

Technical Integration  
Co-ordinate Planning

Territorial Integration  
Rural Emplacement  
Urban Planning  
Unit (Area)

Administrative  
Federal, State, Local  
Governments  
Parastatals  
NGOs  
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# CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTS IN PHYSICAL PLANNING

Functional  
State Teaching  
Interactive Node  
Hospital

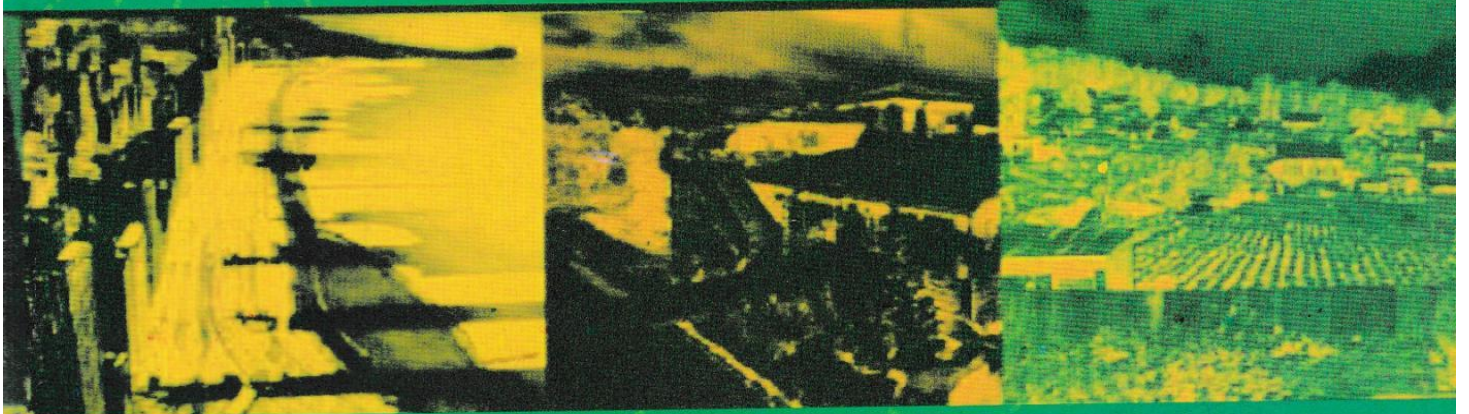
Regional  
Hospital

District  
Hospital

Dispensary  
Maternity Centre

EDITED BY

LAYI EGUNJOBI



VOLUME III

Education

Housing

Systems

## VICTIMIZATION

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### 55.1 Introduction

The field of planning has traditionally made sustainability of communities one of its central tenets. The cardinal objective of the town planning profession is to ensure the actualization of an efficient, functional and safe environment. This notion presupposes that, irrespective of where a person lives, the urban environment must provide an atmosphere conducive to living, working and recreation.

Urban safety and security are seen as pivotal in evolving an environment capable of ensuring peace, stability and well-being of residents. This is because persistently insecure environments are capable of eroding opportunities for social capital development, constitute threats to public safety and discourage local and foreign investments (Agbola, 1997). Crime or the absence of same has been adjudged as a key indicator in assessing the prosperity of nations. Bate (2009) notes that the most prosperous nations of



the world are not necessarily those with high GDP, but those with happy, healthy, safe and free citizens. This implies therefore that truly sustainable cities should be those where residents feel safe and secure to live and work; where crime and disorder, or the fear of being victimized do not undermine the residents' quality of life or community cohesion (Paulsen, 2013).

However, sustainability of urban settlements has seriously been undermined by crime and fear of crime. High crime rates seem to be a significant feature of cities in both developing and developed nations. Findings drawn from International Crime and Victim Survey (ICVS) of the World Bank (2010) revealed that, globally, irrespective of where a person lives, over a five-year period, two out of three inhabitants of big towns and cities have been victims of crime at least once, while one in every five persons has been victimized at least once by criminal activities.

The inseparable nexus between urban planning and victimization patterns (Paulsen, 2013) stems from the hypothesis that the form and layout of the built environment has a significant influence on crime by creating opportunities for it, and by extension, shaping community crime patterns. It makes it even more worrisome when urban planners have to bear the brunt of the uncaring criticism that urban planning and designs covertly or overtly “design in crimes” (Paulsen, 2013) or such assertion that acts of neglect in the planning processes, negligible as it may seem, creates opportunities for criminal activities, which, according to Metzger (2000), further leads to neighbourhoods decline.

Research on criminal victimization has for the centuries been in the exclusive preserve of sociologists, criminologists and psychologists. Thus, there have been a deluge of literature on victimization from these fields, most of which are skewed in favour of the philosophical and conceptual leanings of such disciplines. The discussions of victimization in the planning literature have also not been direct. Most of them have been viewed it from the angle of

crime, violence and criminality. Hence, most theories and concepts explored to underpin planning researches and empirical studies in the field of victimization have been the various theories of crime and criminality or hybrids of the twin concepts. Also, theories and concepts of victimization as applied in urban and regional planning have not been mutually exclusive. Points of convergence exist. Hence, this chapter presents the various theories of victimization as they are used exclusively in victimization studies as well as those whose use stem from studies in crime and criminality.

## 55.2 Victim, Victimization and Victimology: Meaning and Conceptual Issues

Victimization is generally defined as the process of being victimized or becoming a victim. It is the offshoot of a criminal activity, and refers to a process whereby a person is being made into a victim by someone else's illegal or criminal misconduct which can take on psychological, emotional as well as physical forms, all of which are damaging to the victim(s).

