Article

Mass Media and the Cultivation of Fear of Crime in Nigeria

Journal of Management and Social Sciences

Aborisade, Richard A.
Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria

Abstract
Questions and concerns have been raised about the fear-generating potentials of mass media in Nigeria in the face of the rising rate of crime in the country. The public, it is argued, suffer from hysteria about crime fanned up by newspapers and television. Hence, the influence of the mass media in escalating crime for the purpose of impacting on public policies has continued to be the focal point of discussion by criminologists. This paper contributes to literature by expanding knowledge on the relationship between fear of crime and media consumption in Nigeria. The main objective of the paper is to examine the modifiers of the relationships between media and fear. The suitability of cultivation theory in accounting for the influence of the media on the social perception of fear in the country was also examined. The study draws on the literature of risk perception and risk communication, as well as secondary data on the aetiology of fear and public beliefs about crime in a survey of Criminal Victimisation and Safety conducted by CLEEN Foundation. It concludes that most Nigerians do not have scientific foundation for their belief about crime as they are often fed with information about crime from media sources that may not appreciate nor care about the (in)accuracy of that information and that may use crime to entertain, sell, advertise, exploit, or win patronage. Given the ubiquity of messages about crime in our society and the costs of inaccurate information, the study proposes that criminal justice officials- the police and other security agents should provide the mass media and by extension, the public with reliable information about crime, including information about the risk of victimisation for different criminal offences.

Keywords
Crime, cultivation theory, fear, risk, victimisation

Introduction

The belief that the mass media create unwarranted levels of fear of crime has been existing for almost as long as the media themselves. The attention of researchers became attracted to the influence of the media in amplifying criminal events and by extension, cultivating the fear of crime in the 1960s

Corresponding author:
Richard A. Aborisade, Department of Sociology, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria
E-mail: ra.aborisade@gmail.com

(Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jefferies-Fox & Signorielli, 2008; Gebotys, Roberts & DasGupta, 2016). Recent developments in mass media, such as the rise in popularity of crime re-enactment television programs, the access to more violence via cable, VCR, satellite dish, social media and the interactive nature of electronic games, raise even greater concern about the fear-generating potential of these media (Hirsch, 2016; Otto, 2016). Warr (1985), once noted that the consequences of fear are just as real, measurable, and potentially severe as criminal victimisation itself, both at an individual and social level. The question that some researchers have posed is whether news reports can "lead" or "cause" people to focus on and fear crime, including the extent to which relevant values and perspectives may be "cultivated" (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorelli & Jackson-Beck, 2008).

In Nigeria, there is a growing concern by criminologists on the phenomenon of the fear of crime in the society (Oyoyo, 2013; Okoro, 2015). This is based on the acknowledgement that many people are influenced by the media portrayal of crime which bears little relation to the actual situations. A common and understandable tendency amongst criminologists, police officers, and other law enforcement agents to the widespread fear of crime and the regular panics of the mass media is what is often termed 'putting crime in perspective' (CLEEN foundation, 2013). The heightened insecurity situation has increased the potency of the media image due to the prevalence of stranger crimes and mass attacks in the country. The effects of the projection of crime in the country by mass media has grown to the extent that the fear of crime and violence is so palpable and real that people are so paranoid and can no longer sleep with their two eyes closed (Oyoyo, 2013; Okoro, 2015). Several buildings in the country are heavily fortified with walls cum steel fences which, in some cases, are higher than the houses they enclose, or even higher than prison walls (Soola, 2007; Adigun, 2013).

In a survey conducted by CLEEN Foundation (2013) in Lagos metropolis, it was found that though 70% of respondents acknowledged that crime has decreased in their community, they still perceived that there is a significant increase in the rate of crime in Lagos metropolis. The report surveyed crimes like robbery, kidnapping, physical assault, phone and car theft, rape and attempted rape, domestic violence, attempted murder and other crimes. The report stated that "there has been a six per cent decrease in actual experience of crime from the 31% recorded in 2012 to the current 25%." The increase in the fear of crime as against actual criminal victimisation as discovered by the survey was attributed to the high level of crime victimisation reportage by the mass media (Altheide & Michalowski, 1999; Chiricos, Padgett & Gertz, 2000). It is common knowledge that there is a concentration of the electronic and print media of mass communication on daily reportage of incidences of crime within the metropolis.

