Urbanization and Crime in Nigeria: Addressing Key Challenges of Development Administration

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Abstract

The administration of development plans in Nigeria has its attendant challenges. One of such is addressing the complexities of urbanization and consequent insecurities. New, targeted approaches to curbing crime in emerging urban and development areas are necessary if countries want to take advantage of the demographic shift to make cities inclusive, spur economic growth and expand job opportunities. This paper is designed to examine strategies that are significant in addressing this growing concern. It employs *descriptive research design. Data are obtained mainly from secondary sources and analyzed with* qualitative techniques. Extant literature and theoretical models were reviewed. The paper advocates for an effective institutional security network to check crime, provision of social infrastructures, enhanced economic opportunities through industrialization to reduce the vulnerability of unemployed to criminal tendencies as well as a detail development plan with citizen participation to check rural urban drift and enhance the wellbeing of rural dwellers.

Keywords: *Development Administration, Urbanization, Insecurity, Poverty, Unemployment & Food Security.*

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Background to the Study

Urbanization occurs in every country in the world. It follows technological advances, increases in population and so on. Available data reveal that the population of Nigeria has been increasing at an alarming rate, and the urban growth has an equally followed suit. It is estimated that by the year 2020; the Nigerian population would grow to be over 170 million (Salau, 1992). The rise in population in major cities in Nigeria such as Ibadan, Lagos, most parts of Kaduna, etc, is very evident and points to the fact that urbanization is a major happening in Nigeria. The migration of people from rural areas to urban areas is influenced by the search for employment opportunities, security, transfers, marriages, education and so on.

Urbanization process in the developed countries is as a result of rapid development, modernization and industrialization, and not agglomeration of people which usually results from rural-urban drift. While the urbanization in Nigeria likes most other developing nations, is a consequence of the "push" of the rural areas and the "pull" of the urban centres (Aluko, 2010). The push and pull in this regard are with respect to the population, which can be traced to the effects of regional imbalances. This has direct consequences on migration pattern, especially rural urban migration.

The advantages include new opportunities for trade and commerce, cultural exchange, a rapid development especially in tourism, industrialization, among others. It must be stressed also that the decrease in rural population has effects on the agricultural production, due to a shortage of farm workers. This is one of the reasons for expensive food, due to shortage… and over dependence on oil. Urbanization creates social problems. Soh (2012) reported that increase in crime rate is correlated with rapid urbanization. Urbanization, if not properly managed leads to declining standard of life in these cities, especially in the areas of investment on housing, environmental development, quality of life and productivity. Surveys support this claim and further reiterate some of the challenges to include unemployment, poverty, inadequate transportation system and housing.

Onibokun and Faniran (1995) identified the concepts of human and environmental poverty and declining quality of life. They maintained that housing and associated facilities (such as water, electricity, waste disposal) are grossly inadequate. Millions live in substandard environments called slums, plagued by squalor and grossly inadequate social amenities, such as a shortage of schools, poor health facilities and lack of opportunities for recreation among others. Juvenile delinquency and crime have become endemic in urban areas as a result of the gradual decline of traditional social values and the breakdown of family cohesiveness and community spirit. This study takes a cursory look at the issues, challenges and prospects of urbanization and its attendant effect on insecurity in Nigeria.

Methodology
The study adopts a qualitative research method where the data collected are from documents (secondary data) for the purpose of describing and discussing the variables urbanization, crime and development administration in Nigeria. Data obtained are analyzed using content data analyses and from findings, suggestions are made.

