

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

**PERCEPTION OF CRIME AND WOMEN'S SAFETY IN URBAN LOW-
INCOME COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF NIMA, ACCRA**

BY

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
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OCTOBER, 2015



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, with the exception of references to other works which I have duly acknowledged, this thesis is my own work and neither in whole nor in part have this work been presented for the award of another degree elsewhere.

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(Student)

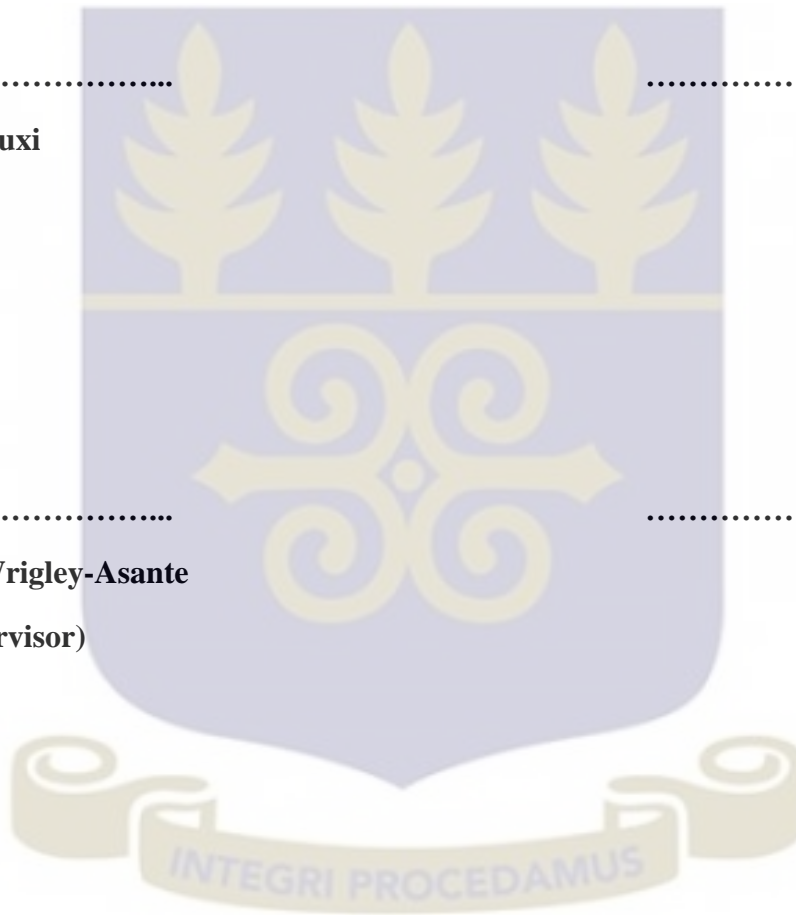
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ABSTRACT

The increasing nature of crime and violence in many cities threatens the security and safety of many residents, particularly vulnerable groups such as women which has however received less academic attention from researchers and scholars from developing countries. The principal aim of the study was to assess women's perception of crime and safety in an urban low-income community with particular focus on three selected public spaces: marketplace; transport terminal; and public toilets within the Nima community in the Accra metropolis. A cross sectional survey and a mixed methodological approach was used to conduct the study. Findings from the study revealed that there is a general decline in the perceived rate of crime within the Nima community. However, stealing and bag snatching were found to be very dominant in the market and transport terminals. Smoking and fighting were also found to be very high at the public toilets. Financial stress (need) coupled with unemployment were found to be the major contributory factors influencing crime incidents in the area. Regular patrol of the police team and watchdog committee (volunteers), crime victimization prevention measures such as the use of security doors/special door locks as well as special windows (burglar proof), shouting for help, being in the company of known males, keeping money in their brassier by women are factors accounting for the general reduction in crime and the increasing level of safety. The study recommends that an improved safety and security, creation of jobs for the youth, improving lighting system both on streets and public spaces at night time as well as restoring of personnel and surveillance by watch dog committees in the Nima community is necessary to reduce the level of crime and increase women's safety.

DEDICATION

I humbly dedicate this work to the Almighty God whose Grace, Mercy, Light and Love continues to shine through my life.

To Professor George Owusu and all senior members and fellow colleagues on the project (Exploring Crime and Poverty Nexus in Urban Neighbourhoods in Ghana).

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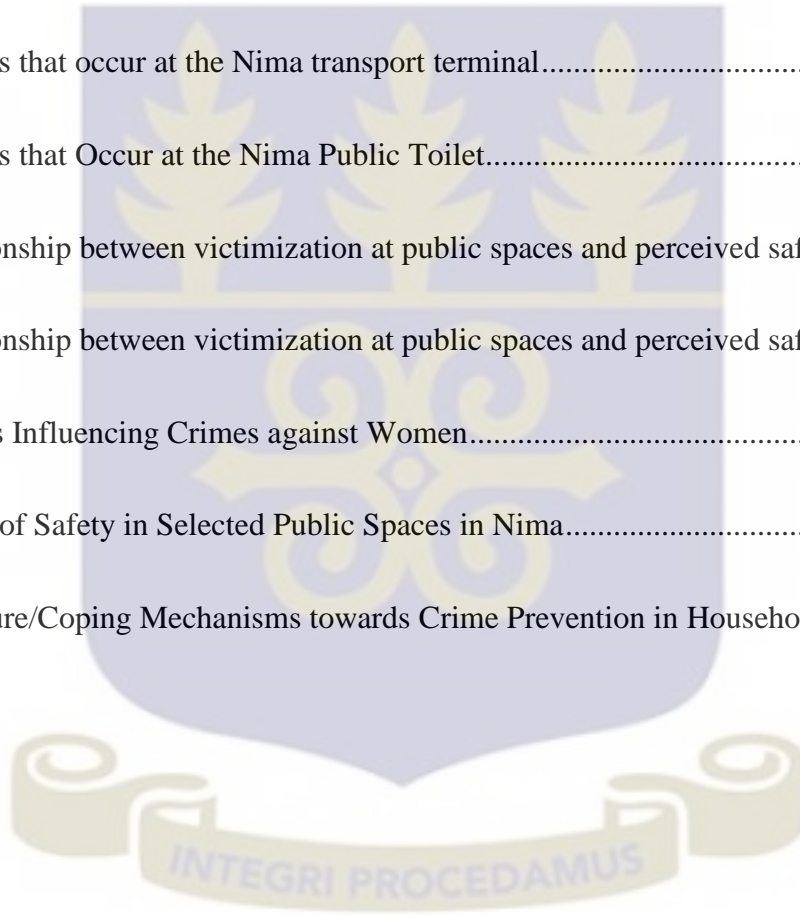


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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
CCR	Centre for Cultural Research
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CPT	Crime Pattern Theory
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road and Transport Union
GPS	Ghana Police Service
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
METRAC	Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence against Children
RAA	Routine Activity Theory
RCP	Rational Choice Perspective
SD	Standard Deviation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Service Solution
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

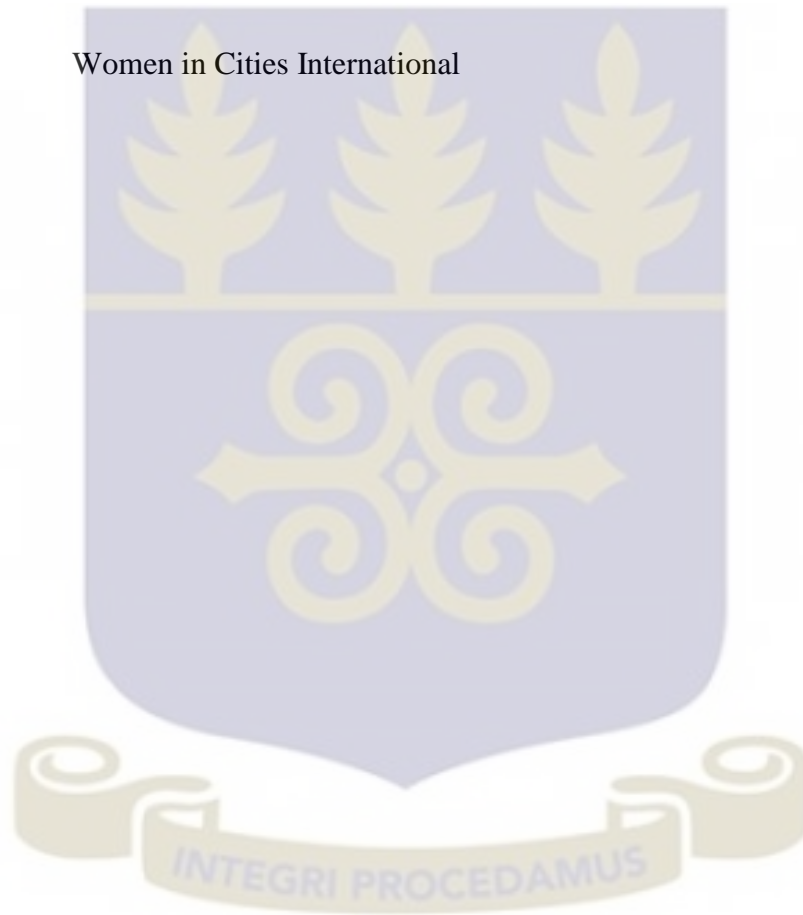
UNHCS United Nations Commission on Human Settlements

UNODOC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UN United Nations

UPWD Urban Poor Women Development

WICI Women in Cities International



CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

Women's safety in urban communities has emerged as a key concern in many public perception surveys (Jagori, 2010). Cities all over the world are plagued with both random and organised criminal operations, and those in Africa are no exception. Significantly, across the world, there is a noticeable upsurge in the incidence of urban crime in most less developed countries particularly in the last two decades (Huggins, 2000; EUSS, 2007). Crime rate is assuming a worldwide relational index with urbanisation (Huggins, 2000; Ajayi & Ajayi, 2013). In recent years, studies have indicated high levels of inequality and poverty in cities, particularly in the developing countries. This situation coupled with inchoate institutions, inept governance and poor planning, have led to negative social, economic and political consequences that have a destabilising impact on societies thereby leading to the emergence of high levels of social vices and crime in most major cities (Newton, 2004).

However, most urban planners are keenly aware of the problem of urban crime especially as it concerns the vulnerable groups, defined to include, the aged, women, people with physical challenges, children and migrants (UNODOC, 2009). For example, a recent report estimated that 60 per cent of all urban dwellers in developing countries have been crime victims with rates of at least 70 per cent in parts of Latin America and Africa (EUSS, 2007). Key to the discussions on crime and safety has been the issue of public spaces as crucibles of crime and occurrence of

social vices. It has been indicated that the concern about personal security and safety on transport infrastructure in and around market and public toilets in cities are key factors leading to social exclusion, impediment to accessing job, health, education, and social integration and bonding among residents (World Bank, 2002; Ajayi and Ajayi, 2013).

Spatially, transport facilities and infrastructures, due to their ubiquitous, nature are rapidly gaining ground as platform for all manner of crime within the urban space (Block & Davis, 1996; Sideris, 1999; Liggert, et al., 2001; Newton, 2004; Ajayi and Ajayi, 2013 and Das & Pandit, 2013).

In the case of public toilets, safe public toilets at convenient locations are a major concern for many users. In view of this, public toilet users have identified that feeling safe and secure while using a public toilet is a high priority requirement. Some studies have shown that it is no longer acceptable for a public toilet to be housed in a building where it does not meet user requirements.

Public toilets in most communities are among the most heavily used of public spaces (Nina, 2011). Therefore, the location, building design or surrounding area may provide conducive conditions for people with criminal intent to hide, thus making most users feel very unsafe. This leaves some questions to be asked in terms of social (safety and security); does the public toilet provide users with a safe and secure environment? Common crimes in these areas are generally crimes of opportunity rather than planned attacks.

1.1 Problem Statement

The increasing nature of crime and violence in many cities threatens the security and safety of many residents particularly among groups of women. In respect of this, the increasing incidents of crime in urban public spaces is gaining attention in the urban crime discourse as well as within the policy circles, especially when considering the rapid expanse of urbanisation which has been occurring around the world for some decades (Buckingham, 2009).

There is a consensus that vulnerability to various forms of crime within cities is gendered with women bearing the brunt, especially those pertaining to violent crimes (Leavitt, 1986). In this context, Stimpson, Dixler, Nelson and Yatrakis (1981, eds.) and Sarkissian (1986) underscore the importance of women's safety as a focus on urban space planning practice. Thus, feminist perspectives on the patterns of women's safety and inequality in both space and culture are highlighted. In view of this, issues about women's safety in public places, particularly unguarded spaces, are now the focus of many research agenda (Bell, 1998).

Recent studies on the relations between fear of crime and victimisation reveal that there might not be essentially a direct relationship between victimisation and fear of crime (Minnery and Lim, 2005; Marzbali *et al.*, 2012). Meanwhile, the occurrence of crime and perceptual dimension of urban space and crime vary in terms of experience across age and time (Garofalo, 1979; Schneider and Kitchen, 2002). The complexity between crime, urban space and safety, therefore, has been identified as one of the critical problems confronting women's safety in urban communities worldwide.

In Africa, women's safety, urban space and fear of crime have largely been ignored in the statistical study of crime and police documentation of the reported crime occurrence (Cozens, 2008). Being addressed as a particular field of study in criminology (Lab, 2010; Lee, 2007), fear of crime indicates the anxiety towards the possible incidence of crime and the predictors that are closely related to crime by individuals (Ferraro, 1995). Bell (1998) argued that the notion of safety in open urban settings differ between women and men. Urban settings and the way they are designed largely affect levels of fear which are higher amongst women and which vary by location, time of day, mode of transport and the level and nature of other uses. Bell (1998) argued that women are fearful and feel unsafe at particular locations and situations. Bell cited the mode of transportation, going out at night, walking to the nearest shops, use of public transport, in particular train travel at night, the use of a public toilet, walking to a friend's house, walking through a neighbourhood park or walking home from the cinema, restaurant, bar or pub etc. can generate different levels of safety concerns for women. In this respect, Bell argued that these public spaces affect women's safety in large measure.

According to the United Nations (2007), threats of crime and violence are highest in many African cities, particularly among groups of women. Increasing incidents in urban public space are becoming of greater concern for women's safety, especially when one considers the rapid expanse of urbanisation which has been occurring around the world for decades. Therefore, the projected increase in urban population means that more women are going to be at risk of victimisation in public spaces. The urban setting of Nima and the observed activities around the market, public toilet transport stations and other public places with heavy women presence (these

are places where women mostly ply their trade) could lead to a suggestion consistent with Bell (1998) and United Nations that women safety could be compromised in these locations.

However, very little has been done in academic research in the specific context on the issue of women's access to public spaces in relation to fear of crime and in effect their safety in Ghana for that matter, Nima (Ajayi, 2010). This study, therefore, seeks to fill this gap in the knowledge and contribute to the issue about women's safety and crime within public spaces.

1.2 Research Questions

The key research questions the study investigated include the following:

1. What is the present trend and forms of crime against women in Nima?
2. What are the main causes of these crimes being perpetrated against women in Nima?
3. How are the crimes being perpetrated at these public spaces affecting women's safety in Nima?
4. What are the coping mechanisms or measures put in place by women and institutions to address these forms of crime?

1.3 Research Objectives

The principal aim of the study is to assess women's perception of crime and safety within the Nima community, particularly within three selected public spaces. These are the market centre, transport terminal and the public toilet

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the different forms of crime against women in Nima and particularly in selected public spaces.
2. To assess the major factors contributing to crime against women.
3. To examine the effect(s) of these crimes on women.
4. To ascertain the coping mechanisms by women to address the challenges.

1.4 Hypotheses of the Study

H₁: There is a significant relationship between crime experiences of victims (victimisation) and perception of safety at public spaces within the Nima community.

H₀: There is no significant relationship between crime experiences of victims (victimisation) and perception of safety at public spaces within the Nima community.

H₁: There is a significant relationship between perceived levels of crime and perceived women's safety at public spaces.

H₀: There is no significant relationship between perceived levels of crime and perceived women's safety at public spaces.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Research into women's experiences with crime offers new information that can be used to strengthen decisions made about safety and mobility. Participatory processes are especially relevant to addressing women's safety because of the need to change social norms and patterns of interaction, values, customs and institutions that affect everyone especially women. The limited number of studies on the issue of women's safety and access to public spaces relative to the occurrence of crime in Ghana is a significant factor which needs to be considered from a holistic point of view. The findings of this research will feed into planning initiatives and interventions in partnership with the stakeholders, both state and civil society groups, to ensure that women's safety and gender inclusion are addressed in the areas of urban planning and design of public spaces, legislation, justice and support to victims, education and civic awareness and participation.

It is, therefore, necessary to explore women's safety vis-a-vis their fear of crime in public spaces especially in the urban communities and also ascertain the adaptive mechanisms invented by these women to secure their personal safety. Given the fact that the various public spaces that are frequently used by women of all classes and professions are unsafe at some times of the day and

well as night. Women have increasingly started to devise their own self-defence mechanisms. These include imposing curfews on themselves by restricting movement to certain times of the day and night, and avoiding certain public spaces (Ajayi, 2010). Knowledge of these mechanisms can enhance the effectiveness of educational and sensitisation programmes usually given to women to ensure their safety.

1.6 Organization of the Study

The study is organised into six (6) chapters. The first chapter outlines the introduction and background of the study, research problem, research objectives and questions, methodology, hypotheses, significance and organisation of the study. Chapter two (2) provides the theoretical and conceptual scope of the study through a review of literature; the literature review discusses specific thematic issues such as crime, urban crime, gender and women's safety in general. Forms of crime perpetrated against women, major causes of crime against women, impacts of crime on women's safety in public spaces, measures in preventing crime and promoting women's safety have also been discussed. The chapter concludes with theoretical and conceptual perspectives in understanding the effects of crime on women's safety in Nima. Chapter three (3) presents a profile of the study area including geographical location and size as well as the historical background of Nima; the section ends with information on the physical environment and socio-economic conditions. The chapter also discusses the research methodology which covers aspects of research design, sources and collection of data, sample, sampling techniques, data analysis techniques and the justification of the materials and methods used. This includes the appropriateness of data collection tools and sampling and data analysis that are employed.

The analysis of the field data (both qualitative and quantitative) forms the basis for discussion in Chapters four and five. Chapter four (4) discusses the various forms of crime women experience in Nima and the causes of these crime in the Nima community while chapter five (5) specifically talks about the impacts of these crimes on women's mobility as well as the coping measures within the Nima community. The study ends with chapter six (6) which is dedicated to the summary, conclusion and recommendations and directions for future research.



CHAPTER TWO

URBAN CRIME, GENDER AND WOMEN'S SAFETY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review and discussion of relevant literature on the topic under study. Inherent in a wide range of academic literature are issues pertaining to women's safety and crime in urban communities. The chapter unpacks and examines current discourse within the academic literature. It reviews various definitions of concepts and theories on urban crime, gender and women's safety where the theoretical and conceptual perspectives are provided. The forms of crime perpetrated against women in public spaces, major factors contributing to crimes against women, the effects of public space and crime on women's safety are also presented in this chapter. The last session reviews the coping mechanisms and women safety.

2.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Perspectives of Crime

Social science researchers and more specifically criminologists have developed a conceptual framework that consists of three perspectives on the crime incident: Routine Activity Approach, Crime Pattern Theory and Rational Choice Perspective. In addition to these, the Vulnerability Hypothesis Perspective has also been propounded to explain and aid in understanding the vulnerability to victimisation of crime in certain spatial organisations. These four perspectives operate at different levels and can be used to understand and explain opportunity for crime at each of these levels, and they can be used to design preventive measures that reduce this opportunity. The four are discussed in perspective in the proceeding paragraphs.

2.1.1 Routine Activity Approach (RAA)

The first perspective, The Routine Activity Approach was propounded by Cohen and Felson (1979) who state that the opportunity for crime is likely to present itself during routine activities so that when (1) a potential offender meets (2) a suitable target in the absence of (3) a capable guardian, crime will most definitely occur. To that effect, a potential offender is the main actor of crime. Some individuals in modern society are potential offenders (Clarke and Weisburd, 1990; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). A suitable target is something that might appeal to an offender (Felson, 2006). A capable guardian can be an effective deterrent for an offender; for example a security guard patrolling an area. The Routine Activity Approach thus operates at the level of society or an organisation and the main idea is how to discover and prevent opportunities for crime in the routine activities of potential offenders.

2.1.2 Crime Pattern Theory (CPT)

The Crime Pattern Theory (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993) assumes that offenders and opportunities exist for crime during the daily journey between home, work, and leisure. As a result, crime occurs in specific patterns and is usually concentrated at particular places, and at particular times, i.e. hotspots. Knowledge of such hotspots can be used to protect potential victims, since if we can predict where the hotspots are, and who is likely to be victimised, we can target the efforts of crime prevention more precisely and effectively (Bowers, Johnson & Pease, 2004). In view of this, the Crime Pattern Theory operates at the level of everyday life of an individual offender, and his location. The main idea is how to discover and prevent opportunities for crime in the daily commute and other patterns of movement of potential offenders.

2.1.3 Rational Choice Perspective (RCP)

The RCP has also been propounded by Cornish and Clarke (2008) for the explanation of crime. According to the RCP, behaviour is governed by its expected consequences. Translated to crime, this means that potential offenders make a judgment, weigh the costs and benefits, and commit a specific crime when the estimated benefits are greater than the costs. The choices are often based on bounded rationality because human actors have limited knowledge and are limited in their ability to reason about all the possible consequences of an action, and are subject to the constraints of a given context (e.g. being drunk). Accordingly, an RCP of crime does not mean that offenders act wisely or are pursuing choices that are rational or beneficial in the long term. It means that, often quickly and under pressure, offenders attempt to decide, using their bounded rationality, how to act to maximise their profits, and to minimise their risks. Thus, the Rational Choice Perspective operates at the level of a specific crime opportunity, focusing on the cost benefit trade-offs presented by the opportunity and the idea is to measure and influence the cost benefit trade-offs that underlie crime.

2.1.4 Vulnerability Hypothesis Perspective (VHP)

A predominant theory explaining the apparent inconsistency between fear of crime and crime victimisation is known as “the vulnerability hypothesis” (McCrea *et al.* 2005:9). Essentially, it proposes that females feel more vulnerable than males because they are less able to physically defend themselves and feel less in control over crime occurrence; therefore, they are “more sensitive to the consequences of victimization” (Jackson 2009:368). In other words, the vulnerability perspective suggests that individuals who think they possess a physical or social

disadvantage, regardless of their actual chances of victimisation, will feel more vulnerable to potential victimisation (Ferraro, 1995; Wyant, 2008). The literature discusses two forms of vulnerability which are often termed “physical vulnerability” and “social vulnerability” (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

Physical vulnerability includes physical characteristics that may make an individual feel more vulnerable to victimisation. Two of the most prominent characteristics discussed in literature are a person's gender and age. Both women and the elderly often feel an increased fear of crime because they think that being a female or being an older individual would stifle their ability to protect themselves during a physical attack. Quite recently, one additional factor, health status, has also been supported in the literature as an additional physical vulnerability characteristic (Cossman & Rader, 2011; Chandola, 2000).

Certainly, there is no doubt that gender matters when determining fear of crime levels. In fact, gender is the strongest predictor of one's fear of crime. The reason why women fear crime more than men (or at least report this fear) has been the source of much conversation in the literature (Schafer et al., 2006; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Ferraro, 1995). One of the historical reasons given for this relationship between gender and fear is the physical vulnerability hypothesis in which women feel more vulnerable because they believe they are physiologically weaker than men and do not believe they can protect themselves from a potential attack (Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Killias & Clerici, 2000). More recently, two related explanations have been offered and substantiated in literature. The first of these hypotheses is called the sexual assault hypothesis. This hypothesis suggests that women fear sexual assault and that this fear has a radiating effect on fear for all crime (Wilcox et al., 2006; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; May, 2001;

Warr, 1985; Warr, 1984). The second hypothesis is a socialisation hypothesis which argues that women fear crime because they have been socialised to think that women's victimisation includes a stranger in a public place. In addition, women are socialised to believe that men are necessary for protection (Gardner, 1989; Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Reid & Konrad, 2004).

Social vulnerability to the other extreme typically includes social characteristics that may make an individual feel more vulnerable to victimisation. At the individual level, race, class and/or socioeconomic status are the two most prominent characteristics noted to be associated with social vulnerability hypothesis (Lai & Zhao, 2010; Scarborough et al., 2010). On this account, some studies on class and fear indicate that individuals from lower classes are more afraid of crime than those in middle and upper classes (McKee & Milner, 2000; Pantazis, 2000). Likewise, lower class individuals feel they are more vulnerable to victimisation because they have the potential to be in more dangerous situations and also because they may not be able to afford crime reducing devices such as locks and/or security systems (Pantazis, 2000).

At the contextual level, social vulnerability has been discussed within the confines of neighbourhood disorder. Recently, much attention has been given to the effect of neighbourhood conditions in relation to ecological variations in crime and neighbourhood safety (Rader & Cossman, 2011; Brunton-Smith & Sturgis, 2011; Gibson *et al.*, 2002). Research has found that homeless groups and those with high levels of disorder in their neighbourhood may have even higher levels of fear of crime (Kiphe *et al.*, 1997). To this end, minorities and lower class individuals believe their vulnerable status increases their potential for becoming crime victims.