Thus it is often suggested that crime, although frequent, is a relatively minor irritant, given the range of problems with which the city dweller has to contend. The public, it is argued, suffer from hysteria about crime fanned up by the newspapers and television. Hence, the influence of the mass media in escalating crime events for the purpose of cultivating public fear and impacting on public policies has continued to be the focal point of discussion by criminologists. This present study is made necessary by the perceived high level of insecurity as made pronounced by the activities of Boko Haram sect and several other crimes reported daily on the mass media such as armed robbery, kidnapping, rape, car-jacking and so on. Consequently, the paper researched into the mass media and its effects on perceptions of crime danger, personal fear of crime, and reactions to crime risk in the country. The discussion draws on the literature of risk perception and risk communication, as well as research on the aetiology of fear and public beliefs about crime. The main objective of the paper is to examine the modifiers of the relationships between media and fear. A final objective of the study is to identify the most pressing unanswered questions about fear confronting researchers today.

Conceptualising Fear of Crime

The fear of crime as an issue has gained momentum over the past 20 to 30 years. When this issue first came about, researchers became interested in it as a source of discovering the "dark figure" of crime, that is, the crime that goes unreported. Fear of crime was theorised to be related to experiences of victimisation, but this assumption was soon to be disputed. Researchers realised that numerous other factors played a role in the fear of crime, and this research turned to discovering what these factors were (Garofalo, 1981; Jackson, 2011). Clarifying this concept is not merely an 'academic' endeavour. Developing our sense of what fear of crime actually is will have clear implications for policy. For example, it may be that standard research tools exaggerate the fear of crime (Farrall & Gadd, 2012).

In this paper, fear of crime is defined as an anticipation of victimisation, rather than fear of an actual victimisation. In other words, the fear of crime refers to the fear of being a victim of crime as opposed to the actual probability of being a victim of crime. This type of fear relates to how vulnerable a person feels. It is an "emotional reaction characterised by a sense of danger and anxiety produced by the threat of physical harm... elicited by perceived cues in the environment that relate to some aspect of crime" (Farrall & Gadd, 2012: 127). Importantly, feelings, thoughts and behaviours can have a number of functional and dysfunctional effects on individual and group life, depending on actual risk and people's subjective approaches to danger (Surette, 2012). On a negative side, they can erode public health and psychological well-being; they can alter routine activities and habits; they can contribute to some places turning into 'no-go' areas via a withdrawal from community; and they can drain community cohesion, trust and neighborhood stability (Garofalo, 1981).

Emotion and cognition in fear of crime: Many emotions may arise when thinking about crime and the idea that one may fall victim. One may feel sad or anxious about the health of one's community and society, worried about the morals and values of particular individuals and groups, unsettled by a sense of disorder and 'lawlessness'. One may feel indignant or outraged about the prevalence of crime, angry that others might make one feel unsafe and intrude on one's way of life. And one may feel worried or afraid of the immediate prospect of victimization, anxious about one's safety. Some emotions will be fluid and transient, felt at particular times and in specific situations (see Farrall, 2004); others may be more diffuse yet more constant, persistent over time, resistant to location in time and space (see Hough, 2004). A key task for criminology is to investigate emotional responses to the perceived threat of falling victim of crime. Much is currently speculative, but the fear of crime literature is beginning to develop a psychological perspective on the relationship between emotional and the cognitive appraisals.

Theoretical Consideration

There are quite a number of competing theories that attempt to put the regular panics of the mass media into portraying crime into perspective. For instance, some radical criminologists have questioned the manner of media portrayal of crime as a manufacture of politicians to control the working class and Blacks by portraying them as the perpetrators (Harman, 1982; Jackson, 2011). However, for the purpose of this present paper and the direction of its argument, the cultivation theory is found more suitable to provide a theoretical framework for the study. The cultivation theory is a social theory that discusses the long-term effects that the television, and by extension other mass media have on the viewers. As Dorfman and Thorson (1998) have observed, "reporting on crime and violence has been a staple in television newspaper diet since before the penny press". Crime and violence make and sell headlines and news programmes.

