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FEAR ON STREETS: THE VULNERABLE AND SELF-PROTECTIVE BEHAVIOUR IN IBADAN, NIGERIA.

Adewumi Israel BADIORA¹ & Jenny Jacky NTAMARK²

¹Department of Urban and Regional Planning,
Joseph Ayo Babalola University, Ikeji-Arakeji, Nigeria
wumi_zion@yahoo.com;

²Department of Urban and Regional Planning
University of Uyo, Uyo, Nigeria
jennyntamark@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study specifically focuses on the safety issues of women (vulnerable) while on streets. It also examines whether there are differences in the perceptions of safety and the use of self-protective measures of women and men in a Nigerian urban environment. Working women and men who use public transport to commute to their work place were targeted. Systematic sampling was used to sample 243 women and men in Ibadan metropolitan area. Analysis of travel component revealed that women transport users felt safest while commuting (MS=3.77) when compare with walking (MS=2.16) and waiting (2.88). The most commonly used self-protective behaviour among women transport users was to avoid going out alone in the dark (MP=3.67) while the least was carrying self-protection devices. Findings were later compared with that of men and the results revealed that women had higher feeling of insecurity while walking, waiting and on transit. They also engage in all self-protective behaviours (except to carry self-protection devices) more than men. It is recommended that regular security inspection of streets, security education and refurbishment of streets to enhance the environmental factors that reduce fear will go a long way to making transit environments safer and more fitting to the needs of women.

Keywords: *Fear of crime, Self-protective behaviour, Transport users, Victimization, Women.*

INTRODUCTION

The menace of violence, criminals and potential terrorists on streets across the cities in Nigeria is already a social problem to the government and general public. Violence, terrorism and criminal acts are assuming a dangerous proportion as they threaten life, properties, and the national sense of well-being as well as peace, security and social order. Just like poverty, crime is no more an inevitable part of life in the country. Although, Nigeria has long been facing various severe security challenges for decades, these have taken on various new forms since the advent of democracy in 1999 till date. Particularly, the period of 2005 to 2012 witnessed the proliferation heinous crimes which have posed all kinds of serious security threats. A new aspect of these security issues is the increasing violence against women and girls.

Violence against women means any act of gender-bias violence that results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, cohesion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life as systematic rape (Alaga, 2009). According to Seguino (2006), violence against women is a consequence of the historically unequal power relations between men and women. It is a national reality existing in Nigeria and all societies regardless of income, class and culture among others. Among the conclusions of the United Nations on gender matters is that, it is not certain if there is a woman who at one time or another in her life, had not been afraid merely because she is a woman (World Bank, 2010; Human Right Watch, 2014). Simply walking in the street after dark or at night, may represent serious personal safety problems for women (Aliu, 2010). For those who use public transportation, criminals sometimes attack their paths at specific points in urban space (Badiora, Popoola and Fadoyin, 2014). This had made many women

travellers show highest fear of victimization and consequently affected their travelling especially for primary journey (Yavuz and Welch, 2010).

Initial study done by Pagano and Robert (1972) has identified eight aspect of quality as it relates to the transport services. These are: reliability and on time performance, comfort, convenient, extent of service, vehicle access, safety, driver characteristic and responsiveness. From all these characteristics, safety and security, and on time performance (punctuality) were found to be the most notable aspects from the user's point of view especially when women travel safety was a concern. Furthermore, Focas (1989) reported the concern for personal safety that influences people's choice of transport mode and indeed whether to travel or not at all. These concerns are held especially by women.

These findings were backed up by Fowkers and Heiser (1993) who revealed that, concern for personal security was the most influential factor raised by those consulted for the Local Transport Plan in respect of the walking journey. In Suffolk, majority of those completing travel diaries said they felt fear of attack or other crime when using public transport especially when security mechanism were not provided or functional. Whereas in Tyne and Wales, a survey of women for their view on travel and transport revealed that concern for personal security was the common reason for not travelling after dark by public transport. As indicated in these studies, it is deducible that security aspect could become one of the aspects of transport service attributes that affects woman's level of safety. Therefore, it is being considered in this study as one of the variables to be tested. In response to these security issues, the vulnerable take precautions. These are self-protective behaviour or actions taken to avoid being victimized or reduce level of fear. One type of precautionary practice is avoidance behaviour. Avoidance behaviour is the restrictions individuals place on their own movements in order to protect themselves from crime (Gannon & Taylor-Butts, 2006; Keown, 2007). This restriction of activity has important societal consequences because it limits personal freedom and also because it can change urban interactions and patterns of mobility (Gannon, 2005). In addition to avoidance behaviour, precautions that limit daily activity can also involve behaviour adopted habitually to protect one from becoming a victim (such as carrying self-protection devices). These are usually practice when away from home or on the streets (Gannon & Taylor-Butts, 2006).