In sum, routine activities, crime patterns, rational choice of offenders, physical and social vulnerability should be examined within a framework which considers the relationship between neighbourhood disorder, occurrence and fear of crime. In other words, neighbourhood conditions may lead to an increased perception of social vulnerability which may, in turn, lead to increased levels of fear of crime. Likewise, existing physical vulnerabilities are likely to also be negatively affected by the existence of neighbourhood disorder. Therefore, focusing on individual level vulnerability within a neighbourhood disorder context is an important aspect of fear of crime research. For example, neighbourhood instability, disorder, or lack of support could make residents feel more vulnerable to victimisation (Gibson *et al.*, 2002; Covington & Taylor, 1991; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

2.2 Urban Crime

With regard to the issue of urban crime, there is a general understanding that crime rates are much higher in big cities (urban centres) than in either small cities or rural areas (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2003). There is a litany of theory about the connection between cities and crime. Indeed, some of the most important of the ideas on crime and cities have been discussed at early stages of modern sociology by Emile Durkheim, George Simmel and Max Weber. Wirth (1938) claims that urban crime reflects the more anonymous and unstable nature of urban life. Jacob (1961) focuses on the emptiness of urban streets and argues that cities only abet crimes when urban neighbourhood lose (as they often do) their traditional social structure. A study conducted by NAVTEQ (2011) (global provider of navigation enabled maps) reveals that, 51% of the women surveyed in Delhi, Kolkata, and Chennai felt unsafe while travelling on roads whereas about 73 % were scared of travelling at night.

Globally, crime against women in urban areas has drawn significant attention among national governments across the world, irrespective of their development stage, as well as among international agencies, as part of their concern for human security and, more importantly, in the context of the larger issue of human rights (Tahir & Tahir, 2013). As it is, urban safety and security, as evinced from the reports of member countries across the world in successive World Urban Forums, is becoming a major concern of urbanisation. The focus of discussions is on violence abating measures and the role of the society in this effort. The vulnerability of women to urban life has assumed special significance in the context of reported unsafe situations that they are exposed to in every day urban life, having far reaching consequences on the growth and development of the city and the country (Ibid).

The fusion between urban space and crime has largely been addressed with different approaches to the conception of crime and its main initiatives (Kamalipour et al., 2014). However, the growing body of knowledge in the studies of urban crime refers to the social and spatial aspects of the problem in the cities worldwide. While different approaches to the issue of crime can be categorised into two broad ranges of sociality and spatiality, it is possible to denote that urban crime cannot be thoroughly explored in the absence of either social constructs or spatial features. Besides, considering the relations between sociality and spatiality in the city, it has been critically argued that the practices of design and interventions in the built environment need to be based on design-level theories in which the spatiality is likely to be considered as a departure point (Kamalipour et al., 2014).

On the same basis, it has been observed that women's experience of safety in urban communities in a large measure is related to urban crime in diverse ways (Kamalipour et al., 2014). Urban

settings and the way they are designed affect levels of fear which are higher amongst women and which vary by location, space, time of day, mode of transport and the level and nature of other uses. Besides, different studies of urban space and crime have adopted various conceptions of crime from being merely a kind of social instability to a kind of spatial disorder. Hence, diverse articulations of urban crime have led to different propositions of crime as a social, perceptual, and spatial phenomenon (Ibid).

2.3 Gender

Before exploring the conceptualisation of gender in relation to crime, it is first necessary to decouple sex from gender. Whereas the former is usually a fixed, physical characteristic, the latter is a collection of individualistic characteristics that dictate if an individual is masculine or feminine (Kessler & McKenna, 1978 as cited in Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Typically, sex and gender correspond but they can differ and criminologists must differentiate them because, for example, 'if everything that men do is masculine then the concept of masculinity is an empty tautology: gender thus collapses into sex' (Hood-Williams 2001: 45). As such, gender must be recognised as a diverse range of forces and realities to avoid slipping into the 'old dichotomies of masculinity and femininity' Britton (2011: 51).

Globally, gender is considered in most studies of crime because offending is a gendered concept. In view of that, studies have shown that gender shapes and dictates an individual's actions by 'guiding expectations and appraisals of others and self with regard to risk-taking and criminal behaviour' (Steffensmeier, Schwartz, & Roche, 2013: 52). A fundamental problem with the previously predominant male stream criminology was that it did not render visible the extent to

which offending behaviour is gendered (Silvestri & Crowther-Dowey, 2008: 52). Therefore, in order to create a truly gendered understanding of crime, a theory needs to be formulated to illuminate how gender norms, tendencies and differences affect individual motivations and opportunities to commit crime.

Without doubt, the proposition that men commit more crime than women is ‘one of the few undisputed “facts” of criminology’ (Lauritsen, 2009: 362). Gender differences thus appear to be invariant over time and space; in principle, men are ‘always and everywhere more likely than women to commit criminal acts’ (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990: 145). For instance, according to the UK Ministry of Justice (MoJ, 2012), statistically, men accounted for about 76% of UK’s criminal sentences in 2011 and this has remained a key focus of criminological debate over the years.

In respect of the above, feminist criminologists have explored the ways in which the gender gap in fear of crime might “reflect women’s location in a gendered world” Stanko (1995). In line with this, feminist school of thought argues that gender plays a role in all aspects of our daily lives including how we act as workers, parents, and even criminals (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). Thus, gender might also structure how an individual’s behaviour as a crime victim plays out (Hollander, 2001).

In Africa, several studies on women’s pathways into crime indicate that gender matters significantly in shaping criminality. Steffensmeier and Allan (1998) noted that the “profound differences” between the lives of women and men shape their patterns of criminal offending. Amongst women, the most common pathways to crime are based on survival (of abuse and

poverty) and substance abuse. Arguing independently but along the same line, Belknap (2001:402) as cited in Bloom, Owen, and Covington (2004) has observed that the pathways perspective on women and crime incorporates a “whole life” perspective in the study of crime causation. Some studies have used extensive interviews in a pathway research with women to uncover the life events that place girls and women at risk of criminal offences. Other studies use official records (Newman, 1972 as cited in Hagan & Peterson, 1995).

Ferraro (1995) and Reid & Konrad (2004) concur, arguing that one of the most salient individual characteristics enforcing crime is gender. Comparatively, women consistently have been found to have higher levels of fear of crime across contextual settings and operational definitions (Sacco, 1990 as cited in Weinrath & Gartrell, 1996). Empirical examination of crime victimisations has found that there are significant gender effects for all types of victimisation as well as for overall measures of fear of crime (Bankston & Thompson, 1989; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1992; Warr, 1984). In respect of that, women’s reported levels of fear of crime have been found to be two to three times higher than the level of fear of crime reported by men, despite the fact that men have a higher risk of victimisation for almost all nonsexual violent crimes, including robbery and aggravated assault (Reid & Konrad, 2004). Beyond this, there are only two crimes for which women have higher victimisation rates than men and that involve rape and sexual assault.

In the case of Ghana, both working and non-working women use public spaces to assuage specific purposes, and it is this purposeful utilisation that makes them mere restricted users of space and not legitimate owners (Phadke, 2007). Such nuanced perceptions about space are further mediated by income or economic positioning of these women. In Nima, for instance, it

could be that because the mobility of these poor women is largely restricted within the narrow confines of their home and workplaces; hence all territories beyond these are unfamiliar and could serve as unsafe places or localities (Kamalipour et al., 2014).

However, the effect of crime and violence on the lives of women and men can be very different and this may cause one to suffer at the expense of the other. Women are especially most vulnerable to various categories of crimes such as sexual harassment and assault, and are more likely to express concerns about their ability to move about in the community safely than men. In view of this, urban communities can have a major impact on the safety of women by developing careful strategic approaches, and investing in tailored programmes and support services (Stoneall, 1981; Kamalipour et al., 2014).

Summing up, it can be argued that gender-based violence and safety are now being analysed within a general framework that extends beyond the immediate and the most discernible forms of violence, taking into its fold issues related to some urban spaces. Certainly research illustrates that gender-based urban violence can be attributed to factors such as poverty, discrimination, exclusion, and lack of gendered indicators in urban development and planning, leading to spaces and structures that exclude women and other vulnerable groups.

2.4 Women's Safety

Broadly speaking, the conceptualisation of women's safety may defy any single definition. However, it traditionally encompasses strategies, practices and policies which aim to reduce gender-based violence (or violence against women), including women's fear of crime (Jagori, 2010). In view of the above conception, it is important to note that the concept of women's

safety is relative; therefore, in this study, women's safety will be widely used to mean the following:

In the first place, women's safety simply involves safe spaces within communities in which they reside (WICI *et al.*, 2008). Secondly, women's safety involves freedom from poverty. This includes safe access to water, the existence and security of communal toilet facilities in informal settlements, slum upgrades, gender-sensitive streets and city design, safe car parks, shopping centres and public transportation (Yon, 2007). Thirdly, women's safety involves self-worth. In safe homes and communities, women have the right to value themselves, to be empowered, to be respected, to be independent, to have their rights valued, to be loved, to have solidarity with other family and community members, and to be recognised as equal members in society (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). Moreover, women's safety involves strategies and policies that take place before violence occurs in order to prevent perpetration or victimisation. Lastly, women's safety means a safer, healthier community for everyone. This is a participatory process focused on changing community norms, patterns of social interaction, values, customs and institutions in ways that will significantly improve the quality of life in a community for all of its members (Lee *et al.*, 2007).

Studies across the globe have shown that women's experience of safety in urban spaces is completely different from that of men. Urban settings and the way they are designed largely affect levels of fear which are higher amongst women and which vary by location, time of day, mode of transport and the level and nature of other uses. Women in particular construct detailed mental maps of safe and unsafe urban spaces to access or avoid (Bell, 1998).

Bell (1998) argued that women are fearful and feel unsafe at particular locations and situations. The situations cited by Bell include: any mode of transport other than the car; going out at night; walking to the nearest shops; use of public transport, in particular train travel at night; the use of a public toilet; walking to a friend's house; walking through a neighbourhood park or walking home from the cinema, restaurant, bar or pub. The situation at either end of a public transport journey i.e. waiting at a bus stop or walking from the station to a parked car; the use of city centre car parks particularly at night and if multi-storeyed; driving alone at night; and open spaces (parks and the countryside) and pathways (alleyways and underpasses). From this, it can be concluded that these public spaces affect women's safety in large measure (Bell, 1998).

According to the United Nations (2007), threats of crime and violence are highest in many African cities, particularly among groups of women. Increasing incidents in urban public space are becoming of greater concern for women's safety, especially when one considers the rapid expanse of urbanisation which has been occurring around the world for decades. Therefore, the projected increase in urban population means that more women are going to be at risk of victimisation in public spaces.

In Ghana, research has established that the fear of crime and its impact on women's safety can be seen as a social as well as a spatial issue connected in many cases to the nature and design of urban spaces. It is this fear that prevents women from fully realising their right to some public spaces, as most policies aimed at ensuring women's safety in urban public spaces tend to focus on the social aspects, while neglecting physical constructions that will secure women's safety. Dead-end streets, inadequately-lit roads, and public parks which are typically dominated by male

activities, are a few of the circumstances where social and structural barriers instigate feelings of fear for women in public spaces (UN, 2007).

In sum, we can infer from previous works a number of factors that play a role in creating safer spaces for women and girls. These include among other things better planning and design of public spaces such as roads, bus stops, parks, and market place and public toilets.

2.5 Forms of Crime Perpetrated against Women in Public Spaces

Several forms of crime occur in societies, which may be described as major or minor by virtue of their nature and extent of impact (Agyemang, 2012). Levitt (1996) identified major crimes as follows: motor vehicle theft, burglary, robbery, larceny, aggravated assault, murder and rape. Crimes that are nearly universally considered to be petty infractions that are punished only with warnings or small fines and causes no physical harm to victims is classified as minor. In his landmark study of crime against women in India, Ranjan (2013) notes that there are various forms of crime against women. Dominant among these are Cruelty by Husband and Relatives, Molestation, Kidnapping and Abduction, Rape, Dowry death, Sexual Harassment among others (NCRB, 2011).

The geographic study of crime draws a distinction between the geography of offences (where crimes are committed) and the geography of offenders (where criminals live) (DeCoster & Heimer, 2006). According to Tahir and Tahir (2013), the spatial dynamics of places add up to the many problems of safety. For instance, public spaces like public transport stations are mostly characterised congestion, overcrowding, and jostling to access public services. These conditions may pose some threat to the safety situation of people in that environment.

Crime also tends to become concentrated at particular locations where there are increased opportunities or incentives for committing it. Sometimes these opportunities give rise to gangs and/or other criminal groups which further exacerbate crime, both locally and elsewhere (Weatherburn, 2001). Whatever the origins of gangs and other forms of organised crime, crime generated problems are often qualitatively distinct from those generated by neighbourhoods which simply have a large number of individuals more or less independently involved in crime (Weatherburn, 2001).

Areas with reduced levels of informal social control have been found to have higher rates of crime and violence (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997). Some argue that factors such as high levels of population mobility (i.e. population turnover), the spatial concentration of disadvantaged and the exclusion of particular races or social groups from civic life render an area crime-prone by eroding informal social controls in the area (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997). It is possible, however, that crime and lack of informal social control are simply two sides of the same coin produced by population mobility, spatial inequalities and racial or social exclusion.

In Ghana, what constitutes a crime is captured in the Criminal Procedure Code of 1990 as subsequently amended. This Code recognises five degrees of offences classified as a crime in Ghana. These include: Capital offences (murder, treason, piracy) for which maximum penalty is death by hanging, first degree felonies (manslaughter, rape, mutiny) which are punishable by life imprisonment, second degree felonies (international and unlawful harm to persons, perjury and robbery) punishable by a maximum of 10 years imprisonment, misdemeanours (assault, theft,

unlawful assembly, official corruption, and public nuisance) punishable by various terms of imprisonment and Juvenile delinquencies (Criminals Code, 19990).

2.6 Factors Contributing to Crimes against Women in Public Spaces

Most crimes, as Gordon (1971) argues, are motivated by the desire for property or money and is a rational response to the pressures of inequality, competition and insecurity, all of which are essential parts of capitalism. As the economy expands, it is reasonable to assume that these pressures will escalate, increasing the number of crimes recorded.

Much of the debate about what causes crime arises because of failure to attend to the distinction between proximate and distal causes of crime. Proximate causes are those which immediately precede criminal behaviour. Distal causes are those which are more remote (though not necessarily less influential or important). For instance, one proximate cause of involvement in crime is association with delinquent peers. Some have argued that association with delinquent peers is caused by weak parent-child attachment. If this argument is accepted, association with delinquent peers can be seen as a proximate cause of involvement in crime and weak parent-child attachment a distal cause (Weatherburn, 2001). Some criminologists, for example, argue that parents often fail to develop strong emotional bonds to their children when they (the parents) are exposed to economic stress. If this argument is accepted, economic stress can be thought of as a distal cause of involvement in crime, with weak parent-child attachment being a more proximate cause. What constitutes a distal or a proximate cause of crime depends upon which part of the chain of causes leads to crime (Weatherburn, 2001).

According to the systems perspective of crime, the root causes of crime are poverty, unemployment, underemployment, racism, poor health care, bad housing, weak schools, mental illness, alcoholism, single-parent families (family pressure), teenage pregnancy, and a society of selfishness and greed (Murphy, 1985). Women as a separate class are subjected to a greater criminal victimisation both inside and outside their homes. This victimisation of women as pointed out by Aiyisha (1988) is due to a variety of factors which are historical, cultural and social in nature. Violence against women is manifested in the form of harassment, torture, abuses, sexual assaults, and beating, burning alive and sometimes even death (Tahir & Tahir, 2013).

Aside the historical, cultural and social factors, economic factors (e.g. unemployment) appear to play an important role in shaping trends in property crime (Sean et al., 2012). Alcohol consumption and unemployment appear to influence levels of violent crime. Field (1990) categorised crimes for economic purposes as crimes for gain. These crimes are committed directly or indirectly for economic benefits, where the property can be sold for cash or bartered. Others are theft of money and cheque frauds, shoplifting, dealing in illegal drugs, welfare and social security frauds, which are all done for economic benefits (Weatherburn, 2001). Other potential influences on overall levels of crime include the availability of firearms, rates of family breakdown, the percentage of sole parent families living in poverty, levels of geographic mobility and the percentage of females in the labour force (Sean et al., 2012).

In Ghana, there are regional differences in the occurrence of crime and some of the causes include but not limited to social change, urbanisation, and changes in people's routine activities and lifestyle (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2002). Structural adjustment programmes pursued so

vigorously in order to increase economic growth in the country, have resulted in growing poverty and inequality, a chief consequence of which is unemployment. Many studies have also shown that unemployment is a major cause of the prevalence and rise in crime, especially in the urban areas of Ghana, for that matter Nima (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2003). Growing unemployment amongst young men in these areas have often resulted in growing drug and alcohol abuse and this is seen as one of the key factors enforcing crime and violence (UNESCAP, 2011).

2.7 Effects of Crime on Women's Safety in Public Spaces

Safety in many circles is regarded as a social as well as a spatial issue connected in many cases to the design of urban spaces (Buckingham, 2009). Safety, or the lack of it, has dire consequences on the lives of people. The ramification of the lack of safety is not just a feeling of fear but also an irrevocable material consequence on the lives of people. Safety concerns also prevent women from accessing certain spaces and at certain times, thereby limiting their mobility (Kamalipour et al., 2014).

According to Agyemang (2012), all crimes, whether major or minor, have negative effects both on individuals and societies or the nation at large. These negative effects range from destruction and loss of property, loss of innocent lives, fear and panic, security threat, budget constraints, and many more. These crimes may take place in the homes, at the workplace, on the streets, at public gatherings among others and range from robbery, thieving or stealing, car snatching, serial killing, cyber fraud, rape, domestic violence, narcotics trade, physical assaults and damage to property, just to mention a few (Agyemang, 2012).

Safety is important for women to act as an equal partner in the society. Personal security is central to every woman's physical, intellectual, emotional, economic and spiritual sense of well-being. Crime and sense of crime are two critical factors that greatly undermine a woman's sense of security and prevent them from becoming equal partners in society (Tahir & Tahir, 2013). According to Tanusree (2011), familiarity with space is a factor that affects fear of crime and women's access to public space. Arguing independently but along the same line, Tahir & Tahir (2013) indicate that an important concern for women is that the common factor in crimes against women takes place in the public domain except for domestic violence, indicating absence of measures for safety of women in public places as well as lack of awareness or enlightenment among people to intervene when an incident takes place.

Crime has high and diverse costs. The direct physical, material, mental, and emotional injury suffered by victims of crime is unacceptable. Perhaps even more tragic, however, is the indirect damage to society. Attempts to control crime through the criminal justice system increasingly intrude in our private lives. Personal freedoms are threatened as we repeatedly choose between public order and individual rights. Moreover, crime amplifies mistrust, feeds prejudice, and generally impedes social cohesion (Vila, 1994). People become more fearful, often imprisoning themselves in their own homes. Guns are kept within reach, a knock on the door evokes terror, and a stranger in need of assistance is ignored.

2.8 Measures in Preventing Crime.

Prevailing strategies of crime prevention in the most general sense, can be divided into law enforcement (policing, activities of attorney offices, courts and penal institutions),

developmental, community and situational crime prevention. Considerable research has shown that crime is concentrated in relatively few places (Eck and Weisburd, 1995; Farrell, 1995; Sherman, et al., 1989; Spelman, 1995). The concentration of crime in small areas and specific places equally provides a host of crime prevention opportunities and that the application of situational crime prevention at these "hot places" is an effective method for reducing a variety of criminal activities and disorders (Eck, 2002; Poyner, 1993; Welsh and Farrington, 2002; Welsh and Farrington, 2004).

Evidence abounds regarding the efficacy of situational crime prevention measures in crime control and public safety enhancement (Eck, 2002). The agents principally responsible for undertaking such actions are the owners and employees of these hot locations. In extended Routine Activity Theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979), these individuals are described as place managers. Though place management has been empirically documented (Eck, 1994; Homel and Clark, 1994; Mazerolle, Kadleck, and Roehl, 1998), little is known about how place managers regulate specific environments. Place management refers to the regulation of conduct, organisation of work, and design of space by owners and their employees to facilitate the operations of the place. Regulation of conduct – by procedures, rules, or physical design - can inhibit or facilitate crime. With regard to apartment complexes, for example, this includes lease provisions, other rules of conduct and enforcement, the use of background checks for prospective tenants, and security provisions at the complex. With regard to alcohol drinking establishments, for example, place management includes rules of conduct and enforcement, the manner in which alcohol is served, the employment of bouncers, how food service and entertainment are provided, and the physical layout. Some place management is used with the intent to prevent crime, though

more often crime prevention is a by-product. Lack of place management contributes to crime (Eck and Weisburd, 1995; Felson, 1995).

Allied to place management, community participation is also regarded as an important tool for crime prevention. Many sociologists and criminologists believe that the adequate solution for crime problems must be based on community participation and citizens' involvement with one other and with their communities. Participation of the community is important to complement and make more efficient any programme of crime control by police authorities or any other law enforcement agency. Local communities must involve community members in plans and programmes aimed at ensuring public safety and crime reduction. As participation among residents increase, the residents become active defenders of the place against crime (Rezaei, 2013).

Community-based crime prevention efforts often involve preventing crimes through nuisance abatement programmes, which employ civil remedies and procedures to resolve crime related cases. In their examination of community-based efforts at crime prevention through nuisance abatement programmes, Davis and Lurigio (1996) noted that the majority of problematic situations were resolved after the community identified nuisance issues in written communication to a landowner and the landowner subsequently took action to remedy the situation.

Many crime prevention professionals also consider closed-circuit television (CCTV) a promising approach for deterring criminal activity in public places as well as for identifying individuals who commit crimes in areas with surveillance cameras. Technology associated with CCTV has

become less expensive, improved in quality and gained a certain level of social acceptability (Welsh and Farrington, 2009).

2.9 Measures in Promoting Women's Safety

Ensuring women's safety either through public or private initiatives requires a strategy with a range of preventive approaches. To achieve this, a number of creative steps have been undertaken by municipalities in recent years to ensure that there are services in place for women who are victims of violence, to increase the safety of women in public spaces, and to sensitise professionals and the public on such issues (Shaw & Capobianco, 2004).

Additionally, there are also many organisations working all around the world to promote women's safety through disseminating information about the scope of the problem, as well as educating and sensitising the population about prevention as well as reactive strategies. There were also a substantial number of toolkits, guides and manuals as means of disseminating information about women's safety. Working in partnerships, communities have been able to develop a comprehensive range of preventive programmes including health services, situational and environmental approaches and public education campaigns to raise awareness about women's safety.

In the study "The Global Assessment on Women's Safety" UN-HABITAT (2009), many groups reported having started with organising community discussion and debate sessions as a way of increasing public awareness about issues relating to women's safety. These types of exchanges allowed people to confront negative cultural stereotypes and challenge assumptions by addressing what are often considered to be 'taboos'. They also encourage people to express

different opinions. Some groups organise debates or discussions at schools to engage with the youth. Other events generally target a particular issue (e.g. sexual abuse or rape prevention), rather than confronting the phenomenon of women's safety as a whole.

In 2007, Women in Cities International (WICI) published a guide entitled "Building Community-Based Partnerships for Local Action on Women's Safety." The guide draws from the experiences of six groups working together with municipal governments to create safer and more inclusive cities for women and girls. The guide adopted a women-centred approach which aims to help readers identify potential partners and begin to develop lasting, inclusive, and sustainable partnerships. At the local level, some groups mentioned having created local women's committees to join forces, voices and resources to put women's issues and safety on the agenda in their respective communities. For example, Urban Poor Women Development (UPWD) in Cambodia developed a community network called People Organization Community Organization. The network was created by selecting representatives from 16 different communities. Seven of these representatives worked on the ground in their communities, while the rest worked directly with the UPWD towards promoting women's safety.

Most studies on women's safety in public spaces have the safety of women as a common theme with much emphasis placed on involving the beneficiaries in the development and implementation of initiatives aimed at increasing their safety and sense of safety in a given space (Ranjan, 2013). This also increases ownership and use of the said space. Subsequently, different participatory methodologies have been developed for assessing and improving safe spaces for women and for everyone, notably the Women's Safety Audit. The women's safety audit is a tool used to help women identify the factors within a given space that make them feel safe or unsafe.

This methodology was originally developed in 1989 by Toronto's Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC), the women's safety audit is now widely used all over the globe and as an integral part of UN-Habitat's Safer Cities Programme.

Generally, a safety audit is conducted by women in an area they frequently use with stakeholders and key decision-makers sometimes participating in the process as well. During an audit, participants take a walking tour through their chosen area and note on a checklist factors which cause them to feel insecure (e.g. lack of signage or lighting or the presence of graffiti). Afterwards, a list is compiled and results are presented to local authorities with recommended changes included. The process of the women's safety audit is intended to prioritise the lived experiences of female residents in a specific area. Through this process, women are empowered to become experts of their own safety and security. In addition, it is hoped that women will also become more involved in local decision-making processes. The women's safety audit benefits communities by providing alternative perspectives on the experiences of local space.

2.10 Conceptual Framework for Understanding Crime and Women's Safety in Nima

This study adopts the routine activities theory and the vulnerability hypothesis perspective as the primary theories underpinning the conceptual framework for understanding incidence of crime and its effect on women's safety in the study area. The vulnerability theory posits that individuals with that feel they possess a physical disadvantage, their chances of falling victim to crime notwithstanding, feel more vulnerable to victimisation (Ferrano, 1995, Wyant, 2008).

Jackson (2009:368) proposed that females particularly feel more vulnerable than males because females generally are less able to physically defend themselves when crime occur.