The primary proposition of the theory states that "the more time people spend 'living' in the television world, the more likely they are to believe social reality portrayed on television" (Cohen & Weimann, 2000: 101). Cultivation leaves people with a misperception of what is true in our world. The theory is particularly influential in its analysis of the effects of television on the public, based on the assumption that prime-time television portrays a world more filled with menace than the one most of us inhabit (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorelli, 1994). Media operators, and by extension the media especially television, by reason of its visual appeal, generate revenue from coverage of savour and feed on crime and violence (Soola, 2007). Crime and violence make news reports juicy; they are sensational, dramatic and sometimes, colourful. Since media owners are in business to make profit, and since crime and

violence sell newspapers and programmes, causing circulation figures and programme ratings to soar, no media operators are likely to spew out a juicy rape, commando-like bank robbery, murder, high-profile assassination or a monumental fraud. To that extent, crime and violence are not only attractive, but they are also tempting to media operators.

Gerbner asserts that the overall concern about the effects of television on audiences stemmed from the unprecedented centrality of television in American culture. "The theory clearly posits that the cultivation effect occurs only after long-term, cumulative exposure to television." He claimed that, because TV contains so much violence, "people who spend the most time in front of the tube develop an exaggerated belief in a mean and scary world" (Gerbner, 2009). He posited that television as a mass medium of communication had formed into a common symbolic environment that bound diverse communities together, socialising people into standardised roles and behaviours. "Today, the TV set is a key member of the household, with virtually unlimited access to every person in the family." He compared the power of television to the power of religion, saying that television was to modern society what religion once was in earlier times.

However, over 20 years of research have limited the support for cultivation theory to those whose empirical data were able to exhibit the effects of high exposure to dramatic programming in adults (Morgan & Shanahan, 1997). According to Hughes (2008), when demographic variables are held constant, some have failed to find any effect of overall television viewing at all. When found, the correlations are often weak (Gerbner *et al.*, 1994). Some have argued that those defending the theory have failed to account for selective viewing (e.g., Potter & Chang, 1990). Others have argued that the cultivation hypothesis fails to take into account intervening variables (e.g., Rubin, Perse & Taylor, 1980). In spite of the varying lines of argument of the reviewed literature there is a common ground that agrees with the cultivation hypothesis that television news can shape perceptions in consequential ways. For example, national television news can frame the evaluation of political figures and define political agenda for the public (McCombs, Lopez-Escobar & Llamas, 2000).

Personal Fear of Crime and Reactions to Crime Risk in Nigeria

What is the fear of crime? Fear can be defined as an emotional reaction characterised by a sense of danger and anxiety. This definition is restricted to the sense of danger and anxiety produced by the threat of *physical harm.* Furthermore, to constitute fear of crime, the fear must be elicited by perceived cues in the environment that relate to some aspect of crime for the person (Garofalo, 1981). Aristotle (cited in Kennedy, 1991: 141) posits that the state of mind of those who fear is accompanied by an expectation of experiencing some destructive misfortune. Durkheim (cited in Haralambos & Holborn, 2004) suggests crime is inevitable because not everybody can equally be committed to the collective sentiment, and fear can be viewed as a mere natural

response to crime. Fear alerts us of the imminent threat and therefore serves as a guardian to our emotion.

By connecting fear to potential physical harm, we do two things. First, it forces us to differentiate the reaction elicited by the potential of property loss from the reaction elicited by the potential of physical harm. The former is more cerebral and calculating (and might be described as "worry"), while the latter is more autonomic and emotional. Certainly, it seems reasonable to assume that the internal state of a person who remembers, at 3:00am, that his laptop has been left in his unlocked car parked on the street in an estate is different from the internal state of a person who finds himself alone on a dark under-bridge of Oshodi, Lagos at 3:00am.

This does not mean that the potential for property loss will never elicit fear. If the item at risk of being stolen is of sufficient value, especially relative to a person's resources (such as a very poor man's retirement benefit), then, the possibility of theft could elicit enormous fear. However, in such extreme cases, theft ultimately represents a threat to physical well-being (Lee, 2007). Traditionally, there are ready-made words of consolation for such victims in Nigeria which places more importance to life over the lost property. This is supported by the various religious systems whose teachings lay emphasis on hope of turnaround from adverse conditions to that of bliss. However, a more relevant point is that some property crimes contain cues about potential physical harm. To varying extents, property crimes involve a possibility of confrontation with the offender-someone who is assumed to be a stranger and whose predatory behaviour with respect to property leads one to suspect that he might use violence if encouraged. As a result, there should be more fear elicited from burglary as compared to a simple theft of some item left outside the building, which should also elicit more fear than a pick-pocket incidence inside a commercial bus. Furthermore, a perception that crime of any type is pervasive may-in-itself-act as a cue to infer that more fear-evoking crimes are also prevalent.

