	11.1	108	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Respondents' Marital Status						
Single	397	90.0	44	10.0	441	100
Married	381	90.1	42	9.9	423	100
Separated/Divorced/ Widowed	81	96.4	3	3.6	84	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Respondents' Religion						
Christianity	483	90.4	51	9.6	534	100
Islam	367	90.6	38	9.4	405	100
Others	9	100.0	0	0.0	9	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Respondents' Place of Residence						
Urban	330	90.2	36	9.8	366	100
Semi Urban	471	91.3	45	8.7	516	100
Rural	58	87.9	8	12.1	66	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Respondents' Ethnicity						
Ibo	171	87.7	24	12.3	195	100
Yoruba	604	92.8	47	7.2	651	100
Others	84	82.4	18	17.6	102	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Annual Income In Naira						
Less than N 2,000,000:00	192	87.7	27	12.3	219	100
N 2,000,001 – N 4,000,000:00	60	87.0	9	13.0	69	100
N 4,000,001 – N 6,000,000:00	27	90.0	3	10.0	30	100
N 6,000,001 – N 8,000,000:00	68	91.9	6	8.1	74	100
N 8,000,001 – N 10,000,000:00	49	90.7	5	9.3	54	100
N 10,000,001 and above	463	92.2	39	7.8	502	100
Total	859	90.6	89	9.4	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Occupation						
Civil Servant	96	91.4	9	8.6	105	100
Business People	541	92.5	44	7.5	585	100
Students	162	87.1	24	12.9	186	100
Others	60	83.3	12	16.7	72	100
Total	859	90.6	89	9.4	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Education						
No Formal Education	68	88.3	9	11.7	77	100
Primary Education	96	97.0	3	3.0	99	100
Secondary Education	183	95.3	9	4.7	192	100
Tertiary Education	512	88.3	68	11.7	580	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Realising that a witness or victim's decision to report a crime is often hinged on personal, interactional or contextual considerations, the discussion of victimisation comes before the subsequent crime reporting decision-making to appreciate the motivations that actually drive the process. It is only when these components are placed in their suitable sequence of occurrence in time that an objective assessment of respondents' crime reporting responses could be clearly appreciated.

While some of the factors that influence victimisation have direct effects on crime-reporting practices, some others have indirect effects, yet some others have tangible effects. To promote comprehension, the demographic characteristics of respondents were therefore discussed along both the directions of independent and dependent variables. Table 4.2 presents the findings on the state of respondents' experiences of crime in the study sites.

4.3.1 Sex and Victimisation

Findings on the relationship between sex and victimisation are shown on table 4.2. The data show that 91.4% of male and 33.3% female respondents were victims of crime at some time in the past. These findings support earlier studies of Felson and Cares (2005) who, in a study of martial violence, confirmed that men are more likely to be victims of violence and noted that it was usually at the hands of other men. In some instances, the sex of an individual determines the crime that may be committed against the person. Similarly, the finding of this study is consistent with that which National Crime Victims Survey (2005) found in regards of property crime that men were more likely to be the victims of robbery than were women.

4.3.2 Age and Victimisation

Data revealed by the study on table 4.2 confirm that all respondents whose ages were less than 20 years and all who were 71 years and above admitted they had been victimised before.

About 96.0% of the respondents who were between 41 and 50 years old and those within 31 and 40 years (93.2%) agreed to having been victimised. However, 88.9% of those within the age category of 51 and 60 years, 61 and 70 years (85.7%) and 21 and 30 years (87.5%) admitted they had been victimised. Age sometimes determines the type of crime that may be committed against an individual. While the elderly are more prone to property crimes than personal crimes, middle aged individuals are vulnerable to both personal and property crimes. Despite the fact that there are factors that could lead to victimisation, research has consistently shown that there is a correlation between age and being a victim of a crime. Research regarding the relationship between age and victimisation has consistently shown that rates of victimisation rise through the adolescent years, cresting near the age of 20, and then decline steadily throughout the remaining years of life. Thus, the finding of this study is consistent with Macmillan's (2001) analysis of data from the 1998 NCVS that found that adolescents were 10 times more likely to suffer from victimisation in the form of robbery and sexual assault than were older individuals, and 23 times more likely to experience assault victimisation.

4.3.3 Marital Status and Victimisation

Data from table 4.2 on the marital status of respondents and victimisation revealed that 90.0% of the respondents are single and acknowledged the fact of being victims of crime at some time in the past, while 90.1% of them who are married and 96.4% of respondents who are separated, divorced or widowed also admitted to being victimised in the past. In most cases, married women are less vulnerable to personal crimes and better protected against property crimes than their unmarried counterparts. Conversely, married and unmarried men are likely equally unprotected against both property and personal crimes. The kind of routine activities that unmarried women and men engage in exposes them more to victimisation than their married

counterparts whose activities are often structured by the fact of their marital status and cultural expectations.

4.3.4 Education and Victimisation

Findings on the relationship between education and victimisation are shown in table 4.2. Data show that 88.3% of respondents who had no formal education have been victims of crime at some time in the past. Whereas 97.0% of respondents who had primary education admitted to have been victimised in the past, 95.3% and 88.3% of respondents who had secondary and tertiary education respectively reported to have been victims of crime before. Education is critical to the avoidance of victimisation. Education makes individuals aware of both the intended and unintended implications of human actions. It is through education that individuals could interpret victimisation cues arising from technological victimisation prevention equipment and attempt an escape or embark on target hardening initiatives.

4.3.5 Religion and Victimisation

Table 4.2 shows that 90.4% of respondents who were Christians reported that they were victims of crime at some time in the past. However, 90.6% of respondents who were Muslims reported to have been victimised and all respondents who were traditional believers and those who belonged to other faiths reported that they had been victimised.

4.3.6 Place of Residence and Victimisation

Data in table 4.2 also show that 90.2% of respondents who were residents of urban communities of Lagos admitted that they were victims of crime before, 91.3% and 87.9% of respondents respectively who were residents of semi urban and rural Lagos communities agreed that they were victims of crime at some time in the past. The picture of victimisation which the

foregoing data paint obviously shows that the level of victimisation to which residents of Lagos faces, no matter whether they live in urban, semi urban or rural area is unbearably high.

4.3.7 Ethnic Origin and Victimisation

From table 4.2, more Yoruba (92.8%) have been victimised than Ibo (87.7%) and respondents from other ethnic groups (82.4%). Individuals that are resident in areas other than their ethnic origins are likely to be unprotected against victimisation. Cultural variation may be a very strong factor that predisposed these individuals to higher levels of victimisation. For instance, consistent with normative assumptions, new non-indigenes females who reside in Yoruba communities where '*Oro'* cult is used to control crime run the risk of being vulnerable to victimisation. This is due to their inability to interpret and understand the cultural caution of the native curfew that is usually imposed by traditional rulers on their domains in times of rising crime in their communities. Any female resident that beholds an *Oro* is in danger of victimisation.

4.3.8 Occupation and Victimisation

Findings on the relationship between occupation and victimisation are also shown in table 4.2. The data show that 92.5% of respondents who were business people, civil servants (91.4%) students (86.0%), others (83.3%) agreed that they were victims of crime before. The kind of occupation an individual is into may influence the kind and extent of victimisation he/she experiences. For example, those who are in well-paid occupations can afford some security safeguards to reduce their chances of falling victims of crime.

4.3.9 Income and Victimisation

Data on table 4.2 confirm that 87.7% of respondents who earned less than N2,000,000; 87.0% who earned between N2,000,001 – N4,000,000:00; 91.9% who earned between

N6,000,001 – N8,000,000:00; N8,000,001 – N10,000,000:00 and 92.1% who earned N10,000,001 and above respectively acknowledged that they were victimised in the past. In most cases, criminals victimise individuals from whom they could obtain money and other precious items under duress. It is only interpersonal conflicts which ultimately result into assaults that usually involve the poor being victimised. Otherwise, victimisation is a rationally chosen, structured and executed agenda between individuals who lack strong enough internal mechanism to control their taste and, therefore, defer gratification and rich members of the society.

Overall, findings show that respondents who are between the ages of 41 and 50, who are Yoruba, separated/divorced/widowed, who live in semi urban Lagos, earn N10,000,001 and above and are business people were more victimised in the study area. Findings of the present study support earlier studies (Dobrin et al., 2005, Macmillan, 2001, Cohen et al., 1981) that further research is needed to evaluate the relationship between household income and victimsation among different ages comprising the study population.

4.4 Respondents' Reasons for Their Victimisation

Table 4.3 Respondents' Reasons for their Victimisation

Respondents' Crime Type	Reasons For Respondents' Victimisation					
	Lack of Security%	Unemployment %	Risky Residential Area%	Peer Group %	Being a Lady %	Total %
Armed Robbery	35.7	23.5	18.7	16.7	5.4	100.0
Assault	32.3	21.9	22.9	15.6	7.3	100.0
Burglary	52.4	19.0	9.5	14.3	4.8	100.0
Theft	34.0	23.4	19.9	17.5	5.2	100.0
Threat To Life	36.7	28.9	21.1	6.7	6.7	100.0
Rape	29.6	33.3	18.5	14.8	3.7	100.0
Sexual Harassment	38.5	7.9	7.9	7.9	7.7	100.0
Fraud	39.4	21.2	16.7	16.7	6.1	100.0
Total	35.5	23.3	19.5	15.7	5.9	100.0

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Against the background of the extent of respondents' experiences of victimisation in the study sites, the study examined the various reasons that predisposed them to a high level of victimisation. Data in table 4.3 show that the greatest proportion (35.9%) of respondents ascribed

their victimisation by armed robbers to lack of security and the least, (5.4%) to the fact of their being women; 32.3% of respondents attributed their victimisation by assault to lack of security and the least, (7.3%), to the fact of their being women; 52.4% of respondents ascribed their victimisation by burglary to lack of security and the least, (4.8%) to the fact of their being women; 34.0% of respondents blamed their victimisation by theft on lack of security and the least, (5.2%) on the fact of their being women.

Results from the qualitative inquiry found some other reasons why respondents were victimised in the study sites. A crime victim who is a case study respondent said that the complexity of Lagos encourages impostors to mount illegal checkpoints and victimise unsuspecting community members. He continued:

> On my way to work one morning, I encountered a group of fake policemen. At first, I thought the people who stopped me were policemen. I did not suspect them until they started to beat me, ransacked me and took my purse containing money and ATM cards. Though it is not realistic to expect government to allocate one policeman to each community member, the economic situation intensifies criminal acts among youths. Similarly, increased defencelessness of community members' heightens victimisation.
>
> **Male Crime Victim Mushin LGA**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

On the whole, respondents adjudged insecurity as their single most challenging source of victimisation in the study site. Therefore, consistent with the findings of earlier empirical studies which established that even when research predominantly reveals that not all segments of population share the same risk of becoming a victim, the risk of becoming a victim differs by background characteristics, such as gender, ethnic background, status and age, (van Noije & Wittebrood, 2007; Walklate, 2007). Also, victimisation seems to vary by background variables

that are also related to self-reported offending (Pauwels & Pleysier, 2008). Results from the qualitative inquiry found some of the reasons why respondents are victimised in the study site.

4.5 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents and Crime Reporting

This section presents the findings on the state of respondents' crime reporting. It is only when the levels, patterns and crime reporting practices of citizens of a society are understood that the focus and scope of crime control measures could be clearly defined to capture the criminal techniques. It is against this backdrop that the section provides a broader insight into the factors influencing crime reporting practices of respondents in the study. While some of the factors that influence crime reporting have direct effects on crime-reporting practices, some others have indirect effects, yet some others have tangible effects. To enhance comprehension, the factors of crime reporting among victims are discussed along both the direction of independent and dependent variables. Therefore, the findings on the crime reporting practices as provoked by some specific independent variables in the study site, twelve months preceding this study is presented as shown in table 4.4

4.5.1 Sex and Crime Reporting

Findings on the relationship between sex and crime reporting are shown on table 4.4. The data show that 50.2% of male respondents reported their victimisation experiences in the study area as against 43.0% of female respondents. Quite generally, male respondents are more preoccupied with crime reporting issues than female. Cultural reasons may apply. The fact that men are often culturally viewed as heads of families, saddled with the responsibility of taking important decisions in respect of domestic security which involves crime reporting could prevent willing female victims or witnesses from exercising their crime reporting rights and competences.

Table 4.4 Relationship Between Distribution of Socio-Demographic Characteristics and State of Having Reported Crime

Variables	Respondents' Report Of The Incident Of Crime					
	Yes		No		Total	
Respondents' Sex	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Male	315	50.2	312	49.8	627	100
Female	138	43.0	183	57.0	321	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Respondents' Age						
Less than 20 years	9	50.0	9	50.0	18	100
21 – 30	189	44.7	234	55.3	423	100
31 – 40	117	44.3	147	55.7	264	100
41 – 50	78	57.8	57	42.2	135	100
51 and above	60	55.6	48	44.4	108	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Respondents' Marital Status						
Single	195	44.2	246	55.8	441	100
Married	213	50.4	210	49.6	423	100
Separated / Divorced/ Widowed	45	53.6	39	46.4	84	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Respondents' Education						
No Formal Education	27	60.0	18	40.0	45	100
Primary Education	36	36.4	63	63.6	99	100
Secondary Education	96	50.0	96	50.0	192	100
Tertiary Education	294	48.0	316	52.0	612	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Respondents' Religion						
Christianity	243	45.5	291	54.5	534	100
Islam	207	51.1	198	48.9	405	100
Others	3	33.3	6	66.7	9	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Respondents' Residence						
Urban	171	46.7	195	53.3	366	100
Semi Urban	243	47.1	273	52.9	516	100
Rural	39	59.1	27	40.9	66	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Ethnic Group						
Ibo	90	46.2	105	53.8	195	100
Yoruba	324	49.8	327	50.2	651	100
Others	39	38.2	63	61.8	102	100
Total	324	49.8	327	50.2	651	100
Occupation						
Civil Servant	39	37.1	66	62.9	105	100
Business People	303	51.8	282	48.2	585	100
Students	84	45.2	102	54.8	186	100
Others	27	37.5	45	62.5	72	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Annual Income In Naira						
Less than N 2,000,000:00	87	39.7	132	60.3	219	100
N 2,000,001 – N 4,000,000:00	35	50.7	34	49.3	69	100
N 4,000,001 – N 6,000,000:00	14	46.7	16	53.3	30	100
N 6,000,001 – N 8,000,000:00	29	39.2	45	60.8	74	100
N 8,000,001 – N 10,000,000:00	21	38.9	33	61.1	54	100
N 10,000,001 and above	267	53.2	235	46.8	502	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

This position was supported by a respondent:

> For cultural reasons, males are more involved in crime reporting on the island than female residents.
>
> **Male KII Lagos Island LGA/ Crime Officer (October 31, 2012)**

A female key informant respondent however noted:

> Gone are the days when people are brainwashed with gender stereotypes. Anybody who is victimised in the present day society is free to assert his/her crime reporting right. All the claims about women not adequately empowered by culture to report crime had justifications only in traditional epochs. Today, women even have the capacity more than their male counterparts to handle crime report with less stress.
>
> **Female KII Lagos Island LGA/Member of Victim's Family (November 16, 2012)**

4.5.2 Age and Crime Reporting

Overall, findings in table 4.4 show that 57.8% of respondents who were in the age category of 41 – 50 years reported more crimes in the study area, followed by 51 and above (55.6%) and less than 20 years (50.0%) reported their experiences of crime. Survey findings also show that 44.3% of respondents whose ages fall between 31 and 40 years and those within 21 and 30 years (44.7%) displayed the same relatively low pattern of crime reporting. Respondents from both categories are considered vulnerable in most communities of the world because of their routine activities and boundless zeal to explore their utopian world. Even if the social cost of crime reporting does not inhibit a proportion of the population, the culture that forbids children from reporting crime on the ground of naivety is a potent issue that relates age to crime reporting in the study sites.

Findings from qualitative data also indicate that crime reporting follows some unwritten norm in certain areas of the study sites. For example, a respondent said:

> The age bracket that is most commonly involved in crime reporting on the Island is between 20 and 40 years of age. Alcohol consumption often triggers consumers' fury which results in conflict. A fight causes crime reporting. To its credit, crime reporting is beneficial to individual and society in that it limits the level of anger of aggrieved members of society because it ensures that somebody somewhere is positioned to provide them the needed succour. It limits the spread of anger too.
>
> **Male KII Lagos Island LGA/ Crime Officer (October 31, 2012)**

Another respondent, contributing to the question of crime reporters' ages and crime reporting practices among residents of Lagos observed:

> The age bracket of victims who report crimes at Ibeju Lekki is between 20 and 45.
>
> **Male KII Ibeju Lekki LGA/ Crime Officer (November 15, 2012)**

Also, a key informant respondent from semi – urban location offered his idea:

> The ages of crime reporters at this station range between 20 and 50 years. More specifically, the ages of crime reporters depend on individuals who offenders decide to victimise in the community.
>
> **Male KII Mushin LGA/ Crime Officer (November 10, 2012)**

4.5.3 Marital Status and Crime Reporting

Findings on the relationship between marital status and crime reporting are shown on table 4.4. Data show that more than any other category, 53.6% of divorced, widowed or separated respondents reported crime more. About 50.4% of married respondents and 53.6% of unmarried respondents reported their victimisation experiences. It is clear that there is something lopsidedly restrictive of crime reporting in marriage. There appears to be more freedom on the parts of individuals who are divorced, separated or widowed that enabled them to report crime much more independently than their married counterparts. This opinion was also expressed in the qualitative sessions held.

A female key informant respondent noted:

> Except a married Yoruba woman lives among members of other ethnic groups, her crime reporting right as a person may be covered by cultural conditions that might be imposed on her by her people. It is believed that a married woman who reports crimes without the prior approval of her husband is doing something culturally loathsome. It is like the fact of marriage takes away the bulk of a woman's right of self assertion in the study site. This is wrong. It must be challenged using education as tool.
>
> **Female KII Lagos Island LGA/Member of Victim's Family**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

An in-depth interview respondent who is a male traditional ruler said:

> Yoruba culture is very clear about who leads in a cultural household. There is no controversy about this. However, a resourceful woman could initiate a brilliant idea. If she does, she still has to channel it as an advice. She is a helper to her husband. A situation in which a woman wants to lord her crime reporting ideas over her husband will provoke disagreement. If even the man has no courage to assert his right, his retinue of relations will attempt to subdue the 'overbearing' wife. That is the way it goes in Yoruba land.
>
> **Female IDI Lagos Island LGA/Traditional Religious Leader**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

Another in-depth interview respondent who is a female Christian religious leader said:

> Our faith enjoins married women to be submissive to their husbands. Therefore, it is in compliance with the scriptural injunctions that married women should seek the approval of their husbands before externalising issues that involve the family. All Christian mothers recognise this. It is when wives humble their husbands with submission that children could effortlessly learn and display the virtue of respect for constituted authorities.
>
> **Female IDI Lagos Island LGA/Christian Religious Leader**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

A key informant who although thinks gender should not be an issue in crime-reporting, however explains that for reasons of culture, an unmarried woman is freer further argued:

> What is it that qualifies a married man and disqualifies a married woman from reporting crime? Any culture that prevents victimised married women from independent report of their experiences is unfair and should be discarded. A victim is a victim. Pain does not recognise gender. Therefore, crime reporting should be crime reporting. Making marital

> status an issue in crime reporting is irrelevant. However, the truth must be told. A woman, who has divorced, widowed or separated from her husband is more vulnerable to victimisation and also less encumbered by culture to report her experiences to the police even take legal action and pursue her case to a conclusive end.
>
> **Female KII Lagos Island LGA/Member of Victim's Family**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

The finding that widowed/separated/divorced respondents reported more crimes than their married counterparts is consistent with earlier research findings that victims' social network has a strong influence on their decision-making (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). Here, the context of the family cannot be divorced from such contextual considerations.