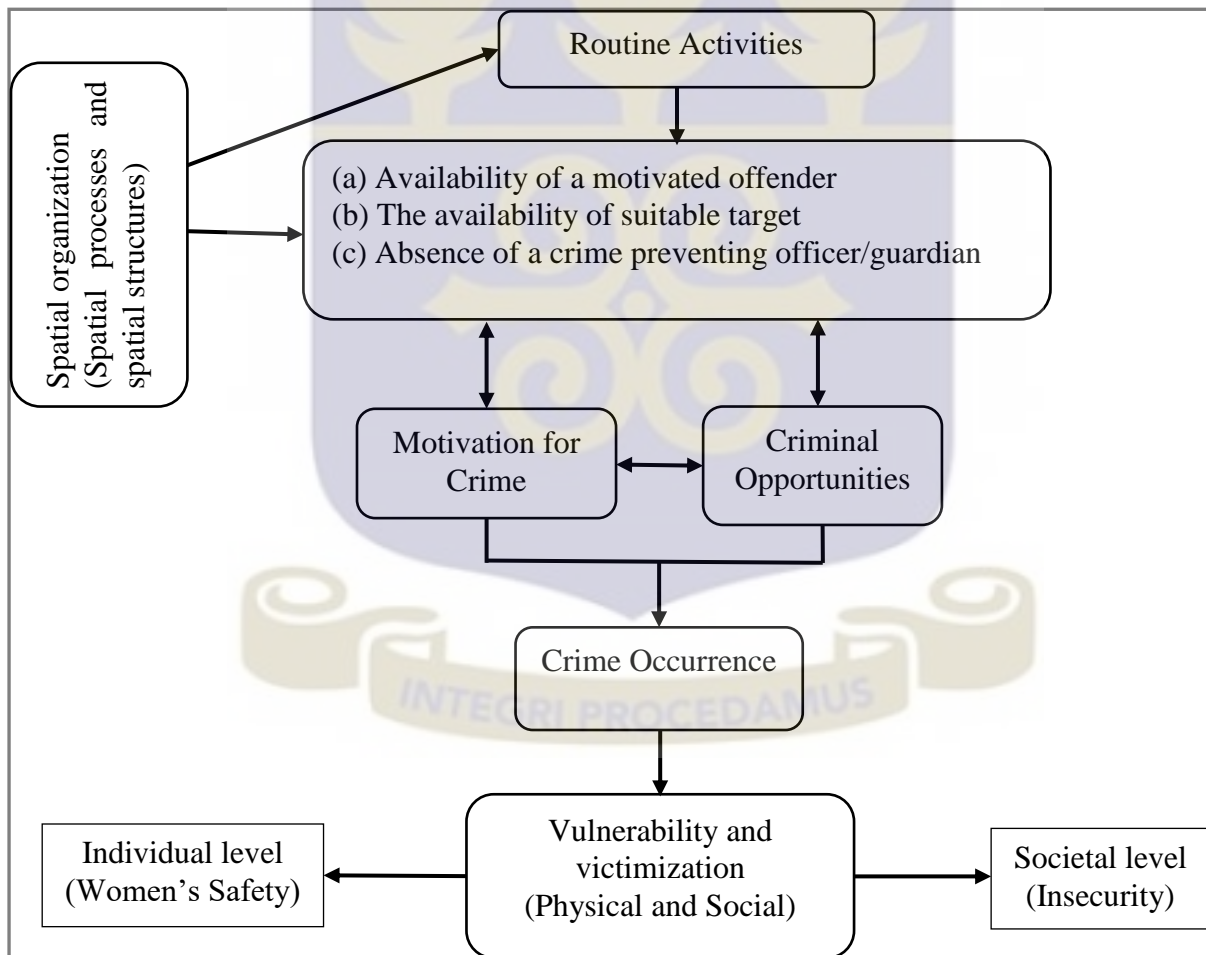
Given the nature of the market spaces, the transport station and the public toilet vicinities of Nima, we can argue that due to the glaring absence of security (Guardians) and heavy patronage in these areas (mostly women) conducting their daily business and their valuables with them (suitable targets) there may exist motivated offenders who may perpetrate crimes of various forms. Given the study focuses on women, the vulnerability hypothesis and the routine activity proposition are appropriate as the basis for the conceptual framework of the study. From Figure 2.1, it is conceptualised that several other factors may interact within public spaces (market, transport and toilet) in Nima to enforce the occurrence of crime which could have a knock-on effect on the safety of the vulnerable (women).

In the first place, understanding the context of crime i.e. the where and when of a criminal activity is key to understanding how crime can be controlled and prevented. Public places (spatial processes), become not only crime generators but also crime attractors (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995).

However, when the security of these spatial processes and structures are compromised due to the frequent use of the facility by people to access public services rendered by the marketplace, transport terminal and public toilet, it enforces routine activities that influence the convergence of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians against a violation. This leads to large increases in crime rates without necessarily requiring any increase in the structural and processes that create conditions that motivate individuals to engage in crime.

However, motivation alone cannot cause crime to occur; opportunity to commit the crime in question is also required since opportunity itself may influence motivation. It is important to note that both individual and structural factors of these public facilities have large influences on criminal opportunity. In addition, social structures also affect criminal opportunity by influencing the routine activities of residents and visitors.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Path Model Based on Routine Activities Theory & Vulnerability Hypothesis Perspective



Source: Author's Construct based on (Cohen and Felson, 1979; McCrea *et al.* 2005)

To this end, the spatial processes and structural characteristics coupled with routine activity patterns of individuals in and around the marketplace, transport terminal and public toilet at Nima may influence the crime profile of the place, which could vary over time with changes in structure and activity. This may be because, such spaces are poorly structured, overcrowded and mostly unguarded, thereby bringing the three variables (Availability of motivated offender, availability of suitable target and the absence of crime prevention officers) in the Cohen and Felson (1979) model into great confluence, when all other factors are held constant. Thus crime occurs at these spaces when the forces that bind people together within a society are weakened or broken.

Once crime occurs, safety of vulnerable groups (physical and social) particularly women who use public spaces such as marketplaces, transport terminals and public toilets are equally compromised. This eventually leads to insecurity at the general society level exposing women as soft targets in the process. Thus in the long-run, women's safety may be compromised in these public spaces to a very large extent.

2.11 Summary

In summary this chapter discusses a range of topics bothering on urban crime, gender and women safety in public places. Urban crime was chosen because there is a general understanding that crime rates are much higher in cities than rural areas (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2003). The focus on public spaces was informed by the level of congestion, overcrowding and the general unsecured nature of these spaces, which can motivate the perpetration of crime. The chapter touched on women safety, the form of crimes mostly perpetrated against women, factors that

contribute to crimes against women among others. The chapter ended with a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual perspectives of crime. In the following chapter, a discussion of the research methodology and the study area is presented.



CHAPTER THREE

STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODS

3.0 Introduction

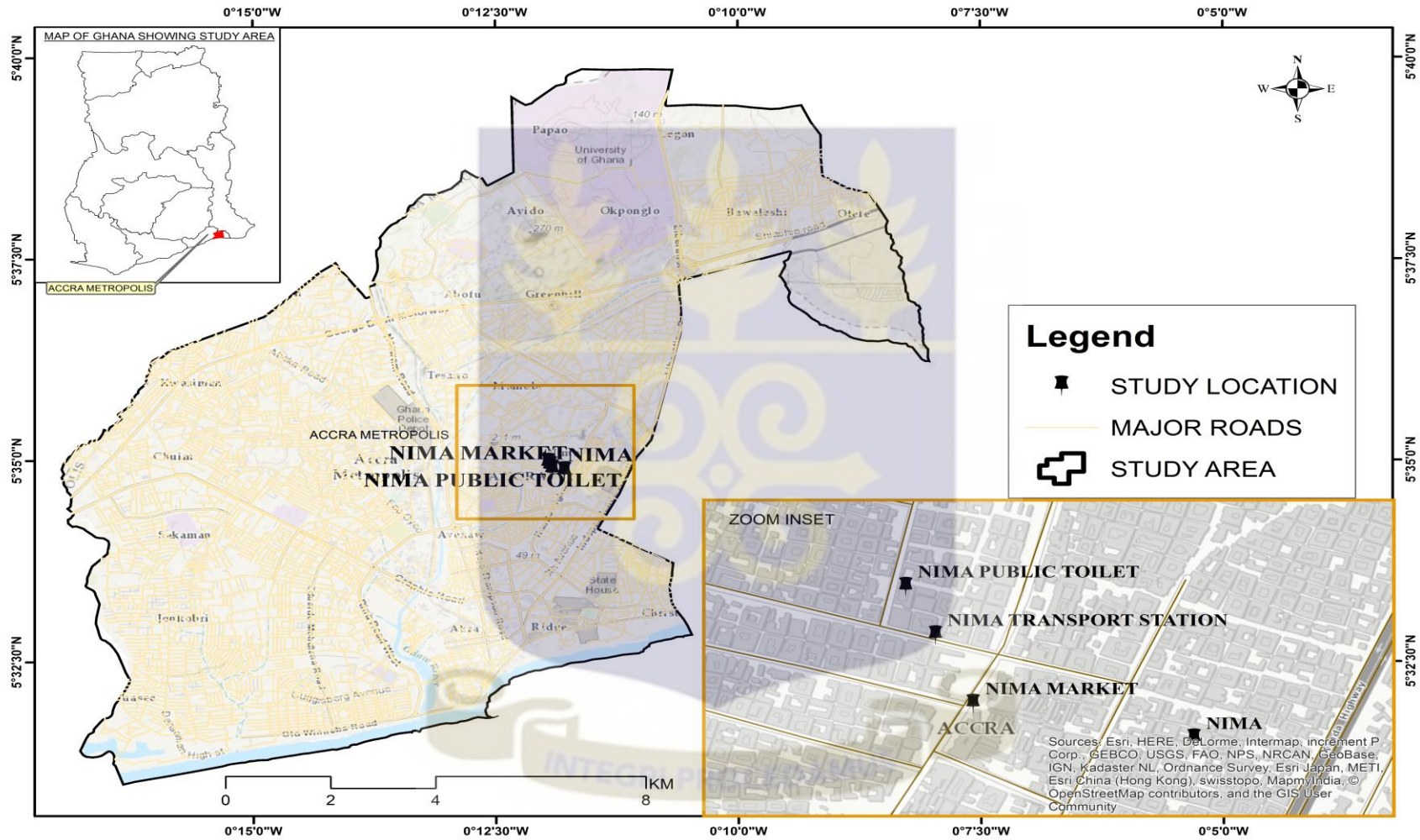
This chapter is organised in two sections. The first section presents the profile of the study area and the second section discusses the research design and methodology for the study. The profile of the study area included the geographical location of Nima, historical background, physical environment, the public toilet and the socio-economic background of Nima. The second section covers aspects of research methodology which encompasses the research design, sampling methods and procedures as well as data analysis techniques.

3.1 Study Area

3.1.1 Geographical Location and Size

Nima is located at the Northeast of Accra city centre and about four miles away from it (see Figure 3.1). It extends over an area of about 351.6 acres of sloping ground. Its longitudinal boundaries are between 0°11.5" East and 0°12.20" West. Latitudinally, it is between 5°35" North and 5°34" South. It is bounded in the West by Mamobi, East by Kanda, North by Kokomlemle and to the South by Accra New Town.

Figure 3.1: Map of Nima, Accra



Source: Author's own contract (2015)

3.1.2 Historical Background of the Study Area

Nima is an Arabic word which means “strangers resting place” and according to oral tradition, the term was first applied to the area by Alhaji Amadu Futa (Malam Futa) as the first settler in 1931. The community developed essentially as a Zongo¹ typically dominated by Muslims. The growth of Nima stemmed largely from the result of the rapid urbanisation of Accra. As the population of Accra began to increase, the migration quarters like Adabraka, Tudu, and especially Zongo Lane began to witness an influx of migrants from mainly rural communities and also from neighbouring countries who came to the capital in search of better job opportunities.

According to available historical records, the Nima area had been the cattle grazing grounds for Alhaji Futa where he had previously built few mud huts for his Hausa and Fulani cattle herdsman. He then formally obtained permission from the Odukpong family at Osu and the Gbese people at Accra (the customary owners of the land) to settle there. Thus, the community of Nima grew out of Alhaji Futa’s compound.

Nima has since gone through a steady but rapid growth in population attracting people from the city centre and also new migrants into the city who came to find accommodation or stay with relatives or friends while seeking jobs. The area further expanded with the establishment of the American Military base Northeast of Nima, Cantonments, and the Airport Residential areas.

¹ A heterogeneous community with unique cultural practice completely different from any community in Ghana and is bounded together by Islam and not ethnicity.

These areas were expanded to house the increasing number of British and American military and service personnel who came into the country. These areas, characterised by a large number of African population, created a demand of diverse forms of semi-skilled labour. Thus, Nima then outside the municipal boundary, by virtue of its proximity to these sources of employment became an attractive residential place from the inner city. These people came to provide services to the expatriate officials as cooks, stewards, labourers, porters, prostitutes and the like. Hence, Nima's growth in population and size is largely due to urbanisation and rural-urban migration (a 62-year-old male community leader)

3.1.3 Physical Environment Conditions

Nima, just like many other low-income urban communities, is beset with many social and environmental problems. Sanitation generally in the area is very poor. There are unattractive scenes of heaps of overflowing rubbish stored in open containers. Livestock are often found feeding on the unkempt rubbish or along the streets and other open places. The area has a very poor drainage system. Drains, which are very essential in residential areas, are lacking in the area. The very well-constructed ones along roads are in a deplorable state with most of them caving in. These drains are dirty and filled with rubbish, with most of them built just along residential homes (GSS, 2010).

Basically, there is a minimal provision of amenities such as adequate waste bins, toilet facilities, and playing fields as well as recreational centres in Nima. There is evidence of uncontrolled development. This, and the lack of basic infrastructure, has made the community exposed to numerous hazards and risks increasing resident's vulnerability. In terms of residential stress, it is

one of the worst affected areas in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GSS, 2010). The houses are invariably of the closed compound courtyard type. On the whole, the general environment is quite dismal, and it especially faces a very severe problem of solid waste management (GSS, 2010).

3.1.4 Socio-Economic Conditions

The occupational background of the residents is mainly trading for the women and civil service for the men. Most of the women engage in marketing activities (GSS, 2010). A few of the women are also engaged in palm-kernel oil extraction. The majority of men work as civil servants, “Watchmen” (security men) and labourers. Only a small proportion of the population work as office employees and most of this category have a fairly high living standard with higher educational background. A few of this category work as civil servants with the majority in the private sector.

The occupational level of residents is closely linked up with their income level. Various surveys showed that most of those who work as low level civil servants (“watchmen” and labourers) receive between GH¢100.00 and GH¢200.00 a month. Some of these residents, no doubt, find it difficult to make ends-meet as most of them have large families and in most cases have no formal education.

Very often, it is the income generated by the trading women that is used to support the income of their husbands and for that matter the up-keep of the family. Most of the women traders are able to earn more than their husbands who work as low-level civil servants, and in most cases the financial support from the women in the family is higher than that of the men. Income levels in

Nima are generally low as the majority of the residents have only low paid jobs as a result of their low formal educational backgrounds (GSS, 2010).

The major religions practiced by the residents of Nima are Islam, Christianity, and Traditional religion. Islam is the dominant religious practice as it is prevalent in almost all the sub-areas. It is, in most cases, the Hausas and Northern tribes who constitute the bulk of the Muslim population (GSS, 2010). Christianity is the second dominant religion in Nima. In most cases the Akans, Ewes, and Gas form the greater part of the Christian population. The traditional believers are found dotted in almost all the sub-areas. The main traditional believers are the Gas and Ewes (GSS, 2010).

3.2 Research Method

This study is part of a larger project titled “Exploring Crime and Poverty Nexus in Urban Ghana”. This is jointly funded by Canada’s International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the United Kingdom’s Department For International Development (DFID) as part of a global research Programme titled “Safe and Inclusive Cities”. In Ghana, the research project is jointly carried out by the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research and the Department of Geography and Resources Development of the University of Ghana. Nima being a low income and urbanized community in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana (GSS, 2010) is one of the selected communities of the larger project (Owusu et al, 2015).

The community has high population densities, low income, poor public infrastructure like the market, transport terminal, toilet etc. Apart from the low income and low educational level, there

is also a mass of unskilled labour in both the informal and the formal economy coupled with high unemployment (GSS, 2010).

The section discusses the research design which also clarifies the methodology adopted for the study. In detail, the methods employed to aid data collection and the means of analysing the data were also discussed. Further, the populations being considered were discussed as well as the samples and sampling procedures, data sources and the methods and techniques for analysing data.

3.2.1 Research Design

This study is a cross a cross-sectional study of women drawn randomly from Nima. In order to adequately respond to the research objectives, the mixed method design was adopted. The field of mixed methods has only been widely accepted for the last decade. Creswell (2003) suggested that the mixed method is used to explain and interpret, explore a phenomenon, develop and test a new instrument, serve a theoretical perspective, complement the strengths of a single design, overcome the weaknesses of a single design, address a question at different levels and to address a theoretical perspective at different levels. Creswell further suggested that a systematic framework for approaching mixed methods research framework involves four decisions to consider and six strategies. The four decisions for the mixed method designs according to Creswell (2003: 211) consists of what the implementation sequence of data collection should be, which method takes priority during data collection and analysis, what the integration stage of finding involves and whether a theoretical perspective be used.

Creswell (2003) further identified six mixed method designs as : the sequential explanatory design which is characterized by the collection and analysis of quantitative data followed by a collection and analysis of qualitative data with the qualitative result used in explaining the findings of the quantitative study, the sequential exploratory design which is characterized by an initial phase of qualitative data collection and analysis followed by a phase of quantitative data collection and analysis which is useful for testing new instruments and the sequential transformative design which is characterized by a collection and analysis of either quantitative or qualitative data first with the results only integrated in the interpretation phase.

Others include concurrent triangulation where two or more methods used to confirm, cross-validate, or corroborate findings within a study with the data collection done concurrently, the concurrent nested design in which a nested approach that gives priority to one of the methods and guides the project, while another is embedded. This aims at addressing a different question than the dominant or to seek information from different levels. The final mixed method design identified by Creswell (2003) is the concurrent transformative design which is characterized by the use of a theoretical perspective reflected in the purpose or research questions of the study to guide all methodological choices. This helps to evaluate a theoretical perspective at different levels of analysis.

We employed the sequential explanatory design in this study so as to enable us use the qualitative data collected to contextualise and effectively explain the results of the quantitative analysis. This will aid a proper understanding of the findings that would be reported in this study.

3.2.2 Data Sources and Data Collection

The study made use of data from both primary and secondary sources.

3.2.2.1 Primary Data

As noted above, two main methods were used in gathering data. Under the quantitative approach, the study made use of data gathered through a survey at Nima. This survey was purposely conducted to assess the incidence of crime in selected low-income communities in urban areas, of which the Nima community was selected as part of the broader project (Exploring Crime and Poverty Nexus in Urban Ghana). The survey was conducted at the household level, where the head of the household was the main respondent.

Questionnaires were designed and administered to gather data on the variables under study. The data was collected in a way that eliminated distortions and misrepresentation to inform effective analysis. This helped the researcher to gather data from various points of view for an objective analysis. Both open ended and closed ended questions were used. The open-ended questions gave respondents the opportunity to give responses in their own words, freely express their views and also freely introduce issues which have not been provided for in the alternative answers. This helped in avoiding bias, which might result from the researcher suggesting responses to respondents as in the case of closed ended questions. The closed ended or restrictive questions provided optional answers to the questions and respondents were asked to choose the ones applicable. Since these closed ended questions were easier, quicker to answer and required minimal writing, it helped encourage respondents to answer the questionnaire while eliminating the feeling of time wasting and also aided in the coding against the open ended questions.

As a way to complement the quantitative data that restrict respondents to pre-coded form of questions, the researcher collected primary data from the targeted population (women) and relevant stakeholders such as officials of the three selected public spaces (market, transport terminal and toilet). Data was essentially gathered from respondents who used the marketplace, transport terminal and public toilet as part of their routine daily activities. These people were engaged in in-depth interview using structured interview guide. Officials and other users were interviewed using a flexible format that allows the interview to follow the interests of the person being interviewed. All the interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees. The reason being that all the conversations could not be hand written in the process, therefore, it became imperative that the researcher record the interview sessions. Direct observations as well as photographs were also taken to complement the qualitative data.

3.2.2.2 Secondary Data

Beyond the primary data, the researcher consulted other sources in search of information relevant to the study at hand. This includes published and unpublished research reports, books, articles, and journals. The information gathered constituted secondary data which was to complement the primary data to allow for enhanced analysis. The secondary data complemented the primary data gathered for a detailed review of literature.

3.2.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

The study adopted both probability and non-probability sampling techniques in selecting the respondents for the study. Under the qualitative approach, the study used a non-probability sampling technique to select respondents and key officials. The non-probability sampling

(purposive) was used to select the respondents (women) at the marketplace, transport terminal and public toilet within the Nima community. The researcher used her judgment to purposively select these women, who were mainly leaders (queen mothers) of various items sold in the market, sellers and few buyers in the market. The others were officials and users of the transport terminals and the public toilet. At the market place, the women who were purposively selected were the Nima market queen, market sellers and buyers.

At the public toilet, the revenue collector, cleaners, sellers in and around the toilet, those taking care of the public toilet as well as users of the public toilet were purposively selected. At the transport terminals, the GPRTU officials, bookers, drivers, some hawkers and some passengers who had patronised the terminal for years were also purposively selected. This group of people selected provided their thoughts based on rich experiences through practice over the years.

The probability sampling technique was used in the selection of the respondents for the survey. The whole Nima community was divided into smaller enumeration areas as demarcated by the local assembly. Within each enumeration area, the total number of houses was divided by the required sample size to obtain the sampling fraction. The sampling fraction provided a base figure upon which houses were systematically selected. Within each house, where there were more than one household, one of them was randomly selected. This process continued systematically until the whole area was covered.

3.2.4 Target population and Sample Size

A total sample size of 296 females was recorded from the household questionnaire survey. The women with varied socio-economic backgrounds in the Nima community who had used or lived

around the marketplace, transport terminal and public toilet for the past five-to-ten years were sampled in the questionnaire survey. The essence of the sampling criteria adopted was to allow for a high probability of generalisation of the research findings. Women were specifically contacted to generate a deeper understanding of the issues under study.

All interviews were conducted by the researcher within the three selected public places in the Nima community. Most of the interviews were conducted during less busy periods. Thus the interviews did not cause minimal inconveniences with ample time for the women to express themselves on issues examined. All the twenty-one (21) interviews lasted for almost two weeks and thus averagely, two interviews were conducted in a day. All the interviews were conducted in “Twi”, Ga and Ewe and were all recorded. At the end of each day, the interviews were transcribed into word documents and analysed manually. The themes and variables that were generated through this careful analysis helped in understanding the complexities of the nexus between crime and women’s safety.

3.2.6 Data Analytic Strategy

Data collected were analysed using appropriate statistical tools and methods. Just as the study used both quantitative and qualitative methods in gathering data, the same approaches were used to analyse the data that were gathered from the field.

Quantitative analysis technique was applied with the use of descriptive statistics embedded in Statistical Package for Social scientist (SPSS) version 21. The data were organised into frequency and percentages and the results were presented in the form of graphs and charts created from Microsoft Excel and tables which aided easy analysis and interpretation of the data

processed. Almost all questions were translated into the local dialects “Twi, Ga and Ewe” for the women to answer. For the section of the respondents who could read, understand and write English, they filled out the questionnaire by themselves. The Chi square was used to test the hypotheses guiding the study to measure the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. The discussion of the analysis provided the basis for testing hypotheses and was also structured in accordance with the objectives. In addition, all the selected public places the study focused on were picked using the Global Positioning System (GPS). These places were later transferred onto the computer using ArcGIS software to generate a visual map of the study area.

The qualitative data collected were analysed using the content analysis approach, or the thematic analysis. Content analysis focuses on identification of themes and patterns in the data and grouping similar ideas together (Constas, 1992). Relevant statements given by the respondents were analysed and presented directly under relevant thematic areas.

While data collection and analysis were primarily conducted in a sequential manner, there was data mixing at the discussion phase of this study. For the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding, analysed qualitative and quantitative data from the primary target group as well as from in-depth interviews were discussed and presented together in chapters four and five. Final conclusion and recommendations derived from the study were also presented in chapter 6

3.3 Summary

This chapter presented a discussion of the research methodology employed in this study. Areas covered include a description of the study area, the research design and data source and data collection procedure. The study employed the systematic design with the mixed method

(qualitative and quantitative) allowing a multidimensional analysis of the research data. In line with the stated design, the study gathered primary data through a survey in Nima. Secondary data sources include published and unpublished research reports, books, articles and journals. We employed both probability and non-probability sampling techniques in selecting the respondents. A total of 296 respondents drawn from the three selected public spaces were interviewed in the field survey. We performed the quantitative analysis using SPSS version 21. In the following chapter, the various forms of crime against women and the factors that contribute to such crimes are presented.



CHAPTER FOUR

FORMS OF CRIME AGAINST WOMEN AND FACTORS

CONTRIBUTING TO CRIME

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and discussions of the study on crime and women's safety within Nima. This section presents the results of the survey and in-depth interviews conducted with key informants. The analysis dwelled on the different forms of crime perpetrated against women in Nima and factors contributing to the different forms of crimes women experience. Relevant literatures were also used to support the findings of the study as a way of incorporating the study findings into the main literature discussions on crime issues within the three selected public spaces in Nima community. The next section is dedicated to presenting the demographic characteristics of women who took part in the study as well as the crime issues within the three selected public places in Nima community.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Participants were drawn from different socio-economic backgrounds within the Nima community. Out of the total number of respondents, females were 296. The mean number of years most of the respondents have stayed in the Nima community is 20 years (S.D. 14.3). The mean and median age for all female respondents was 37 years (S.D. 13.2) whilst the modal age recorded for respondents was twenty-five (25) years.

