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URBAN VIOLENCE AND CRIME: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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Introduction

Over the years, the field of urban planning has joined the spheres of criminology, social work, urban anthropology or psychology who are traditionally and most associated with violence as an issue of individual, in studying urban violence and criminal pathology. UN-Habitat (2007) observes the rapid pace of urbanization coupled with the growth in city size and density is associated with increased crime and violence. Poor urban planning, design and management play a role in the shaping of urban environments that put citizens and property at risk. In the forecast of Doyle (2016), it was observed that the world is currently undergoing the largest wave of urban growth in history. However, it is widely believed that rapid urbanisation and the marginalisation of specific groups is one of the contributing factors to a rise in organised forms of urban violence (Muggah, 2012).

In the foreword of World Report on Violence and Health (2002), *Nelson Mandela* was quoted saying no country, no city, no community is immune to urban violence. Is a legacy that reproduces itself, as new generations learn from the violence of generations past, as victims learn from victimisers, and as the social conditions that nurture violence are allowed to continue. WHO (2002) opines clearly that over 1.6 million lives are lost each year and countless more damaged in ways that are not always apparent. For everyone who dies as a result of violence, many more are injured and suffer from a range of physical, sexual, reproductive and mental health problems. This shows no country or community is untouched by violence. Morser & Mcilwaine (2006) believe definitions of violence often overlap with those of conflict and crime, reflected in terms such as “violent crime”, “criminal conflict”, “conflictual violence” and “violent conflict”. However, most generic definitions present violence as the use of physical force, which causes hurt to others in order to impose one's wishes (Keane, 1996).

With all these historical qualifications of violence, Doyle (2016) expediently agreed with history that there is no agreed definition of urban violence as it is a “dynamic and evolving phenomenon” that often features “interconnected forms of insecurity” and encompasses physical and psychological harm against persons with its manifestations ranging from homicide to other forms. From the angle of WHO (2002); Moser (2004), it has been labelled as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation.” Nonetheless,

much has been said recently about the rising crime rate – dividend of urban violence, and the published statistics on it have frightened many people (Fromm, 1969). Alapata (2012) expounds plainly that the concentration of violent crimes in major urban centres worldwide is been heralded as an indicator of the breakdown of urban systems. However, one can see crime from Moser (2004) perspective, as an act (usually a grave offence) punishable by law. In other words, the breach of a legal prohibition, and violent crime, in turn, has been defined as any act that causes a physical or psychological wound or damage and which is against the law (Vanderschueren, 1996).

The nature and amount of violent crimes vary considerably across countries and regions, according to different contexts, such as their history, social structure and state-society relations (Muggah, 2012). No gainsaying that different types of violence are overlapping and cross-cutting in space and time, from one region to the other, calling for holistic understanding. For instance, ever increasing crime and violence rates are now a key development issue in countries like El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras for Central American countries (World Bank, 2011). Even on a cursory review of literature, there exists linkages between urbanisation, urban violence and urban poverty in Africa. In addition to the toll of human misery, violence puts a massive burden on national economies. For example, studies sponsored by the Inter-American Development Bank between 1996 and 1997 on the economic impact of violence in six Latin American countries calculated that expenditures on health services alone amounted to 1.9% of the gross domestic product in Brazil, 5.0% in Colombia, 4.3% in El Salvador, 1.3% in Mexico, 1.5% in Peru and 0.3% in Venezuela (Buvinic & Morrison, 1991). A 1992 study in the United States put the annual cost of treating gunshot wounds at US\$126billion (Miller & Cohen, 1997). Cutting and stab wounds cost an additional US\$ 51billion. However, the paucity of reliable data in estimating the cost of violence on the economy remains a clog in combating violence and crime in Africa.

Violence is rampant in Nigeria. Nigeria is becoming or has become a theatre of violence and crime (Abdullahi, Seedat-Khan, & Abdulrahman, 2016). Its occurrence and persistence have ostensibly undermined and threatened social security in the country. *The Sunday Vanguard Newspaper* on March 11, 2018 lamentably reported that from 1st January to 10th March, 2018, Nigeria has recorded 1,351 violent deaths, with Borno, Benue, Taraba, Adamawa and Rivers States recognized as the first five violent states in Nigeria. Bako & Aduloju (2018) believe act of violence in Nigeria is regionally based. Apart from militancy in the Niger Delta region and acts of terrorism in North Eastern Nigeria, other common violent activities include clashes among cult members, political clashes, religious clashes, land disputes, communal clashes, herdsman/farmer clashes, as well as tribal and ethnic violence. Meanwhile, research has found that persistent violence and restiveness across the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria is inimical to growth, and stifles economic development (Abdullahi, Seedat-Khan & Abdulrahman, 2016; Bako & Aduloju, 2018). It is against this background that the current paper attempts to examine the predisposing and incendiary factors responsible for the proliferation of violence and crime in Nigeria and proffer clinical interventions to its national discourse.