Using data obtained from the survey of working women in Ibadan Nigeria; the largest city in West Africa, this study therefore examines, fear of crime and use of self-protective behaviour among vulnerable travellers (here referred to as women) in a Nigerian urban environment; this is later compared with that of men. Precautions examined in this study, include: avoiding areas in transport environment that have poor lighting, carrying self-protection devices, avoiding going out alone during the day, and in the dark/night. This paper though specifically focuses on vulnerable (women), it as well determines whether there are differences in the perceptions of feeling of safety and the use of precautionary measures between women and men in Nigerian Urban environment. It answered specific questions such as whether or not women and men have equal levels of fear of crime or perceived likelihood of victimization and if women are more likely to engage in protective behaviour than men. This will assist policy makers and the general public, along with public transport users to improve the policies and procedures relating to vulnerable travellers' feeling of security in urban environment.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Different theories and models have been used to explain the act of crime and violence generally. The most relevant theory to this study is the routine activity theory. Routine activity theory explains crime as the coming together of three elements. These three elements are a suitable target, a lack of capable guardianship, and a motivated offender (Akers & Sellers, 2004; Reynald, 2011; Weisburd, Groff & Yang, 2012). It is proposed that the daily routine of the population affects the coming together of these elements. The creators of the theory, Cohen and Felson (1979), assumed there will always be

motivated offenders who will take advantage of or victimize an unprotected object or person. Suitable targets can be anything an offender feels is worth stealing or victimized and is capable of being stolen. Interestingly, the authors offer that capable guardians are normally neither police officers nor other officials of law enforcement. Although police do fall into the category of guardian, normal citizens more frequently, play the role.

Routine activity theory offers explanations to safety issues. First, it explains the immediate surroundings of the potential crime and explains why an individual commits crime. Second, the fluctuation in crime rates and fear is explained by the coming together of the three elements discussed above. The presence or absence of capable guardianship and suitable targets will result in a variation in crime and fear (Johnson & Bowers, 2013).

To this end, routine activity theory can easily be used to explain safety issues on streets. For instance, travelling may involve moving large amounts of people simultaneously through a city. This group consists of a couple of different ways. First, the group could be composed of all suitable targets. These targets are transported to areas where offenders can victimize them. Secondly, the group of travellers may comprise both suitable targets and potential offenders. This scenario is most likely the reality at peak times for transit use, when the travellers' population is at its highest. It is undoubtedly true that capable guardians are present within these groups. However, the study is of the opinion that, at least one of the other types of individuals (potential victim and offender) is always present, but a guardian need not be. However, capable guardians do exist, nonetheless. On the other hand, this group of travellers will disperse eventually because the travellers do not all share the same destination. Due to this fact, the capable guardians amongst the travellers get filtered out. Then, as the group separates, the probability that capable guardians would impede victimization shrinks, simply because of their decreased presence.

CRIME IN TRANSPORT ENVIRONMENT

According to Smith and Clarke (2000), crime in transport environment covers a wide range of offences that could occur in at least three different types of situation. These are walking to, from or between transport facilities or stops (walking from departure point e.g. home to a bus/taxi or back from a bus/taxi stop to a bus station; from a bus stop to destination point e.g. workplace or back); waiting at boarding points and facilities (e.g. taxi/bus stops, train/bus stations, modal interchanges etc.) and travelling on board a mode of transport such as a bus, train or taxi (Newton, 2004). The targets of crime also vary and could include the system itself (such as vandalism), employees (assaults on fare collectors) and passengers (pick pocketing, assault). It has been noted that fear of these crime types is influenced by different factors. These variables include: age, gender, geography, social classes, race/ethnicity, risk and religion. However, paramount of these variables is gender (Yavuz and Welch 2010).

