

Establishing the Particularities of Cybercrime in Nigeria: Theoretical and Qualitative Treatments

By

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Abstract

This thesis, which is based on six peer-reviewed publications, is a theoretical and qualitative treatment of the ways in which social and contextual factors serve as a resource for understanding the particularities of ‘cybercrime’ that emanates from Nigeria. The thesis illuminates how closer attention to Nigerian society aids the understanding of Nigerian cybercriminals (known as *Yahoo Boys*), their actions and what constitutes ‘cybercrime’ in a Nigerian context. ‘Cybercrime’ is used in everyday parlance as a simple acronym for all forms of crimes on the internet, whereas ‘cybercrime’ in a Nigerian context is rooted in socioeconomics and determined by it. In particular, the defrauding of victims for monetary benefit is the most significant theme that emerged from the analysis of *Yahoo Boys*. While all six publications are situated at the intersections of multiple fields of study, they all share a common endorsement of the constructionist/interpretivist position. The six-published works comprise: [a] three conceptual publications; and [b] three empirical publications. The conceptual publications deconstruct the meanings of multiple taken-for-granted concepts in cybercrime scholarship and develop more robust conceptual lenses, namely: (1) ‘Digital Spiritualization’; (2) ‘The Tripartite Cybercrime Framework – TCF’; and (3) ‘The Synergy between Feminist Criminology and the TCF’. These new conceptual lenses represent the candidate’s contribution to developing theory in the field. Alongside this, the empirical section includes three sets of qualitative data, which include: (1) interviews with seventeen Nigerian parents; (2) lyrics from eighteen Nigerian musicians; and (3) interviews with forty Nigerian law enforcement officers. These diverse sources of qualitative data provide a more fully-developed understanding of ‘cybercrime’ in the Nigerian context (and elsewhere). All six-published works, while individually contributing to knowledge, collectively shed clearer light on the centrality of cultural context in the explanation of ‘cybercrime’.

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Declaration

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

Suleman Lazarus

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My profound gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Mark Button, for his unconditional support and guidance. I thank members of my family: Jiuwa, O. Lazarus, Elijah, M. Lazarus, Scipio, E. Lazarus, Tanja Lazarus, for their love and patience while I pursue my degrees from 2010 – 2020 (BSc, MSc, and PhD). I am very grateful to Dr Jovan S. Lewis (University of California, Berkeley) for his financial contribution towards my tuition fee. I appreciate excellent references from Dr Sally Mann and Dr Stephen Wyatt in support of my application for this submission. I am also grateful to Mr Geoffrey U. Okolorie, Mr Edward T. Dibiana, Dr Kate Johnston-Ataata and Professor Biko Agozino, for their moral support in challenging times. Last but not least, my gratitude also goes to the following individuals from the London School of Economics and Political Science: [a] Professor Robert Reiner, for informing me on 3rd May 2016 that my work (i.e., the original formulation of the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework), “can be developed into a very good thesis [and] it is probably publishable in a specialist journal now”. [b] Professor Tim Newburn, for his comments on systematic steps for collecting lyrical data. [c] Professor Lucinda Platt, for supervising my Master’s dissertation and mentoring me after my graduation – her training, stood me in good stead.

The list of publications included (in date order)

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ibrahim¹, Suleman. (2016a). Social and Contextual Taxonomy of Cybercrime: Socioeconomic Theory of Nigerian Cybercriminals. <i>International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice</i>, 47, 44-57.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ibrahim, Suleman. (2016b). Causes of Socioeconomic Cybercrime in Nigeria. In <i>IEEE International Conference on Cybercrime and Computer Forensic (ICCCF)</i>, Vancouver, BC, Canada (pp. 1-9). <i>IEEE Publishing</i>.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lazarus, Suleman. (2018). Birds of a Feather Flock Together: The Nigerian Cyber Fraudsters (Yahoo Boys) and Hip Hop Artists. <i>Criminology, Criminal Justice, Law & Society</i>, 19, (2), 63-81.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lazarus, Suleman. (2019a). Where is the Money? The Intersectionality of the Spirit World and the Acquisition of Wealth. <i>Religions</i>, 10, (3), 146, 1-20.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lazarus, Suleman. (2019b). Just Married: The Synergy between Feminist Criminology and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework. <i>International Social Science Journal</i>, 69, (231), 15-33.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <u>Lazarus, Suleman</u>, & Okolorie, G. U. (2019). The Bifurcation of the Nigerian Cybercriminals: Narratives of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Agents. <i>Telematics and Informatics</i>, 40, 14-26.

¹ In 2017, I changed my surname from Ibrahim (paternal) to Lazarus (maternal).

Statement on joint authorship

Publication
Lazarus, Suleman & Okolorie, G. U. (2019). The Bifurcation of the Nigerian Cybercriminals: Narratives of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Agents. <i>Telematics and Informatics</i> , 40, 14-26.

[a] I, Suleman Lazarus, conceived and designed the study. [b] My co-author, Geoffrey U. Okolorie, recruited & interviewed the participants. [c] I analyzed and interpreted the data. [d] my co-author verified the interpretation of data. [e] I drafted the whole article. [f] I carried out the critical revisions of the article. [g] My co-author and I read and approved the published version. The "author contribution statements" can also be found on page 25 of the published work.

1. Introduction

'We write to taste life twice, in the moment and in retrospect' - Nin (1975, p. 149)

I 'tasted life in the moment' when I was writing, submitting, revising, resubmitting and publishing the series of publications that accompany this critical narrative. Taking the route of a PhD by Publication has offered me the opportunity to look back and reflect critically on the steps of my academic journey which led to this submission for a doctoral degree. In particular, the submission is for a doctorate by retrospective peer-reviewed publications that constitute an independent and original contribution to knowledge. For me, the unconditional offer from the University of Portsmouth to submit my works for a PhD by Publication award is an additional validation of the quality of my independent contributions to knowledge (as set out in the Level 8 Doctoral Descriptor contained in the UK Quality Code for Higher Education, 2014). While this submission includes a set of six publications published in six different outlets (e.g. International Social Science Journal; Telematics and Informatics), these publication venues are interdisciplinary in orientation and international in scope. All these publications (Ibrahim, 2016a; Ibrahim, 2016b; Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019), have consequently been rigorously examined by a set of experts from multiple fields of study.

All six-published works are related. Each one of them is a contextual inquiry that seeks to shed a clearer light on the cultural and social dimensions of cybercrime. In exploring local cultures, all publications acknowledge that in a digital and global age, the actions of criminals have international connections and consequences (Button & Tunley, 2014; Hall & Scalia, 2019; Lewis, 2018; Silverstone, 2013). All publications are also in a similar vein in exploring the convergence of multiple fields

of study (e.g. cultural criminology, social psychology, cyber criminology and religious studies) to examine cybercrime, particularly but not solely, in a Nigerian context. Consequently, they have a similar overarching theme and agenda. [a] They illuminate how closer attention to Nigerian society aids an understanding of the Nigerian cybercriminals (Yahoo Boys) and their actions. [b] They shed light on the particularities of cybercrime by highlighting on the category of cybercrime to which Nigeria is most vulnerable – socioeconomic cybercrime (e.g. cyber-fraud). Because these publications radiate from the same overarching theme and agenda, each of them particularly demonstrates that ‘the defrauding of victims for monetary benefits is the most significant theme in the analysis of Nigerian cybercriminals’ (e.g. Lazarus, 2018, p. 64; Lazarus, 2019a, p. 2). They have many additional commonalities, some of which are outlined in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Some commonalities of the six publications included

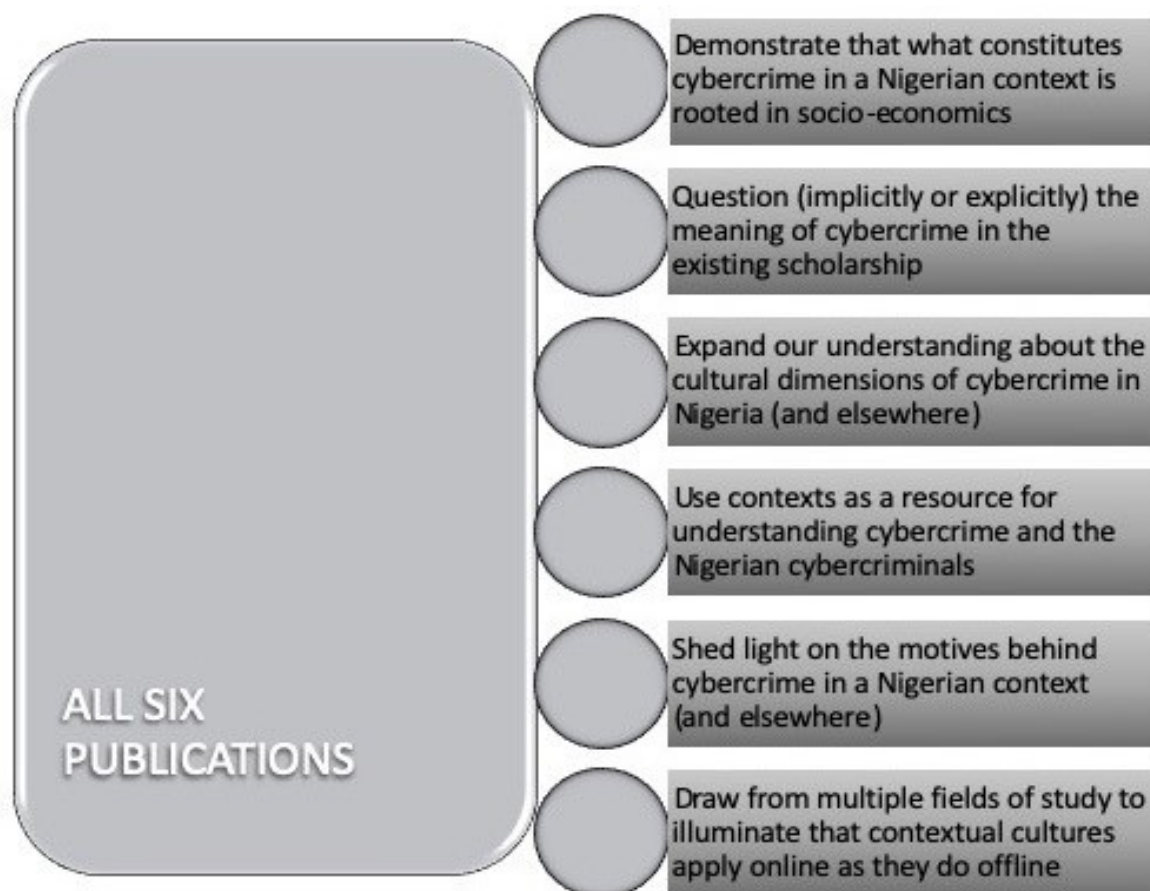


Figure 1 exemplifies that while I have compartmentalised these six publications into publishable parts, they represent a coherent whole body of work (a research portfolio). In a nutshell, they are all based on the premise that cybercrimes and cybercriminals are shaped by cultural and contextual forces, and consequently, they have to be understood as social products and social actors respectively (Ibrahim, 2016a; Ibrahim, 2016b; Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b). My earlier work² excluded here (i.e. Ibrahim, 2015) which analysed the value of cultural and familial forces in understanding juvenile delinquency in Nigeria and Ghana, was the starting point for the six contextual inquiries included in this submission. In particular, Ibrahim (2015) influenced me at the early stage of my academic writing to examine specific social contexts to understand crime.

I have produced the above series of works over a period of five years (2014 to 2019) during which I had different affiliations, namely [a] 'Royal Holloway University of London' as a postgraduate student (Ibrahim, 2016a; Ibrahim, 2016b); [b] 'Independent Researcher' (Lazarus, 2018); and [c] 'University of Greenwich' as a visiting lecturer (Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019). For me, my life experience during this space of time and the six publications listed above, which mirror these affiliations/transitions, are two sides of the same coin. Thus, the introductory part of this reflective narrative is couched in three parts [1] my life experiences; [2] the consequences of my experiences (i.e. the mastering of scholarly writing and publishing); and [3] the structure of the rest of the critical commentary.

² The book chapter was extracted from my Master's dissertation (the London School of Economics & Political Science).