4.5.4 Education and Crime Reporting

Data on table 4.4 show that 53.2% of respondents without formal education, with secondary education (50.0%), tertiary education (48.3%) and primary education (36.4%) agreed that they reported their victimisation experiences. The fact that 53.2% of respondents who had no formal education reported crime more than respondents with formal education is further corroborated by qualitative data:

> Most crime reporters have little or no education.
>
> **Male KII Lagos Island LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(October 31, 2012)**

Another respondent corroborates the foregoing:

> Majority of victims who report crimes have little or no education. Even, some of them sometimes complain of not being able to understand English and express themselves clearly in writing.
>
> **Male KII Ibeju Lekki LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

Yet, another participant agrees:

> It is almost apparent here that less educated residents report crimes more.
>
> **Male KII Mushin LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 10, 2012)**

A key informant interview respondent who is a female family member of a victim added:

> Pains arising from victimisation do not follow the pattern of education. Whether you are educated or not has little control over your response to victimisation. In fact, most actions arising from the pains of victimisation are taken before thinking. Therefore education may not facilitate or inhibit crime reporting.
>
> **Female KII Mushin LGA/Victim's Family Member**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

4.5.5 Religion and Crime Reporting

Findings on the relationship between religion and crime reporting are also shown on table 4.4. Data demonstrate that 45.5% of respondents who were Christians, 51.1% of Muslims respondents and 33.3% who were either traditional believers or those from other religions said they reported crimes committed against them within the last one year preceding this study.

Some qualitative data confirm the foregoing findings as a key informant respondent stated:

> Christians report more crimes especially on Sundays than members of other religions.
>
> **Male KII Ibeju Lekki LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

However, data from other key informant interviews conducted revealed varying opinions:

> Muslims report more crimes than Christians judging by the names they supplied to us during crime recording.
>
> **Male KII Lagos Island LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(October 31, 2012)**

The above position was further reinforced by another participant who maintained:

> Looking at the names recorded during reporting and sometimes, their mode of dressing; Muslims report crimes at the station more than Christians.
>
> **Male KII Mushin LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 10, 2012)**

The picture appears not entirely different among Christians as an in-depth interview respondent submits:

> Members of my faith report crimes to pastors and other elders of the church. They also report crimes to the police so as not to take laws into their hands. By His grace, members are not regularly victimised. If they are, they will be urged to report them to the police. In times of victimisation, congregation intervenes financially and sometimes accommodates victims through able members. With these, victims feel happy that they have a body they could run to in times of criminal challenges. Their spiritual families are always available to offer spiritual assistance to them in times of need. We do not encourage members to report to the traditional policing structure. Within the church, the structures available are effective enough to handle conflict resolutions among members.
>
> **Female IDI Lagos Island LGA/Christian Religious Leader (November 15, 2012)**

It is commonly assumed that respondents who belong to either Christian or Islamic faiths do not patronise traditional priests in times of victimisation. An in-depth interview respondent however debunked this assumption when he claimed that crime reporting to him usually comes from members of other religious organisations:

> Not only members of my faith come to report crimes to us. Adherents of other different faiths too who want immediate justice report their crimes to us. The fact that these people do not openly consult us does not, in practice, mean they do not come to us. Our services to these crime reporters are essentially investigative and sometimes punitive for their victimisers. Our clients often want 'Irunmale' (native god) to expose the criminal. Each of these investigations normally lasts for about seven days. If, after the stipulated period, the criminal does not confess, he or she begins to swell until he or she finally explodes and dies. If suspects are produced by the reporters, we give them 'omi oku' (water from human corpse) to invoke instant confession. Our intervention is usually productive. Most crime reporters are not interested in the culprits' death. They are more concerned about the recovery of their stolen items. Quite generally, we partner with traditional rulers and the police in the effort to ensure social control in society.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Religious Leader (November 16, 2012)**

In reality, some community residents reported crimes to faith based structures. An interviewee states:

> Muslims report crimes that involve them to the police and based on the level of loss of the member, assistance could be financial or material. If the crime is serious, he might discuss the crime with elders of the mosque and may now delegate someone to report at the police station. Elders of the mosque may visit the scene of the crime at the instance of the Imam, after the findings, if it is something that can be settled within, they do. If not, after all moves to settle within the mosque have failed, then the Imam could allow the case to be reported to the police. It is believed that the imam is superior to the traditional ruler. Therefore, the Imam hardly refers cases to the traditional ruler.
>
> **Male IDI Mushin LGA/Alfa, Islamic Religious Leader (November 03, 2012)**

Another Islamic cleric participant added:

> Members do not usually report serious crimes to the mosque, they mostly report marital issues. If a member should report a crime we can only provide financial assistance which often comes from the congregation. If members report a crime, we can tell them to report to the police or we make 'dua' (prayer). These usually satisfy them. Religion does not stop people from reporting crimes to the police or traditional rulers but mostly people prefer to report crimes to the police. Quite generally, Muslims believe that whatever happens to them is allowed by God. As a result, practicing Muslims who are well socialized to this idea accept whatever happens to them as faith accompli and may not bother to report crimes even to the mosque, how much less notifying the police.
>
> **Male IDI Lagos Island LGA/Alfa (November 12, 2012)**

A Christian leader respondent observed:

> Members of my faith report crimes and the most common kinds they report are theft and burglary. Each time they report them to us, we advise them to report these crimes to the police. In cases we could replace stolen items; we do and sometimes provide financial assistance. Members of the church are usually encouraged to contribute for co-members in times of victimisation. In situations when these cannot be done, we pray for and sympathise with them. However, if the impact of the crime is not much, we pray for the prevention of a repeat of such an event. Financial assistance is offered but when the impact is much, we refer them to the police. Our members are usually satisfied with the outcomes of our interventions. The fact that we give them listening ears each time they come with complaints and even accompanying them to the police station

> in situations we consider are beyond our capacity always causes them to relax. The Christian religion does not forbid members from reporting cases to traditional rulers or police.
>
> **Male IDI Lagos Island LGA/Pastor**
> **(November 03, 2012)**

4.5.6 Ethnicity and Crime Reporting

The findings on the relationship between respondents' ethnicity and crime reporting are shown on table 4.4. Data show that 46.2% of Ibo respondents, Yoruba respondents (49.8%) and respondents from other ethnic groups 38.2% admitted that they reported instances of crime in which they were victims. Qualitative data confirm the foregoing survey findings. A key informant interviewee observed:

> Yoruba residents report more assaults. This may be partially caused by their dominant population.
>
> **Male KII Ibeju Lekki LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

Another participant gives credence to the thought expressed above:

> The bulk of urban Lagos residents who are mostly involved in crime reporting are the Yoruba people, especially indigenes.
>
> **Male KII Lagos Island LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(October 31, 2012)**

An in-depth interview respondent who is a chairman of a landlord association said:

> When I migrated to Lagos as a young boy, reporting crime to the police was not the norm. It was when other ethnic members of the country came to settle in Lagos that the attempt to maintain social order among children bred antagonistic reactions from their parents. This is especially the case with the Ibo people. Yoruba people believe that only one gives birth to the child, but the whole culturally sensible adults in the society socialised him/her. This is alien to the Ibo settlers who take the simplest discipline of their children by neighbours to the police. In this connection, Ibo people are more famous with crime reporting in the part of Lagos where I live.
>
> **Male IDI Mushin LGA/ Landlord Association**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

4.5.7 Occupation and Crime Reporting

On table 4.4 data show that 37.1% of respondents who are civil servants, business people (51.8%), students (45.2%) and others (37.5%) admitted that they reported the events of crime that involved them in the past.

4.5.8 Income and Crime Reporting

Findings on the relationship between income and crime reporting are shown on table 4.4. Data show that 53.2% of respondents who earned N10, 000,001 and above, N2,000,001–N 4,000,000:00 (50.7%), N4,000,001–N6,000,000:00 (46.7%), less than N2,000,000:00 (39.7%), N6,000,001–N8,000,000:00 (39.2%) and N8,000,001–N 10,000,000:00 (38.9%) admitted that they reported the crimes in which they were victims.

Agreeing that income has significant influence on the crime reporting willingness of victims, a respondent argued that:

> The income level of active crime reporters is the low income category.
> **Male KII Lagos Island LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(October 31, 2012)**

Another interviewee contradicted the above position:

> Residents who report crimes are mostly from the high income earning bracket because of the value of the losses they report to have suffered.
> **Male KII Ibeju Lekki LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

Yet another interviewee disagreed with the foregoing contrasting opinions as he affirmed that:

> There is no specific income driven crime reporting pattern noted at this station. Anyone who offenders decide to victimise and feels aggrieved, without minding their income category, report such crimes.
> **Male KII Mushin LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 10, 2012)**

A female key informant respondent noted:

> A victim who has no money and approaches the police with the aim to report a crime will only be opening up him/herself to an embarrassing mockery. Most of the crimes that poor people report are hardly recorded.

> The police will be uninterested in your report the moment they know that you have nothing to offer. That is the objective reality. Even when the poor reported and the offender is a wealthy person who also is generous, there is the possibility that the poor crime reported may eventually become the offender. This is the reason behind many poor people shying away from reporting crimes that involve the rich in this neighbourhood.
>
> **Female KII Mushin LGA/Member of Victim's Family (November 16, 2012)**

4.5.9 Place of Residence and Crime Reporting

Data on table 4.4 revealed that 46.7% of respondents who reside in the urban communities of Lagos, 47.1% of respondents who resided in the semi urban communities of Lagos and 59.1% of respondents who resided in the rural communities of Lagos reported the events of crime against them. This finding contradicts those of Hart and Rennison (2003) that violence against suburbanites is reported to police at rates lower than violence against urbanites. As revealed in this study, violence against suburbanites was reported to the police at rates higher than violence against urbanites.

Several researchers have argued that informal social control is inversely related to formal (governmental) social control. This line of reasoning can be found mostly in studies on differences in reporting percentages between urban and rural areas in the United States (Boggs, 1971; Laub, 1981). The residents of urban areas appear to feel more dependent on formal police control than residents of rural areas, as the latter can rely on the support of their direct personal environment more. In areas where informal social control is limited, residents are assumed to feel more of a need for formal social control mechanisms to help solve the problems they are confronted with. True as the foregoing findings in existing literature are, the findings from this study are inconsistent with them because crime reporting is higher in the rural areas and reduces through semi urban to urban communities of Lagos. This might be due to the cultural disparity in the study area and the Western setting in which those prior studies were conducted.

A community leader respondent added:

> The most commonly reported crimes in this community are burglary and theft. These crimes cause victims lots of material and financial injuries. To these crimes, precious items are lost. Most of these crimes are committed at night with offenders being in masks to avoid being identified by their victims. To facilitate escape in the event of arrest, these criminals rub engine oil on their bodies to make them slippery whenever they are unfortunate to be faced with the risk of being physically conquered. The burglary aspect of the crime takes place in the afternoon when the victims are out of their houses. Members of this community report crimes mostly to the police or the community head such as 'baale' especially during the monthly association meeting. Some executive members of our association are sometimes delegated to accompany victims to the police stations to lodge their complaints. With this facility, we are always certain that these members will report their future victimisation experiences to us. To forestall the need for victims to cover up crimes, our association has tried to curb crimes in the community by the use of vigilante. However, this has not eliminated crime. Since the offenders are not known, we hardly refer crime reporters to the traditional rulers or police. This notwithstanding, we assist our members who unavoidably become victims of crime financially and sometimes too materially. Most importantly, our association provides emotional support for the victims to get them out more quickly from the trauma of their victimisation.
>
> **Male IDI Mushin LGA/ Landlord Association**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

Another key informant interview respondent paints the picture of crime reporting in semi urban Lagos thus:

> The crimes most commonly reported in the division include burglary, stealing, assault, malicious damage, car snatching, phones and laptops' theft. We attend to all crime reports but those occasioning injury, we issue police reports for medical attention to be provided by doctors at the hospital. If the case is charged to court, this document can also be tendered in court. On the times of the day that such crimes are reported, burglary and stealing take place at night; house breaking occur in the day time and car snatching takes place anytime. Other crimes too can be reported any time as no specific time is fixed for crime reporting.
>
> **Male KII Mushin LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 10, 2012)**

What goes on in terms of crime reporting in the communities in rural Lagos is not completely different from the pattern observed in the semi urban and urban Lagos communities. A participant confirms:

> Crimes in respect of which residents of Ibeju Lekki commonly report at our station are housebreaking, burglary, gang stealing and assault. There are series of burglary in which young men break the doors, windows, walls and forced their ways in to dispossess residents of their belongings. These are serious in terms of the trauma to which the acts subject the victims.
>
> **Male KII Ibeju Lekki LGA/ Crime Officer**
> **(November 15, 2012)**

Not all Lagos residents believe that crime reporting is a normative social response to crime. In some circumstances, it is considered a display of weakness. A female key informant interview respondent on Lagos Island underscores this:

> Urban respondents, indigenes in particular, prefer revenge to reporting crime to the police. Crime reporting to the police is not part of the norm of Island indigenes. In other words, it is not indigenes who report crimes to the police on the Island. JJC (Johnny Just Come) meaning (New Comers) do. Some policemen know the criminals. They smoke, take drugs and share nice time together. They work together. For these reasons, it is rare to see urban victims reporting minor crimes to them. Even if you ignore the consequences in terms of reprisal and report criminals, they usually get released almost immediately. It is only if the extent of injury sustained by the victim is much and threatens life, an urban Lagos victim may not feel compelled to report to the police. Islanders are however aware that the police must document a serious incident before treatment can be given in the hospital. Without this too, cases cannot be charged to court.
>
> **Female KII Lagos Island LGA/Member of Victim's Family**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

An in-depth interview respondent who is a traditional ruler said:

> Crime reporting in the urban area does not require intense consideration as it does among rural dwellers. Urban residents are most often not related. They do not share anything other than their neighbourhood. In rural communities, residents share almost everything including values, mores and beliefs. This is the reason behind rural victims considering the effect

> of involving the police on their future interaction and integration. Thus, an urban victim considers the cost benefit implications of reporting while a rural victim dwells essentially on the normative consideration. These account for the basic differences between urban and rural crime reporting.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Religious Leader (November 16, 2012)**

However, respondents also report their victimisation experiences to multiple non-religious sources in the study site. The words of this male key informant interview respondent confirm this:

> A member of my family was attacked by criminals. My twenty six year old brother is the victim. He is a Christian. He was attacked twice, the first at his workplace and the second in the street. The incidents took place in the morning. Both were property and personal crimes. Thirty thousand naira was involved in the first and the second was two hundred and fifty thousand. He sustained injuries in the two incidents because the criminals used knives and other harmful objects. Our mother, my sister, neighbours and I went to report the incident. After due consultation, the family took the decision to report the crime first to the vigilante, the Community Development Association and the police. The outcome of the report is fairly encouraging but apparently not the best that could be provided under an ideal situation. We are likely to report future crimes if only to get them documented.
>
> **Male KII Mushin LGA/Member of Victim's Family (November 16, 2012)**

A male respondent, who also is a traditional ruler in a semi urban community of Lagos, referred to what he called negative group solidarity accounted for the role of social interaction in crime reporting among victims in Lagos:

> It is becoming more fashionable for members of most communities supporting criminals against the victims. In traditional times, community members established empathy with the victim. Today, nobody asked the criminal why he/she did what caused the trauma of another community member. Most community residents would readily blame the victim either for being where the criminal victimised him/her or allowing his/her property to be where it became attractive to the criminal. Normative values appear to have completely been reversed by the consistent support of community people for the criminal through the

instrumentality of negative group solidarity. This support often works against crime reporting behaviour of the victim.

Male IDI Mushin LGA/Traditional Ruler
(November 16, 2012)

Generally, findings show that respondents who are between the ages of 41 and 50, who are Yoruba, Muslim, male respondents, no formal education, separated/divorced /widowed, who lived in rural Lagos, earn N10, 000,000 and above and are business people reported their victimisation experiences more in the study area.

4.6 Factors Influencing Victims' Crime Reporting

This section discusses the factors that influence victims' crime reporting practices in the study site. Data in table 4.5 show that respondents have numerous reasons that propel them to respond or not respond to their victimisation experiences by reporting to the police.

Table 4.5 Crime Reporting and Factors Influencing Respondents' Decision to Report Crimes

Respondents' Reasons For Not Reporting Crimes	**Respondents' Report of The Incident of Crime**					
	Yes		**No**		**Total**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Police cannot do anything	255	56.3	294	59.4	549	57.9
Public confidence in the police	116	25.6	115	23.2	231	24.4
I broke the law	12	2.6	12	2.4	24	2.5
Private matter	50	11.0	52	10.5	102	10.8
Faith in God	20	4.4	22	4.4	42	4.4
Total	453	100.0	495	100.0	948	100.0
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05).					
Respondents' Reasons For Reporting Crimes						
Recovery of loss	66	14.6	480	97.0	546	57.6
Arrest of offender	165	36.4	0	0.0	165	17.4
Revenge	81	17.9	6	1.2	87	9.2
Seek justice	84	18.5	6	1.2	90	9.5
Document it	18	4.0	0	0.0	18	1.9
Deter future crimes	12	2.6	3	0.6	15	1.6
Closeness to crime location	12	2.6	0	0.0	12	1.3
Co-member of the association	3	0.7	0	0.0	3	0.3
Seek courage to report	12	2.6	0	0.0	12	1.3
Total	453	100.0	495	100.0	948	100.0
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05).					

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

Data show that respondents have numerous reasons that propel them to respond or make them not respond to their victimisation experiences by reporting to the police as 56.3% of the

respondents said they did not report their victimisation experiences because they believed that the police cannot do anything to relieve them of the burden of victimisation, public confidence in the police is extremely low (25.6%), victimisation is a private matter (11%), faith in God to handle every situation (4.4%) and wilful disobedience of the law (2.6%). On the other hand, diverse reasons were offered by respondents for reporting their victimisation experiences to the police. About 36% of the respondents said that they reported their experiences to the police because they wanted the arrest of their offenders, seek justice (18.5%), revenge (17.9%), recover loss (14.6%), document the crime (4%), deter future crimes (2.6%), closeness of the police to crime location (2.6%), seek courage to report crime (2.6%) and offender being a co-member of an ethnic association (0.7%).

Qualitative data also revealed other factors that may influence crime reporting ranged from traditional practices to loss of confidence in the police. The following excerpts are typical of the many views expressed by respondents.

A key informant respondent said:

> Residents of this community are aware of traditional practices and skills required to use normative crime reporting. Much as everybody has the liberty to report crime or not, some cultural contexts restrict some specific residents from reporting crime. Yoruba people believe that husbands are traditional crowns of their wives. This crown status is not only symbolic or titular. It means that wives require a measure of approval of certain reporting practices before they can supportively put them on display. This is the reason behind efforts of most mothers to socialise their girl children on the cultural requirements of a woman in marriage.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Religious Leader (November 16, 2012)**

Another respondent observed:

> In most rural communities, councils of elders still ensured that crimes were duly reported. Any victim or witness that failed to report the occurrence of crime to the elders, chiefs or the police

was seen as covering up crime. That was unpatriotic as he/she might be treated as an accessory to such crime. However, women and children experience some cultural limitations in the context of crime reporting as they are not allowed to report crimes freely as victims or witnesses without a tacit or clear approval from husbands or male parents.

Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Ruler
(November 16, 2012)

4.7 Cost of Reporting and Crime Reporting

Table 4.6 presents data on the influence of costs of victims' losses on their crime reporting practices.

Table 4.6 Financial Cost and Crime Reporting

Cost of Crime Reporting	Respondents' Report of The Incident of Crime					
	Yes		No		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Crime Reporting Is Free	231	43.8	297	56.2	528	100
N100	90	50.0	90	50.0	180	100
N1000 – N50,000	99	56.9	75	43.1	174	100
N60000 - N100000	15	38.5	24	61.5	39	100
N200000 and above	18	66.7	9	33.3	27	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	Chi sq. p v = < .05					

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

Crime victims and witnesses incur different forms of cost in their quest to report their experiences of crime to the police. More frequently, the police request victims to procure some items that would facilitate the documentation of their complaints. Besides, victims also have to pay various unofficial fees to the police as well as transport themselves to police stations and back to their homes. Also, some policemen and women openly demand various amounts from victims before they could receive attention. Against this backdrop, data show that 43.8% of the respondents said that crime reporting should be free, 50% considered one hundred naira a bearable cost, 56.9% said between one thousand and fifty thousand naira is manageable, 38.5% said that between sixty thousand and one hundred thousand is affordable but 66.7% considered two hundred thousand naira and above acceptable. If the crime reporters would require money to

report and a bulk of them fall in the category of low income earning citizens, then, most crimes may continue to go unreported.