A victim, as situated within the victimization scenario, is a person who suffers direct or threatened physical, emotional or financial harm as a result of an act by someone else, which is a crime. According to Webster's Dictionary (1971), the word "victim" is rooted in many ancient languages in what appears to follow a similar linguistic pattern: *victim*, in Latin; *weoh*, in old European; *vinak ti*, in Sanskrit. In terms of operationalization, "victim" has its early roots in the early religious notions of sufferings, sacrifice and death and was widely used in early civilizations, especially in Babylonia, Palestine, Greece and Rome. In each of the civilizations, the victim was to be made whole again by the offender (Dussich, 2007). The apparently inextricable connections between "victims" and "crime" are a relatively recent phenomenon. Formerly, the term "victim" was as likely to be associated with general misfortune rather



than with crime. This point is reinforced by *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*(2007), whose definition starts by referring to “a person killed or tortured by another”, or “a person subjected to cruelty, oppression, or other harsh, or unfair treatment, or suffering death, injury, ruin, etc., as a result of an event, circumstance or oppressive or adverse impersonal agency”.

Contextually, victimization connotes a situation where persons, communities and institutions are damaged or injured in a significant way. In this scenario, it refers to persons, institutions and communities that are impacted by persons or events and suffer a violation of rights or significant disruption of their well-being become victimized. *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary* defines victimization as “harming or committing a crime against someone”.

The conventional research thrust that studies the process, incidence, rates and prevalence of victimization falls under the body of knowledge referred to as victimology. “Victimology” is further described as a scientific discipline which studies data that describes phenomena and causal relationships related to victimization. This includes events leading to the victimization, the victim's experience, its aftermath and the actions taken by society in response to this victimization. Therefore, victimology includes the study of the precursors, vulnerability, events, impacts, recovery, and responses by people, organizations and cultures as these relate to victimization or as are precipitated by victimization. In the light of this complex arrangement of issues related to victimization, issues in victimology are often X-rayed within the contexts of other key concepts in the social sciences. It must be noted that there are very scanty work done on victimization as a standalone term. However, there is a deluge of empirical and conceptual discourses on the concept as it affects who is victimized, “where is victimized” and what predisposes who to victimization. Most empirical studies on victimization are

wide and far-reaching as a result of interdisciplinary relationships. These disciplines include sociology, criminology, victimology, psychology, and lately urban and regional planning. Thus, in the field of Urban and Regional Planning, a discipline concerned with spatial forms and places, victimization is often discussed within the contexts of who-is-victimized-within-which-spaces discourses.

### 55.2.1 Key Concepts in Victimization Studies

There are several concepts in the criminal victimization literature but this chapter limits its scope to those of utmost relevance to the review. These include:

- “*Crime Victim*” is a person who has been physically, financially or emotionally injured and/or had his/her property taken or damaged by someone committing a crime.
- “*General Victim*” is a person who has been physically, financially or emotionally injured and/or had his/her property taken or damaged by someone, an event, an organization or a natural phenomenon.
- “*Victimogenesis*” refers to the origin or cause of victimization; the constellation of variables which caused a victimization to occur.
- “*Victim precipitation*” victimization where the victim causes, in part or totally, his/her own victimization.
- “*Vulnerability*” is a physical, psychological, social, material or financial condition whereby a person or an object has a weakness which could render such a victim if another person or persons would recognize these weaknesses and take advantage of them.
- *Victim Assistance, Support or Service* is those activities which are applied in response to victimization with the intention of relieving



suffering and facilitating recovery. This includes offering information, assessments, individual interventions, case advocacy, system advocacy, public policy and programme development.

- *Victimology* studies the process, incidence, rates and prevalence of criminal victimization.
- *Criminology* is scientific study of the non-legal aspects of crime and delinquency, including their causes, correction, and prevention.
- *Victim/victimization Surveys* is a periodic data collection and analysis process usually conducted by a government entity within the general population to study information about crime victims regardless of whether they reported their victimization to the police or not. It typically uses a face-to-face or telephone interview (or sent questionnaire) and covers demographics, attitudes about crime and details about the victimization experienced over the previous six months.

### 55.3 Evolution and Historical Perspectives on Victimization and Victimology

Although writings about the “victims” generally appeared in many early works by such criminologists as Sutherland (1924), Hentig (1948), Wolfgang (1958) and Schafer (1968), the concept of a science to study victims and the word “victimology” had their origin in the early writings of Benjamin Mendelsohn (1937; 1940), particularly his seminal work where he actually proposed the term “victimology” – “A New Branch of Bio-Psycho-Social Science, Victimology” (1956). Mendelsohn provided the victimology vision and blueprint and is referred to as “The Father of Victimology.”

However, the concept of “*victimization*” evolved from Han Von Hentig, a German criminologist, in the 1940s, who launched the study of the relationship between criminals and their victims. Hentig argued that much of

what victims do or who they are leads to their victimization because crime is a product of an interaction between offender and the victims. Von Hentig (1948), cited in Meier and Miethe (1993), categorizes general class of victims to include the young, females, the old, the mentally defective, the depressed, the acquisitive, the lonesome and the heart-broken, and some of the personal attributes that increase victims vulnerability to crime.