Table 4.1 Distribution of demographic characteristics of respondents

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Ethnicity		
Ewe	86	29
Akan	80	27
Gurma	54	18
Ga-Dangme	49	17
Others	27	9
Marital Status		
Single (Never married)	91	31
Consensual/ Cohabitation	10	3
Married	158	53
Divorced	13	4
Separated	5	2
Widowed	17	6
None	2	.1
Religious Orientation		
Christian	140	47
Muslim	151	51
Other	1	0.3
None	4	1
Highest Level of Education Completed		
None (no formal education)	60	20
Primary	45	15
JSS/JHS/Middle school	82	28
SSS/SHS/Vocational/Technical	74	25
HND/Diploma	8	3
Graduate (Tertiary)	18	6
Other	5	2
N/A	4	1
Occupation		
Sales Services	156	53
Skilled Manual	28	9
Unskilled Manual	19	6
Clerical	2	1
Unemployed	24	8
Pensioner	43	14
Professional	15	5
Other	5	2
N/A	4	2

Source: Field Survey (2014)

According to Table 4.1, about 86 (29%) of women interviewed were Ewe, 80 (27%) were Akan, about 54 (18%) Gurma, whilst 49 (17%) were Ga-Dangme, and 27 (7%) representing other tribes. Inferring from the results, it can be observed the Nima community is heterogeneous one as indicated by GSS (2012). This also provides a confirmation that the Nima community is a migrant settlement.

Again, the marital status of respondents were also analysed. The survey data showed that about 91 (31%) of women interviewed were single, 10 (3.3%) were engaged in consensual/cohabitation relationships, while 158 (53.3%) indicated they were married. Also 13 (4.3%) were divorced, 4 (1.3%) are separated from their partners and 18 (6%) were widowed while the remaining 2 (0.7%) did not state their marital status. The results indicated that majority of the women in Nima are married and this status provides a source of security for them at home with respect to crime occurrence. Married women or those living with other partners are more likely to feel protected as compared to women who live alone (Jagori, 2000).

With respect to the religious affiliation of women interviewed, about 140 (47%) were Christians, and 151 (51%) were Muslims. This finding is in consonance with (GSS, 2010) data which indicate that 58% of the female population in Nima are Muslims. Only 1 (0.3%) respondent noted affiliation to other religion whilst the remaining 4 (1%) did not disclose their religious affiliation. The results indicate that Nima is a Muslim dominated community and that reflects the widely held perceptions that that Nima is largely a Muslim community.

The level of education of respondents was of essence in this study. From Table 4.1, majority of the respondents, 82 (28%), 74 (25%) completed JHS/Middle and SSS/SHS/Vocational/Technical

education respectively. Following, about 60 (20%) had no formal education whilst 45 (15%) completed primary education. About 19 (6%) have had graduate education (tertiary), and 8 (3%) completed HND/Diploma. The remaining 4 (1%) each have completed other forms of education. The information gives an indication that majority of women interviewed have completed some level of education and thus possess the ability to read and write. (GSS, 2010)

Respondents were asked to indicate their specific occupations within the community. This was considered important because it would give the researcher a fair idea about the kind of work women do and anticipate how that could affect their safety. From Figure 4.1, about 156 (53%) of women interviewed were engaged in sales/services, about 15 (5%) were professional/technical/managerial jobs. About 28 (9%) had skilled manual jobs and 19 (6%) had unskilled manual jobs. Further, 2 (1%) had clerical jobs, 24 (8%) were unemployed at the time of survey, about 4 (2%) indicated other jobs, whilst 43 (14%) were pensioners. However 5 (2%) did not indicate their occupation at all. The result indicates that most female in Nima are into sales /services. This is generally consistent with GSS, (2010) which reported that of the 18725 female workforce in Nima, 10816 representing 58% in sales/service.

By this conclusion, the women's active engagement in sales, services and general merchandise suggests they are mostly in these open places with their wares, money and other vital belongings. We can reasonably suggest therefore that they may be exposed to crime risks at such places which could compromise their safety since these open places are mostly unsecured and may attract people with the tendency to commit crime.

4.2 Forms of Crime Against Women

In respect of the general assessment of crime within the Nima community, Table 4.2 illustrates information on the forms of crime perpetrated against women. Figure 4.1 and 4.2 show the level of crime and the most feared crime within the Nima community respectively.

Table 4.2: Forms of Crime Perpetrated Against Women within Nima

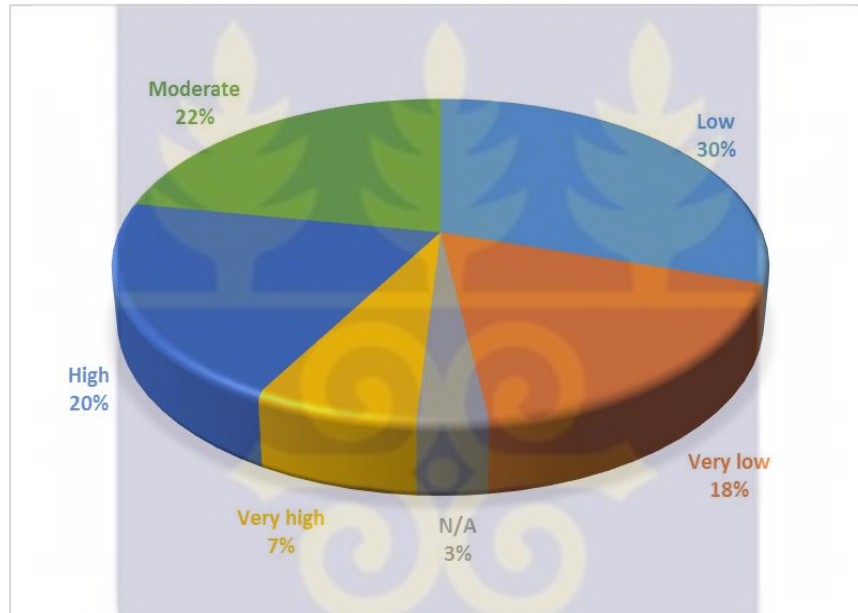
Characteristics	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Bag snatching	58	20
Stealing	104	35
Assault	22	7
Fraud	12	4
Drug Peddling	21	7
Rape	4	1
Burglary	8	3
Prostitution	2	1
Robbery	9	3
Smoking	29	10
Fighting	27	9

Source: Field Survey (2014)

Table 4.2 depicts the various types of crime that occur within Nima community. About 58 (20%) respondents reported bag snatching, 104 (35%) reported stealing, 22 (7%) stated assault, and 12(4%) reported fraud. Other respondents 21(7%) mentioned drug peddling, 4(1%) indicated rape, 8(3%) lamented over burglary, and 2(1%) mentioned prostitution. Further, 9(3%) stated robbery. 29(10%) of respondents reported smoking and the remaining 27 (9%) reported fighting as forms of crime perpetrated on female residents of Nima. The surveyed data suggests that Bag snatching and stealing together constitutes the most dominant crimes committed in these open spaces in Nima. These are minor crimes according to the criminal code of Ghana and thus an indication of the increasing exposure to risk of female residents that frequently ply their daily activities at these local spaces. This finding is corroborated by Levitt (1996) and Ranjan (2013) in separate studies on crimes against women.

However, the study observed that rape and prostitution were least forms of crimes indicated by respondent. The study found out that the cultural/ religious beliefs background and sensitivity influenced the low number of reported cases even though they may be actually low particularly in public spaces.

Figure 4.1 Perceived level of crime within Nima community



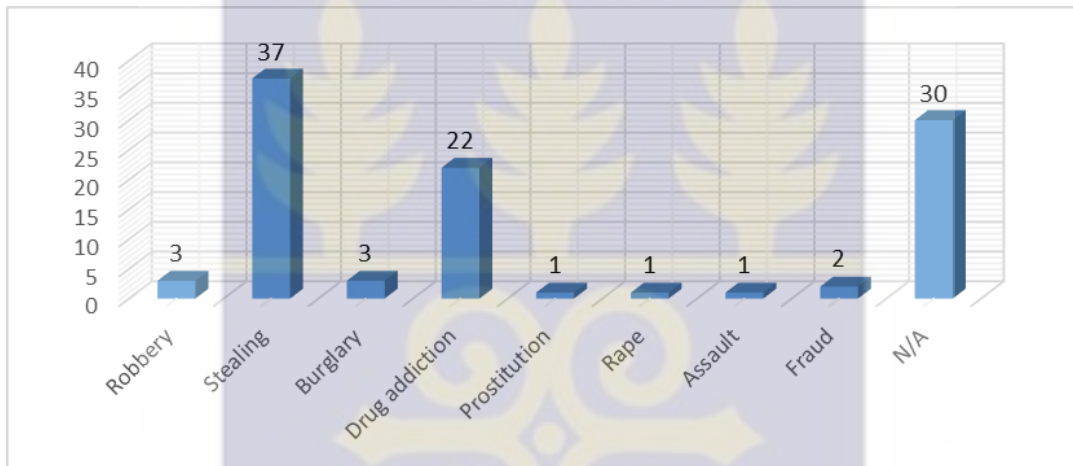
Source: Field Survey (2014)

In Figure 4.1, about 88 (30%) of respondents disclosed that crime level is relatively low, about 64 (22%) stated moderate crime levels and 55 (18%) specified very low crime levels. In addition, about 60 (20%) of respondents indicated that crime levels in Nima was high. Further, just about 20 (7%) of the women maintained that crime level was very high. Only 9 (3%) of the women could not specify whether crime was low or high within the Nima community. Aggregating the categorical responses stated above, there is the general view that crime level within the Nima community is relatively low (48%). The results show that in recent times, the incidence of crime

perpetrated against women might be decreasing. This view was support during an interview session with a 49 year old male GPRTU leader, who indicated that:

“Crime has reduced as a result of the Nima police patrol team and the crime preventive measures put in place by the station management”

Figure 4.2 Most Feared Crime in Nima Neighbourhood



Source: Field Survey (2014)

Figure 4.2 presents the most feared crimes within the Nima neighbourhood. A large proportion of the respondents cited stealing (37%) crimes because of its prevalence (see Table. 4.2). Corroborating, Warr (2000) views that fear of crime involves the frequency and intensity of crime. There were other crimes which a few of the respondent cited as the most feared crime. These included robbery (3%), burglary (3%), fraud (2%), prostitution (1%), rape (1%), and assault (1%). As high as 30% of the respondents indicated that they do not fear any crime at Nima.

4.3 Perpetrators and victims of crime

In addition to the general assessment of crime in the Nima community, the perceived perpetrators and victims of crime among community members or otherwise were also examined (see Figure 4.3). The results illustrate that the most common perpetrators and victims of crime in terms of sex and age. In the opinion of respondents (women), about 107 (36%) disclosed that community members are the most common perpetrators of crime in the area, whereas other respondents constituting 71 (24%) dissented, while maintaining that the most common perpetrators of crime are people who live outside the community.

Similarly, about 73 (25%) of respondents also revealed that both residents/community members and outsiders/strangers are the most common perpetrators of crime in the area. However, about 29 (10%) indicated that they do not know who the most common perpetrators of crime are in Nima. About 5% of the respondents did not express their views on crime perpetrators. Inferring from the results, residents of Nima are the most common perpetrators of crime. This implies that resident/native criminals may perpetrate most crimes committed at the household level. This may put the lives of the vulnerable (women) at risk, a view that is supported by the argument made by the “the vulnerability hypothesis” (McCrea *et al.* 2005:9), which sought to propose that females feel more vulnerable than males because they are less able to physically defend themselves and feel less in control over crime occurrence; therefore, they are “more sensitive to the consequences of victimization” (Jackson 2009:368).

Table 4.3 Perpetrators and victims of crime

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Most Perpetrator (s) of Crime in Nima		
Community members	107	36
People who live outside this community	71	24
Both (Community members and outside)	73	25
Don't know	29	10
N/A	16	5
Most common victim (s) of crime in Nima		
Community members	172	58
People who live outside the community	19	6
Both (Community members and outside)	59	20
Don't know	27	9
N/A	19	6
Sex and Age, Most Common Perpetrators of Crime in Nima		
Juveniles (below 18)-male	39	13
Juvenile (below 18)-female	4	2
Youth (18-35)-male	213	71
Youth (18-35)-Female	9	3
Adult male (above 35)	6	2
Adult female (above 35)	1	1
N/A	24	8
Sex and Age, Most Common Victims of Crime in Nima		
Juveniles (below 18)-male		.3
Juvenile (below 18)-female	26	9
Youth (18-35)-male	5	2
Youth (18-35)-Female	66	22
Adult male (above 35)	26	9
Adult female (above 35)	61	21
N/A	111	38

Source: Field Survey (2014)

With respect to the most common victims of crime in Nima, about 172 (58%) respondents mentioned community residents/members, 19 (6%) also specified people who live outside Nima as being the most common victims to crime. Further, 59 (20%) of respondents mentioned that both community residents/members and outsiders are the most common victims. More so, only 27 (9%) couldn't tell who the most common victims of crime are in the area whilst 19 (6%) did

not express their views at all. The results imply that resident/community members are those who usually fall victim to the various forms of crime in the

The study further examined the perpetrators of crime by sex and age. It was revealed that about 39 (13%) stated that juveniles males (below 18) are the most common perpetrators of crime in Nima. Also, about 4 (2%), 213 (71%) and 9 (3%) of the respondents respectively held the views that juveniles females (below 18), male youth (18 - 35) and female youth (18 - 35) are the most common perpetrators of crime in Nima. Within the adult category, only 6 (2%) of respondents stated adults male (above 35) and just about 1 (1%) adults female (above 35) as the most common perpetrators of crime within the Nima community. The aggregate responses for the different sex and age categories indicates that juvenile males, 18 years and below as well youth males 18-35 years are the most common perpetrators of crime in Nima. From the result, there is an indication that the perpetrators of crime are mostly community members making the situation an endemic social problem to be combated. Many studies have also shown that unemployment is a major cause for the prevalence and rise in crime, especially in urban areas of Ghana, for that matter Nima (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2003). Others have indicated socio economic problems such as unemployment as a second major factor for crime occurrence in Nima (see table 4.5). There are also arguments that support the view that “Growing unemployment amongst young men in these areas have often resulted in growing drug and alcohol abuse and this is seen as one of the key factors enforcing crime and violence” (UNESCAP, 2011). On the other hand, regarding the sex and age of victims of most common crime in Nima, only 1 (0.3%) mentioned juvenile males (below 18). However, about 26 (9%) specified that juvenile females (below 18) are the most common victims. That notwithstanding, about 5 (2%) and 66 (22%) respectively stated youth

males (18 - 35) and youth females (18 - 35) as most common victims of crime. Additionally, whereas 26 (9%) stated adult males (above 35) as the most common victim, about 61 (21%) indicated adult females (above 35). However, about 111 (37%) were unable to specify the sex and age of the category of persons who are the most common victim of crime in Nima. Overall, a total of 87 (30%) incidents of crime have been reported against adults as compared to 71 (22%) incidents of crimes reported against the youth.

Ghana, like many countries in Africa, has a youthful population. One-third of the working population is aged between 15 and 24 while two-thirds are between the ages of 15 and 35. Thus, the youth population is growing at a faster rate than the national population. Unfortunately, the unemployment rate among the youth is very high. The results from the 2010 Population and Housing Census show that 42.7 percent of the unemployed population are aged 15-24 years, and 46.2 percent are aged 25-44 years. The unemployment rate among the youth is increasing, it is not surprising that the common perpetrators of crime are the youth (male). The finding also supports the claim by Miethe and Lee (1984) who found that most of the incidences of crimes are committed against the elderly than the youth in urban areas.

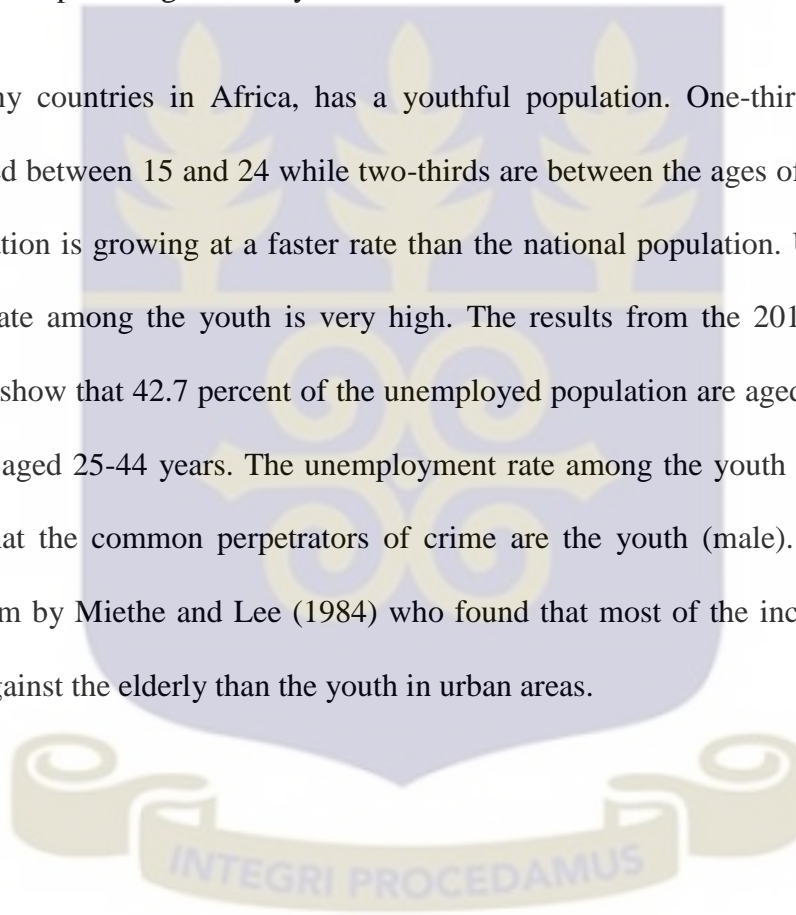
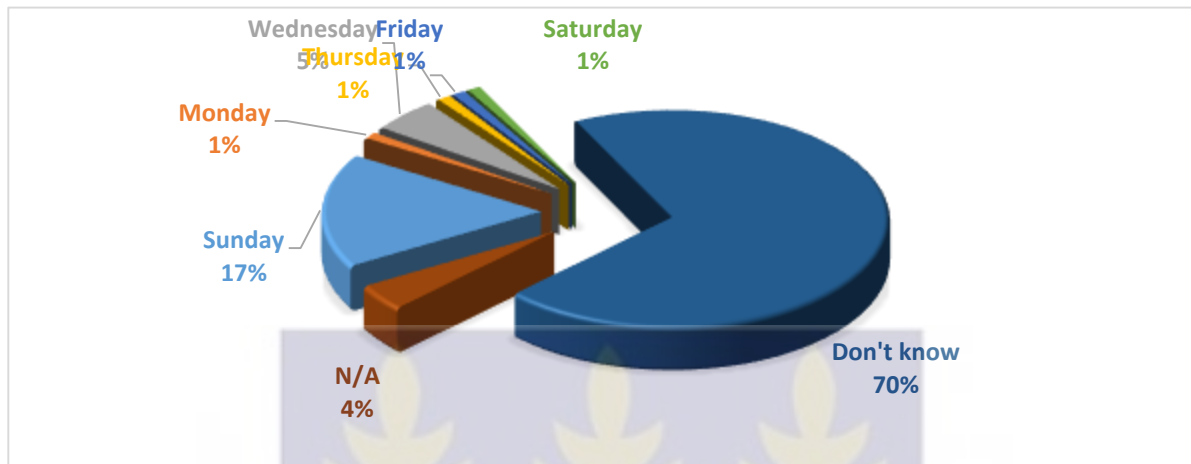


Figure 4.3 Days of the Week Crime is Usually Committed in Nima

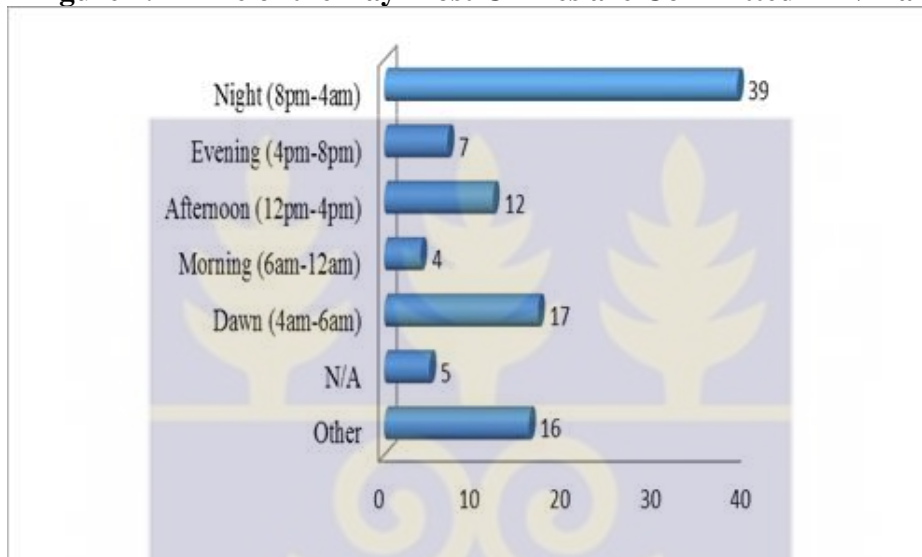
Sources: Field Survey (2014)

The study also examined the days of the week in which crime(s) are usually committed, about 49 (17%) indicated Sunday as the day of the week crimes are mostly committed. (70%) were not sure which day whilst about 11 (4%) did not state any day. Also, 3 (1%) of the respondents noted Saturdays, 3 (1%) noted Mondays and 16 (5%) specified Wednesdays. Furthermore, 4 (1%) mentioned Thursdays and Fridays respectively as the day in which crimes are usually committed. A few of the respondent (1%) also noted Saturdays. Meanwhile, about 206 respondents did not indicate any day. The reason being that, on Sunday people go to church with their families leaving the home with no and this motivates the criminals to carry out their operation whenever there is a suitable target (As explained earlier in the study). Inferring from Figure 4.3, it means that women who go to the church on Sunday are likely to be vulnerable to any forms of crime.

Figure 4.4 shows the time crime usually occurs at Nima. A large proportion of the respondents (115) representing 39% indicated night (8pm – 4am) whilst 21 representing 7% indicated evening between the hours of 4pm and 8pm. Also, 17% of the respondents mentioned dawn

between the hours of 4am - 6am and 13 respondents representing 4% indicated morning hours between 6 am-12 pm. Also, 35 respondents representing 12% indicated that crime usually occur in the afternoon between the hours of 12 pm - 4 pm.

Figure 4.4 Time of the Day Most Crimes are Committed in Nima



Source: Field Survey (2014)

In addition, 48 of the respondents representing 16% stated other times whilst 15 (5%) did not state the times that crimes are usually committed at Nima. The reason given that, at night their husbands go to work since most men in the Nima community work as security guards (watchmen) (See Chapter three, 3.2.2). Which means that, their husbands in search of ‘bread’ put the lives of their wives (women) at risk

In sum, the results indicate that there has been a decrease in the incidences of crime within Nima. But there are isolated instances when women feel unsecured. In addition, stealing as well as bag snatching are the most common types of crimes that occur within the Nima community. The findings further show that the various forms of crime identified (See Figure 4.4) are perpetrated

by resident/native male youths in the area. Adults' males and females who are resident/community members were found to be the most common crime victims in the area. With respect to day and time of crime occurrences, the findings show that crimes committed mostly occur on Sunday as per the views of respondent (See Figure 4.3). The reason was that, most people attend to various social activities in the Nima communities. These crimes occur mostly at night between the hours of 8pm and 4am (See Figure 4.4). And this raises concerns about youth disorder and therefore support the view that in low-income areas monitoring of peer groups is a problem (broken homes, peer influence etc.)

Globally, studies on crime have revealed that there are significant gender dimensions to the criminal activities that are committed (Silvestri & Crowther-Dowey, 2008). The result is consistent with other studies which indicate that men are more likely to perpetrate crime compared to women, this is because women by nature feel more vulnerable than men because they are less able to physically defend themselves and feel less in control over crime occurrence; therefore, they are “more sensitive to the consequences of victimization” (Jackson 2009:368, Lauritsen, 2009). In the 1990s, Gottfredson & Hirschi (1990) also indicated in their work that men are ‘always and everywhere more likely than women to commit criminal acts’ (p. 145). For instance, according to the UK Ministry of Justice (MoJ, 2012), statistically, men accounted for about 76% of UK criminal sentences in 2011 and has remained a key focus of criminological debate over the years

4.4 Forms of Crime against women in the three Selected Public Spaces

This study has implicated how some urban public spaces affects crime occurrence. Different types of space influence crime differently, because every crime attracts different logic of space. Understanding the nature of urban spaces is essential, especially for security officials in the designing and implementation of safety measures. Three public spaces, which are the market place, the transport terminal (trotro/taxi station) and the public toilet were the main focus of this study.

4.4.1 Forms of crime in Nima Market

According to Table 4.4, the various types of crime that occur at the Nima market. About 7 (2%) reported bag snatching, about 37 (13%) reported stealing, 5 (2%) stated assault and the remaining 3 (1%) reported fraud. Meanwhile, about 244 (82%) of respondents did not have any idea at all about crimes that occur at the market place. Inferring from the result, it is seen that stealing is the most perpetrated crime in the Nima market. Though a good number of respondents (244) claimed no knowledge about the prevalence of these crimes, the key/informant interviews suggest that stealing is the major crime in the market. Figure 4.5 below also suggests a majority of the market women are personally not victims of crime and may not be aware of its existence.