A female in-depth interview respondent referred to the excessive demands of the police in terms of their insistence on victims' provision of stationery during crime reporting thus:

> When my mother reported to her people, the landlord association and the traditional ruler of the community about her victimisation, no problem was encountered as they all immediately rose in solidarity with her in her moment of intense need for support. However, the story changed when she was advised to involve the police. If government approves crime reporting fee, the case will be more frustrating. The police will then become completely inaccessible to the low income residents of the community for their crime reporting needs.
>
> **Female KII Mushin Island LGA/Member of Victim's Family (November 16, 2012)**

4.8 Items Lost to Victimisation and Victims' Crime Reporting

Table 4.7 presents the various items which victims lost during an attack on them and the roles which these play in determining their crime reporting choices.

Table 4.7 Lost Items and Crime Reporting

Lost Items	Crime Reporting					
	Yes		No		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Telephone Theft	219	49.3	225	50.7	444	100.0
Laptop	153	58.6	108	41.4	261	100.0
Wristwatches	111	52.9	99	47.1	210	100.0
Jewellery	88	51.2	84	48.8	172	100.0
Money	129	48.7	136	51.3	265	100.0
Car	48	94.1	3	5.9	51	100.0
Television	36	41.4	51	58.6	87	100.0
Wallet	87	54.7	72	45.3	159	100.0
Briefcase	42	66.7	21	33.3	63	100.0
Clothing	48	47.1	54	52.9	102	100.0
Luggage	36	70.6	15	29.4	51	100.0
Generator	21	43.8	27	56.2	48	100.0
Land	273	53.2	240	46.8	513	100.0

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Majority of respondents (94.1%) indicated that they lost their cars to criminals. Other items also were luggage (70.6%), briefcases (66.7%), laptops (58.6%), wallets (54.7%), land (53.2%), wristwatches (52.9%), jewelleries (51.2%), telephones (49.3%), money (48.7%), generators (43.8%), clothing (47.1%) and television sets (41.4%).

Furthermore, data from qualitative approach on items lost to victimisation and crime reporting confirmed some of the quantitative findings as a key informant interview respondent observed:

> Cars that have second hand value, especially those that are useable for car hire transport are commonly stolen and reported than other stolen items in the study site. Hand held cell phones were next in terms of theft and reporting. Sometimes, criminals enter commuter buses to collect handsets from passengers without any inhibition. This confirms the state of public insecurity in the study site.
>
> **KII Mushin LGA/Divisional Crime Officer**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

Another respondent said:

> *The character of victimisation has changed as criminal no longer go after items that are not easily movable so as to escape with their loots with ease, in the event of their being pursued, and dispose them quickly on escape. When these hoodlums came to our house, they did not look at our musical gadgets and plasma televisions twice. They requested for handsets, iPads, jewellery, money and suits.*
>
> **Male KII Mushin LGA/Member of Victim's Family**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

4.9 Crime Type and Respondents' Crime Reporting

Table 4.8 presents the crime reporting variations due to differences in crime type in the study site.

Data show that 81.8% of the respondents failed to report their experiences of fraud, theft (71.1%), armed robbery (65.3%), threat to life (60%), burglary (57.1%), assault (56.2%), rape (55.6%) sexual harassment (23.1%) and others (25.0%).

Table 4.8 Crime Type and Factors Influencing Respondents' Decision to Report Crimes

Crime Type	Most Important Reasons Why Crime Went Unreported														
	Value of loss % (n)		Seriousness of injury		Victim/offender relation		Fear of Revenge		Cost of crime reporting		Court processes		Others		Total
	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	%
A/Robbery	192	65.3	18	6.1	9	3.1	39	13.3	27	9.2	9	3.1	0	0.0	10 0.0
Assault	54	56.2	18	18.8	3	3.1	15	15.6	3	3.1	3	3.1	0	0.0	10 0.0
Burglary	12	57.1	6	28.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	10 0.0
Theft	207	71.1	21	7.2	12	4.1	18	6.2	9	3.1	18	6.2	6	2.1	10 0.0
Threat	54	60.0	9	10.0	6	6.7	12	13.3	3	3.3	3	3.3	3	3.3	10 0.0
Rape	15	55.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	33.3	3	11.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	10 0.0
Sex Hara	9	23.1	6	15.4	3	7.7	15	38.5	6	15.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	10 0.0
Fraud	54	81.8	6	9.1	0	0.0	3	4.5	3	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	10 0.0
Others	6	25.0	3	12.5	0	0.0	9	37.5	3	12.5	3	12.5	0	0.0	10 0.0
Total	603	63.6	87	9.2	33	3.5	120	12.7	60	6.3	36	3.8	9	0.9	10 0.0

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Data from qualitative approach corroborated some of the quantitative findings as a key informant interviewee said:

> Assaults occasioning bodily injuries are most commonly unreported because informal intervention of the officials of landlord or village/town associations often resolved some cases of assault. Similarly, armed robbery cases in which clues to the identities of offenders are not available are also not reported. However, the most unreported crime types in this community are rape and sexual harassment cases. These kinds of crime are seldom reported because they directly affect the victims' human dignity. Therefore, as a victim of rape I have always tried to avoid stigmatisation by not reporting the case.
>
> **Mushin LGA/ Victim of a Serious Crime**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

Another participant from a semi urban community of Lagos observed that:

> Caution is usually exercised whenever victims in the community decide to report crimes. One thing is for a victim to crave for the apprehension of his/her assailant; the other thing is the customary desire to maintain family dignity. Cases of incest are never made public just as rape cases are treated as purely family affairs. On the whole, crimes involving relations as offenders are handled with utmost caution in most rural communities. It is the latter that prevented my brother who was stabbed over a girl by a cousin from reporting the case to the police. Elders of the family persuaded my parents to look beyond that day because of the blood relationship that was involved. To close the matter, the family head *'olori-ebi'* footed the medical bill.
>
> **Male KII Ibeju Lekki LGA/Member of Victim's Family**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

4.10 Correlates of Crime Reporting

As noted earlier in chapter two of this thesis, prior studies have identified many relevant correlates of reporting violence. Five of these correlates were examined in this study. Findings are presented below.

4.10.1 Nature of Crime and Crime Reporting

This section reports the findings on the influence of nature of crime on crime reporting practices of respondents.

Findings on the influence of nature of crime on crime reporting practices of respondents in table 4.9 showed that 46.7% of the respondents who experienced serious crimes and 52.5% of those who experienced minor crimes reported their victimisations. Similarly, 46% of respondents said that the loss and injury they suffered might influence their crime reporting behaviour. However, 48.9% of respondents contended that the way a crime occurs has no effect whatsoever on crime reporting; 48.2% concluded that residents in the study area do not report crimes because of an irresistible pressure from social network in communities.

On the actual influence which nature of crime has on victims' reporting, 50.6% of the respondents couldn't appreciate the impact of the nature of crime due to their ignorance of the gains of crime reporting, victims were in crime prone areas (49.3%), a decline in core family and community bonds discouraged crime reporting (47.6%) and victims caused their victimisation (44.8%). Also, the number of criminals at a crime event could encourage or discourage crime reporting as 60.3% of the respondents said offenders who victimised them were three, criminals were many (48.8%), only one criminal (48.2%), too afraid to know the number of the criminals that were present (44.7%), criminals were two (33.9%) and varying numbers (47.8%). Moreover, the different weapons which criminals used determined crime reporting of victims as

57.8% of the respondents said that there were no manifest weapons used, fearful weapons were used (65.4%), swords (52.6%) guns (49.2%) and knives (45.6%).

On injury sustained, 54.5% of the respondents said they were not injured but 45.5% claimed they were injured. Thus, 52.3% sustained emotional injuries, about 48% suffered a combination of bodily, financial, emotional and material injuries, 46% reported bodily injuries, 45.5% suffered material losses while 43.6% suffered financial losses. On the severity of injuries sustained, 52.7% said their injuries were very serious, mild (50.5%), serious (46.7%) and very mild (46.2%). Similarly, not all respondents agreed that victims' injuries influenced crime reporting as 49.5% of the respondents said that the influence of injuries on crime reporting was negative, no influence (47.3%) and it positive (46.8%).

Table 4.9 Nature of Crime and Crime Reporting

Nature of Crime	Respondents' Report of The Incident of Crime					
	Yes		No		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Serious	360	46.7	411	53.3	771	100
Minor	93	52.5	84	47.5	177	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Influence of Nature of Crime						
Great Loss and Injury May Have Positive Effect	144	46.0	169	54.0	313	100
Little Loss and Injury May Have Negative Effect	153	49.0	159	51.0	312	100
No Effect	22	48.9	23	51.1	45	100
Social Network Pressure Prevents Reporting	134	48.2	144	51.8	278	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Number of Criminals At Crime Scene						
One	81	48.2	87	51.8	168	100
Two	63	33.9	123	66.1	186	100
Three	123	60.3	81	39.7	204	100
Many	140	48.8	147	51.2	287	100
Too Afraid To Know	46	44.7	57	55.3	103	100
Others	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Kinds of weapons used						
No Weapon	134	57.8	98	42.2	232	100
Fearful Weapons	142	65.4	75	34.6	217	100
Knives	82	45.6	98	54.4	180	100
Swords	10	52.6	9	47.4	19	100
Guns	150	49.2	155	50.8	305	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
Kind of Injury						
Bodily	30	46.2	35	53.8	65	100
Financial losses	17	43.6	22	56.4	39	100
Emotional	23	52.3	21	47.7	44	100
Material losses	80	45.5	96	54.5	176	100
All the Above	303	48.6	321	51.4	624	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Seriousness Of Injury						
Very Serious	39	52.7	35	47.3	74	100
Serious	141	46.7	161	53.3	302	100
Mild	104	50.5	102	49.5	206	100
Very Mild	169	46.2	197	53.8	366	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
How Injury Influences Crime Reporting						
Positively	227	46.8	258	53.2	485	100
Negatively	156	49.5	159	50.5	315	100
No Influence	70	47.3	78	52.7	148	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

The number of offenders present at a criminal scene can have different effects on victims. In box 1 of the *Case Study* below, the respondent demonstrated that the number of offenders

present at the scene of the crime that victimised him frightened him so much that he forgot to involve the police.

Box 1

I am a thirty eight year old graduate, Christian and a bachelor. I hail from Cross Rivers. Late last year, on the fateful Tuesday, about 1:30am, my sister was watching late night movie while I was sleeping in the bedroom. There was power outage. Shortly after, dogs started barking. I peeped and saw two ladies pretending to be fighting. From their statures and voices, they were not from the neighbourhood. As the barking of the dog became more disturbing, hiding hoodlums then shot and killed the Alsatian dog. Since nobody responded to their baits, as they probably expected, they resorted to door breaking. The robbers were about 40 to 45 in number with only two ladies. These criminals spread themselves and gave commands in coded instructions. Every house on the Street, except one was raided. The excluded one was already being vandalised before an argument broke out among the criminals that residents of the building were poor. At my house, it took them about 40 minutes before they could enter. I had hidden my sister in the ceiling with my dog. The number of the robbers gave me the impression that if they saw my sister, they might want to rape her serially. When they came in, they took the fifteen thousand naira I had. They then pointed a gun at my mother's belly. I reacted and one of the robbers stabbed me on my left cheek. They left the dagger on me and removed it when they wanted to leave with a warning that if I shouted, they would kill me. Somehow, the police were notified but they did not arrive until after the criminals were done. Six streets away, the police blew their siren and started shooting. So, the criminals leisurely walked away. I did not report the crime because the police knew these hoodlums and their hideouts. If I go to report the hoodlums and the police reveal my identity to them, I might be more brutally re-victimised.

Hypothesis 1

The nature of crime (e.g., seriousness of financial, material, physical and emotional injuries) is likely to cause people to report victimisation events to the police.

Table 4.9.1 Distribution of Respondents by Nature of Crime and Crime Reporting Practices

Effect of Crime On Respondents	Report of Incident of Crime		Total
	Yes%	No %	
Serious Financial Effect	46.5	53.5	100
Serious Emotional Effect	43.9	56.1	100
Serious Material Effect	49.2	50.8	100
Serious Physical Effect	48.3	51.7	100
No Effect	40.0	60.0	100
Total	47.8	52.2	100
	Chi-square value >0.05		

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Data in table 4.9.1 showed that majority (53.5%) of respondents who were victims of crimes with serious financial effects did not report their victimisation experiences, serious emotional effects (56.1%), serious physical effects (51.7%) and serious material effects (50.8%). 77About 56.1% of respondents who were victims of crimes that elicited serious emotional effects

did not report crimes. Moreover, 49.2% of respondents who were victims of crimes with serious material effects agreed that the victimisation experiences they reported was less than those not reported by victims that suffered material losses. While 48.3% of the respondents who were victims of crimes with serious physical effect reported, more respondents (51.7%) did not report their experiences. In box 2 of the *Case Study* below, the respondent explained how she became an online victim and the self blame that followed.

Box 2

I am a 51 year old woman, a Muslim, west African school certificate holder, and trader from Yoruba part of Nigeria. It was on a November afternoon last year that the case of three million naira fraud almost rocked my life. The challenge did not end with that huge financial loss, I was also seriously injured. I had received a call informing me that a new product in which I intend to deal in will arrive in a full container and that I should pay a deposit of one point two million to be a district supplier. The ages of the criminals ranged between 32 and 35 years. They were both male and female. Prior to the incident, the criminals were my online friends. The crime was reported to the police to find a way of retrieving the money. Regrettably, the criminals escaped. The crime has effect on my health and business up to the present time. The police were reluctant to intervene because it was an online transaction which cannot be retrieved. Since I did not seek their advice before the online interaction, I think they made efforts to unravel the crime. The crime was not charged to court because the criminals were faceless. There was no support. Shame did not even give me the courage to solicit help from neighbours and even members of my family. Irrespective of my state of mind, some close family members and friends still assisted me. The kind of support that I seriously needed that I think would have provided me with the fullest opportunity was a complete investigation of the case through Interpol.

However, 40% of respondents who were victims of crimes that had no effects on them whatsoever reported their victimisation experiences while 60% of respondents whose victimisation had no effects on them did not report their experiences. With 52.2% of all crimes suffered by victims remaining unreported, a higher proportion of the crimes that afflicted respondents in the study sites were not reported to the police. Qualitative data in respect of a victim contained in box 1 above also show that the number of criminals that took part in a crime event as an aspect of the nature of that crime he suffered scared him so much that he did not consider informing the police was a helpful option in that circumstance. Although the chi-square analysis was not significant (X^2 p value > 0.05), data indicated that crimes that induced serious

material effects were more reported than others which only had serious financial, emotional and physical effects. Therefore, hypothesis 1 as stated above was rejected and its alternative accepted.

These accounted for the crime reporting decisions taken by the victim her particular situation. Although the chi-square analysis was not significant, data indicated that crimes that induced serious negative material effects were more reported than others which only had serious negative financial, emotional and physical effects. Therefore, hypothesis 1 as stated above is rejected and its alternative accepted. In other words, the nature of crime is not significantly associated with crime reporting in the study setting. This finding is inconsistent with previous finding that serious crimes have a much greater likelihood of being reported to the police than less serious offences (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Kury, Teske, & Würger, 1999; Pino & Meier, 1999; Skogan, 1976, 1984; Sparks, Genn, & Dodd, 1977). Crimes involving an armed offender compared to incidents involving an unarmed attacker are more likely to be reported to the police (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Hart & Rennison, 2003; Williams, 1984). Finally, it is more likely that a violent victimisation resulting in an injury is reported to the police than an incident where the victim is not injured (Hart & Rennison, 2003).

4.10.2 Victims' Special Considerations for Reporting Crime

This section reports the findings on the influence of special considerations of victims and crime reporting practices of respondents as shown in table 4.9.2

Findings in table 4.9.2 show that the crime reporting practices of respondents are determined by a complex array of normative, situational and contextual considerations. However, survey data emerging from the study showed that the factor to which the greatest

attention was paid was seriousness of the injury as attested to by 55.2% of the respondents. The next consideration was the offender being a relation to the victim (54.5%) and the value of loss (50.7%). Further, 45% of the respondents mentioned the high cost of crime reporting, 33.3% of the respondents raised the problem of court processes, 32.5% said that fear of offenders' revenge and 33.3% believed that other unspecified factors also existed that determined the crime reporting practices of respondents in the study area.

Table 4.9.2 Victims' Special Considerations for Reporting Crime

Special Factors Considered Before Reporting	Respondents' Report of The Incident of Crime					
	Yes		No		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Value of Loss	306	50.7	297	49.3	603	100
Seriousness of Injury	48	55.2	39	44.8	87	100
Offender Being A Relation	18	54.5	15	45.5	33	100
Fear of Offender Revenge	39	32.5	81	67.5	120	100
High Cost Of Crime Reporting	27	45.0	33	55.0	60	100
Court Processes	12	33.3	24	66.7	36	100
Others	3	33.3	6	66.7	9	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Influences of Court Processes						
Money	222	45.4	267	54.6	489	100
Time	147	51.0	141	49.0	288	100
Difficult Personnel	33	47.8	36	52.2	69	100
Commercial Judgment	30	50.0	30	50.0	60	100
Insecure Court Documents	3	33.3	6	66.7	9	100
Document Forgery	9	60.0	6	40.0	15	100
Others	9	50.0	9	50.0	18	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Influence of Time of the Day on Reporting						
Darkness	73	42.0	101	58.0	174	100
Risk at Night	254	48.7	268	51.3	522	100
Lack of Police Surveillance	60	51.3	57	48.7	117	100
Re-victimisation Of Victims Likely At Night	21	35.0	39	65.0	60	100
Time Does Not Matter	18	75.0	6	25.0	24	100
Telephone Resources	27	52.9	24	47.1	51	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Access to Indigenous Criminal Justice System						
Positively	283	44.8	349	55.2	632	100
Negatively	140	55.3	113	44.7	253	100
Indifferent	30	47.6	33	52.4	63	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

The question of the influence of court processes on respondents' crime reporting practices was also asked. In response, 60% of the respondents identified document forgery, the time that was usually wasted on pursuing reported incidents (51%), commercial judgments

(50%), difficult court personnel (47.8%), money to ensure effective reporting (45.4%), insecure court documents (33.3%), and others (multiple choice allowed) (50%).

Data emanating from *Case Study* in box 3 below underscore some of victims' special considerations that stimulate them to report crimes to the police. If the consequence of reporting a crime as an eyewitness could result in death, it can then be envisaged that many community members may opt for non-reporting behaviour in the study sites.

Box 3
I am a businessman, Christian, an Ijebu man, married and live in Lagos. I am not the direct victim but a security was. Since he did not survive the event, I am a secondary victim because the incident touched me and I still find it difficult to believe that what happened to him could happen in a civilised environment such as Lagos. The victim is my plumber. He lived in my neighbourhood. He saw some hoodlums victimising a woman. The woman reported to the police. My plumber identified some of them as community boys. The police arrested them. Later, the police told the hoodlums that it was my plumber who identified them. Then, the criminals went after my plumber and butchered him. Up till today, nothing came after the investigation into the butchering of the poor plumber. Therefore the fear of retaliation by hoodlums justifies some residents' unwillingness to report their victimisations to the police. It is tragic to know that the police even help criminals to write reports that will incriminate crime victims or witnesses and facilitate the release of criminals provided they have money that can silence the police from being objective.