These earliest victimization studies were heavily influenced by Freudian psychology, which argues that victims yearn and are in some way responsible for their victimization. This point paved the way for the concept of "blaming the victim." Goode (2001), makes a careful distinction between "blame" and "cause." According to him, victims may be selected by offenders in part because of what they do or who they are, but they should not be blamed for their victimization. Young women are more likely to be sexually assaulted than older women, while poorer households are more likely to be burglarized than the more affluent households. These predispositions do not, in any way, make them responsible for their victimizations.

In the development of victimology, there are some critical dates and timelines that are worthy of note. These are

- 1924: Edwin Sutherland included a chapter on victims in his criminology textbook.
- 1937: Benjamin Mendelsohn published his writings on the rapist and his victim.
- 1941: Hans von Hentig published his article on victim and criminal interactions.
- 1947: Benjamin Mendelsohn coined the term "victimology" in a French journal.
- 1948: Hans Von Hentig published his book *The Criminal and His Victim*.



- 1949: Frederic Wertham first used the word “victimology” in a book *Show of Violence*.
- 1957: Margery Fry proposed victim compensation in *London Times*.
- 1958: Marvin Wolfgang studied homicide victims; used the term “victim precipitation.”
- 1963: New Zealand enacted the first Criminal Compensation Act.
- 1965: California became the first state in the USA to start victim compensation.
- 1966: Japan enacted Criminal Indemnity Law.
- 1966: USA started to survey crime victims not reported to the police.
- 1967: Canada created a Criminal Compensation Injuries Act as does Cuba and Switzerland.
- 1968: Stephan Schafer wrote the first victimology textbook *The Victim and His Criminal*.
- 1972: The first three victim assistance programmes were created in St. Louis, Missouri, San Francisco, California and in Washington DC.
- 1973: The first international symposium on victimology was held in Jerusalem, Israel.
- 1974: The first police-based victim advocate project started in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, USA.
- 1975: The first “Victim Rights' Week” was organized by the Philadelphia District Attorney,
- 1976: John Dussich launched the National Organization of Victim Assistance (NOVA) in Fresno, California, USA.
- 1976: Emilio Viano launched the first scholarly journal devoted to victimology.
- 1976: James Rowland created the first Victim Impact Statement in Fresno, California, USA.

- 1979: The World Society of Victimology was founded in Munster, Germany.
- 1980: Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (MADD) was founded by Candi Lightner after one of her twin daughters was killed by a drunk driver who was a repeat offender.
- 1981: President Ronald Reagan proclaimed the first national Victims' Rights Week in April.
- 1982: The first Victim Impact Panel established by MADD to educate drunk drivers about how their victims suffered, started in Rutland, Massachusetts, USA.
- 1984: The Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) established the national Crime Victims Fund from federal crime fines to pay for state victim compensation and services.
- 1985: The United Nations unanimously adopted the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power.
- 1987: The US Department of Justice opened the National Victims Resource Centre in Rockville, Maryland.
- 1988: The first "Indian Nations: Justice for Victims of Crime" conference was held by the Office for Victims of Crime in Rapid City, South Dakota, USA.
- 1990: The European Forum for Victim Services was founded by all the national organizations in Europe working for victims of crime in consultative status with the Council of Europe and the UN.
- 1999: The United Nations and the US Office for Victims of Crime published the **Guide for Policymakers on the Implementation of the United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power and the Handbook on Justice for**



**Victims: On the Use and Application of the United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power.**

- 2002: On 11 April, the Rome Statute was ratified and went into force on 1 July when the International Criminal Court became effective and it included the creation of a Victim and Witness Unit.
- 2003: On October 2nd, the Tokiwa International Victimology Institute, in Mito Japan opened its doors to promote victim rights, to conduct seminars and courses, publish an international journal, and host annual symposia and lectures and research about victimology.
- 2004: The World Society of Victimology, at its annual Executive Committee meeting in Orlando, Florida, adopted a dramatic new strategic plan to commit itself to the ideals and promises of the UN Declaration.
- 2005: Japan put the UN Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power into its national legislation by adopting a new fundamental law for crime victims. To ensure that the principles would be initiated, the Prime Minister established a cabinet-level committee. The new law included services for victims, restitution from the offender, information about criminal justice and a right to formally participate in the criminal justice process (Dussich, 2006).

#### **55.4 Victimization and Theoretical Issues**

There are a number of peculiarities in the study of victimization. These affect the theories used in empirical studies, the findings and the way concepts are explained.

Most theories used in victimization studies are theories of victimology

(developed in psychology, sociology, criminology, and penology). In urban and regional planning, empirical studies of crime patterns, distribution of crime, geography of crime, etiology of crime are mostly borrowed from these disciplines and used in the explanation of crime phenomena within the urban settings.

There are basically four theories that are used in victimization studies. These are: victim precipitation theory, lifestyle exposure theory, routine activity theory and structural choice theory.

**(a) Victim Precipitation Theory**

The theory is a prescriptor for all contact predatory crimes (e.g. murder, assault, forcible rape, robbery) and explains the involvement of the victim of crime in the crime incident where the victim may have resorted to physical force, or provoke the offender shortly before the crime takes place (Curtis, 1974). Meier and Miethe (1993) estimate that 4-19 per cent of rape and about 11 per cent of armed robbery cases are characterized by carelessness on the part of the victim. This carelessness may include victims leaving property unprotected and interacting on a regular basis with potential offenders. The theory explains victim culpability and how the routine activities and lifestyle of citizens provide opportunities for criminal victimization.