Table 4.4: Crimes that occur at the Nima Market Place

Crime	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Bag snatched	7	2
Stealing	37	13
Assault	5	2
Fraud	3	1
N/A	244	82

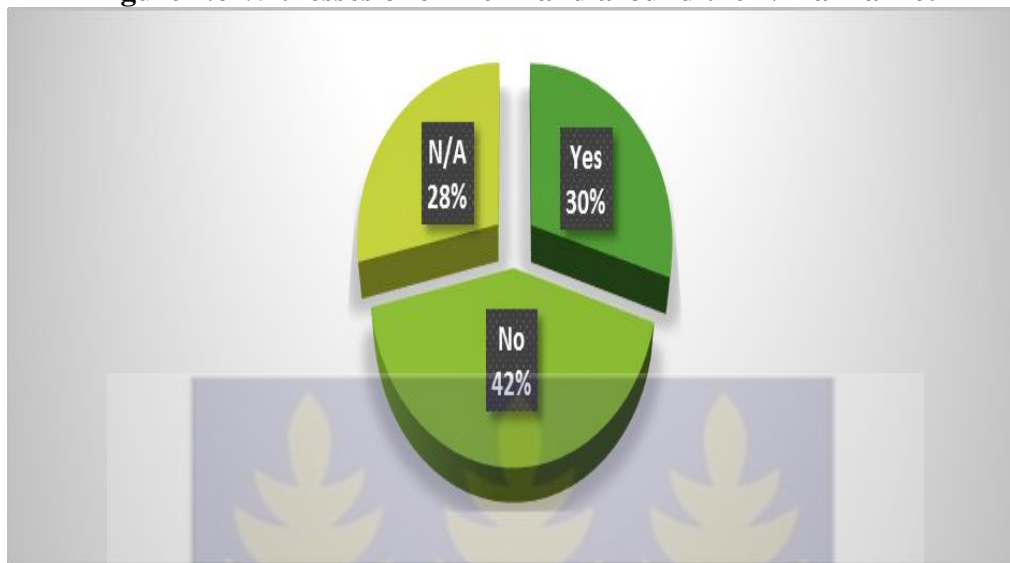
Source: Field Survey (2014)

Figure 4.5: Victim of crime in and around the Nima market



Source: Field survey (2014)

On the whole it can be seen from Figure 4.5 that out of 296 women surveyed, majority constituting 71% has not experienced any form of crime whereas only 5% have been victims of crime in the market place. The remaining 24% did not provide any response. Notably, it could be observed that majority of the women in the market have not been victims of any forms of crime. This implies that the market space looks safe for women.

Figure 4.6 Witnesses of crime in and around the Nima market

Source: Field Survey (2014)

In respect of witness to crime incidents in the market place (Figure 4.6), majority of those interviewed, about 42% indicated that they had not witnessed crime incident at the market place. About 30% disclosed that they have witnessed crime in the market place. About 28% of the respondents did not provide any response. Per the results it can be pointed out that most of the women in Nima have not been crime victims but quite a number of them have witnessed crime occurrences. The interview results from the women leaders, traders and buyers of the market showed mix findings. There were some who believe that crimes against women are reducing while others also think that there is some difference between the incidences of crime today compared to some time past. A fifty-eight (58) year old woman explained that previously, crime incidences were high in the market place but now, the rate has reduced. Below are some of the responses:

“I was born and bred at Nima and I’m 58 years. Some years ago, Nima was known to be an “unsafe” part of Accra, especially the market and the Trotro station.

This was because all kinds of criminal activities such as stealing, rape, fraud, fighting, bags and phone snatching etc. were very common. But, I can tell you that for about 5- 10 years now, these activities have reduced drastically so we are safe, in exception of stealing which is still the major crime in this market all because we don't have watchmen” (A 58 year old female leader)

Others however noted that crimes such as stealing and rape cases are still high in the market places. Some therefore noted that they do not feel safe and the incidence of crime is high during the evenings as compared to other periods in the day.

“How can we be safe when there are a lot of theft cases around? Confidence tricksters are very common. Young men are sleeping with ‘small small’ girls all over the place we are not safe”. I shout whenever thieves attempt to steal my goods. I wail for people to come to my rescue. For example, I was inside the last time when someone attempted a break-in. immediately I started shouting (juloo juloo) thief! thief! And the person ran away. Just wait till 4:00PM (market hours) and see what happens here in this market” (A 41 year old female trader).

A buyer described the incidence of crime in the market as rampant. According to her, people are still scared anytime they come to Nima Market due to the high incidence of stealing especially during the evening, when darkness is gradually setting in.

“The only crime here is stealing .I don't leave any money in my bag anytime i come to the market. Because these guys will be monitoring us and will try to trace

us, so for me, I put my money in my brassier. We are all scared because of the stealing cases especially in the night in this market” (a 51 year old female buyer)

In the market, there were mixed findings; while some felt safe, others indicated that they do not feel safe at all. Others also felt safe during the day but not in the night. The findings on the safety of women at the market places however supports the finding in literature that pick-pocketing, purse-snatching, and various types of scams are the most common forms of crime confronting buyers and sellers alike within the market places. There is a general lack of security and safety in “many crowded market areas, creating the opportunity for criminal activities (Warner & Rukus, 2013)

Plate 1: Shows pictures of the Nima Market Space



Source: Field Data (2014)

4.4.2 Forms of crime in Transport Terminal (Trotro/Taxi Station)

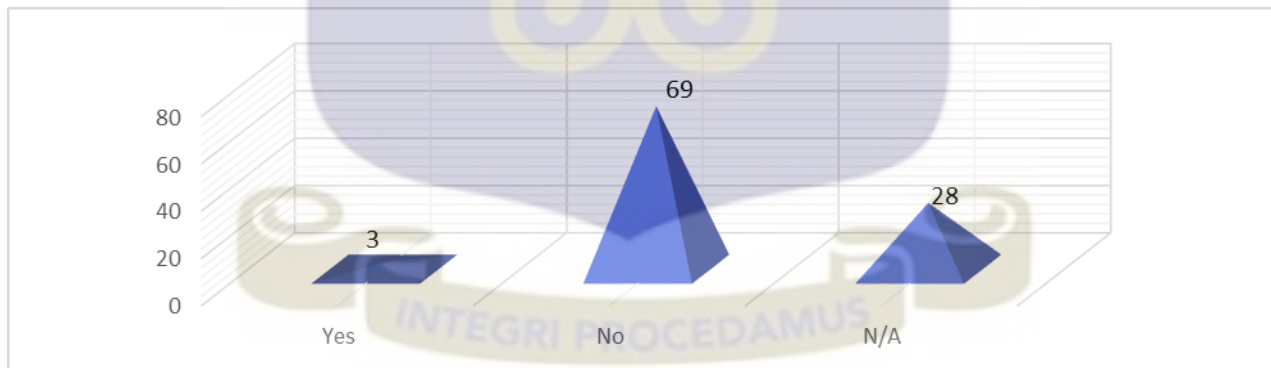
As shown in Table 4.4.2, the main types of crime occurring at the Nima transport terminal as reported by those interviewed includes bag snatching 26 (9%), stealing 21 (7%) and assault 6 (2%). Majority of respondents 264 (89%) however, did not provide any response on the type of crime incidents.

Table 4.5: Crimes that occur at the Nima transport terminal

Crime	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Bag snatching	26	9
Stealing	21	7
Assault	6	2
N/A	243	82

Source: Field Survey (2014)

Figure 4.7: Victim of Crime In and Around the Nima Transport Terminal

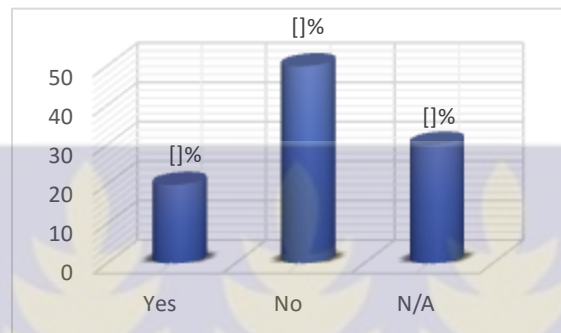


Source: Field Survey (2014)

Figure 4.7 shows that only about 3% of the women interviewed disclosed that they have been victims of crime. Most of the women interviewed, about 69% have not been victims of crime at the transport terminal (trotro/taxi station). About 28% did not disclosed whether they have been

victims or not. It could be pointed from Figure 4.7 women in and around the transport terminal are safe.

Figure 4.8 Witnesses of crime in and around the transport terminal



Source: Field Survey (2014)

In Figure 4.8, about 20% of respondents have witnessed crime occurrence at the Nima transport terminal. However, about 50% of respondents mentioned that they have not witnessed any crime occur at the transport terminal. It is important to note that about 30% of women did not provide any response to that effect. The results give an indication that crime incidents against women at the Nima transport terminal are relatively low.

Concerning the incidence of crime at the transport terminal, all the respondents interviewed at the terminal indicated that the transport terminal is very safe for women and girls as compared to then at Nima. Thus, crime at the station is very low. Below are some of the statements at the transport terminal,

“Women are safe, especially those living in this communities as well as strangers like you who have heard about Nima as a crime prone area in Ghana. But trust me, you are safe. You can spend a day or a week here and you would

realize that this place is safe and also, I don't remember the last time there was any form of violence against any woman/girl for the past 5 years. This is as a result of the Nima police patrol team and the crime preventive measures put in place by the station management” (A 49-year-old GPRTU leader).

“It was then that criminals used to snatch women's bags and rape them mostly in the night. All because the criminals had no option and they needed to eat too, therefore, they were committing all sort of crimes. But for the past four (4) year they have stopped these crimes and I can point about five ex-criminals who are now managing life like myself as compared to then” (A 54-year-old male driver).

“This place is safe for everyone be it a member of the community or a stranger like you (the researcher) so don't be afraid. You are 100% safe. The women as well as the girls move freely without any fear or intimidation and also, i think women we are safe. My reasons being that the issue of teenage pregnancy is not on the increase as it used to. So why not safe?” (A 39-year-old female seller).

“My house is just around the station and I have been boarding vehicles at this station since I came to Nima in the 90's. And in those days there used to be a lot of violence and criminal cases in the past, but this has reduced so much. So i can say that crime in Nima is close to zero. In the past women used to be afraid of thieves, pick pockets, bag snatchers, etc. But these days these criminals are no more” (A 50-year-old female passenger)

The findings of this section have revealed mix findings. Whiles others compared incidences of crime today to sometime past. A critical look at the results show that women are safe at the transport terminal due to the regular Nima police patrol team, also, proper lighting system and measures put in place by the management of the transport union to ensure zero tolerance for any form of crime for the past five (5) years.

The findings of this study showing the low crime incidence in transport terminals contradict the results of many studies conducted. Studies have revealed that transport facilities and infrastructures due to their ubiquitous nature have rapidly gained ground as a platform for all manner of crimes within the urban space (Block & Davis, 1996; Sideris, 1999; Liggert, et al., 2001; Newton, 2004; Ajayi & Ajayi, 2013 and Das & Pandit, 2013; Betwa, 2013). However, the reverse situation was rather the case of the Nima transport terminal.

Plate 2: Shows pictures of the Nima Transport Terminal Space



Source: Field Data (2014)

4.4.3 Forms of crime in Nima Public Toilet

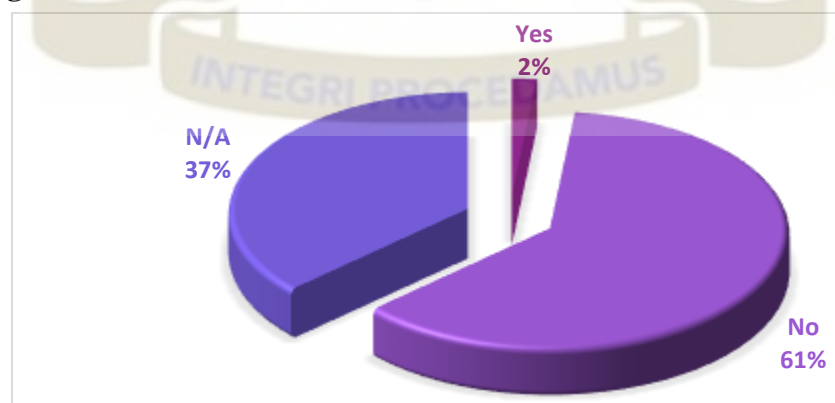
Table 4.6 indicates the various types of crime that occur in and around the Nima public toilet. A small percentage, 1 (0.3%), of those interviewed mentioned both bag snatching and stealing. About 6 (2%) and 4 (1%) of the respondents also reported drug peddling and assault respectively. About 59 (20%) and 25(8%) mentioned smoking and fighting respectively. Surprisingly, a large number of women 200(68%) reached for the interview did not have any idea at all regarding the type of crimes that occur in and around the Nima public toilet.

Table 4.6: Crimes that Occur at the Nima Public Toilet

Crime	Frequency	Percentage
Bag snatching	1	0.3
Stealing	1	0.3
Drug peddling	6	2
Assault	4	1
Smoking	59	20
Fighting	25	8
N/A	200	68

Source: Field Survey (2014)

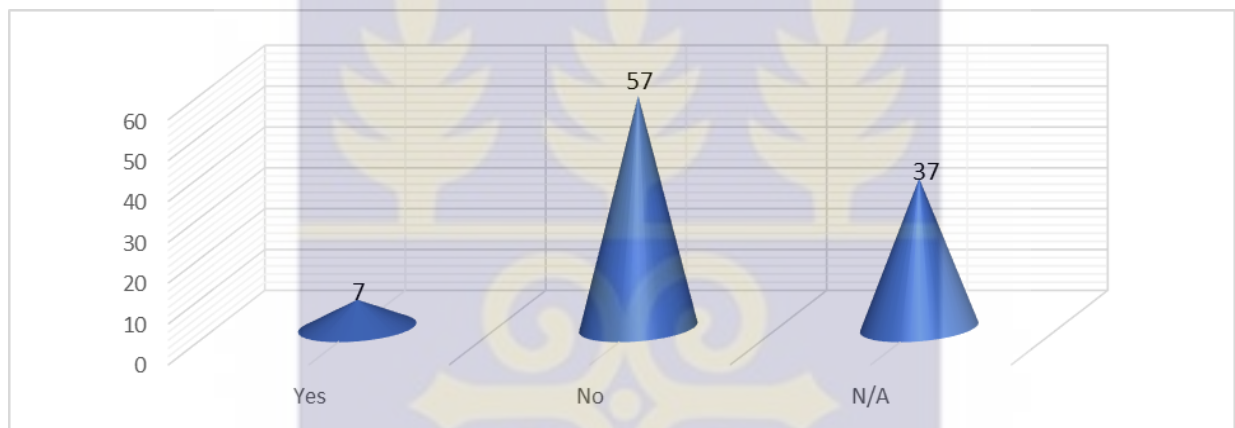
Figure 4.9 Victim of Crime in and Around the Nima Public Toilet



Source: Field Survey (2014)

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they have been witnesses to crime incidents at the public toilet area. Figure 4.10, shows that, majority of those interviewed 57% indicated that they have never witnessed any form of incidents of crime at the public toilets. Also, 7% of respondents however, disclosed that they have ever witnessed crime in and around the public toilet. 37% of the women interviewed could not provide any response.

Figure 4.10 Witnesses of Crime in and Around the Nima Public Toilet



Source: Field Survey (2014)

In Figure 4.10, about 7% have witnessed crime occurrence at the Nima public toilet. However, about 57% of respondents mentioned that they have not witnessed any crime occur at the transport terminal. It is important to note that about 37% of women did not provide any response to that effect.

The interviews from the workers, users including (ganjar boys) at the public toilet indicated that there is low incidence of crime and therefore, women and girls are very safe at Nima public toilets. The results give an indication that crime incidents against women at the Nima public toilet are relatively low.

However, most of the interviewees cited that increasing number of smokers and fighters causes fear in the area. Below are some of the responses:

“Generally, stealing, fraud, confidence tricksters, occurs at Nima but smoking is the commonest crime here, which I think can never stop and fighting which is occasional at this place (public toilet). I think women are safe from attack. But some of them fear whenever they come around because of the presence of smokers (gunjar boys) who are increasing in number on daily bases. And also, whenever the light goes off (dumsor), they are scared to go to the toilet. However, they are safe because should someone attack any of them, the culprit is either reprimanded or punished”. (A 29-year -old male cleaner)

“The place is safe and you can see the small girls moving all over. Even though the smokers around makes the place scary, they don’t attack us. So we are able to move freely within the community” (A 56-year-old woman, public toilet user).

“When women see a group of young men like me smoking around, they get afraid. This is because the women think smokers are mostly criminals” (a 21 year old male smoker).

“It is only the fighting and smoking around that makes this place unsafe for women” (A 69-year-old female seller)

“Crime is low within this place. We are safe as women because they don’t attack us but the only problem is that the place is always unhygienic. This is because almost every woman in this community including girls, and even traders from neighbouring countries

use this facility (public toilet). We can be infected with any disease at any point in time”

(A 26-year-old female toilet user)

At the public toilet, young people's attitude of smoking was also considered a possible cause of their fighting and caused fear among some of the women. Due to the attitude of smokers, some of the women fear whenever they visit the public toilet. The smoking also induces some of the young men to fight among themselves at the slightest provocation. This supports the argument that areas around public toilets are places where people engage in criminal activities such as drug peddling, thus making most users (especially women) feel unsafe (Nina, 2011).

In sum, with respect to the assessment of crime occurrence in the selected public spaces (market, transport terminal and public toilet) for the study, the results show that there are still some security issues to be concerned about. The findings revealed that different forms of crimes occur at different places in the Nima community. While stealing and bag snatching were found to be very dominant in the market and transport terminals, smoking and fighting were also found to be very high at the public toilet. All the crime incidences were also found to be very high during the night as compared to the day time even though their occurrence is low. This supports the Crime Pattern Theory proposition of Brantingham and Brantingham (1993), who posited that crime occurs in specific patterns and is usually concentrated at particular places, and at particular times, i.e. hotspots. It has therefore been strongly advocated that for security agencies and even the community as a body to be able to combat crime, they need to have adequate knowledge about such hotspots and the various crimes that occur in these places. This is the first step to crime prevention as it forms the basis for developing strategic intervention to oust crime from communities (Bowers et al., 2004). Thus, such knowledge about what form of crime is committed

where and at what time are the key ingredients, according to the theory of Crime Pattern, to undertake a more precise and efficient measure to remedy crime.

When asked whether respondents' have ever been victims of crime in and around the Nima public toilet, majority of the respondents, 61% as depicted in Figure 4.9 disclosed that they have never been victims, just about 2% of respondents specified that they have ever been victims of crime there. Meanwhile, a significant proportion of the women interviewed did not provide any response at all.

The findings in this study also contradict the results of earlier studies conducted in other developed and developing countries. Research works conducted by scholars such as Block & Davis (1996); Sideris (1999); Liggert et al. (2001); Newton (2004); Ajayi & Ajayi (2013); and Das & Pandit (2013) have all found that spatially, crime in urban spaces such as transport terminals, market centers, public toilets among others are relative higher due to their ubiquitous nature. A recent study by Betwa (2013) confirmed the higher occurrence of crime in urban spaces in India, where in 2012 a female medical student lost her life when she was gang-raped in a transit bus.

The explanation given by Warner & Rukus (2013) to support the increasing crime activities in urban spaces is the general lack of security and safety in many crowded public spaces such as market areas and this is enforcing or creating the opportunity for criminal activities. The market women at Nima also lamented that criminal activities in the market place is relatively low in recent times as compared to some years ago, but lack of security and poor lighting facilities as well as other factors make the women vulnerable and at risk.

Concerning darkness (poor lighting), some of the respondents at the transport terminal and the market spaces all indicated that crime incidence are high in pocket of places which are dark and some of the male youth even take advantage of the dark nature of certain places as their hub for perpetuating crime. Women therefore fear to pass through certain dark places (“corners”) especially at night, thinking that they might be harmed. Below are some of the responses.

“Darkness was a big factor that led to women being afraid. Gangs and groups of young men gathering in the dark also contributed to their fears” (A 39-year-old driver).

We are all scared because of the stealing cases especially in the night in this market” (A 51-year-old female buyer)

The fear of crime being perpetrated at dark spots has well been noted in literature. Recent studies on the relations between fear of crime and victimization reveal that there might not be essentially a direct relationship between victimization and fear of crime (Minnery and Lim, 2005; Marzbali et al., 2012). Meanwhile, the occurrence of crime and perceptual dimension of urban space and crime are said to be entwined across age and time (Garofalo, 1979; Schneider and Kitchen, 2002). Given the role of time and place (Kamalipour et al., 2014) in crime, it is not surprising that women feel unsafe at night and dark place, especially at the market (Seema, 2013).

The location, building design and the surrounding area around public toilets, it can be argued, may be conducive for people to engage in some criminal activities such as drug peddling, which explains why users (especially women) may feel unsafe (Nina, 2011). Consistent with conceptual model (Figure 2.1) the nature of the environment around such public toilets coupled with the lack

of security around such areas may motivate offenders and with users available at the facility, the possibility of crime may be high. This, perhaps, explains why there is a lot of fear among women especially at the market and toilet places in Nima where there are many incivilities like stealing, smoking and commotion of all sort as revealed in this study (Markowitz et al., 2001; Wyant, 2008).

Though the responses from Figures 4.9 and 4.10 suggest that women are relatively safe around the public toilets in Nima, the continuous presence of drug peddlers and male smokers around such facilities remain a concern for the women folks as fears of future eventualities persist. However, at the market space, the women can be considered unsafe. Majority of the respondents (3 out of 4) all indicated that they feel unsafe. This is primarily because of the lack of security in the market, no lighting system and the use of the market as a hub for meeting at night among the male youth.

Given the important role women play in a nation's socioeconomic development, their safety has emerged as an important concern in many academic and policy discourse (Jagori, 2010). Like this study, research has shown that there are varied factors that influence the safety of women in cities (WICI, 2008). Concern about personal security and safety on transport infrastructure, market and public toilets in cities are capable of affecting women safety (World Bank, 2002; Ajayi & Ajayi, 2013).

Plate 3: Shows pictures of Public Toilet Spaces in Nima



Source: Field Data (2014)

Hypothesis

In Table 4.7, a chi-square test of association between victimization experiences at public spaces and perceived neighbourhood safety is presented. This is to test the null hypothesis that the perceived safety status of the discussed open spaces in the neighbourhood is independent of the victimization experience of the individuals involved in the survey. A significant test statistic will thus lead to a rejection of the null hypothesis and a consideration for the alternate hypothesis. From table 4.7, the result indicate that the perceived safety status of market spaces is independent of the victimisation experience of the individual respondents ($X^2 = 2.489$ $p=.477>.05$). Again given the chi-square statistic and the associated probability value ($X^2 = 2.73$

$p=.435>.05$) we can infer that the perceived safety status of the transport terminal in Nima is independent of the victimisation experience of the individual respondents. The situation is not different in the case of the public space in Nima. There is therefore not sufficient evidence ($X^2 = 7.699$ $p= .053>.05$) to reject the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative hypothesis.

Table 4.7 Relationship between victimization at public spaces and perceived safety

Victimization experience	Perceived neighbourhood safety				Total
	Very safe	Safe	Not safe	Don't know	
At market place					
Yes	24	47	27	2	100
No	32	45	22	1	100
$X^2 = 2.489$ $df= 3$ $p= .477>0.05$					
At transport terminal					
Yes	30	35	35	0	100
No	29	46	21	0	100
$X^2 = 2.731$ $df= 3$ $p= .435>0.05$					
At public toilet					
Yes	0	72	14	14	100
No	27	49	22	2	100
$X^2 = 7.699$ $df= 3$ $p= .053>0.05$					

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

We can infer from the ensuing discussion that of the respondents that are victimised at the market place, only 27 suggest the market space in Nima is not safe. About 70% of the respondents however think the space is safe with a further 2% undecided. Again of the respondents that suffered crime at the market space, only 22% perceive the space as unsafe. About 77% of them suggested the space is safe with just 1% undecided. The responses are similar at the bus transport terminal and the public toilet. These responses are collective conclusion that is not born out of whether one fell victim to crime in any of these spaces. It is a

shared perception among the women folks born out of knowledge and not necessarily because they fell victim themselves at some point in the past.

The situation is not different over the last five years as reported in Table 4.8 below. The perceived level of safety in the market space, public toilet and the transport terminal is independent of the victimization experience of the respondents in the survey. In all 12% of crime victims at the market space perceive the space to be more unsafe over the last five years while 15% suggest the space is much safer now than the five years prior. The majority however perceive the safety status of the market space as unchanged over the five year duration. This conclusion is similar to non-victims in the space over the same period and is also consistent across the two other public spaces being discussed with the only exception being victims of crime at the public toilet from whom about 43% suggest crime levels are on the increase.

Table 4.8 Relationship between victimization at public spaces and perceived safety

Victimization experience	Perception of crime over the past five years				Total
	Increased	decreased	stayed same	don't know	
At market place					
Yes	12	15	74	0	100
No	13	13	70	4	100
$X^2 = 4.644$ df= 3 p= .200>0.05					
At transport terminal					
Yes	23	5	73	0	100
No	12	14	71	3	100
$X^2 = 3.828$ df= 3 p= .281>0.05					
At public toilet					
Yes	43	29	29	0	100
No	14	15	69	2	100
$X^2 = 6.513$ df= 3 p= .089>0.05					

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

We can conclude from the discussion above considerable concerns exist over the safety status of the three public places being discussed in the study. While a few respondents perceive the spaces as safe, few others perceived it otherwise. But these conclusions are born out of the collective experience of the respondents and not the victimization experiences of individual respondents.