FEAR AND THE VULNERABLE (WOMEN)

Fear influences the sense of personal security in the community. It relates to how vulnerable a person feels in relation to crime in his/her environment. Empirical studies have repeatedly found that women are more fearful of crime than men (Wynne 2008). For instance, it has been reported that women are ten times more likely to be sexually assaulted than men (Crowell and Burgess, 1996). Furthermore, Allens (2006) in British Crime Surveys showed that in 2004/05, 4% more women than men have a high level of worry about burglary. Ramsay (1989) also found that while 71% of women were fearful of being mugged in Coventry, only 47% of men shared this anxiety. Ramos and Andrade-Palos (1993) also found gender to be the clearest predictor for fear of victimisation.

Goodey (1997) claims that boys suffer from an emotional vulnerability, which triggers a form of masculine bravado or fearlessness. This causes boys to behave aggressively towards others, and also

prompts the denial of vulnerability; explaining why young males are often undeterred by their likelihood of victimisation. An exception to this trend was confirmed by the British crime Survey. It was found that young men are more fearful of car-related theft (Williams, 2004). Nevertheless, young people are more likely to be driving than older people.

Ferraro (1995) introduces a concept known as the shadow of sexual assault to explain female fear. Women are undoubtedly fearful of being raped or sexually assaulted, but Ferraro believes that they are more fearful of other offences as a consequence of fear of being raped or sexually assaulted. For example, women may be more fearful of being burgled whilst at home than men, because the incident may also include a sexual attack. Rape is a high profile offence which attracts extensive media coverage. Ferraro believes that this can have a shadowing effect on women's perceptions of other types of crime. Women do not simply become aware of this fear one day, nor are they born with it; women are socialized into thinking that they are vulnerable to attack if they, for example, go out alone at night. Parents, peers and media emphasize and reinforce this fear, and women are expected to succumb to it. Ferraro (1995) concluded that, when hoping to reduce fear of crime among women, reducing fear of rape must be a priority.

SELF-PROTECTIVE RESPONSES TO VULNERABILITY

Use of self-protective behaviours is a form of 'self-help' which occurs when one attempts to protect oneself from being the victim of a crime (Bachman, Saltzman, Thompson and Carmody, 2002). Behaviours classified as self-protective are used based upon the victim, location, type of crime or perpetrator among others. Self-protective behaviour can be categorized into: direct and indirect behaviours. Indirect or passive self-protective behaviours consist of pre-emptive actions such as avoiding certain areas that are prone to crime. These passive behaviours do not address reactions to crimes in progress but instead, refer to actions taken by individuals to lessen their chance of victimization. Nonetheless, one makes a conscious effort to increase safety by engaging in such indirect self-protective behaviours. Direct (active) self-protective behaviours are employed when an individual is facing immediate maltreatment. Physical self-protective behaviours happen if the victim uses a self-protection device against the offender, or physically resists by attacking, hitting or chasing the perpetrator (Bachman et al, 2002). Such actions, particularly indirect self-protective behaviours, are inherently proactive and often used in situations that are not criminal as well as to keep at bay potential perpetrators.

METHOD AND FINDINGS

The five metropolitan LGAs of Ibadan formed the sampling frame of this study. These included Ibadan north, Ibadan north east, Ibadan northwest, Ibadan south east and Ibadan south west. Investigation revealed that there were all together, 542 formally named streets in these five metropolitan LGAs. Since it is theoretically and practically impossible to include all the streets, systematic random sampling was adopted to select one (1) out of every five (5) street in each indicated area. This represented 20% of the total streets. Consequently, a total of 108 streets were selected. Reconnaissance survey further revealed a total 3822 buildings in the selected streets from which every tenth building (10%) was selected using systematic sampling after the first building was chosen randomly. That is, a total of 382 questionnaires were administered. Questionnaires were administered on working women who use public transport to commute to their work place in the selected buildings. Of the questionnaires administered, a sample of 243 was properly completed and analyzed reflecting 64% response rate. For the purpose of comparison, a corresponding 243 working men were sampled having adopted same methods. Data collected included socio-economic characteristics, feeling of safety and self-protective behaviour.