The time of the day a crime occurs also has a role to play in whether or not the victim will notify the police. Therefore, respondents advanced different reasons for taking the crime reporting decision they took. About 42% of the respondents did not report crime events that took place in darkness, 48.7% did not because of the risks inherent at night time, 51.3% for lack of police surveillance, and 35% for fear of re-victimisation of victims that may take place at night. However, 75% of the respondents insisted that time of the day a crime takes place does not matter and 52.9% observed that telephone resources had challenges. Thus, if a crime occurs in the day, it is easier to report to the police than the one that occurs at night, especially when there

is power outage which may make the victim experience another round of unnecessary victimisation.

Question about the influence of respondents' access to indigenous criminal justice system as a substitute to directing their crime complaints to the formal criminal justice system elicited the following responses. About 45% of the respondents said it has positive influence, in terms of providing referral services, 55.3% reported negative influence as providing solution to their crime reporting needs and 47.6% was indifferent to both justice systems. This confirms earlier study by Alemika (2009) that people report their experience of criminal victimisation to different agencies, including non-law enforcement agencies depending on what they perceive as the cost of doing so as well as their individual perception of personal gratification from doing so. In box 4 of the *Case Study* below, the respondent showed how the position of the victimiser could constitute a special consideration that is inhibitive of crime reporting

Box 4
I am 42 years old Yoruba man, married, a school certificate businessman and a Muslim. The crime that victimised me took place on a Saturday afternoon in June and it lasted for about two or three hours. Though I did not lose anything in terms of financial loss, I was fatally injured. On the fateful day, I was at my place of work. I did not know what caused the fight but I heard the gunshots of the police. In a bid to save their lives, everybody started to run in confusion. As I did this in company of others, a bullet unfortunately hit me on the face. I lost control immediately. In Nigeria, we have Unknown Soldier Syndrome especially when the innocent is victimised. It is a paradox that the offender in my instance was the Nigeria police. Since the police was not identified, he was assumed to be an unknown policeman. I did not report the incident because the offender is the one to whom the crime would legitimately have been reported. With the role played by the police in my ordeal, I am not encouraged to report any crime to them in future. They did not show any sympathy towards me at all. They made me appear as if I was indeed the criminal they claimed to be running after. Therefore, nothing gainful would have emerged from the report, if I had made one. In sum, my experiences with the police are unpleasant. I provided the police with all necessary information when they approached me so as to continue their investigation. Since they knew the direction of the case, they dragged their feet until I was convinced that they were apparently not interested in investigating themselves.

Hypothesis 2

There is a significant relationship between victims' special considerations and crime reporting.

All respondents desired the arrest of offenders, documentation of crime incidents, closeness of police station to the location of crime, offender being a member of the same association and the desire to gather the courage to report, all reported their victimisation experiences. Whereas, 12.1% of the respondents whose special consideration for reporting was the value of their losses, 93.1% who was afraid of offender revenge, 93.3% who wanted justice and 80% who wanted to deter future crime reported their victimisation experiences to the authority. The chi-square analysis was significant. In addition, the table indicates that 47.8% of respondents reported their victimisation experiences on the basis of different stimulations while a higher percentage, 52.2%, did not report their victimisation experiences to any authority. Therefore, hypothesis 2 as stated above is accepted (χ^2 p value < 0.05)

Table 4.9.3 shows the percentage distribution of respondents by victims' special considerations and crime reporting.

Table 4.9.3 Distribution of Respondents by Victims' Special Consideration and Crime Reporting Practices

Special Considerations for Reporting Crime	**Crime Reporting**		**Total**
	Yes %	**No** %	
Value of Loss	12.1	87.9	100
Arrest Offender	100.0	0.0	100
Fear of Offender Revenge	93.1	6.9	100
Seek Justice	93.3	6.7	100
Document Crime	100.0	0.0	100
Deter Future Crime	80.0	20.0	100
Closeness to The Location Of Crime	100.0	0.0	100
Co-member of the Association	100.0	0.0	100
Seek Courage	100.0	0.0	100
Total	47.8	52.2	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)		

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Table 4.9.4 shows the logistic regression odds ratios on the association between special considerations of victims that shape the crime reporting practices of respondents in the study population.

Table 4.9.4 Distribution of Logistic Regression Odds Ratios on the Association between Victims' Special Considerations and Crime Reporting Practices among Respondents in Lagos State

Variables	P values	Odds Ratios
Value of Loss *(r)		1.000
Seriousness of loss	0.440	0.837
Offender being a relation	0.671	0.859
Fear of offenders' revenge	0.000	2.140
High cost of crime reporting	0.397	1.259
Court processes	0.046	2.061
Others	0.310	2.061

*(r) reference category
Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Fear of offenders' revenge and court processes were significantly related to crime reporting. Therefore, respondents who reported that fear of offenders' revenge and court processes were the special considerations that shaped their crime reporting practices were two times more likely to report crimes to the police relative to the value of loss.

4.10.3 Public Confidence in the Police

This section reports the findings on the influence of public confidence in police and crime reporting practices of respondents as shown in table 4.9.5

Table 4.9.5: Public Confidence in the Police

Police Practices that Influence Reporting	Respondents' Report of The Incident of Crime					
	Yes		No		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bribery/Extortion	162	51.4	153	48.6	315	100
Ineffectiveness	81	49.1	84	50.9	165	100
Corruption	111	48.1	120	51.9	231	100
Nonchalance	30	33.3	60	66.7	90	100
Lack of Integrity	54	47.4	60	52.6	114	100
Police Complicity in Crime	6	40.0	9	60.0	15	100
Others	9	50.0	9	50.0	18	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					
Respondents' Confidence in Local Police						
Not Confident	316	47.7	347	52.3	663	100
Confident	96	50.5	94	49.5	190	100
Indifferent	41	43.2	54	56.8	95	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)					

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

Findings show that apart from the court processes, police practices too have remarkable influence on whether victims of crime should report their victimisation experiences. For example, among the array of factors reported by respondents that are associated to police practices are bribery and extortion (51.4%), ineffectiveness of the police (49.1%) and police corruption (48.1%). Other concerns are police nonchalance (33.3%), police lack of integrity (47.4%), and police complicity in crime (40%).

Hypothesis 3

Public confidence in police has a significant relationship with victims' crime reporting.

Table 4.9.6 shows the percentage distribution of respondents by Public Confidence in the Police and Crime Reporting Practices among Respondents in Lagos State. In urban, semi urban and rural communities of Lagos, 69.8% of male respondents and 69.6% of female respondents had no confidence in the police in Lagos. Similarly, the rate of public confidence by gender disaggregation follows the foregoing pattern as 21.6% of male respondents agreed that they had confidence in the police. However, while the indifference of male respondents to the police was 8.6%, that of female was 10.1% which were rather low compared with widespread expectation about the level of public confidence in the police in the study sites.

Table 4.9.6 Distribution of Respondents by Public Confidence in the Police and Reporting among Respondents in Lagos

Confidence of Respondents In The Local Police	Respondents by Public Confidence in the Police		Total
	Yes %	No %	
Male			
Not Confident	69.8	70.2	70.0
Confident	21.6	17.6	19.6
Indifferent	8.6	12.2	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female			
Not Confident	69.6	69.9	69.8
Confident	20.3	21.3	20.9
Indifferent	10.1	8.7	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(χ^2 p value > 0.05)		

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

Data in table 4.9.6 indicate that while male and female were confident or lacked confidence in the police as the case may be at approximately the same rate; male respondents were more indifferent to the police than female respondents in the study site. However, the chi square analysis indicates a non significant relationship between public confidence in the police and crime reporting. Therefore, hypothesis 3 as stated above is rejected and its alternative accepted. In other words, public confidence in the police is not significantly associated with crime reporting in the study sites. The qualitative data collected also lend credence to this finding. In an in-depth interview conducted, the respondent remarked that

> There is no doubt that victims in the community have implicit confidence in their religious institutions than they have in the formal social control system. Most of the time, we advise our members to report their victimisation experiences to the police when they involve colossal financial, material or emotional injuries; their usual unexpressed reluctance and objection that are obvious from their looks attest to the extent of lack of confidence they have in the criminal justice system.
>
> **Female IDI Lagos Island LGA/Christian Religious Leader (November 15, 2012)**

A male in-depth interview respondent also commented on the role of lack of confidence in the police thus:

> Traditionally, the Oro masquerades, gods such as Ogun and others are used in Yoruba land to ward off crimes in the communities. They are very effective up to the present day because the question of abundance of confidence in the operations of traditional mechanisms has never been in doubt. Obviously, Yoruba respondents will report crimes to traditional institutions more than members of other ethnic groups. The fear of trust and language barrier may account for the lack of patronage of traditional institutions for the purpose of crime reporting by respondents from other ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, for the criminal justice system to command substantial public confidence, the informal structures of crime control should be integrated into the formal option.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Religious Leader (November 16, 2012)**

Victims' level of confidence in the performance of the police as stated by a respondent shows that:

> Victims are usually frightened to report crimes to the police because recognising which side of the law (– enforcement or infringement) police always stand remains a difficult task for the victim. One struggles hard to avoid reporting a criminal in mufti to a criminal in uniform to avoid re-victimisation. Therefore, most crime reporting practices of respondents are conditioned by the amount of confidence which this unsafe conduct of the police leads members of the public to have in the law enforcement agency.
>
> **Female KII Lagos Island LGA/Member of Victim's Family (November 16, 2012)**

A key informant interview respondent did not see the question of trust from the perspectives of other respondents. Rather, he explored the foundation of how the public came to see the concept of trust as something to be denied the police thus:

> The issue of trust is complex. It is not a problem that is exclusive to the police alone. Society predates the police. Society deserves the kind of police it gets. If society brings people who could not be trusted into the police for recruitment, the society should blame itself. When you have a collection of stubborn children in the police, what do you expect in terms of conduct? Society should bring its best children to join the police. The police however embark on consistent struggles to cleanse itself of its irresponsible members.
>
> **Male KII Lagos Island LGA/ Crime Officer (October 31, 2012**

Qualitative data from the case study in box 5 below demonstrate the level of confidence the victims of serious crimes had in their police. For example, the respondent gave the account of how crime type could influence reporting. In his case, the police who were expected to enforce the law were the criminals that attacked him. He was therefore at a loss about who to report such crime. Therefore, reporting incidents of crime to the police by respondents, in most cases, appear to be an effort taken to fulfil all righteousness. Respondents did not expect any miraculous crime

unravelling outcomes from the police. Those who reported their victimisation experiences did so in order to meet formal expectations.

Box 5
I am 32 years old, a Muslim, bachelor, West African school certificate holder, and driver from Yoruba part of Nigeria. It was on a Saturday afternoon when the police embarked on their undue arrest and torture. I cannot recall the exact amount on me which they collected but they inflicted serious injuries on me. The police arrested me for no just reason, detained and charged me to court. The criminals in this instance are the police. Who is empowered to arrest them? The crime was reported to a civil rights lawyer. The lawyer created for me a public awareness that I was being detained for a crime I did not commit. Subsequently, I was granted bail. The event affected my economic and psychological stability. Since the crime was committed by the police, it further deepened my lack of trust in them. My previous experience of dealing with the police was worst. How the type of crime influenced my decision to report initially threw me into confusion. The relationship of the police with me as their victim was really agonizing. My experience with the police was negative. The quantum of information made available was insignificant. The level of sympathy which the police demonstrated in my case was very poor. As it were, these combined to further dampen my enthusiasm to develop any confidence in the police. To me, the police do not have the nerve to solve crime in my neighbourhood because the level of police operation is ridiculously low. The case got to court and I was present. The police were never punished. My court experiences were partially positive. My experience would have been fulfilling if the court had told the police its limitations and indicted its erring members. As a result of the performance of the formal criminal justice system in my case, I think public policy should consider the use of informal crime control alternatives to solve crime in future. I would have loved a system for getting support that did not involve the police in my community. I paid the lawyer myself. I learnt someone wanted to support me, but the divisional police officer declined.

Apart from considerations already discussed, respondents also mentioned the cost and benefits inherent in crime reporting. Such is the account provided by a female participant from semi-urban part of the study area:

> The case of theft of two million naira worth of goods carted away by robbers was not reported to the police because of how the event occurred as there were no suspects. Members of the family deliberated on the extent of the material loss and injuries suspected before deciding that everything should be left for God. If police surveillance had been thorough, these criminals were not spirits, they walked into my mother's premises, some proactive and hardworking policemen would have accosted them and prevented my mother from being unnecessarily victimised.
>
> **Female KII Mushin LGA/Family Member of Crime Victim (November 18, 2012)**

The case study respondent in box 6 below demonstrates the extent to which the respondent does not repose confidence in the police and reasons for his despondency.

Box 6

I am 59 years old, civil servant, Christian, married with children. I hailed from Osun State with primary school certificate. In the night of December 23 last year, armed robbers came to my house at about 1:45am and left 3:40am. The gun shots that indicated their arrival destabilised me. It was like a battle. Immediately, I switched off my lights. The moonlight enabled me to see the robbers but they couldn't see the inside because it was dark. The robbers attempted to come in through the front door but they couldn't because of the protector that was in place. They also tried to come in through the children's room, they also couldn't. As they tried to break the wall, the children all ran into my room. I took my cutlass in defence of my life and that of my children. I stood at the point they expected to enter waiting for the first to come in. Being very dark, no one attempted to enter. When this situation continued for some time; I tried to call other neighbours to assist me. One of the robbers shot in the direction to which the alarm came. The bullet tore my mouth into pieces. Immediately, I collapsed. When they heard my groans, they left. They were all male and about 15 in number and were all below 18 years. I did not report the case because I immediately became immobile. However, members of my family reported to the police. They reported expecting the robbers might be apprehended. The police came requesting me to mention a suspect. Since I couldn't suspect innocent people, the police lost interest in my case. Therefore, no arrest was made and so, no one got punished. I quite honestly suspected my lifestyle might have provided the criminals the attraction to come and victimise me. I am convinced that if the police were offered some money, they would have fished out my assailants. I did not have any prior dealings with the police. My interaction with the police in the aftermath of my victimisation does not inspire me to report future crime to them. The police could have arrested the criminals if they wished. I know that because my people had no money to motivate the police, they didn't do as much as they could have done were their palms greased. The experience was a completely negative one. The police did not come to me with sufficient practical evidence of having investigated the crime. The police also did not show sympathy for my condition. Therefore, I have no confidence in their service.

The police, using their professional expertise, ought to have combed the entire environment to pick up suspects by themselves. From the conduct of the police in my particular instance, I am convinced that they could not solve crime. If the police continue to distant themselves from the pains of victims, unfortunate members of the society will continue to see the police more as foes than friends they are always presumed to be. The event did not result in any court case since there were no suspects. The money my family could have wasted for the police was spent at the general hospital to manage the operation of my mouth. The amount of support I received during the event showed to me that my neighbours were only rich in the spirits. No substantial amount came from any of my neighbours. However, I received significant moral and financial support from my labour union. It was the kind of support I expected because I was handicapped. The support took care of my hospital bills and fed my family. Nevertheless, I would prefer to find in my society a kind of system for making support available to victims which would not involve the police in any way. A victim needs financial, material, informational as well as emotional support to recover from his/her trauma. It is essential that friends and family friends visit the victims in the hospital to accelerate their recovery. Government did not offer any form of support at all. This is regrettable! Except the police begin to keep victims' secrets very confidential, the police may not get any clues from victims and witnesses, how much more of report crimes. There is need for the involvement of traditional conflict resolution structures to keep crime off communities. Thus, government should consider community policing and evolve more enduring ways by which victims of crimes could be assisted to get control of their lives after victimisation.

4.10.4 Location of Crime and Crime Reporting

This section reports the findings on the influence of location of crime and crime reporting practice of respondents as shown in table 4.9.7

Table 4.9.7: Location of Crime and Crime Reporting

Influence of Location On Crime Reporting	Respondents' Report of The Incident of Crime					
	Yes		*No*		*Total*	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Influential	324	49.0	337	51.0	661	100
Not influential	129	44.9	158	55.1	287	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
The Way Location Influences Reporting						
Positively	298	47.1	335	52.9	633	100
Negatively	155	49.2	160	50.8	315	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
Actual Influences Of Location On Reporting						
Location Without Security Reduces Reporting	81	49.1	84	50.9	165	100
Location Without Electricity Reduces Reporting	71	49.3	73	50.7	144	100
Location Without Network Reduces Reporting	35	49.3	36	50.7	71	100
Location Without Police Reduces Reporting	95	48.0	103	52.0	198	100
Perception of crime as Normal Reduces Reporting	55	41.7	77	58.3	132	100
Location Not A Crime Reporting Issue	32	53.3	28	46.7	60	100
A serious crime will be reported despite location	73	46.8	83	53.2	156	100
No influence	11	50.0	11	50.0	489	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

Lagos state comprises of urban, semi-urban and rural communities from which Mushin, Lagos Island and Ibeju Lekki were randomly selected to represent semi-urban, urban and rural communities of Lagos respectively. Table 4.9.7 shows that 49% respondents acknowledged that location has tremendous effect on the decision of respondents to report crimes while 44.9% of respondents felt otherwise. If indeed, location has influence on crime reporting, what kind of effect does it have? Responses indicate that 47.1% of the respondents were convinced that the effects were positive (encourage crime reporting) while 49.2% of the respondents felt otherwise. Respondents experienced crime at rural, semi-urban and urban locations. Nikpa's (1976) study in Nigeria, showed that the geographical aspect of crime offer major guidelines for potential

victimisation. The size of the area, the place of the actual commission of crime, the strength of the population, the ethnic character, all these factors serve an important role and points out the chance of victim risk.

The phrase "distance decay" refers to the finding that the frequency of offending decreases with the distance from the offender's home. Although distance decay has been repeatedly confirmed in empirical research, it has hardly ever been the subject of theoretical exploration. Rational choice theorists have emphasized that travel cost minimization can explain the distance decay pattern. Routine activity theorists have argued that the distance decay pattern is typical not only for crime but for most habitual spatial behaviours, such as crime reporting practices (Bernasco & Kooistra, 2010)

Various theories in criminology make claims about the mechanisms that give rise to observed spatial patterns in crime. Crime pattern theory (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008) assumes that offending usually takes place within the awareness space of the offender. Just as the former homes of offenders continue to be part of offenders' awareness space after they have moved, victims too could derive crime reporting support and resources from their former homes. If this theory could predict that former homes still function as anchor points for future crimes, it goes without saying that former homes of victims too could prove useful in establishing crime reporting connection.

The theory also predicts that offending near a home where one lived recently is more likely than offending near a home where one lived long ago and that offending is more likely near a home where one lived for many years than near a home where one lived only briefly. Because home is the central anchor point of a person's activity space, one could safely juxtapose the context of crime reporting for crime occurrence, it could be assumed that crime reporting

near a home where one lived recently is more likely than reporting near a home where one lived long ago, and that reporting is more likely near a home where one lived for many years than near a home where one lived only briefly. These issues are not only of theoretical importance; they also have practical relevance, because the findings might be useful in criminal investigations by providing guidance in the construction of a geographical offender profile (Canter, Coffey, Huntley, & Missen, 2000; Rossmo, 2000) as well as individuals who experienced their insanity.

In Bernasco and Kooistra (2010), an activity node is presented as a place where one normally stops to perform activities for more than a trivial amount of time. Activity nodes include a home, a workplace, a shopping strip, and the homes of family and friends. Paths are the habitual routes that people take from one node to the other, for example from home to work. Nodes and paths together form an individual's activity space. The awareness space includes the activity space and the "area normally within visual range of the activity space" (Brantingham & Brantingham 2008:84). Supported by empirical evidence (Gärling & Axhausen, 2003; Hanson & Huff, 1988), crime pattern theory emphasizes the intrapersonal stability of activity nodes over daily and weekly time cycles and the repetitive character of activities along multiple dimensions: many people travel the same routes from the same origin to the same destination on the same weekdays around the same time of day using the same mode of travel (car, train, bus, bike or a combination).