The second thing that linking fear to potential physical harm accomplishes is setting a conceptual framework in which to examine fear of crime relative to fear elicited by events that have a potential of physical harm but that are not generally perceived as crimes (e.g., automobile accidents, pollution of the environment, inadequate testing of new drugs). Perhaps, as Surette (2012) suggests, different degrees of invasion of self-cause crime to elicit more fear than do non-criminal events with equal (or even higher) probabilities of physical harm. In any case, linking fear to physical harm encourages studying the fear of crime within a broader social context by forcing the recognition of communalities in the objective aspects of crimes that do elicit fear and non-criminal events that may or may not elicit fear.

The Social Consequences of Fear of Crime

Quite a number of evidence are indicative of the notion that mass media reports about topics inform public opinion and contribute in no small way to setting social and political agenda. Perhaps the biggest influence on fear of crime is public concern about neighbourhood disorder, social cohesion and collective efficacy. Researchers have for a while posed the question of whether news reports can cause people to focus on and fear crime. Chiricos, Padgett and Gertz (2000: 780) note "With regard to fear, the most consequential of those messages are received from local news, and the volume of crime stories in that medium has achieved proportions that concern many critics".

Jackson (2006) argues that the modern idea of fear of crime is the contemporary manifestation of public attitudes and responses to crime as often portrayed by the media. The incidence and risk of crime has become linked with perceived problems of social stability, moral consensus, and the collective informal control processes that underpin the social order of a neighbourhood. In most Nigerian cities, concerns for fear of crime among the public is indicated in territorial markings of fences, no trespassing signs, external surveillance devices, etc (Amzat, Abodunrin & Okunola, 2007). This view was supported by Dambazau (1994) and Okoro (2001) who argued that formation of neighbourhood security associations and installation of burglary proofs on windows and doors as strategies being taken by the public to protect against falling victim of crime.

As noted previously, numerous public opinion polls show that fear of crime and personal safety reign above most other concerns. Crime coverage contributes to perceptions of danger and the emergence of the discourse of fear. Ferraro (1995) suggested the concept "perceptual criminology," or the notion that "many of the problems associated with crime, including fear, are independent of actual victimization… because it may lead to decreased social integration, out-migration, restriction of activities, added security costs, and avoidance behaviours.

Indeed, many Nigerians feel that their lives are unsafe and more subject to harm than at previous times. In a survey of Criminal Victimisation and Safety conducted by CLEEN foundation in 2013, findings suggest that fear of crime is far higher than victimisation rate and people who are afraid of crime are virtually incapacitated. According to the report, fear of crime affects social relationships, economic activities, political stability, confidence in government and law enforcement agencies. The survey, which covered 11,518 respondents across the 36 states of Nigeria and Abuja, show an overall 72% of respondents expressing very high degree of fear. The survey indicates most of the respondents with high fear of crime resided in Ogun (94%), Ondo (94%), Gombe (93%), Yobe (91%), Anambra (91%) and Ekiti (90%).

Ironically, Ogun state which records the highest degree of fear of crime however is the state with the lowest actual experience of crime with five percent or one in 20 being victim of crime. The most dominant forms of crime

remain robbery which recorded an increase in actual experience from 17% in 2012 to 18% in 2013, rape and attempted rape which also rose from 3% in 2012 to 5% in 2013, and kidnapping and attempted kidnapping which has continued to be on the increase in the country. Though the report indicated that the high degree of fear among respondents is as a result of loss of confidence in the ability of security agencies to protect them, it is however pertinent to examine the impacts of the mass media in escalating the fear of crime in the country.

Soola (2007) argues in favour of the influence of the media in raising the degree of fear of the people. A close examination of the Ogun state case in the CLEEN foundation survey may also be indicative of the high degree of impact of the mass media in shaping public attitudes and responses to crime. Researchers have argued for decades that such concerns are connected to the mass media coverage of news as well as entertainment. For many people, the mass media in general, and the news media in particular, are a "window" on the world. How the public views issues and problems is related to the mass media, although researchers disagree about the nature of this relationship. This is particularly apparent when fear is associated with popular topics like crime, violence, drugs and gangs. What audiences perceive as a "crime problem" is a feature of popular culture and an ecology of communication.