In determining feeling of safety, travellers were instructed to indicate the level of safety in relation to different aspect of travel; walking, waiting and in vehicle. They were to express their opinion using one of five Likert scales of ‘very safe’ (VS), ‘safe’ (S), ‘fairly safe’ (FS), ‘not safe’ (NS) and ‘not at all safe’ (NAS). The analyses of the ratings indicated by travellers from the Likert’s scales adopted evolved into an index called “Mean Safety” (MS). To arrive at MS, rating value of 5,4,3,2 and 1 were respectively attached to ‘very safe’ (VS), ‘safe’ (S), ‘fairly safe’ (FS), ‘not safe’ (NS) and ‘not at all safe’ (NAS). The index for each aspect of travel was arrived by dividing the Summation of Rating Value (SRV) by the total number of responses. The SRV for each type was obtained through the addition of the product of the number of responses to each type and the respective weight value attached to each rating.

Similarly, in determining safety self-protective behaviour, travellers were instructed to indicate the level of usage of different self-protective behaviour; avoiding areas in transport environment that have poor lighting, carrying self-protection devices, avoiding going out alone during the day, and at night. They were to express their opinion using one of five Likert scales of ‘very often’ (VO), ‘Often’ (O), ‘fairly often’ (FO), ‘not often’ (NO) and ‘not at all’ (NA). The analyses of the ratings indicated by travellers from the Likert’s scales adopted evolved into an index called “Mean Protective” (MP). To arrive at MP, rating value of 5,4,3,2 and 1 were respectively attached to ‘very often’ (VO), ‘Often’ (O), ‘fairly often’ (FO), ‘not often’ (NO) and ‘not at all’ (NA). The index for each self-protective type was arrived by dividing the Summation of Rating Value (SRV) by the total number of responses. The SRV for each type was obtained through the addition of the product of the number of responses to each type and the respective weight value attached to each rating.

The above (in both cases) is mathematically express as

$$SRV = \sum_{i=1}^5 x_i y_i \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

Where: SRV= Summation of Rating Value; x_i = number of respondents to rating i ; and y_i = the weight assigned to a value ($i=1, 2, 3, 4, 5$).

$$MS/MP = \frac{SRV}{\sum_{i=1}^5 x_i} \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

The mean for each of the identified aspect of travel and self-protective behaviour, thus, takes a value of between 5 and 1.

In order to understand the importance of gender differences in fear of perceived crime and precautionary behaviour, logistic regression and Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used. In logistic regression models, it is possible to see what unique contribution a variable makes toward understanding a factor or phenomena (in this case fear of perceived crime and precautionary behaviour). Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was further used on the estimated means. This is a statistical test which analyzes variance. It is helpful in making comparison of two or more means which enables a study to draw various results and predictions about two or more sets of data. Therefore, ANOVA shows the statistical significant difference in the mean of men and women.

To determine rate of encounter with crime, respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they have been a victim of actual or attempt victimization on streets in the last 12 months. Findings revealed that 65% and 45% of women and men travelling workers had respectively, been a victim of actual or attempted crime in the last 12 months (See Table 1). Furthermore, differences in rate of victimization between women and men transport users were statistically significant. The value of chi-square ($\chi^2=103.1$ and $p=0.00$) confirmed this.

From the summary presented in Table 1, level of safety was highest while in the vehicle (MS=3.33) while it was lowest while walking on the streets (MS=2.53). The mean level of safety while waiting

was 2.97. Furthermore, it was apparent that most vulnerable (women) transport users indicated that they felt higher feeling of insecurity while walking (MS=2.16) and waiting (MS= 2.88). The level of safety while in the vehicle (MS=3.37) was much higher as compared to while walking to work place. While further analysis revealed that, level of safety while walking in transport environment for men was approximately 5 (4.51) times that of the women, it was approximately 3(3.34) and 2(2.11) times that of women while waiting around transport environment and in the vehicle respectively. Findings further showed that significant variation exist in the feeling of safety of men and women while Walking (F=13.44; $p=0.01$), Waiting (F=19.01; $p=0.00$) and in the Vehicle (F=16.23; $p=0.01$).