Theoretical Framework
The study adopts the Strain theory to explain the crime in urban areas in Nigeria. Strain theory is a sociology and criminology theory developed in 1938 by Robert K. Merton. The theory states that society puts pressure on individuals to achieve socially accepted goals though they lack the means, this leads to strain which may lead the individuals to commit crimes. People are forced to work within the system or become members of a deviant subculture to achieve the desired goal. Merton's belief became the theory known as Strain Theory. Merton continued on to say when individuals are faced with a gap between their goals (usually finances/money related) and their current status, strain occurs. When faced with strain, people have five ways to adapt:

1. Conformity: pursuing cultural goals through socially approved means.
2. Innovation: using socially unapproved or unconventional means to obtain culturally approved goals. Example: dealing drugs or stealing to achieve financial security.
3. Ritualism: using the same socially approved means to achieve less elusive goals (more modest and humble).
4. Retreatism: to reject both the cultural goals and the means to obtain it, then find a way to escape it.
5. Rebellion: to reject the cultural goals and means, then work to replace them.

Urbanization is not about the population size but must satisfy certain conditions like modernization, physical and economic development, as well as the heterogeneity in occupation. Migrants to urban areas in search for economic opportunities but they don't all have the same opportunities. When people fail to achieve society's expectations through approved means such as hard work and delayed gratification, they may attempt to achieve success through crime.

Literature Review
Issues in Urbanization and Crime in Nigeria
Urbanization is a process whereby towns grow naturally or through migration and their societies become urban. Urbanization occurs when people migrate into urban areas in search for seeking economic opportunities to improve their living conditions (Ghani, 2017). This, Ghani added is because urban areas have most of the facilities and employment corridors provided to make life comfortable. This phenomenon developed rapidly, particularly in Africa and Asian sub-regions where people from neglected rural areas migrate to the urban areas expecting employment and better living conditions (Ghani, 2017).

Knight and Gunatilaka (2007) stated that a migrant takes into account the probability of obtaining a desired urban employment at any time. In another study, Soh (2012) supported the idea that it is in urban areas where all the facilities are well built to make human life more comfortable, and the main attraction of urban is easy access to wealth. Harris and Todaro (1970) described it as "proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected earning". Although, in certain cases, many urban immigrants assumed they will secure employment when usually it is not the case. Instead, they meet a cost of living that is much higher or rather difficult than that of their experience back in rural areas.

On crime, there are several perceptions. Explanations vary from geographical areas, socio-cultural and economic differences of societies as well as a time lag. The variations make it difficult to give it a unidirectional meaning. What may be regarded as a crime in one region may not be a crime in another and changes over time. For an instant, prostitution and homosexuality are crimes in many regions especially where religion dictates, while in many others, they are acts of promotion (Dambazau, 2007; Usman, Yakubu, & Bello 2012; Tenibiaje, 2010).

Habibullah, Baharom and Tan (2013) defined crime as a violation of 'property rights' where the focus was prioritized on crime against property. Tenibiaje (2010) explained that crime is a 'deviant behaviour that violates prevailing norms, which may be cultural, social, political, psychological and economic conditions'. Louis and others in 1981 (cited by Usman, Yakubu & Bello, 2012), described the crime as a deviant act that is threatening moral behaviours and injurious to society. Moral decadence afflicts the personality of the individual, his property and lessens trust among members of the society which may result to threat and fear.

Tenibiaje (2010) assessed crime to mean an act that violates the law of the society or serious offence against the law of the society for which there is a severe punishment by law. This means that crime is any culpable action or omission prohibited by law and punishable by the state. In these views, crime is a violation of any law of a given society and offenders are punishable in accordance with the set of that law. These laws can either be criminal laws or societal unwritten laws, norms and values, any offender or violator of such laws is culpable to punishment (Ghani, 2017). Usman et al. (2012) added that crime is an 'inescapable reality in human life, therefore, no national characteristics, no political regime, and no system of law, police or judiciary have rendered a country free from crime'.

Crimes are established in corruption, rape, terrorist criminal activities, kidnapping, human trafficking, assault, vagrancy and failure to pay public tax, utility bills or transport, drugs and narcotics abuse, wanton environmental destruction and unauthorised dumping of toxic substances (Tenibiaje, 2010; Tretter, 2013). Crime is the violation of state laws or deviant act prohibited by state laws that are subjected to punishment in accordance with the set of the laws. These include all types of deviant acts or offences against lawful authority, against the local act, against the person and against property. Urban crimes are classified as crimes committed in urban areas.