As earlier noted, the reasons respondents consider before reporting or deciding not to do so depend on a complex interplay of issues. For example, data in table 4.9.7 show that 49.1% of respondents believed that if crime occurs in an environment in which there is no manifest security coverage, they will internalise the pains of crime and resist reporting, 49.3% also said that a crime location without electricity will scare victims from notifying the police of the

commission of a crime, 49.3% of the respondents are afraid that a situation in which crime occurs and their telephone has no network coverage to connect and notify the police by phone will not promote crime reporting habit, whereas, 48.0% respondents averred that any crime location that is far away from the police station is not safe enough for crime reporting.

Issues in contest go beyond the foregoing as 53.3% of the respondents noted that some incidents might not be substantial enough to warrant reporting, yet to see the significance of location as a correlate of crime reporting (50%), serious crimes will be reported no matter the location in which it took place (46.8%) and crime is normal in some places (41.7%). Granted that the assumption that 'the location in which crimes take place influences victims' reporting behaviour is not exactly new' (Black, 1976: 91), findings in this study is consistent with the finding of Felson et al. (2002) that location in which a crime takes place is a contextual factor that has been assumed to influence victims' reporting behaviour.

Table 4.9.8: Crime Location and Crime Reporting

Where respondents experienced crime	**Respondent's report of the incident of crime**		**Total**
	Yes %	**No** %	
Home	48.3	51.7	100
Near a friend's /neighbour's/ relative's home	44.3	55.7	100
Workplaces/Schools	45.8	54.2	100
Mall/Restaurant/Bank/Airport	62.5	37.5	100
Inside the Bus/Bus Stop	46.3	53.7	100
In a Street	48.3	51.7	100
Total	**47.8**	**52.2**	**100**

Source: Author's Field Survey (2012)

About 62.5% of the respondents reported they were victimised at shopping malls/restaurants/banks/airports, in the street (48.3%), at home (48.3%); near a friend's/ neighbours' /relatives' homes (44.3%), inside the bus/bus stops (46.3%) and at workplaces /schools (45.8%). Finding of this study is inconsistent with that of Williams (1984) who found

that crimes that took place within the home are more likely to be reported to police than similar incidents that occurred in public.

Hypothesis 4

The location of crime has a significant relationship with victims' crime reporting.

Table 4.9.9 Distribution of Respondents by Crime Location and Reporting among Respondents in Lagos

Location in Which Respondents Experienced Crime	Respondents' Report of Incident of Crime		Total
	Yes %	No %	
Urban	46.7	53.3	100
Semi Urban	47.1	52.9	100
Rural	59.1	40.9	100
Total	47.8	52.2	100
	(χ^2 *p* value < 0.05)		

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2012

While 46.7% of urban respondents acknowledged that location of crime influenced their crime reporting and actually reported their victimisation experiences, 53.3% urban respondents did not report their victimisation experiences. Though 47.1% of semi urban respondents said that crime location influenced crime reporting, about 52.9% semi urban respondents did not report their victimisation experiences. However, 59.1% of rural respondents accepted that crime location influenced witnesses or victims to report their victimisation experiences but 40.9% of rural respondents did not report their victimisation experiences. What these data imply is that as an interested observer moves from the rural through semi-urban to urban Lagos, it will be clear that the rate at which respondents report crimes declines. On the whole, hypothesis 4 as stated above is accepted. In other words, public confidence in the police is significantly associated with crime reporting in the study sites (χ^2 p value < 0.05).

Respondents of key informant interview also commented on the nearness of crime locations to police stations and the effects which this has on crime reporting as a female interviewee remarked thus:

> If a crime occurs very close to the police station, such crimes are most likely reported. However, a crime that occurs in a distant

location to the police may involve some risk reporting such an event. This is a very strong point for the eternal presence of the police in every nook and cranny of every community to ensure public safety. If state police is allowed, each local government will know how best to police its locality than it is now under the centralised police arrangement.

Female KII Lagos Island LGA/Member of Victim's Family
(November 16, 2012)

In box 7 below, a case study respondent who was a crime victim shows how insecurity becomes more intense in a semi urban setting as nightfall approached in a Lagos community:

Box 7

I am 37 years old, a Christian and businessman from Ijebu Ode in Ogun State. I specialise in general printing. It was a Thursday, in the month of May. I had an unpleasant encounter with 'One Chance Robbery'. The event which took place when I went to give my family their feeding allowance lasted for about 1½ hours. Accommodation problem caused my family to scot with my brother – in – law in Badagry. Before that time, I had been spiritually cautioned never to go out at night. But moved by the passion to keep my family away from hunger, I left my workplace at 3:00pm on the fateful day. On getting to Badagry, I did not meet my wife; I waited but had to leave when it was 6:00pm. There was heavy traffic on the way. Up to 9:00pm, I was still at mile 2 bus stop. About that time, a bus arrived. People waiting rushed into it without suspecting that one of the women that entered was actually part of the arrangement. As we ascended the overhead bridge to face Oshodi road, a man we believed was a commuter too entered. No one knew he did so with a gun concealed in his bag that looked like a musician's guitar bag.

As we continued the journey, a man got up and said he wanted to vomit. I advised him to thrust his head out to do so since he was sitting by the door. Not quite long after, the supposed conductor shut the door and collected his 'fare'. Meanwhile, the man who initially wanted to vomit never did so. He shoved those on our seat painfully to the body of the vehicle. Suddenly, he ordered everybody to face down. At first, we queried why that should be. It was at this point that the man who came in last pulled out a gun. Instantly, everybody cooperated. His other colleagues started to search those of us who were legitimate passengers. We were five in number out of the 'fourteen passengers' in the bus. Before they took my money, they had beaten me to their satisfaction for telling them they were mad to have ordered us to face down. Then, they collected all my money and phone. Around 10:00pm at an area very close to Nissan Company which was usually in total darkness, they dropped us off. We had to trek down to Ilasamaja where I took a motorcycle to my house at around 12 midnight. It was at home I raised money to pay the motorcycle rider because nothing was left on me. Even one of the legitimate commuters who was coming from Cotonou bought jewelleries for his customers. He resisted releasing them, but when he was seriously beaten, he had to let go. When they got that large sum of money from me, they stopped beating me.

The amount involved in the crime was fifteen thousand naira given to me by my customer for a job. The flashback still gives me some fright. Any day I look at my child in respect of whom I went to drop money, I remember that day. The average age of the criminals was about 35 years of age. I suspect the crime was by a cult group. Only one woman was among them. Her actions were more ruthless than her male counterparts. I did not know any of them, prior to that day. I did not report the case because to who is one reporting specifically? If you report, one is just adding to the problem. One should just leave everything to God. I did not report because police cannot untie that kind of crime. Therefore, the slogan 'Police is your friend' is a public deception. Indeed, the police are my enemies. As a part of my professional services, I used to print jacket for Hip up discs. The police got wind of this; they seized that opportunity to extort money from me. Rather than protecting intellectual property of P square, they got their own illicit royalty. Police collect bribe, there is no doubt about that. Comparatively, policemen at the Ilupeju station are decent. They pay attention to community surveillance. They could be said to be the friends of the public. But the same story is not true of Olosan police station. For example, there is a policewoman at Olosan Police Station, if you are a detainee, and you are released on bail, if you or your people do not give her money, she will not release your clothes and other belongings.

My relationship with the police disappointed me. The police, who in a quest to make money illicitly, will visit a workplace of an artisan, carry his generator and invite him to come and grease their palms before the generator could be released. All these happen in a country where everybody is aware that electricity supply is inadequate for productive enterprise. I don't have confidence in the police. And what one sees in the street convinces me that some policemen are the epitome of criminality. Here at Mushin, some people report incidences of crime to the Bale but most commonly, crimes are reported to the police. Governments appear to be interested in solving crime. On other auxiliary taskforce arrangements such as Op Messa, when government brings a strategy to stem criminality, these arrangements work effectively for some time. After, they begin to collect bribe they lose their respect and then fade away. It is only God that could protect Nigerians. In respect of assistance to victims of crime in the community, I advise individuals to assist them to enable them overcome their trauma in time.

The following *Case Study* in box 8 helps to illustrate the relationship that exists between location in which crimes took place and crime reporting behaviour of respondents.

Box 8

I am 27 years old, a Christian, bachelor, OND holder, and businessman from Yoruba part of Nigeria. It was on December 21st last year. The event lasted for one hour. I was seriously injured and the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand naira was stolen. The event took place in the street. I went out early in the morning to beat the frustrating traffic on Lagos roads. Some men stopped me. At first, I thought they were vigilante trying to enforce public safety. Later, it became clear to me that they were criminals. They beat me to the state of unconsciousness, took my money before they left me. The state in which the criminals left me did not enable me to know what became of them after. The criminals were all young males. I didn't know any of them before that day. The case was later reported to the police with the expectation that they would help me retrieve my money. The report had no head or tail as no pleasant outcome justified my decision to report the case to the police. Dramatically, the criminals were apprehended. Nothing in my routine activities qualified me for their attack. It was just that I was where they victimised me at the wrong time. My experience with the police simply confirmed my earlier doubt that the police could hardly do anything to solve crime. Even against the background of my prior dealings with the police, the latest experience is not encouraging. The way the crime happened did not give me the enthusiasm to report the incident. The police visited the scene of the crime and arrested many innocent citizens. I don't know if the police had any form of relationship with the criminals. The police tried to give an impression that they were assisting me to unravel the crime. But that cooperation was brief. My experience with the police to say the least is negative. Even the information they gave me about the criminals was too inadequate to achieve any significant trial. I was truly ashamed of the police who left leprosy untreated and was restlessly seeking cure for eczema. What the report demanded was not the kind of haphazard arrest but investigation driven apprehension. With their performance, my confidence in our local police is minimal. What the police left undone is a good investigation that will not lead to the arrest and suffering of innocent members of the community. My greatest concern about the police is the fear that I might not get good outcome from the report of crime I made to them.

4.10.5 Socio-Cultural Conditions and Crime Reporting

This section reports the findings on the influence of socio-cultural conditions and crime reporting practices of respondents as shown in table 4.9.10.

The table shows that the responses of community residents especially in highly traditional settlements were determined by the prevailing socio-cultural conditions. As to whether or not socio-cultural conditions are in existence in the study area, 52.3% of the respondents acknowledged their existence while 47.7% said they do not. Based on the above, 47% respondents agreed that there are cultural beliefs which dictate how victims could be supported to report crime in the community. Disagreeing with the above position, 53% of respondents said

that though diverse issues drive the direction to which crime reporting in the community faces, cultural beliefs were never among these factors.

Table 4.9.10: Socio-Cultural Conditions of Respondents

Existing Socio-Cultural Factors	**Respondents' Report of Crime**					
	Yes		***No***		***Total***	
	N	***%***	***N***	***%***	***N***	***%***
Age	38	52.8	34	47.2	72	100
Traditional Rulers' Resolution Of Conflict	89	46.4	103	53.6	192	100
Masquerade	109	46.6	125	53.4	234	100
Ethnocentrism (***Excessive Love of One's Ethnic Origin***)	68	48.2	73	51.8	141	100
Nepotism	61	52.1	56	47.9	117	100
CDA/Landlord Association	49	51.0	47	49.0	96	100
Religion	39	40.6	57	59.4	96	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
Cultural Beliefs that Influence Crime Reporting						
Sex	75	47.8	82	52.2	157	100
Age	57	45.2	69	54.8	126	100
Witchcraft	117	46.2	136	53.8	253	100
Ethnicity	58	58.0	42	42.0	100	100
No Beliefs	31	42.5	42	57.5	73	100
Traditional Voodoo	83	46.9	94	53.1	177	100
I Have No Ideas	21	56.8	16	43.2	37	100
Others	11	44.0	14	56.0	25	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

Findings further revealed that some socio-cultural factors influenced respondents' crime reporting behaviour. Some of the factors mentioned were age (52.8%), traditional rulers' resolution of conflict (46.4%), masquerade (46.6%), ethnocentrism (48.2%), nepotism (52.1%), CDA/Landlord Association (51%) and religion (40.6%). On the cultural beliefs that work in association with these socio-cultural factors to drive the crime reporting practices of the community dwellers, 47.8% of the respondents identified sex, age (45.2%), witchcraft (46.2%), ethnicity (58%), no beliefs (42.5%), traditional voodoo (46.9%), no ideas (56.8%) and unidentified others (44%).

4.10.6 Influences of Socio-Cultural Conditions of Respondents on Crime Reporting

Data show in table 4.9.11 that some socio-cultural factors that influence respondents' crime reporting practices exist in the communities as 53.3% of the respondents said that taboos that influence crime reporting do not exist. However, critical cultural issues which respondents identified as factors that might influence crime reporting are: incestuous conduct is a private affair (53%), children do not report crimes (46.9%), reporting crime is not the norm (45.6%), women do not report crimes (38.9%) and others (27.8%). Findings further revealed that respondents identified home training as part of a child's upbringing that determines how the child relates with crime reporting as future adults. About 49.2% of the respondents believed that children derive the courage to report crime to earn justice from home training, 49.0% said the fear to report may be hereditary, 46% noted that home training provides the control needed to report crimes as adults, 43.8% said home training has no effect and 38.3% insisted that home training may make children internalise the pains of victimisation as future adults.

Moreover, the extended family network provides a diverse guidance on who reports crimes and which crimes could be reported. Responding to the kind of influence which the extended family network has on crime reporting practices of community dwellers, 62.2% of the respondents maintained that extended family network exerts discouragement, provides cooperation to conceal crime (46.9), provides the extended family members the encouragement to report crimes (43%), provides sympathy when the need arises (42.9%) and other unspecified influences (59.6%).

On the relationship between tradition as a means of crime control with the formal justice system, 50% of the respondents said traditional crime control mechanisms provide backup resources, information (47.9%), traditional structures of crime control are community place

compliant (47.7%), maintain partnership with the formal justice system (47.1%), and traditional structures of crime control enjoy referral relationship with the formal justice system (45.8%).

In-depth interviews conducted also corroborated the quantitative findings above. According to a respondent:

> The truth of the matter is that most crime reporters belong to different religious bodies. Before they finally decide to report or avoid reporting, they seek the advice of their pastors or alfas. These men of God, by their interventions, help to shape whether a victim would eventually report his/her victimisation or altogether drop the idea of reporting. Each time a man of God intervenes in whether a victimisation be reported to the police or not, members of these religious bodies see whatever their men of God say as being from God and therefore final.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Ruler (November 16, 2012)**

Table 4.9.11: Influences of Socio-Cultural Conditions of Respondents on Crime Reporting

Socio Cultural Factors	**Respondents' Report of the Incidents of Crime**					
Taboos that Influence Crime Reporting	Yes		No		Total	
	N	**%**	N	**%**	N	**%**
Reporting Crime Is Not The Norm	47	45.6	56	54.4	103	100
Women Do Not Report Crimes	49	38.9	77	61.1	126	100
Children Do Not Report Crimes	150	46.9	170	53.1	320	100
Incestuous Conduct Is A Private Affair	178	53.0	158	47.0	336	100
Taboos Do Not Exist	24	53.3	21	46.7	45	100
Others	5	27.8	13	72.2	18	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Influence of Home Training on Reporting						
Control	67	45.9	79	54.1	146	100
Internalise dissent	23	38.3	37	61.7	60	100
Courage to Report To Earn Justice	324	49.2	335	50.8	659	100
Fear to Report May Be Hereditary	25	49.0	26	51.0	51	100
No Effect	14	43.8	18	56.2	32	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
Influence of Extended Family On Reporting						
Encouragement	99	43.0	131	57.0	230	100
Sympathy	48	42.9	64	57.1	112	100
Cooperation Sometimes To Conceal Crimes	214	46.9	242	53.1	456	100
Discouragement	61	62.2	37	37.8	98	100
Others	31	59.6	21	40.4	52	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100
	(χ^2 p value < 0.05)					
Effect of Traditional Crime Control on Reporting						
Referral	77	45.8	(91	54.2	168	100
Through Partnership	114	47.1	128	52.9	242	100
Information	116	47.9	126	52.1	242	100

Provision of Back Up Resources	104	50.0	104	50.0	208	100
Community Place Compliant	42	47.7	46	52.3	88	100
Total	453	47.8	495	52.2	948	100

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

Another also noted:

> Ordinarily, when a crime occurs, members of the extended family become concerned and involved. If the crime was committed by an outsider, they will partner with their relation to report the crime. But if a member of the family perpetrated the crime, for example rape, the members of the extended family usually provide justifications for the need to conceal the crime even from neighbours how much more of extending it to the police.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Ruler (November 16, 2012)**

A male in-depth interview participant said:

> Men and women are vulnerable to criminal victimisation. Nevertheless, the culture supports men to report crimes but not women. A married woman especially cannot just decide to report a crime to the police. The tradition does not allow that kind of independence. A married woman requires her husband's consent to report a crime. If a married woman fails to obtain her husband's tacit approval, in an effort to contest the existing power relations, neighbours will label her as someone who has overcome the masculine authority of her husband through some native initiatives.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Ruler (November 16, 2012)**

Another male in-depth interview participant looked at another socio-cultural element and said:

> Ethnicity plays a significant role in crime reporting. This plays out in ordinary street fighting among young residents. If a Yorùbá boy injures an Ibo boy, chances of home settlement is more remote than likely. But if an Ibo boy injures an Ibo boy in a brawl, the likelihood of home settlement is more imaginable than remote. From this standpoint, ethnicity informs the pattern of crime reporting direction that a victim might decide to follow.
>
> **Male IDI Mushin LGA/Chairman, Landlord Association (November 15, 2012)**

A male respondent, who also is a traditional ruler in a semi urban community of Lagos State, referred to what he called negative group solidarity as a factor which determines the role of social interaction in crime reporting among victims in Lagos:

> It is becoming more fashionable for members of most communities to support criminals against the victims. In traditional times, community members established empathy with the victim. Today, nobody asked the criminal why he/she did what caused the trauma of another community member – the victim. Most community members would readily blame the victim either for being where the criminal victimised him/her or allowing his/her property to be where it became attractive to the criminal. Normative values appear to have been completely reversed by the consistent support of community people for the criminal through the instrumentality of negative group solidarity in modern communities. This support often works against crime reporting behaviour of the victim.
>
> **Male IDI Mushin LGA/Traditional Ruler**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

Though, it is commonly assumed that respondents who belong to either Christian or Islamic faiths do not patronise traditional priests whenever they inevitably become victims of crime, an in-depth interview respondent debunked this assumption when he explained that crime reporting to him usually comes from members of other religious organisations:

> Not only members of my faith come to report crimes to us. Adherents of other different faiths too who want immediate justice report their crimes to us. The fact that these people do not openly consult us does not, in practice, mean they do not come to us. Our services to these crime reporters are essentially investigative and sometimes punitive for their victimisers. Our clients often want '*Irunmale'* (native god) to expose the criminal. Each of these investigations normally lasts for about seven days. If, after the stipulated period, the criminal does not confess, he or she begins to swell until he or she finally explodes and dies. If suspects are produced by the reporters, we give them '*omi oku'* (water from human corpse) to invoke instant confession. Our intervention is usually productive. Most crime reporters are not interested in the culprits' death. They are more concerned about the recovery of their stolen items. Quite generally, we partner with traditional rulers and the police in the effort to ensure social control in society.
>
> **Male IDI Ibeju Lekki LGA/Traditional Religious Leader**
> **(November 16, 2012)**

Hypothesis 5

Socio-cultural conditions of victims have a significant relationship with crime reporting.

Data show that marriage, education, ethnicity and religion are statistically associated with crime reporting among respondents (χ^2 p value < 0.05). Male respondents who are separated (72.7%), married (56.4%), single (41.2%) reported their victimisation experience while among their female counterparts who are single (50%), separated (41.2%) and married (35%) reported the same. Male respondents who had secondary education (58.8%), without education (55.6%), primary education (53.3%), tertiary education (46.3%) reported their victimisation experience while among their female counterparts who had tertiary education (51.4%), no education (50.2%), primary education (22.2%) and secondary education (15.0%) reported the same. More male Yoruba respondents (50.8%), Hausa (50%), Igbo (37.5%), others (16.7%) reported their experiences of crime to the police. About 50.0% of female Yoruba respondents, Igbo (46.2%), Hausa (33.3%), others (39.8%) reported their victimisation experiences.