Literature Review

There exists a complex interplay between urban violence and crime, one can adduce that the noticeable consequence of violence is crime. Crime includes many illegal forms of violence. Conceptually, Richard (2009), defines crime as a violation of law and therefore an act of deviance (i.e. a rule-violation). Majority of criminological theories currently used by crime researchers focus on individual offenders but a considerable number of theorists have advocated some variation of the ecological approach to crime studies (Wilcox, Land, & Hunt, 2003), this is because it is believed that crime cannot be understood without having accurate knowledge of the full context i.e. demographic, economic, geographic, and social in which it occurs (Meagan, 2005). The most immediate geographic contexts are the neighbourhoods in which people live and the places where their lifestyles frequently situate them. Wider geographic contexts, reflecting variation in both individual-level resources and society-wide norms, are determined by the different activities, both routine and non-routine, in which these people engage (Meagan, 2005).

Empirically, *National Bureau of Statistics* report crime Statistics on reported offences reflected that a total of 125,790 cases were reported in 2016 in Nigeria. Offence against property has the highest number of cases reported with 65,397 of such cases reported while, offence against persons recorded 45,554 cases. This is in addition to the findings of Bako et al. (2018) that clearly opine that there are two types of violence – the incidental violence, which may arise out of actions of protest or affirmations of certain views, and intended violence, which is aimed at the violation of others. Defining violence however according to literature has proved to be more nebulous and problematic. Thus, the review of literature will start by defining what urban violence is.

Defining Urban Violence

The history of cities is intertwined with the search for protection from, and the containment of, violence (Muggah, 2012). There is a shared lineage between urbanisation and security – from the progressive fortification of cities through aggressive and defensive architecture and the use of siege tactics and enclaves to the rapid expansion of surveillance technologies and the regulation of mobility. It was against these historical qualifications, The World Health Organization (WHO) in its 2002 global report on violence defines violence as: “...*the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation.*” Krause, Muggah & Gilgen (2011) believe that the spatial-social characteristics of violence can be seen between “direct” forms of urban violence which result in physical and psychological harm including intentional fatalities, assault and sexual violence, and “indirect” manifestations that negatively affect other aspects of livelihoods, social relations and wellbeing. These two factors of urban violence bewilderingly assume there is no agreed definition of what constitutes urban violence or how it should be measured. But however, most generic definitions present violence as the use of physical force, which causes hurt to others in order to impose one’s wishes. Broader definitions, however, extend beyond physical violence to refer to psychological hurt,

material deprivation and symbolic disadvantage (Keane, 1996). Most definitions recognise that violence involves the exercise of power that is invariably used to legitimize the use of force for specific gains (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002).

The now largely accepted argument that deprivation is itself a form of violence gained prominence with John Galtung's (1991) work on "structural violence", which extends understandings of violence to include psychological hurt and, in turn, alienation, repression and deprivation (McIlwaine, 1999). There are six distinct forms of violence: Physical violence, Sexual violence, Emotional violence, Psychological violence, Spiritual violence, and Cultural violence.

Categories of Urban Violence

Although the different kinds of violence are coinciding and cross-cutting, calling for holistic understanding, there is a need to categorise the phenomenon in order to be able to design interventions to prevent or reduce it. The conceptual framework makes a four-fold distinction between political, institutional, economic and social violence – with each category identified in terms of the motivation for the physical act that consciously or unconsciously is used to gain or maintain power, Table 1.0 spectacles the different categories and manifestation of violence in urban areas.

Table 1.0: Categories of Urban Violence

Category of violence	Types of violence by perpetrators and/or victims	Manifestations
Political	State and non-state violence	• Guerrilla conflict • Paramilitary conflict • Political assassination • Armed conflict between political parties
Institutional	• Violence of state and other "informal" institutions • Including the private sector	• Extra-judicial killings by police • Physical or psychological abuse by health and education workers • State or community vigilante-directed social cleansing of gangs and street children • Lynching of suspected criminals by community members
Economic	• Organised crime • Business interests • Delinquents • Robbers	• Intimidation and violence as means of resolving economic disputes • Street theft, robbery and crime • Kidnapping • Armed robbery • Drug-trafficking • Car theft and other contraband activities • Small-arms dealing • Assaults including killing and rape in the course of economic crimes • Trafficking in prostitutes • Conflict over scarce resources
Socio-Economic	• Gangs	• Territorial or identity-based "turf" violence;

	• Street children (boys and girls) • Ethnic violence	• robbery, theft • Petty theft • Communal riots
social	- Intimate partner violence inside the home • Sexual violence (including rape) in the public arena • Child abuse: boys and girls • Inter-generational conflict between parent and children • Gratuitous/routine daily Violence	• Physical or psychological male–female abuse • Physical and sexual abuse, particularly prevalent in the case of stepfathers but also uncles • Physical and psychological abuse • Incivility in areas such as traffic, road rage, bar fights and street confrontations • Arguments that get out of control

Source: Moser & Winton, 2002.