Soh (2012) linked urban crimes to factors such as unemployment, poverty, poor living condition, economic deprivation, inequality in the society, and others rather than urbanization. Such studies include that of Katsina (2013) who believed the crippled economy, high levels of urban poverty, unemployment and inequality are the causal factors of urban crimes. This is to say that there is a closely interwoven linkage between economic situations in any given society or a country with unemployment and crimes. Likewise, Ajaegbu (2012) opined that unemployment and economic hardship have pushed many 'jobless youths, some of whom are graduates, into various deadly crimes'. Katsina (2013) found out that unemployment is the main causes for 'eruption and escalation of crimes in urban areas across the breadth of Nigeria'. Soh (2012) posit 'unemployment is closely linked to crime' no matter the region of the World. He also argued that urban crimes are influenced by poverty, unstable jobs, the high cost of living and financial difficulties, limited educational opportunities, inadequate health and sanitation, and inadequate housing. Further explained, weaknesses in law enforcement or crime-control bodies encourage more criminal groups to take advantages to commit crimes.

This study doesn't state in absolute terms that 'urbanization causes crime'. It does not automatically lead to urban crimes. It But supports empirical findings that urbanization, if not properly planned for and managed, is linked with crimes as it harbours many people among which some are with criminal tendencies. Major and growing cities are Nigeria like Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Aba, Ibadan, Onitsha, Uyo, Calabar, among others are faced with criminal activities. The pull factors for migrants are commercial activities. Criminal activities in these areas are generally influenced by the criminal behaviour of offenders, the existence of attractive targets in an area and absence of a capable guardian. Therefore, in any circumstances for a crime to be committed, there must be a motivated offender, a suitable target (attractor) and the absence of a capable guardian. In reality, these 'criminal behaviours' and potentialities for criminal activities in places are inherent in human society.

Emerging Urban cities in Nigeria
There is a rise in urbanization in Nigeria. Available data reveal that the population of Nigeria has been increasing at an alarming rate. Our towns and cities are growing rapidly. In 1921, the population of Nigeria was only 18.72 million (Table.1). In 1952, it rose to 30.4 million and in 1963 to 55.67 million. The preliminary census data for 1991 (although the 1991 census figure is still controversial) indicated a population of 80.5 million while the projection for the year 2000 AD suggests a doubling of the population within a period of 20-25 years.

Onibokun (1990) reveals that in 1931, less than 7 per cent of Nigerians lived in urban centres, which are settlements with populations of 20,000 and above. The proportion rose to 10 per cent in 1952 and to 19.2 per cent in 1963 (sees tables 1, 2 and 3). Reliable estimates put the 1984 and 1991 urban population at 33 and 42 per cent. At present (i.e., in 1995), there are seven cities with populations of over one million people; 18 cities with over 500,000 people; 36 with over 200,000 people; 78 cities with over 100,000 people; and 5,050 towns with over 20,000 people (Onibokun, 1990).

Table 1 Population of Nigeria, 1921-2020

Year	Total Population (000's)	Total Urban Population (000's)	Percentage of Total Population	No. of Cities with Population 100,000	No. of Cities with Population 200,000 and above	No. of Cities with Population 500,000
1921	18,720	890	4.8	-	10	-
1931	20,056	1,343	6.7	2	24	-
1952/54	30,402	3,701	10.2	7	54	-
1963	55,670	10,702	19.2	24	185	2
1972	78,924	19,832	25.1	38	302	3
1984	96,684	31,902	33.0	62	356	14
2020	160,000		68.0	132	680	36

Source: Federal Office of Statistics (1952, 1963) and projections by Onibokun based on 5 % annual growth rate for urban areas, 2.5 % for rural areas, and 10 % for state capitals (Cited in Ghani, 2017).