In their research, Nnabuko and Anatsui (2012) asserted that consistent exposure of the youths to violent films impact on their behaviour. They opined that scenes from Nigerian films often depicted violence, witchcraft, murder, child sacrifice, robbery, theft and breaking families. Surette's (2012) "social ecology of crime" model suggests that the "world of TV entertainment" resembles "citizen-sheep" being protected from "predator wolves—criminals" by "sheep dogs—police".

Influence of Mass Media on Public Perception of Crime

Most research has traditionally viewed fear of crime as being a result of direct experience as a victim of a crime. Obviously, being a victim of a crime can have a substantial impact on one's fear of crime. However, because fear exists among many people who have never been a victim, it would appear that vicarious experiences can also affect one's fear of crime. There are basically two types of vicarious experience: informal social contacts with family or friends and exposure to information given by the mass media (Hughes, 2008).

The mass media have been shown to have some effect on perceptions and fear of crime. This effect was evident when Baker, Nienstedt, Everett & McCleary (2013) conducted a study on team policing in the Phoenix area. Longitudinal wave studies were implemented in which the researchers conducted telephone surveys with 572 random respondents in September 2009, and then took another random sample of 635 respondents in July 2010. During

the intervening time period, crime news in the area began showing a "crime wave theme," sharply increasing the attention to crime coverage. While crime increased in the area statistically, direct and vicarious victimization remained the same across the two samples studied. Even so, perceptions and fear of crime changed drastically between the two samples. The authors hypothesized that because victimization rates remained constant, the respondents must have been influenced by an outside source: the media (Baker *et al.*).

As argued by Thompson, Young and Burns (2000), the concentration of media on crime news not only influences public attitudes and opinions towards crime and criminals, it also helps to maintain crime as a salient political issue. Furthermore, media coverage amplifies and accelerates issues into the public agenda (Walker, 2005) with a tendency for the media to use an "us and them" approach to reports on ethnic minorities (Lee, 2007). The place of the media is important in shaping – though not determining – the "emotional tones for the rhythms of life and reminders of ideals of the order and disorder that threaten peaceful neighbourhoods and the cosmologies of 'normal order'" (Altheide & Michalowski, 1999: 475). Further, it is possible that we become desensitized to violence when saturated with reports and images of violent acts. Some people may be led to a "blind" acceptance of the "reality" of such presentations as constructed by the media.

The general perception among social analysts in Nigeria is that the media portrayal of crime is to create fears in the minds of the people and/or to draw positive response from government and security agencies. Whatever the reason for the media portrayal of crime, or the use to which the fear it manufactures is put, it without doubt makes people fear that they may be victimised. Several people change their lifestyles to reduce the possibility of falling victims to crime. The fear of "Shina Rambo" made a lot of people to cease night travels and parties, while the portrayal of the media about the growing insecurity of lives and property in Nigeria, has continued to make several people to alter their lifestyles to avoid being victimised. The reality is that serious crime is less common than is portrayed by the media. As a result, what criminologists, police officers and others in the criminal justice system regard as irrational fear is often seen as more of a problem for many than is crime itself (Adigun, 2013; Oyoyo, 2013). As Dorfman and Thorson (1998) opined, although some people might get information about violence from personal experience as victims or mistresses, most do not experience crime and violence personally. Instead much of their information or perceptions about crime come from the news.

In respect of moral panics, the media can set the agenda with regard to how policy makers respond to crime (Surette, 2012). Consequently, it is possible that the media can create moral panics about certain types of crime and/or particular people or groups, after raising public anxiety about such a crime, group etc. The term "moral panic" is used to describe "a condition, episode, person or group of persons (that) emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests" (Cohen, 1997: 9). Cohen first used the term in 1972 in his research about Mods and Rockers in the United Kingdom. He

argued that the public were sensitised by the media into having a heightened concern about youth subcultures to the point that these groups were considered a threat to the moral fabric of English society – a process of demonization of some young people who constituted a threat to social order. While the process of creating a moral panic through the media can vary, White and Perrone (2010) draw on the work of Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) to point out some key elements of a moral panic, including concern about particular behaviours or groups, hostility toward a group that is portrayed as a threat to the moral and social fabric of society, the development of a consensus among stakeholders, elites and opinion-makers that the threat is real, and, the disproportionate degree of concern that unfolds.