As highlighted in the Table 1.0, social violence is gender-based i.e. linked to gendered power relations and constructions of masculinities. Gender-based violence includes intimate-partner violence and child abuse inside the home, as well as sexual abuse in the public arena. Social violence also includes ethnic violence or territorial or identity-based violence linked with gangs.

Economic violence on the other side is motivated by material gain, and associated with street crime, including mugging, robbery and violence linked to drugs and kidnapping (Moser, 2004). Closely related to Economic violence, is Institutional violence especially when associated with the police and judiciary, but also by officials in sector ministries such as health and education, as well as groups operating outside the state, such as social cleansing vigilante groups. Finally, political violence, driven by the will to win or hold political power, includes guerrilla or paramilitary conflict or political assassination. Although, it is closely linked to conflict and war, political violence is also committed during peacetime. Since any categorisation is, by definition, too static to represent a dynamic and holistic phenomenon, the four-fold typology identified above is conceived as an interrelated continuum with close linkages between different types of violence (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004).

Another concept of urban violence that needs to be talk about is “structural violence”, This concept draws attention to the fact that violence may not always be just a physical act, but also a process that can be embedded into wider social structures.

Galtung (1991), extended the notion of violence beyond situations of overt brutality to include more implicit forms such as exploitation, exclusion, inequality and injustice. From this perspective, “...*violence can be built into the structure of society, showing up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances*” rather than solely as “direct” forms of violence. Despite the fact that there is no uniform checklist as to what constitutes violence, Table 1.0 provides a summary roadmap of a few of the extensive, complex manifestations of urban violence within the four categories (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2003).

Trends and Measurement of Urban Violence

Although accelerating rates of violence and crime are by no means an urban specific problem, they are particularly problematic in urban areas. The sheer scale of violence in the poor areas or slums means that, in many contexts, it has become “routinised” or “normalised” into the functional reality of daily life (Scheper-Hughes, 1995). Violence is linked to fear and insecurity, which pervades people’s lives, with serious implications for trust, well-being and social capital among communities and individuals.

According to Moser & Holland (1997), the range of types of urban violence and crime is both complex and context-specific. In an urban Jamaican community, for instance, local residents in a participatory assessment listed 19 types of violence, including political, gang, economic, interpersonal and domestic disputes; the average number identified in nine Guatemalan poor urban communities was 41, while in Colombia the comparable average was 25. Despite the high prevalence of rural violence in the past, within countries, violence is usually most severe in large urban areas. City-level differences in homicide levels can be striking. In Latin America, for instance, rates range from 6.4 per year per 100,000 in Buenos Aires to 248 in Medellín (Piquet & João, 2000). Cities such as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Mexico City, Lima and Caracas account for more than half the total of their national homicides (Briceño-León, 1999). Turning to intra-country city differences, city growth rate is a stronger indicator of crime rates than city size. It cannot be assumed that violence is manifested and experienced in the same way in different cities, even within the same national context. Again, Latin American data is illustrative. For instance, between 1979 and 1998 in Brazil, the homicide rate in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro rose by a relatively modest 35 percent, while that in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo increased by 103 percent (Piquet & João, 2000). Differences in rural–urban violence levels are less marked in post-conflict countries, where rural violence is often still more extreme than in urban areas. In El Salvador, 76 per cent of homicides occur in rural areas as against only 24 percent in urban areas (Vision, 2002).

Within cities, disparities in levels of violence are based on neighbourhood income levels. More prosperous areas suffer from violent crime, usually property-related, such as vehicle robbery (Gaviria & Pagés, 1999), while severe violence is generally concentrated in lower-income areas. With the poor often located both in the inner city and in the marginal periphery, it is in the latter that prevalence rates are particularly high (Briceño-León, 1999). However, increases in vehicle robbery – much of it associated with the growing risk of being killed in the process (as against vehicle theft, where personal intimidation is not a factor) – have heightened insecurity among the “target” wealthier population (Piquet & João, 2000).