Table 1: Mean score for level of safety and odd ratio

| Travel Component | Mean (MS) (Men) | Mean (MS) (Women) | Mean Both (Men and women) | Odd of Men compare to Women | F- Value | Significant Value |
|---|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Walking | 2.71 | 2.16 | 2.53 | 4.51** | 13.44 | 0.01* |
| Waiting | 3.04 | 2.88 | 2.97 | 3.34* | 19.01 | 0.00** |
| In the Vehicle | 3.65 | 3.37 | 3.33 | 2.11* | 16.23 | 0.01** |
| Experience of crime in last twelve months | 42% | 65% | 59% | | Chi-square $\chi^2=103.1$ | 0.00* |

Note: *Statistically significant difference between men and women at $p < 0.05$

** Statistically significant difference between men and women at $p < 0.01$

N = 243 (Women); 243 (Men).

Presented in Table 2 is the summary of self-protected behaviour among the vulnerable and men in the study area. The commonest self protective behaviour in the study area was avoiding going out alone in the night/dark (MP=3.51). Next to this was avoiding areas that have poor lighting (MP=3.31). The least use self protective behaviour among the public road users was to carry self-protection devices while on streets (MP=2.85). Further analysis revealed that, the most commonly used behaviour among the vulnerable was to avoid going out alone in the dark (MP= 3.67). The odds of a woman using this precaution was approximately 6 (6.21) times higher than that of a man. Next to this was to avoid areas that have poor lighting (MP=3.46). It should be noted that, the latter is similar to the former; both have to do with avoiding dark places. While the least used among the vulnerable was to carrying self-protection devices, vulnerable travellers also try to avoid going out alone during the day. Further analysis revealed that carrying self-protective device for women was approximately 2 (-2.33) times lesser than that of the man.

Table 2: Mean Score for self-protective behaviours and odd ratio

| Self-Protective Behaviours | Mean (MS) (Men) | Mean (MS) (Women) | Mean Both (Men and women) | Odd of Women compare to Men | F- Value | Significant (0.05) |
|--|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| Avoiding areas that have poor lighting | 2.71 | 3.46 | 3.31 | 5.31** | 34.12 | 0.01** |
| Carrying self-protection devices | 3.23 | 2.08 | 2.85 | -2.33* | 29.01 | 0.00 |
| Avoiding going out alone during the day | 3.44 | 3.67 | 3.21 | 1.21* | 16.14 | 0.02** |
| Avoiding going out alone in the night/dark | 2.34 | 3.67 | 3.51 | 6.21** | 12.34 | 0.01 |

Note: *Statistically significant difference between men and women at $p < 0.05$

** Statistically significant difference between men and women at $p < 0.01$

N = 243 (Women); 243 (Men).

Findings further showed that significant variation exist in the self-protective behaviour of men and women. The analysis of variance computed confirmed this in avoiding areas that have poor lighting ($F=34.12$; $p =0.01$), carrying self-protection devices ($F=29.01$; $p=0.00$), avoiding going out alone during the day ($F=16.14$; $p =0.00$) and avoiding going out alone in the night/dark ($F=12.34$; $p =0.01$).

DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

This study examined the feeling of safety and use of self-protective behaviour among public transport users in a Nigerian urban environment. The study specifically focuses on the safety issues of women (vulnerable) while on streets. This study is significant because fear and anxiety about personal security are important detractors from using public transit (Needle and Renée, 1997). Many people avoid specific transit routes and bus stops, if they believe that they may be victimized when on the bus, or at the stop. Hence, understanding pattern of crime on streets will help in making transit environments safer and more fitting to the needs of users.

Findings showed that, women transport users felt higher feeling of unsafe while walking, waiting and inside vehicle when compared to men. This indicates that working women and men who use public transport do not have equal levels of fear. Findings in this study, support evidences from previous researches around the world that fear are not equal between men and women (Gannon and Taylor-Butts, 2006 and Keown, 2007; Hilinski, Pentecost-Neeson, & Andrews, 2011 and Badiora et al., 2014). A number of explanations have been given to this phenomenon, which include: the perceived vulnerability of women because of a lesser physical ability to defend themselves (Junger, 1987), the influence upon them of parental advice and societal admonitions (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2005), their greater propensity to transfer past experiences and memories of victimization to present situations (Warr, 1984), concern for their children (Women's Planning Network Inc. (1995) and the persistent sexual harassment that women suffer on streets and public transportation vehicles (Department of Transport, 2014).