1.1. My Life Experiences

In his analysis of *Man's Search for Himself*, May (1953) noted that life experience is often the architect of a person's decisions as well as the guide to their path. My negative experience with PhD supervisors, depicted in *Betrayals in Academia and a Black Demon from Ephesus* (Lazarus, 2019c), played a primary role in changing the direction of my PhD route (from my initial enrolment at the Royal Holloway University of London). Confident in my ability to develop ideas at a high level of abstraction (e.g. Ibrahim, 2015; Ibrahim, 2016a; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b) and act independently with originality in applying new research approaches (e.g. Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019), I embraced the challenges and responsibilities (e.g. money issues) of an independent researcher, without knowing precisely what lies beyond 'the publication point'. Despite this, I have been intrinsically motivated in researching multiple topics of inquiry. They include both the publications I have included in this research portfolio (e.g. Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b) and those I have excluded (e.g. Lazarus et al., 2017; Lazarus, 2019d; Rush & Lazarus, 2018). I was firmly convinced that making a significant contribution to knowledge is an invaluable 'currency in academia' (Soule, 2007, p. 6; Starrs, 2008, p. 1) and other domains of life. Retrospectively speaking, choosing to change the direction of my initial doctoral journey enabled me to explore a more appealing, fulfilling and independent way of arriving at my destination, that is, obtaining a doctoral award and solidifying my membership of the academic community.

The life events discussed above highlight that the critical step to a new beginning is to conceive that one is possible. I firmly believe that human suffering, e.g. negative life experiences, could be transformed into human achievement depending on the stand the experiencer takes when faced with it (Frankl, 1978). The inherent

satisfaction in flipping my negative experience and turning it into my achievements has been the impetus behind many publication efforts and the methodological innovation developed (e.g. Lazarus, 2019b; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019).

Metaphorically speaking, therefore, the debris of a negative set of my experiences (described in Lazarus, 2019c) and triumph (depicted in Lazarus, 2020), transformed me into an independent scholar whose contribution has an impact on other authors' works (e.g. De Kimpe et al., 2020; Orji, 2019; Park et al., 2019). This would not have been possible had I given up or remained in the previously restricted route of the traditional PhD model (as I had experienced it at the Royal Holloway University of London).

1.2. The Mastering of Scholarly Writing and Publishing

Within the pedagogy of traditional PhD models, the 'issues of writing and publication' are not systematically and adequately addressed in its design and approach (Lee & Kamler, 2008, p. 511). Academic writing/publishing is, as Jalongo, Boyer, & Ebbeck (2014, p. 241) observed, 'a constellation of skills, understandings, and dispositions too important to be left to chance'. Becoming an independent researcher has facilitated mastering the skills required not only in the selection of appropriate outlets for my manuscripts but also in dealing with negative and positive responses from anonymous journal reviewers and editors. But that is not all. Becoming an independent scholar equipped me with the pragmatism needed in navigating what Mason & Merga (2018b, p. 140) have called 'the politics of publishing' or 'the rules of the game' (Wilkinson, 2015, p. 99). The redirection of my PhD route allowed me to engage more actively with many examiners³ involved in

³ The role of the examiners (e.g. anonymous reviewers) is as significant as that of my research mentors. For example, I had revised parts of my manuscripts based on my mentors' comments.

different layers of the publication process. These active engagements with experts in the multiple fields of study have benefits. They have, for example, equipped me with skill sets, 'understanding and dispositions too important to be left to chance' (Jalongo, Boyer, & Ebbeck, 2014). For me, mastering the negotiations, dialogues and pragmatism with these gatekeepers of the publication venues was an invaluable apprenticeship in its own right. It enabled me to adapt my writing to a wide variety of audiences and disciplines such as religious studies (Lazarus, 2019a), feminist criminology (Lazarus, 2019b) and social psychology (Lazarus, 2018).

Notably, this type of apprenticeship in becoming an independent scholar is not a core aspect of conventional PhD training (Mason & Merga, 2018a; Mason & Merga, 2018b; Peacock, 2017). Consequently, as Peacock (2017, p. 130) observed, 'All too often, doctoral candidates who have followed the traditional PhD route fail to publish after completing their studies' (see also Francis et al., 2009). Therefore, it is not far-fetched to attribute my mastering of scholarly writing and publishing, to a great extent, to the redirection of my PhD from a traditional one to a PhD by Publication. Becoming an independent author of many peer-reviewed publications has also opened a window of opportunity for me to be in constant dialogue with fellow authors as a reviewer.

In particular, from 2017 to 2019, I have reviewed papers authored by other scholars twenty-two times. I have served as a referee for eight reputable journals as verified by *Publons*⁴ (shown in Figure 2). In retrospect, this role has enhanced the confidence and maturity demonstrated especially in my most recent conceptual outputs (e.g.

⁴ *Publons* is a website that provides a free service for academics to track, verify, and showcase their peer reviews and editorial contributions for academic journals.

Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b) as well as the empirical ones (e.g. Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019) as having the opportunity to read multiple revised versions of other authors' works prior to publication has informed my understanding of the writing process.

Figure 2: Dialogues with Fellow Authors and Verified Reviews

The screenshot shows a Safari browser window displaying the Publons Verified Record for Suleman Lazarus. The browser's address bar shows the URL <https://publons.com/a/1360382>. The page content includes the following sections:

- Publons Verified Record**
PREPARED BY PUBLONS ON DECEMBER 17TH 2019
- Suleman Lazarus**
<https://publons.com/a/1360382>
- Peer Review Summary**
Performed 22 reviews for journals including *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* and *ACM Transactions on Management Information Systems*; placing in the 90th percentile for verified review contributions on Publons up until December 2019.
- Journal Review List:**
 - 10 Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking
 - 3 ACM Transactions on Management Information Systems
 - 2 Children and Youth Services Review
 - 2 Computer Law & Security Review
 - 2 Religions
 - 1 Crime, Law and Social Change
 - 1 International Journal of Cyber Criminology
 - 1 Journal of Crime and Justice

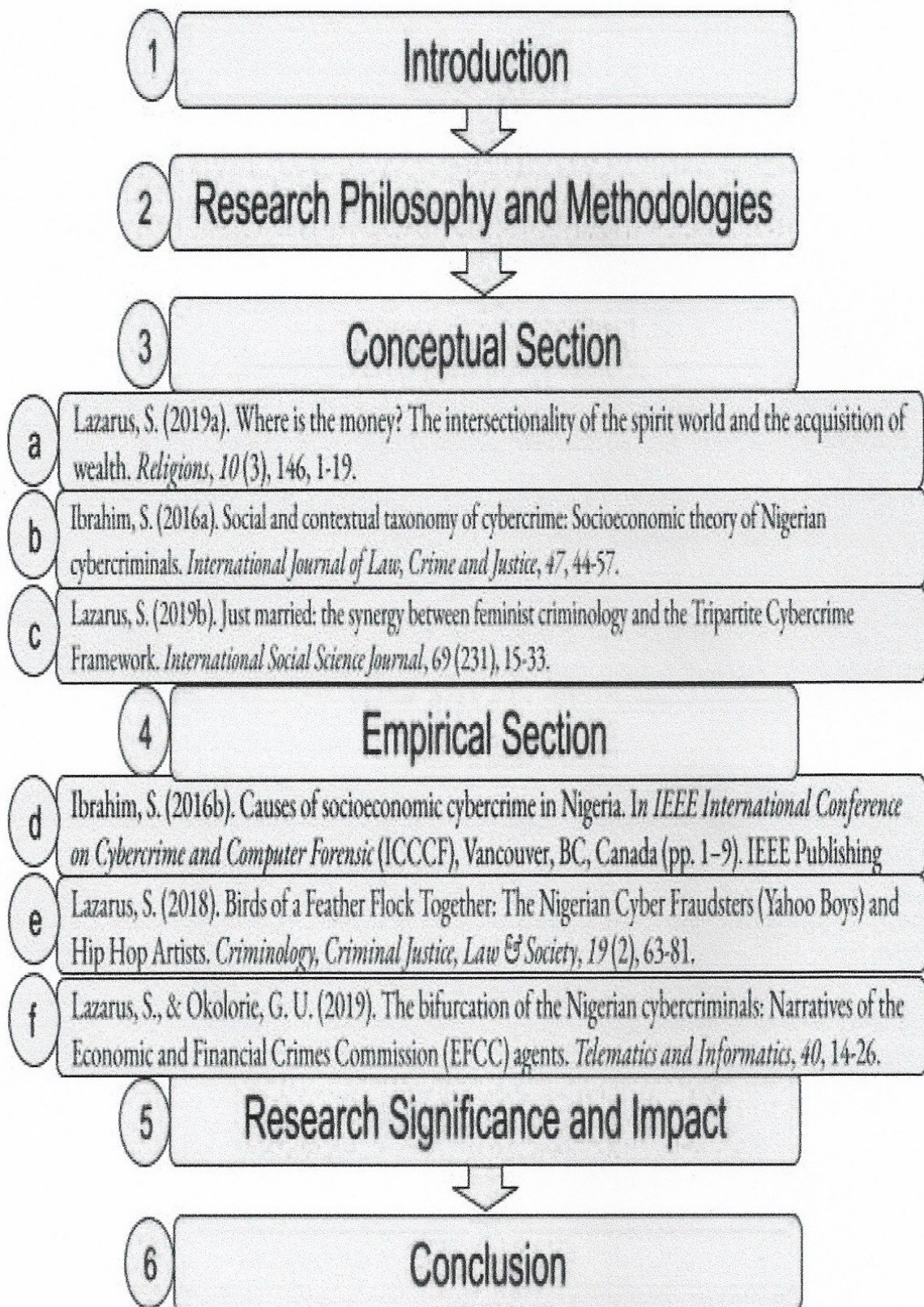
A "Correct version" button is visible at the bottom right of the page content.

1.3. The structure of the critical commentary

After the introduction (i.e. section 1.1; 1.2), it is now necessary to comment on the rationale for the structure of the rest of the critical commentary. While I listed the six publication outputs sequentially in publication date order above (see *'List of publications included'*) as recommended by the University of Portsmouth (2019), publication dates in themselves do not always represent the writing and submission timeline. Manuscript submission and publication dates do not always progress serially. For example, Lazarus (2019a) was subjected to high inter-reviewer disagreements, and multiple rounds of reviews and resubmissions from 2015 to 2019, whereas, Lazarus (2019b) was submitted in 2018 and published in 2019. The rest of this accompanying narrative, therefore, acknowledges that publication dates are not necessarily a true reflection of the actual dates I drafted and submitted manuscripts to publication venues.

Consequently, the storyline of this reflective narrative favours the pattern of my intellectual thinking and writing rather than publication dates. The rationale is to create a cohesive whole since blueprints about 'structural possibilities for a PhD by Publication are very much emergent' (Mason & Merga, 2018a, p. 1453). For instance, some candidates who graduated from the University of Portsmouth (e.g. Pycroft, 2014) and other UK universities (e.g. Hearsom, 2015) have relied on the particularities of their publication outputs to tell the stories of the accompanying narratives. Based on the preceding remarks, I organise the critical narrative as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: - Overview of the structure of the accompanying narrative



As illustrated in Figure 3, the remaining aspects of the critical commentary are presented chronologically in five main parts (i.e. [1] section 2 to 6; [2] research philosophy and methodologies; [3] conceptual part; [4] empirical part; [5] research significance and impact; and [6] conclusion. The overview of research philosophy and methodologies (i.e. section 2) deals with the ways in which different layers of the research are connected as a whole. The conceptual part (i.e. section 3) includes three publications (i.e. Lazarus, 2019a; Ibrahim, 2016a; Lazarus, 2019b), and is comprised of two subsections (subsection 3.1. rationale for inclusion; 3.2. contribution to knowledge). These conceptual publications are couched in such a way as to address two core requirements for this accompanying commentary (i.e. rationale for inclusion; contribution to knowledge) as recommended by the University of Portsmouth (2019).

The empirical part (section 4), also comprises of two sub-sections (4.1; 4.2). Like the conceptual section, it also covers three published works. These three empirical outputs (i.e. Ibrahim, 2016b; Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019) are also examined in terms of 'rationale for inclusion' (4.1); and 'contribution to knowledge' (4.2). While the conceptual lenses facilitate the empirical studies by providing relevant background, the empirical ones substantiate the conceptual ones. In section 5, I discuss research significance and the impact of the whole research portfolio. Like 'rationale for inclusion' and 'contribution to knowledge', 'research significance/impact' is also a core requirement of this accompanying commentary as recommended by the University of Portsmouth (2019). I conclude in section 6.

2. Research philosophy and methodologies

The philosophical background of research is at the base of the researcher's thought in creating new knowledge in the field of study (Fazlıoğulları, 2012; Žukauskas, Vveinhardt & Andriukaitienė, 2018). It is the basis of the research paradigm, consisting of three interconnected components: ontology, epistemology and methodology (as outlined in Table 1 adopted from Žukauskas, Vveinhardt & Andriukaitienė, 2018, p. 121). Consequently, like some 'cybercrime' researchers (e.g. Button & Tunley, 2014; Sugiura, 2018; Wall, 2012; Yar & Steinmetz, 2019), I have approached cybercriminals and their actions from the standpoint of society. In particular, the sets of publications I have included here are situated at the intersection of two related philosophical positions: constructionist and interpretivist perspectives. While the constructionism position refers to the social construction of reality more broadly (e.g. Becker, 1967; Cohen, 1972), the interpretivist position emphasises inter-subjectively in seeking the meaning in actions (e.g. Thomas, 1923; Thomas & Thomas, 1928). The constructionist perspective generally operates more on a macro level and is concerned with how the world is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966); whereas the interpretivist standpoint generally operates on a micro level and is concerned with how social actors and their actions are interpreted (Thomas, 1923). In other words, constructivism is more about inter-group relations than interpretivism, which is more about individual social psychology.