Finally, levels of violence also show important variations based on age and gender, with young men most likely to be both the victims and the perpetrators. A seven-cities Latin American study showed higher male than female rates of violence (Cruz, 1999). In Brazil, the estimated homicide rate in 1999 among men aged between 15 and 24 was 86.7 per 100,000 inhabitants, compared to a rate of only 6.5 for women of the same age, while in Puerto Rico, the comparable rates for men and women aged between 15 and 29 were 101 and 6.8, respectively (Cruz, 1999).

Thus, even in countries with relatively low levels of violence, not only is male juvenile violence rising, but its intensity is also increasing.

Violence as a Public Health Concern

Traditionally, violence has not only been a matter for the law enforcement officers alone, but also to medical sleuths. In the report article of Jaret (1991), he avers that a black male born in the United States of America today has a one-in-27 chance of being murdered in gang related activities. The cost of violence has infiltrated and pervaded all sectors today, including health sector. However, societies with already high levels of inequality, which experience a further widening of the gap between rich and poor as a result of globalisation, are likely to witness an increase in interpersonal violence. In light of this, one can infer that there exists, a pattern between humans and the environment they find themselves, as some environments breeds arguments and subsequently violence. There is been a lot of debates why violence should be a public health issue, however, by definition, WHO (2002) opines that public health is not about individual patients. Its focus is on dealing with diseases and with conditions and problems affecting health, and it aims to provide the maximum benefit for the largest number of people. This does not mean that public health ignores the care of individuals. Rather, the concern is to prevent health problems and to extend better care and safety to entire populations.

The factors that determine public health are inter-related. Community health and function are affected by disease as well as the behavioural and biologic responses of individuals in the community (Omoigui, 2002). The broad field of public health policy in violence, conflict and war is relatively new, it is interdisciplinary and science-based; it draws upon knowledge from many disciplines, including medicine, epidemiology, sociology, psychology, criminology urban planning, risk and disaster management, education and economics. Many of the public health related issues need to be addressed through formal research, consultation and collaboration. However, limitations of current public health approaches levelled against urban youth violence abundantly focus on reactive interventions rather than on proactive interventions (Krug et al., 2002). We cannot discount the fact that urban youth violence has become order of the day. John et al. (2007) aver that addressing this public health problem requires an understanding of the social, political, economic and environmental factors that encourage and facilitate the breeding of urban youth violence.

Theories of Urban Violence and Crime

According to Megan (2005), for most of the last two decades, ecological studies of crime have been informed by two somewhat different but closely related perspectives; social control-disorganisation theory and routine activities theory.

Social Control-Disorganisation

Shaw & McKay (1969) provided perhaps the earliest and best-known work on social disorganization. For the most part Shaw and others in this emerging ecological school searched for environmental correlates of crime, looking at the spatial variation of crime rates and the

characteristics of places where crime occurred most. A major conclusion was that poverty or deprivation was most closely related to the geography of crime (Ackerman, 1998). Moreover, their 1942 study reached a number of other important conclusions focusing on the idea that population stability in an area was usually associated with decreasing delinquency rates (Harries, 1995). This eventually led to the emergence of social disorganisation theory, which claims that neighbourhoods and communities that cannot solve commonly experienced problems will tend to have high crime rates. Three area-specific factors; high economic deprivation, high residential mobility or population turnover, and high racial or ethnic heterogeneity were recognized to invariably characterize socially disorganised and distressed areas. Shaw and McKay's extensive research led to various conclusions, one of which was that social disorganisation was a major factor inducing the high juvenile delinquency rates that were found in certain urban neighbourhoods (Meagan, 2005).

Over the years the theory has been put through fire on many grounds and has been reviewed by professionals interested. In the last two decades, a revival of social disorganisation theory has occurred, and theorists in this vein have suggested a reformulation that addresses many of the early problems with the theory. Sampson (1999), building on the contributions of other interested researchers, was instrumental in reviving the interests of criminologists in social disorganisation theory. Cahill & Mulligan (2003) identified two forms of disorganisation theory: a strain version and control version. Upon review of the two forms, they adopted the conceptualisation of social disorganisation as a control theory that focuses on social controls in areas.

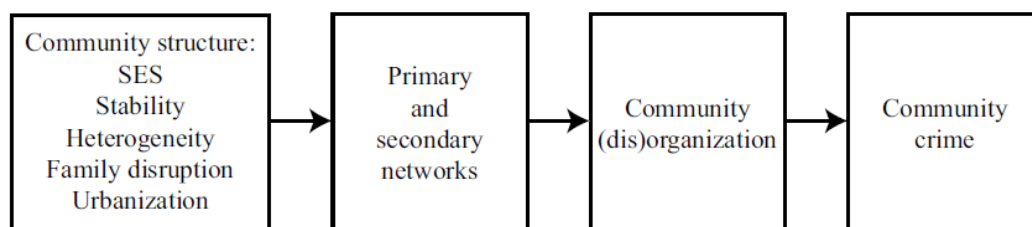


Figure 1.1. Social control-disorganisation system model.