It was revealed further, that women commuters are typically more fearful during their journeys to and from the stop station and during their wait for the bus than when they are on the transit. These findings also confirm some previous studies. For instance, surveys of transit passengers have found that women feel more unsafe walking to their stops or waiting for the bus (Department for Transport, 2002). For instance, 8% of survey administered by the Department for Transport in the UK felt unsafe waiting at the bus stop alone during the day, but this number increased significantly for night time waiting, when 44% of women felt unsafe (Department for Transport, 2004). Similarly, the British Crime Survey found that the majority of residents feel unsafe walking alone after dark. Women passengers are typically more fearful during their journeys to and from the stop station and during their wait for the bus than when they are on the transit (Department for Transport, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2005)

Women's higher rate of experience of crime and corresponding higher level of fear in the study area was justified by findings which show very high rates of actual or attempted crime against women (65% of women as against 45% of men) on the streets. Hence, it can be concluded that women's fear in Ibadan is rational and more of crime victimization. In contrast to findings in this study, some researches have proposed that women's high level of fear and crime does not seem to be justified by official crime statistics which consistently show very low rates of reported crime against women in public spaces (Department for Transport, 2000; Smith, 2008). This inconsistency has led to the conclusion that women's fear is unfounded and more of a problem than crime itself. Nonetheless, what the official crime statistics do not show is that significant numbers of violent acts against women go unreported.

Women are also more likely to engage in most of the self-protective behaviours. As reported in Table 2, women were more likely to engage in three of the four self-protective behaviours examined in this

study (avoid areas with poor lighting, avoid being alone at night, avoid being out alone during day) but men were more likely to carry self-protection devices. The self-protection device question asked was 'do you carry self-protection devices on your person while on the street?' It is suspected during this study that self-protection devices, such as pocket knives may be more popular with men. Supposedly, it may be that men are more likely to carry self-protection devices even if they do not consider the primary purpose of the device to be for the protection from criminal victimization.

Findings in this study are in line with past studies (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Ferraro, 1995; Gilchrist et al. 1998; Reid and Konrad 2004; Gannon and Taylor-Butts, 2006; Keown 2007; Hilinski et al., 2011 and Badiora et al, 2014). These studies have reported differences in the use of self-protective behaviours by women and men. To explain this, researchers often cite reasoning similar to that used to explain differences in self-reported feeling of safety. Schafer et al (2006) suggest that women are socialized to be sensitive to their physical and social vulnerabilities and may feel less capable of defending themselves and, thus, use more self-protective behaviours. In the work of Yavuz and Welch (2010), the differential experiences and levels of fear as well as precautionary behaviour associated with transit crime between men and women were cited as an area in need of attention.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study supports the findings of empirical studies from different parts of the world, that most women are fearful because of the potential violence against them when on streets; they are more likely to be victimized, and are consequently, more likely to engage in self-protective behaviours than their male counterparts. Women's fear is rooted in a variety of factors, which have been previously discussed. It is also a response to a persistent level of sexual harassment that many women encounter when walking on the street, waiting at the bus stop or riding overcrowded trains and buses. Unfortunately, this phenomenon is encountered in many different parts of the world. This has many implications on transit users. For instance, negative perception of passengers about transit security influenced users' decisions to use transit. Furthermore, precautionary behaviour as a result of feeling of insecurity has important social significances because it limits personal freedom. It can as well change urban interactions and patterns of mobility of respondents. Having acknowledged that women's feeling of safety pattern differ in so many ways as compared to men, suggestions were offered for making transit environments safer and more fitting to the needs of users particularly, women.