Table 2 Nigeria's Rural and Urban Population, 1950-2025

Year	Rural Population	Urban Population	Urban Population as % of Total
1950	29,595,000	3,340,000	10.1
1955	32,605,000	4,489,000	12.1
1960	36,220,000	6,058,000	14.3
1965	40,396,000	8,280,000	17.0
1970	45,252,000	11,319,000	20.0
1975	50,835,000	15,511,000	23.4
1980	57,188,000	21,242,000	27.1
1985	63,448,000	28,568,000	30.9
1990	70,383,000	38,159,000	35.2
1995	77,533,000	50,16200	39.3
2000	84,853,000	64,768,000	43.3
2005	91,960,000	82,347,000	47.2
2010	98,435,000	102,831,000	51.1
2015	103,411,000	125,343,000	54.8
2020	106,458,000	148,935,000	58.3
2025	107,758,000	173,135,000	61.6

Source: Modified by the authors from UN (1986) (Cited in Ghani, 2017)

Over a period of 30 years (1952-1982), the population in most major towns has increased five-fold (see table 2.4). Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt, Maiduguri, Kaduna, Jos and Ilorin had over 1000 per cent increases over three decades. Ibadan rose from 625,000 in 1963 to 2.84 million in 1982; Enugu rose from 174,000 in 1963 to 850,000 in 1982; Lagos rose from less than 1 million in 1963 to over 4 million in 1982 (Onibokun, 1987).

These population increases account, in part, for the rapid physical expansion of these cities. For example, the physical extent of Enugu was 72.52 square kilometres in 1963. By 1975, it had more than doubled to 180 square kilometres and by 1985, had more than tripled to 204 square kilometres. This gives an average annual physical expansion rate of 5.98 square kilometres between 1963 and 1983.

Table 3 Percentage of Population Residing in Urban Areas in the World, Africa and Nigeria, 1950-2025

Year	World	Africa	Nigeria
1950	29.2	14.5	10.1
1955	31.2	16.3	12.1
1960	34.2	18.3	14.4
1965	35.5	20.6	17.0
1970	36.6	22.9	20.0
1975	37.8	25.2	23.4
1980	39.5	27.8	27.1
1985	42.2	30.6	31.0
1990	45.2	33.9	35.2
1995	48.1	37.3	39.3
2000	51.1	40.7	43.3
2005	53.9	44.0	47.2
2010	59.3	50.7	54.8
2020	62.0	53.9	58.3
2025	64.6	57.1	61.6

Source: UN (1991)

The growth of Ibadan is another classical example of urban sprawl in Nigeria. In 1951, the population of Ibadan had reached 100,000 and buildings occupied an area of about 36 square kilometres, while ditches and walls surrounding the town were more than 25 kilometres in circumference. Studies based on aerial photography at scale 1:25,000 shows that by 1973, the total land area had increased to about 112 square kilometres (Adediran,

1984; Onibokun, 1988). All farmlands, fallow lands and river flood plains within the city had been built upon. By 1981 a total land area of about 136 square kilometres had been developed. This increased to 176 square kilometres in 1984, and 214 square kilometres in 1988; a spatial increase of over 84 per cent in seven years. By the year 2000, it is estimated that Ibadan will cover over 400 square kilometres, considering the rate at which the city's population is growing and the trend of growth from 1981 (Onibokun, 1988). Many Nigerian cities are exhibiting similar growth pattern (Stren, 1985; Mschlia, 1986; Ema, 1986; Onibokun, 1987; Mabogunje, 1992).