Source: Cahill and Mulligan (2003)

A systemic model visualising the local community as “a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and ongoing socialization processes,” Sampson (1999) suggests that when social organisation and disorganisation are viewed as “different ends of the same continuum with respect to systemic networks of community social control,” the concept of social disorganisation is easily discernible from its causes, such as racial or ethnic heterogeneity, and its manifestations, such as increased delinquency. Likewise, Cahill and Mulligan (2003) claimed that the “modern reformulation of social disorganisation as a systemic model of neighbourhood control” helps to clarify the distinction between social disorganisation and its manifestations. They argued that a well-articulated systemic model should recognise those primary and secondary relational networks that control neighbourhood crime, should include the role of local neighbourhood organisations as agencies of social control, and should address the (power-based) ability of the

neighbourhood to acquire external resources to fight crime. Figure 1.1 illustrates the relationships between social structure, relational networks, and levels of crime.

Routine Activities Theory

Routine activities theory is at its core a criminal opportunity theory focusing on the daily rhythms of life in a geographic area and how those rhythms, created by the activities of residents and visitors, create opportunities for crime (Meagan, 2005). Central to the theory is the idea that the spatial and temporal variation of three key elements; offenders, targets, and guardians creates criminal opportunities. Specifically, a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian are necessary conditions for a criminal event. In this perspective, the underlying motivations of individual offenders is not considered (Meagan, 2005).

As a result of the theory's focus on criminal events and not individual criminality, the theory can be used to explain both offending and victimisation in places. Place thus takes centre stage in explanations of criminal events (Eck et al., 2000). Historically, however, researchers applying routine activities theory emphasised individual-level perspectives, i.e. individual-level victimisation based on routine activities of that individual (Meagan, 2005).

Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garafalo (1978) suggest that an individual's lifestyle affected his or her likelihood of victimisation. This so-called 'lifestyle exposure' theory was the precursor to more fully developed routine activities theory. The authors asserted that lifestyles are determined by sociodemographic characteristics strongly correlated with levels of victimisation. A person's lifestyle included daily activities created by work, education, keeping a home, and recreation, among other things.

While there are several elements to the lifestyle model proposed by Hindelang et al. (1978), of most relevance to this work is their identification of structural constraints that influence an individual's lifestyle. For example, economic constraints can restrict the "range of choices" from which one can decide where to live, what leisure activities to pursue, "mode of transportation, and access to education opportunities". The authors also identify familial and legal constraints as important. Miethe & Meier (1994) describe the process by which social structures determine lifestyle, which in turn, influences the victimization rate of individuals:

Differences in lifestyles are socially determined by individuals' collective responses or adaptations to various role expectations and structural constraints. Under this theoretical model, both ascribed and achieved status characteristics (e.g., age, gender, race, income, marital status, education, occupation) are important correlates of predatory crime because these status attributes carry with them shared expectations about appropriate behaviour and structural obstacles that both enable and constrain one's behavioural choices. Adherence to these cultural and structural expectations leads to the establishment of routine activity patterns and association with others similarly situated. These lifestyles and associations are expected to enhance one's exposure to risky or vulnerable situations that, in turn, increase an individual's chances of victimisation (Miethe & Meier, 1994).

According to Cohen and Felson (1979), the theory was designed to explain “direct contact predatory violations,” i.e. crimes in which an offender comes into direct contact with another person or object which the offender “intends to take or damage.” They suggest that illegal activities feed off of routine legal activities: “daily work activities separate many from those they trust and the property they value”, thus creating opportunities for crime such as burglary or theft. They reformulated routine activities theory to focus more explicitly on places, moving away from previous preoccupations with the routine activities of aggregations of individuals, particularly those who had been victimised. The theory thus moved to a macrolevel consideration of lifestyles or routine activities. This reformulation was effectively a synthesis and coherent organisation of a diverse and unconnected, but related, literature. The authors suggested that previous work failed to articulate systematically the theoretical linkages between routine legal activities and illegal endeavours (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