Table 4.12 further shows that male respondents who are Christians (50.9%), traditional (50%), Islam (49.5%) reported their experiences of crime while 55% of female Muslims respondents and Christians (36.4%) reported their victimisation. It is interesting to find that female Muslim respondents of Islamic background reported crimes more than their male counterparts while male Christian and traditional respondents reported crimes more than their female counterparts respectively. Therefore, hypothesis 5 which indicates that socio-cultural factors were significantly related to crime reporting is largely validated. Specifically, chi square analysis indicates that marriage (X^2 p value=0.000) was significantly related to crime reporting among male respondents only. Furthermore, religion (X^2 p value=0.002), education (X^2 p value=0.000), ethnicity (X^2 p value=0.001), and marriage (X^2 p value=0.045) were significantly associated with crime reporting among female respondents only in the study sites.

Hypothesis 5

Socio-cultural conditions of victims have a significant relationship with crime reporting.

Table 4.12: Socio-Cultural Conditions and Crime Reporting

Respondents Sex			Respondents' Report of the Incident of Crime		Total %
			Yes %	No %	
Male	**Marital Status**	Single	41.2	58.8	100
		Married	56.4	43.6	100
		Separated	72.7	27.3	100
		Total	50.2	49.8	100
Female		Single	50.0	50.0	100
		Married	35.0	65.0	100
		Separated	41.2	58.8	100
		Total	43.0	57.0	100
		Grand Total	47.8	52.2	100
			For Male X^2 p value = 0.000 For Female X^2 p value = 0.045		
Male	**Education**	No Education	55.6	44.4	100
		Primary Education	53.3	46.7	100
		Secondary Education	58.8	41.2	100
		Tertiary Education	46.3	53.7	100
Female		No Education	50.2	49.8	100
		Primary Education	22.2	77.8	100
		Secondary Education	15.4	84.6	100
		Tertiary Education	51.4	48.6	100
		Total	43.0	57.0	100
		Grand Total	47.8	52.2	100
			For Male X^2 p value = 0.57 For Female X^2 p value = 0.00		
Male	**Ethnicity**	Igbo	37.5	62.5	100
		Hausa	50.0	50.0	100
		Yoruba	50.8	49.2	100
		Others	16.7	83.3	100
		Total	43.0	57.0	100
Female		Igbo	46.2	53.8	100
		Hausa	33.3	66.7	100
		Yoruba	49.8	50.2	100
		Others	39.3	60.7	100
		Total	47.8	52.2	100
			For Male X^2 p value = 0.54 For Female X^2 p value = 0.001		
Male	**Respondent's Residence**	Urban	48.8	51.2	100
		Semi-Urban	49.5	50.5	100
		Rural	61.1	38.9	100
		Total	50.2	49.8	100
Female		Urban	42.1	57.9	100
		Semi-Urban	43.1	56.9	100
		Rural	50.0	50.0	100
		Total	43.0	57.0	100
		Grand Total	47.8	52.2	100
			For Male X^2 p value =0 .244 For Female X^2 p value = 0.870		
Male	**Religion**	Christianity	50.9	49.1	100
		Islam	49.5	50.5	100
		Traditional	50.0	50.0	100
		Total	50.2	49.8	100
Female		Christianity	36.4	63.6	100
		Islam	55.0	45.0	100
		Traditional	0.0	100.0	100
		Total	43.0	57.0	100
		Grand Total	47.8	52.2	100
			For Male X^2 p value = 0.940 For Female X^2 p value = 0.002		

Source: Author Field Survey (2012)

The case study below presents the case of a victim who confessed that he was an atheist that was involved in a class struggle with members of a gang who had issues with his brother and eulogised the culture of support that was prevalent in the study site.

Box 9

I am 37 years old, an atheist, bachelor, BSc holder, and surveyor from Yoruba part of Nigeria. It was in May 21st last year between 6:40 and 6:00pm. There was no financial loss but I was seriously injured. The event took place in the street. I was attacked by a group of gang having issue with my younger brother. They stabbed me several times. The boys were colleagues with my younger brother. Some of the criminals were arrested along with their parents. Some of them escaped. The gang members were detained. They were later made to pay the bills for my hospital treatment. It was really a nasty experience. Having been stabbed several times, I lost lots of blood that caused me to be extremely weak. Therefore, I was not the one that reported the incident. Later, the police came to me to ask questions that will enable them apprehend the gang members. The police tried their best. The experience was a bit bearable because the police made the gang members pay dearly for their criminal conduct. My level of confidence in the police has been heightened by the way they handle the report of the case. The kind of help I got from neighbours was the one I expected. It was relieving that I got the support when I really needed it. The support was useful to the extent that it helped the feeling of retaliation to go off completely from my mind. I will still embrace the system for getting support that will involve the police. Were they not involved, those gang boys would completely have disappeared into the thin air. There would have been nobody to hold responsible for the crime. It is exciting that I got adequate emotional, financial and information support. The providers of the support were the police, my neighbours and my family members. I cannot remember any offer of support that I declined. I am not aware of any culture that forbids neighbours supporting victims of crime. However, if any such culture exists, it should be discarded because it is repugnant to gainful brotherhood. The police should try harder in the area of information provision and utilization to get to the root of all crimes. This will prevent innocent souls from suffering for the misconduct of the badly behaved members of the community. For crime to be reduced in the community, families, institutions, police and neighbours should partner to review traditions that inhibit crime reduction efforts in the community. However, the support that is available in the community for victims of crime is encouraging.

Box 10 contains a case study which shows that in operation, criminals did not betray the society alone; gang members too are disloyal to themselves.

Box 10

I am 47 years old, married, a Yoruba man, Christian and a graduate. I am a businessman. On my arrival from Abuja after a contract, some guys came visiting at 10:00 am. They met my housemaid downstairs doing some washing. The hoodlums asked if she lived in one of the apartments in the building. The girl told them she did cloth washing on contract basis. They left her. They then went to a door that was ajar in one of the boys' quarters. They met a nursing mother. Her baby was barely two weeks old. They collected her phone and ordered her to keep her mouth shut. They asked of other tenants that were at home, the woman said the lady washing outside resided upstairs. On their way out, the one who took her phone went back to return it not because of her baby. However, if they showed such consideration and she announced their presence to anyone, he would come back to kill her baby. When they got to where my housemaid was, they simply directed her to take them to her masters flat. She obliged but used the wrong keys for the door. In that process, the hoodlums were becoming impatient with my housemaid. Disturbed by the argument that ensued, one of the tenants downstairs intervened. On discovering that they were hoodlums and well armed, he simply too simply cooperated. First, they followed him to his flat and raided him before they now used him to cause me to open my gate. On opening, I saw three of them already in my bedroom and four with my neighbour's wife downstairs, putting finishing touches to their mopping of her husband's apartment. Prior to this time, my neighbour and his family were driven from Ibadan to Lagos by incessant victimisation by criminals. They hoped that Lagos was a place of safety.

My wardrobe was open because I was preparing to go out and in the process of making a choice about which cloth to wear. All the seven hoodlums were holding locally made short guns. They collected my twenty two thousand, my gold necklace presented to me by my wife and my wife's jewellery. I quickly thought the boys might be neighbourhood guys. If per chance I knew any of them, the knowledge might qualify me for more hostility. With that reasoning, I decided to lie down facing the floor. Only God knows what came upon one of them who suddenly approached me and hit my face against the floor. Immediately, I lost a tooth! Then, blood started flowing. The hoodlum yelled, 'hey! I don't like the sight of that ugly fluid. Clean it before it gets me angrier.' After cleaning the blood, he told me to look at his gun. He shouted that they did not come to my apartment to play. He then asked if I could feel the gun. By this time, blood from my mouth had soaked my dress. Again, he reminded me to clean the blood because he said it was irritating him. He said wipe it now or I waste you. After re-cleaning it, he ordered me to bring any other precious thing out of my wardrobe. I brought out my digital camera. He collected it, he reeled coded instruction to his other colleagues. They went down the stairs, with me by their side, on instruction. Outside, we met one of them to whom all of them gave account of their exploits. On seeing how badly they had injured me, he asked how much did you collect from him? The man that dealt with me said he did not get money on me that was why he dealt with me. The man ordered that if I had nothing to offer, he should go upstairs and waste my mother. At that point I told their commander that his man actually took twenty two thousand from me. They simply warned us to cooperate as they escaped in two waiting motorcycles. I did not report because it may not result in any helpful outcome. Nevertheless, my mother told the LCDA chairman. There was no help, in concrete terms, came from anybody outside my nuclear family. However, the chairman of the LCDA came visiting for a couple of times. Without financial means, crime reporting can be self-defeating. The police could be effective if they wanted to because they know the criminals, their hideouts and their godfathers.

The foregoing findings show that nature of crime, victims' special considerations for reporting, public confidence in the police, crime location and socio-cultural conditions as exerting varying degrees of influences on the crime reporting practices.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

The study sets out to achieve five central objectives. The first was to examine the effect of the nature of crime on crime reporting practices. The second main objective was to examine the special considerations that shape victims' crime reporting practices. The third objective was to explore the effect of public confidence in the police on victims' crime reporting practices. The fourth objective was to examine the effect of crime location on victims' crime reporting practices. Finally, the study identified the victims' socio-cultural conditions that affect crime reporting practices in the study population.

The subject matter of the study is considered appropriate for a dissertation mainly on this premise: since crime reporting serves as the hub, on which statistics that enrich crime prevention and control initiatives for community safety revolve, examining existing structures and patterns as well as underscoring the implications for public security and development could yield findings that are far reaching with respect to proffering sustainable solutions to the massive security challenges facing the country. Lagos communities were chosen for the study because they constitute a group in respect of which not much is known about their residents' crime reporting practices. Moreover, for the reason that majority of the people are rural and semi urban community dwellers, the findings of the study will go a long way to building up credible body of knowledge on the dynamics of crime reporting practices in rural, semi urban and urban communities of Nigeria.

The study was based on qualitative and quantitative data gathered through in-depth, key informant, case studies and sample survey respectively. In terms of analytical strategies, the logistic regression proved very useful for multivariate analysis while the chi square technique along with

basic descriptive tools were employed at the level of univariate and bivariate analyses. The qualitative data elicited through the in-depth interview, key informant interview and case studies were analysed using a manual content analysis approach. The major findings of the study are presented in the following paragraphs.

This chapter summarises the significant findings from the study and implications of crime reporting for crime control in society in the context of the various communities that make up Lagos. It discusses the major findings, draws conclusions and makes some recommendations. This study is hinged on the fact that available statistics about victimisation, as scary, demoralizing and current as they are, do not depict the broader security implications and economic effects of non-reporting or underreporting, as the case may be in Nigeria. The choice of Lagos state for the study was motivated by the fact that Lagos is one of the most densely populated cities in Nigeria which also accommodates citizens of diverse socio-democratic/socio-cultural characteristics. The opportunities which Lagos offers encourage the migration of different people with assorted aspirations from other parts of the country. The data used were collected using triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative methods in which 948 respondents were randomly selected from the general population and 10 victims of serious crimes were respondents to case studies.

As the crime reporting practices of respondents are determined by a complex array of normative, situational and contextual considerations, 55.2% of the respondents paid greatest attention to seriousness of injury and next to this were (54.5%) offender being a relation to the victim in the study area. The logistic regression model that examined the association between victims' special considerations and their crime reporting practices suggests that fear of crime and court processes are significantly related to crime reporting. This implies that respondents who reported that fear of offender revenge was a special consideration that shaped their crime

reporting practices were two times more likely to report crimes relative to the value of loss. In certain cases, a public sense of duty, the need to protect the public and see justice done are heightened in more serious cases, while the thought of wasting police time is mitigated and the personal opportunity costs to the individual assume less importance (Fohring, 2010) were not the sentiments that played out in this instance.

The data show among respondents that victimisation is generally high. Also, data show that respondents who are business people reported more events of crime that involved them in the past. Just as education is an important development index, occupation is an indicator of human empowerment. Occupational status is often used as a yardstick to measure individuals' socio-economic status (SES) and means of socio-economic protection and reaction to victimisation in almost all human societies. Findings of this study support existing findings that the decision, whether or not, to report a crime to the police is affected by the severity or the consequences of the criminal event. Thus, individual perception about the seriousness of crime plays an important role in crime-reporting behaviour (Carcach, 1997; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994). It also supports Skogan's (1984) finding that crimes that tend to produce some form of personal gain (e.g., property crimes) are more likely to be reported to the police, for insurance purposes (Goudriaan, 2006; Tanton & Jones, 2003). Business people reporting more crimes in the study site is consistent with Gottfredson and Gottfredson's (1987) finding that those who have insured property, and that the property will be fully compensated by the insurance companies, are more likely to report property theft to the police (84%) compared to those who do not have property insurance (51%).

Low-income families are more often victimised by violent crimes than high-income families. This is in agreement with the finding that low-income persons have higher victimisation

rates for violent crimes than high-income persons (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2006b). Conversely, high-income families are more often victims of property crime, simply because they possess more property that can be targeted by potential offenders (Skogan, 1984). It may be assumed that the only frustrating problem of crime reporting is its social cost. If much of the population still lives on less than $1 per day (UNDP, 2009), the global economic crisis that began in 2008 came along with food and fuel crises that hit countries of Africa. Essentially, all these conditions must have negatively impacted employment opportunities, reduced wages and remittances simultaneously with cuts in government expenditure particularly on basic services (Samuels et al., 2011). These conditions are likely to affect crime reporting practices. Findings of this study are also supported by Goudriaan's (2006) and Skogan's (1976) findings that property crime, especially, is more likely to be reported to the police by high-income families than low-income families.

Findings also show that majority (51.4%) of respondents adjudged an array of factors that are associated to police practices such as bribery and extortion are the greatest challenges that face crime reporting in the study site. There was a limited presence of the police in the selected three local government areas covered by this study. Therefore, poor presence of the police in the study area simply explains away the generally high rate of victimisation and low rate of crime reporting among the people. Most of the crimes in which the properties and persons of community residents were victimised were not known to the police as over half of respondents in Lagos' communities had the belief that the police could not do anything to solve crimes. One major factor that was found to stand between community residents and the low rate of crime reporting was that, though police stations or police posts were not available at these locations, they also cannot be easily accessed.

The perception of community residents about the integrity of the police is a critical influence. Public confidence in the police became a problem. As a result of this, the police do not have the status of an institution which the people will most eagerly want to prefer as a suitable alternative to traditional structures for the purposes of crime reporting. It is however relevant to note that though the police do carry out routine neighbourhood surveillance, residents still largely remain convinced that some police are guilty of complicity with offenders in making innocent citizens become victims of crime. An aspect of the findings of this study is consistent with Walby and Allen's (2004) finding that high numbers of men and women do not report even the worst incidents of domestic violence they suffered to the police because they thought it was too trivial, or a family private matter, or because they did not want more humiliation, or because they feared more violence or that the situation would get worse if they involved the police.

Findings show that respondents experienced crime at diverse locations. For example, 48.3% experienced victimisation at home; near a friend's/neighbours'/relatives' homes (44.3%); workplaces/schools (45.8%); shopping malls/restaurants/banks/airports (62.5%); inside the bus/bus stops (46.3%) and in the street (48.3%). Issues that are associated with crime reporting are complex. While majority (53.3%) of respondents noted that some incidents might not be substantial enough to warrant reporting, 41.7% noted that the perception of crime as normal in some places may prove the thought that location is a significant correlate of crime reporting very wrong. However, chi-square analysis indicates that location and crime reporting were significantly related in the study setting.

Survey data reveal that semi urban respondents were more in the study than rural and urban respondents. Though victimisation among respondents from rural, semi urban and urban communities of Lagos was very high, reporting of crime was found to be more intense in the

rural communities than the semi urban and urban communities of Lagos. Thus, this finding contradicts those of Hart and Rennison (2003) that violence against suburbanites is reported to police at rates lower than violence against urbanites. As revealed in this study, violence against suburbanites was reported to the police at rates higher than violence against urbanites. The findings of prior studies which have shown that people who live in economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods are less willing to cooperate with the police is supported by qualitative findings of this study. This is because there was a demonstration of cooperation, in the form of negative group solidarity with the offender rather than the victim that got manifested in the form of unwillingness to report witnessed crimes or victimisation events to the police (Smith, 1986; Goudriaan, Wittebrood, & Nieuwbeerta, 2006; Baumer, 2002; Tankebe, 2009).

A victim who owns his/her home is more likely to contact the police versus a victim who rents or lives with others (Baumer, 2002). Qualitative data from this study does not support this finding at Ibeju Lekki where a wealthy woman house owner was victimised. Her driver went ahead to report the incident to the police. On investigation, the police came to ask the woman the possible suspects but she said she suspected no one and was not interested in police handling the matter. Perhaps she was suspicious of the police and would not want to be re-victimised in case the police divulge whatever she said to the offenders (DCO, 2012).

Furthermore, in numerical terms, previous finding supports those of this study that show that young people (ages 16 to 29) have the lowest crime-reporting rates compared to other age categories (i.e., ages 35 and older). The highest reporting rates are for people of age 60 and older (Goudriaan, 2006; Tanton & Jones, 2003). Moreover, in the study area, middle aged respondents are vulnerable to both personal and property crimes. However, the elderly are more prone to property crimes than personal crimes. These findings have support in literature. For instance,

though, younger persons are less willing to report crime to the police; they show the largest probability of violent victimisation, as well as the highest risk of being engaged in unlawful activities (Carcach, 1997). Furthermore, the elderly reported more crimes than the younger respondents. Findings in this study are, therefore, consistent with those in criminological literature that older victims of violence are more likely to contact the police than are younger victims (Hart & Rennison, 2003; Baumer, 2002; Skogan, 1984).

For this study, respondents identified sex as a socio-cultural index. Data confirmed that male outnumber female respondents. Therefore, just as more male acknowledged the fact of having been victims of crime than female respondents, more male respondents reported their victimisation experiences in the study area than female. Findings in this study however reinforced those earlier found by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1998b) that gender differences in crime-reporting behaviour are considerably high. It disproves those of Green (1981); Skogan 1984; Ashbaugh and Cornell (2008) and Bickman (1976) that though, in reality, empirical evidence shows that gender plays a significant role when it comes to making the decision whether or not to report victimisation events to the police, research shows that females are more likely to report crime to the police compared to males.

By gender, finding of this study is inconsistent with prior literature that suggests that males are less likely to report crimes to the police compared to their female counterparts (Scheafer et al., 2003; Howdon & Ryan, 2003; Thurman & Reisig, 1996; Frank et al., 2005; Carcach, 1997; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Bachman, 1998). Men report crimes more than females Cultural limitation of women might have made the observed difference significant. To the extent therefore that this study found that males were significantly more likely to report crimes to the police, its finding in this regard, is inconsistent with prior literature. Generally

therefore, victims' gender seems to be related to reporting. For instance, (Dutch) female victims seem to report to the police somewhat more often than (Dutch) male victims. However, males were found to report property crimes more often and no difference between the sexes was found for contact crimes. This gender difference regarding reporting behaviour might not be the same in all western countries (Goudriaan, 2006).

Marital status was one of the indices provided by respondents. Data showed that single and married respondents were significantly more than those who are separated, divorced or widowed in this study. Though findings confirm that single, married, separated, divorced or widowed respondents were victimised at roughly the same rate, separated, divorced or widowed reported more crimes than married and single respondents. Therefore, consistent with the work of Berk et al. (1984) and Bonomi et al. (2006), Black's (1976) theories on relational distance, and Rational Choice theories (Block, 1974; Skogan, 1984), that married women are less likely to contact the police is supported by this study. Conversely, findings of this study do not support Baumer (2002); Hart & Rennison (2003) that greater police reporting is associated with violence against those who are married. Moreover, Avakame et al. (1999), Gottfredson and Hindelang (1979), and Baumer (2002) all found that reporting rates to police were lower when the victim was unmarried than if he or she was married. While single respondents, especially female ones, may report crime by indirect means, such as going through their fathers, uncles or male siblings, the elderly respondents too are probably prevented by their declining strength and economy.