**(b) Lifestyle Exposure Theory**

Perhaps this theory is one of the first systematic theories of victimization. It was put forward by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978). The theory advances that the individuals are targeted based on their lifestyle choices, which expose them to criminal offenders and situations in which crimes may be committed. The theory situates demographic differences as key factor in likelihood of victimization, which can be attributed to the differences in personal lifestyle of victims. Variations in lifestyles of victims are related to the differential exposure to dangerous places, times and other situations in which

there are high risks of victimization.

The theory posit that individual lifestyle of the victim are the various routine activities, both vocational and leisure activities. Examples include living in bad parts of the town, associating with known felons, alcohol use and doing drugs. Both ascribed and achieved status characteristics, e.g. age, gender, race, income, marital status, education, and occupation are important correlates of predatory crime (Meier and Meithe, 1993). Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) present a model which links demographic differences to victims' risk and differences in individuals' routine activities and lifestyle choices.

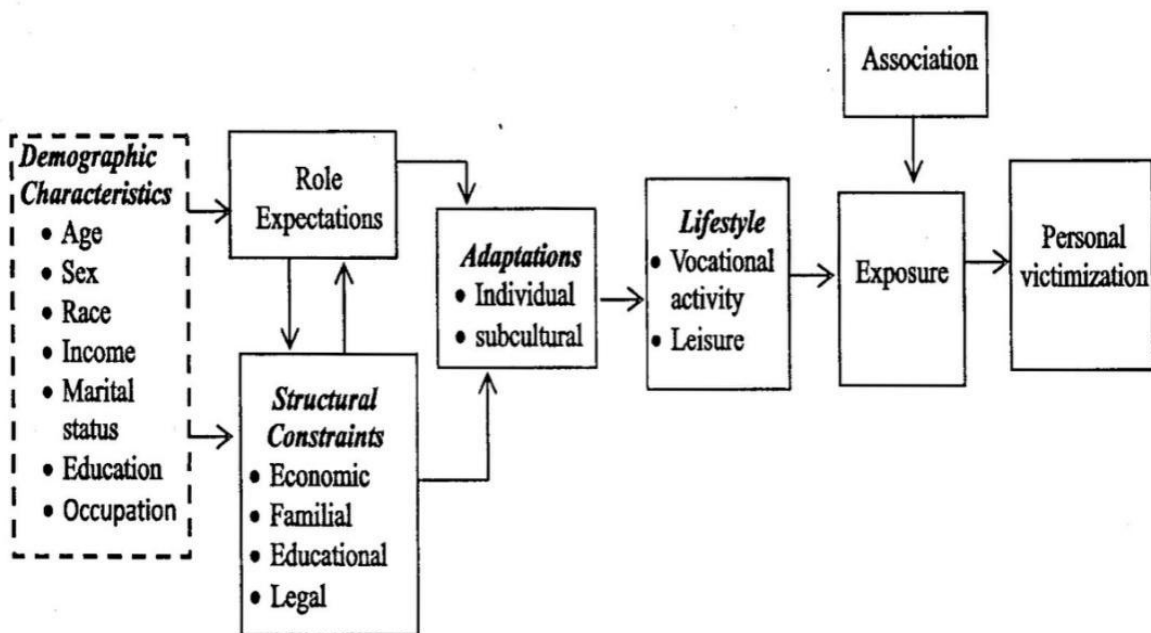


Figure 55.1: A Lifestyle - Exposure Model of Victimization  
 Source: Adapted from Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978)

From the model, five factors of lifestyle that contribute to opportunities for and likelihood of victimization include demographics, economic status, social activities, substance abuse and community. For instance, one is more likely to be robbed in a dark and deserted alley in an

impoverished part of the town than in a police station or well-secured house. Similarly, victimization rates are highest among adolescents and young adults, those who have never been married, African Americans, as well as men and people who live in rural cities. In terms of communities, crime tends to flourish in poorer communities and is proportionately higher in lower socio-economic areas of some communities. The trend is explained in part by the fact that there are fewer guardians or instruments of guardianship (Meier and Meithe, 1993).

**(c) Routine Activity Theory**

The routine activity theory (RAT) was developed by Cohen and Felson (1979). It shares certain similarities with the lifestyle-exposure theory, which emphasizes how patterns of routine activities or lifestyles provide an opportunity structure for crime. The RAT is based on behavioural patterns of individuals and the situational factors surrounding crime. The daily routine of activities of people (lifestyle) sometimes puts people in a vulnerable position. This is defined as "any recurrent and prevalent activities that provide for basic population and individual needs" (Cohen and Felson, 1979). According to the theory, a crime will occur when three conditions converge in time and space, viz:

- the presence of a potential and motivated offender who is willing and seeking to commit a crime;
- the presence of vulnerable and suitable targets, either person or property;
- an absence of capable and willing guardians to protect, supervise or ward off a potential offender.

The theory argues that the presence of one or more of the above factors creates a higher risk of victimization. On the contrary, communities with



ample police protection, alarms and other security devices, community watch teams, lower their risk by creating guardianship.