Cohen and Felson’s rearticulation of lifestyle theory included the foundational proposition that opportunity for crime is created with the spatial and temporal intersection of the three key elements of a target, a motivated offender, and the lack of a capable guardian. The concept is illustrated in Figure 1.2. The supply of motivated offenders (MO) and suitable targets (ST) and level of ineffective guardianship (IG) are constant at each time period. However, the spatial convergence (or lack thereof) of the three elements at each time period demonstrates the creation of criminal opportunity, and the associated likelihood of victimisation: increased opportunity suggests increased likelihood of victimisation (Cohen & Felson, 1979). At Time 1, criminal opportunity exists, but is relatively small. At Time 2, criminal opportunity is increased with an increased spatial overlap of the three elements. At Time 3, no opportunity exists as there is no ineffective guardianship (i.e., there are capable guardians in the area), preventing criminal opportunity from arising. With a renewed interest in the macro level aspects of routine activity theory, an integration of the micro-and macro-level approaches was advocated, using routine activities as a theory of both crime in an area and victimisation of individuals (Cruz, 1999).

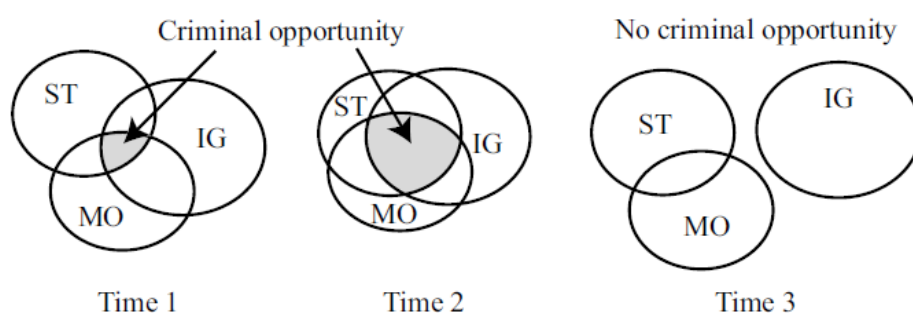


Figure 1.2: Crime Opportunity at Three-Time Periods
Source: Wilcox et al. (2003)

Structural changes in the routine activities of residents affect the convergence in space and time of the offender, target, and guardian, thus changing opportunities for crime and, in turn, a

place's level of crime (Cohen, 1981). Figure 1.3 illustrates this and the temporal setting, affect routine activities of residents and non-residents alike. Those routine activities in turn affect the spatial distribution of offenders, targets, and guardians. Residents' routine activities can thus also affect the attractiveness of an area to non-resident offenders, as was made clear in the discussion on family structure and households.

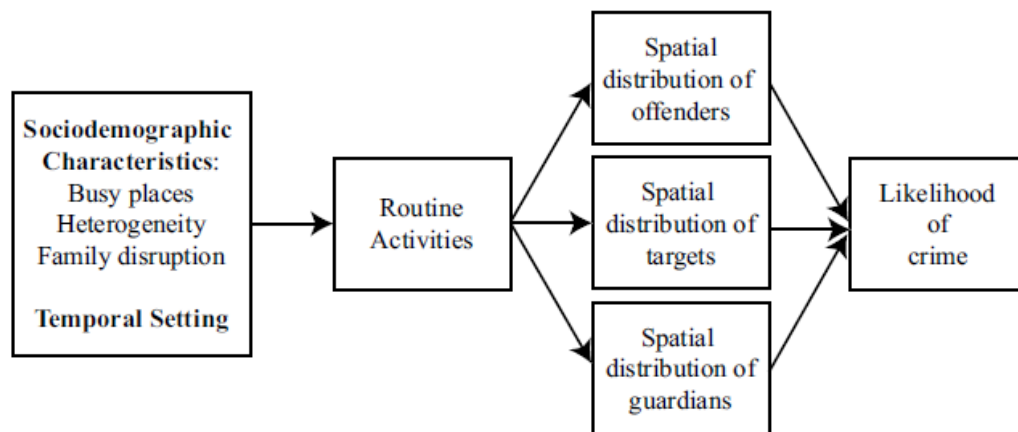


Figure 1.3: Contextual determinants of routine activities and the likelihood of crime
Source: Meagan (2005)

The existence of the three key elements of criminal opportunity is a function of the routine activities of area residents around such things as work, family, recreation, and education. The prevalence and mix of different kinds of routine activities vary between communities and in turn affect the levels of formal and informal social control that exist in an area (Wikstrom, 1998). Samson and Morenoff (2000) however underscore how this structure of routine activities and criminal opportunity affects levels of crime and victimisation in areas, not just for individuals or households, asserting that motivated offenders may be influenced by the criminal opportunity structure of entire areas.