Survey data show that Yoruba respondents are more, followed by Ibo, then members of other ethnic groups and Hausa respondents were the least. Data confirm that victimisation across the different respondents by ethnic membership was very high but the reporting of these victimisation experiences was low. However, Yoruba respondents reported more crimes than Ibo

and Hausa respondents. Moreover, most researchers who have studied crime-reporting behaviour have included ethnicity among the main crime-reporting predictors. They have noted that there are differences in crime-reporting behaviour within minority groups too. In this context, when comparing minority victims of crimes within ethnic groups, consistent with the pattern of earlier victimisation in the study area, victimisation is high among respondents. However, Muslim respondents reported more crimes than Christian, Traditional believers and members of other faiths. This finding confirms Soares' (2004) finding that crime reporting practices can vary due to individual and macro-structural/cultural characteristics.

Prior studies established that women and older victims have been found to be more likely to report crime but there is no consistent evidence regarding reporting rates for different ethnic groups. A constellation of variables reflecting socio-economic status have been found to be important in that respondents from families with higher household income, owner occupiers, those living in least disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the employed are more likely to report crimes, as are those who have attained higher educational qualifications (Baumer, 2002; Carcach, 1997). From the foregoing, it is clear that findings of this study complement those of Rennison, Gover, Bosick and Dodge (2011) that the decision to report a violent victimisation to the police involves a variety of complex structural and cultural factors

In the area of concern for crime reporting, findings confirmed that a point of convergence between the traditional and modern conception of crime reporting amongst residents of the diverse communities making up Lagos exists. For example, both property and personal crimes such as theft, robbery, rape and assault were found to be reported to both formal and traditional structures of social control. However, particular premium was placed on the family as a critical role player in crime management among respondents. Since family ties are not quite completely

severed, even long after marriage, consultations with family members, especially in the aftermath of victimisation, exerts influence, even if subtle, on the decisions of victims to report or not report their victimisation experiences to available authorities. Furthermore, the study revealed, that there is a high concern for the impact of crime on victims amongst urban, semi-urban and rural residents of Lagos communities. Though findings show that semi urban respondents admitted that they suffered victimisation within the twelve months preceding this survey more than urban and rural respondents, more rural respondents reported crimes than semi-urban and urban respondents. It was also found that the incident of crime reporting reduces as one moves from rural, through semi urban into the rural communities of Lagos.

Taking the argument a bit more into theoretical spatial interaction, distance decay is probably apposite here. Since the application of the essence of this theory is capable of being noticed between locations, it emphasizes that the further apart locations are, the less likely is that their residents will interact very much. Sociologically, and particularly in the context of crime and public response to it, distance decay creates the impression of how human interactions collapse relative to distance from a cultural centre. To the extent that cultural differences exist between residents of an urban centre and those resident in semi-urban and rural neighbouring communities, the character of public reactions to crime in the context of the implications of distance decay become significant.

Therefore, using Tobler's (1970) First Law of Geography, distance decay asserts that "Everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things." In essence, it could be argued that victims who reside nearer to law enforcement stations are more likely to seize that advantage to report crimes more frequently and passionately than victims who reside in locations distant from police stations. This practically implies that the further victims of

crime are from police stations, the less frequent they interact with police personnel for the purpose of reporting crimes to police authorities. The further a criminal activity and crime victims move away from the urban area to the semi urban and the rural areas, the less effective public response to crime relative to distance decay becomes. This theory does not however reflect the reality brought to the fore by the findings of this study. Rather than distance causing response to decay, it appears to have freshened and makes it more active.

Empirical studies on reporting behaviour of crime victims are replete with the consistent finding that the victims' decision whether or not to report is largely determined by the severity of the crime because victims have been found to report their experiences of crime to the police if they have suffered serious physical or material injuries. However, only limited study has hitherto been conducted concerning the socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting practices among victims. The findings of this study indicate that victims' decisions to (not) report crimes are not influenced by the seriousness of the crime alone, socio-cultural conditions of victims, their satisfaction with police efficiency, crime location and special reasons for reporting crimes have been found to be important predictors of victims' decision whether or not to report crimes to the police as well.

The findings from qualitative study contribute significant new knowledge on the diversity of responses to victimisation that opens new avenues of sociological inquiry of crime reporting outside strictly formal treatment. The study found an evolving norm that enables members of the public to support the offender rather than the victim. The context in which this emerges usually put the blame on the victim. The Yoruba saying that rather than chastising the offender for illegally appropriating to him/herself what does not rightly belongs to him/her, members of the public heap the blame of carelessly dropping property in a place where there was no capable

guardian on the victim. This study sees this support that is becoming widespread as a negative group solidarity contrary to the Yoruba traditional norm inherent in the proverb "*E je ka le akata lo tan, ki ato ma kilo f'adiye*" (- meaning that we have to first ward off the adversary before we caution the victim, that is, if he/she has done anything to deserve his/her victimisation). Anecdotal evidence has it that up to the mid nineteenth century, the solidarity that existed among the Yoruba people was diametrically opposed to the emerging species. On the Island of Lagos, qualitative data found that indigenes do not report to the police as a response to crime because it is a sign of cowardice. Rather, victims seek revenge. It is therefore not surprising that every indigene that lives on the island has a gang that comes handy anytime a crime requiring revenge occurs.

Furthermore, the analyses examined the influence of individual and household characteristics on the likelihood of reporting violence to the police while controlling for relevant correlates. Crime reporting has always existed, but its understanding is often culture-driven. Being a victim tragically implies a stigma that uncomfortably involves a reduction of some kind in the public personal worth of the victimised individual. Thus, when a male is victimised and he resorts to reporting, he is customarily construed to seem a coward or unable to protect himself and those who are unfortunate to be his dependants become automatically vulnerable to invasion within the context of his being the protector of the family.

All these indicate social, cultural and psychological problems which hurt the man's ego and humiliate him in the estimation of right thinking members of his cultural community. In the case of the woman who is a victim of rape, she lives the rest of her life with the stigma of being looked at as the 'leftover' of some miscreants. Solutions of different types which range from informal policing structures, faith based treatment and reliance on improved modern security

technologies, such as anonymous crime reporting through the use of cell phones and closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras as tools that are strategically positioned in public areas for crime prevention, investigation, and evidence collection to fill this unmet security desire of residents of Lagos were all suggested by respondents as possible resources that could improve their capacities for better crime reporting practices in the future.

Findings also show that some victims of violence are less likely to contact the police than others. First, the nature of crime is not significantly associated with crime reporting in the study setting. Second, victims' special considerations are significantly associated with crime reporting in the study setting. Third, public confidence in the police is not significantly associated with crime reporting. Fourth, the chi-square analysis indicates that location and crime reporting were significantly related in the study setting and finally, socio-cultural conditions of crime victims are significantly associated with their crime reporting practices.

With regard to the conceptual framework proposed for this study, according to the analyses undertaken in the study, the pattern of social network has not really witnessed any significant changes. However, changes in the relative social, economic and cultural background of crime reporting actors and actresses which is rooted in the relative social and economic substructure of society, accelerated by globalisation, victims and witnesses of crime have been encountering a seemingly unending expectations from the criminal justice system in terms of their crime reporting capacities. These expectations have increased the independence of disadvantaged members of society such as women, children and the aged in the management of their crime reporting limitations. Also, the transformations are increasing the intensity of familial commitment of relations to members' safety, which is facilitating proactive rather than the traditional reactive crime reporting practices. This has enhanced gender equity in crime reporting

decision-making. The implication of this for the society, in general, is the emergence of articulate crime reporting actors and actresses who are equipped with state of the art victimisation treatment attitudes and skills.

5.2 Conclusion

The study examined the correlates of crime reporting practices among victims in Lagos, Nigeria. The study has shown critical links that exist between socio-economic conditions and crime reporting practices among victims in communities of Lagos by indicating and identifying individual household condition, communal values, attitudes and practices that influence individual and collective safety. In line with the analytical focus of action theory on human actors, reporting is found to transcend a personal, situational or contextual concern. To the extent that social action may be oriented to past, present or predicted future behaviour of criminals makes it a suitable theory to explain crime reporting behaviour of victims. While findings confirmed that separated respondents reported more crimes than their married counterparts, male respondents without formal education reported crimes more than their female counterparts. On the whole, respondents from rural communities reported more crimes than those from semi-urban and urban communities of Lagos.

By relating separately and collectively the possible influences of each variable on crime reporting, the study contributes significantly to the theoretical relevance of victimology. In the course of this study, the social action theory of Max Weber was used to project the need to look beyond the individual to understand the influences of interaction, aspiration for integration and community networks on victim decision making in the context of crime reporting. This study provides a number of theoretical models which help to better understand and predict crime-reporting and some substantive contributions to the existing literature on crime-reporting

practices. The findings of this study tell us that while attempting to explain crime-reporting practices, even when best crime-reporting predictors were included in the models, a great number of questions remain unanswered. Though this thesis was to develop five theoretical models that best explain crime-reporting practices in the study setting, it is not being suggested that it has developed theoretical models that offer a one-size-fits-all answers to unreported or under-reported crimes in the society.

The reasons behind crime victims' reporting or not reporting have been the subject of many empirical studies over the past decades. None has established, the way this study has done, that customary sentiments drive crime reporting. For example, the common saying that has often been woven into a cultural injunction to scare crime reporters in Yoruba land is *"eni ti o ba se inkan ti enikan o se ri; oju re ari inkan t'enikan o ri ri"* – meaning that whoever attempts what someone had not done before will interact with experiences no one had had. Any victim of a crime that can be easily overlooked is constantly reminded that *"a kii de lati ile ejo wa dore",* meaning that we do not emerge from the background of a court case to become best of friends. These are classic reminders of the need to avoid reckless crime reporting so as not to inflict injuries which do not have the likelihood of quickly healing up on the dynamics of cultural interaction and integration in society.

Except all primordial sentiments that dampen crime reporting enthusiasm are consciously removed from the mindset of community dwellers, crime victims and witnesses will never report crimes to the police efficiently. This study indeed found that there is a greater concern among Lagos rural dwellers for crime reporting than urban residents. This relatively higher level of crime reporting concern was reflected in the patronage of traditional criminal justice system as complimentary resources to address their crime challenges. This is because, in practice, the

traditional criminal justice is obviously more accessible and effective in terms of social cost and eternal presence in their communities than the formal option. If all the cultural inhibitions that are inherent in proverbs and customary cautionary interventions do not constantly remind community dwellers of the possible consequences of crime reporting on potential crime reporters' future interactions with other members of the community, more crimes might have been reported than this study discovered. This might imply a more robust crime statistics database and safer communities in Lagos.

5.3 Recommendations

The findings of the study have a number of policy implications. Therefore, to enable more community members report crimes more, government should:

First, crime reporting practices are not new in the study area. There are evidences of traditional forms of crime reporting in existence among respondents which have become recognised as critical components of public safety and socio-economic development. It has been demonstrated that the traditional crime reporting structures do not promote recordable statistics that would heighten technology assisted crime control regime. Moreover, structural changes stimulated by civilisation and the fallouts of globalisation are progressively causing communities to imbibe transformations that compel changes in the relative socio-economic characteristics as well as cultural values of individuals that respond to criminal activities through crime reporting to authorities.

Therefore, policy makers should embark on policy designs and actions that can speed up changes in the social, economic and cultural substructure of society. Such goals may be achieved by consciously promoting gender balanced social, economic and cultural policies that can reduce the current ignorance and poverty levels. Although successive governments have been making

what appeared to be concerted efforts to reduce illiteracy, ignorance and poverty, these have not led to concrete and measurable improvement in household livelihoods. It is therefore necessary to re-engineer, refocus and reposition these efforts to address social, economic and cultural conditions of community dwellers in the country. This can improve the social, economic and cultural independence of individual crime victims and witnesses in the society to put rewarding crime reporting behaviour on display. As a result, influence of the network of extended family structure can be kept at the level that poses no significant threat to crime reporting in society.

Secondly, the desire for reporting crimes to the authority is found to be proportionally related to the amount of security an individual enjoys against possible offender retaliation. This shows that the level of insecurity in the society is still very high. In order to promote crime reporting that reduces criminals' capacity to reoffend, there is need to emphasise policy actions that frustrate impunity. Along with such policies, support packages for crime victims such as painless recovery of their losses and compensation for their injuries should be given adequate and urgent attention. In reality, the criminals offended the victim and not the nebulous state that prosecutes and takes all the benefit of criminal justice award on behalf of the traumatised victim.

Thirdly, though crime prevention support of government for the police to enforce law is increasing, there is still much to be done if community dwellers who desire a calm environment to live and work must achieve their desires. Therefore, both the fiscal and social costs of crime reporting should be consciously given a serious and quick attention. Of critical significance is the police equipment. This can be addressed through well integrated approaches such as: retraining of police personnel; providing police with sophisticated arms and ammunitions; encouraging women to see themselves as active role players in crime reporting decision making and making sure that only the honest and descent people are recruited into the police. The diverse forms of

responses to crime that involve the use of Informal Policing Structures, faith based resources and technology induced crime reporting through the use of cell phones and Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras to resolve the unmet security needs of community dwellers in Lagos should also be given careful and in-depth consideration.

Fourthly, the issue of lack of public confidence in the police is a critical question. In spite of the ambitious target of the Inspector General of Police Mohammed Abubakar to reduce corruption among police by 70.0% and 60.0% reduction in crime in 2014 (IG Strategic Initiatives, 2014), victims will only report crime to the police if police conduct guarantees the anonymity of victims who report crimes. Thus, the agencies of indigenous justice system such as vigilantes, youth groups and cultural sects may be restructured to align with the refinement needs of the present day crime control resources such that their activities could be integrated to the formal system. In addition, crime data obtained from these custodians of indigenous justice system could establish credible frequency and distribution of victimisation along ethnic zones and in this way help the police reorder their target-specific law enforcement priorities. If public policy encourages communities to embrace a more victim-oriented and corrective approach to crime reporting and more importantly recognise and integrate Informal Policing Structures (IPS) into contemporary crime management apparatuses, the implicit confidence which community dwellers repose in these cultural structures might rub off on the police to achieve the much needed partnership with the people.

Finally, education is a powerful agent of social change; as a result, the need to redesign education policy and implement same religiously should be rigorously given attention. It will be necessary to promote crime prevention and reduction education that addresses various aspects of crime reporting for public safety. Judging by the prevalent ignorance of community people about

the gains of crime reporting, the values of reporting should be integrated into all levels of the nation's educational system and engage adult extension classes, justice and allied professionals and other service providers in further re-training exercises on victims' issues to partner with teachers to inculcate in learners the knowledge and skill that will make them freely report crimes in their adulthood.

5.4 Areas of Future Research

For the fact that prior studies had concentrated on the relationship between the victim and the offender, this study did not include it as one of the major correlates of crime reporting. In this connection, this study ends with areas that require research intervention. It is necessary for further studies to be conducted on the subject matter of this study in other populations in order to obtain a broader insight into the implicit and explicit changes in societal structure and the implications of crime reporting for public safety. Such studies may be designed to adopt longitudinal approach in order to allow for a longer range of assessment and re-assessment of the trends and patterns that characterise Nigerian's crime reporting practices. Also, it will be highly rewarding to examine the dynamics of Nigerian culture. It is suggested that future research should fill this gap by comparing the existing pattern with the past, a dimension which the present study did not adequately address. This study suggests that there have been some significant changes that may not be without some negative implications. As a result, well designed studies should be carried out with the aim of describing the untoward implications of the changes in the cultural structure of society for the present and future generations of crime reporters.

5.5 Contributions to Knowledge

The study has been able to fill the gap in the literature on crime reporting. Specifically, the following contributions have been added to the body of existing knowledge:

1. Insecurity and unemployment exposed respondents to preventable victimisation.
2. Recovery of loss and a desire to deter future crimes by arrest of offenders motivated victims to report crime in the communities of Lagos.
3. Fear of offenders' revenge, nature of crime, victim-precipitated attacks, lack of confidence in the police and offenders being relations of victims account for victims' non-crime reporting practices in the communities of Lagos.
4. Reporting increases from the urban through the semi-urban to the rural communities of Lagos.
5. Contrary to the common practice in literature, children and women do not report crime to the police in compliance with normative expectations in the communities of Lagos.
6. Among Lagos Island indigenes reporting crime to the police is considered a sign of cowardice. The normative alternative to reporting crime to the police is retaliation.
7. Finally, the study provides a conceptual framework which links correlates to effective crime reporting in Lagos.

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Appendix 1

University of Ibadan
Faculty of the Social Sciences
Department of Sociology
Ibadan.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

I am a Doctoral Student of Faculty of the Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. You have been chosen to help in supplying vital information that may help the present study to achieve its purpose. I sincerely wish you participate as this study is to investigate the socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting of victims in Lagos, Nigeria. Your comprehensive and factual responses are therefore requested and will be treated in strict confidence. Nothing in the material supplied for this study will be described in any way that reveals your identity. Please feel free to share with me the whole truth in respect of all issues raised in the course of this interview/discussion.

Please also accept my gratitude for your time and attention invested in this academic enterprise. Should you have any question about me and the study that is likely to make you develop confidence in me before we continue, I will be too pleased to answer. (Formally, ask for respondent's willingness to participate in the session. If he/she agrees, continue. Otherwise end session.)

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

Ayodele Johnson
Researcher

Please tick ( ) against the option(s) you choose as your answer.