Table.4 Population of Some Nigerian Cities, 1972-2000 AD, (in millions)

City	1952*	1963*	1972**	1982**	% Increase in 30 years**	2000**
Lagos	.27	.66	1.57	4.10	1,418	6.90
Ibadan	.46	.63	1.48	2.84	518	4.70
Ogbomoso	.14	.32	.50	.81	479	1.50
Kano	.13	.30	.58	1.50	1,054	2.60
Ile-Ife	.11	.13	.20	.32	199	.43
Abeokuta	.08	.19	.29	.62	641	1.32
Onitsha	.08	.17	.25	.31	309	.73
Oyo	.07	.11	.17	.28	293	.45
Port Harcourt	.07	.18	.35	.91	1,183	2.11
Enugu	.06	.17	.33	.85	1,244	1.75
Aba	.06	.13	.20	.33	471	.56
Maiduguri	.06	.14	.27	.71	1,147	1.48
Zaria	.05	.16	.26	.42	678	.68
Benin City	.05	.10	.20	.51	846	1.30
Katsina	.06	.09	.14	.23	263	.42
Sokoto	.05	.09	.18	.46	775	.98
Calabar	.05	.08	.15	.39	816	.61
Kaduna	.04	.15	.35	.92	1,935	2.14
Ilorin	.04	.21	.41	1.10	2,480	2.12
Jos	.04	.09	.18	.46	1,076	.84
Minna	.02	.03	.09	.20	900	.41

Note *: Nigerian Population Census, 1952 and 1963
Note **: Onibokun (1987a), p.98, 1952-1982 (Cited in Ghani, 2017)

Urbanization and Crime in Nigeria

The incidence of crimes tends to increase in any region, where there is a growing population of people, and such incidence is reduced in a region with a low population of people. People migrate to urban areas in search of economic opportunities. The increase in population in urban centres leads to a rise in unemployment level. Normally, in the villages, children are born into families where they learn to farm and can provide food for themselves and their families. But in the urban areas, actual jobs have to be sought. Hence, unemployment becomes a serious issue. The rise in unemployment equally raises the poverty level in the country, as, without a source of income, people are forced to live below what can be considered appropriate. The rise in unemployment and poverty levels creates social vices such as armed robbery, drugs, etc. The number of criminals increases in the society, as people start looking for any means to survive.

According to Nigeria Police Watch, crimes reported in 2008 and 2009 across major urban cities in Nigeria has shown a significant increase, where property crime is in the lead, followed by crime against local acts, persons and then a crime against lawful authority. Ghani (2017) said criminal behaviours are motivated by various circumstances of potential criminals. Other have identified key factors that influence criminal behaviours of potential offenders to include, poverty, unemployment, bad governance and weaknesses in law enforcement or crime-control bodies. Others (secondary) are corruption, social inequality, moral decadence, urbanisation, greed and disintegration of family ties (Hills, 201, Ajaegbu, 2012; Usman et al., 2012; Soh, 2012, and Katsina, 2013).

Ghani (2017) disclosed that criminal activities are committed on all four categories of crimes; crime on persons, property, laws and acts. Crimes committed include:- burgling, house and store breakings, auto theft, theft/stealing, pickpockets, pilfering, snatch theft, shoplifting, vandalism, arson, arm robbery, grievous hurt and wounding, murder, attempted murder, manslaughter, rape, sexual harassment, aggravated assault, fraudulent acts (419), kidnappings, child abduction, human trafficking, militancy, thuggery, hooliganism, political mayhem, human abduction, assassinations, organized (gang) armed robbery, ritual activities, brigandage, bullying, terrorism, suicide and bomb attacks, amongst others. Others are forgery of currency notes, coining offences, gambling, breach of peace, perjury, bribery and corruption, prison break, escape from custody, financial crimes, impersonation, economic sabotage, drug peddling, militancy, receiving stolen property, unlawful possession of firearms and hard drugs; traffic offences, tax fraud, false pretences cheating, child abandonment, women trafficking, drug abuse and pushing, cultism, prostitution, liquor offences, firearms dealing, possession or selling narcotics, and public peace breach.