Typology of Crime

Crime is one of the human security problems confronting humanity across the world. Nations have grappled to contain the rising incidence of homicide, armed robbery, and kidnap, drug trafficking, sex trafficking, illegal gun running and host of others (Ukoji, 2006). Africa has been on the forefront on global statistics on crime. South Africa and Nigeria have recorded high incidents of violent and non-violent crimes in recent times. According to Africa Check, incidents of murder increased from 15,609 murders in 2011/12 to 16,259 murders in 2012/13 in South Africa, with increase of 650 murder cases or a 4,2% increase when comparing the total numbers of murders with the previous year. According to the same report, murders and attempted murders that take place during aggravated robbery or inter-group conflict (such as gang or taxi violence), and vigilantism make up between 35% and 45% of all murders and attempted murders.

Nigeria is currently caught in the web of crime dilemma, manifesting in the convulsive upsurge of both violent and non-violent crimes. Notable in this regard are the rising incidents of armed robbery, assassination and ransom-driven kidnapping, which are now ravaging the polity like a tsunami and spreading a climate of fears and anxieties about public safety. The upsurge of crime has been ongoing as Nigeria has been on the global crime map since 1980. These throes

of crime for decades are traceable to poverty, poor parental upbringing, and greed amongst the youth; get rich quick mentality, inadequate crime control model of national security among others (Oruwari, 2006).

Many types of crime exist. Criminologists commonly group crimes into several major categories: (1) violent crime; (2) property crime; (3) white-collar crime; (4) organised crime; and (5) consensual or victimless crime. Within each category, many more specific crimes exist. For example, violent crime includes homicide, aggravated and simple assault, rape and sexual assault, and robbery, while property crime includes burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson.

Drivers of Crime

The 2011 World Development Report highlights, conflicts remain, and many regions suffer from weak governance, cycles of violence, and chronic instability (World Bank, 2011). In identifying factors that underlie violent crimes, it is important to distinguish between structural causes (unequal power relations) and trigger risk factors (situational circumstances), that can exacerbate the likelihood of urban violence occurring, with the later factor including the use of drugs and alcohol (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004; Bako et al., 2018). From the angle of Messner, Deane & Beaulieu (2002), economic crisis, food insecurity, inflation, and weak or limited rule of law are factors that drive crime. However, the drivers of crime are not restricted to the aforementioned causative factors. Albert (1994) identified causes of urban violence in Africa, and these include: high population growth rates with its attendant unemployment, poor wages, poor living conditions, urban culture shocks, and poor quality of urban management that is manifested in the crisis in health care, transportation, housing and employment. According to the *Nigerian Vanguard Newspaper*, dated 8th November, 2016, the crime rate in Nigeria is alarming and the rate at which youths take to crime is a serious cause for concern (Table 1.2). There are top 10 reasons crime is becoming so rampant in the country comprising of poverty, family conditions, peer pressure, society, drugs, unemployment, politics, deprivation, regionalism, religion and unfair judicial system

Classification and Meaning of Offensive Acts

1. **Offence against persons:** are those offences against human beings – e.g. murder, manslaughter, infanticide, concealment of birth, rape and other physical abuse, etc.
2. **Offence against properties:** are those offences against human belonging... Properties of any kind - e.g. stealing, receiving stolen properties, obtaining property by false pretence, robbery, burglary and house breaking.
3. **Offences Against Lawful Authority:** this is any offence committed against any establishment of the law. e.g. The law says pay your tax (FIRS), failure to do this amount to an offence against lawful authority.
4. **Local Acts:** these are laws that cannot be enforced outside Nigeria – e.g. Liquor Act or Firearms Act. Here in Nigeria, one cannot go selling arms/ammunitions without a licence but in the Republic of Bénin, they are freely sold.

Table 1.2 below clearly shows the crime statistics reported offences by type and State in Nigeria, with Lagos State with 36.0% - the highest of all the 36 states.