Central to constructionist and interpretivist perspectives, however, is the overlap in their accounts of the social origins of knowledge (Tannenbaum, 1938; Thomas, 1923). Additionally, for both positions, one cannot locate a transcendent truth, a 'truly true' and there is no one truth for all cultures at all times (Gergen & Gergen, 2012, p. 3). Indeed, both seemingly different positions are intertwined in the sense that in

seeking a greater understanding of social life, the interpretation of actions and actors is ultimately socially and situationally constructed (Thomas, 1923; Schwandt, 1998).

Table 1. Three components of a research paradigm

<i>Components</i>	<i>Description</i>
Epistemology	General philosophical parameters and assumptions that deal with the creation of knowledge (how we know what we know).
Ontology	General philosophical parameters and assumptions that deal with the fundamental nature of reality (and asks what reality is).
Methodology	Combination of different techniques used by researchers to explore different situations.

Adopted from Žukauskas, Vveinhardt & Andriukaitienė (2018, p. 121)

The constructionist/interpretivist position upon which the six publications (Ibrahim, 2016a; Ibrahim, 2016b; Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019) sit, has been adopted, for example, by the first Chicago sociologists (e.g. Tannenbaum, 1938; Thomas, 1923) and the later Chicago scholars (e.g. Becker, 1967; Matza & Sykes, 1961). These sociologists (e.g. Tannenbaum, 1938; Matza & Sykes, 1961) have argued that criminality emerges out of offenders' social environments, interactions with others, and life experiences.

Within this broad constructionist/interpretivist philosophical position, I employed several theoretical orientations (e.g. feminist perspective, Lazarus, 2019b; moral disengagement mechanisms, Lazarus, 2018). These all share a similar notion that the interpretation of actions and actors is socially and situationally constructed. I have done so to benefit from a dialogue between the different theoretical perspectives. This dialectical approach enabled me (e.g. Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b) to merge

divergent abstractions to expand and deepen, rather than simply confirm the existing understanding in the field. I have, for example, deconstructed the singular meaning of cyber spiritualism in the existing literature and proposed a binary one (Lazarus, 2019a). Other authors have validated my claim (e.g. Orji, 2019). The constructionist/interpretivist philosophical position, which highlights the significance of subjective experience in human social life, has shaped my research questions. These research questions and their key achievements are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Research questions and achievements

Published Works	Research Question(s)	A Key Achievement
Lazarus (2019a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ In what ways are the actions of youths who tap spiritual resources for online gain a reflection of local epistemologies and worldviews in Nigeria? ➤ Are these actions alien in the body of Nigerian society? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The article deconstructed the singular meaning of cyber-spiritualism through its development of ‘digital spiritualization’ and proposed a dual meaning (licit and illicit).
Ibrahim (2016a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ How useful are the existing cybercrime taxonomies in making sense of social and contextual factors? ➤ Since ‘cybercrime’ is a globalised phenomenon, how is the Nigerian case any different from Western regions? ➤ What exactly is ‘cybercrime’ in a Nigerian context? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The article critiqued the prevailing taxonomies used in cybercrime scholarship through its development of the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework (TCF) which proposed that cybercrimes are motivated by three possible factors: socioeconomic, psychosocial and geopolitical.

Lazarus (2019b)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Do structured gender relations retain their efficacy in online contexts? ➤ Do gender forces in society influence online behaviours and experiences? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The article built synergy between the feminist epistemology of crime and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework to advocate the centrality of gender as a theoretical entry point for the investigating of all aspects of cyber criminology.
Ibrahim (2016b)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ What are parents' perceptions of the causes of cybercrime involvement among Nigerian children? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The perceptions of Nigerian parents (n=17) underscored that a range of familial factors such as 'a good family environment' has more influence on a person's susceptibility to involvement in cybercrime than external factors such as corruption.
Lazarus (2018)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ What are the ethics of Nigerian cyber-criminals as expressed by music artists? <i>The ethics of Yahoo Boys can be understood as a set of perceptual alterations that offer them 'psychological shields' to justify their conduct and thus, circumvent self-condemnation (drawing from Bandura, 1999; Sykes & Matza, 1957).</i> ➤ Which techniques do artists deploy to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The lyrics of hip-hop artists (n=18) exposed the presence of the mechanisms of moral disengagement (Bandura, 1999) and neutralization techniques (Sykes & Matza, 1957) in cyber-fraud victimisation.

	<p>describe cyber-criminals and their victims?</p> <p>➤ What might the justifications say about the motives for 'cybercrime'?</p>	
Lazarus & Okolorie (2019)	<p>➤ What are the narratives of frontline law enforcement officers about cyber-fraudsters and their activities in Nigeria?</p>	<p>➤ The narratives of law enforcement officers (n=40) distinguished the Nigerian cybercriminals and their operations based on three factors: educational-attainment, modus-operandi, and networks-collaborators.</p>

In answering the research questions listed above, all six publications are situated at the intersection of multiple fields of study. While some of them are listed in Table 3, all these fields share a common endorsement of the constructionist/interpretivist position.

Table 3. Intersections of multiple fields of study

Fields of study	Publications
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Cyber criminology ➤ Cultural criminology ➤ Cultural sociology ➤ Social psychology 	All six publications in this submission
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Religious studies 	e.g. Lazarus (2019a)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Feminist criminology 	e.g. Lazarus (2019b)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Musicology 	e.g. Lazarus (2018)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Youth studies 	e.g. Ibrahim (2016b)

In particular, the constructionist/interpretivist lens has enabled me in my conceptual publications to [a] deconstruct the meanings of some taken-for-granted concepts in cybercrime scholarship and [b] develop more robust conceptual lenses, namely (1) 'Digital Spiritualization' (Lazarus, 2019a); (2) 'The Tripartite Cybercrime Framework – TCF' (Ibrahim, 2016a); and (3) 'the synergy between Feminist Criminology and the TCF' (Lazarus, 2019b). My development of the above new conceptual lenses is invaluable in the field, and this achievement is worth much more when one considers that theoretical originality is the arena where marginalised voices on the Nigerian cybercriminals are most vulnerable. Equally, the development of these new conceptual lenses in themselves serves as a part of my 'contribution to developing theory in the field' as outlined by the University of Portsmouth (2019, p. 1) concerning a PhD by Publication award.

Similarly, the constructionist/interpretivist lens is significant for the empirical studies. Thus, the constructionist/interpretivist lens has also shaped the methods deployed in the three qualitative studies. These studies (Ibrahim, 2016b; Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019), in particular, acknowledge that 'a man is like an insect suspended and enveloped in spider webs of culture, and the analysis of it and its actions must go in search of meaning and subjective experience' (Geertz, 1973, p. 3). This is because, 'the focus was on meanings and understandings rather than representative populations and generalising the data' (Sugiura, 2016, p. 147). People's words provide greater access to their experience of the world and what they construct as a reality in their stories than statistical trends (Lazarus, 2008). Consequently, I have favoured qualitative approaches to illuminate how closer attention to Nigerian society aids the understanding of Yahoo Boys and their actions.

These studies (Ibrahim, 2016b; Lazarus, 2018; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019) include three sets of data collected from three different sources and times. First, Ibrahim’s (2016b) study is based on interviews with 17 Nigerian parents. Second, Lazarus’s (2018) study involves a qualitative analysis of lyrical data from 18 Nigerian hip-hop artists. Third, Lazarus & Okolorie’s (2019) study is based on interview data derived from 40 Nigerian law enforcement officers. Lazarus’s (2018) study relied solely on online data in the public domain (lyrics), and ethical approval for this type of research as Sugiura, Wiles & Pope (2017, p. 195) observed, is ‘neither possible nor necessary’. Conversely, the two interview studies (Ibrahim, 2016b; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019) required ethical approvals, and I obtained ethical approval from the Royal Holloway University of London for Ibrahim’s (2016b) study. Similarly, my co-author (i.e. Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019) who recruited and interviewed participants ‘on the ground’, obtained ethical approval for the study in Nigeria. These three qualitative studies are distinctive in the ways outlined in Table 4 below.

Table 4. The distinctiveness of the three qualitative studies

<i>Qualitative Study</i>	<i>Empirical Basis</i>	<i>A Key Distinctiveness</i>
Ibrahim (2016b)	Interview data: n=17 parents	The first peer-reviewed empirical study to explore the intersectionality of family factors and cyber criminality in a Nigerian context.
Lazarus (2018)	Lyric data: n=18 musicians	The first peer-reviewed empirical study to examine the ways the Nigerian cybercriminals are represented in hip-hop music.
Lazarus & Okolorie (2019)	Interview data: n=40 law enforcement officers	The first peer-reviewed empirical study to explore the narratives of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission officers concerning the Nigerian cybercriminals.

For me, these seemingly different sources of qualitative data (parents, music artists, and law enforcement officers) come together to paint a clearer image of the central theme of my inquiry – cultural and social dimensions of cybercrime in a Nigerian context. Data from these three groups of Nigerians, while making individual contributions to knowledge (outlined further down), collectively shed a clearer light on the topic from their unique lenses. It is noteworthy that this critical narrative does not contain an additional section designated as the ‘methodologies’ or ‘literature review’, as the relevant methodology and literature review are within each publication output and by implication, a separate section would be redundant and repetitive (Mason & Merga, 2018a).

In retrospect, however, I would have done some things differently. Every achievement is subject to improvements as Freud (1927) observed. For example, Lazarus (2018), in its analysis of ‘maga’ would have benefited from Mills’s (1940) original formulation of the concept of the vocabulary of motive. Equally, Ibrahim (2016b), would have benefited from using the lens of decolonisation to look more critically at the concept of ‘juvenile delinquency’⁵. Having outlined the ways in which the six-published works are connected to a broad philosophical position, it is necessary to focus on the rationales for including them in this research portfolio.

3. Conceptual publications

3.1.Rationale for inclusion

The three conceptual articles ([1] Lazarus, 2019a, [2] Ibrahim, 2016a, and [3] Lazarus, 2019b) included are couched at different levels of abstraction as detailed below. I

⁵ Historically, the British Government introduced the concept of ‘juvenile delinquency’ to the Federal Republic of Nigeria through colonialism (Ibrahim, 2015).

have included these publications because they not only critique the meaning of the existing concepts, theories and taxonomies in cybercrime scholarship, but they also deconstruct them. However, that is not all. These publications consequently develop new conceptual lenses. These three publications are also related in their deployment of social and contextual factors to challenge the prevailing conceptualisations about cybercrime.

Publication

Lazarus, Suleman. (2019a). Where is the money? The intersectionality of the spirit world and the acquisition of wealth. <i>Religions</i> , 10 (3), 146, 1-20.

In this article, I analysed ‘the contemporary manifestation of spirituality in cyberspace,’ with history in mind, to illuminate the past that created it (Lazarus, 2019a p. 1-16). By doing so, the article developed a useful conceptual lens: ‘digital spiritualization,’ to deploy a critical examination of the intersectionality of cyber-fraud and spirituality in a Nigerian context. The basis of its inclusion is hinged on five aspects. First, the intersectionality of cyber-fraud and spirituality is a central theme in the discussion of crime in a Nigerian context (e.g. Ellis, 2016). Hence, it would be an oversight to exclude a publication which analysed the spiritual dimension of cyber-fraud in a research portfolio whose overarching agenda is to shed light on the cultural, spiritual and social dimensions of ‘cybercrime’. Second, the article serves as a major entry point in establishing the particularities of cybercrime in a Nigerian context. It matters because, while the spiritual dimension of cybercrime is not an aspect of cybercrime in discussions about the Global North (Cross, 2018), Africa south of the Sahara - including Nigeria, is culturally different from the West (Ibrahim, 2015; Ibrahim & Komulainen, 2016; Rush & Lazarus, 2018). Third, the article fits squarely into the overarching theme and agenda. The publication, for example, *devil advocates*⁶ the ‘righteousness’ of law-abiding

⁶ Here, the phrase *devil advocating*, means arguing against the ‘righteousness’ or ‘sainthood’ of a group (claimed law-abiding citizens) in order to uncover any misrepresentation of the evidence

Nigerians, by highlighting that the line dividing them and cybercriminals is blurred with regards to the use of magical means for material ends (Lazarus, 2019a, p. 1). For me in particular, ‘the explanation of cyber-fraud becomes clearer by exploring the Nigerian cybercriminals’ similarities to the society that produced them rather than their dissimilarities’ (drawing from Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 719). Fourthly, the original manuscript of this publication which was drafted in 2015 opened an additional portal to unlock other research opportunities (Ibrahim, 2016a; Lazarus, 2019b), such as the need to challenge the classifications of cybercrime in the existing cybercrime scholarship addressed by Ibrahim (2016a).