Conclusion

Fear is a natural and commonplace emotion. Under many circumstances, it is a beneficial, even life-saving emotion. Under the wrong circumstances, it is an emotion that can unnecessarily constrain behaviour, restrict freedom and personal opportunity, and threaten the foundation of communities. What differentiates fear of crime from some other hazards of life is that it often rests on highly uncertain information about risk. This paper has shown that there are important links between crime and the media and that despite the complexities involved (e.g. in unravelling cause and effect), this remains an important area of study for contemporary criminologists.

Most Nigerians do not have scientific foundation for their belief about crime. In daily life, they are constantly confronted with information about crime from sources that may not appreciate nor care about the (in)accuracy of that information and that may use crime to entertain, sell, advertise, exploit or win votes, as crime news reportage is often politicised by the media in the country. In the end, most citizens are left to reason as best they can about the risks of crime, because the consequences of victimization can be catastrophic for themselves and those they love, many are likely to err on the side of caution, worrying about and guarding against crime more than is necessary or defensible.

Given the ubiquity of messages about crime in our society and the costs of inaccurate information, it is incumbent on criminal justice officials- the police and other security agents to provide the public with reliable information about crime, including information about the risk of victimisation for different criminal offences, the sources and likelihood of error in those estimates, the nature of victimisation events (including the risk of injury associated with those events), and, where known, the personal, social, and temporal/spatial characteristics that increase or reduce risk. Without information of this kind, citizens will remain uniformed about the risks of crime. In that condition they

will indeed become victims, if only to those for whom crime and fear of crime are merely tools to entertain, titillate, or sell.

Crime, after all, is not like some virulent new disease whose risks and epidemiology are poorly understood. The risks associated with many criminal offences are understood with a degree of certitude that would startle many casual observers, and such information was developed largely at public expense. The problem today is not the absence of knowledge itself, but rather the failure of Nigerian criminologists and public officials to demystify crime for the general public and to present a reasoned and understandable version of the facts of crime. The gap that remains between the state of knowledge and public awareness is not merely unfortunate, it is dangerous.

References

Adigun, F. (2013) Residential Differentials in Incidence and Fear of Crime Perception in Ibadan. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences,* 10(3): 96-104.

Altheide, D. & Michalowski, R. (1999) Fear in the News: The Discourse of Control. *The Sociological Quarterly,* 40(3): 475-503.

Amzat, J., Abodunrin, A. & Okunola, R. (2007) The Print Media and Crime: Values and Issues. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences,* 2(1): 96-118.

Baker, M., Nienstedt, B., Everett, R. & McCleary, R. (2013) The impact of a crime wave: Perceptions, fear, and confidence in the police. *Law and Society Review,* 17: 319-335.

Chiricos, T., Padgett, K. & Gertz, M. (2000) Fear, TV News, and the Reality of Crime. *Criminology,* 35(3): 755-785.

CLEEN foundation (2013) *Criminal Victimization and Fear of Crime in Lagos Metropilis, Nigeri*a. Lagos: CLEEN Foundation.

Cohen, J. & Weimann, G. (2000) Cultivation Revisted: Some genres have some effects on some viewers. *Communication Reports,* 13(2): 99-114.

Cohen, S. (1997) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Dambazau, A.B. (1994) *Law and Criminality in Nigeria*. Ibadan: University Press Plc.

Dorfman, L. & Thorson, E. (1998) Measuring the Effects of Changing the Way Violence is Reported. *The Nigerian Foundation of Journalism at Harvard University,* 54(2): 50-62.

Farrall, S. (2004) Can we believe our eyes? A response to Mike Hough. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 7: 177-179.

Farrall, S. & Gadd, D. (2012) The frequency of the fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology,* 44: 127-132.

Ferraro, K. (1995) *Fear of Crime: Interpreting Victimisation Risk*. New York: State University of New York.

Garofalo, J. (1981) The fear of Crime: Causes and Consequences. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 72(2): 839-857.