In many urban centres of Nigeria today, criminal activities and violence are assuming dangerous tendencies as they threaten lives and properties, the national sense of well-being and coherence, peace, social order and security, thus, reducing the quality of life of the citizens (Ahmed, 2010). At least, one of these crimes is committed on daily basis in Nigerian urban centre, while in some cases the culprits are always at large, due to the exploded population growth of urban centres with millions of people. Out of all the crimes

in Nigeria, robbery incidence is the highest with 27.3% (Robert, 2007). Small Arms Survey (2007) shows that 1.6% of households own a firearm in Nigeria. It is unlawful for any person in Nigeria, apart from the government security agents to own or carry a firearm. But the number of persons with firearms continues to increase as robbery incidence has become an order of the day in many urban centres in developing countries. Rapid urban expansion in Africa is connected to a crisis in urban governance fueling unemployment and the inability of public police forces and the security sectors of many countries to provide adequate protection (Robert, 2007).

Other social problems include,

1. The rapid inflow of rural population to urban places gives rise to housing problems. As a major concern, a number of houses cannot cater for the increasing population, and urban houses are sometimes relatively expensive for the immigrants. Slums are usually then developed in these places.

2. The decline in social values: Juvenile delinquency and crime have become endemic in urban areas as a result of the gradual decline of traditional social values and the breakdown of family cohesiveness and community spirit.

3. Inadequate access to land and poor housing. Access to land, mortgage loans and building materials at affordable prices have become increasingly difficult and have limited the ability of most people to build their own houses. With reference to housing, high rates of overcrowding, substandard buildings and infrastructural inadequacies have been reported in all the urban centres in Nigeria.

4. The increase in population in urban places pressurizes water and sanitation facilities leading to health hazards. Also, environmental pollution is a major issue in urban centres due to the dense concentration of factories and industries. The equally dense population of people worsens this problem.

5. Lack of adequate social and economic infrastructure. Significant proportions of the houses in major towns and cities have no access to electricity, pipe-borne water or hygienic toilet facilities.

6. Unhealthy social environment and vulnerability to sickness. Urban congestion leads to an unhealthy social environment. There is a general problem of indiscriminate dumping in open spaces, along streets and in streams. This trend causes leaves, urban dwellers, to be vulnerable to communicable disease.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendation
Urbanization is part of development in any society and is very desirable. Besides the projections made in the 1980s by Onibokun (1987, 1988), recent realities have shown that the national population is growing in millions. This is explained with the indicators in Table 5 in the appendix. With modernization and improvements in technology, rural urban drift is inevitable. To manage this trend, especially address attendant security

challenges in emerging urban cities, the paper advocates for an effective institutional security network to check crime. This will mean training and equip the Police and other forces like the military with advanced crime control technologies. In addition, the provision of social infrastructures, enhanced economic opportunities through industrialization will reduce the vulnerability of unemployed to criminal tendencies.

Political will is crucial to any government strategy aimed at improving the living standard and quality of life of the people. The government, both at national and state levels should create a more enabling environment for the populace in both the rural areas and urban centres to practice agriculture. A detailed and strategic development plan should be developed with citizen participation and adopted by the local communities to enhance their well-being. When the rural areas are developed with viable social and economic opportunities, there will be a check on the rural-urban drift.

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Table 5. Population of Nigeria (1921-2006)

Year	Total Population	Urban Population	Urban Population (%)	Cities of 20,000 or more	Cities of 100,000 or more	Cities of 500,000 or more	Cities of over 1,000,000
1921	18,720,000	890,000	4.5	10	-	-	-
1931	20,956,000	1,343,000	6.7	24	2	-	-
1952/54	30,402,000	3,701,000	10.2	54	7	-	-
1963	55,670,000	10,702,000	19.2	183	24	2	-
1972	78,927,000	19,832,000	25.1	302	38	3	-
1984	96,684,000	31,906,000	33.0	356	62	14	-
1991	101,900,000	37,703,000	37.0	589	68	23	-
1999	110,650,000	43,500,000	41.0	774	76	28	5
2006	140,431,790						

Source: adapted from (Aniah, 2001; NBS, 2009)