4.5 Major Factors Contributing to Crimes against Women

People's perceptions of crime against women are shaped by numerous factors in today's society. These factors are found to have direct influence on the prevalence of crime rates in some parts of the Nima community as well as the selected public spaces where women use more often to carry out their daily activities.

Table 4.9 Factors Influencing Crimes against Women

Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Need/financial stress	154	52
Unemployment	23	8
Society induced	9	3
Weak criminal justice system	5	2
Peer Influence	12	4
Satanic/demonic influence	4	1
Breakdown of family	10	3
Don't know	20	7
Other (Please specify)	52	18
N/A	7	2

Source: Field Survey (2014)

Table 4.7 presents details of factors influencing the perpetration of crime against women within the Nima community. The opinion of majority of those interviewed, 154 (52%) attributed crime against women to needs/financial stress. In addition to that, about 23 (8%), 12 (4%), 10 (3%) declared unemployment, peer influence and family breakdown respectively. Other respondents stated society induced 9 (3%), weak criminal justice system 5 (2%), satanic/demonic influence 4

(1%) as the main reasons why people commit crime against women in the Nima community. It is important to note that about 52 (18%) of respondents stated undisclosed factors accounting for crime against women. Whilst 20 (7%) had no idea at all, about 7 (2%) did not provide any response.

4.5.1 Factors contributing to the different forms of crimes against women

Analyses of the factors that influence the various types of crime that women experience in the three public spaces (market, transport terminal and public toilet) also show that the main cause is financial needs. More than half of the respondents (52%) indicated that financial need is what drive many of the youth to steal or commit crime. This 52% response is however a contradiction of an earlier finding that suggests that about 70% of the respondents are unaware of the prevalence of crime in Nima. Apart from financial needs, the other factors that influence youthful men to commit crime are unemployment, peer influence, greed, breakdown of family, society induced, weak criminal justice system, and satanic/demonic influence.

In sum, it was found that needs/financial stress coupled with unemployment are the major contributory factors to crime occurrence within the community. Many studies have also shown that unemployment is a major cause for the prevalence and rise in crime, especially in urban areas of Ghana, for that matter Nima (Appiahene- Gyamfi, 2003). The financial drive of people to commit crime according to UNODC (2009) is primarily as a result of the huge income inequality that continues to exist in major cities in developing countries. UNODOC (2009) have noted that in many cities in Africa, there is a huge difference between the few rich and the vast

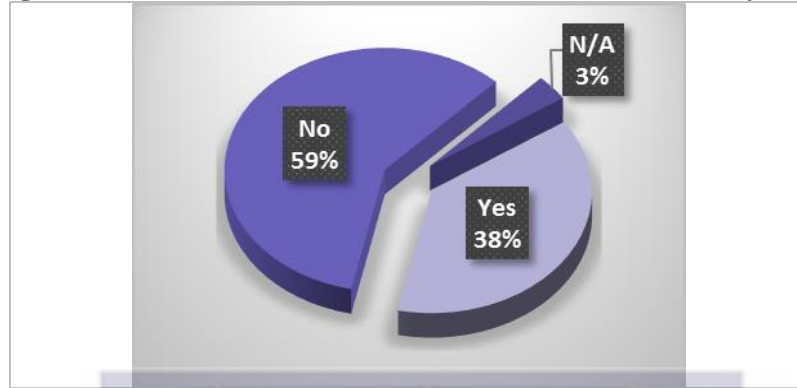
poor and this sharp difference stimulate the angry poor to commit crimes such as theft and robbery to help them meet their living conditions.

The inferences drawn from the results above suggest that most of the women interviewed together with members of their household has never been victims of any crime. In addition to that, it was disclosed that the level of crime perpetrated against women in Nima community within the past five years has decreased.

This is generally consistent with the conceptual framework adopted. Thus the crime perpetrators make their judgment, weigh the costs and benefits, and commit a specific crime when the estimated benefits are greater than the costs. Nima is predominantly a trading community and hence the opportunity mostly available to the perpetrators is theft. It is therefore not surprising that the youth take advantage of the vulnerability of the market women (lack of security and lights) to steal their money and items.

When asked whether women personally or any member of their household has ever been a victim of any crime, most of the women interviewed, 174 (59%) in Figure 4.10, disclosed that they themselves or members of their household have never been a victim of any crime. A significant proportion of respondent, 112 (38%) also specified that they together with their household have ever been victims of crime in the community. Just about 10 (3%) of respondents did not provide any response. This is illustrated in Figure 4.10 below.

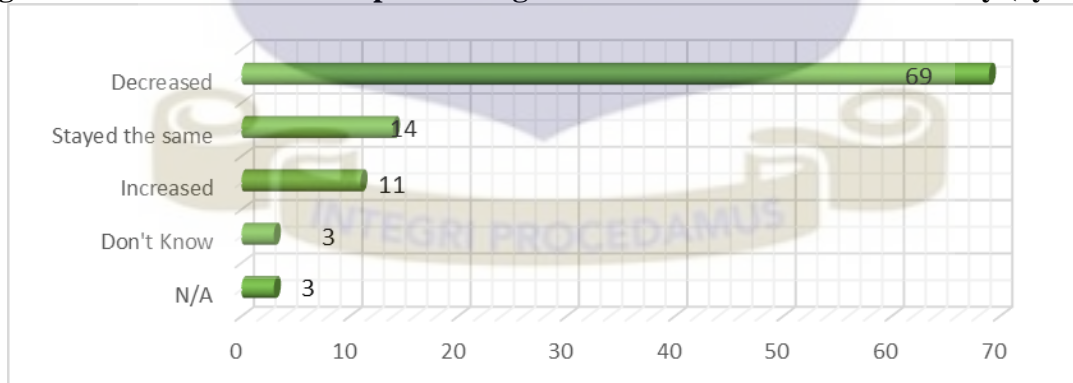
Figure 4.10 Self or Household Ever Been a Victim of any Crime



Source: Field Survey (2014)

In general, most of the women respondents, about 205 (69%) in Figure 4.10 indicated that the level of crime against women in Nima community within the past five years has decreased. About 40 (14%) intimated that crime levels against women stayed the same. About 31 (11%) indicated that crime levels has increased. About 10 (3%) of respondents had no idea and did not respond respectively.

Figure 4.11 Rate of crime Perpetrated against Women in Nima Community (5years)



Source: Field Survey (2014)

The result indicates that overall victimization against women might be low. The current result reflects general victimization over the past five years independent of where the various crimes

might have occurred. Essentially, it shows that females feel more vulnerable than males because they are less able to physically defend themselves and feel less in control over crime occurrence; therefore, they are “more sensitive to the consequences of victimization” (Jackson 2009:368).

4.6 Summary

In this chapter we analysed the forms of crime against women and the factors that contribute to these crimes. The commonest forms of crimes reported were stealing and bag snatching. Other types include assault, fraud, drug peddling and rape among others. However a majority (30%) perceive crime rates as low with just about 7% of the respondents suggesting crime rates are high in the Nima community. Stealing is reported to be the most feared crime followed by drug addiction. The chapter ended with an analysis of the factors that influence crime against women in Nima. Among the factors identified are financial stress, unemployment, weak criminal justice system among others. The preceding chapter discusses the effects of crime on women and the various the various strategies they have adopted to enable the cope.



CHAPTER FIVE

EFFECTS OF CRIME ON WOMEN AND THEIR COPING MECHANISMS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter basically discusses the objective three and four of the study. The chapter discusses the effects of crime on women and their coping mechanisms adopted to curb crime within the Nima community. The chapter also discussed the ways in which crime(s) experiences have affected respondents (victims), were manifested in emotional, psychological, mental, physical, financial conditions of residents. Finally, the measures used in curbing crime situations in the study community were also discussed.

In the instrument used for the study, we sought to solicit information on the effects of crime on households from whom at least a member fell victim to crime in any of these public places. The enquiry cuts across health damages and financial losses that may have been suffered. On health effects the instrument sought to solicit information across emotional, psychological, mental and physical harms the victims may have suffered. Questions cut across medical expenses due to damages suffered, loss of belongings among others in ascertaining the extent of financial losses suffered by the victims. As a way of ascertaining the coping strategies deployed to countenance crime in Nima, sections of the instrument was devoted to crime reporting and management. We sought to ascertain of residents involved state institutions like the police, the court and other informal structures (ADR) available to them, the kind of response received and their satisfaction or otherwise from the responses. These responses are analysed as follows.

5.1 General Effects of Crime Against Women in Nima

5.1.1 Emotional Effects of Crime

About 93 (83%) out of the total 112 indicated that they have been victims of crime with some emotional effects as a result of crime within Nima. Out of the number of those who have suffered emotional effects due to crime, majority of the respondents reported that crime events within the community has given them excessive fear 56 (60%). Also, about 15(16%) and 7 (8%) indicated anger and distrust for others respectively. However, the remaining respondents making up 10 (11%) and 2 (2%) intimated that they feel the need to be more cautious else they will be attacked again. Few respondents during the survey likewise shared the view that the experience has made them appreciate the criminal justice system/police whiles others indicated some level of distrust in the criminal justice system/the police.

5.1.2 Psychological Effects of Crime

On the psychological effects of crime in the Nima community, about 85 (76%) out of 112 disclosed victimizations with psychological effects as a result of crime experience. Moreover 85 (76%) out of the 112 disclosed that crime events have created panic among them. Three (4%) respondents also expressed the fear to go out sometimes whiles 4 (5%) indicated having sleepless nights. However, 9 (11%) have rather indicated that crime events have strengthened their various religious faith. In addition to that, about 10 (12%) and 11 (13%) of those interviewed also indicated that crime events has made them suspicious of other people and also made them more protective of personal properties, household, family members among others.

5.1.3 *Mental Effects of Crime*

About 79 (71%) out of the total number of victims 112 suffered some mental effects due to crime experience in the Nima community. A good proportion of the respondents who had mental effects, 26 representing 33% disclosed that the incident has left them thinking all the time. About 24 (30%) also specified that they keep feeling that crimes perpetrated against them might be repeated. Additionally, 9 (11%) said it has made them aware/think that they can die at any time as a result of crime incidents, 3 (4%) mentioned that it has given them a different perspective of life whilst 6 (8%) disclosed that it has given them a mental picture of the crime scene/incidents. The remaining 10 (13%) and 1 (1%) intimated that it has left them thinking that they are not safe and it has made them forgetful respectively.

5.1.4 *Physical Effects of Crime*

In respect of physical effects of victims of crime within the Nima community, about 21 respondents representing 19% out of the total 112 respondents had suffered physical effects as a result of crime experience within the Nima community. Out of the 21 (7%), about 9 (43%) of those who have fallen victims to one crime or the other disclosed that, the incident has left some visible wounds/scars on them, 7 (33%) stated that they lost some of their properties. One respondents disclosed that she lost part of her body (one of her fingers) at about 3 (14%) also said crime incidents has left damaged their properties.

5.1.5 Financial Effects of Crime

Overall, 48 (43%) out of the total number of 112 have been victims of which consequently affected them financially. Details of how crime experience affected victims in the Nima area financially shows that most of those who have been victims of crime 22 (46%) have had to spend money on their health due to that experience. About 15 (31%) had to spend money on something else as a result of the crime experience. Further, about 5 (10%) have lost their trading capital/investments/properties. One person lost her trading job due to crime experience whilst 1 other person too had to pay for more property insurance. The remaining 4 (8%) suffered other financial effects which they did not disclose.

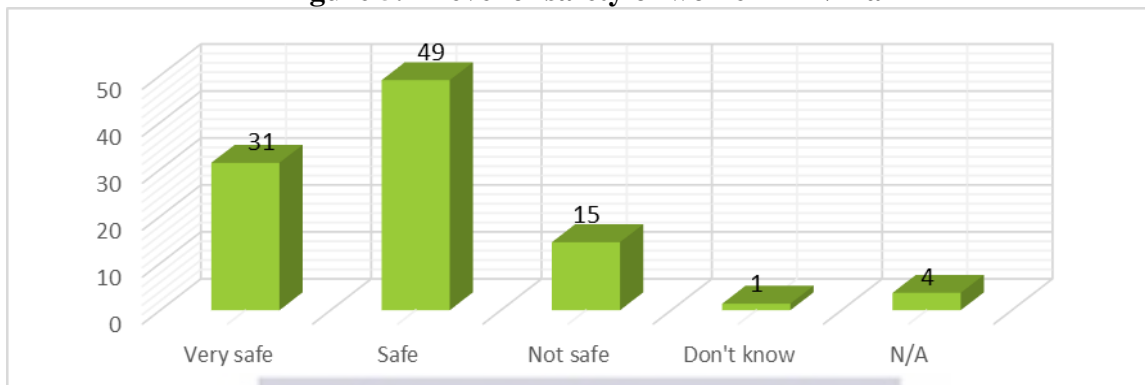
Generally, the findings indicate that a large proportion of women who have been victims of various crimes in the community suffered emotional, psychological, mental, physical and financial effects as a result of the experience of crime. Regarding emotional effect, the study showed that most women live in excessive fear whenever there any crime incidence around them. For the psychological effect, crime experience has created panic in women. On the mental effect, crime incident has left women thinking all the time about the recurrence of the crime. In respect of physical effects of crime incidents women have some visible wounds/scars on them. For the financial, most of the women have had to spend money on their health due to that experience.

Throughout all the effects discussed under the five thematic areas, it is clear that one of the major resultant effect of crime is the fear it brings on women and the associated traumatic experiences they have to pass through. This supports the position of the Vulnerability Hypothesis Perspective

(VHP) by McCrea et al. (2005). The hypothesis basically assumes that females feel more vulnerable than males because they are less able to physically defend themselves and feel less in control over crime occurrence (Ferraro, 1995; Wyant, 2008); therefore, they are more sensitive to the consequences of victimization (Jackson, 2009). Women feel more vulnerable because they believe they are physiologically weaker than men and do not believe they could protect themselves from a potential attack (Ferraro, 1995; Smith & Torstensson, 1997). The socialization hypothesis argues that women fear crime because they have been socialized to think that they are weak and can easily be victimized in a public place (Gardner, 1989 and Madriz, 1997)

5.2 Crime Effects on Women's Safety

Safety is important for women to act as an equal partner in the society. In view of this, personal security and safety is central to every woman's physical, intellectual, emotional, economic, and spiritual sense of wellbeing. Crime experience and sense of crime are two critical factors that greatly undermine a women's sense of safety and prevents them from becoming equal partners in society. In this study, the investigator explores the level of safety experienced by women as it relates to crime incidents. Figure 5.1 illustrates the level of safety amongst women within the Nima community.

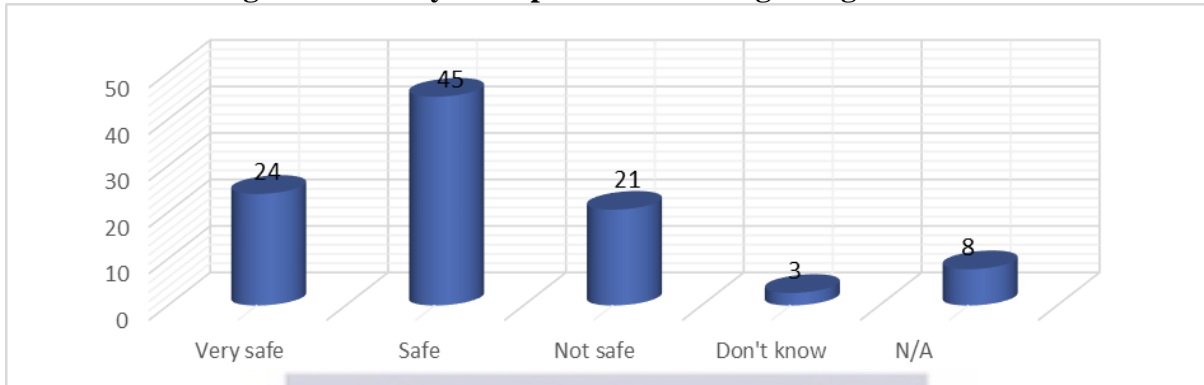
Figure 5.1 Level of safety of women in Nima

Source: Field Survey (2014)

Figure 5.1 illustrates how safe respondents generally feel in the Nima community currently. Most of the respondents, about 145 (49%) and 93 (31%) out of a total of 285 (96%) declared that they feel safe and very safe respectively. However, about 43 (15%) of the respondents suggest that they are not safe. About 4 representing just 1% of respondents indicated that they don't know whether they are safe or not. The remaining 11 (4%) of those interviewed did not provide any response.

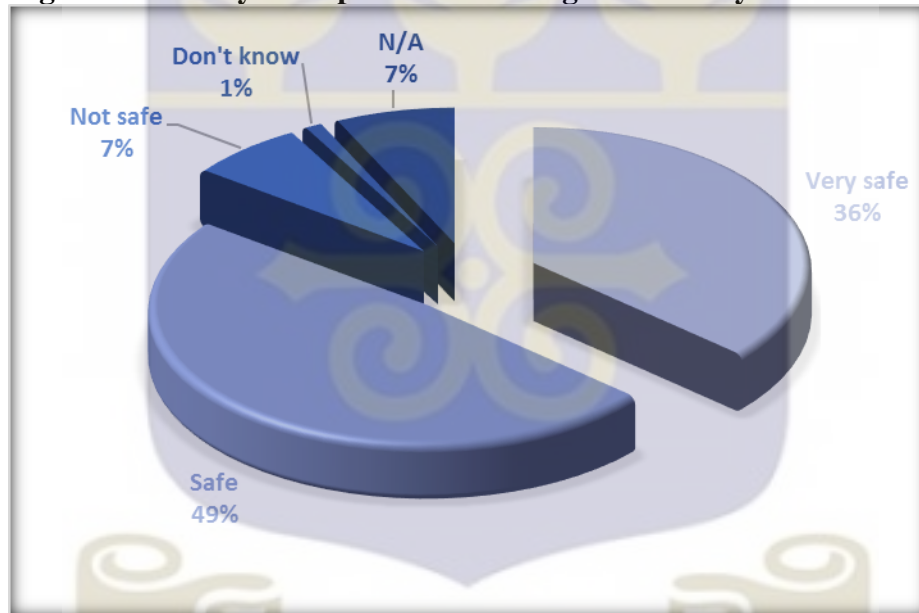
Regarding how safe respondents feel when walking alone at night in the Nima community in Figure 5.2, a significant number of the respondents, 133 (45%) and 71 (24%) intimated that they feel safe and very safe respectively when walking alone at night in the community. On the contrary, about 61 representing 21% reports that they are not safe walking alone at night. Also, 8 (3%) of the respondents did not know how safe they feel. About 23 (8%) did not have any idea at all.

Figure 5.2 Safety of respondents walking at night in Nima



Source: Field Survey (2014)

Figure 5.3: Safety of respondents walking alone at daytime in Nima



Source: Field Survey (2014)

Figure 5.3 illustrates how safe respondents feel walking alone during day time in the Nima community. Per the response, 144 (49%) and 108 (36%) feel safe and very safe respectively when walking alone during the day. On the hand, about 20 (7%) do not feel safe walking alone during the day. In addition to that, 3 respondents representing just 1% could not indicate whether

they feel safe or not when walking alone during the day. On the whole, 21 (7%) did not express their view on the issue at all.

Table 5.1: Level of Safety in Selected Public Spaces in Nima

Safety Characteristics in Selected Public Spaces	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Feeling safe at the Nima market		
Very safe	43	15
Safe	143	48
Not safe	26	9
Don't know	8	3
N/A	76	26
Feeling safe at the Nima Transport Terminal		
Very safe	42	14
Safe	139	47
Not safe	26	9
Don't know	14	5
N/A	75	25
Feeling safe at the Nima Police Station		
Very safe	31	11
Safe	90	30
Not safe	18	6
Don't know	51	17
N/A	106	36

Source: Field Survey (2014)

Table 5.1 above present details on how safe women feel in and around selected public spaces (market, transport terminal and public toilet) in Nima. As can be seen 134 (48%) feel safe, 43 (15%) feel very safe, 26 (9%) do not feel safe, 8 (3%) do not know whilst 76 (26%) did not express their view at all. Inferring from the result, most of the women interviewed feel safe when they visit the market within the Nima community.

With respect to the level of feeling safe at the Nima transport terminal, 42 (14%) feel very safe, about 139 (47%) safe, 26 (9%) do not feel safe. Further, about 14 (5%) do not know if they are

safe whilst the remaining 75 respondents recording 25% did not respond at all. Per majority opinion, women generally feel relatively safe at the transport terminal

At the public toilet, about 31 (11%) feel very safe, 90 (30%) feel safe, 18 (6%) do not feel safe. Quite a number of the respondents, about 51 (17%) have no idea about how safe they feel at the public toilet. In addition to that, majority 106 (36%) did not provide any response at all. The results imply that women feel quite safe at the public toilet within the Nima community.

In sum, there seems to be a high satisfaction with how safe women generally feel whenever they visit or make use of public space at Nima. Considering the perception of women who were interviewed, it was found that women feel relatively safer at the market place, transport terminal and public toilet. This could be attributed to the relatively low level of crime occurrence within the area as established earlier. Based on these findings, it is sufficient to point out that the general decrease in the level of crime in the Nima community seems to make public places including the market, transport terminal and public toilet areas relatively safer for most women.

Studies that have examined the gender dimensions of crime (Harvey, 2003) have all found that women who work in public places live in fear due to the increasing crime and this therefore endangers their lives. Recent studies in Africa even highlighted that for young women who are of school going age, the harassment they receive in their neighbourhood, school and even in the bus make them feel very unsafe (Kamalipouret al., 2014). The results from this study however contradict early studies especially on women safety. The women interviewed in this study felt safe living in Nima since the crime levels in recent times are relatively low. There was however a few who indicated that they feel unsafe due to the pockets of crime in the community.

5.2.1 Coping Mechanisms of Women in Crime Prevention within the Nima community

Table 5.2 displays results on the views of respondents on the measures or coping mechanisms being taken to prevent crime in the households. Overall, 284 (96%) out of the total number of 296 have adopted some coping mechanisms/measures to enable them prevent crime incidents at the household level. About 6 (2%) have installed burglar proof alarm systems, 4 (1%) have installed electronic fencing, 65 (22%) use security/special door locks, 23 (8%) uses special windows/door grilles (burglar proof), 5 (2%) protect themselves by having watch dogs, 10 (3%) have erected high fence/wall, 1 (0.3%) persons has a caretaker/security guard, 20 (7%) rely on community solidarity, 5 (2%) used barbed wires/bottles, sharp ends of walls. Further, about 2 (0.7%) people uses close circuit televisions (CCTV) while a good number of respondents, 50 (28%) rely on prayers/other religious options. Most of those interviewed disclosed that they do nothing to prevent crime. About 9 (3%) disclosed that they have other measures in place to fight crime but did not specify details. Finally, about 12 (4%) did not provide any response at all.

Table 5.2: Measure/Coping Mechanisms towards Crime Prevention in Households

Measure/ Coping Mechanism	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Installed burglar alarm	6	2
Electronic fencing	4	1
Security doors/special door locks	65	22
Special window/door grilles (burglar proof)	23	8
Use of dogs	5	2
High fence/wall	10	3
Caretaker or security guard	1	.3
Community solidarity	20	7
Barbed wires/bottles, sharp ends of walls	5	2
Closed Circuit Television (CCTV)	2	.7
Prayer/other religious options	50	17
Nothing	84	28
Other (Please specify)	9	3
N/A	12	4

Source: Field Survey (2014)

The findings of this study suggest that at the individual level, efforts being made to reduce crime in Nima. It is however unclear if there are efforts at the community and the state institutional levels aimed at crime prevention in Nima. Given the security situation pose a threat to the entire community, a more consented involvement of community structures and state institutions will proof more effective as compared to the individual efforts. Modern security systems such as CCTV have also become an important tool for monitoring crime in a vicinity (Welsh and Farrington, 2009). Installing such security apparatus at vantage points in these open spaces could be very helpful in reducing crime rate and potential crime in these spaces.

The results of the interview revealed that there are varied measures being used to prevent crime prevention at the selected public spaces. Some of these measures are carried out at the individual level, community level and institutional level. Each of the measures undertaken at each level are discussed below.

5.2.2.1 Individual Measures

However, some of the measures some use is to shout and make noise to attract public attention anytime they feel threatened or are attacked by thieves.

“I shout whenever thieves attempt to steal my goods. I wail for people to come to my rescue. For example i was inside the last time when someone attempted a break-in. immediately, i started shouting thief! Thief! And the person run away”

(A 41-year-old female trader).

Some of the women also store their items in a place, which have safe locks so that no one can break into it. Instead of using a wooden kiosk, which can easily be broken into, they resort to use metallic containers rather, which are not easy for thieves to break into. This point was emphasized by a statement given by one of the traders at the market that:

“We pack our goods at the butcher’s store and others also use metal containers instead of the wooden boxes” (A 23-year-old female seller).

Others too have identified that the activities of criminals, especially at the market are high when night falls. Since there are no security doors and gates at the market, they have strategized to close work and leave the market together before 6:00pm.

“We don’t have any preventive measures here. So our lives are in danger here. We don’t have street lights at the market, no water, no toilet, no security and no gates. I only close before 6:00pm. It is after 6:00pm that the smoking boys do their bad thin” (A 58-year-old female leader).

Others also concluded that, they carry little or no money on them when going home. Some said, they keep money in unattractive places when they are late at the market, they leave the market early, avoid walking through dark place, walk in the company of known male.

“We know all these criminal in the market, so when I see night falls then I will intentionally call some of them to walk with me to the entrance of my house, thus if I know I carry some money on me” (A 28-year-old female buyer).