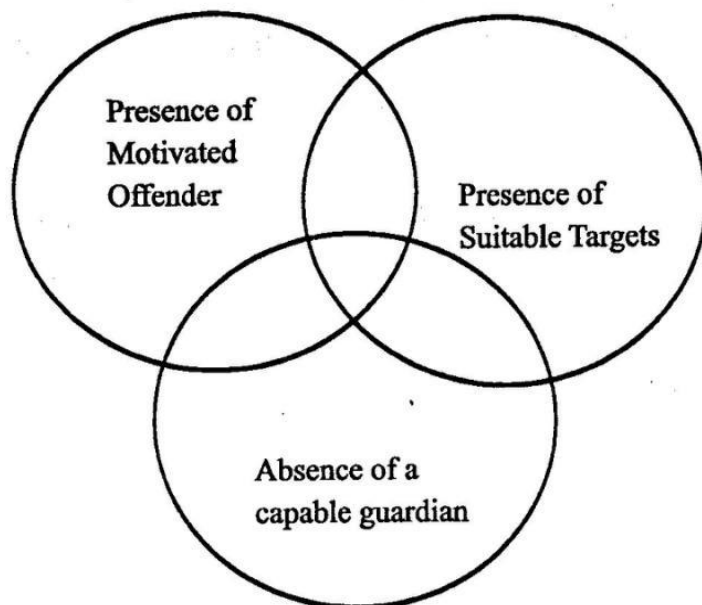


Figure 55.2: Model of Routine Activity Theory  
Source: Cohen and Felson (1978)

#### (d) **Structural Choice Theory of Victimization**

Miethe and Meier (1990) examine the feasibility of integrating routine activity and lifestyle-exposure theories into what is called a “structural choice” theory of victimization. Cohen, Kluegel and Land (1981) observe that physical proximity to motivated offenders, exposure to high-risk environments, target attractiveness, and the absence of guardianship are necessary conditions for predatory crime.

Routine activity and lifestyle exposure theories point to two central propositions. First, routine activity patterns and lifestyles each contribute to the creation of a criminal opportunity structure by enhancing the contact between potential offenders and victims. Second, the subjective value of a person or object and its level of guardianship determine the choice of the

particular crime target. In combination, these propositions imply that "routine activities may predispose some persons and their property to greater risks, but the selection of a particular crime victim within a socio-spatial context is determined by the expected utility of one target over another" (Miethe and Meier 1990: 245).

Under this revised theoretical model, proximity and exposure are considered "structural" features (because they pattern the nature of social interaction and predispose individuals to riskier situations), whereas attractiveness and guardianship represent the "choice" component (because they determine the selection of the particular crime target within a sociospatial context).

There are several reasons why this "structural choice" model may be a useful integration of current victimization theories. First, the revised model emphasizes both macro dynamic forces that contribute to a criminal opportunity structure (as identified by routine activity theory) and micro level processes that determine the selection of particular crime victims (as implied by lifestyle exposure theory). Second, the structural choice model retains the view that exposure, proximity, attractiveness, and guardianship are necessary conditions for victimization, meaning that the absence of any of these factors is sufficient to eliminate predatory crime. Third, the structural choice model follows closely the distinction between "predisposing" and "precipitating" factors. Specifically, both characterizations assume that living in particular environments increases one's exposure and proximity to dangerous situations, but whether a person becomes a crime victim depends on his/her presumed subjective utility over alternative targets. Fourth, the structural choice perspective emphasizes the context-specific effects of routine activities and lifestyles on risks of predatory crimes. For example, target

attractiveness and guardianship may have little impact on victimization risks for residents of areas with a low criminal opportunity structure because, by definition, such environments are not conducive to predatory crime in the first place. Conversely, geographical areas with a high concentration of offenders may have such a high criminal opportunity structure that all residents, regardless of their perceived attractiveness or level of guardianship, are equally susceptible to criminal victimizations.

### 55.5 Measuring Victimization

Like all phenomena, victimization lends itself to definitions, theoretical organization and measurements. However, the magnitude of victimization incidents usually turns researchers' focus away from the dispassionate evaluation of the facts. The hype around victimization events oftentimes are so loud that even erudite theorists put aside their research acumen and yield to the subjective descriptions which becloud empirical findings. In spite of the strong emotions, the magnitude of crime problem still calls for careful measurement, analysis and synthesis so that a degree of understanding can emerge. There are basically three categories of research in victimization studies.

#### (a) Evaluative Research

The evaluative research is used to measure the official government or organizational responses to victimization and the programmes employed to help victims cope. These types of research are aimed at measuring the systemic aspects of the victim's experience. This is usually focused on the twin criteria of success, i.e. effectiveness, which evaluates the achievement of programme objectives; and, efficiency, which evaluates the consumption of resources over the time needed to achieve objectives.

**(b) Causal Research**

Perhaps the most challenging and difficult form of victimological research is causal research because it attempts to explain why and how some variables are affected by other variables in those phenomena dealing with victims. For example, it might try to understand why some victims are severely traumatized by an event, while other victims are not seriously impacted by the same event. The usual method of this form of research is to first create hypotheses about the relationships between cause- and effect-variables, then measure these variables and see if the data supports the hypotheses. Ultimately, this process can lead to understanding not just one causal link, but many connected causal links, or a causal chain. A theoretical statement can then be developed with the new facts uncovered using causal research. The theoretical statements help to understand the complex social and psychological victim phenomenon. Consequently, persons working to prevent victimization could have empirically derived facts so as to reduce the vulnerability of potential victims.