Women's needs must first be addressed in enhancing their level of safety while travelling. A practical infrastructure design in line with the needs of these commuters to travel safe in urban areas should be of concern. Since women are considered as the most vulnerable group especially towards the crime occurrence, an urgent attention is needed especially on the design of the infrastructure to aid their travelling activities. It is believed that through defensive space theory, crime could be prevented using an appropriate environmental design. Therefore, analyzing the guideline of a practical environmental design is deemed as influential as level of fear could be reduce through a specific design. Thus, these findings should act more as a reminder that feeling safe is a fundamental need for human beings, and that, the provision of safe and secure transport systems is a fundamental prerequisite for attracting more women to use transport system.

State police departments should ensure adequate security on the streets and at bus stop stations. Regular security inspection of streets by police force will reveal hot spots of crime. This inspection could be used to guide a targeted deployment of crime squad to the most dangerous spots during the most dangerous times (like night time). Transport agencies can hire additional private security guards and staff to patrol transit stops and the routes connecting them to various destinations, especially in poor neighborhoods. This will go a long way towards ensuring transport users' safety. These security officers should be visible primarily during the very early morning and late evening hours, when the

transit settings are quite desolate. In essence, security should not only be present at stop station but also at parking lots and pathways connecting the different components of a transit system.

Transit agencies should organize or co-sponsor public education workshops and events, encouraging people to report crime incidences, instead of silencing such incidents. There should also be public information signs which encourage victims or passersby to speak up and report crime. Furthermore, responsibility does not stop with the transit agency, but rather a needed cultural shift in attitudes can only be achieved through education in schools. Education and awareness for both women and men of all ages is needed to help define appropriate behaviour, redirect responsibility to the perpetrator, promote awareness and encourage intervention where possible.

Women transport users must take precautions to safeguard themselves on the streets. They should be aware of any security means readily accessible on streets. These security measures should be employed by women transport users in case of danger. Women transport users should also be conscious of their security in transport vicinity and avoid commuting alone particularly in the night as most of these crimes were confirmed to be perpetrated, mostly, at night. These Night trips by women should be discouraged (except with capable guidance) to reduce incidence of crime.

Road refurbishment is a good measure to curb crimes on streets. In this respect, town planners and engineers can apply design strategies to different components of the transportation network in an effort to enhance the environmental factors that reduce fear or eliminate those that promote it. The location of transit stops away from desolate environments, empty lots and vacant buildings and near people and activities is essential. Similarly, the placement of bus stops near undesirable establishments such as liquor stores, bars and near facilities that favour many crime attraction should be avoided. Additionally, general maintenance and upkeep of transit facilities is a good way to provide comfort to transport users. Keeping an environment does clean not only encourage positive behaviour but also makes things feel comfortable for someone who might have fear. Good lighting of all aspects of the transportation network, including bus stops, parking lots, and streets are also very important. Good visibility is important in reducing crime. In fact, visibility is very important in safety as a visible environment is safe property. It is therefore suggested, that bus shelter designs that allow good visibility from the surroundings, have minimum advertising so that people can see you from the street, and incorporate armrests on bleachers to discourage the vagrant from sleeping there.

Other policies may include: special guide programs for transit users (particularly female) during early morning or late evening, better and more reliable bus schedules so that the wait at the bus stops is minimized; availability of good public transportation and more bus stops in poor neighborhoods so that people do not have to walk for long distances before getting to a bus stop. There should also be an incorporation of women (having women conduct safety audits of their neighborhoods) in the transportation planning process. Women are often the real experts of their neighborhoods, and the best to express their own needs as well as the obstacles they may encounter that usually limit their movement. The incorporation of women's perception in the planning and policy making around transportation issues (through regular consultation with focus groups, targeted surveys of women's passengers, and safety and gender audits) would help diminish the current ambiguity of Nigeria transit operators regarding gender-appropriate safety measures.

While findings in this study are rational, suggesting that fear of transit may be more pronounced in certain social groups than others. Further study can be carried out, to identify levels of fear among the elderly, certain ethnic groups, and low-income people who are using public transport. This can further be extended to identifying certain environmental factors on streets association with fear. These may include: darkness, desolation, lack of opportunities for informal surveillance by the residents of surrounding establishments, poor maintenance, and poor environmental quality. Future research into these areas should also look not only for what generates fear, but for situational factors that generate feelings of safety among vulnerable. Furthermore, future studies could determine whether women

who accommodate feelings of lack of safety, and take measures to enhance their security, have their fear levels reduced.

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