S/N	Section A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	VARIABLE	CODES
1	Sex	Male ( ) Female ( )	1 2
2	Age	Specify _____	
3	Marital Status	Single ( ) Married ( ) Separated ( ) Divorced ( ) Widowed ( )	1 2 3 4 5
4	Education	No Formal Education ( ) Primary Education ( ) Secondary Education ( ) OND/NCE ( ) HND ( ) BSC ( ) Other (Specify) _____	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5	Religion	Christianity ( ) Islam ( ) Traditional ( ) Others (Specify) _____	1 2 3 4
6	Place of Residence	Urban ( ) Semi Urban ( ) Rural ( )	1 2 3
7	Ethnic Group	(Specify) _____	
8	Occupation	(Specify) _____	

SECTION B: General Background of Crime Reporting Practices			
1	How long have you lived at this address?	Specify_____	
2	Have you ever been a victim of crime?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 5)*	1 2
3	If yes, of which kind of crime?_____ _____		
4	How long ago was the incident?_____		
5	Was this the only time this ever happened to you?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
6	If no, have you ever been the victim of any other incidents of crime?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 8)*	1 2
7	If yes, what other incidents of crime?_____		
8	Looking back at the time immediately following the crime event, how did it influence your life? _____ _____		
9	Did the crime influence your work in terms of being absent?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 12)*	1 2
10	If yes, for how many days? _____		
11	How did the absence affect your work?_____ _____		
12	Is there any part of your life still affected by your experiences during the crime?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 14)*	1 2
13	If yes, what kind of effect does it have? _____ _____		
14	Did you at any time feel you were, in any way, responsible for the crime?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
15. If yes, how? _____ _____			
16. if no, what do you think was responsible?_____ _____			

SECTION C: Criminal Justice System and Reporting Decision Making Process			
1.	What items belonging to you were stolen during the incident of crime? *(You are free to tick more than one option)*	(A) Luggage/ Briefcase (B) Laptop/Telephone (C) Clothing/Television/Wallet/Purse (D) Car (E) Jewellery/Wristwatches (F) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5 6
2.	Did you report the incident of crime?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
3.	If yes, to which authority did you report?_____		
4.	What factors influenced your decision to report to the authority to which you reported?_____ _____		
5.	If no, what factors influenced your decision not to report to any of the existing authorities? _____ _____		
6.	Have you reported any case to the police before then?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 13)*	1 2
7.	If yes, what was your experience like?	(A) Very Encouraging (B) Encouraging (C) Very Discouraging (D) Discouraging (E) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5
8.	How did that experience influence your desire to report the most recent crime?_____ _____		
9.	Did the type of crime you experienced have an influence on your decision to report future crimes?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 11)*	1 2
10.	If yes, how?_____		
11.	Is there anything the police could have done to improve your experience?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
12.	If yes, in respect of what?	(A) Information (B) Sympathy (C) Other (Specify) _____	1 2 3
13.	Did the incident of crime, in the end, lead to a court case?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 18)*	1 2
14.	If yes, did you have to attend court?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 16)*	1 2
15.	If yes, what was your experience like?	(A) Very Encouraging (B) Encouraging (C) Very Discouraging (D) Discouraging (E) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5
16.	If the incident of crime ended in court case, was the result of the court case satisfactory?	(A) Yes *(If yes, skip to Number 19)* (B) No	1 2
17.	If no, why?_____		

18.	How likely is it that you will report incidents of crime in the future?	(A) Very Likely (B) Likely (C) Very Unlikely (D) Unlikely	1 2 3 4
19.	What can the police or any institution do to encourage you to report incidents in the future?_____ _____		
20.	Apart from the police, to which other authority did you report?_____ _____		
21.	Why did you choose to report to your choice in question 20?_____ _____		
22.	Did you feel satisfied with the outcome of your report?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
23.	If yes, what did the authority do to cause your satisfaction?_____ _____		
24.	If no, why were you not satisfied?_____ _____		
25.	Within the last one year, did anything which you thought was a crime happen to you but you did not report to the police?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 27)*	1 2
26.	If yes, what was it? _____		
27.	On the whole, how do you feel about the ability of the police to solve crime? _____ _____		

Section D: Location In Which Crime Takes Place And Crime Reporting			
1	Other than any incidents already mentioned, since the last twelve months, were you attacked, threatened or had something stolen from you?	(A) Yes (B) No *(if no, skip to no 3)*	1 2
2	If yes, where did you experience the crime?	(A) At Home (B) Near A Friend's/Neighbour's/Relative's Home (C) Workplace/School (D) Shopping Mall/Restaurant/Bank (E) Inside the Bus/Bus Stop (F) In a Street (G) Airport (H) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
3	Did anyone attempt to attack you or steal something belonging to you at any of these places?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 5)*	1 2
4	If yes, why_____		
5	Other than any incidents already mentioned, since the last twelve months, has anyone attacked or threatened you?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
6	If yes, who?_____		
7	If no, why?_____		

8	Which of these ways was used in the attack? *(You are free to tick more than one option)*	(A) Guns (B) Knives (C) Punching (D) Choking (E) Face To Face Threats (F) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5 6
9	Do you think the location in which crime takes place influences crime reporting?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
10	If yes, how does it influence it?_____		
11	If no, why?_____		

SECTION E: Nature of Crime and Crime Reporting			
1	Do you think that the way a crime occurs has any influence on crime reporting?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
2	If yes, what kind of influence does it have? _____ _____		
3	If no, why?_____ _____		
4	How many criminals were present at the crime scene?	(A) One (B) Two (C) Many (D) Too Afraid To know (E) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5
	What kind(s) of weapon(s) was used? *(You are free to tick more than one option)*	(A) Guns (B) Knives (C) Fearful Weapon (D) No Weapon (E) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5
6	As a result of the crime, were you injured?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 10)*	1 2
7	If yes, what kind of injury?	(A) Bodily (B) Financial (C) Emotional (D) Material (E) All of the above (F) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5 6
8	How serious was the injury?_____		
9	How did this/these injury/injuries you sustained influence your crime reporting?_____ _____		
10	If your answer to item 6 above is no, why were you not injured?_____ _____		

SECTION F: Victims' Special Consideration for Crime Reporting

1	What factors do victims consider before reporting a crime?	(A) Value of Loss (B) Seriousness of Injury (C) Offender Being a Relation (D) Fear of Offender Revenge (E) High Cost of Crime Reporting (F) Court Processes (G) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2	If you have to pay for reporting a crime, how much will you consider too high to prevent you from reporting to the police?_____		
3	What are the court processes that influence victims' crime reporting?	(A) Money (B) Time (C) Difficult Personnel (D) Commercial Judgment (E) Insecure Court Documents (F) Document forgery (G) Other (Specify)_____	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4	What practices of the police make reporting crime to the police difficult for you?_____ _____		
5	How does the time of the day a crime occurs (especially at night) influence your reporting to the police?_____ _____		
6	How does access of residents to indigenous system of justice influence your reporting to the police?___ _____ _____		
7	How confident would you say you are in your local police service?	(A) Very Confident (B) Confident (C) Not Very Confident (D) Not Confident (E) Other (Specify) _____	1 2 3 4 5

SECTION G: Socio-Cultural Conditions and Crime Reporting			
1	Do social and cultural factors exist in the community that influence crime reporting?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to no 3)*	1 2
2	If yes, what are these factors?_____ _____ _____		
3	Are there any cultural beliefs in the community that set how residents should support victims of crime?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to no 5)*	1 2
4	If yes, state these beliefs_____ _____ _____		
5	How do victims' various places of worship influence their crime reporting practices_____ _____ _____		
6	Do taboos exist in the community that influence crime reporting?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to Number 9)*	1 2
7	If yes, what are these taboos?_____ _____		
8	How do they influence crime reporting? _____ _____		
9	If no, why?_____ _____		
10	Does the quality of training which individuals receive as children at home influence their crime reporting practices at adulthood?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
11	If yes, how? _____ _____		
11	If no, why?_____ _____		
12	Do extended family connections influence crime reporting?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
13	If yes, how? _____ _____		
14	If no, why?_____ _____		
15	Do traditional ways of crime control influence crime reporting	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
16	If yes, how? _____ _____		
17	If no, why?_____ _____		
18	How can crime reporting help to ensure community safety? _____		

	_____		
19	Did you receive any kind of help, advice or support following your experience of crime?	(A) Yes (B) No (If no, skip to no 22)	1 2
20	From whom did you receive the support? _____ _____		
21	If yes, what kind of support did you receive?	(A) Emotional (B) Financial (C) Information (D) Material (E) Other Form of Support (Specify) _____	1 2 3 4 5
22	Did you get the kind of support you wanted?	(A) Yes (B) No	1 2
23	If yes, what kind of support? _____ _____		
24	If no, why?_____ _____		
25	If you did not receive the kind of support you wanted, were you at any point offered but you refused?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to no 28)*	1 2
26	If yes, why? _____ _____		
27	If you did not receive support, would you have liked to receive?	(A) Yes (B) No *(If no, skip to no 30)*	1 2
28	If yes, what kind of support? _____ _____		
29	Is there any type of support or service you would have liked to receive but was unavailable?	(A) Yes (B) No (If no, skip to no 32)	1 2
30	If yes, what kind?_____ _____		
31	Looking back, do you think some form of support may have helped you?	(A) Yes (B) No (If no, skip to no 34)	1 2
32	If yes, what are the forms of support you expected? _____ _____		
33	In general, how do you feel about the level of support available to victims of crime in your community?_____ _____ _____		

Appendix 2
Qualitative Discussion Guide (In – Depth Interviews (IDI) Guide for Traditional Rulers)
Section 1: In - Depth Interview Identification Particulars
Local Government Area_____
Community _____
Date of IDI_____
Time IDI started_____
Language of Interview/Discussion_____
Interview result_____
Time IDI Ended _____
Venue name_____
Interviewers/Moderator's Code_____
Introduction
Good day, I am a Doctoral Student of the Faculty of the Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting among victims in Lagos, Nigeria. This study is being conducted in order to generate information on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting responses of residents in Lagos State. These will help us improve justice system in Lagos State by updating public policy for safer communities.
Confidentiality and Informed Consent
I want to assure you that all the information generated from this discussion are for research purposes only and will not be used for any other purpose. All the information you volunteer will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. The interview will take about forty five minutes and your open and candid contribution to discussions will be highly appreciated. I also want to use a recorder so that I can get all the information better. Do I have your permission to continue sir/ma?

Topics

1. **Do residents of your community experience crimes?**
   Probe for:
   a) Kinds of crime which residents commonly experience
   b) Those to whom they report such crimes
   c) The body to which they choose to report crimes

2. **What are the features of victims who report crime in your community?**
   Probe for:
   a) Age bracket
   b) Gender
   c) Religion
   d) Ethnic origin
   e) Education and Income

3. **How is crime reporting knowledge, practices and skills managed in your community?**

Probe for:

1. The knowledge of traditional practices and skills of crime reporting
2. The knowledge of police practices and skills of crime reporting
3. How these different knowledge and practices link up to affect crime reporting in the community
4. Crime reporting through socialisation in the past and present
5. Specific changes that have occurred in the way in which crimes are reported today

4. **Are there any kinds of customs, rules or regulations that victims must follow in the course of reporting crime in your community?**

Probe for:

a. State these salient customs, beliefs, rules and norms with specific examples
b. Mention how these rules, beliefs and customs guide crime reporting practices in the community?
c. How the community enforces victims' compliance with crime reporting practices.
d. What are those considerations that keep some victims from reporting crime in your community?
   i. Lack of Trust in the police
   ii. Fear of Retaliation by criminals
   iii. Lack of Information among community residents.

5. **What are the differences between how the police and traditional justice system handle crime victims in your community?**

Probe for:

a) Existence of council of elders
b) The perception of justice
c) The right of members of other ethnic groups to report crimes in your community
d) The use of masquerades, gods etc to enforce compliance with norms of crime reporting, bless victims and exorcise spirit of crime at shrines.
e) Explain norms that prevent any gender or age from reporting crimes.
f) Problems which victims experience in accessing justice in the community.
g) State the categories of residents more at highest risk of not reporting crime in your community
h) Instances of referral services between traditional and formal justice systems.
i) Support which tradition gives to victims of crimes.
j) Improvement of victims' crime reporting skills in your community.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME, YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL

Appendix 3
Qualitative Discussion Guide (In – Depth Interviews (IDI) Guide for Religious Leaders)
Section 1: In - Depth Interview Identification Particulars

Local Government Area_____
Community _____
Date of IDI_____
Time IDI started_____
Language of Interview/Discussion_____
Interview result_____
Time IDI Ended _____
Venue name_____
Interviewers/Moderator's Code_____

Introduction

Good day, I am a Doctoral Student of the Faculty of the Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting among victims in Lagos, Nigeria. This study is being conducted in order to generate information on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting responses of residents in Lagos State. These will help us improve justice system in Lagos State by updating public policy for safer communities.

Confidentiality and Informed Consent

I want to assure you that all the information generated from this discussion are for research purposes only and will not be used for any other purpose. All the information you volunteer will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. The interview will take about forty five minutes and your open and candid contribution to discussions will be highly appreciated. I also want to use a recorder so that I can get all the information better. Do I have your permission to continue sir/ma?

Topic

1. **Do members of your faith report crimes?**

   Probe for:

   d) Kinds of crimes they report
   e) Regularity of their reporting crimes
   f) Other assistance you provide your members who become crime victims.

2. **How have you being handling crimes reported to you by members of your congregation?**

   Probe for:

   a) What exactly you do on each of the instances your members report crimes to you.
   b) Satisfaction of your members with your intervention.
   c) Your faith's tolerance of victim-members taking their cases to traditional rulers or police

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME, YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL

Appendix 4

Qualitative Discussion Guide (Key Informant Interviews (KII) Guide for Members of Victims' Families)

Section 1: Key Informant Interview Identification Particulars

Local Government Area_____
Community _____
Date of KII_____
Time KII started_____
Language of Interview/Discussion_____
Interview result_____
Time KII Ended _____
Venue name_____
Interviewers/Moderator's Code_____

Introduction

Good day, I am a Doctoral Student of the Faculty of the Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting among victims in Lagos, Nigeria. This study is being conducted in order to generate information on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting responses of residents in Lagos State. These will help us improve justice system in Lagos State by updating public policy for safer communities.

Confidentiality and Informed Consent

I want to assure you that all the information generated from this discussion are for research purposes only and will not be used for any other purpose. All the information you volunteer will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. The interview will take about forty five minutes and your open and candid contribution to discussions will be highly appreciated. I also want to use a recorder so that I can get all the information better. Do I have your permission to continue sir/ma?

Topics

1. **Has any member of your family been attacked by criminals before?**
   Probe for:
   a) Relationship of the victim to you.
   b) Where the crimes took place
   c) Number of times it occurred
   d) Time of crime occurrence
   e) Type of crime
   f) Ages of victims
   g) Gender of victims
   h) Religion of victims
   i) Seriousness of economic loss
   j) Intensity of physical injury
   k) Kinds of weapons used during the crime

Father, mother, sister, uncle others_____
Home, workplace, street, public place, others_____
Once, twice, thrice, others_____
Morning, afternoon, night, others_____
Personal, property, others _____
Specify _____
Male, female
Christian, Muslim, traditional believer, other_____
Millions, thousands, hundreds of naira, other_____
Serious injuries, minor injuries, other_____
Guns, cutlasses, charms, others _____
_____

2. **Did a family member report his/her case?**
   Probe for:
   a) The person that reported the crime.
   b) The body to which it was reported.
   c) Role played by other members of family in deciding where, when and to whom they reported the crimes.
   d) Results of the report.
   e) Effect of the outcomes of the report on victims' future crime reporting practices.

3. **Did other members of the family offer any support?**
   Probe for:

   a) Presence of family members with victim after the crime
   b) Kinds of support given by members of the family to the victim.
   c) Adequacy of the support?
   d) Effects of support on victims' recovery from the crime

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME, YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL

Appendix 5

Qualitative Discussion Guide (Key Informant Interview (KII) Guide for Chairmen of Landlord Associations)

Section 1: Key Informant Interview Identification Particulars

Local Government Area_____

Community _____

Date of KII_____

Time KII started_____

Language of Interview/Discussion_____

Interview result_____

Time KII Ended _____

Venue name_____

Interviewers/Moderator's Code_____

Introduction

Good day, I am a Doctoral Student of the Faculty of the Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting among victims in Lagos, Nigeria. This study is being conducted in order to generate information on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting responses of residents in Lagos State. These will help us improve justice system in Lagos State by updating public policy for safer communities.

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Topic

1. **What are the common crimes in the neighbourhood?**
   Probe for:
   a) Kinds of crime
   b) Frequency of such crimes
   c) Seriousness of such crimes
   d) Times of the day when they are victimised
2. **Do members of your association report their crimes?**
   Probe for:
   a) The body to which they commonly report their crimes.
   b) Exact efforts of the association to support its members in reporting crimes.
   c) Effect of such support on future crime reporting practices of victims.
   d) Other law enforcement bodies to which members report their crimes.
3. **How does your association handle the report of crimes that happen to its members?**
   Probe for:
   a) Establishment of Council of community elders
   b) Use of Vigilante group (such as OPC to reduce crime events)
   c) Engagement of Youth forums

d) Referral to traditional or formal justice system.

4. **How does your association assist members who become victims of crime?**
   Probe for:
   a) Material assistance such as money, replacement of lost materials etc.
   b) Non–material assistance such as emotional support, punishment of offenders and others.
   c) Other forms of assistance available to victims of crime who are members of your association?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME, YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL

Appendix 6

Qualitative Discussion Guide (Key Informant Interview Guide for Divisional Police Crime Officers)

Section 1: Key Informant Interview Identification Particulars

Local Government Area_____

Community _____

Date of KII_____

Time KII started_____

Language of Interview/Discussion_____

Interview result_____

Time KII Ended _____

Venue name_____

Interviewers/Moderator's Code_____

Introduction

Good day, I am a Doctoral Student of the Faculty of the Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting among victims in Lagos, Nigeria. This study is being conducted in order to generate information on socioeconomic correlates of crime reporting responses of residents in Lagos State. These will help us improve justice system in Lagos State by updating public policy for safer communities.

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Topic

1. **Is the crime rate in your division going up or down?**
   Probe for:
   Justification

2. **What are the crimes most commonly reported to you in your division?**
   Probe for:
   a) Kinds of crime
   b) Frequency of such crimes
   c) Seriousness of such crimes
   d) Times of the day when such crimes are reported

3. **What are the characteristics of victims who report crime to you in your division?**
   Probe for:
   a) Age bracket
   b) Gender
   c) Religion
   d) Ethnic origin

e) Income
f) Education

4. **What major considerations make residents report crimes at your division?**
   Probe for:
   a) Benefit of crime reporting to victims.
   b) Seriousness of the crime.
   c) Fear of victims who report crimes and express their fear of further crimes at your stations.
   d) What roles do offenders being strangers play in crime reporting by victims at stations in your division?

5. **How can crime reporting by victims be improved in your division?**
   Probe for:
   a) Police recording of crimes reported by victims
   b) Involvement of police in criminal practices.
   c) Police and drugs.
   d) Immediate arrest and punishment of criminals.
   e) Public trust in police

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME, YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL

Appendix 7

Qualitative Discussion Guide (Case Study Guide for Victims of Serious Crimes)

Section 1: Case Study Interview Identification Particulars

Local Government Area_____

Community _____

Date of CS_____

Time CS started_____

Language of Interview/Discussion_____

Interview result_____

Time CS Ended _____

Venue name_____

Interviewers/Moderator's Code_____

Introduction

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The Questions

1. **Socio – demographic characteristics**

   Probe for:

   a) Age
   b) Marital status
   c) Ethnic origin
   d) Occupation
   e) Religion
   f) Education

2. **How did the crime happen?**

   Probe for:

   a) The time of the day
   b) The day of the week
   c) The date in the month
   d) The particular type of crime
   e) Duration of the crime
   f) The amount of financial loss
   g) Extent of physical injury

h) Overview of the entire crime event. Flashbacks.

3. **Was the criminal caught?**
   Probe for:
   a) Age of the criminal
   b) Sex of the criminal (women involvement in crime)
   c) Relationship of victim with offender prior to the crime
   d) Reporting of the crime to a body
   e) Reasons behind the reporting
   f) Effect of the report – escape or arrest of the criminal
   g) Explanation of what happened, in terms of punishment, to the criminal
   h) Probable reasons behind your being the victim and not someone else (your routine activities, lifestyles, economic status).

4. **What were your experiences with the police?**
   Probe for:
   a) Considerations that influenced your decision whether or not to report to the police.
   b) Previous experiences of dealing with the police.
   c) How type of crime you experienced influenced your decision to report
   d) Police conduct in the presence and absence of inducement.
   e) Police relationship with the criminals.
   f) Police relationship with the victims.
   g) Whether the experience was positive or negative
   h) Adequacy of the information supplied by the police
   i) The level of sympathy which the police demonstrated
   j) Confidence in your local police service
   k) Things that the police ought to have done but did not do
   l) Ability of the police to solve crime problems
   m) Likelihood of the thought of an alternative authority to which you report future crime
   n) Concerns that will prevent certain residents from reporting crimes to the police.

5. **Did the incident result in a court case?**
   Probe for:
   a) Victim's attendance of court
   b) Punishment of criminal
   c) Whether the court experiences were positive or negative
   d) Things the court could have done to improve your experiences
   e) Feeling of having been responsible, in part, for the crime
   f) Consideration of using informal crime control to solve crime problem in future

6. **How has the amount of support you received influenced your life?**
   Probe for:
   a) Whether the kind of support gotten is the one expected
   b) Whether you got the support when you wanted it
   c) Usefulness of the kind of support received.
   d) Whether you would have liked a system for getting support that did not involve the police

e) The kind of support received – (Emotional, Financial, Information)
f) The kind of help, advice or support you would have liked following your experience of crime
g) Providers of the support to victims
h) Whether any offer was declined
i) The way tradition views the need for support to victims in times of crime.
j) Community and assistance to victims
k) Government and support to victims of crime.
l) Things that the police, any organisation or any individual could do to encourage you to report crimes in the future
m) Families, institutions, tradition, neighbours and reduction of crime in the community.
n) Some form of support that may have helped you that was not provided
o) Feelings about the level of support available to victims of crime.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME, YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL