



Crime Forecasting and Planning in Developing Countries: Emerging Issues

French Title

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Abstract

In recent times, there is the growing manifestation among stake holders that crime cannot be controlled exclusively through the action of the police and criminal justice administrators. This reality has brought about the idea of new forms of approach on crime prevention against the backdrop of the apparent failure of the police, courts and prisons to stem the rising crime rates in many societies. Thus, the prevalence of crime necessitates the study of geographical and communal setting of environment in order to adopt a most effective approach to tackling crime. The paper reiterates that criminal statistics is a tool for answering questions, helps to approach the study of crime and justice from the scientific world and the facts obtained may aid in dealing with the crime problem, but reliance on crime statistics must be done with circumspection. The study reveals that many crimes are committed but never reported to the police, while of those reported, many are not recorded, and of those recorded, and many are not summarized or reflected in statistical tables. The initial stages of the criminalization process depend heavily upon the victims commitment to "making a complaint" which entails their acceptance of the burdens that may follow, with a preparedness to take the matter all the way to court and, if necessary, to give evidence. Also, the victims' attitudes a times affect the figures generated for crime statistics. In some other instances, the police may not record a crime reported, if the police authority in their

own discretion regard such incident as purely domestic matter or those that are too trivial to be investigated. The paper concludes that crime is assuming a frightening dimension as virtually everybody is becoming vulnerable to criminal attacks, brutal acts of terrorism, armed robbery, assassination, ritual killings, cultism, bombing, kidnapping and the like that are now prevalent and very alarming.

Key words: Crime; Police; Criminal Justice; Administrators; Statistics; Complaint; Terrorism; Armed robbery; Assassination; Killings; Bbombing; Kidnapping

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INTRODUCTION

Modern criminologists were well aware of the difficulties in conceptualizing crime (Henry, and Lanier, eds., 2001; Lacey, Wells, *et al.*, 2003, Chs1, 2; Zedner, 2004, Chs.1,2; Hillyard *et.al.*,2004; Morrison, et al, 2005), and did not simply take for granted the categories of criminal law. According to them, legal definitions of crime embodied power rather than morality, so they inadequately reflected the gravity of different forms of anti-social or harmful behaviour.¹ Mannheim's Criminal justice and social Reconstruction², for example, offered a critical analysis of criminal law, assessing its appropriateness for curbing the most harmful forms of antisocial behaviour in modern times.

¹ Social democratic definitions of crime sought to combine the two elements of harm and official enforcement. For example, Bonger's definition of crime as 'a serious antisocial act to which the state reacts consciously by inflicting pain' (Bonger 1936:5) *An Introduction to Criminology* (Methuen: London)

² (1946 Routledge: London)

The primary target of the police had always been persons and their criminality, for example, examining the *modus operandi* of serial criminals, and arresting them (Gorr and Harries, 2003, p.551). A motivating factor in the shift of focus from the offender to the offence is the growing manifestation among stake holders that crime cannot be controlled exclusively through the action of the police and criminal justice administrators. This reality has brought about the idea of new forms of approach on crime prevention against the backdrop of the apparent failure of the police, courts and prisons to stem the rising crime rates in many societies. Crime forecasting is of recent development. As a follow up to the successful crime mapping in the 1990s, the US National Institute for Justice (NIJ) awarded some grants to study crime forecasting for police as an extension of crime mapping with the objective forecasting crime one period ahead (Gorr and Harries, 2003, p.552). Accurate forecasts will enable police to take tactical actions such as targeting patrols to hot spots, carrying out surveillance for deployment of special units, planning vacations and training, plan their budgets for additional resources, shift resources between prevention and enforcement activities, make crime alerts available to neighbourhood watch groups, etc.(Gorr and Harries, 2003, p.552; Wilpen Gorr, et al., 2003, p. 579). Thus, the prevalence of crime coupled with change in crime patterns over time necessitates the study of geographical and communal setting of environment in order to adopt a most effective approach to tackle the crime. Crime problem have impelled some people to relocate from their desired homes to new places not planned for, some have been made afraid to walk on the streets unescorted by private security guards. Some have come to doubt the worth of living in a society in which untimely death from the hands of hoodlums lurks around the corner. Some have been distrustful of the government's ability or even sincerity to protect them. Some have completely lost faith in the crime prosecution process, many are indifferent to crime reporting as they perceive incapability of the police to properly investigate crimes, and the courts that pass lenient sentences or discharge those the public perceive are responsible for crime on technical grounds of lack of sufficient evidence or failure to prove beyond reasonable doubt. In response to crime problem, people have advocated measures to deter the offenders, including stiffer penalties for them.

However, legal conceptions of crime offer only a partial representation of the misfortunes, dangers, harms, risks and injuries that are a routine part of everyday life. The risk of suffering those misfortunes defined as 'crime' is often negligible compared to the risks associated with workplace injury and avoidable disease. Equally, we are more likely to suffer accidental injury than theft, yet only the latter is likely to engender insecurity. Hence, crime holds a pivotal position in assessments of personal safety. Thus, in Nigeria, in a desperate effort to combat crime, capital punishment has been placed on some crime such

as armed robbery, acts of economic sabotage and kidnaping in addition to the traditional offences, which carried the death penalty such as murder and treason. There has been increase in the number of people advocating the liberalization of firearms laws to enable individuals possess and carry firearms for self-defense. Also, private efforts to control crime include the installation of burglar alarms, security lights, high fences with glass shards, strong security walls and gates, the employment of private (day and night) security guards, use of guard dogs, the use of charms, etc. Despite all these measures, organized armed robberies still occur everywhere in Nigeria.

CRIME STATISTICS

In spite of the many limitations of criminal statistics in the modern societies, data generated from the facts gathered are used in dealing with the problem of crime both in developed and developing countries. The modern trends in criminological studies is that police, executives, judiciaries, prison administrators, parole authorities, social workers and researchers in the various multi disciplinary subjects relating to crime and crime control spend resources in terms of money and time in assembling, quantifying and analyzing criminality. Criminal statistics cannot be taken as a solution to criminality, the purpose of statistical analysis is to clarify and not to confuse. It is a tool for answering questions and the facts obtained may aid in dealing with the issues. It allows for taking large bodies of information and summarizes them with a few simple statements. Statistics on crime situation are vital tool in 'formulating and implementing coherent and effective criminal policies. For developing countries, such data are vital not only because they illustrate the crime situation in the country but also because they can assist in gauging progress in overall development. Crime data are a useful indicator in measuring and evaluating the effectiveness of programmes for good governance and poverty reduction. (Carranza, *et al.*, 2006, p.111)' In spite of its usefulness, many developing countries face a lot of obstacles in getting accurate data on crime. Crime statistics are probably the most difficult of all social statistics, as they are subject to political manipulations and by honest variations in recording practices. Reliance on crime statistics must be done with circumspection. As rightly observed by Justice Stone:

The statistical method of dealing with social problem often cannot be relied on as a mathematical demonstration leading to specific conclusions, but it may be used to indicate tendencies to mark out the boundaries of a problem, and to point out the direction which should be given to a particular investigation of a non statistical character (Justice H.F, 2006, p. 111).

Crime waves are generally presented by the media and the agencies of law and order as the intensification of a particular type of criminal activity in order to demand that something be done about the situation (Tony Lawson and

Tim Heaton, 2010, p.206). Until very recently that the use of computer has made statistics accessible to a much larger group of criminal justice researchers and students, hitherto much reliance had to be placed on data from the police. As at then, it seemed as if police authorities use statistical data as a kind of secret or classified state document making it extremely difficult to access primary data on crime rate.

In criminal justice, statistics are used in three ways; descriptive statistics which helps in the summary and description of research findings; inferential or inductive statistics, allows researchers to make inferences or statements about large groups from studies of smaller groups, or samples, drawn from them; and multivariate statistics toward the end of the text, it allows us to examine a series of variables at one time³. Therefore, statistics in criminal justice will help to approach statistics in a familiar context and assisting in approaching the study of crime and justice from the scientific world. As everyone agrees that there is a difference between the amounts of crime tabulated in any set of crime figures. Many crimes are committed but never reported to the police, while of those reported, many are not recorded, and of those recorded, and many are not summarized or reflected in statistical tables. In police parlance, there is a significant distinction between reporting and complaining of crime, though this is of little importance to the victim of crime (Adeniyi, 1998; Susan, et al. 1995). The initial stages of the criminalization process depend heavily upon the victims commitment to 'making a complaint' which entails their acceptance of the burdens that may follow, with a preparedness to take the matter all the way to court and, if necessary, to give evidence.

Apart from police hurdle in crime reporting, the victims' attitudes sometimes affect the figures generated for crime statistics. In certain situations, when crimes are committed, they are not reported for several reasons such as the victims belief that the police are not likely to make any hedge way in unraveling the mystery surrounding the crime, where the value of property or nature of the crime is perceived by the victims to be miniature or infinitesimal, or where the offender is a relation of the victim and so on. In some other instances, the police may not record a crime reported, if the police authority in their own discretion regard such incident as purely domestic matter or

those that are too trivial to be investigated. Again, because crime statistics are also used to measure police efficiency and performance in combating crimes, the police themselves may decide not to report/or record as much crime as they found. The observation of Ohlin over 30 years ago is still very relevant:

'There are several reasons why one might expect the police to be reluctant to report as much crime as they find. Most important is that the effectiveness of their performance will ordinarily be judged by whether the crime rate goes up or down. In most other situations in our society when we wish to reach a reliable evaluation we search for or construct objective measures not subject to the control of those being assessed. Yet our judgement of police effectiveness depends in large part on the crime statistics they are urged to supply voluntarily. (Ohlin, 2000, p. 236-237)'

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN CRIME COMMITTED AND CRIME REPORTED

Empirical data on crime rate serves as a veritable source of information on the rate of crimes in the society and it helps policy makers, the law enforcement agencies and the stakeholders to adequately forecast and plan against the recurrent trends and pattern of crime in the community at a given period of time. Yet, the accuracy of data collected or made available in recent times by the police authority does not actually reflect the true position of crime rate in the country for several reasons notable among which are public attitudes towards reporting crimes, lack of faith in the capacity of the police to solve crime,⁴ resort to self-help by the victims (through village vigilante groups, local leaders, informal organizations or through mob action), withdrawal of complaints on personal and other related reasons. Also not all crimes committed are reported for diverse reasons like the value of loss *vis-a-vis* the stress of process of reporting at the police station, accessibility to the police as a result of uneven distribution of police stations between urban and rural areas and even within urban areas; differences in legal cultures (e.g. women are in some cultures believe to be inferior, hence, low report of wife beating in several homes). Some crimes committed are never reported because the accused and the victim are interpersonally related (a family member, a friend, or an acquaintance, members of the same faith). Sometimes, when complaints are lodged the desk officer may not

³ See David Weisburd, Chester L. Britt, *Statistics in Criminal Justice* (2nd ed. Thomson Wadsworth, USA.2003) pp. 2-12; (3rd ed. Springer, 2007) pp. 2-12. See also *Crime and Justice in the United States and in England and Wales, 1981-1986*, in Bureau of Justice Statistics, US department of justice, office of justice programs.; *Study Guide for Weisburd and Britt's Statistics in Criminal Justice*, Pamela. M. Diamond (2nd ed. Thomson and Wadsworth, 2003)

⁴ For example, the police in Nigeria have been variously accused of corruption, brutality, deep involvement in crime, apathy, inefficiency and illiteracy. As observed by Cole: 'The Nigerian public still hold the police in fear and contempt. The most frequently expressed public complaints against the police today still focus on ruthlessness, brutality, the indiscriminate use of violence and corruption. Other complaints include: inhuman treatment of persons in police custody, connivance with thieves and armed robbers, deliberate and consistent violation of the law and inefficiency in conducting investigations and prosecutions. To most Nigerians it seems that a Nigerian police officer will resort to force at the least provocation or even without any provocation at all. Cole, B. A. (1988), *Police power and accountability in the Nigerian criminal process*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Keele, p. 53. This observation still represents the true picture of the Nigerian Police today. This makes people to avoid reporting crimes to the police by resorting to self help or other informal initiatives or decide to suffer the loss in silence, quoted in Otwin Marenin, 'Victimization Surveys and the Accuracy and Reliability of Official Crime Data in Developing Countries,' *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 25(6), 463-475 at 470 (1997).

deem it as crime to be recorded in the crime diary, in the sense that it was trivial or that the potential penalty is too grave for the harm done. All these may eventually forestall reporting, recording, investigating and prosecuting such crimes, leading to unknown quantity, known as dark figure of criminality⁵.

Also important is the incorporation of norms that simply do not fit existing values, and normative systems, results in its low legitimacy and thus not making the people to appeal to the law for redress (Marenin, p.468). For example, in Nigeria, the right to remain silent when accused, without such silence negatively affecting the accused, is not accepted within traditional norms. Also, most crimes and disorder are settled informally because of the disbelief for the formal institutions coupled with the strong belief that these informal sectors produce a just and immediate result. Summarizing the impact of informal control on crime control, Adeyemi stated that, 'it is clear that the informal procedure of crime control is applied in most cases, except in the serious cases or in case of strangers who are in no relationship with their victim or with someone known to the victim. (Adeyemi, 1995)' Hence people hardly appeal to the formal law when alternatives to the law exist or there are ways it could be circumvented (Marenin, p.468). Some victims of crime choose to report the incident purely as an act of citizenship, a reflection of their adherence to the rule of law, coupled with the feeling that they have some personal stake in what follows. Some nurture an *animus* against their assailant; they want him to suffer in his turn for the hurt which he has inflicted on them. Others wish the assailant to be made to answer publicly for his violence. The ability of the police to bring the perpetrator to book or the assurance of police protection in cases where the safety of the victims are not guaranteed may contribute to reportability of crime.

In addition, the trust in the nation's legal system or the trust in the police, that is, where the people know that police would treat the matter fairly and dispassionately, also contribute to reportability of crime. This form the basis of the legitimacy of the police, that is, the assumption that 'public acceptance of the legitimacy of the police forms a good basis for cooperation between the public and the police. (Kääriäinen, Reino Sirén, 2011)' It is submitted that legitimacy or trust in the police constitutes a major reason for reportability or otherwise of crime. Perhaps, a greater motivation for most victims to report crime is the desire to tell their story and through doing this, to secure vindication and avoid cynics alleging victim's contributing to the crime or apportioning blame for their role in the crime.

CRIME STATISTICS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The rapid development of electronic data storage has fuelled what might be called 'data explosion' in almost every area of public and private life. What is most interesting about this phenomenon is not simply the volume of data being gathered and stored, but the extensive range of aspects of the 'crime problem' that are now being carefully measured. An examination of this provides a useful illustration of the two-way relationship between development in the information field and changes in thinking about crime and justice. Crime statistics presented national compilations of records produced at local levels by the police and the courts. Crime statistics are usually produced by agencies that are involved in one way or another with the criminal justice system. Information on crime comes from a variety of sources including personal experiences, private discussions, media, reports and crime statistics. The statistics come from both official and non-official sources. The unofficial sources are largely the surveys, usually conducted by the government agencies, commissioned agencies, individual researchers and Non Governmental Organizations. Being largely derived from the public, there are no bases for their confirmation. The official sources include police records, court records and prison records.

In recent times, the rise of crime wave has become very alarming and the terrible activities of the men of the underworld have led to insecurity of lives and properties. Crime is assuming a frightening dimension as the situation is being compounded by brutal acts of terrorism. Gradually, virtually every Nigerian is becoming vulnerable to criminal attacks. Armed robbery, assassination, ritual killings, cultism, bombing, kidnapping and the like are now prevalent. In a survey in Britain for instance, it shows that about three quarters of Britons think that they are more likely to become crime victims than they were some years back. The United Nations Publication argues that there was a steady worldwide increase in crime activities in the 1970's than in the 1980's. The publication observes that the number of recorded crimes rose from about 330 million in 1975 to nearly 400 million in 1980 and it is estimated to have reached one billion in 1990.⁶

The incidence of crime in Nigeria has been fluctuating, reaching a peak in 1987 with 419, 376 cases reported to the police, indicating an increase from 307,744 in 1986. Between 1993 and 2003, there has been increase in crimes. The figure increased from 219,910 in 1994 to

⁵ See Reporting Crime, Effects of Social Context on the Decision of Victims to Notify the Police, Heike Goudriaan, (Universal Press, Veenendal 2006). See Adeyemi, A A., 'The Nature and Pattern of Crime in Nigeria - Planning and Policy Implications for Crime Prevention and Law Enforcement' in *Justice*, a journal of contemporary legal problems, April 1991 Vol 2 No 4 pp 99-112; Otwin Marenin, Op cit pp. 463-475 (1997); Paul Brantingham and Patricia Brantingham, *Patterns in Crime*, Macmillan Publishing Co. New York & Collier Macmillan Publishers, London, 1984, p. 49.

⁶ See Manual for the Development of Criminal Justice Statistics, Studies in Methods, Series F. No.43 United Nations Publications.

253,098 in 1995. There was a slight increase to 258,655 in 1996, but fell in 1997 to 216,119 (Soyombo, 1999, p.34), in respect of various crimes. For example, theft and burglary, which peaked in 1995 with a figure of 78,232 but has drastically reduced over the years. In 2000, the figure was 32,895, and had an increment in 2001 with a figure of 46,319, which later decreased from 37,914 and 35,883 between 2002 and 2003. This figure possibly shows that there is a change in the attitude of criminals to theft and burglary⁷. The statistics of armed robbery between 2000 and 2003 are 1,877, 2,809, 3,889, and 3,497 respectively and this shows that there is an increase in the rate at which criminals use arms to deprive their victims of their properties, while bribery and corruption has decreased over the years from 579 in 1996 to 36 in 2003⁸. These statistics could be said to have come about by the activities of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and other similar Commissions. The statistics for rape and indecent assault between 2000 and 2003 are 1,529, 2,284, 2,084, and 2,253 respectively. However, the rate of kidnapping has increased from 343 in 2002 to 410 in 2003, and there has been further increase in the rate of kidnapping in Nigeria since 2004, the figure has sporadically increased from 2007 to about 1455 and 2055 in 2010⁹. People are kidnapped for various reasons; the most prevalent trend in the kidnapping crime now is hostage taking of expatriate by the Niger-Delta militants¹⁰. From the statistics and the situation of the country, that is assassinations and political killings¹¹, ritual killings, cultism, and murder has been on the increase from 2000 with 255 people murdered. In 2001 it increased to 2,120, but fell to 2,117 in 2002 and later increased to 2,136 in 2003.¹²

IMPLICATIONS OF FORECASTING

The implications of these Statistical data will enable us to know the pattern and trend of crimes in the country

and further assist us to be able to plan for the prevention and curtailment of crime. Nevertheless, reliance on police statistics alone can not achieve this goal, as it often left out information such as the subsequent history of cases passing through them, like convictions, acquittals and other disposition orders made by the courts.

Furthermore, the above illustrative analyses of crime data raise certain planning and policy implications for the government at various levels. This will invariably compel authorities to take bold steps towards removing those criminogenic factors likely responsible for the criminalization of the Nigerian youths.

STATISTICAL DATA ON CRIME RATE

In statistical terms, the total number of crimes recorded in 2008 was 90,156 as against 93,817 in 2007, representing a 4% decrease. For offences against persons, a total of 35,109 were recorded, as against 34,738 in 2007, representing a 1.5% increase. In offences against property, a total of 47,626 cases were recorded, as against 49,415 in 2007, representing a 3.6% decrease. For offences against lawful authority, 5,938 cases were recorded in 2008 as against 7,314 in 2007, representing an 18.8% decrease. For offences against Local Acts, a total of 1,438 cases were recorded as against 2,350 in 2007, representing a 36.8% decrease.

In addition to the above statistics, 131,902 persons were arrested during the period under review. A total of 72,528 were prosecuted in the various courts across the country, 5,898 were acquitted, 30,593 were convicted and 36,037 were awaiting trial.

In reported cases of stolen vehicles, a total of 2,433 vehicles were stolen and 1,464 were recovered. In the reported cases of missing persons, a total of 363 persons were reported missing, while 83 persons were successfully traced.

⁷ It may be inferred that criminals are no longer satisfied with petty thefts, thus crime has taken a new trend.

⁸ At least from the statistics provided by the Nigeria Annual Police Report 2008/2009, although this crime still persists among public servants in recent times.

⁹ See Nigeria Annual Police Report, 2009/2010.

¹⁰ This is done with the aim of catching the attention of the Federal government in order to meet their demand for development in their areas and to protect their environment from degradation caused by the oil producing companies. In the Niger Delta region, various acts of violence including kidnappings, sabotage of oil pipelines and installations, illegal oil bunkering, killings, and all other criminal acts, have been vividly documented in several media reports. In 2008 alone, reports had it that the violence in the region claimed 1,000 lives and accounted for 300 abductions, including those of 44 foreign oil workers. See Peter Osalor, 'The Solution to Combating Youth Crime in Nigeria,' at <http://www.thedailyeagles.com>

¹¹ Examples of those that have been murdered in cold blood are endless. The Nigerian Bar Association (N.B.A) Chairman of Onitsha Branch, Mr. Barnabas Igwe, and his wife were murdered in cold blood on September 1, 2002. The former Attorney-General, Late Chief Bola Ige was murdered by unknown persons in December 2001. Also Marshal Harry, a former member of the Board of Trustees of the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) was brutally murdered in his hotel room in Abuja weeks to the governorship and presidential elections in April 2003. Hon. Odunayo Olagbaju, a member of the Osun State House of Assembly was callously murdered few months before the assassination of late Chief Bola Ige. In addition, Alhaji. Ajibola Olanipekun (SAN) was assassinated in his bedroom at Ibadan on 20th June, 2003 by unknown gunmen. Also worthy of mention are the assassinations of Chief Funso Williams, the Peoples Democratic, Governorship aspirant of Lagos state and his counterpart from Ekiti Ayo Daramola. In Lagos which is one of the commercial nerve centres of Nigeria, for instance, between August 2000 and May 2001, 273 civilians and 84 policemen were killed in separate criminal encounters. See Peter Osalor, 'The Solution to Combating Youth Crime in Nigeria,' at <http://www.thedailyeagles.com> In 2010, a former governor of Kano state, Abubakar Rimi was shot dead by unknown armed robbers and February 2011, a governorship candidate of All Nigerian Peoples Party, was shot by two gunmen allegedly linked with Boko Haram, (an Islamic sect) in Maiduguri, Borno state of Nigeria.

¹² See also Statistics compiled by the Research Department of CLEEN FOUNDATION, a non-governmental organization 2003-2008.

In terms of road mishaps, there was decrease in the total number of road accidents recorded during the year under review. The total number of accident cases reported was 17,388 as against 17,797 cases that occurred in 2007. This represents 2.2% decrease. The year 2008 witnessed a decrease in the number of Road Traffic Offences. During the year, a total of 4,074 cases were recorded as compared with 6,553 cases reported in 2007 representing a 37% decrease. Out of 4,074 cases reported, 724 cases were convicted, 394 cases were acquitted, 772 cases were refused and 734 cases were awaiting trial. This overall decrease in the crime-wave was a reversal of the ugly trend that had haunted the Nigeria Police in the previous years. This is a significant development and it is hope that the level will be sustained. However, going by the statistics from the police, media reports and public opinion about the crime situation in Nigeria, many people believe that these crime statistics do not adequately reflect the crime situation. The official crime statistics of Crimes Known to the Police (CKP) are considered to be gross under estimations of the actual reality of crime.¹³

IMPACT OF CIVILIZATION AND MODERNIZATION ON CRIME AND CONTROL IN DEVELOPING COMMUNITIES

Modernization is a process that transforms a nation in many ways. Almost all developing countries crime studies are traceable from nearly over 50 years of liberation experience from colonialism; examples are Jamaica, India, Ghana and Nigeria. In many of these countries there has not been consistent stability in crime rate development in the crime control as achieved in Japan. The tremendous increase in oil wealth benefit in the late 1970s in Nigeria and Venezuela were not positively managed, but rather turned very disruptive to them, resulting in sharp decline in living standards of the citizens, created wide inequalities indirectly and which increased crime rates, especially armed robberies and property crimes (Oloruntimehin, 1992, p.163-188). The individual account of study in these countries reveals a worsening crime problem with the emerging rates of violent crimes like assault, burglary, extortion, drug peddling, economic fraud (through innovative internet schemes, money laundering and racketeering), murder, kidnapping and hostage taking.¹⁴ Many other

developing countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Sudan later recorded armed conflicts, internal strife, and civil wars, which invariably widened the scope of criminality and the problem of control. In Nigeria, incessant religious crisis in the Northern parts of the country further aggravate the dimension of crimes and their control.¹⁵ Also in many of these countries, corruption has become well rooted in their systems to the extent that you can hardly get anything done without having to bribe your way through. In these countries, bribes are said to routine in securing contracts, loans, and assistance unpoliced. And in most cases, police and other law enforcement agents, especially with low or unreliable pay, frequently partake in these extortions deploying their insignias of public position to raise rents (Comaroff, Comaroff, 2006, p.17). In Venezuela, the increase in predatory crimes leads to extremely strong control of the poor neighbourhoods, coupled with the tightening the operation of vagrancy laws, while persons considered potentially dangerous are held in prison without the opportunity of courtroom trials (Christopher Birkbeck, p.109-130).

Jamaica is also identified as a country with a high level of crime, though it is not proportionately higher than those of the developed countries, but uniquely noted for its high degree of violence. Ellis cited the aftermath of Jamaican independence challenges and political problems accounted for by the problems of implementing a policy to create an egalitarian society and failure to fulfill promises and to realize expectations (Hyacinthe Ellis, p.131-162).

The position in India is similar to Jamaica as the nation had to deal with legacy of colonial power. The British rule generated power conflict between the political centre and paramount rulers thereby raising the complexity of problem solving. This situation gradually eroded its moral and ethical standards, leading to crimes of monumental corruption and violence (Shirvastava, p.189-208). Indeed, 'lawlessness and criminal violence have become integral to depictions of postcolonial societies, adding a brutal edge to older stereotypes of underdevelopment, abjection, and sectarian strife... Mounting images- of Columbian druglords and Somali warlords, Caribbean pirates and Nigerian gangsters, Afghani poppies and Sierra Leonean diamonds- add up to a vision of global enterprise run amok: a Hobbesian nightmare of dissipated government, suspended law, and the routine resort to violence as means of production. More disturbing still are allegations that the line between the political and the criminal is fast eroding.

¹³ The unofficial sources of estimations such as media reports, victim survey suggest that more crimes occur than are reported to or recorded by the police. Audit Commission, Misspent youth: Young people and crime, London: Audit Commission for Local Authorities and NHS in England and Wales, 1996. : Home Office, Reducing offending: An assessment of research evidence on ways of dealing with offending behaviour, Peter Goldblatt and Chris Lewis (eds), London: Home Office, Research and Statistics, 1998

¹⁴ In Nigeria, incessant crime rates are recorded on daily basis with adverse threats to life and properties.

¹⁵ Of recent, there has been violent clashes and fratricidal war claiming loss of lives and destruction of properties worth millions of naira in some states in Nigeria, including Plateau, Nassarawa, and Taraba. In Jos, the capital of Plateau state over 500 citizens mostly women and children were killed with several houses burnt by religious fanatics between 2010 and early 2011.

(John L., p.6) 'What can be seen endemic to all the post-colonial conditions of these countries are criminality with violence largely caused by the modernization and state of the economy. Countries that were supposed to be committed to 'kick-starting prosperity' through the efficient use of their God endowed natural resources, used their kick-backs to negate their kick-starts with their proceeds ending up in off-shore bank accounts (John L., p.18).

CONCLUSION

The status and underpinnings of the practices and policies of crime prevention raise complex issues. Methods of preventing crime may be effective in a community but that does not make them acceptable or suitable in other places. Striving for justifications and explanations about the total dimension of crime and society's reaction to crime is part of the tradition of criminology. However, it is difficult to achieve this objective without exploring the causes and reasons for the development of the phenomenon in different social, political and cultural contexts. Suffice it to say when reviewing interventions in developing countries, there are implicit assumptions about the operation of state institutions in the developed countries that may not be good characterisations of conditions in developing countries (Roger Bowles, *et al.*, 2005, p. 347-377). Thus, in the development of crime control policies, it is imperative to take into consideration the contextual factors that are peculiar to the country- its developing nature, political instability (Marenin and Reisig, *Op cit* at p.514), social inequality, etc. For example, the machinery of criminal justice in developed countries are mostly used in promoting the course of justice, the reverse is usually the case in most developing countries discussed above where same has been used to occupier of the office to protect private or political interests.

Also important is the problem of data collection. Accurate data forecasting depends on routine data collection which unfortunately are quite limited in developing countries as a result poor allocation of resources by the government. This will greatly hamper the crime forecasting and the ability of police to fight crime. The reliability of these data, particularly in developing countries can really be tested "only by stepping beyond official data to the realities of reporting and collecting crime data,' thus requiring 'extensive knowledge of specific countries and contexts. (Marenin, p.471)" The limited capacity for planning and analysis of policy options in the criminal justice field is another major challenge to many developing countries (Bowles, p.352). However these challenges are not insurmountable. Government must also invest in capacity building in the field of statistics in order to build the capabilities of statistical agencies to address data gaps for production of good quality statistical reports (Carranza, p.114). Government of the developing countries must en-

sure that they address issues of poverty and corruption and implement measures that address the needs of development, as way of ensuring criminal justice and preventing crime. This is because 'where many CJ [criminal justice] institutions are regarded with suspicion as repressive and corrupt organisations representing a hangover from colonial times, efforts to improve security and public safety may best take a "bottom-up' format. (Bowles, p.367)"

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