Table 1.2: Crime Statistics: Reported Offences by Type and State 2016 in Nigeria

STATE	OFFENCE AGAINST PERSONS	OFFENCE AGAINST PROPERTY	OFFENCE AGAINST LAWFULL AUTHORITY	OFFENCE AGAINST LOCAL ACTS	TOTAL NO OF CASES 2016	% Share of total cases
FCT	2,984	9,350	843	4	13,181	10.48
ABIA	230	113	21	0	364	0.29
ADAMAWA	779	1,417	56	7	2,259	1.80
AKWA- IBOM	840	333	232	6	1,411	1.12
ANAMBRA	898	1,413	142	81	2,534	2.01
BAUCHI	812	1,713	118	14	2,657	2.11
BAYELSA	612	837	91	1	1,541	1.23
BENUE	463	497	0	129	1,089	0.87
BORNO	423	479	3	269	1,174	0.93
C/RIVER	1,134	1,154	100	35	2,423	1.93
DELTA	3,911	2,502	1,202	252	7,867	6.25
EBONYI	572	595	44	0	1,211	0.96
EDO	697	307	0	0	1,004	0.80
EKITI	718	1,008	103	0	1,829	1.45
ENUGU	886	1,094	124	0	2,104	1.67
GOMBE	513	1,350	19	356	2,238	1.78
IMO	954	873	103	0	1,930	1.53
JIGAWA	321	214	37	74	646	0.51
KADUNA	338	502	129	37	1,006	0.80
KANO	1,981	2,375	318	243	4,917	3.91
KATSINA	51	65	4	0	120	0.10
KEBBI	656	370	21	108	1,155	0.92
KOGI	294	480	17	7	798	0.63
KWARA	327	614	21	22	984	0.78
LAGOS	15,426	22,885	6,768	306	45,385	36.08
NASARAWA	489	725	14	92	1,320	1.05
NIGER	528	1,083	53	105	1,769	1.41
OGUN	1,122	1,112	145	0	2,379	1.89
ONDO	1,037	1,934	521	1	3,493	2.78
OSUN	258	540	57	333	1,188	0.94
OYO	1,377	1,752	314	0	3,443	2.74
PLATEAU	470	1,938	145	0	2,553	2.03
RIVERS	1,683	897	271	143	2,994	2.38
SOKOTO	496	1,055	29	0	1,580	1.26
TARABA	719	998	55	45	1,817	1.44
YOBE	398	520	18	8	944	0.75
ZAMFARA	157	303	6	17	483	0.38
National	45,554	65,397	12,144	2,695	125,790	100.00

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2016

Physical Planning Implication and Policy Responses

i. Safe Neighbourhood Programs

A United Nations report in 2013 advised leaders of the globe's sprawling megacities that neglecting basic principles of urban planning can lead to widespread crime and social disruption. A mass of people living in poverty without access to clean water, electricity, or transportation, vulnerable to natural disasters, and fighting over scarce resources is hardly a recipe for social comity. If cities are to play their role as drivers of economic and social development, these challenges have to be addressed through effective planning.” These planning programs can include the removal of high fences that provide cover to criminals, and the rehabilitation and re-appropriation of community public spaces. Ideally, they are combined with targeted social prevention activities as well as community policing programs, such as those listed below (World Bank LAC, 2011). A study of gangs and social capital conducted in El Salvador, for example, showed that gangs thrive in neighbourhoods and communities where poverty has eroded social services or eliminated them completely, where the streets are in poor condition, and where public and community infrastructure is run-down, dirty or abandoned (World Bank LAC, 2011).

ii. Infrastructural Planning

Utilities as defined as things that should be enjoyed with maximum satisfaction, the field of urban and regional planning, through their initiative programmes can seek for grants to improve on inadequate nameplates of streets and bus station termini and also have a functioning street lighting project all across major and minor corridors of the city; local access and cul-de-sacs etc. As this will invariably help the law enforcement agencies in locating a place of crime and violence in time and easy pursuits of culprits anytime of the day; be it during the day or at night through appropriate nameplates for streets and street lighting at night.

iii. Treat violence as a public health concern:

Violence has insinuated itself as one of the major man-made disasters. To this effect there is need to use campaigns and technology to reach every child and family in countries. We cannot discount the fact that a community that fails to plan with the people, will inevitably fail. We need to develop those tools to make sure that everybody feels important and cared for through parenting interventions, family interventions, wellbeing campaigns, community sensitisation and early childhood education. As this will help people to know the agencies recognised by law to deal violence and also give them the sense of logistical readiness of what they can realistically do in case of violence such as: emergency telephone numbers like 911 in USA, 112 in India.

Conclusion

Violence is a universal scourge that tears the fabric of communities and threatens the life, health and happiness of us all, no country or community is untouched by violence. Images and accounts of violence pervade the media; it is on our streets, in our homes, schools, workplaces and institutions. To these assertions the need to combat violence and crime has gone beyond debate as policy makers must improve emergency response systems and further boost the ability of the health care sectors to treat and rehabilitate victims, as violence has been labelled as a public health concern. Accordingly, recognition of signs of violent incidents or ongoing violent situations, and referral of victims to appropriate agencies for follow-up and support.

Apart from the general factors that contributed to increase in violent acts today, there is no doubt that poor governance and lack of effective leadership at all levels of governance contribute immensely. However, the idea of violence prevention to foster safety in towns and cities of the world requires the attention of the professionals, policy makers and other stakeholders concerned, otherwise, if violence and crime are not being treated as a global policy concerns, it will continually be a legacy that victims pass from one generation to another.

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