**(c) Descriptive Research**

Descriptive research is primarily concerned with generally characterizing a phenomenon to determine basic information about amount, frequencies and categories of a particular theme. The most important types of victimological descriptive research are victimization surveys. These surveys not only provide the number and types of victims, but they also provide trend information so that comparisons are made between victims from one jurisdiction to another, from one type of victim to another, and measurement of the rate of victimization for a given population during a given time period is done. They also provide information about the feelings, opinions and responses the victims have. Thus, they are very important in understanding the impact of victimization among the population.



### 55.5.1 Victimization Surveys

The National Crime Victimization Surveys (NCVS) collects information on non-fatal crimes reported and not reported to police against persons aged 12 or older from a nationally representative sample of households (Truman and Langton, 2015). Victimization is a crime, as it affects one person or household. For personal crimes, the number of instances of victimization is equal to the number of victims present during a criminal incident. The number of instances victimization may be greater than the number of incidents because more than one person may be victimized during an incident. Each crime against a household is counted as having a single victim – the affected household. Hence, victimization rate is a measure of the occurrence of victimization among a specified population group. For personal crimes, the *victimization rate* is based on the number of cases of victimization per 1,000 residents aged 12 or older. For household crimes, the victimization rate is calculated using the number of incidents per 1,000 households.

### 55.5.2 Victimization Rates vs Prevalence Rates

Annual estimates of a population's risk of criminal victimization can be examined using victimization rates or prevalence rates. But there is a basic difference between victimization rates and prevalence rates. Most countries use the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data on victimization rates to measure the extent to which victimization occurs in a specified population during a specific time. For crimes affecting persons, victimization rates are estimated by dividing the number of instances of victimizations that occur during a specified time (t) by the population at risk for those victimizations and multiplying the rate by 1,000.

Victimization rate  $\tau$  =

$$\frac{\text{Number of victimizations experienced by a specified population}_\tau}{\text{Number of persons in the specified population}_\tau} \times 100$$

Source: Truman and Langton, 2015

Prevalence rates, on the other hand, describes the level of victimization but is based on the number of unique persons (or households) in the population who experienced at least one instance of victimization during a specified time. The key distinction between victimization rate and a prevalence rate is whether the numerator consists of the number of cases of victimization or the number of victims. For example, a person who experienced two cases of robbery on separate occasions within the past year would be counted twice in the victimization rate but counted once in the prevalence rate. Prevalence rates are estimated by dividing the number of victims in the specified population by the total number of persons in the population and multiplying the rate by 100. This is the percentage of the population victimized at least once in a given period.

$$\text{Prevalence rate } t = \frac{\text{Number of victims in a specified population } t}{\text{Number of persons in the specified population } t} \times 100$$

Source: Truman and Langton, 2015

### 55.5.3 Predictors of Victimization

Broad studies have revealed certain trends in crime and victimization patterns in both developed and developing countries. Adolescents are most likely to be victimized. Men become crime victims more often than women do, and Blacks experience more crime than other racial groups.

A number of distinct risk factors increase the likelihood of victimization, particularly with regard to subtypes of violence, including violent crimes, domestic violence, serious violent crimes, sexual victimization. These risk factors can be divided into four major categories: (1) individual demographic factors, such as age, gender, and ethnicity; (2) developmental and psychosocial factors, such as history of victimization; (3) situational factors, such as alcohol and drug use; and (4) contextual factors, such as living in poor communities.

- i. **Individual Demographic Predictors:** Statistics reveal differences among interpersonal violence victims based upon individual predictors, such as age, gender, and ethnicity. The National Crime Victim Survey (NCVS), conducted annually in the United States by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), reported that, for the year 2004, approximately 54 of every 1,000 youths aged 12-24 and 22 of every 1,000 adults aged 25 and above were the victims of aggravated assault, suggesting that youth is a risk factor for assault victimization. Gender-based differences in crime victimization documented in the NCVS revealed that females were victims of 99.5% of all sexual assaults reported in 2004. However, males are more likely to be victims of violent crime as a whole. In 2004, 56 out of every 1,000 males were victims of violent crimes as compared to 39 of every 1,000 females. Thus, being male increases risk for victimization overall, with the exception of sexual assault victimization, which is almost exclusively associated with being female. With respect to ethnicity, 28 out of every 1,000 Blacks in the United States were victims of interpersonal violence in 2004 as opposed to 21 out of every 1,000 Whites (Asencio and Guerra, 2004).

- ii. **Developmental and Psychosocial predictors:** Early victimization and history of abuse, exposure to domestic violence, emotional distress, and psychological problems are among the developmental and psychosocial predictors of victimization. The most well documented predictor of interpersonal violence victimization is childhood victimization. When children are maltreated early in life, they are also at greater risk of suffering from emotional distress and other psychosocial disorders that further increase the risk of victimization. For example, a 20-year prospective study showed that children who were exposed to domestic violence between parents were also at high risk of victimization of any type of interpersonal violence later in life. It appears that early exposure to violence, either through direct maltreatment or indirectly through observation of family violence, is a significant risk factor for subsequent victimization. The effects of early exposure to violence on subsequent interpersonal violent victimization may also be linked to corresponding emotional distress and psychological maladjustment (Asencio and Guerra, 2004).
- iii. **Situational Predictors:** Asencio and Guerra (2004) note that alcohol and substance use are among the most frequent situational predictors of interpersonal victimization. Heavy alcohol and drug use are considered a risk factor for intimate partner violence. Women who use drugs and/or drink heavily are at the greatest risk of victimization of sexual assault while intoxicated. More specifically, a study of rape victims revealed that 51% of all participants reported substance use immediately before victimization by rape.
- iv. **Contextual Predictors:** The National Crime Victimization Survey claims that the likelihood of victimization increases as an individual's



income decreases. In 2004, 51 out of every 1,000 individuals with an annual household income of less than \$7,500 were victims of violent crime compared with 18.5 out of every 1,000 individuals with annual incomes over \$75,000. Sociological studies that examined the influence of neighbourhoods and communities on victimization suggested a relation between low income and victimization, particularly in communities with a high concentration of poverty and limited opportunities. As violence and victimization in a community increase, these contexts become increasingly dangerous. Residents and businesses may move to safer communities, buildings and community spaces may deteriorate, and the willingness of neighbours to intervene to stop violent victimization may decrease.