“Me put my daily sales money into a dust pan because I know nobody will ever thought of picking money from a dust pan like this (A 43-year-old female leader).

“I come to the toilet with my husband in the night because am afraid of the smoking guys” (A 2-year-old female toilet user)

5.2.2.2 Community Measures

Aside these individual measures the women use, the interviewees also noted that the Nima community instituted a community watchdog group to help fight crime in the area. They emphasized that since the inauguration of the community watchdog group popularly known as “volunteers”, the incidence of crime at Nima has been very dismal. Below are some of the statements:

“There were some areas that were noted for crime and violence. That was what led to the formation of associations and groups. This situation also gave birth to the Volunteers. These Volunteers were placed at those specific arears to control the situations. If the crime involves a driver, the matters are resolved by the drivers’ union” (A 56 year old male union leader)

“About 20 years ago, Nima was the hub of criminals. All sort of crime was perpetrated here. This scared a lot of people. Currently, we have a group of people called Volunteers. They arrest criminals and send them to the Police. These Volunteers have helped to curb the crime situation in Nima” (A 37 year old female leader).

Some of the respondents however criticized the watchdog groups for allowing themselves to be politically manipulated. They explained that when the watchdog committee was established and there was no political influence, they work effectively to minimize crime but when they allowed themselves to be influenced by political leaders, they have become inefficient.

“We have volunteers in this area but of late their activities have been politicized so they are not as effective as they used to be” (A 23 year old female toilet user)

There were others who noted that there is confusion among watchdog group members, making them to relax in their operations.

5.2.2.3 Institutional Measures: Role of the Police

In addition to the watchdog group who have been criticized as being too partisan and are in a state of confusion thereby making them ineffective, the interviewees also noted that the police have been playing a major role in reducing crime in the area. They emphasized the fact that though Nima does not have any single police post in the community, the police officers at Nima junction daily patrols the Nima community and the presence of the police has played a major role towards reducing the incidence of crime in the area.

“The Police patrol this area a lot and their work is been supplemented by the community as well as the branch managers of the GPRTU, Nima branch” (A 49-year-old male leader)

To another respondent, the police have become the point of call or contact any time there is violence in the community. And since they patrol the community, they are not far from reach anytime they are being contacted.

The findings have clearly shown that the reduction in the incidence crime rate in Nima is as a result of a collaborative effort by the individual members, the community and the state institutions. At the individual level, they have taken some proactive measures and coping mechanisms to prevent the occurrence of crime. For example, the women have been able to identify the time when crime incidence are high and as such, make efforts to close before such period. Some attend toilet with their husband in the night, some also *“pack their goods at the butcher’s room and others also use metal containers instead of the wooden boxes”*, they shout for help which is readily available due to the solitary nature of the community. To this end, it is sufficient to point out that normal crime prevention methods will help lessen the likelihood of women becoming a victim of crime.

At the community level, the establishment of community watchdog committee was identified as a major contributing factor to the reduction of crime incidence. There is a clear indication that the pockets of crime incidence in the community in recent times are as a result of the inability of the watchdogs to effectively function like it used to be. At the national level, the police are highly commended for their relentless efforts to combat crime through the intensification of its patrol system.

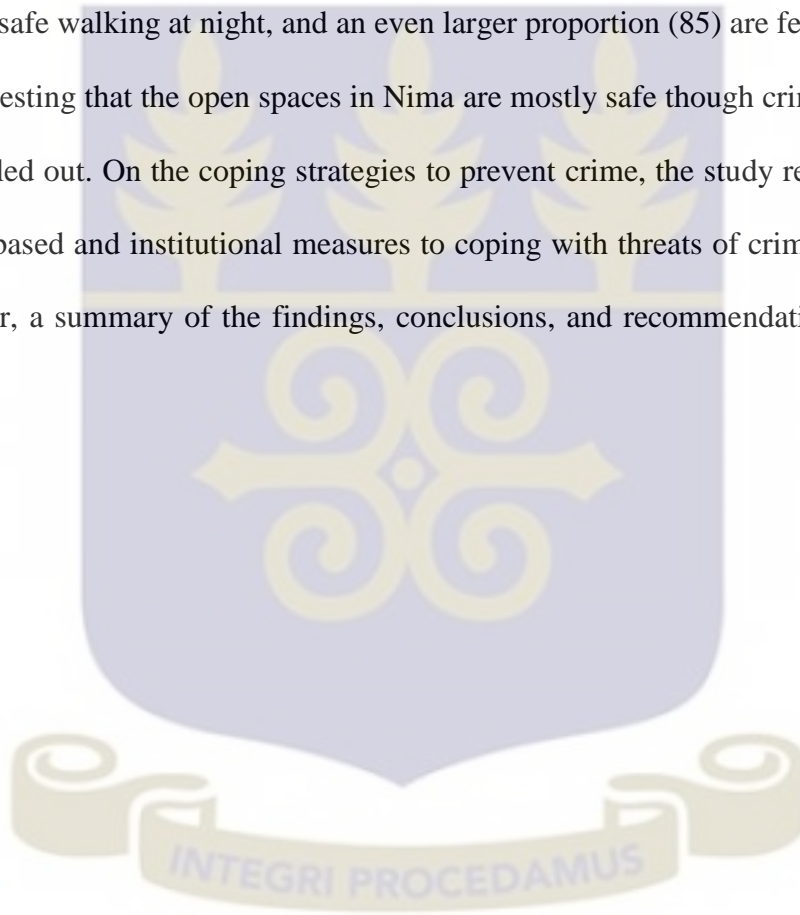
Considerable research has been conducted in the past decade to examine the mechanisms that can be used to help reduce crime in urban spaces (Sherman, et al., 1989; Eck and Weisburd,

1995; Farrell, 1995; Spelman, 1995). Many of the studies have provided a host of crime prevention opportunities and application of situational crime prevention at "hot places" as effective methods for reducing a variety of criminal activity and disorders (Eck, 2002; Poyner, 1993; Welsh and Farrington, 2002; Welsh and Farrington, 2004). Like the findings of this study which clearly delineate the roles of each stakeholder (individual, community and institutions), the extended Routine Activity Theory by Felson (1995), consider the individual living in the community as place managers. This theory asserts that the individuals who manages the daily activities that goes on the community can use the services they render to people at the lorry station, coffee shop, drinking spot, night clubs among other public places to monitor and gather information on the type and perpetrators of crime (Eck, 1994; Homel and Clark, 1994; Mazerolle, Kadleck, and Roehl, 1998). The information gathered can be used to strategize and combat crime (Eck and Weisburd, 1995; Felson, 1995).

Many sociologists and criminologists also believe that the adequate solution for crime problems used to be based on community participation and citizens' involvement with each other and with their communities (Rezaei, 2013). It is therefore not surprising that the women in this study duly acknowledged that the activities of the "volunteer" groups in the community have immensely contributed to the reduction in crime in Nima over the last decade. As noted in the findings of the interview, the people in Nima are familiar with themselves and hence, when someone is noted in the community at certain times in the day (especially night) and the activities of the person become suspicious, members of the community monitor and confront the person.

5.3 Summary

In summary, this chapter explored the effects of crime against women and the coping mechanisms employed to manage such effects in Nima. The effects identified include emotional, Psychological, mental, physical and financial effects. On the perception of safety in Nima, majority of the women (80%) reported safety in the open spaces identified. About 69% of the respondents feel safe walking at night, and an even larger proportion (85) are feel save during the day thereby suggesting that the open spaces in Nima are mostly safe though crime at these places is not entirely ruled out. On the coping strategies to prevent crime, the study reported individual and community based and institutional measures to coping with threats of crime in Nima. In the following chapter, a summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations for the study are presented.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The study sought to assess the perceptions of crime and women's safety in low an income urban community, using Nima in the Accra Metropolis as a case study. It adopted both a quantitative and qualitative approaches in gathering data. Thus, a survey was conducted to administer questionnaires to two hundred and ninety-six (296) women from varied socioeconomic background living in Nima and key respondents (including men) who uses or live around the marketplace, transport terminal and public toilet were also purposively selected from these three public spaces for an in-depth interview. Descriptive statistical tools were used to present the findings from the survey while content analysis was used to present the interview findings. This section presents the summary of the key findings as well as the conclusion that was drawn from the findings. Possible policy recommendations that the researcher believes can contribute towards minimizing the incidence of crime in low-income urban spaces are also presented in this section of the work.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

The study was conducted to achieve four main objectives namely: to identify the different forms of crime against women in Nima, particularly the three selected public spaces; to assess the major factors contributing crimes against women; to examine the effects of these crimes on

women; and to ascertain the coping mechanisms or measures by women and institutions to address the challenges. Below are the key findings achieved under each of the objectives.

6.1.1 Different forms of crime against women in Nima

Under the first objective, which sought to examine the forms of crime in Nima community in the public spaces recent times, the findings from both the survey and in-depth interview show that crime activities in recent times at Nima is very low. Some of the respondents even said it is at zero level. Others also did a comparative assessment between crimes occurring recently and some decades ago and also concluded that crime cases at Nima in recent times is relatively low. There are few who also commented that they are not safe because, from the interview, there was an issues on lack of light, security and no gate at the market. While at the public toilet, the frequent smoking and the fighting habit of the male youth are some factors that make some women feel unsafe. However, despite the general low level of crime perceived, there were other factors that continued to create feelings of insecurity among women and thus making them vulnerable. On the issue of the different forms of crimes occurring at Nima, both respondents from the survey and in-depth interview acknowledged stealing, bag snatching, smoking and fighting as the highest forms of crime occurring at Nima in recent times. Other forms of crimes that were identified were robbery, burglary, fraud, rape, assault, and prostitution. These crimes were however at its barest minimum in the Nima community, and selected public spaces as compared to stealing, bag snatching smoking and fighting.

The study also sought to examine the most common perpetrators and victims of crimes as well as their age and sex groups. The findings from the study showed that the most common perpetrators

of crime at Nima are the community members, followed by people living outside. Similarly, the victims of crime are mainly community members followed by outsiders. The sex and age analysis of the perpetrators revealed that crime is mainly committed by youthful male between the ages of 18 – 35. The sex and age analysis of the victims also indicate that youthful female between the ages of 18 – 35, and adult females above 35 years are the common victims of crime.

In addition, the days and time of the day crime is committed was also examined as part of the first objective. More than half of the respondents could not pinpoint a specific day in which crime is high but a few others noted that crime is comparatively high on Sundays as compared to other days. This was because, on Sundays, households go to church without living anyone behind, a situation the criminals take advantage to commit crime. However, on the time crime is very rampant, majority of the respondents indicated night, between 8pm and 4am. Between these periods, many people take their sleep and some women also maintained that because of the nature of their husbands work (watchmen) demand they sleep alone, the smokers and thieves take advantage of that as a haven period to conduct their operations.

6.1.2 Factors contributing to the different forms of crime against women experience in Nima

The second objective also examined the factors that contribute to these different kinds of crimes against women at Nima. The above findings have clearly outlined the major factors. These include financial need/stress and unemployment in the urban spaces. The types of crime that occur at the different urban spaces were also examined. At the market space, only a few (5%) women have ever been victims of crime and a little more than a quarter of the women have even

witnessed a crime at the market. The major crime at the market spaces was stealing bag snatching, which mostly occur after 6:00pm, when the women in the market are closing. Assault, fraud etc. also occur in the market but rather on a smaller scale.

At the transport terminal, quite a few respondents (3%) have ever been victims of crime and 20% have ever witnessed a crime. Again, stealing, bag snatching and assault were the common crimes committed at the bus terminal. At the public toilet, only 2% and 7% have ever been victims and witnessed crimes respectively. Smoking and fighting were the two major crimes that usually occur at the public toilet.

Analysis of the factors that influence these various forms of crime that women experience in the three public spaces (market, transport terminal and public toilet) showed that the major factor is financial needs. More than half of the respondents (52%) indicated that financial need is what drives many of the youth to steal. Apart from financial needs, the other factors that influence youthful men to commit crime are unemployment, peer influence, greed, breakdown of family, society induced, weak criminal justice system, and satanic/demonic influence.

6.1.3 Effects these Crimes on Women's Safety in Nima community

The findings from the study showed that women experience so many effects whenever they experience crime incidence. The effects women experiences were categorized into emotional, psychological, mental, physical and financial. Under emotional effects, 83% of the total respondents who were victims of crime outlined that they have suffered emotional traumas because of the crimes they became victims of. The findings revealed that all those who have ever been victims of crime or have witnessed crime in Nima live in excessive fear, are angry and

made them lost trust in others. They have also become more conscious thinking they might be attacked again.

The study revealed that 76% of crime victims have suffered some form of psychological trauma. Psychologically, majority of the respondents indicated that the incidence of crime in Nima has created panic in them and they even fear to go out sometimes, especially during the night. Others expressed that they sometimes experience sleepless nights and has even made them more suspicious of other people. Others too added that the incidence of crime in Nima has made them more protective of personal, household, and family properties.

Mentally, 71% of the crime victims indicated that they have suffered some mental effects as a result of the crimes they became victims of some time ago. Some disclosed that the incident has left them thinking all the time and they have the feeling that crimes perpetrated against them might be repeated. Others also noted that the crimes have made them aware/think that they can die at any time and they still have a mental picture of the crime scene/incidents. Others also noted that it has left them thinking that they are not safe and even made them forgetful.

Additionally, 19% of the crime victims cited some form of physical effects they have suffered as a results of the being crimes victims of. Some of the women disclosed that, as result of the crimes they have experienced some time ago, they have some visible wounds/scars on them. Others as well as their family members have lost parts of their body. Some also added that they have lost part of their properties and the crimes have damaged their properties.

Financially, 43% noted that they had spent money on their health due to their experience with criminals. Others have lost trading capital/investments/properties, lost their job and have to pay for property insurance.

6.2 Coping Mechanisms to address Crime at Nima

Measures to avert crime occur at all levels; being it individual, community or at the national level. The results reveal that individuals at Nima have installed security doors/special door locks and windows (burglar proof) to prevent people from breaking into their homes easily. Others have installed burglar alarm, electrified their fences, put barbed wires/bottles and other sharp objects on their walls. There are also others who have raised high fences/wall to make it uneasy for people to climb and a few others have even installed Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) in their homes. There are also many others who use dogs in their homes, employed the services of caretaker or security guard, others also resort to using religious options like prayer to protect themselves against criminals. At the three selected public spaces, some women make noise to attract attention anytime they sense any danger in the community. At the market for instance, some pack their items in the butcher's room and instead of storing their items in wooden containers, which can easily be broken into, they use metallic containers, carrying little or no money while moving or going home, being in the company of known males, keep their money in unattractive places. Others too put their money in their brassier. Lastly, some of the market women close early before nightfall knowing that crime activities are perpetuated whenever night falls.

At the community level, the results show that the community has created a watchdog committee, popularly known as “volunteers” who police the community every day and night to arrest perpetrators of crime and bring them to justice. Unfortunately, some of the respondents indicated that the watchdogs in the community are no more effective as they use to be some time ago. Others even noted that they are no more functioning. The main reasons given for the recent lag in the activities of the watchdog committee is political influence, confusion, and misunderstanding among them.

At the national level, the state through its police institution (Nima Police Patrol team) also patrols the community on daily basis. The respondents appreciated the work of the police as having a positive impact on the Nima community. They indicated that since the commencement of the daily patrol work by the police, the crime incidence have been very dismal in the community. Some however appealed that there is no police post in the Nima community, except for the one at Nima junction. They therefore believe that if a police post is to be built in the Nima community, the community will be very safe for women and children especially.

6.3 Conclusions

The findings from the study have shown that the level of crime in Nima in recent times has reduced drastically compared to some decades ago. Though comparatively, crime cases are minimal in certain public spaces, certain criminal activities such as stealing, bag snatching smoking and fighting continue to exist in the community despite the improvement in the other areas leaving the some (few) women in fear. The study has also revealed that youthful men mostly perpetrate these crimes and the major reason is financial needs. Many studies have found

a statistically significant relationship between unemployment and crime (Gould et al., 2002; Machin and Megihr, 2004; Lin, 2008). The results of all these studies suggest that a one-percentage-point increase in the unemployment rate increases property crime by about 1–2 percent.

Ghana has a youthful population, majority of who are unemployed as shown by the 2010 population and Housing Census. Given that, there is a positive relationship between unemployment and crime, coupled with the fact that the unemployment rate among the youth is increasing, pragmatic measures needs to be undertaken to remedy the situation. As many of the youth continue to remain unemployed, coupled with the increasing standard of living in the country, especially in the urban areas in terms of rent (housing), food, clothing and other basic necessities of life, the exuberant youth are more likely to take every means to meet their daily needs, therefore the resort to crime. It is therefore not surprising that the national dailies continue to report of incidence, perpetrators of crime who are the youth.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the study is the efforts made by the watchdog groups and the Ghana Police Service. It is only unfortunate that political interference in the activities of the community watchdog committee is making them ineffective. Urban low income community such as Nima is politically, culturally, and socioeconomically diverse and hence, any attempts to involve politics in vital community institutions like the watchdog committee will only lead to its collapse.

Violence against women in Africa in general and Ghana in particular has been brought to the forefront by many non-profit humanitarian groups. Great strides have been made toward ending

this violence; but the tradition of inequality between men and woman runs deep, and it will take the effort of all stakeholders to totally eradicate the circle. Given the fact that in recent times the crimes against women is reducing as compared to some decades ago (as shown in this study), much efforts are still needed to totally eradicate any form of crime against women from our communities. This can be achieved through a more inclusive legislation that emphasizes the human rights of victims with effective awareness campaigns that target the media, legislators and other decision makers to spread the message of zero tolerance for violence against women.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings, this study recommends the following:

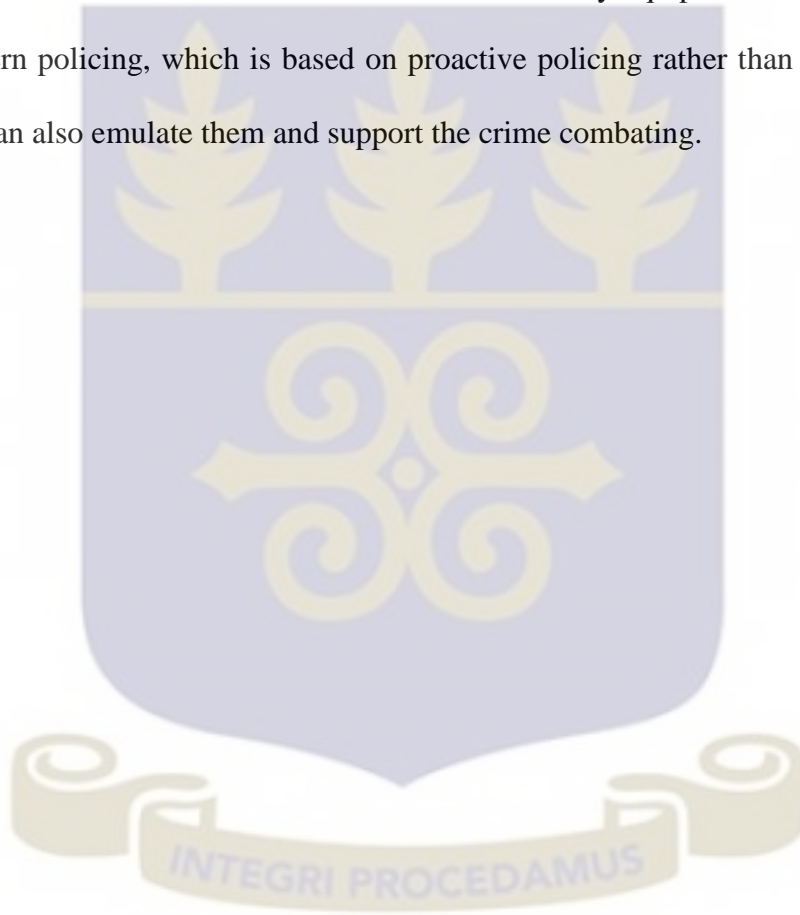
- Studies have found that many young persons are unemployed because of a mismatch between their education and training, and labour market requirements. As much as possible, the mismatch between training and job placements should be eliminated and individuals placed in sectors for which they have skills.
- In addition, employment programmes should prioritize training and skills development for the youth, which combine the technical and core skills needed across all occupations, enterprises and sectors such as analytical thinking, problem solving, creativity, writing and communication skills. These measures would make it possible for young people to transition smoothly from educational institutions into the broader labour market. The government can also take advantage of its National Youth Employment Program (NYEP), now the Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency (GYEEDA), which was designed primarily for non-tertiary graduates including junior

high school leavers, graduates of technical and vocational institutes, school dropouts and those without formal education. This initiative will be very advantageous to low-income communities such as Nima, since many of the youth fall within the focus of GYEEDA. Once young people are employed and able to meet the basic needs, the incidence of crime will reduce.

- It is an undeniable fact that the activities of the community watchdog groups are crucial to combating crime in our communities. The respondents in this study rightly acknowledged that the community watchdog have contributed immensely to reducing crime in Nima since its commencement. This study recommends the Assemblymen and Unit Committee Chairmen of the community to put in all efforts to make the activities of these groups non-partisan. Though the group needs the financial and material assistance of political leaders, NGOs, traditional and religious leaders, and other philanthropists in and outside the community, they should be allowed to carry out their activities freely, without any political compulsion or interest.
- The Ghana police service has a Bicycle Patrol Unit under the Community Policing Unit, which came as a result of the realization that there is the need for the Police to collaborate with members of communities, stakeholders, chiefs, and opinion leaders in dealing with crime. There is therefore the need for this unit to be reinforced to help curtail community related crimes especially in low-income community, which due to poor planning have poor road networks within their communities.

Furthermore, it is recommended that individuals who are well to do, corporate institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other benevolent organizations should partner the

government with regard to funding, equipment and logistics to help equip both the police and the vigilante groups in our communities. In May 2014, the British High Commission donated \$50,000 worth of equipment such as handcuffs, shoulder guards, batons, baton holders, knee and elbow protective guards, shields, body armor, body bags for carrying dead bodies, helmets and groin guards to the Ghana Police Service (GPS), and other agencies like, Ghana National Fire Service (GNFS) and the Ambulance Service. This was to fully equip the service to be able to embark on modern policing, which is based on proactive policing rather than reactive policing. Other agencies can also emulate them and support the crime combating.



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APPENDIX A

Interviewer ID:

Time started:

Supervisor ID:

Time ended:

EXPLORING CRIME AND POVERTY NEXUS IN URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS IN GHANA

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

This Interview is aimed at exploring the subject of crime and poverty relationships in major cities in Ghana, namely Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and Tamale. The research is being undertaken by the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) and the Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon.

All information provided will be treated as strictly confidential and will be used only for purposes of this research. There will be no penalty for people who decide not to be a part of it. If you begin it, you are also allowed to quit from being a part of it without being penalized. However, we will very much appreciate it if you would be part of this study. It will only take us about 30-40 minutes to complete this interview.

Do you have any questions for me before we begin this interview?