Gebotys, R.J., Roberts, J.V. & DasGupta, B. (2016) News media use and public perceptions of crime seriousness. *Canadian Journal of Criminology,* 30(1): 3-16.

Gerbner, G. (2009) Cultivation Theory. In Ryan, M. (Ed.). *A first look at Communication Theory,* 7th Ed. New York City: Frank Montimer. Pg. 353-354.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Jackson-Beeck, M., Jefferies-Fox, S. & Signorielli, N. (2008) Cultural indicators: Violence Profile. *Journal of Communication,* 28(9): 176-207.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., Signorelli, N. & Jackson-Beck, M. (1978) Cultural Indicators: Violence Profile. *Journal of Communication,* 28(9): 176-207.

Gerbner, Gross, L., Morgan, M. & Signorelli, N. (1994) Growing up with television: The Cultivation perspective. In Bryant, J. & Zilliman, D. (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research,* Hilldale, NJ: Erlbaum, 17-19.

Goode, E. & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994) *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Haralambos, M. & Holborn, M. (2004) *Sociology: Themes and Perspective.* New York: University Press.

Harman, C. (1982) The Law and Order show. *Socialist Review,* 1: 21-35.

Hirsch, P. (2016) The "scary world" of the nonviewer and other anomalies: A reanalysis of Gerbner *et al*.'s findings on the cultivation analysis. Part I, *Communication Research,* 7: 403-456.

Hough, M. (2004) Worry about crime: Mental events or mental states? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 7: 173-176.

Hughes, M. (2008) The fruits of cultivation analysis. A re-examination of the effects of television watching on fear of victimisation, alination, and the approval of violence. *Public opinion quarterly,* 44: 287-302.

Jackson, J. (2006) Introducing Fear of Crime to Risk Research. *Risk Analysis,* 26(1): 253-264.

Jackson, J. (2011) Revisiting Risk Sensitivity in the Fear of Crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 48(4): 513-537.

Kennedy, G. (1991) *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse. Aristotle"s volume turns.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Lee, M. (2007) *Inventing Fear of Crime: Criminology and the Politics of Anxiety*. Wilan, Devon.

McCombs, M., Lopez-Escobar, E. & Llamas, J. (2000) Setting the agendas of attributes in the 1996 Spanish general election. *Journal of communication,* 77-92.

Morgan, M. & Shanahan, J. (1997) Two decades of cultivation research: An appraisal and Meta-analysis. *Communication yearbook*, 20: 1-45.

Nnabuko, J. & Anatsui, T. (2012) Nollyhood Movies and Nigerian Youths: An Evaluation. *JORIND*, 214-222.

Okoro, N. (2001) Media Perception of Local Government Administration in Nigeria: A Content Analytic Study. *Nsukka Journal of Humanities*, 11(2): 65-89.

Okoro, S. (2015) An Investigation into the Fear of Crime: Is there a link between the fear of crime and the likelihood of victimisation? *Internet Journal of Criminology*.

Otto, H.A. (2016) Sex and violence on the American newsstand. *Journalism Quarterly*, 40:19-26.

Oyoyo, D. (2013) Fear of Crime and Coping Strategies: Implications for bank safety and customer's patronage in Ikare, Southwestern Nigeria. *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 12: 52-68.

Potter, J. & Chang, I. (1990) Television exposure measures and the cultivation hypothesis. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media,* 34: 335-350.

Rubin, A., Perse, E. & Taylor, D. (1980) A methodological investigation of cultivation. *Communication Research,* 15: 107-134.

Soola, E. (2007) Coverage of crime and violence in Nigerian media: matters arising. *Global Media Journal*, 1(1): 1-13.

Surette, R. (2012) *Media, Crime and Criminal Justice: Images and Reality.* Los Angeles: Brooks Cole.

Thompson, C., Young, R. & Burns, R. (2000) Representing gangs in the News: Media construction of criminal gangs. *Sociological Spectrum,* 20: 409-432.

Walker, L. (2005) Gang Rape in Sydney: Crime, the Media, Politics, Rape and Sentencing. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology,* 36(1): 344-361.

Warr, M. (1985) "Fear of Rape Among Urban Women". *Social Problems*, 32(3): 238.

White, R. & Perrone, S. (2010) *Crime, Criminality and Criminal Justice.* Sydney: Oxford.