Interpersonal violent victimization also occurs in specific settings where individuals have repeated contact over time. Schools and workplaces are two important settings where interpersonal violent victimization occurs. The workplace is another setting where violence is common. The BJS reported that an estimated 18% of all violent incidents in the United States between 1993 and 1999 occurred in the workplace. Correctional officers, taxi drivers, private security guards, and bartenders are the ones at the greatest risk of violent victimization in the workplace.

## **55.6 Patterns of Victimization**

### **55.6.1 Crime Victimization Patterns in Developed and Developing Countries**

High crime rates are a significant feature of cities in both developing and developed nations. Globally, irrespective of where a person lives, over a five year period, two out of three inhabitants of big towns and cities are victims of

crime at least once, while one in every five persons has been victimized at least once by criminal activities.

The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development (2004) observed that violent crimes in Africa's cities is endemic and, in many places, worsening, especially in some urban areas. Africa as a whole has a homicide rate of 20 per 100,000 as compared to Europe (5.4), North America (6.5), and South America (25.9), while in Kinshasa's predominantly urban area, homicide rate is estimated to be as high as 112 homicides per 100,000 (Baker, 2010). In terms of age as a risk factor of victimization, UN-Habitat (2007) asserts that, in Africa, with nearly 75% of the population residing in poor neighbourhoods, gang violence is very prevalent. For instance, in Cape Town, South Africa, an estimated 100,000 gang members accounted for about 70% of all urban crimes committed in the city.

The National Criminal Victimization and Safety Survey (NCVSS), conducted by CLEEN Foundation (2013) in Nigeria, showed that both crime incidents and fear emanating from such have continued to soar high. In the survey, a quarter of the respondents, that is 25%, said that they had been victims of crime during the past year. The survey also indicated that the number of victims of crime was highest in Enugu State, with 70%, followed by Ekiti and Ebonyi State (both 65%) compared to the national average of 25%. Katsina State had 9%, while Ogun had the lowest score of 5%. In terms of analysis of experience of crime by regions in Nigeria, the South East recorded the highest, with 44%, while the North West recorded the lowest score of 18%. Lagos State also recorded 18%. Further disaggregation by gender indicated that more men (27%) had actual experience of crime more than women (23%).

Survey of fear of crime, that is, fear of becoming a victim of crime, also showed significant variation. The findings of the NCVSS 2013 crime and victimization survey indicated that more than 7 out of 10 Nigerians (72%) had

the fear of becoming victims of crime. Across states, Ogun and Ondo states recorded the highest, with 94%, while Benue and Taraba States recorded the lowest, with 38%. The national average stood at 72%. From the angle of gender, 73% of the females feared becoming victims of crime, compared to 71% of males (CLEEN Foundation, 2013).

### 55.6.2 Spatio-temporal Contexts of Crime Distribution

A very significant aspect in victimization studies is the spatial distribution of crime in urban space which, in turn, affects the distribution of police personnel, police beats, police infrastructure as well as the positioning of non-state policing structures. The spatial patterns of crime (generally referred to as the geography of crime) has been researched widely in urban and regional planning because they present the context within which an understanding of the nature and extent of crime is best situated. Most crime and victimization studies concur that crime is not uniformly distributed throughout the city but is concentrated within certain areas ("hotspots") and absent in others. Central to these studies is the fact that crime co-varies with socio-economic status. There existed a strong correlation between neighbourhood socio-economic status and the occurrence of crime. To empirically ascertain the above hypothesis, Brantingham and Brantingham (1984) investigated the relationship between socio-economic status and the rates of homicides and assault and established that the rates of homicide and assault were inversely related to socio-economic status.

The spatial distribution of crime has also been well documented. In this regard, Mukoro (1994) studied the spatial distribution of crime in metropolitan Lagos, Nigera. His findings indicated that high socio-economic neighbourhoods, like Ikoyi, had the highest concentration of violent crimes, while Surulere recorded lowest crime rates. The examination of the

relationship of certain violent crimes to the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood revealed that the severity of crimes in Lagos tend to increase as the socio-economic status improves. In a similar study on Ile-Ife in Nigeria, Aguda (1994) focused on two major crimes: robbery and burglary. He analysed the spatial distribution of crime in the ancient city using Obafemi Awolowo University campus, Sabo, Iremo, Modakeke, Okerewe, Ilare, Ilode and More as study units. His findings revealed that the intensity of the crimes under study increased as socio-economic status of those neighbourhoods increased. As regards locational patterns of crimes within cities, several findings have reported that there exists a discernable pattern of crime within cities, pointing to the fact that certain types and rates of crime vary with the location and that crime rates differ markedly within cities as well as areas across geographical spaces (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1980).