Section A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1.	<p>City: Neighbourhood: How long have you stayed in your neighbourhood?:</p>																				
2.	<p>Age (as of your last birthday): years</p>																				
3.	<p>Sex: 1. Male <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Female <input type="checkbox"/></p>																				
4.	<p>Household size:</p>																				
5.	<p>Occupation:</p> <table data-bbox="327 667 1871 919"> <tr> <td>1. Professional/technical/managerial</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>6. Unemployed</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Sales/services</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>7. Agriculture</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Skilled manual</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>8. Pensioner</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Unskilled manual</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>9. Other (<i>Please specify</i>)</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Clerical</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>.....</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	1. Professional/technical/managerial	<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Sales/services	<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Skilled manual	<input type="checkbox"/>	8. Pensioner	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Unskilled manual	<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Other (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Clerical	<input type="checkbox"/>	
1. Professional/technical/managerial	<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>																		
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4. Unskilled manual	<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Other (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>																		
5. Clerical	<input type="checkbox"/>																			
6.	<p>Marital status:</p> <table data-bbox="327 1000 1419 1146"> <tr> <td>1. Single (never married)</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>4. Divorced</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Consensual/cohabitation</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>5. Separated</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Married</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>6. Widowed</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	1. Single (never married)	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Consensual/cohabitation	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Separated	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Married	<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>								
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2. Consensual/cohabitation	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Separated	<input type="checkbox"/>																		
3. Married	<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>																		
7.	<p>Ethnicity:</p> <table data-bbox="327 1219 1934 1365"> <tr> <td>1. Asante</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>7. Ahanta</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>13. Frafra/Gruni</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Fanti</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>8. Ga/Dangme</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>14. Kassen</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Akuapem</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>9. Ewe</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>15. Dagomba/Dagbani</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	1. Asante	<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Ahanta	<input type="checkbox"/>	13. Frafra/Gruni	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Fanti	<input type="checkbox"/>	8. Ga/Dangme	<input type="checkbox"/>	14. Kassen	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Akuapem	<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Ewe	<input type="checkbox"/>	15. Dagomba/Dagbani	<input type="checkbox"/>		
1. Asante	<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Ahanta	<input type="checkbox"/>	13. Frafra/Gruni	<input type="checkbox"/>																
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3. Akuapem	<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Ewe	<input type="checkbox"/>	15. Dagomba/Dagbani	<input type="checkbox"/>																

	4.Sefwi <input type="checkbox"/>	10. Guan <input type="checkbox"/>	16. Wali/Dagaari <input type="checkbox"/>
	5.Brong <input type="checkbox"/>	11. Buli <input type="checkbox"/>	17. Sissala <input type="checkbox"/>
	6. Nzema <input type="checkbox"/>	12. Mamprusi <input type="checkbox"/>	18. Other (<i>Please specify</i>): <input type="checkbox"/>
8.	Religion:		
	1.Christian <input type="checkbox"/>	3.Traditional <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2.Moslem <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Other (<i>please specify</i>)..... <input type="checkbox"/>	
9.	What is your average monthly household income (<i>in Ghana cedis - GH¢</i>)?		
	1. 1 – 500 <input type="checkbox"/>	4. 1,501 – 2,000 <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2. 501-1,000 <input type="checkbox"/>	5. 2,001 – 2,500 <input type="checkbox"/>	
	3. 1,001 – 1,500 <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Above 2,500 <input type="checkbox"/>	
10.	What is your highest level of education completed?		
	1.None (No formal education) <input type="checkbox"/>	5.HND/Diploma <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2.Primary <input type="checkbox"/>	6.Graduate (Tertiary) <input type="checkbox"/>	
	3.JSS/JHS/Middle School <input type="checkbox"/>	7.Postgraduate <input type="checkbox"/>	
	4.SSS/SHS/Vocational/Technical <input type="checkbox"/>	8. Other (<i>Please specify</i>): <input type="checkbox"/>	
Section B: HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS			
11.	Type of housing:		
	1.Separate housing <input type="checkbox"/>	5.Kiosk/container/improvised home <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2.Semi-detached housing <input type="checkbox"/>	6.Uncompleted building <input type="checkbox"/>	
	3.Flat/apartment <input type="checkbox"/>	7. Other (<i>Please specify</i>)..... <input type="checkbox"/>	

	4.Room(s) [compound housing] <input type="checkbox"/>
12.	<p>How many room(s) does this household occupy? (<i>Count living rooms, dining rooms, and bedrooms but not bathrooms, toilet and kitchen and store room</i>)</p> <p>Number.....</p>
13.	<p>Do other households share this dwelling with you?</p> <p>1.Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2.No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
14.	<p>What is your present occupancy status?</p> <p>1.Owner-occupier <input type="checkbox"/> 4.Perching <input type="checkbox"/> 2.Renting <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> 3.Rent free <input type="checkbox"/></p>
15.	<p>Are you connected to the national electricity grid?</p> <p>1.Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2.No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
16.	<p>What is the main source of lighting for your household after sunset?</p> <p>1.Electricity (mains) <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Generator <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Kerosene <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Candles/torches (flashlights) <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Gas lamp <input type="checkbox"/> 7. No light (<i>skip to Q 18</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Solar energy <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Other (<i>Please specify</i>): <input type="checkbox"/> </p>
17.	<p>How regular is your main power supply after sunset?</p> <p>1. Regular <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Cut more than twice a week <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Cut once or twice in a week <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/></p>
18.	<p>Do you have street lights in your community?</p>

	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	2. No (<i>Skip to Q. 20</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>
19.	If yes, are you satisfied with the street lights in your community?	
	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	2. No <input type="checkbox"/>
20.	What is the main source of energy used by the household for cooking?	
	1. None, no cooking <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Animal waste <input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Wood <input type="checkbox"/>	7. Crop residue/saw dust <input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Charcoal <input type="checkbox"/>	8. Gas/LPG <input type="checkbox"/>
	4. Electricity <input type="checkbox"/>	9. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>
	5. Kerosene <input type="checkbox"/>
21.	Main type of toilet facility used by the household	
	1. In-house flush toilet/WC (<i>Skip to Q.24</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>	5. Public toilet (flush bucket/KVIP/WC) <input type="checkbox"/>
	2. In-house pit latrine (<i>Skip to Q.24</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Toilet in another house <input type="checkbox"/>
	3. In-house KVIP (<i>Skip to Q.24</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>	7. No toilet facility (bush/beach) (<i>Skip to Q.23</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>
	4. In-house pan latrine (<i>Skip to Q.24</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>	8. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>
	
22.	If you do not have in-house toilet facility; what is the average time spent travelling to the nearest toilet facility?	
	
23.	If you do not have in-house toilet facility; what is the average time spent waiting at nearest toilet facility?	
	
24.	What is the main source of water supply for this household?	
	1. Drinking ____ (<i>See codes below</i>)	2. General use ____ (<i>See codes below</i>)

<i>Codes for Q. 22 (a)</i>		<i>Codes for Q. 22 (b)</i>	
Indoor plumbing.....	01	Indoor plumbing.....	01
Inside standpipe.....	02	Inside standpipe.....	02
Water truck/tanker service.....	03	Water truck/tanker service.....	03
Water vendoring	04	Water vendoring	04
Pipe in neighbouring household.....	05	Pipe in neighbouring household.....	05
Private outside standpipe/tap.....	06	Private outside standpipe/tap.....	06
Satchet/bottled water.....	07	Satchet/bottled water.....	07
Public standpipe.....	08	Public standpipe.....	08
Borehole.....	09	Borehole.....	09
Protected well.....	10	Protected well.....	10
Unprotected well.....	11	Unprotected well.....	11
River/stream.....	12	River/stream.....	12
Rain water/spring.....	13	Rain water/spring.....	13
Dugout/pond/lake/dam.....	14	Dugout/pond/lake/dam.....	14
Other (specify):	15	Other (specify):	15
25. On the average, what is the maximum time you spend to access water for your household in a day?			
1. For Drinking		3. For General use	
2. Not applicable <input type="checkbox"/>		4. Not applicable <input type="checkbox"/>	
26. How does your household dispose off refuse?			
1. Collected <input type="checkbox"/>		4. Burned by household <input type="checkbox"/>	
2. Public dump <input type="checkbox"/>		5. Buried by household <input type="checkbox"/>	
3. Dumped elsewhere <input type="checkbox"/>		6. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/>	
.....			
27. What is the main construction material used for the outer wall of your building?			

	<p>1. Mud/Earth <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Wood/bamboo <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Metal sheet/slate/asbestos <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Stone <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Cement/sandcrete blocks <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>6. Burned bricks <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. Landcrete <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>8. Thatch <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>9. Cardboard <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>10. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>.....</p>																	
28.	<p>What is the main construction material used for the floor of your building?</p>																		
	<p>1. Mud/Earth <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Stone <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Burnt bricks <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Ceramic/marble/tiles/vinyl tiles <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>5. Wood <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. Cement/concrete <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. Terrazzo <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>8. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>.....</p>																	
29.	<p>What is the main construction material used for the roof of your building?</p>																		
	<p>1. Palm leaves/raffia/thatch <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Wood <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Corrugated iron sheet <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Mud /earth <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Bamboo <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>6. Cement/concrete <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. Asbestos/slate <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>8. Roofing tiles <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>9. Other (<i>Please specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>.....</p>																	
30.	<p>Indicate which of the following assets are available to your household:</p>																		
	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th rowspan="2">No.</th> <th rowspan="2">Item</th> <th rowspan="2">Quantity</th> <th colspan="3">Ownership</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Male</th> <th>Female</th> <th>Joint</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	No.	Item	Quantity	Ownership			Male	Female	Joint									
No.	Item				Quantity	Ownership													
		Male	Female	Joint															

1.	Room furniture set				
2.	Sewing machine				
3.	Stove				
4.	Refrigerator/fridge				
5.	Air conditioner				
6.	Fan				
7.	Radio				
8.	Desktop computer/laptop/iPad				
9.	Video player				
10.	Camera				
11.	Bicycle				
12.	Motorcycle				
13.	Mobile phone				
14.	Telephone fixed line				
15.	Television (TV)				
16.	Blenders				
17.	Washing machine				

18.	Private car				
19.	Commercial car				
20.	House				
21.	Land (Residential plots)				
22.	Land (Farm/agric. Land)				
23.	Livestock/birds				
24.	Microwave				
25.	Financial savings (<i>formal</i>)				
26.	Financial savings (<i>informal</i>)				
27.	Insurance (<i>excluding health</i>)				
28.	Health insurance				

Section C: SOCIAL NETWORK AND COMMUNITY COHESION

31.	<p>What kind of cooperation and support do you mainly exhibit in this community against crime?</p> <p>1. Strong community bonding (SCB) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Individualism/weak community bonding (<i>Skip to Q. 33</i>) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Both (SCB and Individualism) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Nothing (<i>Skip to Q. 33</i>) <input type="checkbox"/></p>
32.	<p>If strong community bonding exists, what is the main basis for this SCB?</p> <p>1. Ethnic association <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Religious bonding <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Trade associations <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. CBOs/CSOs <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Other (<i>Please specify</i>): <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>.....</p>

33. How would you rank (<i>in order of severity</i>) the statements about your community? (<i>Rank in the order of severity: 1 as strongly agree and 5 as don't know</i>). Read out statements to respondent						
No.	Statements	1 Strongly agree	2 Agree	3 Disagree	4 Strongly disagree	5 Don't know
i. Community						
1.	People in this community are willing to help their neighbours					
2.	This is a close-knit neighbourhood					
3.	People in this community can be trusted					
4.	People in this community generally do not get along with each other					
5.	People in this neighbourhood do not share the same values					
ii. Youth (18-35 years)						
1.	Common to find youth idling about in your					

1.	Borrowing or exchanging things with neighbours such as food, tools, and other.						
2.	Asking someone from the neighbourhood over to your house or go to their house for a meal, to play cards, watch TV, or talk, etc.						
3.	Asking your neighbour for help, (like moving stuff, or taking care of a child, etc.)						
4.	Going out for an evening with someone from the neighbourhood (to movie, sports events, for a drink, or others)						
5.	Talking to someone in the neighbourhood about shopping, programs for kids etc.						

38.	Is disruption around (i.e. youth hanging around, making noise, vandalizing and starting fights) or truancy (kids not being in school when they should be) a problem in the neighbourhood?							
	1. Not a problem	<input type="checkbox"/>		3. A big problem	<input type="checkbox"/>			
	2. Somehow a problem	<input type="checkbox"/>		4. Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>			
39.	On the whole, what is your likeness of this neighbourhood as a place to live?							
	1. Like it a lot	<input type="checkbox"/>		3. Dislike it	<input type="checkbox"/>			
	2. Like it	<input type="checkbox"/>		4. Dislike it a lot	<input type="checkbox"/>			
Section D: ASSESSMENT OF CRIME IN THE RESEARCH LOCALITY								
40.	In general, how will you rate the level of crime in your community?							
	1. Very high	<input type="checkbox"/>		3. Moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>		5. Very low	
	2. High	<input type="checkbox"/>		4. Low	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	
41.	What is the most feared crime in your community?							
42.	How would you rank (<i>in the order of severity</i>), the following crimes in your community? (<i>Rank in the order of severity: 1 as very high and 6 as don't know</i>).							
	No	Type of crime	1 Very high	2 High	3 Moderate	4 Low	5 Very Low	6 Don't Know
	i. Crime against household							
	1.	Theft of car/car hijacking						
	2.	Theft from car						
	3.	Car vandalism/theft of car parts						
	4.	Theft of motorcycle						

5.	Theft of bicycle						
6.	Theft of livestock						
7.	Burglary with entry						
8.	Attempted burglary						
9.	Kidnapping						
10.	Other (<i>Please specify</i>)						
No	Type of crime	1 Very high	2 High	3 Moderate	4 Low	5 Very Low	6 Don't Know
ii. Crimes against the individual							
1.	Drugs (peddling/addiction)						
2.	Robbery						
3.	Personal theft						
4.	Rape						
5.	Defilement						
6.	Incest						
7.	Prostitution						
8.	Assault/threat						
9.	Consumer fraud						
10.	Corruption						
11.	Other (<i>Please specify</i>)						
43.	In your opinion, who are the most common perpetrators of crime(s) in your community?						
	1. Community members	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Both (Community members and Outsiders)	<input type="checkbox"/>			
	2. People who live outside this community	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>			

44.	In terms of sex and age, who are the most common perpetrators of crime in this community? <i>(Read out responses: multiple responses allowed).</i>			
	1. Juveniles (below 18)—male <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Youth (18 – 35)—female <input type="checkbox"/>		
	2. Juveniles (below 18)—female <input type="checkbox"/>	5. Adults male (above 35) <input type="checkbox"/>		
	3. Youth (18 - 35)—male <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Adults female (above 35) <input type="checkbox"/>		
45.	In your opinion, who are the most common victims of crime(s) in this community?			
	1. Community members <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Both (Community members and Outsiders) <input type="checkbox"/>		
	2. People who live outside this community <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>		
46.	In terms of sex and age, who are the most common victims of crime in this community? <i>(Read out responses: multiple responses allowed).</i>			
	1. Juveniles (below 18)—male <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Youth (18 – 35)—female <input type="checkbox"/>		
	2. Juveniles (below 18)—female <input type="checkbox"/>	5. Adults male (above 35) <input type="checkbox"/>		
	3. Youth (18 - 35)—male <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Adults female (above 35) <input type="checkbox"/>		
47.	In your opinion, what is the main reason why people commit crime in your community?			
	1. Need/financial stress <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Satanic/demonic influence/religious <input type="checkbox"/>		
	2. Peer influence <input type="checkbox"/>	7. Breakdown of family <input type="checkbox"/>		
	3. Society induced <input type="checkbox"/>	8. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>		
	4. Weak criminal justice system <input type="checkbox"/>	9. Other <i>(Please specify)</i> <input type="checkbox"/>		
	5. Greed <input type="checkbox"/>		
48.	In your opinion, which time of the day are most crimes committed in your community? <i>(Read out responses: open and multiple responses allowed).</i>			
	1. Dawn (4am – 6am) <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Evening (4pm – 8pm) <input type="checkbox"/>		
	2. Morning (6am – 12noon) <input type="checkbox"/>	5. Night (8pm-4am) <input type="checkbox"/>		
	3. Afternoon (12pm – 4pm) <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Other <i>(Please specify)</i> :		
49.	In your opinion, which day of the week is crime USUALLY committed in this community? <i>(Read out responses: multiple responses allowed).</i>			
	1. Sunday <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Tuesday <input type="checkbox"/>	5. Thursday <input type="checkbox"/>	7. Saturday <input type="checkbox"/>
	2. Monday <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Wednesday <input type="checkbox"/>	6. Friday <input type="checkbox"/>	8. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>

50.	In your opinion, which month(s) of the year is crime USUALLY committed in this community? <i>(Multiple responses allowed).</i>		
	1. January <input type="checkbox"/>	6. June <input type="checkbox"/>	10. October <input type="checkbox"/>
	2. February <input type="checkbox"/>	7. July <input type="checkbox"/>	11. November <input type="checkbox"/>
	3. March <input type="checkbox"/>	8. August <input type="checkbox"/>	12. December <input type="checkbox"/>
	4. April <input type="checkbox"/>	9. September <input type="checkbox"/>	13. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>
	5. May <input type="checkbox"/>		
51.	Do you feel the need for more police patrols/presence in your community?		
	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>
52.	Does your community have a neighbourhood crime watchdog committee?		
	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>
53.	How safe do you feel in your community currently?		
	1. Very safe <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Not safe <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2. Safe <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>	
54.	How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your community?		
	1. Very safe <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Not safe <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2. Safe <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>	
55.	How safe do you feel walking alone in your community during day time?		
	1. Very safe <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Not safe <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2. Safe <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>	
56.	In general, how would you assess the level of crime in your community within the past five years?		
	1. Increased <input type="checkbox"/>	3. Decreased <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2. Stayed the same <input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>	
57.	What measures do you take to prevent crime in your home? <i>(Read out responses: multiple responses allowed).</i>		
	No.	Prevention measures	Tick appropriately
	1.	Installed burglar alarm	
	2.	Electronic fencing	
	3.	Security doors/special door locks	
	4.	Special window/door grilles (burglar proof)	
	5.	Use of dogs	
	6.	High fence/wall	
	7.	Caretaker or security guard	
	8.	Community solidarity	

9.	Barbed wires/bottles, sharp ends of walls	
10.	Closed Circuit Television (CCTV)	
11.	Prayer/other religious options	
12.	Nothing	
13	Other (<i>Please specify</i>):	



58.	<p>Which of the following crimes are you and your households most likely to be victim of in your community? (<i>Rank in the order of likelihood: 1 as Very likely and 7 as N/A</i>). Read out statements to respondent</p>							
	No.	Type of crime	1 Very likely	2 Likely	3 Unlikely	4 Very unlikely	5 Don't know	7 N/A
	i. Crime against household							
	1.	Theft of car/car hijacking						
	2.	Theft from car						
	3.	Car vandalism/theft of car parts						
	4.	Theft motorcycle						
	5.	Theft of bicycle						
	6.	Theft of livestock/birds						
	7.	Burglary with entry						
8.	Attempted burglary							
9.	Kidnapping							

60.	Assessment of Private Security Organisations (PSOs) in crime prevention in your community. (<i>Read out loud: multiple responses allowed</i>).		
	No.	Statement	Tick appropriately
	i. Types of security services rendered by PSOs		
	1.	Provide work surveillance system	
	2.	Guard public servants/firms/property	
	3.	Collaborate with state security [police/military/CID] for community protection	
	4.	Guard private firms/persons/property	
	5.	Provide quasi-judicial functions/ADR	
	6.	Other (<i>Please specify</i>):	
	ii. What account for the stringing up of PSOs in your neighbourhood/city?		
	1.	Absence of public security set-up	
	2.	Complimentary efforts to enhance communal security	
3.	Community self-help initiative		
4.	Loss of confidence in public security		

5.	Over-population with unmet security needs		
6.	Job creation drive / business motive		
7.	Came alongside a multinational company		
8.	Affordability/tailor-made services		
9.	Other (<i>Please specify</i>):		
iii. Benefits of PSOs to household/community			
1.	Improved household security		
2.	Created jobs		
3.	Improved community security		
4.	Improved industrial/commercial security		
5.	Improved crime prevention efforts		
6.	Complimented police efforts		
7.	Don't know		
8.	Other (<i>Please specify</i>):		

No.	Type of crime	Tick appropriately	Number of times
i. Household crime			
1.	Theft of car/car hijacking		
2.	Theft from car		
3.	Car vandalism/theft of car parts		
4.	Theft of motorcycle		
5.	Theft of bicycle		
6.	Theft of livestock		
7.	Burglary with entry		
8.	Attempted burglary		
9.	Kidnapping		
10.	Other (specify)		
ii. Crime against the individual			
1.	Drugs peddling/addiction		
2.	Robbery		
3.	Personal theft		
4.	Rape		

	5.	Defilement		
	6.	Incest		
	7.	Prostitution		
	8.	Assault/threat		
	9.	Corruption		
	10.	Other (specify):		
63.	Have you ever been a victim of crime in the following public spaces?			
	No.	Selected public spaces	Yes	No
	i. Market			
	1.	Ever been a victim at the market		
	2.	Ever witnessed any crime in and around the market		
	3.	Please, state the crimes that occurred there:		

4.	Do you feel safe at the Market place?		
	1. Very safe	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Not safe
	2. Safe	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know
ii. Transport terminal			
1.	Ever been a victim of crime at the transport terminal		
2.	Ever witnessed any crime in and around the transport terminal		
3.	Please, state the crimes that occurred there:		
4.	Do you feel safe at the transport terminal (trotro/taxi station)?		
	1. Very safe	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Not safe
	2. Safe	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Don't know
iii. Public toilet			

65.	If yes, please specify what type of crime you experienced?		
66.	In what way(s) did the crime experience affect you? (Read out responses: multiple responses allowed).		
No.	Statement		Tick appropriately
i. Emotional effect			
1.	It has given me excessive (short term) fear		
2.	It has made me very angry		
3.	It has made me distrustful of others		
4.	It has made me feel the need to be more security conscious		
5.	It has made me better appreciate the criminal justice system/Police		
6.	It has made me appreciate other persons		
7.	It has left me with chronic (long term and permanent) fear		
8.	It has made me to regret coming to live in this neighbourhood		
9.	It has made me distrustful of the criminal justice system/the Police		

10.	It has made me value my life the more	
11.	It makes me feel like I will be attacked again	
12.	It makes me feel I have already been attacked again	
13.	Other (<i>Please specify</i>): 	
ii. Psychological effect		
1.	It has created a panic attack in me	
2.	It makes me fear to go out sometimes	
3.	It has given me sleepless nights	
4.	It has strengthened my (religious) faith	
5.	It has weakened/challenged my (religious) faith	
6.	It has made me suspicious of other persons	
7.	It has made me more protective of my property/household/family, etc.	
8.	It has made me too conscious of my environment/too sensitive	

9.	Other psychological effect on you (<i>please specify</i>) 	
iii. Mental effect		
1.	It has left me thinking all the time	
2.	It makes me think that the crime will be repeated	
3.	It has made me know /think that I or anyone can die at anytime	
4.	It has given me a different perspective on life	
5.	It has left me with a mental picture of the crime scene/incident.	
6.	It has left me thinking that I am not safe	
7.	It has made me forgetful	
8.	Other effect (<i>Please specify</i>): 	
iv. Physical effect		
1.	It has left some wound/scars on me	

	<p>2.</p>	<p>It made me lose part of my property (including domestic and commercial animals)</p>	
	<p>3.</p>	<p>It has maimed/made me lose some part of my body or part of a family member's body</p>	
	<p>4.</p>	<p>It has left a mark on my property</p>	
	<p>5.</p>	<p>Other (<i>Please specify</i>):</p> <p>.....</p>	
<p>67.</p>	<p><i>Financial Effect:</i></p> <p>In what other way did the crime experience affect you financially?</p> <p>1. I have had to spend money on my health due to that experience.</p> <p>2. I lost my job due to the crime experience. <i>Please, tell me specifically what happened regarding this:</i></p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>		



3. I have had to spend money on something else (personal belongings, property, replacing lost property, etc.) as a result of the crime experience. *Please, tell me specifically what happened regarding this:*

.....

.....

.....

4. I have had to lose trading capital/investment/property, etc. to use in taking care of the financial shock due to the crime experience.

5. It has made me need/pay for more property insurance.

6. Other financial effect(s) on you *(please specify):*

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Section G: CRIME REPORTING	
68.	<p>Have you or any member of your household ever reported crime incident(s) to the police?</p> <p>1. Yes (<i>Skip to</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 70) 2. No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
69.	<p>If no, why not? (<i>Skip to Section H after giving reasons</i>)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
70.	<p>If yes, why did you report to the police?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
71.	<p>If you reported to the police were you satisfied with their response?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>

72.	If no, why not?
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Section H: ASSESSMENT OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE

73.	<i>(Rank in the order of 1 as Strongly agree and 5 as Don't know). (Read out statements to respondent).</i>					
No	Statement	1 Strongly agree	2 Agree	3 Disagree	4 Strongly Disagree	5 Don't know
i. Police						
1.	The security services arrest criminals within the community promptly					
2.	They respond in a timely manner					
3.	They are committed to fighting crime					
4.	They are trustworthy					
5.	They treat all citizens equally					
6.	They are transparent					
7.	They are corrupt					
8.	They have lackadaisical attitude to work					
ii. The Courts						
1.	Dispense justice fairly					
2.	The judges are corrupt					
3.	They dispense justice timely					
4.	The courts are generally performing well					
iii. Informal structures/Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)						
1.	They respond in a timely manner					
2.	They are committed to fighting crime					
3.	They are trustworthy					

76. In your opinion, do you think Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) such as churches, mosques etc) have a role to play in reducing crime in your community?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Don't know

77. Please give reasons for your answer in Q. 76

78. In your opinion, do you think chiefs, queenmothers and other traditional leaders have a role to play in reducing crime in your community?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Don't know



79. Please give reasons for your answer in Q. 78

.....
.....

80. In your view, what 3 *main things/conditions* must be in place to make your community safe from crime?

a.
b.
c.

81. Please, share any additional comments on crime in your neighbourhood and city:

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Please, kindly provide me with the following details in case I need to come back to you for further clarification.

Mobile phone number:

House No.:

Description of residence:

Date of interview:



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE- FACILITY MANAGERS

CRIME AND WOMEN'S SAFETY IN LOW-INCOME URBAN COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF NIMA IN THE ACCRA METROPOLIS

I am conducting a survey about crime and women's safety in public spaces. This interview guide is being administered to gather your views from Nima Divisional Police on crime and women's safety in the Nima (Accra Metropolis). By safety, I mean woman being safe from harassment, assault or attack. I would like you to kindly answer questions pertaining to crime and women's safety in and around some public facilities (Marketplace, Transport terminal and Public Toilet). The information gathered will be purely used for academic purposes and treated with strict confidentiality. Your genuine response is very much needed for the success of the exercise.

- 1. What can you say about crime occurrence and women's safety in and around this facility?**
- 2. Do you think that public spaces such as this place (marketplace, public toilet and transport terminal) in the Nima are safe for women and girls of all ages to move about freely?**
- 3. Are there some specific places within this premises which you think are particularly unsafe? Why are these places unsafe? What has influenced your views – your own experiences, others' experiences, media reports, stories, etc.? Share some concrete**

experiences or stories of safety in public spaces (marketplace, public toilet and transport terminal)

- 4. 4. Have you ever asked for help in an unsafe or dangerous situation? Did you go to the police? Did you approach anyone else for help? Did you feel the response met your needs? Why or why not? (If you have not actually done this, who are you most likely to ask for help?)**
- 5. In this premises which factors do you think contribute women feeling unsafe?**
- 6. What was the nature of the most recent incident you reported to the police?**
- 7. Are there any group of people who use this premises that make women feel unsafe?**
- 8. Is there a police station in and around this premises? Are there any police booths/check posts? If so how many? What times or days do they operate? Are they regular in their activities?**
- 9. Is there a Neighbourhood Watch Scheme currently operating in this area that covers your address?**
- 10. Have you put up any security measures in place to prevent crime occurrence in and around this facility?**
- 11. How do you protect yourself?**