Additionally, the rationale for including this publication extends to an ongoing research project. To further nuance the intersectionality of the spirit world and the acquisition of wealth, I am currently examining how this intersection is depicted in Nollywood movies. I am also investigating Nigerians’ perceptions of theurgy rituals and wealth creation beyond fictional realms to shed a brighter light on the specifics of how spiritualism is incorporated into cybercrime. While I will be analysing these sets of data shortly after the oral defence of this award for a PhD by Publication, I believe the study will help illuminate ‘digital spiritualization’ far beyond the conceptual realm achieved by Lazarus (2019a).

Publication
Ibrahim, Suleman. (2016a). Social and contextual taxonomy of cybercrime: Socioeconomic theory of Nigerian cybercriminals. <i>International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice</i> , 47, 44-57.

This article is included because it developed an invaluable conceptual lens to facilitate the examination of cybercrime in a Nigerian context (and elsewhere).

favouring them (e.g. concerning the use of magical/spiritual powers for wealth generation) (Lazarus, 2019a).

Specifically, it developed ‘the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework’ (TCF) by incorporating social and contextual factors into the classification schemas. The TCF illustrates that cybercrimes are motivated by three possible factors: socioeconomic, psychosocial and geopolitical. Thus, I have included this publication because, while the TCF enables me to focus on the category of cybercrime to which Nigeria is most vulnerable – socioeconomic cybercrime – the TCF suggests problems with prevailing taxonomies of cybercrime. Indeed, ‘the conceptual pipeline in the Global North cannot hold water in a Nigerian context’ (Ibrahim, 2016a, p. 55) because ‘life in the virtual world embodies cultural nuances in society’ (Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019, p. 15; see also Jaishankar, 2007; McGerty, 2000). Additionally, the TCF provided me with the ‘ammunition’ to challenge the dominant statistics relied upon to measure the prevalence of cybercrime perpetrators across nations from 2006 to 2010, which aligns with the overarching theme and agenda of this research portfolio. Last, but not least, Ibrahim (2016a) is a foundational article because it distinguishes between hitherto ignored components of cybercrime in its development of the TCF (see Goyanes, 2020, p. 204 on ‘foundational articles’). The TCF provided a critical pillar on which another conceptual publication is based (i.e. Lazarus, 2019b).

Publication
Lazarus, Suleman. (2019b). Just married: The synergy between feminist criminology and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework. <i>International Social Science Journal</i> , 69 (231) 15-33.

I have included this publication because it exploits multiple theoretical axes relevant to this research portfolio. First, it builds ‘the synergy between feminist criminology and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework’, which brings the lens of intersectionality explicitly into the discussion of this topic of inquiry. While the Nigerian social and contextual factors, for example, serve as a resource for understanding gender and crime connections, it offers additional layers of explanation and facilitates the framing of qualitative publications included in this research portfolio (e.g. Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019). Second, the publication also sharpens the contrast between the

socioeconomic and psychosocial cybercrime types, by considering motivation, victimization, gender experience, gender roles, and social and relationship performance. This contrast is invaluable to the discussion of the centrality of socioeconomic cybercrime in a Nigerian context. Third, the publication also offers a criticism of the General Theory of Crime (GTC) in its discussion of 'self-control' and 'the moral-standard'. This achievement has a direct connection with Ibrahim's (2016b) qualitative study (also included here), which explores the importance of 'self-control' and 'the moral-standard' in the discussion of the Nigerian cybercriminals. Related to this is that while the equilibrium between theory and illustration is challenging for many authors, I did not lose focus on the practical dimension of this article. I have illustrated my conceptual ideas with arrays of case studies not only to achieve a balance between theoretical guidance and examples but also to nuance the intersectionality of cultural, familial, legal factors and cybercrime. Thus, this publication fits squarely with the theme and agenda of this research portfolio.

3.2. Contributions to knowledge

While these conceptual peer-reviewed outputs are inextricably connected, they make arrays of significant contributions to knowledge, which are most revealing in a tabular form. It is best for a doctoral thesis to 'clearly outline or tabulate the different ways in which the work is original' (Gill & Dolan 2015, p. 11). Accordingly, I have outlined key original contributions of the conceptual publications in Table 5, and that of the empirical publications in Table 6.

Table 5. List of original contributions to knowledge (conceptual outputs)

<i>Conceptual publications</i>	<i>Key contributions to knowledge in the field</i>
Lazarus (2019a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="715 353 1441 432">➤ The first publication to deconstruct the prevailing meaning of cyber-spiritualism. <li data-bbox="715 477 1441 555">➤ The first publication to propose a dual meaning of cyber spiritualism or ‘digital spiritualization’. <li data-bbox="715 600 1441 1070">➤ The publication uses the phrase ‘devil advocate’ as a verb instead of its conventional mode or function a noun. The flipping the role of the phrase from a noun to a verb, i.e. innovating a new usage of the phrase ‘devil advocate’, for example, is essential linguistic manoeuvring which enables a comprehensive and sharp comparison of the similarities between two groups of Nigerians: cybercriminals and the law-abiding citizens. This contribution is new in cybercrime scholarship about Nigeria. <li data-bbox="715 1115 1441 1585">➤ The first conceptual publication on cybercrime to ‘devil advocate’ the ‘sainthood’ of claimed law-abiding citizens, by highlighting that the line dividing them and the Nigerian cybercriminals (Yahoo-Boys) is blurred with regards to the use of magical means for material ends. Unlike prior research, the article casts a brighter light on the line dividing cybercriminals and law-abiding citizens with respect to the use of spiritual and magical power for material gains. <li data-bbox="715 1630 1441 1966">➤ The first publication which explored the occult economy in a variety of different manifestations, namely (1) the traditional African spiritual system; (2) the Olokun deity; (3) the Gospel of Prosperity; and (4) the villagization of the modern public sphere, to unpack the ways in which local epistemologies and worldviews on wealth acquisition give rise

	<p>to contemporary manifestations of spirituality in cyberspace.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ By underlining that contextual realities on the ground should be taken seriously, beyond their particular geographical and disciplinary contexts, the article underscored the idea that cultural realities should inform policymaking in the real world of a spiritually embedded economy in a Nigerian context. In particular, it is the first publication to identify that the concept of escapelessness has cybersecurity benefits (because legitimacy and conformity to social rules are central to self-regulation, e.g. Tyler, 1990). By implication, it is also the first publication to construct the connection between ‘digital spiritualization’ and the concept of escapelessness. ➤ The article concludes that if people believe that all aspects of life are reflective of the spiritual world and determined by it, the spiritual realm, by implication, is the base of society, upon which sits the superstructure comprised of all aspects of life, especially wealth. This conceptual position is the first to point out that, inferentially, the idea that the spirit world is the base of the Nigerian society is an inversion of Orthodox Marxist theory of economic determinism.
Ibrahim (2016a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The first publication to deconstruct a number of dominant taxonomies used in cybercrime scholarship (e.g. ‘the binary model of cybercrime’). By doing so, the research also critiqued the meaning of the term ‘cybercrime’ and redefined it. ➤ The first peer-reviewed research to develop the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework (TCF) which is a more conceptually robust framework for examining cybercrime in a Nigerian context (and elsewhere). The TCF proposed that

	<p>cybercrime can be motivated in three possible ways: socioeconomic, psychosocial and geopolitical, which is new in cybercrime scholarship.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ The first publication to use the synergy between motivational theories and the basic psychological framework of categorisation, to classify cybercrime types.➤ The first publication to illustrate that whilst in Nigeria, cybercrime is fundamentally rooted in socioeconomics, the lenses of the existing cybercrime taxonomies are not well equipped to clearly project the pattern of this phenomenon.➤ The first publication to demonstrate that the conceptual 'pipelines' of the cybercrime framework in the Global North cannot hold water in Nigeria (Global South).➤ The first piece of research to critique and challenge the dominant statistics relied on to inform the prevalence of cybercrime perpetrators across nations (e.g. the Internet Crime Complaint Centre's 2010 data set, i.e. IC3 2010). The IC3's (2010) report, for example, has previously misled some authors (e.g. Aransiola & Asindemade, 2011; Chawki et al., 2015) to uncritically represent the statistics about Nigeria.➤ The first publication to illuminate that the populist view that cyber-fraud makes Nigeria a global cybercrime player is misplaced because cybercrime has tripartite groups and Nigeria is only relevant in one category – that of socioeconomic cybercrime. Thus, it provides a clearer conceptualisation of cybercrime about Nigeria (and elsewhere).
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Lazarus (2019b)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The first peer-reviewed work to build synergy between the feminist epistemology of crime and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework. ➤ The publication contributed to feminist criminological accounts of digital crimes and victimizations like other articles published before it (e.g. Jane, 2014; Powell & Sugiura, 2018). However, the publication is the first piece of research to advocate the centrality of gender as a theoretical entry point for the investigating of digital crimes by exploring the synergy between the feminist criminology and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework. ➤ The research critiqued the meaning of the term 'cybercrime' and redefined it by sharpening the contrasts between the socioeconomic and psychosocial categories and drawing from many social contexts, including Nigeria. ➤ The publication critiqued the General Theory of Crime (GTC) by comparing three digital crimes framed with the GTC (a case study). This critique helped to highlight theoretical and methodological pitfalls in using this the GTC in examining cybercrime types (instead of the synergy between the feminist criminology and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework). It also illustrated the real-life repercussions of this type of theoretical and methodological oversights in research. ➤ It concluded that who is victimised, why, and to what effect do not apply in the same way to socioeconomic cyber-crimes as they do to psychosocial cybercrimes by relying on the synergy between the feminist criminology and the Tripartite Cybercrime Framework.
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Having outlined the arrays of significant contributions to knowledge by the three conceptual publications, I now move on to the rationale for including the empirical studies.

4. The empirical publications

4.1. Rationale for inclusion

Publication
Ibrahim, Suleman. (2016b). Causes of Socioeconomic Cybercrime in Nigeria. In: <i>IEEE International Conference on Cybercrime and Computer Forensic (ICCCF)</i> , Vancouver, BC, Canada (pp. 1-9). <i>IEEE Publishing</i> .

This publication is included because it uses parents as its sample, whereas, prior studies (e.g. Aransiola & Asindemade, 2011) primarily depended on university students as their samples. This is important because distinct slices of data often yield different perspectives on the subject of inquiry. Additionally, Ibrahim (2015) (an earlier publication excluded from this submission as previously mentioned) contrasted the cultural consequences of parental death and parental divorce. By doing so, it deconstructed the singular model of 'broken-home' in the existing comparative criminology literature and illustrated that familial factors in themselves are a more important index of the rate of criminality in young people in Nigeria than in the West (Ibrahim, 2015). Even though the vulnerability effect of any single familial factor is magnified only in the presence of other factors (e.g. structural factors) (Young, Fitzgibbon & Silverstone, 2014), familial factors are the major determinants of children's behaviour in a Nigerian context due to historical underpinnings (Ibrahim, 2015). Thus, Ibrahim (2016b) which explored parents' perceptions about cyber criminality fits the theme and agenda of this topic of inquiry. Also, like Lazarus (2019a), the reasons for including this publication extend to a new research endeavour. My future research in this area will aim to

recruit/interview Nigerian parents whose son or daughter has officially been criminalised as a cybercriminal. The study, I believe, will help to cast a brighter light on the cultural and social dimensions of cybercrime in a Nigerian context.

Publication

Lazarus, Suleman. (2018). Birds of a Feather Flock Together: The Nigerian Cyber Fraudsters (Yahoo Boys) and Hip Hop Artists. <i>Criminology, Criminal Justice, Law & Society</i> , 19, (2) 63-81.

First, this publication is included because of its uniqueness in offering a fresh light to the examination of empirical traces of hip-hop culture in cyber-fraud. It urges cyber-fraud researchers to look beyond traditional data sources (e.g. cyber-fraud statistics) for the empirical traces of ‘culture in action’ that render fraudulent practices acceptable career paths for some Nigerian youths. Second, the study provides access to coded-languages or slangs used in cyber-fraud victimisations. The study of lyrics opens a vital window of opportunity to examine what Mills (1940, p. 905) called the *vocabularies of motive* (see also Kubrin, 2005, p. 366). ‘When a singer vocalises a message, he is not simply trying to describe his experienced social action or social environment. He is not also merely stating “reasons”. While he is influencing others, he is also influencing himself’ (Mills, 1940, p. 906). Thus, Lazarus (2018) shed light on the cultural and social dimensions of cyber-fraud committed by Yahoo Boys either in Nigeria or elsewhere in the world. Last, but not least, Lazarus (2018) fits squarely with the theme and agenda of this submission, because it is the first study to use a naturalistic set of data from music artists as a tool with which the interpretation of conducts by Yahoo Boys and their economic allies proceeds.

Publication

Lazarus, Suleman & Okolorie, G. U. (2019). The Bifurcation of the Nigerian Cybercriminals: Narratives of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Agents. <i>Telematics and Informatics</i> , 40, 14-26.

This publication is included because it involves an underrepresented set of data in cybercrime scholarship. In particular, the study is based on ‘a-hard-to-reach’ primary dataset, which fits with the theme of the agenda of this research portfolio. While gathering data from law enforcement officers about criminals is consistent with prior research (e.g. Hutchings & Chua, 2017), to date, no one has been able to access such invaluable interviewees directly. The study is also unique because an officer interviewed fellow officers providing insider perspectives resulting in particularly rich data. As a result, Lazarus & Okolorie (2019) has many implications for a range of generally accepted viewpoints about the Nigerian cybercriminals previously taken for granted. The study helps to cast a clearer light, for example, on the findings from Lazarus’ (2018) study included in this submission (but not solely).

4.2. Contributions to knowledge

Having outlined the rationale for including these three qualitative studies in this submission, I summarise their original contributions to knowledge in Table 6 below.

Table 6. List of original contributions to knowledge (empirical outputs)

<i>Publications</i>	<i>Key contributions to knowledge in the field</i>
Ibrahim (2016b)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The study is the first peer-reviewed publication to use a data set derived from Nigerian parents to shed light on cyber-fraud involvement on the part of Nigerian youths. ➤ The study is the first of its kind in a Nigerian context to highlight that a range of familial factors such as ‘a good family environment’ have more influence on a person’s susceptibility to involvement in cybercrime than external factors such as corruption. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ On one hand, unlike prior studies primarily based on university students as their samples, the study underscored the significance of familial

	<p>factors when addressing cyber-fraud involvement among Nigerian youths. On the flip side, the study supports a central finding of these prior studies: the centrality of university students and graduates as cyber-fraud perpetrators in a Nigerian context.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The publication revealed that cybercriminals (Yahoo Boys), thugs (Area Boys), and cult members (Cult Boys) are interlinked within Nigerian universities. Since these ‘boys’ are not likely to stop offending after their graduation, by implication, they may evolve into international organised crime groups (the Federal Bureau of Investigation recently validated this claim, according to a court reporter – Sullivan, 2019). ➤ The study also highlights that a complex web of familial factors and structural forces, alongside cultural forces, explains the degree of cyber-fraud involvement on the part of Nigerian youths. ➤ The study also supports the central arguments of the conceptual publications (Ibrahim, 2016a; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b): [a] Cybercrime in a Nigerian context is rooted in socioeconomics. [b] Cultural factors and cybercrime are intractably intertwined in a Nigerian context.
Lazarus (2018)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The study is the first publication to identify the ethics of Nigerian cyber-criminals as expressed by music artists. The study academically coined the term ‘the ethics of Yahoo Boys’, and ‘the ethics of Yahoo-Boys can be understood as a set of perceptual alterations that offer them ‘psychological shields’ to justify their conduct and thus, circumvent self-condemnation’ (see Bandura, 1999; Sykes & Matza, 1957). ➤ The study is the first one of its kind to provide a more in-depth insight into the ways crime and illegal money are represented in hip-hop music.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The study is the first peer-reviewed publication to draw attention to the ways some cybercriminals and some hip-hop musicians are connected. The recent arrest of Naira Marley, a Nigerian singer, in May 2019 for money cyber-fraud charges validates the significance and contemporaneity of Lazarus (2018). ➤ The study provides a unique insight into victim-criminal relations. The publication shed light on the relationship between cybercriminals and their victims, not from victims' narratives (as most victim-oriented studies in the scholarship), but from an underrepresented set of data – lyricdata, and lyrical depictions of victims in Nigerian hip-hop music. ➤ The study is also the first of its kind to expose the presence of the mechanisms of moral disengagement (Bandura, 1999) and neutralisation techniques (Sykes & Matza, 1957) in cyber-fraud victimization in a Nigerian context. ➤ The article also provides a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic significance of the word, 'maga' in cyber-fraud victimisation. The publication is indeed the first empirical data to argue that the 'maga' used in cyber-fraud contexts has metamorphosed from the term 'mgbada', which is a game animal – an antelope. ➤ The article is the first peer-reviewed publication to identify that the indigenous language used by some high-profile, educated fraudsters has facilitated the entry of 'mgbada' into the 'yahoo-yahoo' (cyber-fraud) vocabulary. The deployment of this coined word (from 'mgbada' to 'maga') is particularly significant as it sheds light on the perpetrator-victim relationship as that of a hunter and their game-animals (prey). The making of knowledge here is significant. The word 'maga', not only has a unique origin, but it
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	<p>also has no precise counterparts. Decoding the term ‘maga’ facilitated new ways of seeing previously invisible relationships between the ‘hunters’ and their ‘game-animals’ all over the world.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Like Ibrahim (2016b), the study also supports the central arguments of the conceptual publications (Ibrahim, 2016a; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b), that [a] Cybercrime in a Nigerian context is rooted in socioeconomics. [b] Cultural factors and cybercrime are intractably interconnected in a Nigerian context.
Lazarus & Okolorie (2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The study is the first peer-reviewed publication to explore the narratives of officers who have close interactions with the Nigerian cybercriminals even though frontline law enforcement officers who routinely investigate, arrest, interview, interrogate and prosecute these cyber-fraudsters have insiders’ insights. Thus, it is the first of its kind study to use the narratives of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) frontline agents (or law enforcement officers for that matter) concerning the Nigerian cybercriminals. ➤ The study is also the first study to bifurcate the Nigerian cybercriminals and their operations based on three factors: educational-attainment, modus-operandi, and networks-collaborators. This contribution would enable relevant agencies to [a] appreciate the vulnerabilities of their victims to develop more adequate support schemes and [b] develop effective response strategies. ➤ Economic power is the most significant pillar of successful masculinity in Nigeria (e.g. Lazarus et al., 2017). The study shed a brighter light on the actions and features of two groups of men (cybercriminals) in their attempts to fulfil the expected role of provider – girlfriends, wives, children.

	<p>➤ Like Ibrahim (2016b) and Lazarus (2018), the study also supports the central arguments of the conceptual publications (Ibrahim, 2016a; Lazarus, 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b) that [a] cybercrime in a Nigerian context is rooted in socioeconomics. [b] Cultural factors and cybercrime are intractably intertwined in a Nigerian context.</p>
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5. Research Significance and Impact

Making contributions to knowledge is in itself an aspect of research significance and impact (Agozino, 2003; Moed & Halevi, 2015), and all six publications have contributed to knowledge as outlined in Tables 5 & 6 above. Thus, in this section, I focus on different measure of my research significance and impact: [a] citations [b] research utility, and [c] altermetrics. The ‘evidence of citations’ is a vital aspect of research significance and impact (Nightingale & Marshall, 2013, p. 430-433), and citations matter as much as omissions (Baker, 2019). Citation rates of research, however, are influenced by multiple factors (Milard & Tanguy, 2018; Moed & Halevi, 2015). According to Moed & Halevi (2015), some of these factors are, [a] the popularity of the author in the field; [b] multi-national and multi-authored publication; [c] age of the publication; and [d] the subject area – emerging/specific or established/generalist. First, while three of my publications were published in 2019 (Lazarus 2019a; Lazarus, 2019b; Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019), others are relatively recent (Lazarus, 2018; Ibrahim, 2016a; Ibrahim, 2016b). Second, I am an emerging scholar in the field, and research citation/impact is linked to the author’s career stage (see also Balaban, Wróblewska & Benneworth, 2019). Third, none of the publications here involved a co-author excerpt Lazarus & Okolorie (2019). Fourth, the topic of my inquiry is emergent/specific. On all these factors listed above, my citation counts are likely to be suppressed.

In addition to Moed & Halevi's (2015) list, social (dis)advantage, which is inequality in the central and value things people are able to be or achieve (Dean and Platt, 2016) influences citation rates. 'Academia is embedded in prestige economy' (Baker 2019, p.1), whereas there is an absence of insights from Nigerian scholars in global discussions of cyber-fraud (Cross, 2018). In general, historically, the mainstream criminological enterprise is reluctant to take the 'ideas of scholars from colonised African nations unconditionally seriously' (Kalunta-Crumpton & Agozino, 2004, p. 1-4). It is thus conceivable that due to historical and colonial underpinnings, criminological contributions from and about the West are much more valued, and favoured than that of the rest, including Nigeria (Agozino, 2003; Cohen, 1988). Like Moed & Halevi's (2015) list above, this type of social (dis)advantage is unlikely to boost the citation rate of my publication outputs included in this submission.

However, insights from the global North are not more significant than those from the global South since cyber-fraud is a globalised phenomenon as the following research on victims of cyber-fraud highlighted: (Button, Lewis & Tapley, 2009; Button, Lewis & Tapley, 2014; Button et al., 2014; Button & Cross, 2017; De Kimpe et al., 2020; Norris Brookes & Dowell, 2019). Indeed, a local crime in a digital and global age is a global crime with international connections and consequences (Hall, 2013; Hall & Scalia, 2019; Lewis, 2018; Silverstone, 2013). Yet, contrary to the above authors' position (i.e. Button et al., 2014; Hall & Scalia, 2019; Lewis, 2018; Silverstone, 2013), some researchers may still consider my topic of inquiry to be local matters that concern only Nigeria. In light of the above reasons, I argue that the evidence of citations alone is inadequate to illustrate the significance/impact of any publication.

It is, therefore, necessary to widen the parameters for evaluating research significance/impact beyond citation rates (Haunschild et al., 2019; Thelwall, 2018).

Alternative ways are required to paint a complete picture. Indeed, 'just because an article is not receiving citations, it does not mean that it is not being read' and used (Nightingale & Marshall, 2013, p. 431). For instance, Ibrahim (2016b) has only five citations (excluding self-citations) (e.g. Bae, 2017; Changanasetty et al., 2019; Oni, Oni & Joshua, 2019; Tsumura et al., 2018); whereas, on ResearchGate alone, it has been read 6056 times and recommended five times by researchers (see Appendix 1). Peer-recommendations are products of reflective thoughts. Such recommendations are indicative of the perceived value of the publications after reading and contemplation. Thus, I argue that peer-recommendations are additional invaluable representations of the publications' significance and utility in their own right.

The 'utility' of peer-reviewed publications is also evident in altermetrics.

Altermetrics refers to impact measures of publications based on the number of mentions in the news, blogs, and peers' reactions on social networking sites such as ResearchGate, Twitter and so on (Haunschild et al., 2019; Maggio, Meyer, & Artino, 2017). In recent years, altermetrics have become valid reflections of a publication's significance and impact (Barnes, 2015; Haunschild et al., 2019; Malone & Burke, 2016; Sugimoto et al., 2017; Thelwall, 2018). Consequently, I have included traces of altermetrics in illustrating the significance and impact of all six publications included in this research portfolio as shown in Table 7. However, I have only used specific examples from three of the publications, because they are the most 'popular' publications (in ascending order of significance): [1] Lazarus, 2019a; [2] Lazarus, 2018; and [3] Ibrahim, 2016a.

Table 7. The significance and impact records of publication outputs

<i>Six-published works</i>	<i>Recommendations at 'ResearchGate'</i>	<i>Invited talk or interview</i>	<i>News mentions</i>	<i>Google Scholar Citations</i>
Lazarus (2019a)	1	None	2	5
Ibrahim (2016a)	1	1	6	21
Lazarus (2019b)	3	None	None	3
Ibrahim (2016b)	5	None	2	9
Lazarus (2018)	2	2	6	5
Lazarus & Okolorie (2019)	1	None	None	4

First, Lazarus (2019a) is significant not least because it cast a more critical gaze on the taken-for-granted similarities between cybercriminals and the rest of the Nigerians. Through such a gaze, the article considered cybercriminals not as 'alien' to the body of Nigerian society, but as a disturbing reflection of society or a caricature instead (drawing from Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 717). The value of this conceptual contribution becomes more apparent when one considers that in criminology in particular, due to historical and colonial reasons, 'theoretical originality' from marginalised voices is very much emergent (Ibrahim, 2015, p. 317; see also Cohen, 1988, p. 172). Apart from the above, the article, despite being new, has started to impact on the academic discourse about our understanding of cyber spiritualism. For example, Orji (2019, p. 5) drawing from Lazarus's (2019a) work elucidated:

[The] definition [cyber spiritualism] however has been subject to criticism because it appears to negatively classify all forms of cyber spiritual activities [i.e. Lazarus, 2019a]. In this regard, it has been argued that "the licit and illicit tapping of spiritual resources for wealth acquisition offline predates the use of this practice online, and clarifies the concept of cyber-spiritualism" [Lazarus, 2019a, p. 2-5]. Therefore, the concept of cyber-spiritualism has been defined as 'the use of magical and spiritual powers in cyberspace for functional purposes (e.g. online job applications or online examinations) or dysfunctional purposes (e.g. online scamming), depending on subscribers' intentions and the circumstances they address'

[Lazarus, 2019a, p. 2-5] Accordingly, the concept of cyber spiritualism has a dual meaning due to its reflection of legitimate and illegitimate elements [as Lazarus, 2019 argued].

Clearly, Lazarus (2019a) has received a seminal citation as shown above (a citation that views the article as influential to new understanding). But that is not all. It has also received passing citations (i.e. citation amongst several grouped references within a literature review) (e.g. Recio-Román, Recio-Menéndez & Román-González, 2019). Additionally, the publication has enabled Lazarus & Okolorie's study (2019) to extend its literature review and discussions beyond prior parameters and assumptions about cyber spiritualism. Beyond the evidence of citations, Lazarus (2019a) has been mentioned twice in news outlets (see Appendix 2). Because of these news mentions, the significance of the water goddess (*Mami Wata*) analysed in Lazarus (2019a) stimulated a social media discussion: '*Starbucks uses the Mami Water logo to bless their business*' (see Appendix 3). Also, Lazarus (2019a) has been read and used by many people around the world. Within nine months of publication - 27th February to 23rd November 2019 - the article was viewed 3202 times, and downloaded 2360 times (see Appendix 4). The article was published open access free of charge through the Knowledge Unlatched scheme (see Appendix 5), and for the category of articles published within last twelve months, it is the second most downloaded article (see Appendix 6). One of the downloaders/readers, a scholar, has approached me for international research collaboration, and consequently, I have become an affiliate, 'a visiting researcher', at the researcher's university - University of California, Berkeley, to facilitate the research collaboration (see Appendix 7).

Second, while Lazarus (2018) has been cited by some researchers (Offei et al., 2019; Park et al., 2019), reporters have also found the article to be newsworthy⁷ (see Table

⁷ In social science, less than 5% of journal articles published in 2013 were referenced by news sources by mid-July 2018 (Thelwall 2018).

7). To illustrate, I have been invited/interviewed by two journalists: [a] Thomas Kiebl, an award-winning journalist from the only Austrian music magazine called *The Message* (see Appendix 8A); and [b] Marcus Morey-Halldin from a Swedish radio show called *Algoritmen* (see Appendix 8B). Thomas Kiebl's report following the interview was published in German (Kiebl, 2019); whereas Marcus Morey-Halldin published the summary of the interview on iTunes and Spotify on 19th December 2019 (Morey-Halldin, 2019). The engagement with these music journalists has allowed my research to be accessible to a multitude of music lovers who might not have been interested to read peer-reviewed publications. Relatedly, I have disseminated Lazarus (2018) to a broader range of audiences by publishing its key points in a high quality and widely-read blog, *The Conversation* (see Lazarus, 2019e). This blog, Lazarus (2019e), has now been read by over 5000 people around the world (see Appendix 9).

Third, as with Lazarus (2018), I have disseminated Ibrahim (2016a) to a broader range of audiences by publishing its key arguments in *The Conversation* (Ibrahim, 2017). This way, the article became accessible for people all over the world who might be interested in the topic but may not have access to reading academic articles. Not only has this blog (i.e. Ibrahim, 2017) been downloaded more than 15,000 times across the globe, several other news outlets have also referenced Ibrahim (2016a) (see Appendices 10A & 10B). Furthermore, some Nigerians have shared their views online about the significance of this research and how it relates to their real-life experiences in their search for 'greener pastures', supposedly in the West (see Appendix 11). Some academic researchers have also acknowledged the importance of the publication on social media on their own accords as follows. For example, in 2018, a researcher (@1Jamesl) tweeted about Ibrahim (2016a) as follows (see also Appendix 12): 'Before going deep in my next technical project, I retreated for a moment to remind myself - why do we do what we do in cybersecurity? I found this article as

a general reminder on Taxonomies of Cyber Crime'. Relatedly, I was invited as a speaker to present Ibrahim (2016a) at the University of Strathclyde (see Appendix 13).

Apart from sparking personal and professional interest, Ibrahim (2016a) has been cited by many researchers (e.g. Adejoh et al., 2019; Camp et al., 2019; Feofilova et al., 2019; Kirillova et al., 2017; Nnanwube, Ani & Ojakorotu, 2019; Osho & Eneche, 2018; Roelofs et al., 2018; Solano & Peinado, 2017; Wisdom et al., 2019). While some of these citations were comparative citations (citation as a benchmark against which to compare a research) (e.g. De Kimpe et al., 2020; Park et al., 2019; Solano & Peinado, 2017), some were positive citations (citation which represents a work in a positive light) (e.g. Camp et al., 2019; Feofilova et al., 2019; Wisdom et al., 2019) and others were passing citations (e.g. Adejoh et al., 2019; Chavez, 2018).

For example, De Kimpe et al. (2020, p. 18) wrote, in our study, 'we selected cybercrimes in which offenders usually have a socio-economic motive, rather than a psychological (e.g. cyberstalking) and/or geopolitical (e.g. cyber terrorism) motive (i.e. categorization as proposed by Ibrahim, 2016a)'. In a similar vein, Solano & Peinado (2017, p. 1) wrote, 'we could only find two publications on the topic that take a similar approach to the study of cybercrime. The first of them is *Social and contextual taxonomy of cybercrime: Socioeconomic theory of Nigerian cybercriminals*' [i.e. Ibrahim, 2016a]. Thus, Ibrahim (2016a) is a foundational article, which serves as a reference point for further contributions. But that is not all. Ibrahim (2016a) is also the second most downloaded article from the last quarter of 2019 to the first quarter of 2020: International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice (see Appendices 14A & 14B). In a nutshell, while the evidence of citations discussed above is revealing, I have elucidated that it requires the presence of other factors to present the significance and impact of my publications in a clearer light.

6. Conclusion

The critical narrative has reflected on my life experiences and research philosophy that influenced the six publication outputs in this research portfolio. The critical commentary itself and the peer-reviewed publications themselves constitute significant original contributions and extensions to knowledge as outlined in Tables 5 & 6. To recapitulate, in making their unique contribution to knowledge, the three conceptual publications challenged and deconstructed a number of taken-for-granted concepts, taxonomies, in cybercrime scholarship. The above three publications proved valid conceptual lenses to focus on cybercrime in a Nigerian context. Without a doubt, the development of these multiple new conceptual lenses (Lazarus, 2019a; Ibrahim, 2016a; Lazarus, 2019b) exemplifies my 'contribution to developing theory in the field' as outlined by the University of Portsmouth (2019, p. 1). Equally, this narrative has demonstrated that the conceptual publications are not more significant than the empirical publications, not least because of their distinctiveness (see Table 4). The diverse sources of qualitative data (empirical publications) provide a more fully-developed understanding of cybercrime in the Nigerian context (and elsewhere). All six-published works, while individually making a contribution to knowledge, collectively illuminate how closer attention to Nigerian society aids the understanding of Yahoo Boys, their actions and what constitutes 'cybercrime' in a Nigerian context.

Even though the arrays of contributions of this body of research are reflective of contextual and cultural factors of Nigerian society, as Hall & Scalia (2019), Lewis (2018) and Silverstone (2013) observed, in a digital age, the actions of criminals have global consequences. Thus, the six publications included in this submission have global significance. However, this accompanying commentary acknowledges here that while the significance/impact of these six publications is beginning to gain

traction in public, media and academic discourses, it may take some years before the actual significance/impact becomes more apparent.

Nonetheless, the accompanying commentary has illustrated the validity of the publications on which the award for a PhD by Publication is based: First, the critical narrative has demonstrated that the accompanying outputs upon which this submission for the award is based have been [a] rigorously examined by a set of experts in the multiple fields of study and accepted for publication; [b] published in a public domain; and [c] quality controlled by the University of Portsmouth. Second, the body of work has aligned the overarching research philosophy with the research questions and methodologies across the case studies. Third, this body of work as a whole has been recommended and cited by other researchers (e.g. Adejoh et al., 2019; Camp et al., 2019; Changalasetty et al., 2019; De Kimpe et al., 2020; Offei et al., 2019; Park et al., 2019; Wisdom et al., 2019). Fourth, it has also been read by multiple layers of audiences (e.g. academic researchers, journalists), and sparked professional and personal interest such as the news media (see Appendices 6, 7, 8A, 8B, 9, 10A, 10B, 11, 12, 13, 14A and 14B).

Based on the above points, I believe that the contributions of this research portfolio are significant and impactful. The quality of my independent contributions to knowledge (as set out in the Level 8 Doctoral Descriptor contained in the UK Quality Code for Higher Education, 2014) is not only a characteristic of each individual publication included, but it also a feature of this accompanying narrative itself which pulls the six publications together as a whole. On the basis of the contributions of the peer-reviewed publications (outlined in Tables 5 & 6), the following suggestions may be made:

- The category of cybercrime to which Nigeria is most vulnerable is the socioeconomic cybercrime, whereas cybercrime can be motivated in three possible ways (socioeconomic, psychosocial and geopolitical). By implication, the conceptual 'pipelines' of the cybercrime framework in the Global North may not hold water in Nigeria. Thus, I advocate the centrality of socioeconomics as a conceptual starting point for the investigating of digital crimes committed by Yahoo Boys either in Nigeria or elsewhere in the world (Ibrahim, 2016a).

- Also, the bifurcation of the Nigerian cybercriminals (e.g. with respects to 'educational attainment' and 'networks/collaborations') has implications for understanding the actions and features of the cybercriminals better. These insights, I believe, are invaluable to motivate various agencies in appreciating the vulnerabilities of cyber-fraud victims and developing adequate support schemes (Lazarus & Okolorie, 2019).

- By relying on context as a resource for understanding Nigerian cybercriminals (Yahoo Boys), I urge cyber-fraud researchers to look beyond normal 'scientific evidence' and consider the traces of spiritual manipulations of victims for material gains that are all too often ignored in the global discussions of cyber-fraud (e.g. Lazarus, 2019a).

- By exploring the Nigerian cybercriminals' similarities to the society that produced them, I also urge cyber-fraud researchers to search beyond traditional data sources (e.g. cyber-fraud statistics) for the empirical traces of culture in action that render fraudulent practices acceptable career paths for some Nigerians (e.g. Lazarus, 2018).

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Evidence for research significance and impact

Appendix 1

The screenshot shows a ResearchGate profile page for a conference paper. The browser address bar shows 'researchgate.net'. The page header includes the ResearchGate logo, navigation links (Home, Questions, Jobs), a search bar, and user profile icons. The main content area features the paper title 'Causes of socioeconomic cybercrime in Nigeria' with a 'Full-text available' badge. Below the title, it lists the date (November 2016), the conference (IEEE International Conference on Cybercrime and Computer Forensic (ICCCF)), and the author (Suleman Lazarus). On the right side, there are four metrics: Research Interest (23.9), Citations (6), Recommendations (5), and Reads (6,083). Below these metrics is a 'Stats overview' section with four cards: Research Interest (23.9), Citations (6), Recommendations (5), and Reads (6,083). At the bottom, there is a section for 'Researchers who cited'.

ResearchGate

Home Questions Jobs

Search for researchers, publications, and more

Research Interest 23.9

Citations 6

Recommendations 5

Reads 6,083

Conference Paper Full-text available

Causes of socioeconomic cybercrime in Nigeria

November 2016 · Proceedings of the IEEE

DOI: 10.1109/ICCCF.2016.7740439

Conference: IEEE International Conference on Cybercrime and Computer Forensic (ICCCF) · At: Vancouver, Canada

Project: The Nigerian Cybercriminals (Yahoo Boys) and '419' Fraud

Suleman Lazarus

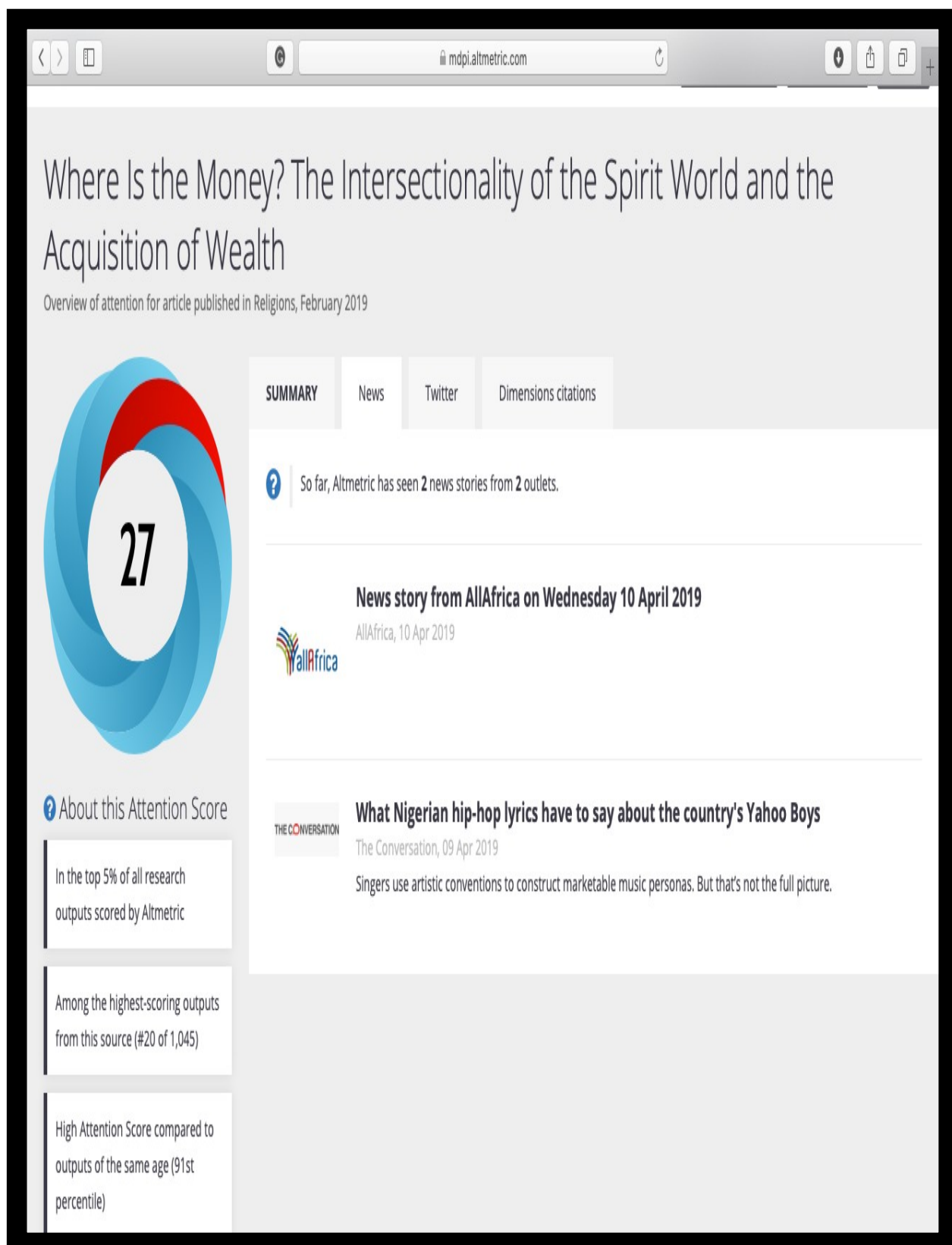
Overview Stats Comments Citations (6) References (50) Related research (10+) Share

Stats overview

23.9 Research Interest More details	6 Citations More details	5 Recommendations More details	6,083 Reads Show breakdown
---	--	--	--

Researchers who cited

Appendix 2



Appendix 3



Maureen River Dean 🌿

@maureen_on

261

FOLLOWERS

@Cyberpunkagency Thank you my brother 🙏🙏💖. So much tings to say right now. - Bob Marley. Starbucks uses the Mami Water logo to bless their business. Wellness Industry is \$42 trillion of Diapora healing practices. Not one person of African descent in sight

09 Jul 2019

↩ Reply ↻ Retweet ★ Favourite



Cyberpunk

@Cyberpunkagency

@maureen_on - Decoding the name "Olokun", popularly known in the global West African diaspora as "Mami Wata" (mother of water), is a critical entry point for understanding the symbolic meaning of the spiritual realm as a real source of economic power - ht

09 Jul 2019



Cioècapito

@Intuitizioni

RT @ednet73: <https://t.co/0bOcOHdUSc> #cyber security #sociology of religion #rutual killing #africa ritual money #yahooboys #yahoo plus #na...

26 Apr 2019

Appendix 4

The screenshot shows a Safari browser window with the MDPI website. The article title is "Where Is the Money? The Intersectionality of the Spirit World and the Acquisition of Wealth" by Suleman Lazarus. The article is categorized as "Open Access" and "Concept Paper". The journal is "Religions 2019, 10(3), 146". The article has received 3202 views and 2360 downloads. The abstract discusses the intersectionality of the spirit world and the acquisition of wealth in Nigeria, focusing on the relationship between spiritual worldviews and economic determinism.

Submit to this Journal

Review for this Journal

Edit a Special Issue

Article Menu

- Article Overview
- Abstract
- Share and Cite
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- Related Articles
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Article Versions

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Related Info Links

More by Authors Links

Views 3202

Downloads 2360

Open Access Concept Paper

Where Is the Money? The Intersectionality of the Spirit World and the Acquisition of Wealth

by Suleman Lazarus

School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Greenwich, Park Row, London SE10 9LS, UK

Religions 2019, 10(3), 146; <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10030146>

Received: 20 January 2019 / Revised: 8 February 2019 / Accepted: 22 February 2019 / Published: 27 February 2019

(This article belongs to the Special Issue [Magic and Supernaturalism Today](#))

[View Full-Text](#) [Download PDF](#) [Browse Figure](#)

Abstract

This article is a theoretical treatment of the ways in which local worldviews on wealth acquisition give rise to contemporary manifestations of spirituality in cyberspace. It unpacks spiritual (occult) economies and wealth generation through a historical perspective. The article 'devil advocates' the 'sainthood' of claimed law-abiding citizens, by highlighting that the line dividing them and the Nigerian cybercriminals (Yahoo-Boys) is blurred with regards to the use of magical means for material ends. By doing so, the article also illustrates that the intersectionality of the spirit world and the acquisition of wealth (crime or otherwise) is connected with local epistemologies and worldviews, and its contemporaneity has social security benefits. Therefore, the view that the contemporary manifestations of spirituality in cyberspace signify a 'new-danger' and an ever-increasing outrage in Nigerian society is misplaced. I conclude that if people believe all aspects of life are reflective of the spiritual world and determined by it, the spiritual realm, by implication, is the base of society, upon which sits the superstructure comprised of all aspects of life, especially wealth. Inferentially, this conceptual position that the spirit world is the base of society is an inversion of Orthodox Marxist's theory of economic determinism. [View Full-Text](#)

Keywords: sociology of religion; spiritual and magical powers; economic anthropology; gospel of prosperity; Mami Wata or Olokun; digital spiritualization; spiritual manipulation of victims; Nigerian cybercriminals and scams; occult economy; Yahoo Boys and money rituals

[Show Figures](#)

[Back to Top](#)

Appendix 5

The image shows a screenshot of a PDF invoice displayed in a Preview application window on a Mac. The window title is "Appendix B (1 page)". The invoice is from MDPI (Medical and Dental Publishing Institute) and is addressed to Suleman Lazarus at the University of Greenwich. The invoice details include the date (22 February 2019), manuscript ID (religions-440222), and article title ("Where is the Money? The Intersectionality of the Spirit World and the Acquisition of Wealth"). The invoice amount is 0.00 GBP, with a 100% discount applied to the 424.13 GBP article processing charges. The MDPI contact information is provided on the left side of the invoice.

MDPI

INVOICE

MDPI
St. Alban-Anlage 66
4052 Basel
Switzerland
Tel.: +41 61 683 77 34
Fax: +41 61 302 89 18
E-Mail: billing@mdpi.com
Website: www.mdpi.com
VAT nr. CHE-115.694.943

Suleman Lazarus
University of Greenwich
Old Royal Naval College, Park Row
London SE10 9LS
UK

Date of Invoice: 22 February 2019
Manuscript/Invoice ID: religions-440222
Your Order: by e-mail (s.lazarus@greenwich.ac.uk) on 20 January 2019
Article Title: "Where is the Money? The Intersectionality of the Spirit World and the Acquisition of Wealth"
Name of co-authors: Suleman Lazarus
[Additional Author Information](#)
Terms of payment: 10 days
License: CC BY

Description	Currency	Amount
Article Processing Charges	GBP	424.13
Discount (100%)	GBP	(424.13)
Subtotal without VAT	GBP	0.00
VAT (0%)	GBP	0.00
Total with VAT	GBP	0.00

Appendix 6

The screenshot displays the 'Religions' journal website. The top navigation bar includes the journal title and a 'Most Cited & Viewed' link. The sidebar on the left contains a 'Journal Menu' with various links and a 'Journal Browser' section. The main content area is titled 'Most Cited & Viewed' and features a list of articles. The first article is 'Muslims' Representation in Donald Trump's Anti-Muslim-Islam Statement: A Critical Discourse Analysis' with 3336 views. The second article is 'Where Is the Money? The Intersectionality of the Spirit World and the Acquisition of Wealth' with 2978 views. The third article is 'Bad Religion as False Religion: An Empirical Study of UK Religious Education Teachers' Essentialist Religious Discourse' with 2846 views. The fourth article is 'Critical Issues in Islamic Education Studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western Liberal Secular Values of Education' with 2802 views. The page also includes a 'Submit to Religions' button, a 'Review for Religions' button, and a 'CITESCORE 0.50 SCOPUS' badge.

Journal Menu

- Religions Home
- Aims & Scope
- Editorial Board
- Instructions for Authors
- Special Issues
- Article Processing Charge
- Indexing & Archiving
- Most Cited & Viewed**
- Journal Statistics
- Journal History
- Journal Awards
- Editorial Office

Journal Browser

volume

Most Cited & Viewed

Most Cited **Most Viewed**

Published: All time Last 6 months **Last 12 months** Last 24 months Last 36 months

Views	Article
3336	Muslims' Representation in Donald Trump's Anti-Muslim-Islam Statement: A Critical Discourse Analysis by Mohsin Hassan Khan, Hamed Mohd Adnan, Surinderpal Kaur, Rashid Ali Khuuro, Rohail Asghar and Sahira Jabeen
2978	Where Is the Money? The Intersectionality of the Spirit World and the Acquisition of Wealth by Suleman Lazarus
2846	Bad Religion as False Religion: An Empirical Study of UK Religious Education Teachers' Essentialist Religious Discourse by David R. Smith, Graeme Nixon and Jo Pearce
2802	Critical Issues in Islamic Education Studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western Liberal Secular Values of Education by Abdullah Sahin

Appendix 7

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

BERKELEY DAVIS IRVINE LOS ANGELES MERCED RIVERSIDE SAN DIEGO



SAN FRANCISCO SANTA BARBARA SANTA CRUZ

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
597 MCCONE HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
94720-2572

16 December, 2019

Dear Suleman Lazarus,

This letter is formal notification of your affiliation as Visiting Researcher with the Department of Geography at the University of California, Berkeley, for the purpose of research collaboration with myself, Jovan Scott Lewis, Ph.D. Your research responsibilities have been outlined in personal communication, but are based upon your established expertise in the area of cyber-crime. This affiliation runs the entire 2019/2020 Academic Year, effective 12th September 2019.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Jovan Scott Lewis".

Jovan Scott Lewis, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor
Departments of Geography and African American Studies
Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, Economic Disparities Research Cluster
University of California, Berkeley

Appendix 8A

The screenshot shows a Gmail interface in a browser window. The address bar displays 'mail.google.com'. The search bar contains 'thomas@themessage.at'. The left sidebar shows the 'Compose' button and a list of folders: Inbox (412), Starred, Snoozed, Sent, Drafts (49), Books (125), Amazon matters (7), Dictionary Bank (3), Employability (40), Family Members (2), and Impact Factor. The main content area displays an email from 'thomas@themessage.at' with the subject 'Interview request'. The email text reads: 'Dear Mr. Lazarus, my name is Thomas Kiebl, I'm an Austrian journalist and I'm currently writing an article about the connection between the Nigerian hiphop-scene and the "Yahoo Boys". I'm reaching out to you because I read your excellent article "Birds of a Feather Flock Together" about this issue and I want to ask you if you would be available for an interview (via email or WhatsApp). That would be fantastic. In the meantime, thank you so much for your attention. Best regards Thomas Kiebl'. The email is dated 'Tue, 19 Mar, 00:13'. Below the email content, there are 'Reply' and 'Forward' buttons. A yellow error banner at the bottom left states: 'Something's not right. We're having trouble connecting to Google. We'll keep trying... This may be caused by network or proxy issues. Learn more. Please try accessing Hangouts directly. Errors: 302'.

Appendix 8B

The screenshot shows a Gmail interface with the following elements:

- Search Bar:** Contains the text "marcus@soundtelling.com".
- Navigation Icons:** Includes icons for back, forward, search, and other actions.
- Message Title:** "Interview about your research about Yahoo Boys and hiphop".
- Sender:** Marcus Morey-Halldin <marcus@soundtelling.com>, dated Tue, 7 May, 13:49.
- Recipient:** to me.
- Body Text:**

Hi, my name is Marcus Morey-Halldin and I'm a reporter for the Swedish podcast/radio show [Algoritmen](#). Produced for [Utbildningsradion](#), a part of the public service broadcasting group in Sweden.

Our show is about the all things Internet, from the undersea cables to how algorithms control our dating. I found your article about "yahoo boys" and how they are treated in Nigerian HipHop very interesting, and I'm wondering if we could do an interview with you over Skype for our show? I suppose it would take about 30 minutes max.
- Signature:**

—
Marcus Morey-Halldin
Reporter/Producent
+46 737 18 98 84
Kvarngatan 4
118 47 Stockholm
www.soundtelling.com
- Second Message:**

From: Suleman LAZARUS <suleman.lazarus@gmail.com>, dated Mon, 20 May, 21:56.
To: Marcus.
Dear Marcus,

I am interested in offering my views as you requested.
I look forward to hearing from you in due course.
- Left Sidebar:** Lists folders such as Compose, Inbox (412), Starred, Snoozed, Sent, Drafts (49), Books (125), Amazon matters (7), Dictionary Bank (3), Employability (40), Family Members (2), and Impact Factor.
- Bottom Left:** A yellow error message: "Something's not right. We're having trouble connecting to Google. We'll keep trying... This may be caused by network or proxy issues. Learn more. Please try accessing Hangouts directly. Errors: 302".

Appendix 9

Your Dashboard
Visiting Lecturer, University of Greenwich

Edition: **United Kingdom** | Donate | Get newsletter | Dashboard | Suleman Ibrahim Lazarus

In Progress
You're not working on any articles
[Pitch an Article Idea](#)

Published (2)

- ANALYSIS** April 9, 2019
What Nigerian hip-hop lyrics have to say about the country's Yahoo Boys
5,021 readers, 2 comments
- ANALYSIS** March 13, 2017
The view that '419' makes Nigeria a global cybercrime player is misplaced
15,512 readers, 6 comments

FAQs

- How do I start writing?
- I submitted a pitch. Now what?
- How do I handle interview requests from radio/TV?
- Other questions? [Contact us.](#)

Reach

What Nigerian hip-hop lyrics have to say about the country's Yahoo Boys [Return to overview X](#)

What happened after writing this article?

Please record any post publication activity here - recording this helps us start to measure the impact of writing for The Conversation.

5,021 Readers

2 Comments received


Readers

6k

Appendix 10A

PlumX Metrics Sign in ?

[Embed PlumX Metrics](#)



Social and contextual taxonomy of cybercrime: Socioeconomic theory of Nigerian cybercriminals

Citation Data: International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice, ISSN: 1756-0616, Vol: 47, Page: 44-57
Publication Year: 2016

8	66	6	183
Citations	Captures	Mentions	Social Media

Home

- Overview
- Highlights
 - News Mentions**
 - Twitter

This article has 6 News mentions across 1 URL.

Nigeria is not a major global cybercrime player

27 August 2019 | TshWi-Fi

The contemptuous label of “ cyber-criminals ” is the figurative sword with which the Nigerian image is generally being hacked and left for dead. According

[Read full article](#)

Nigeria is not a major global cybercrime player

27 August 2019 | IAfrikan by Suleman Ibrahim Lazarus

The contemptuous label of “ cyber-criminals ” is the figurative sword with which the Nigerian image is generally being hacked and left for dead. According

[Read full article](#)

Nigeria: The View That '419' Makes Nigeria a Global Cybercrime Player Is Misplaced

21 March 2017 | All Africa

[The Conversation Africa] The contemptuous label of “cyber-criminals” is the figurative sword with which the Nigerian image is generally being hacked and left for dead. According to Professor Biko Agozino of Virginia Tech university,

We use cookies to help provide and enhance our service and tailor content. By continuing or clicking OK you agree to the [use of cookies](#). OK

Appendix 10B

The screenshot shows a Safari browser window displaying a dashboard for 'theconversation.com'. The user is identified as Suleman Ibrahim Lazarus, a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Greenwich. The dashboard is divided into three main sections: 'In Progress', 'Published (2)', and 'Reach'.

- In Progress:** Shows 'You're not working on any articles' and a 'Pitch an Article Idea' button.
- Published (2):** Lists two articles:
 - Article 1:** 'What Nigerian hip-hop lyrics have to say about the country's Yahoo Boys', published on April 9, 2019. It has 5,035 views and 2 social shares.
 - Article 2:** 'The view that '419' makes Nigeria a global cybercrime player is misplaced', published on March 13, 2017. It has 15,530 views and 6 social shares.
- Reach:** Focuses on the second article, showing a 'What happened after writing this article?' button and a text prompt: 'Please record any post publication activity here - recording this helps us start to measure the impact of writing for The Conversation.' Below this, two summary boxes show '15,530 Readers' and '6 Comments received'. At the bottom, a 'Readers' chart shows a line graph with markers at 15k and 20k.

The browser's address bar shows 'theconversation.com' and the system tray at the bottom includes various application icons like Mail, Safari, and the Dock.

Appendix 11


Safari File Edit View History Bookmarks Window Help 73% Sun 1 Dec 13:36:36

theconversation.com

Birds of a Feather Flock Together: The Nigerian Cyber Fraudsters (Yahoo Boys) and Hip Hop Artists | Published i... The view that '419' makes Nigeria a global cybercrime player is misplaced


6 Comments

Oldest Newest Sign in to comment

 **Apeh Omede**

Suleman Ibrahim, I totally agree with you and I think this is a better, enlightened and well-informed perspective about this subject. There's more to what cybercrime involves than just relegating it to cyberfraud only when it comes to Nigeria. Because of the way we are viewed globally as a result of such classification, I have seen advise like not including your nationality in your resume or CV as a Nigerian, so that the organisation doesn't judge you by that but by the quality of your works and let then find out themselves where you are from and decide what to do after that. I know many of us with good intentions and are doing great works all over the world, yet this kind of perspective does not help in any way. There is a sincere need to review this kind of categorization.

3 years ago · Report

 **Jon Richfield**
connecté avec Facebook

Though I can well understand Apeh's dismay and resentment, which I should think would remain equally justifiable if every criticism of Nigeria as a country were valid, and it is equally easy to understand that the article author shares his feelings, because the unjustified generalisations reflect framing rather than a valid assessment of Nigerian criminality.

On the other hand, to argue that it follows that it is vital to point out that Nigerian hands should be ranked as no dirtier than some other countries', on the grounds

[Read more](#)

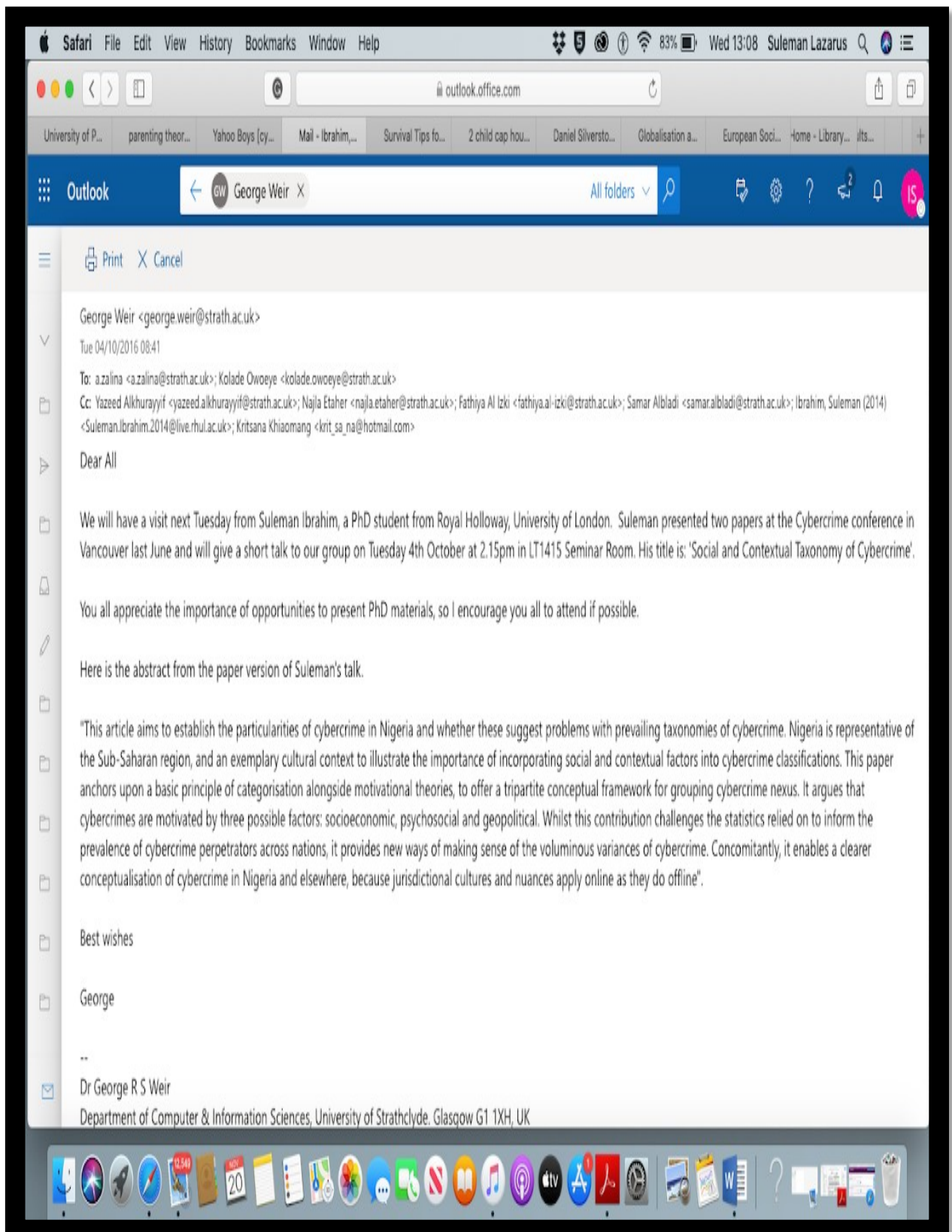
3 years ago · Report

75

Appendix 12

The screenshot shows a Twitter interface on a desktop browser. The main content is a tweet from James Ignacio (@1JamesI) posted on August 21, 2018, at 9:09 PM. The tweet discusses a technical project and references an article on the taxonomies of cybercrime. The article title is 'INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LAW, CRIME AND JUSTICE: Social and contextual taxonomy of cybercrime: Socioeconomic...'. The tweet includes a link to the article on sciencedirect.com and mentions #CyberSecurity and @JFICyber. The tweet has 1 retweet and 1 like. The right sidebar shows 'Relevant people' including James Ignacio (being followed) and JFI Cyber Solutions, and 'Trends for you' including #JenniferArcuri, #MustangMachE, #PrinceAndrew, Oxford Union, and Lorraine.

Appendix 13



Appendix 14A

The screenshot shows the Elsevier website for the International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice. The page features the Elsevier logo, a search bar, and a navigation menu. The main content area includes the journal title, editor-in-chief information, a description of the journal, and a list of most downloaded articles. A sidebar on the left contains navigation links and journal metrics.

10:06 Sun 27 Oct 87%
journals.elsevier.com

ELSEVIER

SEARCH MENU

Home > Journals > International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LAW CRIME AND JUSTICE

ISSN: 1756-0616

Submit Your Paper

Supports Open Access

View Articles

Guide for Authors

Track Your Paper

Order Journal

Sample Issue

Journal Metrics

- CiteScore: 1.02
- Impact Factor: 0.846
- 5-Year Impact Factor: 0.840

International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice

Editor-in-Chief: S. Charman

> View Editorial Board

The *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* is an international and fully peer reviewed journal which welcomes high quality, theoretically informed papers on a wide range of fields linked to criminological research and analysis. It invites submissions relating to:

- Studies of crime and interpretations...

Read more

Most Downloaded Articles

The most downloaded articles from International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice in the last 90 days.

Crime prevention through community empowerment: An empirical study of social capital in Kyoto, Japan - [Open access](#)
Anna Matsukawa | Shigeo Tatsuki

Social and contextual taxonomy of cybercrime: Socioeconomic theory of Nigerian cybercriminals - [Open access](#)
Suleman Ibrahim

The effects of reducing opportunity and fraud risk factors on the occurrence of occupational fraud in financial institutions
Joon B. Suh | Rebecca Nicolaides | ...

[View All Most Downloaded Articles](#)

Feedback

Appendix 14B

The screenshot shows the Elsevier website for the International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice. The page features a navigation bar with a search icon and a menu icon. The main content area includes the journal title, editor-in-chief information, and a list of articles. A sidebar on the left contains various utility buttons like 'Submit Your Paper' and 'View Articles'. A 'Feedback' button is located on the right side of the page.

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