Generally, crime rates and the patterns vary from the inner city to the suburbs. For example, of all types of offences known to the police, the central segment of the city contributes the largest proportion of all types of fraud and all types of robbery, including purse-snatching and non-residential robbery. The central segment also contributes more than half of all reported cases of assault, felonious injury, homicide, miscellaneous forms of robbery, residential robbery and highway robbery. The remainder of the city absorbs a greater percentage of various types such as burglary and sex violation, except sexual perversions. Studies also revealed that certain areas or cities record specific crime rates that are higher than national averages. Brantingham and Brantingham (1980) established that northern communities in Canada reported substantially higher violent and property crimes than the national average.

Demographically, the relationship between crime and structural arrangement of population was first put forward by Lunden (1942). He established that the structural arrangement of the population in several



localities, to a large extent, determines the amount and the types of criminality in those areas. According to his postulation, homogenous rural settlements always have less crime than heterogeneous urban mobile populations. His explanation of the observed phenomenon was that "the high degree of specialization in labour, heterogeneity of culture and increased mobility of urban society shatter the sympathetic relationship and group solidarity of the society". This, in turn, increases psychosocial isolation (alienation) and weakens traditions and traditional social control mechanisms. In a study conducted in Madagascar, Fafchamps and Moser (2003) observe that crime increases with distance from the urban centres but decreases with population density. They also claim that crime and insecurity are associated with isolation.

### **55.7 Implications of Victimization Studies for Urban and Regional Planning Education.**

The above discourse has significant implications for urban and regional planning. Agbola (1997) discusses the reactionary attitudes of urban residents to real and perceived rise in cases of victimization, especially residential burglary and all forms of violent crimes. The different variants of security wares adopted and adapted for use mirrors the people's quest to ward off crimes and criminals. At macro spaces, this is evident in the control of neighbourhood accesses, privatization of spaces and general planning of residential precincts as gated neighbourhoods (Fabiya, 2004). Rates and prevalence of victimization in neighbourhoods also affects residential choices among households, residential mobility decisions of households and rental values placed on housing. All of the above issues affect and are, in turn, affected by spatial distribution of security outfits within the urban space. Paulsen's (2013) assertion that planners 'designed-in' crimes calls for a rethink

among planning professionals. The critical appraisal of how planners overtly or covertly design in crime opportunities will drive planning education and in turn, planning practice.

Schneider and Kitchen (2007) argue that “if planning is about making places better for people, then it has to address those elements that make places problematic for people, and crime and the fear of crime are high up this list”. Since the planning profession does not traditionally study the temporal and spatial location of crime (or the fear of crime), planners, therefore, need to look across academic disciplines to the insights, theories and evidence from the field of criminology (Cozens, 2011) and thereby incorporate relevant ones into planning discourse.

Although not exhaustive, the following areas will require situating victimization studies into planning education and curriculum. This will require the assessment of problems along three key perspectives, namely:

- (a) **Evolve strategies for crime prevention through urban planning through crime mapping:** This will involve assessment of spatial distribution of “safer places” and “crime hotspots” within the urban setting; trend analysis to map the highest rates or prevalence of victimization within the urban space, spatial mapping of spread and distribution of crime incidents in the area under focus; definition of area/spatial extent of secure/insecure neighbourhoods.
- (b) **Identify cardinal crime and victimization issues endemic in an identified area which should be addressed:** Curriculum must be designed to audit the crime and safety profiles of neighbourhoods. Among other issues, the crime problem (types, nature), crime auditing/budgeting, crime review/assessment, plans, scenarios, strategies, costs, anticipated effects of social exclusions must be

centrally placed in urban and regional planning education and curriculum to ensure proactive planning instead of the traditional reactionary approach to victimization studies.

- (c) **Do spatial organization and reorganization of activity areas and awareness spaces to reduce rates of victimization:** Perhaps, the most relevant issue to planning is the analysis of routine daily activities (work/school, visiting friends, shopping and entertainment) which predisposes urban residents as potential targets. These routine activities and travel routes form the “awareness spaces” (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1984) of the offender. Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) argue that “all people, including those who commit crime, develop an awareness space from which crime targets are usually picked.”

Planners, through planning education, need to identify different types of settings which can generate significant amounts of crime and design awareness spaces to exclude crime opportunities. The riskiest settings which need planning include: public routes (especially footpaths, parking facilities and unsupervised transit areas); retail stores (especially for shoplifting); recreational settings (especially bars and some parks); public transport (especially stations and their vicinities); educational settings (especially at their edges); offices (especially when entered for theft); human support services (especially hospitals with 24-hour activities) and; industrial locations (especially warehouses with “attractive” goods). Urban planning will require separation of incompatible land uses as well as placing land uses in highly vulnerable areas in a manner that reduces opportunities for victimization.

## 55.8 Conclusion

The hallmark of the planning profession is to ensure the actualization of an efficient, functional and safe environment, where its residents feel safe and secure to live and work; where crime and disorder, or the fear of being victimized does not undermine the residents' quality of life. To create such an environment capable of defending itself as well as defend its occupants, the urban and regional planning profession must depart from the narrow prescriptions of allocating landuses to urban functions to understanding how such allocation of uses increases or eliminates opportunities for criminal victimization.

Studies on victimization (trends and patterns), presents a multidimensional and multifaceted discourse which fundamentally captures how man in his activity spaces is exposed to victimization. Planning curriculum should be eclectic in outlook to reflect the various issues that affect the sustainability of urban centres, in this case, victimization.

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